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FOREWORD

Ilnur Mirgaleev

The large Tatar nation is comprised of various groups that fully correspond to medieval Tatar states. Kazan, Siberian, Crimean, Kasimov, Astrakhan, Belorussian and Lithuanian, Dobruja Tatars... Kazan, Siberian, Crimean, Astrakhan khanates, the Nogai Horde, political entities in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the Balkans... The Tatar people emerged in the Golden Horde period from various local Turkic tribes, primarily the Bulgars and Kipchaks, and other Turkic peoples, such as Tatar-Mongols and eastern Kipchaks, newly arrived from Central and Middle Asia. The period of the Golden Horde's collapse continued for many years and almost the entire 15th century witnessed the gradual disintegration of the once mighty Turkic-Tatar state along with the emergence of new states—the Tatar yurts. Virtually all Tatar states were conquered by the new and powerful Muscovite state that, for several centuries, was subordinated to the Tatar khans of the Golden Horde and the Tatar yurts. The Crimean Khanate, the last of these states, was annexed to Russia in the 18th century. Despite the relatively short existence of the Tatar states (except for Crimea), they left a deep mark on the history of Eurasia. This was the time when the Turkic-Tatar language dominated a large part of Eurasia. Its influence continued up to the early 20th century. Ever greater numbers of Tatars were becoming involved in the building of the Muscovite state and, when they all found themselves in one state, like in the period of the Golden Horde but, this time, within the Russian empire, they did not disappear and, to this day, continue to exist mostly as a single nation. This was in spite of tremendous losses, active assimilation, and cultural and religious pressure.

The Tatar states pursued an active foreign policy. In essence, they remained the same as the Golden Horde, though in a slightly truncated form and without one capital. However, the concept of Takht Eli, or the Throne Place,

evoked for a long time the past magnificence of Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, while the Great Horde (which was the self-designation of the Golden Horde) was not only the name of the actual Great Horde but also, for example, the name of the Crimean Khanate. The Tatar khanates called their states 'yurts',—that is, 'houses' of the Jochi ruling families. In general, the inhabitants of all Tatar khanates were clearly aware of the former common state, single dynasty, people, culture, religion, language, and they all continued to call themselves Tatars.

For various reasons, the people in Tatar khanates moved from one such state to another. Representatives of khan families could be invited to rule in other Tatar states. All the rulers of Tatar khanates were considered to be a single dynasty. For example, the descendants of both Ulugh Muhammad, the last ruler of the unified Golden Horde, and representatives of the Great Horde dynasty from Crimea, Siberia, and Kasimov sat on the throne of the Kazan Khanate. They came from virtually all Tatar khanates.

The Tatar khanates occupied enormous territories. Tatars included nomadic, settled and urban people. They were actively involved in trading, and raised cattle and horses, cultivated land, built cities, developed the forests and were excellent goldsmiths and blacksmiths...

The Tatars continued to be good warriors. They were essential to the rising states of Eastern Europe and Anatolia. The Tatar states were involved in varied and sometimes opposing coalitions. Ulugh Muhammad, Ahmad Khan, and the Giray dynasty made attempts to unite the Tatar khanates. However, the process of decentralization was intensified by the policy of the Ottomans and the conquests of the Muscovite state. From the 16th century, Muscovy began laying claim to the Tatar yurts, the political legacy of the Golden Horde. One by one they were conquered by Moscow and ceased to exist entirely.

* * *

The aim of volume 4 ('Tatar States (15–18th Centuries)' of the seven volume History of the Tatars Since Ancient Times) was to create an objective account of the history of the Tatar states. The editors did not aim to impose any conditions on the authors. The authors were selected solely based on their professional caliber.

The first structure of this volume was prepared by D. Iskhakov. After the preparation of this volume was assigned to I. Mirgaleev, he made some minor changes to its structure, but overall it remained the same.

The authors of the fourth volume are noted experts, both Russian and foreign, including V. Trepavlov, I. Zaitsev, A. Gorsky, D. Kołodziejczyk, D. Iskhakov, A. Bakhtin, I. Izmaylov, H. Minnegulov, M. Ahmetzyanov,

I. Fomenko, B. Rakhimzyanov, A. Nesterov, A. Matveev, Tahsin Gemil, R. Pochekaev, N. Abdulvapov, Yu. Khudyakov et al.

The Appendices to the volume were prepared by V. Trepavlov, N. Seytyagyayev, D. Mustafina, V. Gribovsky, I. Mustakimov, A. Nesterov, M. Gatin, L. Abzalov, I. Izmaylov, I. Mirgaleev.

The list of sources and literature, list of abbreviations, index of names, and the political and geographic index were prepared by R. Abyzova, A. Akhtyamova, L. Giniyatullina, M. Ismagilova, E. Sayfedinova, Z. Khafizov et al.

The illustrations were provided by the authors; the maps were drawn specifically for this volume (author: A. Astaykin). The maps have been approved by the authors of the relevant sections.

INTRODUCTORY SECTION. OVERVIEW OF SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Chapter 1. General Characteristics of the Post-Golden Horde Period

Vadim Trepavlov

In the history of many peoples of Eurasia, the period stretching from the 15th century to the 17th century was marked by the collapse of the Ulus of Jochi and the formation of new states in its place. It is evident that the institutional links between the parts of the former Golden Horde at that time were arranged in a specific system. This system was based on the three factors: on the inertia of the former unity in the collapsed Ulus of Jochi; on the royal prerogatives of the Jochi family not limited to specific 'post-Horde' yurts and capital residences; and on the relative ethnic homogeneity of the population in the vast space of the Desht-i Qipchaq and certain neighboring regions¹.

¹ Probably, this interstate (and supra-state) paradigm somehow also included the former Chagatai Transoxiana, after the forcing out of the Chagataid Ulus Khans from power by Tamerlane and the subse-

Historians have already expressed similar opinions. For example, M. Usmanov wrote about the unity of the ruling house of Jochi for the entirety of the former Golden Horde space, which was the reason why the Crimean khans were invited to Kazan, and why Kazan princesses married into the Giray dynasty and Nogai princesses married the rulers of Kazan [Usmanov, 1997, p. 43].

D. Iskhakov believes that the khanates had a relatively similar state structure with the yurts of ruling tribes, and the representatives of these tribes could freely move from one khanate to another to settle on the territory of their family domains [Iskhakov, 2009c, pp. 7–9].

O. Gayvoronsky sees the attempts to restore the unity of the Horde in the active policy of

quent restoration of the power of Chinggis Khan's descendants by Muhammad Shaybani.

the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray towards his Tatar neighbors and rivals. His most significant success in this endeavor came when he defeated the Great Horde in 1502, annexed part of its territory and took the population to Crimea [Gayvoronsky, 2007, p. 2]. However, his son Mehmed Giray was unable to further expand this policy, as he was killed by the Nogai soon after capturing Astrakhan in 1523. Afterwards, the claims of Crimea to primacy in the former Golden Horde became purely nominal.

I. Zaitsev convincingly demonstrated the close cultural ties between the Volga region khanates, Crimea, the Nogai Horde and Central Asia. He showed that 'despite the political collapse, post-Horde states represented a single cultural space linked by common traditions, language, science, literature and education' [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 33].

We should stress that this is attributed to inertia and the remnants of the single statehood, because in reality there were no noticeable centripetal processes in the successor states of the Golden Horde. However, it is possible that there was an amount of nostalgia for the days of the Horde. A number of sources allow us to conclude that the height of stability in the great power that came during the reigns of Uzbek and Jani Beg was considered a 'golden age'.

Perhaps, today's historians place too much emphasis (or modernise) on interstate relations, including the borders between the yurts of the 15th and 16th centuries. There is an established view in the historiography that the Ulus of Jochi had a clear division into two wings with mysterious, 'floating' colour-coded designations that are difficult to attribute. Sources describing the events of the 13th century (William of Rubruck, Rashid al-Din) allow us to conclude that there were two independent khanates and khans. However, there is no clear picture for the following century. The Begs of the right and left wings continued to exist, but it is not clear how far this affiliation relates to the division of the state in real terms.

The writings of the Turkic chroniclers of the 16th and 17th centuries (Abu al-Ghazi, Qadir Ali Bek, Ötemish Hajji, the anonymous authors of *Daftar-i Chinggis-name*) contain virtually no mention of the winged territorial structure.

Except perhaps in the chronicle of Ötemish Hajji, where he wrote that Chinggis (Genghis) Khan had given to Sain ~ Batu the 'right wing' along the Itil river and to Idzhan ~ Orda the 'left wing' along the Syr Darya river; and also told a story (closer to a legend) about the division of differently coloured yurts between Chinggis Khan's grandchildren, the sons of Jochi [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, pp. 92, 93]. However, in the writings of the same Ötemish Hajji, the relationship between the rulers and people of the 'wings' does not in any way resemble the coexistence of two neighboring states.

It appears that at some point in the history of the Ulus of Jochi, there was a time when the division into 'wings' had become a nominal abstraction designating the rank of tribes and their leaders. Perhaps this change should be associated with the extreme strengthening of the 'right wing' of the state in the first half of the 14th century. This process appears to have started under Khan Tokhta who, in 701 A.H. (1301–1302) issued a *yarliq* to Bayan to reign in the 'left wing' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, p. 68]. This was followed by an attempt of joint action by Uzbek and Bayan against the Hulagu dynasty, the overthrow of Mubarak, the Khan of Sygnak (who tried to break away from Sarai), the reign of Tini Beg, the son of Uzbek, in Sygnak, *yarliq* of Jani Beg to Chimtay and the military support provided by the latter in the struggle for Sygnak... (for more details, see [Uskenbay, 2002, pp. 25–31]). The nominal principles of seniority of left over right and the priority of descendants of Orda Ichen over those of Batu were disregarded in this situation. What happened was a *de facto* unification of the state territory under Sarai rulers. This is illustrated by the struggle of the eastern aristocracy for the capital on the Lower Volga in the second half of the 14th century. Later, in the 16th century, when the Eastern Jochi dynasty monarchs began to look quite powerful amid the total collapse of the 'right wing' khanate, foreign observers (Iran) had the impression that the main throne of Jochi dynasty was located in the eastern part of Desht-i Qipchaq: 'Kasim Khan [Kazakh—V.T.]... became the king of Desht... Haqq-Nazar Khan, the son of Kasim Khan, took the throne after his father

and is now the ruler of Desht' [Collection of works, 1941, p. 212].

Russian contemporaries, who lived closer to Tatar holdings and, undoubtedly, knew more about this matter, did not report the Horde's unity over such an extended period. In the chronicled lists of the 'Horde's kings' compiled in the second half of the 15th century, the last of the khans is called 'Zedi-sultan' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23, 1910, p. 168], i. e. Jalal al-Din, the son of Tokhtamysh, or 'Zedi-sultan Bulkhartan' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28, 1963, p. 143]¹.

Naturally, the Crimeans had their own views on the continuity of power and promoted their own succession of rulers. In 1506, while attending the feast of the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon, the envoys of the Crimean khan recalled the traditional ties between Lithuanians and Tatars by citing the names of those who preceded their Khan Mengli Giray, including 'Tokhtamysh, Chelegdin, Perberdi, Kebeg, Keremberdi, Kaderberdi [all were distorted names of the sons of Tokhtamysh—V.T.], Magmet Silehmat [that is, Ulugh Muhammad² and Sayid Ahmad.—V.T.], Azhi Kgiray, Mordovlat [Nur Devlet.—V.T.], Mendi Kgiray' [Lietuvos, 1994, p. 53]. Therefore, neither the protégés of Edigu in 1400–1410, nor the khans of the Great Horde, the descendants of Küchük Muhammad, and certainly not the rulers of breakaway regions of the Horde in the Middle Volga area and across the Volga were considered legitimate monarchs. For Bakhchysarai politicians, from

the mid-15th century, the legitimate power in the Horde was in the hands of Hacı Giray ('Aji Kgiray') and his descendants.

The independent states that emerged in the territory of the Ulus of Jochi were usually designated as 'yurts' in the Turkic languages and, in Muscovite and Lithuanian sources, they were called 'hordes'. We can identify a chronological divide in the historiography, after which the Russian designation of the Ulus of Jochi as 'the Horde' was replaced by 'Hordes' in the plural. This is a charter of treaty between Ivan III and his brother Boris Vasilyevich Prince of Volotsk, dated February 13, 1473: 'As for the Hordes [instead of what was formerly referred to as "the Horde"—V.T.], brother, we, as the Grand Prince, know and understand what they are. And you do not understand what the Hordes are... And if I do not give to the Hordes, I will not take from you' [Spiritual, 1950, p. 226]. Such phrases can be found in contractual letters between the princes made in the 1470–1480s; moreover, these documents already leave no doubt about the multiplicity of Tatar yurts ('knowing the Hordes', 'deal with the Hordes', 'I will not give to the Hordes'), as it does not coincide with the genitive singular form of 'not deal with the Horde' (as in the previously quoted charter 1473).

However, some documents of the same period have phrases with a single 'Horde': 'As for the Horde, we, as the Grand Prince, know and deal with, and you do not deal with the Horde...', and if, I, the Grand Prince, do not pay tribute to the Horde, I will not take it from you' [Ibid., p. 279—treaty between Ivan III and Prince Mikhail Andreevich of Vereysky and Belozero, dated 1482; see almost the same on p. 333—treaty between the Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of Ryazan and his brother Fyodor, dated 1496]; 'And if you send to the Horde, send it after discussing it with us... and without discussing it with us do not send it to the Horde' [Ibid., p. 297—treaty between Moscow and Tver of 1484–1485]. But this appears to be a rote repetition of clichés elaborated during the previous decades, prior to 1473, or (less likely) as a designation of the Great Horde (among other yurts) as the recipient of the tribute.

¹ In earlier Russian texts, Jalal ad-Din, who was murdered in 1413, is called the Green Sultan. It is probable that 'Bultarkhan' is a distorted name of the eastern-Jochi khan, Abu'l-Khayr, who died in 1468.

² Of the two khans with similar names in the corresponding period—Ulugh Muhammad and Küchük Muhammad—it more likely relates to the former. The charters of the Crimean Tsarevich (kalga) Ahmed Giray to the Polish King Sigismund I in 1511 and 1514 contain references to the times of 'the Grand Duke Vytautas and...Tsar Tokhtamysh and...the great Tsar Mahomet', and mention 'our forefathers and grandfathers Tokhmamysh (so in original—Author) Tsar and the great Mahmet Tsar' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389, inv. 1, file 7, sheets 371, 538]. 'The great Mahomet–Mahmet' is evidently a translation of the name-sobriquet of Ulugh Muhammad.

The agreement between the sons of Ivan III, concluded at his demand in 1504, enumerates the Tatar states that were considered as independent by Russians: 'tributes to the Hordes, including Crimea, Astrakhan, Kazan, and to Tsarevitch townlet...' [Ibid., p. 366; also see the Wills charter of Ivan III made the same year, p. 362]. Therefore, the khanates that had emerged by that time were the ones of Crimea, Kazan, Astrakhan and Kasimov; the Nogai Horde was considered a 'Cossack' entity without any specific status; and in this period, Moscow had no relations with the Siberian (Tyumen) yurt or the Kazakh Khanate (for more details, see [Cherepnin, 1948, pp. 212, 223; Gorsky, 2000, pp. 165–167]).

However, to some extent, the interstate division of the post-Horde space was relative. An indicator of this relative nature is the status of ruling dynasties. Not a single khan in Kazan, Hajji Tarkhan, Chingi-Tura, Sygnak, or Uzbek and Kazakh nomadic quarters designated his geographic location. In the eyes of his subjects and outgoing official documents, this was just the 'Khan', and not the khan of Kazan, Tyumen, etc. The only exception was the Giray dynasty. Their pompous titles with enumeration of subordinated territories and peoples does, on the one hand, indicate an obvious imitation of the Ottomans but, on the other hand, demonstrates the aspirations and unrealized ambitions of this peripheral branch of the Jochi house. Other rulers in the former lands of the Ulus of Jochi felt that their affiliation with the 'golden family' of the Chinggis dynasty provided sufficient grounds for declaring their monarchical prerogatives, without any reference to a particular capital city and even more so to the community of subordinated subjects ('Tatar', 'Uzbek', or 'Kazakh').

Amid all nostalgic reminiscences, the degradation of the Golden Horde's statehood was accompanied by the gradual and inevitable fading of the ruling family's charisma. The Chinggisids shared the fate of many royal houses—as soon as a dynasty loses the throne, its monopoly on power is no longer recognised. The period of the late 14th century to the first half of the 15th century was clearly a transition when the Chinggisids began to lose its state

power and, in real politics, the fact of being a descendant of Chinggis Khan ceased to play a decisive role.

This transition manifested itself in various ways. First, there were 'gurgan' (son-in-law) dynasties when, in order to gain access to the throne, it was sufficient to become related to the 'golden family' through the female line.

Secondly, the non-dynastic aristocracy among the begs of Turkic tribes, who up until the mid-14th century were almost invisible in politics, forced their way to power. During the 15th century, the phenomenon of growing social authority of tribal leaders took shape in the form of a permanent institution of karachi begs, the leaders of major Els, who constituted an indispensable advisory body to the ruling khan in the late Golden Horde, Crimean Khanate and Kasimov Khanate.

Thirdly, the rule was carried out on behalf of powerless Chinggisid puppets. Many of them were so unremarkable and insignificant that they are not even known to historians. Their only purpose was to sanctify and justify by their sacred person and silent presence the absolute power of the actual ruler.

This institution of 'dummy' khans existed in the 1360–1370s in the western part of the 'right wing' of the Ulus of Jochi ('Mamai Horde'). In the 1390–1410s, the Golden Horde was ruled on behalf of its powerless monarchs by the beqlar beg Edigu. In the mid-14th and early 15th centuries, this phenomenon spread to the Ulus of Chagatai and Timurid state, where the puppet representatives of the Chinggisids were enthroned by local emirs. A similar phenomenon was later revived in the Khiva Khanate, where it received the characteristic name 'khanbazi' (playing khans).

However, at the same time, the recognition of highborn status and the hierarchical seniority of the 'golden family' was preserved everywhere, even after the family in question no longer had supreme power. For example, 'tore' are well-known among the Kazakhs. The House of the Ottomans also recognised its nominally junior status in relation to the Chinggis dynasty (in particular, to the Crimean khans, their vassals). However, this in no way manifested itself in everyday political practice. The memory of

the royal rights of the Chinggis line emerged during the Bashkir revolts in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Along with the Turkish sultans and Kalmyk taishas, proposals to take the Bashkirs under their authority were received at that time by Crimean and Kazakh khans, and Tsarevichs of Kuchum family 'living the Cossack way of life'.

The memories of unity and kinship of all members of the Jochids persisted for some time in the post-Horde space, and sometimes manifested in unexpected situations. For example, Mengli Giray officially called him brother,—that is, an equal monarch, not only the Kazan Khan Mohammed Amin, who lived, according to the Crimea ruler, 'on top of his state' (in the Russian translation), but also his own worst enemy, Ahmed from the Great Horde. However, he did so only after the death of the latter when communicating with the Polish king [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 108; Collection of works, 1856, p. 29]. However, Jochi himself remained in historical memory as merely a genealogical link between his father and his sons. Indications pointing to the community of the Jochi dynasty are extremely rare (for example, see a reference to the traditional ambassadorial ties of 'Jochi children', i.e. the descendants of Jochi, with Moscow, in the charter sent by Shaybanid Khan Abul-Fath to Ivan III [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 33]; or a comment by Crimean Khan Saadet Giray about the Astrakhan monarch Hussein: 'With him, we are the children of the same father' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389, inv. 1, file 7, sheet 895 (896)]—the common 'father' (ancestor) for these representatives of different branches of a huge clan could be, obviously, only the eldest son of Chinggis).

In the minds of those who lived in the Turkic-Tatar yurts, the notion of the former centre of the single state consecrated by the sacred image of Batu (Sain Khan), the second son of Jochi, was preserved. Capturing the quarters of the Great Horde khan was regarded by his victorious rivals as the acquisition of the holy Sain's throne. This was how in the 15th and early 16th centuries the representatives of Jochi dynasty interpreted their successes

in the struggle against the Great Horde: 'God gave me the happiness to take the throne of Sain by killing the son of Timer Kutlu' (Tyumen Khan Ibrahim to Ivan III in 1494 on the defeat of Khan Ahmed in 1481); 'The golden throne of our father [ancestor—V.T.], the Tsar Sain, is in our hands' (Tsarevich Ahmed Giray, the son of Mengli Giray who defeated the Great Horde, to the king Sigismund, 1514) [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 46; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389, inv. 1, file 7, sheet 539]. The Eastern chroniclers believed that the main merit of the Mangyt beg Waqqas (the second quarter of the 15th century) was the fact that he 'twice won the throne of Sain Khan' for his patron the Abu'l-Khayr Khan, after which the name of Abu'l-Khayr was read at the beginning of khutbah, minted on coins, and his persona 'adorned the throne of Sain Khan' [Proceedings, 1969, p. 67, 155]. And all of these thrones (khan residences) were in different locations, which indicates how relative and symbolic this concept was in the ideological constructs of late medieval Desht-i Qipchaq.

Perhaps, the common symbolic value for the entire Jochi family was also retained by the dynastic necropolis (Kuruk) near the city of Saray-Jük on the Yaik River.

However, for all the relics of the Golden Horde's unity, one cannot fail to see the increasing trend towards the distancing of the post-Horde states from one other. The process of disintegration was stronger. Various local yurts saw the emergence of local khan dynasties, which viewed their holdings only as their own property without any relation to the collapsed common power of the Jochi dynasty. For example, after the representatives of the Great Horde acceded to power in Kasimov, the Girays claimed their dynastic rights to the khanate, declaring that 'our family was in Meshchyora' and now 'it is not our family that is the sovereign of Meshchyora' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 378]. The Russian ambassador was instructed to fend off expected similar claims of Crimeans to Kazan by saying that 'originally, Kazan was not their yurt, but Kazan had its separate tsars' [Ibid., p. 696].

Messages sent by the Turkic aristocracy in the 16th century repeatedly designate the yurts by eponyms, usually bearing the names of the sovereigns who started the ruling dynasty in a particular yurt. If in the 13–14th centuries the eponyms represented the historical figures of a relatively recent past (Jochi, Berke, Uzbek) who were equally important for all parts of the empire, in the later period, these became individuals who, firstly, had passed away a long time ago and, secondly, had operated within fairly local spatial limits.

For example, some sources repeatedly refer to the Crimean Khanate 'Tsar Tokhtamysh's yurt',—that is, a holding of the descendants, heirs and dynastic successors of Khan Tokhtamysh¹; Astrakhan Khanate is called 'Tsar Temir Kutlu's yurt',—that is, by the name of Khan Temür Qutluğ; Kazakh Khanate is called 'Tsar Urus's yurt' and 'Kazakh Tsar Barak's yurt',—that is, by the name of the Golden Horde and Kok Horde Khans Urus and Barak.

With regards to the Kazan Khanate, such designation can be found in the form of 'Alibay and Altybay yurts' (the names of the begs that ruled in the first half of the 15th century; see [Ambassadorial book, 2003, pp. 47, 82]) and 'Tsar Magmet Kiray's yurt'. The latter designation was made in the following context. In 1552, 'all Kazan land', without any consultation with Moscow, invited to its throne the Astrakhan Tsarevich Yadgar Mohammed, who lived with the Nogai. In a letter to his patron and ally Tsar Ivan IV, Nogai murza Ismail pointed out, in particular, that such an invitation was illegitimate in principle and the Kazan people had no right to make decisions about their throne, because the 'yurt was not theirs, it was Tsar Magmetkiray's yurt' [Ambassadorial Books, 2006, p. 105].

This is a clear reference to Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray I, who reigned in 1515–1521. It is likely that due to his ties to the local dynasty through his mother and his wife Nur-Sultan, he considered the Kazan yurt his hereditary possession. In any case, this is what follows from his letter to the Astrakhan Khan: 'Kazan was our yurt, and now he [Grand Prince of Moscow

Vasily III—V.T.] put there in charge a sultan of his own [a reference to Khan Shah-Ali—V.T.]' [Khudyakov, 1991, p. 85]. It is worth noting that the Kazan nobility shared this interpretation. After the death of Khan Mohammed Amin (end of 1518), an embassy 'from all the Kazan people' arrived at Bakhchysarai with an appeal to Mehmed Giray: '...Kazan is your possession, choose one of your children or brothers and send him to us so that he becomes our tsar' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389, inv. 1, file 7, sheet 796]².

In the early 1520s, a similar appeal was received by Mehmed Giray even from the Kazakh begs, mired in their quarrels and feuds: '...All these Kazakh princes with their entire army swear allegiance to me and want to serve me, and they sent a man to me with that message' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389, inv. 1, file 7, sheet 865 (866)]. However, this was an isolated episode in the relations between Crimea and the eastern yurts.

All this reflected the process of formalizing and consolidating a new type of land holdings by individual aristocratic groups (including families, and later dynasties) that began in the Golden Horde in the 14th century (see [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 111, 112, 135–138]).

The conquest of the neighboring yurt was no longer regarded as a restoration of some unity, but as a unification of separate possessions. 'With your yurt [Crimea—V.T.] our yurt has become sort of one... Saint tsar Ahmat', wrote in 1487 the Khan of the Great Horde Murtaza, son of Ahmed, to Crimean tsarevich Nur Devlet [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 108], remembering apparently the Great Horde conquests of Crimea in 1471 and 1476. Although they introduced the phrase 'Great Khan of the Great Horde' to their title in the early 16th century, members of the Giray dynasty subsequently also began to

¹ There are disputes concerning the origin of the Tokhtamysh as being from the Giray clan.

² The ambassadors lured the khan with promises of considerable growth in the number of his subjects and warriors: 'We have twenty thousand of our fathers' children and with the Cheremis and Mordvin the number is countless'. As it is known, Mehmed Giray sent his younger brother Sahib Giray to reign in Kazan. The people of Kazan appealed to Crimea with a similar request after the death of their Khan Safa Giray in 1549.

include Crimea in their title 'The Great Khan of Great Horde', along with 'the Great Horde'. Therefore, in this case, there was not only the claim to control the entire Ulus of Jochi ('Great Horde'), but also a reminder that the Great Horde had been conquered in 1502. The fact that these two possessions were perceived as separate after 1502 is evidenced by the oath of the Crimean ambassador given to Alexander Jagiellon in 1506 on behalf of Khan Mengli Giray 'with all his sultans, brothers and sons, and with all his ulans and princes, all his murzas and all the people of both [sic—V.T.] Hordes of Trans-Volga and Perekop who are his subjects [*italics added—V.T.*]' [Lietuvos, 1994, p. 53].

However, after defeating the Great Horde, Mengli Giray still included it in his possessions. But in other similar cases, a junior ruler dependent on the victor was appointed to the conquered yurt (Jani Beg was a protégé of Great Horde Khan Ahmed in Crimea in 1476; Bahadur Giray was a protégé of the Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray in Astrakhan in 1523; in some respects, this was also the case of Mohammed Amin, who was brought to the throne of Kazan by Ivan III after Muscovite voevodas captured Kazan in 1487).

The collapse of the Ulus of Jochi was also accompanied by corresponding ethno-cultural processes. The ethnic consolidation, formation of the Golden Horde Tatar nationality can be clearly seen in the 'right wing' of the Ulus with its well-developed urban civilization, strong

pockets of the old settled culture (Bulgaria, Crimea and Moldavia), and lively inter-regional ties. However, this process was interrupted first by the plague, and later by wars and migration of nomads from the east. The 'Uzbeks' of the left wing, the carriers of archaic social and cultural norms, firmly held to their tribal system and stimulated the renewed tribalisation in the western part of the Ulus of Jochi. Its successor states (Kazan, Crimea, Siberia and perhaps the Astrakhan khanates) saw the formation of local ethnic communities based on the earlier relatively united Tatar ethnicity of the Golden Horde.

Its most important consolidating factors included the preservation of former socio-political structures, a clan-based system that united military and service class nobility, as well as a common religion in the form of Islam. The Muslims of the Golden Horde (perhaps, especially the aristocracy and nomads) were united not only by the mere fact of their adoption of Islam, but also through the special institution of the Sayyids. It is no coincidence that in a number of post-Horde khanates, the head of the local Muslim clergy traced their genealogy to a common ancestor who lived at the time of the Ulus of Jochi [Iskhakov, 1997, p. 21]. However, in real politics of the 15–17th centuries, Islam did not play a noticeable role and remained at the level of official ideology without preventing internecine conflicts.

Chapter 2. Sources on the History of Tatar States in the 15–18th Centuries

§ 1. Written Sources

1. Narrative Sources

Arabographic Sources

Ilyas Mustakimov

The vast majority of eastern sources on the history of post-Horde (late Jochi dynasty) Turkic-Tatar states are arabographic,

most of which in turn are written in Turkic languages.

The collapse of the Ulus of Jochi into separate 'yurts' (states and proto-state entities), which de facto ended by the mid-15th century, led to the gradual formation of local historiographic traditions or their rudiments. Lively

political, cultural and economic ties existed between the Turkic-Tatar yurts that emerged from among the ruins of the Jochi empire. Among other things, this included the exchange of verbal and written historical narratives. As a result, one can often find in the chronicles created in a particular post-Horde yurt information related to the history of the entire Ulus of Jochi or the early history of other yurts.

Another aspect of local historiographic traditions prevalent in post-Golden Horde Turkic-Tatar states was the major and sometimes leading role of oral sources in their formation (historical legends¹, or more rarely eyewitness accounts describing a chronicle of events that is closer to the author of a particular chronicle). This is primarily the case of sources created in the Volga-Ural region. This aspect of chronicles created in line with late Jochi dynasty traditions is also related to the fact that they rarely mention any particular dates with regard to events of the late- and post-Golden Horde period. When the dates of events of that time are actually mentioned, they are often inaccurate. In terms of chronology, works created by Ottoman authors or Crimeans influenced by the Ottoman historical writing tradition ('*Tevarih-i Desht-i Qipchaq*' by Abdullah bin Rizwan, '*As-sab 'as-sajjar*' by Sayyid Muhammad Riza, etc.) are usually more informative.

Unlike the Golden Horde period, when written Arabic sources on the history and geography of the Ulus of Jochi were dominated by works written outside the Golden Horde by Persian and Arabic (especially Egyptian) authors, who wrote in Persian or Arabic respectively, in the post-Golden Horde period we have a significant number of sources written in the former Golden Horde in Turkic and a relatively small number of works written outside the Turkic-Tatar yurts (mostly of Ottoman origin).

For the purposes of convenience, we propose considering the surviving arabographic sources by dividing them into three groups based on their origin: Central Asia and Khorasan, the Volga region, and Crimea and the Ottomans. Of course, this division is largely arbitrary.

Sources from Central Asia and Khorasan

In the early 16th century, Muhammad Shaybani, the grandson of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, ousted the Timurids dynasty from Transoxiana and Khorasan and created the state of Shaybanids. Muhammad Shaybani Khan initiated the writing of works called the 'Shaybanid circle', which were aimed at his glorification [Yudin, 2001, p. 48; Mirgaleev, 2011, pp. 14–19]. He was directly involved in creating some of these works.

One of the earliest and largest surviving Turkic-language sources bringing to us the Chinggisid tradition (in its 'Jochi-Shaybanid version') is the anonymous chronicle '*Tevarih-i guzida—Nusrat-name*' written in the early 16th century (probably in 1502–1504) at the instruction and with the participation of the founder of the Shaybanid state in Transoxiana and Khorasan. This work provides valuable (though often brief) information on the prehistory and early political history of the Siberian yurt, the Great Horde and the Nogai Horde, Bulgar Wilayat. It is particularly important to mention that '*Tevarih-i guzida*' contains detailed information on the genealogy of the Jochi dynasty until the early 16th century, including the rulers of post-Horde yurts. '*Tevarih-i guzida*' served as the main source of information on the reign of Eastern Desht Abu'l-Khayr Khan and his grandson Muhammad Shaybani Khan for the later Shaybanid and partially Ashtarkhanid historiography [Yudin, 2001, pp. 36–37]. In particular, the unique message included in '*Tevarih-i guzida*' about the fact that the power of Abu'l-Khayr extended to the Middle Volga region can be found, in a somewhat modified form, in the chronicle of Hafiz-i Tanysh, a court historian of Bukhara Khan Abdullah II, '*Sharaf-name-i shah*' (or '*Abdulla-name*' written in 1580) and the work of Astrakhanid chronicler Muhammad Yusuf Munshi '*Tarih-i Mukim khani*' (written in the early 18th century) [Mustakimov, 2010, pp. 25–27]. When describing the events of the 15th and early 16th centuries, the author of '*Tevarih-*'

¹ The latter feature was apparently typical for both the Golden Horde (and, broadly, Mongolian) and pre-Mongol Turkic (including Bulgar) historiographic traditions. As V. Bartold noted, 'from among all the Turkic peoples, only the Ottomans came to an understanding about the difference between history and legend' [Bartold, 1963b, pp. 100–101].

i guzida', apparently, used the recollections of eyewitnesses, including Muhammad Shaybani Khan who ordered this work. A. Akramov prepared the critical edition [Tevarih, 1967], S. Ibragimov [Ibragimov, 1956, pp. 108–111], V. Yudin [Tevarih, 1969], I. Mustakimov [Mustakimov, 2009, pp. 214–232; Mustakimov, 2011, pp. 228–248] made the translations of extracts from 'Tevarih-i guzida' to Russian.

Some researchers believe that the anonymous Turkic writing 'Shaybani-name' first published by I. Berezin is the abbreviated variant of 'Tevarih-i guzida' [Library, 1849]. The author of 'Shaybani-name' added more information on the Qungrat tribe.

In the period between 1504 and 1510, Kamal ad-Din Binai (Kamal ad-Din (Shir-) Ali Binai Ustad Muhammadkhan-(sabz) mi'mar Harawi), a Persian-language writer and musician, wrote the chronicles 'Shaybani-name' and 'Futuhāt-i Hani'. The latter work is an extended version of 'Shaybani-name' written by the same author. The details on the Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq provided in 'Shaybani-name' mostly coincide with the information in 'Tevarih-i guzida'. However, 'Shaybani-name' also includes some unique information apparently borrowed from some other sources [Yudin, 1969b, pp. 91–96].

The story and information of 'Tevarih-i guzida' was to a large extent reproduced in 'Fatah-name', a Persian-language poetic chronicle of Mollah Shadi, a writer at the court of Muhammad Shaybani Khan. It was also written in the early 1500s (the narrative ends in 1501). However, 'Fatah-name' includes other details not present in 'Tevarih-i guzida'. This is surprising, as both chronicles were written on the personal instructions and, apparently, under the direct control of Shaybani Khan [Yudin, 1969a, pp. 44–50]. V. Yudin expressed the view, which is not entirely unlikely, that the author of 'Fatah-name' could be the same person as the musician Ghulam Shadi who, according to the memoirs of Babur, was sent by Muhammad Shaybani Khan to the court of Kazan Khan Muhammed Amin [Ibid., pp. 44–45]¹.

¹ On the sending of Ghulam Shadi by Muhammad Shaybani to the court of Muhammad Amin, see: [Babur-nama, 1857, p. 230].

The work of Masud bin Usman Quhistani 'Tarih-i Abu'l-Khayr-Hani' written in Persian in the mid-16th century also, to a large extent, repeated in its final part the information from 'Tevarih-i guzida'. At the same time, the chronicle of Quhistani contains more information on representatives of dynastic and tribal aristocracy (oglan and begs), those from the close circle of Abu'l-Khayr, as well as the details of political history in the Eastern Desht of the 15th century, that are also absent in 'Tavariih' [Yudin, 1969, pp. 136–138]. For example, this includes the information of Quhistani detailing the arrival of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the ruler of the Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq in the 15th century, to Tura (Chimgi-Tura, Siberian Tyumen), which the khan made his capital [Quhistani, 1969, pp. 144–145].

Khwarezm, where a branch of Shaybanids other than those ruling in Transoxiana and Khorasan, consolidated its power, developed its own historiography. In the mid-16th century, Ötemish Hajji bin Mawlana Muhammad-Dosti wrote a chronicle, which is known in the historiography under the titles of 'Chinggis-name' and 'Tarikh-i Dost Sultan'². Only two copy of this writing are known today. One of them, the Tashkent list, is incomplete; its transcription, translation into Russian and facsimile prepared by V. Yudin were published after his death [Ötemish Hajji, 1992]. The Tashkent copy served as the basis for preparing the publication of this source in Kazakhstan [Kazakhstan, 2005], Japan [Ötämiš, 2008], Uzbekistan [Ötemish Hajji, 2009] and Turkey [Ötemiş, 2009]. Another copy was in the personal library of Ahmad Zeki Velidi (Togan). Currently, this manuscript is held in a private collection in Turkey. I. Mirgaleev, a researcher from Kazan, obtained a copy of this manuscript, called 'Kara tevarih', from the students of Z. Togan. Moreover, according to him, the author of this copy is the successor of Ötemish Hajji [Mirgaleev, 2014]. The copy, which Mirgaleev called the 'Copy of Riza Fakhretdin' is soon to be published.

² On questions pertaining to the chronicle's sources, its name and place among the post-Horde historiographic works, see: [Kawaguchi, Nagamine, 2010, pp. 44–52; Mirgaleev, 2011, pp. 14–19].

Ötemish Hajji wrote that he had tried to collect and record the details missing in the written chronicles. However, he also used written sources that probably were for the most part the records of such oral tradition as dastans, legends and old stories (at least in terms of the history of the Golden Horde).

In the Tashkent copy of Ötemish Hajji writings ends with the accession of Tokhtamysh Khan to the throne of the Golden Horde. But it also includes some brief but valuable details on the history of the Great Horde and the Astrakhan Khanate. According to the work completed by researchers who had the opportunity to use the copy of 'Chinggis-name' of Ötemish Hajji held by Z. Togan, it is more complete and contains valuable information on the events during the collapse of the Ulus of Jochi and the formation of the post-Horde yurts [Togan, 1994, pp. 25–26, 149, note 98; Togan, 1981a, pp. 136, 161; Togan, 1981b, pp. 353, 492, note 176; Togan, 1999, pp. 39–64]. The comparison of 'Togan's copy' of 'Chinggis-name' with the major works of Crimean historiography written in the 18th century, such as 'Asseb o-sseyyar' of Muhammad Riza and 'Umdet ul-ahbar' of Abdulgaffar Qirimi showed that the Crimean historians could extensively use the chronicle of Ötemish Hajji in their description of events during the Golden Horde period and formation of separate Turkic-Tatar states.

Khiva Khan Abu al-Ghazi (1603–1663), a compatriot of Ötemish Hajji who produced his writings a century later, is the author of two historical works, one of which ('Shajare-i Turk va moghul') includes valuable material on the history of the Khanate of Khiva; its details on other post-Horde yurts are fragmentary [Abu al-Ghazi, 1871; Abu al-Ghazi, 1906; Abu al-Ghazi, 2007].

The chronicle written by Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (1483–1530), the founder of the Mughal dynasty, stands somewhat apart. The writing of Babur, which was given the title 'Babur-nama', was written in Chagatai language. It is largely autobiographical and reflects the history of the peoples of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The chronicle also includes some de-

tails on the Turkic-Tatar states of that time. In particular, it refers to the marriage ties between the ruling family of the Great Horde and the Timurids [Babur-nama, 1958, pp. 189–190], contains a brief, but valuable information on the close ties between Muhammad Shaybani Khan, the ruler of the 'nomadic Uzbeks' and Kazan Khan Mohammed Amin [Babur-nama, 1857, p. 230]¹.

In 1438, the year in which Ulugh Muhammad was ousted from the throne of the Golden Horde, signaling the final collapse of the Ulus of Jochi and emergence of the Great Horde, the city of Sarai was visited for commercial purposes by Shams al-Din Muhammad, a Shiraz merchant. The report on this visit, which includes details of the prices and range of products on the Sarai market, was included by Ali bin Muhammad al-Qumi, a Herati writer, in his Persian-language writing 'Shams as-syyak' (see the content of this report in [Zakhoder, 1967a, pp. 166–167]).

Some information on the Nogai ('Uzbeks'), Astrakhan and Crimean Khanates can be found in 'Jaddat al-ashikin' (written in 966/1573), a Persian hagiographic work by Sharif ad-Din Husain Sharifi that describes the life of the author's father Husain Khwarezmi, a sheikh of Kubrawiya, a Sufi order (d. 958/1551) [Muminov, 2012]. In 957/1550, while heading to Hajj, Sheikh with his entourage passed through Saraychyq, Astrakhan and Crimea, his stay in which is briefly described by the author [Sharifi, 1390, pp. 39–43].

Volga Region Sources

In the winter of 1550, Russian troops once again laid siege to Kazan. However, the courageous and skilful defence of the city (poor weather conditions, according to the Russian chronicles) forced the tsar's army to retreat. These events are described in the literary and political work 'Zafar-nama-i vilayet-i Kazan'

¹ One more piece of evidence about the close interaction between these two rulers is presented by Muhammad Shaybani Khan's poem, dedicated to the victory of Muhammad Amin over the army of the Grand Prince of Moscow in 1505 [Togan, 1981a, p. 133].

('Report on the Victory of Kazan State'). The author of the 'Report' was one Sharif Hajji Tarkhani, whom some researchers identify as Qolşārif, the last Kazan Sayyid. As indicated by the nisba 'Hajji-Tarkhani', the author of 'Zafar-nama' was somehow linked to Astrakhan (he likely came from there). The only surviving and relatively early (16th century) copy of this work was discovered within the manuscript collection in Zeytinoğullari library located in Tavşanlı district (Kütahya province, Turkey) and published by Z. Togan in eastern typesetting text with introduction and historical comments [Togan, 1965, pp. 179–204]. The work of Z. Togan provided the basis for the condensed publication of this source and publication of its short translation into Turkish by A. Kurat [Kurat, 1972, pp. 361–372], as well as for the work of A. Özyetgin, a contemporary Turkish researcher who prepared the modern Turkish transcription, Turkish translation and philological study of this source [Özyetgin, 1993, pp. 321–413]. In turn, the Turkish translation by A. Özyetgin provided the basis for the Russian translation of the source prepared by F. Khakimzyanov [Sherifi, 1995, pp. 83–92], and condensed publication of A. Kurat served as the basis for contemporary Tatar translation prepared by M. Ahmetzyanov [Sharif, 1995, 12–16b.; Qolşārif, 1997, 76–93 b.; Qolşārif, 2005 16–22b.; Mangelekka, 2006, 16–23 b.] More recently there a Tatar translation prepared from the Turkish translation made by A. Özyetgin has been published [Özyetgin, 2013, 7–13 b.] 'Zafar-nama-i vilayet-i Kazan' is the earliest surviving historical narrative created in the Volga region.

In general, the Muslim historiographical tradition of the Volga-Ural region emerged only in the 17th century,—that is, after the region had become part of Russia [Frank, 2008, p. 27]. At the very least, this time is the time of the earliest surviving works of the Volga region's Muslim historiography. At the same

time, researchers note that local chroniclers based their works on earlier sources. It is evident that Frank was correct in his assumption that the Islamic historiography in the Volga-Ural region was 'based on popular historical traditions that were gradually recorded and combined into ...historical treatises' [Ibid.]. The authors of local chronicles also used written sources. At the same time, it appears that Frank made a fair comment on these sources when he described the sources of the earliest surviving writing of the Volga region Muslim historiography: 'Even if [Qadir Ali Bek] used in his work any written sources, it is clear that they, in turn, were largely based on folk historical narratives' [Ibid., p. 29].

In 1602, Qadir Ali Bek, a native of Jalair tribe who was close to Uraz Muhammad, the Khan of Kasimov, wrote a historical work, the original title of which was not been preserved. Scholars use the title 'Collection of Chronicles', a convention proposed by I. Berezin, the first researcher of this source. The chronicle includes an introduction, dedication to Tsar Boris Godunov, condensed exposition of 'Jami at-tevarih' by Rashid ad-Din and 9 dastans-stories—original narratives on personalities and families of such khans as Urus, Tokhtamysh, Temür Qutlugh, Hacı Giray, Hajji Muhammad, Abu'l-Khayr, Yadgar, Uraz Muhammad and beg Edigu (the dastan about Temür Qutlugh also provides the details about the descendants of Ulugh Muhammad). The original dastans included in the 'Collection of Chronicles' provide lapidary but valuable details on the history of post-Horde yurts (except for 'Dastan of Tokhtamysh Khan', where the narrative is interrupted with the description of events in the first quarter of the 15th century). These dastans appear to be largely based on oral sources (see the above remark of A. Frank). M. Usmanov believes that the original dastans included in the 'Collection' are based on historical works written in Turkic language; at the same time, the folklore provided 'a great help to the author' [Usmanov, 1972, p. 53]. The last dastan, about Uraz Muhammad Khan, was written by Qadir Ali Bek as an eyewitness. This is the main part while the other parts provide the background to it (for more details on the source, see [Ibid.,

¹ The term 'vilayet' in relation to a territory usually has the meaning of 'a region, a country'. In this context, however, 'vilayet-i Kazan' undoubtedly is the official name of the Kazan Khanate, and it should be interpreted exactly as the 'Kazan state' ('Kazan Tsardom' in the medieval Russian sources).

pp. 33–96]). The first publication in the original language (Turkic-Tatar) was prepared by I. Berezin [Library, 1854]. Over the last quarter of a century, we have seen the expositions of this work to modern Kazakh and Tatar alphabets and its translation into Kazakh and Tatar [Qadir Ali, 1997; Syzdykova, 1989; Syzdykova, Koygeldiev, 1991; Mirastan biş sähifä, 2011, 8–36b.]¹

Another major work of the Volga region Muslim historiography was the anonymous collection of writings 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' (end of the 17th century). It has 6 chapters in the form of dastans, including 'Chapter of the story on the line of Chinggis Khan', 'Chapter of the story on Aksak-Timur', 'Chapter of the story on Amata, the son of Aisa', 'Chapter of the story on Idig-beg', 'Chapter of the story on whereabouts and possessions', 'Chapter of the story on history' (for more details on the source, see [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 97–133]). 'Daftar...' was based primarily on oral sources. 'Chapters' 3, 5 and 6 contain some details on the history of the Kazan yurt.

The text of 'Daftar...' was published numerous times in its original version and translated into Tatar, and there have also been separate publications of original and translated versions of its individual dastans². In 2002, M. Usmanov and M. Ivanich published the critical edition of 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' [Ivanich, Usmanov, 2002].

Recently, based on one of the copies of 'Daftar...' it was suggested that there was one more version of this chronicle, which differs from the more common version by the number and content of dastans (including other information on the history of the Turkic-Tatar states, in particular, on the prehistory of the Crimean yurt: 'When [Khan] Tokhtamysh found himself in a difficult situation, his two sons were brought up by [certain] Giray-bey. After taking these two of his sons, they were installed as Khans

in Crimea. The names of these two sons are Iskander and Abu Said ') [Mustakimov, 2009b, pp. 122–131]. This assumption is confirmed by the existence of another manuscript of 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' held in the collection of ancient manuscripts of Galimdzhan Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature and Art of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, the content of which is very similar to the aforementioned copy of 'Daftar...'. In particular, this version recorded the original, albeit confusing, details of the history of the Astrakhan Khanate (unfortunately, the copy has defects): '... The infidels took Astrakhan from Uz-Timur Khan, and they took Kazan from Saf[a]-Giray. When the infidels took Astrakhan, Hajjim Sultan with thirty men left to wander the Cossack way³. They boarded the boat, [but] it sank. Hajjim Sultan was left alone [with] three men, and he went to Khan of Bukhara. Khan of Bukhara granted (literally 'gave') to Hajjim Sultan Urgench. As for the [Khans] Akkubeg and Yamgu[rchi]...⁴ The battle of Uz-Timur Khan took place in the day [illegible]. Nine sultans and ninety karachis have been killed. All of this happened because of Ismail⁵. Ismail helped the infidels' [Department of Manuscripts, Scientific and Archival Fund, p. 44a, b].

An interesting example of Volga region Muslim historiography is the anonymous chronicle in the Persian language known under the conventional title 'Hikayat' [Salakhedinova, 1965, pp. 147–154] and written in the second half of the 18th century. It had a Turkic version, two fragments of which were translated into Russian and several facsimile fragments were published [History of Tataria, 1937 pp. 122–124; 402–406]. The initial part of this work resembles some dastans of 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name', but it also contains original information not available in other known Muslim sources. Frank considers 'Hikayat' one of the 'more localised narrative stories' (compared to the 'Collection of Chronicles' of Qadir Ali Bek and anonymous 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name'—

¹ The sections representing the transcriptions of Rashid al-Din's 'Jami al-tawarikh' are omitted in the latest edition.

² See the latest publication in [Mirastan biş sähifä, 2011, pp. 38–94]. For a review of earlier publications and discovered copies of 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' see [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 98–104].

³ That is, 'to wander'.

⁴ The phrase is cut short.

⁵ That is the Nogai ruler Ismail (Nur-al-Din in 1545–1554 and the Bey of the Nogai Horde in 1554–1563).

I.M.), which appeared in the 18th century [Frank, 2008, p. 35]. It was also suggested that this writing is the copy of 'Farhang-nama', a chronicle that did not survive to the present day and was mentioned by Tadzhetydyn Yalchygul, a chronicler of the early 19th century, as one of his sources [Mustakimov, 2008, pp. 144–145].

The widespread examples of Tatar chronicles are represented by chronological records (usually very concise) that have no generally accepted designation (in the sources they are referred to as 'tevarih' or 'tarihlar'; in research, they are commonly called 'vakai'-nama' or 'chronicles'). The actual details contained in most of these 'chronicles' represent, on their own, the interest for the period not earlier than the 17th century. One of the early example of 'vakai'-nama' was included as the last chapter in the collection of writings 'Daftar-i Chingis-name' discussed above. A number of such 'chronicles' was published in the special work of A. Rakhim [Rakhim, 2008, pp. 125–192].

As a comment to 'Tevarih-i Bulgaria', a chronicle written by Khisamutdin Muslimi in the early 19th century, Khusain Amirkhanov, a Kazan mullah, wrote his own work under the same title, which included narratives from the history of Kazan and Kazan khans [Ämirkhan, 1883; Amirkhanov, 2010]. However, most of the details provided in that writing are legends, and therefore seem to represent only historiographic interest.

We leave outside our review such works of the Volga-Ural region Muslim historiography as 'Tevarih-i Bulgaria' of Kismutdin Muslimi and 'Tarih-nama-i Bulgar' of Tadzhetydyn Yalchygul, as they virtually contain no information related to the history of the Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries (for more details on these sources, see [Usmanov, 1972; Kemper, 2008; Frank, 2008]).

Crimean and Ottoman Sources

Most of the surviving written sources on the history of post-Horde states are associated with the Crimean Khanate. One reason for this is the long existence of the Crimean Khanate compared to other Turkic-Tatar states. Another reason is the powerful cultural impact on the

Khanate by the Ottoman Empire with its developed historiographic tradition¹. In addition, the important geopolitical position of this Tatar possession and the fact that it retained its military capacity for a long period attracted the attention of Ottoman and European authors.

The earliest surviving narrative source on the history of the Crimean Khanate is 'Tarih-i Sahib-Giray Khan' ('The History of Khan Sahib Giray'), a chronicle about the reign of Khan Sahib Giray in Crimea (1532–1551). The author of this work was Badr ad-Din Muhammad bin Mohammad Kaysuni-Zadeh Nidai-Effendi, also known as Remmal-Hojja, who served Khan Sahib Giray as his personal doctor from 1532 and up until the khan's assassination in 1551. He was very close to Sahib Giray [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 69]. According to Remmal-Hojja, he wrote his 'History' at the request of the daughter of Sahib Giray, after the murder of the latter. The work was completed in 1553. The chronicle was based on eyewitness accounts of the author and, apparently, on the details provided by other participants of these events [Ostapchuk, 2001 p. 395]. Remmal-Hojja also used the written sources, such as fateh-nama, official documents, etc. [Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 76–78]. Although the work of Remmal-Hojja mentions few specific dates, it contains valuable information not only on the history of Crimea, but, to some extent, on that of the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates, and the Nogai Horde. I.V. Zaitsev expressed the opinion that there were two or three versions of 'Tarih-i Sahib-Giray Khan' [Ibid., p. 75]. The consolidated text of the chronicle based on the two oldest copies was prepared and published by O. Gökbilgin [Tarih-i Sahib, 1973].

In 1556, Seydi Ali Reis, an Ottoman naval commander, travelled through Desht-i Qipchaq and later wrote some notes with details about the Nogai [Seydi, 1313, pp. 71–73; Seydi, 1999, pp. 137–139].

Valuable information on the history of Turkic-Tatar states taken from various written

¹ The Ottoman influence on the Crimean yurt began to progressively strengthen from the last quarter of the 15th century when the Khanate entered into vassal dependence on the Ottoman Empire.

sources can be found in the chronicle of al-Jannabi (d. 999/1590–1591), an Ottoman author who wrote in Arabic. In particular, to describe the period until the mid-15th century, he used 'Tarih-i al-i Chinggis', a Persian-language chronicle written by Hafiz Muhammad Tashkendi which has not survived to the present day. The excerpts from the writings of al-Jannabi were published by V. Velyaminov-Zernov and V. Tizengauzen [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, pp. 374–376; al-Jannabi, 1884, pp. 535–538].

Some very brief details on Kuchum Khan and the Siberian Khanate can be found in 'Tevarih' written by Seyfi Celebi, an Ottoman historian of the 16th century. A translated excerpt of his work with details about the 'Tura region', was published by T.I. Sultanov [Sultanov, 2005, p. 261].

A valuable and original source on the history of Crimea and Crimean Khanate up to 1635 is provided by 'Tevarih-i Desht-i Qipchaq', a chronicle by Abdullah bin Rizwan completed in 1638¹. In 1611, the father of the chronicler was appointed governor of Kaffa. This means that Abdullah bin Rizwan was able to witness the events that took place in Crimea in the early 17th century [Zajaczkowski, 1969, p. 18]. According to A. Zajaczkowski, a particularly valuable details contained in 'Tevarih-i Desht-i Qipchaq' relate to the first quarter of the 17th century—a period of internecine wars between Mehmed Giray and Janibeg Giray, the two contenders to the throne of the Crimean Khanate [Ibid., pp. 18–19]. A. Zajaczkowski, a Polish researcher, prepared a critical edition of this work [Zajaczkowski, 1966].

Based on purely formal criteria, we can consider 'The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch' written by Paul of Aleppo to be an Ottoman source [Krachkovsky, 2004, p. 687 et seq.] Together with his father, Patriarch of Antioch Macarius, Paul of Aleppo twice visited the Muscovite state. He left the travel notes in Arabic about his first trip. While traveling to Russia in 1653 and returning in 1656, Macarius and Paul passed through the territory of Moldavia and Ukraine. In his writings, Paul of

Aleppo provided some details on the Crimean Tatars, relations between Crimea and the cosacks, and Crimea and Muscovy, based on eyewitness accounts by the Christians, meetings with Tatars, and personal observations. As an eyewitness, he provides some brief but interesting information on the Tsardom of Kasimov and the baptism of Sayyid Burhan, the ruler of Kasimov [Murkos, 1898].

Some details on the history and geography of the Tatar yurts are provided by Mustafa bin Abdullah Kâtip Çelebi (Hajji Khalifa), an Ottoman polyhistorian of the 17th century in his geographical work 'Jihannuma' ('View of the World'). Among other things, he described an appeal made by Kazan Tatars to the Sultan Selim II (1566–1574) for help against the 'infidel Muscovites' and ascribes to them the idea of linking the Don and Volga rivers with a channel in order to conquer 'these lands' (he repeated the information about the channel in his historic treatise 'Tuhfat al-Kibar fi Asfar al-Bihar') [Kyatib, 1145, pp. 375–376; Kyatib, 1141, p. 39].

One of valuable Ottoman sources on the history of the Crimean Khanate is 'Seyahat-name' ('Book of Travels') written by Evliya Çelebi, a Turkish traveller of the 17th century (for more information about him, see [Krachkovsky, 2004, p. 624 et seq.]) 'After many visits to the [Crimean] peninsula, Evliya has in general very accurately described what he had seen and heard' [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 218]. The author provided details on the Crimean Khanate of his times, and recounted the tales that he had heard [Evliya Çelebi, 1996; 1999; 2008].

Some important information on the Crimean Khanate can be found in 'Telhisü'l-Beyan fi Kavanin-i Al-i Osman' ('Memorandum on the rules of the House of Osman') written by Hüseyin Hezarfen, an Ottoman author of the second half of 17th century [Oreshkova, 1990, pp. 228–305; Hezarfen, 1998].

V. Smirnov noted the outstanding importance of the work made by Mehmed Findiklî, an Ottoman historian of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, for the study of Crimean Khanate history, especially the relations between Crimea and Ottomans [Findiklî, 1928].

¹ For a detailed description of the source see: [Zajaczkowski, 1969].

Rightly considered to be the most important work of Crimean (or Crimean and Ottoman) historiography is 'As-sab' as-sayyar fi ahbar muluk Tatar' ('Seven Planets in the News on Tatar Kings'), a chronicle of Sayyid Muhammad Riza. The work of Muhammad Riza completed in 1737 described primarily the historical events in the Crimean Khanate in the period from the reign of Mengli Giray I to Mengli Giray II (from 1466 to 1737). In addition, the 'Seven Planets' provided brief but valuable details on the history of the Golden Horde. When describing the role of the Muhammad Riza chronicle for the study of Crimean history, V. Smirnov wrote: 'In the richness and diversity of its content, this work surpassed everything that we had at hand in terms of Turkish sources on the history of the Crimean Khanate; we can say that this is an encyclopedic collection on Crimean Tatar olden times' [Smirnov, 2005, p. 35]. The contemporary researchers fully agree with this prominent orientalist [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 97]. In 1832, this work was published in Kazan by M. Kazem-beg [Sayyid, 1832].

'The extremely heavy, flowery language of the writings by Sayyid Muhammad Riza has created difficulties in perceiving the text, which brought to life a brief version of his work' [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 21]. It was authored by Hurremî Çelebi Akay Efendi, who lived in Crimea and compiled his work no earlier than 1161/1748 [Ibid., p. 121]. His writing had no original title. V. Smirnov designated it as the 'Brief History'. When describing this work, V. Smirnov noted, 'In ... the brief history, one can find the facts or details that are not found in the "Seven Planets", and this gives it the value of an independent source—one can notice that the author, when making an excerpt from the "Seven Planets" was, in some cases, also using other sources to complement his narrative' [Smirnov, 2005 p. 36; Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 106]. A few excerpts from the work of Hurremî Çelebi translated into Russian were published by A. Negri [Negri, 1844].

The Crimean chronicler al-Hajj Abd al-Ghaffar bin Al-Hajj Hasan bin al-Hajj Mahmud bin al-Hajj Abd al-Wahhab al-Qirimi lived in the 17th and 18th centuries and wrote 'Umdat al-Akhbar al-Moutabar' (or 'Umdat

al-Akhbar fi tarih at-Tatar') (completed in 1157/1744) which, in essence, is a 'universal history' [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 179] and includes a rather brief but elsewhere unavailable information on the initial period in the history of Turkic-Tatar post-Horde yurts, as well as important details on the history of the Crimean Khanate. Abdulgaffar Qirimi was an influential representative and 'patriot' of Shirin, a Tatar clan, and therefore, in his work, he paid great attention to the history of this tribal entity. The details provided by Qirimi on the Golden Horde and post-Horde history have, no doubt, become to some extent the subject of folklore. Some narratives of 'Umdat al-Akhbar' related to the Golden Horde period reveal the similarity with 'Chinggis-name' ('Tarikh-i Dost Sultan'), a chronicle written by Ötemish Hajji, a Khwarezm author of the mid-16th century.

There is currently one known most comprehensive copy of 'Umdat al-Akhbar' (missing 5 pages) and one manuscript which, in the opinion of I. Zaitsev, is a version of this work [Ibid.]. In 1924–1925, some parts of the complete manuscript related to the history of the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate were published by Nejib Asym, a Turkish historian [Qirimi, 1343]. A transcript of the historic part of the Qirimi's work was published this year in Kazan [Qirimi, 2014].

The last major source on the history of the Crimean Khanate is 'Gülbün-i Hanan' ('The Rose Bush of the Crimean Khans'), a chronicle of Halim Giray Sultan completed in 1226/1811. The author of this chronicle was member of the dynasty of the Crimean khans. Halim Giray described the history of the khanate through the history of khans who ruled in Crimea—from Hacı Giray (c. 1426–1466) to Baht Giray, Khan of Kuban (1789–1792) [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 183–186].

The work of Halim Giray was published twice, but only the first edition is authentic in terms of style and completeness (1870)¹ [Halim Giray, 1287/1870; Halim Giray, 1327/1909]. In 2004, the 1909 edition was reprinted in a Latin transcription with translation into Russian

¹ See: [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 184].

[Halim Giray Sultan, 2004]. In 2014, the work was published in Turkey.

Russian narrative sources from the 15–16th centuries on the history of the late Horde and the states established after its collapse

Anton Gorsky

Events at the beginning of the 15th century and associated with the relations of Russian principalities and the Horde during the reign of Edigu are covered in the Troitskaya ("Trinity") Chronicle (created around 1409) and the Rogozhsky Chronicle (1440s) [Priselkov, 1950; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1922]. The Novgorod IV and the Novgorod-Karamzin Chronicles (second quarter of the 15th century) preserved the text of 'Edigu's yarliq'—the message of the Horde's ruler to Moscow Grand Prince Vasily Dmitrievich written during Edigu's campaign to Moscow at the end of 1408 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, 1915; 4, 1925; 42, 2002]. A number of unique reports (originating from Tver) about relations between Russian princes (Moscow, Tver and Ryazan) in the first two decades of the 15th century with the Horde are preserved in the so-called Tver Collection or Tver Chronicle (16th century) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1863].

The subsequent history of Russo-Horde relations in the 15th century is mainly reflected in the Moscow Grand Prince Chronicle. It is represented by the Moscow Compiled Chronicle dating to 1479 and its continuation until the end of the 15th century, the Nikanor and the Vologda-Perm Chronicles. These records describe the campaigns of khans Borak and Hudaydat to Odoev in the first half of the 1420s, the Horde's raid from the Bulgarian ulus to Galich and Kostroma in 1428–1429, all the twists and turns in the relationships between Prince Vasily II and his family (his uncle Yuri Dmitrievich and cousins) and Khan Ulugh Muhammad—both before his exile from the Horde (1437) and in the period of his wandering that resulted in the founding of the Kazan Khanate (1438–1445), the fight against attacks of Sayid Ahmad Horde on the Grand Prin-

pality of Moscow (late 1440–1450s), Khan Mahmud's (son of Küchük Muhammad) campaign to Ryazan in 1460, preparation of Vasily II for his campaign against Kazan in 1461, the war of Ivan III with the Kazan Khanate in the late 1460s (the military actions are described in detail), the negotiations between the Great Horde's Khan Ahmat and the Grand Prince of Lithuania and King of Poland Casimir IV in the early 1470s devoted to the foundation of an anti-Moscow union, the raid of inhabitants of the Vyatka area to Sarai in 1471, Ahmat's attack on Moscow in 1472, Ahmat's embassies to Moscow in 1474 and 1476, and Ivan III's embassies to the Great Horde in 1474–1476, and the negotiations between Moscow and the Crimean Khanate, which resulted in a long-term alliance between the two states [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949; 26, 1959; 27, 1962]. Some of these events are also mentioned in the so-called 'North-Russian' Compiled Chronicle, whose text was preserved within the Ermolin Chronicle and Brief Compiled Chronicle dated to the end of the 15th century [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23, 1910; 27, 1962].

The Typographic Chronicle (end of the 15th century) reflecting the Rostov tradition of writing chronicles, has preserved unique reports about the attempt to attack Rus by the Great Horde's Khan Mahmud in 1465 and about the raids to the Ryazan Principality and Moscow possessions on the right bank of the Oka in 1468, as well as about Ahmat's invasion of Crimea in 1476 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, 1921].

'A Journey Beyond the Three Seas' by Afanasiy Nikitin contains information about Horde settlements on the Great Volga River Route in the second half of the 1460s, and about the stay of Tsarevich Kasym, son of Mahmud, in Astrakhan [Journey, 1986].

The events of 1480, the so-called 'Stay on the Ugra', are described in narratives contained in the Sofia II–Lvov Chronicles [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853; 20, 1910] (the narrative has some features of opposition to the Grand Prince), the Vologda-Perm Chronicle [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959], the Typographic Chron-

icle [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, 1921], the Moscow Compiled Chronicle from the end of the 15th century [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949], and the Likhachev Chronicle [Nazarov, 1983]. In addition, there have been preserved a number of letters to the Grand Prince Ivan III written by representatives of the Russian clergy (Vassian Rylo, Archbishop of Rostov, Metropolitan Geronty, Paisiy, the Archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius), in which they called for resistance against Ahmat [Pamyatniki, 1982; Russian, 2008].

Information about relations between the Muscovite state and the khanates, the Horde's heirs in the late 15th and early 16th century (the Great Horde, Ahmat's sons, the Crimean and the Kazan khanates, the Nogai Horde) is contained in chronicles of the first half of the 16th century—the Ioasaf, the Uvarov, the Nikoron, the Voskresenskaya (Resurrection) Chronicles [Ioasaf Chronicle, 1957; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28, 1963; 12, 1901; 8, 1859].

The Ustyug Chronicle dated from the beginning of the 16th century contains a number of unique details about the history of the Tatar khanates (in particular, details about the murder of Ahmat by the Nogai and Siberian Tatars in January 1481) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982].

The events related to the relations between Russia and the Kazan, the Crimean, the Astrakhan khanates and the Nogai Horde during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, are set out in the Chronicle of the Beginning of the Reign of Ivan Vasilyevich and the Illuminated Compiled Chronicle; the siege and the seizure of Kazan in 1552 are described in particular detail [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, 1965; 13, 1904]. The conquest of Kazan is described in a special 'Skazanie' ('Legend') and 'Povest' ('Narrative') written in the mid-16th apparently in the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius [Nasonov, 1962], as well as a few pages in the 'History of the Grand Prince of Moscow' by Andrey Kurbsky [Pamyatniki, 1986].

The 'Kazan History' created seemingly in the 1560s is a unique source. This work describes the history of relations of Rus with

the Horde since the reign of Batu and with the Kazan Khanate since its foundation and up to the conquest of Kazan in 1552. The description of the events of the 15th century in the 'Kazan History' contains a number of inaccuracies (in particular, the circumstances of the Moscow's independence on the Great Horde are embroidered with several legendary episodes—of the 'crush' by Ivan III of the khan's 'letter' (basma), of the destruction of the Horde by Khan of Kasimov Nurdovlat and Moscow troops), but as far as it concerns the details on Moscow-Kazan relations under the reign of Vasily III and Ivan IV, they are very valuable [Kazan History, 1954].

The battle with the troops of the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray near Molodi in 1572 is described in a special narrative created immediately after the events and characterized by accuracy of presentation [Buganov, 1962].

Western European Sources

Marat Gatin

Western European sources denote the works written by European authors from the countries of the Western Christian (Catholic and Protestant) world. When writing their works, these authors used German, Italian, Polish, French, English, Spanish, Dutch and other languages, in addition to Latin.

It should be noted that the informative value of these sources varies greatly. Tatars and their states are described in detail in the narratives of just a few western European authors. Generally, their works of the relevant period are devoted to the strengthening Muscovite Rus—Russia. Details about Tatars are quite fragmentary in the works and serve as a background for relating the foreign policy events of the Muscovite state.

Forming a classification of western European narrative sources, we should use the linguistic principle as a basis,—that is, the language in which the work was written regardless of the author's ethnic origin. It should be borne in mind that we can cover only the most significant sources in our brief review. The following groups of narratives can be distinguished: Lat-

in, German, Polish, French, English, Spanish and Dutch sources.

Latin Sources

Maciej Miechowita (1457–1523), rector of Cracow University, the archiater and the astrologer for King Sigismund I of Poland, and King Wladyslaw II of Bohemia and Hungary, is the author of the history 'Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis' of 1517. Beginning from the 16th century, the 'Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis' by Maciej Miechowita was very popular among western European writers who wrote about Tatars and Russians. The work, published in Latin, had already been translated into German, Polish and Italian in the 16th century. The author assumes that Sarmatias are the following two countries: Tataria (the Golden Horde), which split into several independent states, and Muscovy, which was rapidly gaining power. In its historical section, the 'Tractatus' is a compilation, but in terms of geography and ethnography, it is original in almost every instance and may be viewed as an original source [Mehovsky, 1936].

Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566) was born within the territory of modern Slovenia, and understood the Slavic tongue, which helped him communicate and obtain a variety of information in Muscovy. In 1515 Sigismund von Herberstein began his diplomatic service in the House of Habsburg and took part in more than sixty embassies. The Habsburgs, who were interested in strengthening ties with Muscovy, sent Sigismund von Herberstein there twice, in 1517 and in 1526, to work as a mediator in negotiations between the advisors of Grand Prince of All Russia Vasily III and the ambassadors of the Grand Prince of Lithuania and King of Poland Sigismund I in 1549. Sigismund von Herberstein published the Notes on Muscovite Affairs in Latin, which were soon translated into German.

Living in Moscow, Sigismund von Herberstein was in favor with Vasily III, was acquainted with representatives of various social groups—courtiers, servants of the Grand Prince, his followers and opponents, both explicit and implicit, Russian and foreign merchants, and

he also conversed with the country's ordinary people. Obviously, some information was obtained directly from the Tatars [Sigismund Herberstein, 1988; Sigismund Herberstein, 2008].

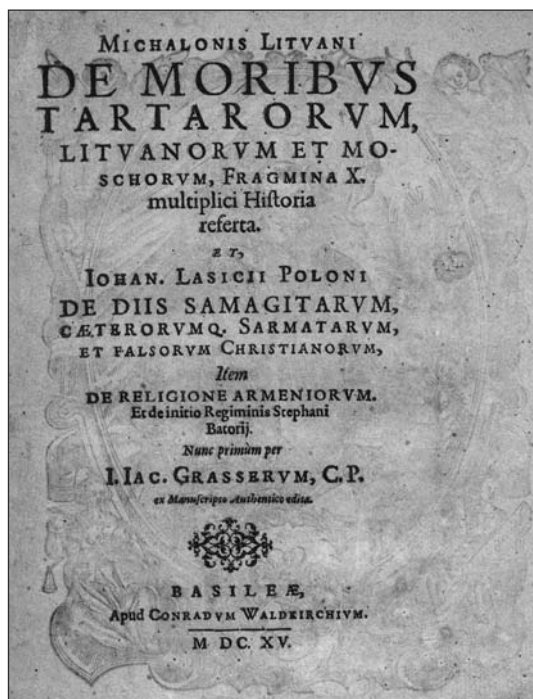
Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) was the Bishop of Nocera, an Italian humanist scholar, archiater of pontiffs, historian, biographer and geographer. Paolo Giovio published detailed first-hand accounts of Muscovite Russia after meeting Dmitry Gerasimov in June or July 1525, who was an envoy of Vasily III to Pope Clemens VII. The information received from Gerasimov and recorded by Paolo Giovio was compiled into a whole book that was published in the same year in Rome under a lengthy title, which was characteristic of that time: 'De legatione Basilii Magni Principis Moschoviae (the Book about the Embassy of Vasily the Great, the Tsar of Moscow, to Pope Clement VII), which described the location of the country, which was unknown to ancient people, the religion and the customs of people and the reasons for the embassy. In addition, it indicates the delusion of Strabo, Ptolemy and others, writing about geography, where they refer to the Riphean mountains, which do not exist at all, as is positively known'. This book was translated into Italian and German in the 16th century. Paolo Giovio's work contains information about Kazan, Astrakhan and the Tatars [Paolo Giovio, 1908].

Albert Pighius (Alberto Campense, about 1490–1542) was a Dutch writer, theologian, mathematician and astronomer who settled in Italy. He is the author of the letter to Pope Clement VII (Lettera d'Alberto Campense), in which he called for the unification of the Churches. The letter was published in Venice in 1543. The letter contains information about the Tatars, their history and culture based on the stories of merchants who traded in Muscovy [Alberto Campense, 1836].

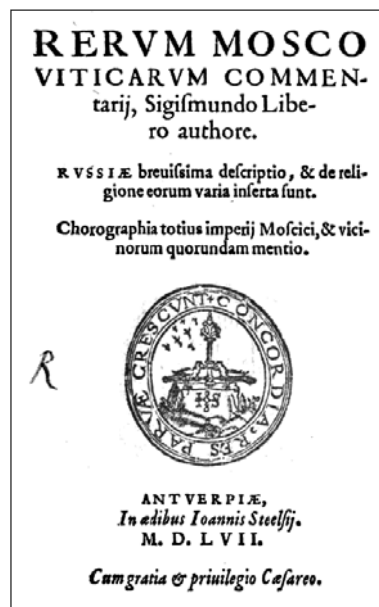
Michalon Lituanus was an ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Crimean Khanate and author of the notes 'On the Customs of the Tatars, the Lithuanians and the Muscovites' ('De moribus tartarorum, lituanorum et moscorum', 1548–1551) published in Basel in 1615. The treatise of Michalo Lituanus was a polemical work, which was to serve as a for-



Map of Russia by Sigismund von Herberstein taken from the Latin edition of 'Notes on Muscovy'. Basel, 1549.



Cover page of a composition by Michalon Lituanus. 1615.



Cover page of a composition by Sigismund von Herberstein. 1549.

midable warning to the political leaders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Therefore it contained certain distortions in the evaluation of the Tatars, who were extolled [Lituanus, 1994].

Alexander (Alessandro) Guagnini (1538–1614) was an Italian who had served in the Polish-Lithuanian army since the 1550s. He is the author of the 'Description of the European Sarmatia' ('Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio', 1578), which included his essays on the history, geography and ethnography of Eastern Europe, including the Tatar states [Alexander Guagnini, 1997].

Daniel Prince of Bukhov (1546–1608) visited Muscovy as an ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire in the 1570s. He is the author of the work 'The Beginning of Moscow's Rise' published after the author's death. This work provides details of the political history and culture of the Tatars based on information received from Russian contemporaries [Daniel Prince, 1877].

Reinhold Heidenstein (1553–1620) was a German who served in the Polish army, as well as a diplomat, lawyer, historian, and secretary of the Polish kings Stephen Báthory and King Sigismund III. He is the author of the 'Notes on the Moscow War' ('Regiidebello Moscovitico quod Stephanus rex Poloniae gessit commentariorum librivi') published in Krakow in 1584. The work describes the situation on the eastern borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including the relations with the Crimean Khanate. It presents information on the history and culture of the Tatars [Reinhold Heidenstein, 1889].

German Sources

Georg Tectander von der Jabel (c. 1570–1620) was a member of Stephan Kakasch's embassy sent by Rudolf II, the Holy Roman Emperor, to Persia (1602–1604). On the embassy, Tectander was seemingly assigned the responsibilities of secretary. However, a year after the start of the journey, already within the territory of Persia, Kakasch, the embassy's head, died, and the mission was subsequently led by Georg Tectander. Upon his return home in January 1605 Georg Tectander submitted a report on



Portrait of Adam Olearius taken from the third edition of his composition. 1663.

the journey to the Emperor. This report became a basis for the book 'Iterpersicam. Kuertze doch auszufuehrliche und warhafftige Beschreibung der Persianischen Reise [...]—'Iterpersicum. A short, but detailed and truthful description of the journey to Persia [...]', which was published in Meissen in 1609 and which is known in Russia as the 'Journey to Persia through Muscovy'. The book describes Tataria, Kazan and Astrakhan, the culture and life of the Volga and the Nogai Tatars [Kakasch and Tectander, 1896].

Adam Olearius (Adam Ölschläger or Oehlschlaeger, 1599–1671) was a noted German geographer, orientalist, historian, mathematician and physicist. In 1633–1639, Adam Olearius was a member of the Schleswig-Holstein embassy to Persia serving as a secretary and mainly as an interpreter. In 1647, the 'Description of the Journey of the Holstein embassy to Muscovy and Persia' ('Offtbegehrte Beschreibung der Newen Orientalischen Rejse [...] anden Königin Persienetc.') was published in Schleswig, which provides not only details



Cover page of composition of Adam Olearius.
The third edition. 1663.

about the Tatars, but also contains drawings and images of the peoples and cities of the Volga region [Olearius, 2003].

Johann Erich Thunmann (1746–1778) was a Swedish historian and professor of the University of Halle; he is the author of the work devoted to the history of the Crimean Khanate published in 1784 in the 'Big Description of Buesching' ('Bueschingsgrosse Erdbeschreibung'), which was later translated into French. In fact, Thunmann's work is the first systematic and comprehensive description of the Crimean Khanate. Influenced by French educators, in his work the author somewhat idealizes the human qualities of the Crimean Tatars [Johann Thunmann, 1991].

Italian Sources

Giosafat Barbaro (1413–1494) was a leading politician of the Republic of Venice and diplomat. In 1436 Giosafat Barbaro left Venice on trade business and went to Tana (Azak, modern

Azov), a Venetian colony at the mouth of the Don. Having lived there for 16 years, Giosafat learned the Tatar language. After returning to Venice, Giosafat Barbaro wrote his work in its final form at the end of 1488 or in 1489—'Here begins the story of the things that I, Giosafat Barbaro, a citizen of Venice have seen and heard, during my two journeys—to Tana and to Persia' ('Quivicomenciano le cosevedute et aldite per mi, Iosaphath Barbaro, citadin de Venetia, in doviazi, cheio ho fatti—unoala Tana et uno in Persia'). The work provides quite detailed information about the geography and ethnography of Azov Sea littoral, the Volga Region and the Caucasus, the political situation in Tataria in the first half of the 15th century [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971].

Ambrogio Contarini (1429–1499) was a Venetian ambassador to Persia (1474–1477). During his embassy, he visited the Crimea and the Volga region. Upon his return to Venice in 1477, Ambrogio Contarini published a description of his journey called 'Viaggiodemisie Ambrogio C., ambascadoralgran-signore Ussum-Cassan, redi Persia', which is better known in its Russian translation as the 'Journey to Persia'. In his book, the author provides information about the political situation in Eastern Europe, about the Tatars of the Crimea and the Volga region and their culture [Ibid.].

Francesco Tiepolo (1509–1580) is an Italian author of the 'Description of Muscovy' (about 1560). Francesco Tiepolo had never been to Muscovy, and he wrote his work using only accounts from third parties, both written and oral. 'Notes on Muscovite affairs' by Sigismund von Herberstein, which received five publications in Latin and one publication in Italian by 1560, serves as the main source for the Tiepolo's book. The works also contain information about the Tatars and their impact on Muscovy, about Kazan ('Cassan'), Astrakhan ('Citracan') and 'Cumania' [Francesco Tiepolo, 1940].

Rafael Barberini belonged to a noted Italian merchant family; he was the uncle of Pope Urban VIII. In order to obtain the right to trade in Muscovy, Rafael Barberini visited Moscow and received an audience with Ivan IV (the Terrible). After his return, he wrote his notes on

his journey to Muscovy that were published by Nicholas Barberini, Rafael's grandson, a century later (in 1658) under the title 'Relazione di Moscovia scrittada Raffaello Barberinoalcon-
tedi Nugarola, Anversa, 1e 16 Ottobre 1565'. The work contains information about the Kazan, Nogai, Astrakhan and Siberian Tatars [Rafael Barberini, 1842].

Francesco da Collo (d. 1571) was a diplomat of the Holy Roman Empire, whose Emperor, Maximilian I, sent him to Moscow to make peace between Sigismund, the King of Poland and Lithuania, and Vasily III, the Grand Prince of Moscow (1518–1519). Francesco da Collo collected various accounts of Muscovite Russia there. Upon his return home, da Collo made a report, which formed the basis of the book known as the 'Report on Muscovy' ('Relatione-sulla Moscovia') published eighty years later (in 1603) in Padua. The work contains information about the geography, customs and traditions of the Tatars [Francesco da Collo, 1996].

Polish Sources

Stanisław Żółkiewski (1547–1620) was a Polish commander, who crushed Dmitry Shuysky's troops in 1610 near Klushino and then captured Moscow. For his Moscow campaign, in 1613 Żółkiewski received the title of the Grand Crown Hetman, and a few years later was appointed the Grand Chancellor of the Crown. The last years of his life were spent defending the southern borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Tatar and Turkish attacks, and he died in 1620 in a battle against the Turks near Cecora. Stanisław Żółkiewski wrote the work called the 'Beginning and Success of the Moscow War', which was published only in 1835 in Moscow. This work contains information about the participation of Kasimov Tatars in the events of the Time of Troubles [Stanisław Żółkiewski, 1871].

French Sources

Guillebert de Lannoy (also Gilbert, Guilbert or Ghillebert, 1386–1462) was a Flemish knight, advisor and chamberlain of John the Fearless, the Duke of Burgundy, as well as a dip-



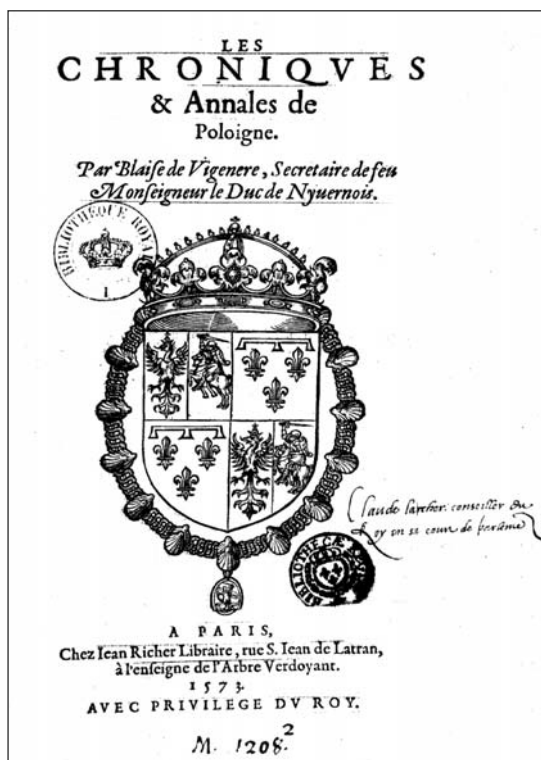
Portrait of Stanisław Żółkiewski
Unknown artist



Portrait of Blaise de Vigenère.
Artist Thomas de Leu

lomat. He supported the active struggle against the Muslims. In 1407–1410, he participated in the Reconquista. In 1413 Guillebert de Lannoy participated in the War of Teutonic Knights against Poland. In 1421–1423, the knight visited Prussia, Lithuania, Poland, Moldova, Crimea, Constantinople, Egypt, Syria and Palestine.

Guillebert de Lannoy wrote memoirs called 'Journeys and Embassies', diary notes in Old French that appear to have been edited by the author shortly before his death. In his memoirs, de Lannoy gives information about the life and



Cover page of the Essay on the Polish Kingdom by Blaise de Vigenère. 1573.



Cover page of the composition 'History of Russia' by Giles Fletcher. 1643.

culture of the Tatars, including some details about the Tatars who had resettled in Lithuania [Journey of Guillebert de Lannoy, 1873; Kudryavtsev, 2003].

Blaise de Vigenère (1523–1596) was a French diplomat, cryptographer and alchemist.

At the Sejm held in Warsaw in April 1573, Henry Valois, the Duke of Anjou, the brother of King Charles IX of France, was elected to the position of the King of Poland and Grand Prince of Lithuania. To get acquainted with the state, the new King needed a detailed note. The writing of this note was entrusted to Blaise de Vigenère. Already in July 1573, a comprehensive note written by Vigenère was submitted for publication. The work was named as follows: 'La description dy Royaume de Pologne et pays adjacens, avec les statuts, constitutions, moeurs, et fasons de faire d'iceux. Par Blaise de Vigenere, secretaire de feu Monseigneur le Duc de Nivernois. A Paris, cher Jean Richr libraire, rue saint Jean de Latran, a l'enseigne de l'arbre Verdoyant. 1573. Avec privilege du roi', which is

known in our country as the 'Description of the Kingdom of Poland'. A separate section of Vigenère's work is devoted to the Tatars, namely their history and culture [Blaise de Vigenère, 1890].

Jacques Margerie (Jacques Margeret, 1550–after 1618) was a professional French contracting officer, who started his service in the Russian army in the rank of captain in 1600. While in Russia, Jacques Margerie served Russian tsars, pretender tsars and Sigismund III, the King of Poland. In autumn 1611, Jacques Margerie left Russia. Having returned to France, he wrote and published his work 'The State of the Russian Empire' ('Estat de l'empire de Russie'). This work contains information about the history and culture of the Volga and Crimean Tatars, and about their participation in the events of the Time of Troubles [Jacques Margeret, 2007].

Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan (about 1595–1685) was a French engineer and military cartographer. Guillaume de Beauplan was invited by the Polish King Sigismund III to serve in Poland as a senior captain of artillery

and a military engineer, where he stayed from 1630 to 1648. While building fortresses in Ukraine, Guillaume de Beauplan was engaged in strengthening the southern borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Upon returning home, in 1651 Guillaume de Beauplan published a work about Ukraine entitled 'Description des contrées du Royaume de Pologne, contenues depuis les confins de la Moscovie, insques aux limites de la Transilvanie. Par le Sieur de Beauplan', better known after its second publication as the 'Description of Ukraine' ('Description d'Ukraine'). In his work, Guillaume de Beauplan devotes some attention to the Tatars, describing their customs and way of life in the 17th century, also in graphical form [Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, 2004].

Foy de la Neuville was a French diplomat in the Polish service who visited Russia in 1689 and published his 'Notes on Muscovy' in Paris in 1698. In particular, this work contains a description of the Crimean campaigns of Vasily Vasilyevich Golitsyn [De la Neuville, 1996].

English Sources

Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1610) was an English diplomat who visited Muscovy four times in the period from 1557 to 1571 serving as an ambassador of English rulers and a representative of the Muscovy Company founded by London merchants in 1555. Jenkinson's primary objective was to obtain charters of immunity and the right to freely move along the Volga to the Caspian Sea. Anthony Jenkinson travelled to Central Asia and Persia, and visited Kazan and Astrakhan. Jenkinson's notes about the journeys were published in 1598–1600 in Hakluyt's collection: 'The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation'. In his notes on the journeys, Jenkinson provides information about the Volga and Crimean Tatars, the Nogai, and their economy and culture of the mid–16th century [Anthony Jenkinson, 1937].

Giles Fletcher (1548–1611) was an English poet, parliamentarian and diplomat. In 1588 in his capacity as an envoy of Queen Elizabeth, Fletcher was sent to Moscow to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich to support the petition of the Muscovy

Company to hold a monopoly on trade with the northern Russian ports. Fletcher's embassy failed: the Muscovy Company was denied a monopoly and the company lost its right to free trade within Russia. In the summer of 1589, Giles Fletcher left Russia. Having returned home in 1591, Fletcher published his work 'Of the Russe Common Wealth', which contains fragmentary accounts of the Crimean, Nogai and Volga Tatars. After that, in about 1610 Fletcher also wrote a historical treatise on the origin of the Tatars—'Essay upon some probable grounds that the tartars... are the Posterity of the ten Tribes of Israel', which was published after his death in 1677 [Giles Fletcher, 2002].

Jerome Horsey (about 1550–1626) was an English nobleman, parliamentarian and diplomat. In 1573–1591 he lived (with some breaks) in Russia and managed an office of Muscovy Company. Jerome Horsey is the author of three memoir works that contain valuable information on the history of the Muscovite state: 'The travels of sir Jerome Horsey, 'The ... coronation of Theodore Iuanowich, emperor of Russia ' and the ' Extracts out of Sir J H's Observations in seventeen years travels and experience in Russia. Among other things, these works provide information about the relations between tsars Ivan IV the Terrible and Fedor Ivanovich and the Tatars [Jerome Horsey, 1990].

Spanish Sources

Don Juan of Persia (before baptism—Uruch Beg) (1560–1604) was a diplomatic ambassador of the Persian dynasty of Safavid to the Spanish court. Arriving in Spain in 1599, he converted to Catholicism and in 1604 wrote a book called 'Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia'. The work consists of three books. The first and second books provide a description of the Safavid state. The third book is devoted to a direct description of the journey to Spain, where the author gives information about various countries and cities. It offers details about the territory of the Golden Horde (the 'Great Tatar'), about the participation of the Crimean Tatars in the Ottoman Empire's war against Iran, and about the life and culture of the Volga Tatars [Russia and Europe, 2007].



Portrait of Isaac Massa.
Artist Frans Hals. 1626.

Dutch Sources

Isaac Massa (1586–1643) was a Dutch merchant, traveller and diplomat. He lived in Moscow in the period 1601 to 1609. He later visited Russia as an envoy of the General States. Upon his return home, he wrote a 'Brief about the Beginning and Origin of Modern Wars and Unrest in Muscovy Occurring Before 1610', which was published in Brussels only in 1866. Isaac Massa's work contains details on the history of the Russian-Tatar relations in the second half of the 16th and start of the 17th century [Isaac Massa, 1997].

2. Arabographic Documentary Sources

Lenar Abzalov, Ilyas Mustakimov

Documentary sources that contain rich material about the public, political and social life, economy, taxes and levies, fiscal apparatus, writing and chancellery culture and the language of records management are of particular significance for the study of the history of Tatar states in the 15th to 18th centuries. Official Tatar acts and documents drew the attention of researchers when oriental studies in Russia and abroad were only just being established. With only a few Turk and Tatar narrative sources preserved, particularly valuable were the materials from khans' chancelleries and private law documents, which were the most reliable when studying the aforementioned aspects of history.

Tatar documentary sources were sought and analyzed throughout the 19th century. Separate samples of Crimean yarliqs were introduced for research purposes in the first half and middle of the 19th century [Yartsov, 1848; Yartsov, 1849; Berezin, 1851a]. The outbreak of the Crimean War resulted in a growing interest in the historical records of the Crimean Tatars. Since that time, the archeographic work and historiographic analysis of the Crimean Tatars' documentary materials has become one of traditional issues of Russian historical research.

The researchers who were actively engaged in studying the issues of Tatar documentary analysis include I. Berezin, V. Velyaminov-Zernov and H. Faizhanov, A. Malinovskiy, F. Lashkov, V. Radlov, V. Smirnov, A. Samoylovich. While in the first years of the Soviet Union, the tradition of publishing and studying Tatar official documents continued unabated, at the end of the 1920s this tradition is interrupted. This area of research was subsequently developed with success by foreign academics, including F. Kurtoglu, A. Kurat, A. Zajaczkowski, Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejey, V. Ostapchuk, H. Inaldzyk, A. Grigoriev, I. Vashari, M. Ivanich, and D. Kołodziejczyk¹.

A significant contribution to the historiographic generalization and systematization of

¹ See major publications of charters and patents in the following works: [Berezin, 1872, appendix no. 22, pp. 1–9; Berezin, 1872a, appendix no. 22, pp. 10–23; Smirnov, 1913, pp. 140–178; Smirnov, 1918, pp. 1–19]. For information about the publications of charters and deeds of the 15–16th centuries see: [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 31–56]. See a list of the most important publications of diplomatic correspondence (predominantly Crimean) in the following works: [Ivanich, 2006, p. 169, note 1]. The recently published work by D. Kołodziejczyk [Kołodziejczyk, 2011] should also be added here.

Tatar official documents was made by Professor of Kazan University M. Usmanov. In his monograph 'Zhalovannye akty Dzhuchieva Ulusa 14–16 vv.' (Letters patent of Ulus Jochi in 14–16th centuries), Usmanov analyzes a wide range of sources to a general historical characterization (and in terms of diplomacy) of Tatar documentary sources belonging to the aforementioned chronological framework.

Unfortunately, not all original documents originating from the Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian and Kasimov khanates, the Great and Nogai Hordes have survived to the present day. The limited number of Tatar official documents to be preserved is due to various reasons. Many documents were destroyed in numerous fires, which were characteristic of society of that time. The consequences of the capture of Kazan in 1552 were the most tragic. The time factor and the lack of adequate storage conditions have also played a significant role. The liquidation of Tatar political and legal institutions and changes to the socio-political and economic structure of society resulted in the documents losing their legal validity. Thus, with some exceptions, the document holders had no social or material need to retain them. Given adverse storage conditions, many Tatar official documents have been preserved only in the form of copies, reflecting the form or just the content of the original documents in one way or another. Furthermore, the ambassadorial books of Muscovy and the Metrics of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania have preserved some translations of messages and letters written by the rulers of the Crimean and Kazan Khanates, and the Great and Nogai Hordes.

The situation is much better for official documents of the former Crimean Khanate: official documents, diplomatic correspondence between Crimean rulers and their entourage, as well as court documents have been preserved. This can be attributed to several factors: the lengthy existence of the Crimean Khanate and relative stability of its government; its active diplomatic correspondence with neighboring states; its developed urban culture, which enabled better preservation of documentary artifacts; the influence of the highly-developed culture of the Ottoman

Empire, under whose suzerainty the Crimean Khanate had been since 1475, on the Khanate's recordkeeping. In addition, upon annexation of the Crimean Khanate, the Russian government generally recognised the class and property rights of the Tatar feudals, which, among other things (meaning more favorable conditions of document storage, as compared to other Tatar states and a sufficiently high level of the archival work and scholarship in the Russian Empire in the 18–19th centuries) contributed to the better preservation of official documents of the Crimean Tatars. In the Russian Federation, the majority of genuine Crimean documents are stored in the documentary fund of the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and copies of yarliqs of the Crimean khans are held in the Manuscripts Department of the Russian National Library. Moreover, a large number of documents from the Crimean Tatars have been stored in archives in Turkey, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Romania and Ukraine. A valuable body of documentary sources has been preserved, namely the Collection of Kazaskers' Books, which is a part of the archive of the Crimean khans. These register books (defters, sakki), which are now stored in the Russian National Library, contain copies of official documents, as well as legal and administrative cases heard by supreme Crimean Muslim judges. 121 such books have been preserved, which contain records for the years 1608–1810 [Vasilyeva, 1993, pp. 44–45; Cihan, Yılmaz, 2004, S.131–176]. One defter related to the Karasubazar Kadi District (Kadylyk) and which contains records for the years 1752–1753, is now kept in the funds of the Yalta Historical-Literary Museum [Cihan, Yılmaz, 2004, S.132, not 4].

The Tatar states of the 15th to 18th centuries continued the clerical traditions of the Golden Horde, and began to apply them in the new political environment. Over time these new political conditions began to influence the development of the records management. In particular, the administrative tradition of the Crimean Tatars began to absorb some elements of Ottoman records management culture

from the second half of the 16th century, and these elements came to define it from the beginning of the 17th century. Despite this fact, some relics of the traditional records management culture can be found at that time and later. The formation and development of a Crimean records management culture that is utterly distinct from the traditions of the Golden Horde and Jochi, takes place within the 17–18th centuries, when the nationality of the Crimean Tatars had been already formed, and their chancellery language (different from their written language in the 15th and first half of the 16th centuries) had been completely developed. The influence of Ottoman-Turkish records management culture is discernible primarily in the language, style of narration and visual presentation. In fact, M. Usmanov highlighted the following feature of Crimean diplomatic documents after its exposure to the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte: letters from Crimean rulers to Russian and European kings had long been similar to the documents of the Golden Horde in their form and language, while letters and reports submitted to the rulers of the Ottoman Empire—the suzerain of the Crimean Khanate, were drawn up in a form similar to that used in the Ottoman Empire [Usmanov, 1979, p. 108–109].

The limited number of authentic official and other documents of other Tatar states makes it impossible to draw conclusions about the nature of the development of their clerical culture.

Some preserved acts of private law are of particular interest to us. Namely, two wills of aristocratic representatives of the Kasimov Khanate: Alikey-atalyk (1639) and Kishbike-Bikech (17th century) [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, pp. 231–267; 447–459].

Tatar and Ottoman documents preserved in Turkish Archives are of great interest. The largest collections of documents related to the history of the Turkic-Tatar states after the fall of the Golden Horde are held by the Ottoman Archive under the Prime Minister of Turkey (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi) and the Topkapı Palace Museum Archive (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi). Most of them relate to the history of the Crimean Khanate.

The work by A. Kurat was the first major publication of the letters and yarliqs of the late Golden Horde, Crimean and Great Horde rulers [Kurat, 1940]. A large body of documents primarily related to the history of the Crimean Khanate and deposited in the Ottoman Archive, the archive and library of the Topkapı Palace Museum, was identified, studied and published by a group of French researchers led by Professor Dr. A. Bennigsen in the 1960–1970s [Le khanat, 1978].

A collection of documents containing a facsimile, text and Russian translation of 37 documents of Tatar and Ottoman origin and related to the history of the Turkic-Tatar states of the 16th century was published [Documents, 2008, pp. 49–253].

Great, but as yet underused informative potential is offered by the 'Registers of Important Issues' (Umur-i muhimme defterleri, or for short—Muhimme defterleri). They contain the texts of Sultans' letters to foreign and vassal rulers and Sultans' decrees to Ottoman officials¹. The earliest of the preserved Registers dates back to 951–952/1544–1545. Several volumes of the Registers were published [Topkapı, 2002]².

At the end of the 17th century, the 'Registers of August Messages' (Name-i Humayun Defterleri) began to be maintained in the Sublime Porte to record international correspondence, alongside the 'Registers of Important Issues'. Unlike the 'Muhimme defterleri', the 'Registers of August Messages' contain not only the texts of the messages and letters coming from the Porte, but also translations of charters of foreign rulers sent to the Porte and the oral reports of their ambassadors.

Lapidary but interesting details about the arrival of Tatar (Golden Horde and Crimean) embassies and envoys to the Ottoman Sultans in the 15th to 16th centuries and their maintenance costs is contained in the account books of Sultans' palaces [Barkan, 1979].

¹ For more details about 'Muhimme defterleri' as a source see: [Mustakimov, 2008a, pp. 27–31].

² See a list of other 'Muhimme defterleri' publications in the following work: [Mustakimov, 2007, pp. 299, 302–303].

3. Literary Works

Khatip Minnegulov

The Tatar literature of the 15–18th centuries, spanning over three centuries, depicts a very complex, contradictory and tragic period in Tatar history. This was the time of the fall of the Golden Horde, with the Crimean, Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian and Kasimov khanates, along with the Nogai Horde emerging on its enormous territory. It was a time when Tatar states existed, flourished and were conquered. It was also a time of severe colonial oppression, when a significant portion of spiritual and material values, accumulated over centuries, were lost. Furthermore, it was at this stage of history, and particularly following the dissolution of the Kazan and Astrakhan states, that the populace of the Crimean Khanate gradually began breaking off from the relatively common linguistic, cultural and ethnic environment to become more Ottoman-like. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider the literature of this period in the light of the following three aspects: 1) Tatar literature of the period of the Kazan Khanate (mid-15th century—mid-16th century); 2) Crimean and Tatar literature of the 15–18th centuries,—that is, the literature of the Crimean State; 3) 17–18th centuries. Of course, dividing over three centuries of literary tradition in this matter is, by nature, conditional. At the same time, it is helpful in imparting an understanding of the Tatar literature during these centuries.

Literature during the period of the Kazan Khanate

Written literature and verbal art are very important factors and the dominant criteria for identifying and assessing the nature of a state or society. On one hand, the very availability of books and literary works speaks to high cultural development. On the other hand, verbal art is a reliable tool for understanding the spiritual life of a society and for grasping the intellectual, moral and psychological condition of the people of that society. Based on this approach, let us try to briefly describe the

Tatar literature of the Kazan Khanate period. Before delving into the subject, there are two questions that need to be discerned. In some scientific works, and in practice, Tatar literature of the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century is equated to the literature of the Kazan Khanate alone. However, this assertion is only partially true because the Tatar literature of this period functioned and developed not only in the Kazan Khanate, but also in other Tatar states, in particular, the Astrakhan, Siberian, Nogai, Crimean and Kasimov khanates, as well as the Great Horde. The Tatar literature of this period, as in the era of the Golden Horde, was relatively uniform and indivisible. It was literature that was created and distributed in nearly the same language. Of course, the works of Volga, especially Kazan authors, were dominant among the literature created across the enormous Eurasian territory. Muhammedyar described Kazan as a 'city rich in poets'.

Another issue is that only a few of the works written in the 15–16th centuries have been preserved till the present times. Our knowledge of the literary life of some other Tatar khanates is particularly poor. Therefore, statements about the literature of the Kazan Khanate period are incomplete and sometimes even fragmentary. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that compared to historians, linguists and social scientists, literary scholars have completed a significant endeavor in studying and popularisation of the literature of the Kazan Khanate period, doing so in the Soviet era, despite various political obstacles.

Tatar literature of the second half of the 15th—first half of the 16th centuries is a direct heir and successor of the Golden Horde literary traditions, both in terms of the language and the ideological, thematic, and poetic features. It is permeated with Muslim ideology and Sufi motifs and images. Like the literature of previous centuries, it is greatly influenced by Arab-Persian and Turkic literature. For ex-

ample, Muhammedyar creatively uses themes and images from '1001 Nights', 'Kalila and Dimna', and works by Attar and Saadi. Medieval Tatar readers knew Arabic, Persian and Turkic to varying degrees. Therefore, works by eastern authors were popular in the Volga and Ural regions. They were read in the original, as well as in various translations and with commentaries. In particular, there is a translation of the famous 'Kalila and Dimna' dated in this period [Kälilä vä Dimnä, 1996]. The literary and written Tatar language of the medieval times borrows heavily from oriental languages.

Tatar literature of the Kazan Khanate period features various types of works, including poetry and prose, poems and dastans, ghazals and qasidas, satire and humour. Some literary works combine motifs and styles of written and oral literature. In particular, the dastan 'Edigu' makes use of some achievements and experience of the centuries-old written poetry. 'Zafarnamai Vilayati Kazan' (the 'Book on the Victory of Kazan') by Sharifi often uses folkloric techniques and tools when describing the defenders of Kazan.

Works of this period explore various questions of human existence and society. The topic of moral character is predominant in particular. For many writers, the ideal man is enlightened, morally pure, educated and religious. The literature also explores social and philosophical problems. For example, according to Muhammedyar, one's happiness depends both on the social workings of the society and on the rulers. The dastan 'Edigu' clearly shows that selfish, personal interests undermine the foundation of a state. Some works can serve as a reliable source for studying the actual life of that period. In particular, in 'Zafarnamai...' (1550), Sharifi describes Ivan IV's campaign against Kazan, the siege of the city, and the battle between the Kazan people and the Russians. Interestingly, the author of this work was a witness and participant in the events.

Muhammedyar's poem contains images of real historical figures of the time, such as Sahibgeriy and others.

* * *

Let us now briefly touch upon individual works of authors of the Kazan Khanate period.

Poems by Hasan Kaigi, Dismambet, Kaztugan and Chalgiz Zhyrau are folkloric, reflective of epic story-telling traditions, love for mother nature, and celebration of unity and friendship between people. These authors lived primarily in the Lower Volga Region, near the Yaik River, and were closely associated with the Turko-Tatars, who led a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle. Their poems were widely popular not only among the Tatars, but also among other Turkic nations.

In his poem 'Gyikab' ('Revenge'), the Kazan Khan Möxammädämin (1469–1518), like his predecessors Saif Sarayi and Ahmed Urgendzhi, criticizes the inhumane, aggressive policy of the Central-Asian ruler Aksak Timur.

Notably, a very valuable historical message (1506) from Möxammädämin Khan to Polish King Alexander I was recently discovered, depicting real events of the early 16th century (relations between Moscow, Kazan, Crimean and Polish rulers; raids of Ivan III on Kazan, the defeat of Moscow troops, etc.) [Minnegulov, 2010, 34–41 b.].

Many readers of the Tatar Khanates enjoyed the romantic poems by Majlisi of Central Asia (15–16th centuries) about the sublime love of Seyfulmulyuk for Badiguldzhamal, and poems by Sayyadi about Tahir and Zuhra. Although the precise time and place of these works' composition have not been established, they were adored by the Tatars in the following centuries as well. The poem 'Kyissai Seyfulmulyuk' by Majlisi, which was based on a plot from '1001 Nights', is one of the first Turkic-Tatar secular books printed in the Kazan printing house (in 1807). There are numerous folkloric and written versions of stories about Seyfulmulyuk and Badiguldzhamal, and about Tahir and Zuhra.

In 1501–1510, in the distant Mamluk Egypt, ruled by Volga and Urals region natives, Tatar Ghali Efendi (a.k.a. Sharif Hamidi) created an enormous 'Turkic Shahnameh', considered a common heritage of Turkic-speaking peoples. This work is not simply a translation of the

famous epic by Ferdowsi. It contains many interesting events and original details.

Poems by Umami Kamal (Ismagil) (the last third of the 14th century–1475) embody the Sufi ascetic's ideals of a perfect man and reflect the lyrical hero's complex, antinomic state. Although Umami Kamal is considered an Ottoman poet, he spent a part of his life in the Volga region and Crimea. He ponders such eternal questions as the meaning of human life, and the connection between life and death. According to him, all people are equal in the face of death. Death has the same power over a mighty Shah and a slave. The art of this talented poet greatly influenced the poetry of Qolşärif (16th century), Mavl Kuly (17th century), S. Zaky (1821–1865), Derdmend (1859–1921) and other Tatar authors. The works of Umami Kamal were widely disseminated as manuscripts and later in printed form.

Qolşärif [Mäñgelekkä ayak baskanda, 2006] is inscribed in the history of the Tatar people as a poet, religious leader, social activist and patriot of his native land. He died heroically on 2 October 1552 while protecting Kazan from foreign invaders. His emotional poems, full of religious and philosophical content, have been included in school textbooks for several centuries. The poem 'Kyisai Hubbi Hudge' imparts high moral qualities in the readers.

The work 'Zafarnamai Vilayati Kazan' ('The Story of the Victory of the Kazan State'), written in autumn 1550, has been preserved till the present times. This prose work, with poetic lines dispersed throughout, was composed by Sharifi (Sharif Hajjitarhani). Researchers identify him with Qolşärif.

In early 1550, Ivan the Terrible surrounded Kazan in order to seize the city. After a nearly two-week siege, having failed to achieve what he had planned, he had no choice but to retreat and leave the city. These historical events constitute the foundation of Sharifi's work. The author condemns wars of aggression, calling Ivan the Terrible 'conceited', a 'troublemaker' and a 'villain', and portraying the heroism of the city's protectors with admiration. Thus, he proves to be a true patriot of his Motherland. Sharifi's work contains the following poem,

lauding the beauty and historical role of the city of Kazan in the destiny of the Tatar people (according to the Russian word to word translation by Farid Hakimzyanov):

Wonder! This city of Kazan is a place of glee in the world,

There is no other city in the world providing shelter,

There is no other city in the world that blooms as Kazan,

One can always find food and drink in Kazan—the city of the Universe!

We have inherited our power from our ancestor khan,

This place on the globe has always been a khan city, the place of a khan's son,

Having sold his land and house, he will not pay the father's tax,

Why is this villain here? This is not Ivan's city!

Sharifi, do not leave this city as long as you believe in gazavat,

From this day forth, they shall proclaim him the lord of Kazan.

Unfortunately, two years later, this 'blooming' city—the capital of a large khanate—was reduced to ruins and ashes. The author of these heart-felt lines was among the many victims of the bloody battle.

Muhammedyar (1497–1549) was one of the last poets of the Kazan khanate period. His life and creative work was organically linked to the fate of the Tatar people and Kazan. Throughout his life, this talented, highly educated man had suffered hardship and enjoyed prominence. It is no wonder that his image draws the attention of modern writers, artists and musicians.

Only two poems—'Tuhfai Mardan' ('The Gift of Men', 1540) and 'Nury Sodur' ('The Light of the Soul', 1542)—and one rhyme—'Nasihah' ('Exhortation')—are known out of Muhammedyar's considerable artistic legacy [Möhämmädyyar, 1997]. They are all lyric-epic in style, with didactic content, providing a lucid portrayal of the author's innermost thoughts and feelings.

Muhammedyar composed his works in a troublesome time in the Kazan Khanate. The internal and external conflicts threw the Tatar state into disorder. Being aware of the complexity of the situation, the poet deliberated about ways out of the crisis, and the fate of his people and his Motherland. Like his predecessors, he dreamt of a just, enlightened ruler, putting great hopes in him. Secondly, Muhammedyar believed that the inhabitants of the state would need to be well-mannered if peace and tranquility were to be restored. Thus, the author deliberately portrays high moral qualities and actions, presents didactic stories, and examples from real life. The poet values justice, compassion, generosity and loyalty above all. He evaluates people not by wealth, rank or religion, but by their noble, humane actions. His ideas about society and man's role and place in the world are concordant with those of the great Renaissance thinkers, and the Western European utopians of the Middle Ages.

Despite his diplomatic immunity, Muhammedyar, who worked as an interpreter in the Kazan Khanate delegation to Moscow, was brutally murdered by the order of Ivan IV. **Adnash Hafiz**—a 'member of the embassy'—was made a slave' [Middle Ages, 1999, pp. 141–147]. It was during this difficult time that he wrote his work 'Siradzhel-Kulyub' ('The Light of the Hearts', 1554), which became very popular among Tatar readers. Printed publications of the work are available as well. According to V. Bartold and A. Scherbak, a book under the same name was originally written in Arabic. After that it was translated into Farsi. There were Turkic versions of the work as well. Adnash Hafiz created his work on the basis of its multilingual texts and variants [Minnegulov, 2010, pp. 100–104]. 'Siradzhel-Kulyub' uses some materials from the Quran, the Hadiths of the Prophet, and other texts. The book examines various religious and moral questions. The author places particular emphasis on the tremendous role of faith and knowledge in the preservation of the national mentality. In presenting his ideas, Adnash Hafiz often uses dialogues, contrasts, stories and didactic examples.

Literature of the Crimean Khanate

The Crimean Khanate occupies one of the leading positions among all the Tatar States existing after the collapse of the Golden Horde, both in terms of its continuance and its military and political prowess. Many people consider this state to have spanned only the Crimean Peninsula. However, alongside the Crimea, it occupied large territories in the Western Fore-Caucasus region, the Northern Black Sea region, as well as some areas of the Azov Sea region. In the 13–15th centuries, the Crimea served as an outpost for relations between the Golden Horde and European states and peoples.

Despite some unique lifestyle features, the Crimea inhabitants were full-fledged representatives of the unified Golden Horde political and spiritual culture, language and literature. This tradition was continued in the Crimean Khanate to a known extent. At the same time, the influence of the Ottoman Empire intensified particularly in the middle of the 16th century. This was evident not only in the public and political realms, but also in language, literature, the arts, and in particular, music and dance. Despite the relative isolation the Crimeans, they were still Tatars. Their literature and spiritual values are considered very important to Tatar culture as a whole. It is also notable that the Crimean Khanate existed longer than other Tatar khanates, spanning till the end of the 18th century and succeeding previous Tatar states. Therefore, its study offers insights into many aspects of the history and spiritual life of our people. Importantly, many monuments of the material and spiritual culture have been preserved since the times of the Crimean Khanate, with most of the arabographic literature. There are also some works in Latin, Armenian and Cyrillic. Many works, irrespective of where they were composed, were disseminated across the entire Tatar territory. For example, a famous work by Sayyid Muhammad Riza (d. 1756) from Istanbul, titled 'Seven Planets' ('Asseb as-seyyar') and devoted to the history of medieval Crimea, was well known to the Volga

Tatars. In 1832, it was published in Kazan by M. Kazembek.

'Historical prose' [Zaitsev, 2009a] comprises a significant portion of the written literature relating to the Crimean Khanate. Such prose includes the following works: 'The History of Khan Sahib Giray' ('Tarihe Sāhibgārāy Khan') by Badr ad-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad Kaisunizade Nidai-Efendi, known as Remmala-Khoja (Rämmäl Xuca) (d. 1569 in Istanbul); 'Chronicles of Desht-i Qipchaq' ('Tāvārihe Dāšte-Kıpçak') by Abdullah b. Rizwan (Abdi) (composed roughly in the 1630's); 'Tarihi Islam—Giray Khan' (completed in 1651) by Khoja Muhammad ('Senai', 'Kyrymly'); 'The History of Tatar Khans of Dagestan, Moscow and the peoples of Desht-i Qipchaq' (mid-18th century) by Ibrahim b. Ali Kefevi (the personal secretary of the Crimean Khan Fath-Giray II (1736–1737); 'The Rose-Bush of the Khans' ('Gölbüne-Hanan') by Halim Giray (who ruled the Crimea in 1756–1758), and others. Although such works are considered historical, they are also pieces of literary art, to varying degrees. Their language and manner of narration often approximate a literary, figurative style. They include examples of rhyme, rhythmic prose, and poetic rhymes. In addition to depicting real events and acts, they describe fictional circumstances and legends as well. Some stories about khans are written in a panegyric genre. Therefore, such works can be conditionally considered historical and literary. In terms of structure and content, they resemble books that were popular among Tatar readers: 'Jamig at-Tavarikh' (1602) by Qadir Ali Bek, 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' (about 1679) by an unknown author, and 'Tavarihe Bulgaria' by Hisameddin Muslimi [Usmanov, 1972]. Such works by Crimean and Volga Tatar authors are characterized by an intertextual and, to some extent, eclectic mode of narration. They are rich in texts borrowed from works of previous authors, especially Zakariya al-Qazwini (1203–1283) and Rashid ad-Din (1247–1318). It is worth noting that writing and the process of composing literary works were highly respected in the Crimean Khanate. Even khans and high-ranking officials took part in this activity. I. Zaitsev

notes that 'many members of khans' families wrote poetry ... Exercises in poetry writing, along with training in military art, were an indispensable part of children's education in the Giray dynasty. Khans were surrounded and served by highly-educated people who contributed to Ottoman and world literature' [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 25].

Some authors of the above 'historical' works were also poets. In particular, Remmal Hoja even authored a poetic work in the field of medicine [Ibid, p. 69].

According to modern research, there were about two hundred poets, scientists and writers in the Crimean Khanate [Ibid, p. 37]. Unfortunately, most of their works have not been preserved to the present or yet found. In this respect, in 1735 the tsarist Commander Burkhard Christoph von Munnich burned down the city of Bakhchysarai, including the Khan's library. A vast amount of spiritual and material valuables of the Crimean Tatars was destroyed during the Crimean and Civil wars, as well as during the deportation period in 1944.

The surviving part of the written literature of the Crimean state comprises poetic and prosaic works of various genres, such as dastan, ghazal, rubai, qasida, madhia, marcia, nama, munajat, hikayat, seyahatname (sefername), shajara, yarliq, etc. This literature reflects upon various aspects of human life and existence, including moral, philosophical, social, political and domestic issues, and, of course, the subject of love. As in other regions of the Muslim East, the spiritual life of the Crimean Khanate was greatly influenced by Sufism, especially 'Mesnevi' (a 'poetic encyclopedia of Sufism' of sorts) by the great Jalal ad-Din Rumi (1207–1273). Besides the classics of Arab-Persian literature, works by Ottoman authors were widely popular in Crimea as well. Such works include 'Muhammadiya' (1449) by Yazdzhoglu (Celebi), 'Iskandernama' (1390) by Ahmedi Girmiyani, 'The Birth of the Prophet' ('Mavlyuden-nābi') by Suleyman Celebi (d. 1422), travel notes by Evliya Çelebi (1611–1670), etc.

Many readers and listeners in the Crimea enjoyed various versions and variants of com-

mon Turkic-Tatar dastans, such as 'Edigu', 'Tahir-Zuhra', 'Chura Batyr', etc.

Alongside the above mentioned authors of the Crimean Khanate, there were other master writers, such as Džhanmuhammed (15th century), Mengli Giray (15th century), Mudami (d. 1540), Bakayı (d. 1591), Leila Bikech, Aşık Arif and others. Aşık Umer (Gashyyk Gomär, 1621–1707) is the most prominent and well-known poet of the Crimean Khanate. (Unfortunately, he is presented as a 'Turkish ashik-poet' in the Concise Literary Encyclopedia [Concise. 1962, p. 381], apparently because of the Ottoman-like language used in his works). He was born in the city of Gezlev (present-day Yevpatoria). He was an avid traveller, visiting many localities of the Ottoman Empire. According to legend, this distinguished representative of 'bard'—'ashyk' poetry died in his hometown.

Aşık Umer was a gifted and highly professional poet who left a rich artistic heritage. He created magnificent pieces of verbal art within the general framework of traditional classical Oriental poetry, as well as 'ashyk' lyrics. His poems, written in the genres of ghazal, mu-rabbag, musaddj, koshma, qasida and rubai,

are characterized by depth and sincerity of the hero's feelings and emotions, clarity and harmony of the poetic structure, and elegance and musicality of the style. Aşık Umer's poignant poems accompanied troops during raids and battles, were read by Sufi ascetics in their cells, and by lovers alike. His works had a major impact on future poets not only in the Crimea, but across the entire Turkic-speaking world, especially Turkey. There are numerous manuscripts of Umer's work. Over the last century, Aşık Umer's poems have been published in Istanbul, Tashkent, Simferopol, Moscow and other cities. Russian translations are available as well. The poet's works were read by the Volga Tatars both in the original, and translated into modern Tatar language. He is sometimes called the 'Tatar Yesenin' and the 'Crimean Tuqay'. The poet's poems still sound pertinent and modern. One of Aşık Umer's poems ends with the following words:

Perfection is in need, while nullity is in fame.

Love triumphs only in a rich frame,

But, Omer, we are not entitled to reproach God,

People are guilty for their own misfortunes.

4. Tatar Genealogies (shejere)

Marsel Ahmetzyanov

The strength and vitality of the Tatar people lies in its rich, diverse culture and history, which are preserved in genealogy. Unfortunately, historical Tatar literature was subjected to difficult conditions in the climate of national and religious oppression in the Russian empire. However, in the 17th century, Tatar genealogies began to be used by Russian authorities as 'passports' for service class men who were accepted into service by Russian princes and tsars. Such genealogies were used to affirm their position in Russian society (in 1654, 1686, etc.) [Ahmetzyanov, 1991a, pp. 8–9].

In the 18–19th centuries, researchers such as P. Rychkov, H. Fren, N. Berezin, V. Velyaminov-Zernov, P. Nebolsin, S. Shpilevsky, N. Katanov and V. Radlov [Rychkov, 2001, pp. 181–182; Berezin, 1853; Velyaminov-Zernov,

1864, pp. 414–415; Nebolsin, p. 198; Shpilevsky, 1877, p. 585; Katanov, 1904, p. 28], and others showed interest in Tatar genealogies.

Interest in Tatar genealogies on the part of Tatar scholars and religious activists remained strong till the 1930's. Scribes often recorded their genealogies in manuscripts, despite the large volume of the material.

The emergence of Tatar book printing allowed for the possibility of publishing genealogies in Kazan. The first Tatar genealogy from the book 'Daftar-i Chinggis name' was published by K. Fren in 1816 in Vienna, with a commentary in Latin [Fraehn, 1816, pp. 205–216].

Tatar educator I. Halfin published the manuscript 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name', dated to the

17th century, in 1819 in Kazan, with a commentary and glossary of archaic words. The book served as a textbook for students studying the Tatar language at Kazan University. The genealogies published in this book are mostly examples of Tatar genealogies of the 12–17th centuries.

Well-known educators Qayum Nasyri [Nasyri, 1881] and Husain Amirkhan collected copies of Tatar genealogies, some of which have been preserved in manuscripts, and some of which were published in a book by H. Amirkhan in 1883 in Kazan [Ämirxan, 1883, 88 b.]. His work contains fragments of ancient genealogies of the 15–18th centuries. However, they are weak as historic sources.

In the last third of the 19th century, texts of ancient Tatar genealogies were collected and studied by the outstanding Tatar historian S. Marjani (1818–1889). He created a large collection of Tatar genealogies from many cities and towns where the Tatars lived. Unfortunately, only a small part of these handwritten copies has been preserved in scientific institutions. Most of the copies of Tatar shejere collected by S. Marjani were used in his two-volume work, written in the Tatar language and published in Kazan in 1897 and 1900. This valuable scientific work was first translated in 2005 [Marjani, 2005].

The famous Tatar researcher Rizaeddin Bin Fahreddin also began his career by collecting manuscripts of Tatar genealogies. He used them as sources in his four-volume encyclopedia titled 'Asar'. Of course, this form of publication does not present the reader with the full value of the source. Nevertheless, R. Fahreddin retained his archive of personal papers in St. Petersburg among the papers of Turkologist A. Samoylovich. This collection, belonging to the above researcher, contains about two hundred Tatar genealogies, most of which had been sent to him in the form of copies produced in the 19th century. Among them, some copies are dated to the 18th century. During his lifetime, Rizaeddin Bin Fahreddin created a collection of 47 texts, of which 46 were Tatar genealogies and one was a Bashkir text. The people who sent him copies had included the dates of their original documents'

composition. They indicated the date of the original document, whose copy was presented, in accompanying letters. Judging by such letters, the researcher received copies of original documents dated primarily to the 19th century. Among the copies, there is only one text stating that the original was composed in 1797 [Ähmätcanov, 2002, 180 b.]. Our archeographical field researches have resulted in additional knowledge about the copies of Tatar genealogy documents.

The discovered copies of genealogy manuscripts dated to the 18th century were drawn up on small sheets of medium-book format of 16x20 cm. Some genealogy texts dated to the 18th century were written on manuscript sheets, a tradition that was preserved through the 19th century. However, in the 19th century, genealogies were written in inventory books (*ambarnaya kniga*), which were twice the size of regular books.

When comparing the texts of 18 and 19 century Tatar genealogies, we came to the following conclusions:

1. 18th century genealogies were small in volume.

2. In the 19th century, the text volumes increased significantly so that they could no longer fit on the sheets of notebooks.

The study of original Tatar genealogies found during archeographic research offered a better understanding of the development of this document in terms of its form and content.

Tatar family genealogy texts dated to the 18th century were written on manuscript sheets of medium size (16.5x20 cm). In the beginning of the 19th century, some genealogies were written on sheets of about 25x35 cm, providing fuller commentaries and legends. Most of the shejere texts contained in the 18th century copies offer brief historical notes.

Additions to genealogical tables in 19th century copies indicate that they were originally passed down from generation to generation orally. Historical notes are abundant only in the genealogies of Kara-Bik and the descendants of Edigu-Biy. The families of *murzas* (Tatar nobility) in genealogies were often accompanied by concise notes until the end of the 19th century.

Historically significant genealogies often contain a brief historical note near the record about the main ancestor, playing an important role for the whole family. For example, the following note appears near the record about the main ancestor in one of the family genealogies: 'The Son of Burkut Biy Targay Bi came from the Crimea' [Ähmätcanov, 2012, 199 b.]. The presence of noble names among ancestors enables a relatively precise identification of the family's chronology and place of origin. This genealogy clearly demonstrates a link between the name Burkut Biy and Kara Bik, who lived in the late 14th century.

The presence of such titles as Beg, Murza, Tarhan and so on near personal names, as well as references to 'Kazan', 'khan' and 'yarliq' also help to ascertain the historical value of a document. For example, a connection to a specific historical place designated in a genealogical list allows for a more precise determination of a family's place of residence and primary hometown, even when examining a set of regional sources.

For instance, the legend presented in the Karauzha genealogy states that Kara Bi, the most remote ancestor, lived near Kazan in Karavaevo. Later, according to the legend, Kara Bi's descendants—Chura Bi and Chura Batyr—were also associated with the Kazan Khanate. Thus, it may be concluded that they moved from the Crimea to Kazan at the turn of the 14–15th centuries [Ähmätcanov, 2011c, 109 b.].

In the Div Mankuf genealogy, even the personal name indicates that the family's founder was from Crimea. The name 'Div' belonged to a family of Crimean khans [Tatar Entsiklopediyase, 2010, 261 b.]. Tatar murzas and princes—Diveevs who originated from the Crimea—were preserved in the Blagovarsky and Chekmagushsky regions of the Republic of Bashkortostan [Ibid].

In preceding centuries, an ongoing connection was in place between the Crimean and Volgan Tatars. For example, the first wave of Tatars' arrival took place in the 1380's, while the second influx occurred in 1445, during Khan Ulugh Mohammad's settlement in the Middle Volga. This event in the ethnic history

of the Tatar people in Tatarstan is confirmed by numerous genealogies.

By the time of Mohammed Amin's reign in Kazan, an immigrant from the Crimea named Asylhozha Tarhan Miziyafov arrived on Taw yağı (Hill Land i.e. hilly right bank of Volga), whose family produced such educators as Qayum Nasyri, Habira Nasyri, Rizaetdin Fakhretdinov, the first oil manufacturer in Russia Nadir Urazmetov, academician Mirkasym Usmanov, and others. Members of this family founded the settlements of Zyamaki, Ilekovo, B. Karamali, St. Salmanova, Novye Nadirovo, Kirligach, Sugushla, and others. The genealogy of Asylhozhi Tarhanov was published [Ähmätcanov, 1995, 120–122 b.].

According to data contained in shejere, nomadic Tatars originally from the Nogai Horde were the second largest ethnic Tatar group that settled in the Bulgarian Ulus.

These settlers, who were natives of the Nogai Horde, have preserved their genealogies till the present. They settled in these territories since the second half of the 15th century until the 18th century. They were members of the tribes of Mingnar (Mangyt), Giraet, Tabyn, Garay, Kungrat, Tamyan, Badrak, Kyrgyz, Katay, and others, whose genealogies have been published in Tatar genealogical collections [Ähmätcanov, 2002, pp. 29–75, 91–175 b.; 2009a, b. pp. 65–172; 2011v, pp. 182–205 b. etc.].

According to the shejere, members of the Sergach group of Tatars who moved to the Kazan yurt in the 16–18th centuries were the third significant group that contributed to the formation of the modern Tatar nation. Following the fall of the Kazan Khanate, the Sergach Tatars were evicted from their yurts. According to genealogical materials, they were first transferred to the Muscovy-Nogai Horde border, particularly, to the outskirts of the Alaty and Temnikov fortresses, and later they settled in the Simbirsk uyezd and the Zakamye Region of Tatarstan. Genealogies of the Kasimov Tatars also outline the routes travelled by settlers from Khwarezm and the Crimea [Ähmätcanov, 2012, pp. 314–315 b.].

In the 18th century, many Tatar families left the territories of the Kasimov Khan-

ate to settle in the territories of the Kazan uyezd. For example, such Tatar murzas as the Syuyundukovs, Makulovs, Alishevs, Enaydarovs, Karmyshevs, Burnashevs, Mustafins, Syukievs, Yenikeys, Budalevs, Bogdanovs, Bikkulovs, Chapkunovs, Burnaevs, Ishmakovs and many others moved to the territories of the former Kazan Khanate in the 17th century [Ahmetzyanov, Sharifullina, 2010, pp. 6–77].

With the collapse of the Nogai Horde in the 17th century, some Tatars of the Nogai Horde assimilated into the Volgan Tatars. This issue appears in numerous of copies of

Tatar genealogies of the Volga-Ural Region [Ähmätcanov, 2002, p. 343 b.; 2009a, p. 351 b.]. Genealogies of the Siberian Tatars also relate the significant contribution of Nogai tribes and Qara Qıpçaqs to the ethnic history of the Siberian Tatars [Ähmätcanov, 2012, p. 304 b.].

To crown this review of written Tatar genealogies published in Tatar and Russian, we may conclude that based on numerous facts, these sources disclose a close genetic relationship between the Tatars of the Crimean, Kasimov, Kazan, and Siberian Khanates, and the Nogai Horde.

5. Tatar Epitaphic Sources

Marsel Ahmetzyanov

According to some records, the culture of epitaphic monuments in the Golden Horde was prevalent in all its Uluses. However, this great cultural heritage was destroyed in the 16–18th centuries during the seizure and subsequent colonization of the Tatar lands by Muscovy. It is known that the ammonium nitrate plant, headed by the nobleman T. Leda-govsky, operated on the Bulgar ruins since the last quarter of the 17th century and used Muslim gravestone as raw material source, was closed down only in 1730 [History of Tatarstan, 1951, p. 273].

However, the decree of the Russian Government dated 16 February 1741 permitted the destruction of the medieval Muslim cemeteries of the Golden Horde located in Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn and Kazan guberniyas and Little Rus for the purpose of manufacturing ammonium nitrate to produce gun powder. The destruction of Muslim graves continued even into the second half of the 19th century [Smolin, 1926, p. 16].

As a consequence, only a few samples of ancient epigraphic monuments of Golden Horde were preserved in just three guberniyas of the Russian Empire: the Kazan, Crimean, and Dagestan provinces. Archaeological excavations in the above three regions proved that Muslim cemeteries had existed there

since the 10th century [Khalikova, 1986, pp. 43–107]. The epitaphic gravestones tradition started among Muslims of Bulgar Ulus in 1281.

In Dagestan, epitaphic monuments began being used in the 12–13th centuries, although, they were extremely rare at the time [Shishaidov, 1984, pp. 162–163]. The earliest known epitaphic monument in the Crimea is dated 1273 [Aqçoqraqlı, 2006, p. 237 (No. 142)]. The texts of Crimean epitaphs were written in Kufic or Suls scripts till the end of the 14th century. For example, the epitaph of Nankadzhana (Dzhanike-Khanyim), Khan Tokhtamysh's daughter, was written in the Suls Arabic script, with some individual words in Kufi script.

In the Bulgar Ulus, epitaphic texts were usually written using Kufi script, with rare instances of the Suls script, until 1361. Linguistically, epitaphic texts were in Arabic, Bulgarian and Tatar.

In the Crimea, epitaphic texts were written primarily in Arabic language until the beginning of the 15th century. There are some very rare texts written in Tatar [Ibid, p. 231 (No. 47)]. From the early 15th century (at 1415 and 1424) some texts in the Crimea were written in the Tatar language [Ibid, p. 237 (No. 139), 248 (No. 235), p. 250 (No. 315)].

The epitaphic gravestones tradition continued in the Crimea until the end of the 18th century. The epitaphs were written in Arabic and Arabic-Tatar. Gravestones of the Crimean khans and their family members since the 18th century have been well preserved.

Epigraphic inscriptions on the walls of mosques in the Crimea and the Khan's palace, as well as near the Bakhchysarai fountains are known since the 14th century. Texts of these inscriptions were discovered by researchers in the 19th century, copied from the originals and translated into Russian [Murzakevich, 1850, pp. 489–551].

Although N. Murzakevich considers the language of these epitaphs to be Turkish, his opinion is false from the linguistic point of view. As an example, let us look at the epitaphic text of the Devlet-Giray-Sultan-Ghazi, the son of Mubarek-Giray-Sultan, the son of Devlet-Giray Khan: 'Tärk idüb bu dönya fani çün gıyzem baka ähle dällär cämig ulub aciub idüb gazasin didilär ruhına rähmät. Tarihnı daimä cömadı älä-äüvälneñ gorräsendä vafat äylädi sänä-i 1041'.

Translation: 'Having retired from this vain world, he has transmigrated to eternity. People with hearts, gathering to mourn and lament his memory, have written his chronogram: let God's mercy be upon him always. Died in the beginning of Jumada al-Awwal, 1041'. (1631 according to the Gregorian calendar.)

Only 47 epitaphic inscriptions dated 1287–1392 are known on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula, according to researchers of the mid-19th century, and only 11 epitaphic texts dated 1409–1477. For now, no detailed published research in this area is available for other centuries.

The research of Kazan scholars in the field of Tatar-Muslim medieval epitaphic texts provides a fuller understanding of such historical written sources preserved in the Middle Volga.

60 epitaphic texts, dated 1281–1399, were discovered on the territory of the Bulgar Ulus of the Golden Horde, as well as six monuments dated 1400–1500 and 300 inscriptions dated 1501–1600 [Garif, 2010, pp. 12–28 b.].

The total amount of Tatar epitaphic inscriptions dated 1601–1801 is 170 pieces [Äh-

mätcanov, 2011a, p. 260 b.]. During this period, Tatar settlements expanded over greater territory. Hundreds of Tatar settlements were established between the Volga and Urals, in Siberia and other areas.

The system of national cultural values was enriched by spiritual progress and enhanced artistic qualities of Tatar epitaphs for the first time since the adoption of Islam in the Golden Horde. The gravestones tradition was an important part of Tatar spiritual culture.

Tatar epigraphy is a unique phenomenon in the culture of Eastern European nations. Its roots go back to the Turkic Karakhanid state on the territory of Issyk-Kul. The Turks used the Turkic, Runic, Uighur, Sogdian-Turkic, and Arabic alphabets. The inscriptions on the basis of these alphabets have been discovered on numerous stone monuments in the territory of Kyrgyzstan [Dzhumagulov, 1987, pp. 8–16].

In the 12th century, Karakhanid Muslims began using kairaks with inscriptions relating to the deceased person as gravestones. These can be found in cemeteries and near mausoleums [Ibid, p. 60]. Texts were written in Arabic alphabet using the Kufic writing style [Ibid]. The structure of an epitaphic text on a kairak written in Arabic is very similar to the earliest epitaphic inscriptions in the Bulgar Ulus of the Golden Horde.

For example, there is monument No. 1 from Yangi Naukat village. The four-line Arabic inscription is enclosed in a frame with mihrab-style ornamentation. The frame size is 38x31 cm [Ibid, p. 63].

Text:	Translation:
هذا قبر	1. This grave belongs to
عمر بن ا	2. Omar, son of Abu
بو بكر عفر الله	3. Bakr. May Allah forgive
له ولو الديه	4. him and his parents.

Monument No. 45

Smoke-coloured stone. The six-line inscription is engraved roughly. The stone is located near Teshik-Tash mazar, at the foot of a mountain near Sahab-Mazar. The inscription size is 40x40 cm.

Text:	Translation:	
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	1. in the name of merciful Allah	The traditions of writing epitaphs in Kufi in the Crimea and Bulgar Ulus on the Volga are identical, allowing us to conclude that this tradition was part of the culture of the Golden Horde at the initial stage of its history, in the 13–14th centuries and was preserved and developed in Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries.
هذا قبر على	2. it is the grave of Ali,	
بن يعقوب بن الياسى	3. son of Yakub, son of Ilyas	
لا اله الا الله	4. there is no god, but Allah	
محمد رسول الله	5. Mohammad—Allah's envoy	

6. Jochi Numismatics in the 15th Century

Pavel Petrov, Roman Reva

The study of a numismatic source always follows the same steps: discovering the first coins, documenting them and introducing them to the research process, collecting information on the coins in question, identifying the issuers' names and coining centres, cataloging the known materials, collecting information on discoveries of coins and treasure troves, topographizing them, attempting to analyze the composition of the findings in the context of the location and historical events, creating a complete catalog of coins, analyzing the work of the mints (evaluating the trends of metrological parameters), evaluating currency in the area where the coins were used and reconstructing the stages of economic development in the areas, regions and states in light of the conditions of monetary circulation. Therefore, a numismatic source becomes fully informative only after a critical amount of data has been accumulated and introduced into the research process.

With regard to 15th century Jochi numismatics, there has been no systemic full-scale research that may serve as a basis for further in-depth study of political and economic history. For comparison, at the beginning of the 20th century, O. Retowski created coin catalogs for the Giray dynasty of the Crimea in the 15th century and beyond [Retowski, 1905; Retowski, 1906, pp. 1–72; 1914, pp. 1–16], while no coin catalogs have been created for the 15th century Volga Region, the Caucasus,

the Azov Sea region and other territories, including the Aral Sea region.

The publication of 15th century Jochi coins was initiated by H. Fraehn [Fraehn, 1826, pp. 360–398; Fraehn, 1832], and continued by P. Saveliev [Saveliev, 1857, pp. 1–180; Saveliev, 1858, pp. 181–342], V. Grigoriev [Grigoriev, 1864], A. Markov [Markov, 1896; 1898; 1901; 1904; 1906] and other numismatists. These and a few other works revealed the names of most of the rulers who had issued coins in the post-Tokhtamysh period: Tash Timur, Temür Qutlugh, Shadibek, Pulad, Timur, Jalal ad-Din, Kerim Birdi, Kibak, Chekre, Jabbar Birdi, Dervish, Ulugh Muhammad, Küchük Muhammad (b. Timur), Davlet Birdi, Gıyas ad-Din b. Shadibek, Mustafa b. Gıyas ad-Din, Said Ahmad, Mahmud b. Küchük Muhammad, Ahmad b. Küchük Muhammad, Hacı Giray, Nur Davlet, and Mengli Giray. The list of mints where the issuers' names were found is as follows: Krym, Krym al-Dzhadid, Ordu, Ordu Mu'azzam, Ordu Bazaar, Bik Bazaar, Timur Bek Bazaar, Saraychyq, Bulgar, Bulgar al-Dzhadid, Hajji Tarkhan, Hajji Tarkhan al-Dzhadid, Saray, Saray al-Dzhadid, Hvarism (Khwarezm), Shamakhi, Derbent, Baku, Azak, Shehr Azak, Azak al-Makhrusa, Kaffa, Kaffaf al-Dzhadid, Qırq Yer. This marked the beginning of the extensive phase of collecting factual numismatic information that would constitute the foundation of 15th century Jochi numismatics. The attributes of coins that

were published were not always precise due to a lack of comparative numismatic materials, their quality and historical evidence from written sources.

It is worth noting that coins dated to the 15th century issued in the Golden Horde and its successors—independent khanates of the second half of the 15th century—have not been extensively studied in the 20th century. The greatest contribution to the development of this chapter in Jochi numismatics was made by A. Muhamadiev and G. Fedorov-Davydov. Thus, their joint work had revealed a previously unknown mint, 'Il Uy Muazzam' (*The House of the Great Country*), belonging to two rulers: Ulugh Muhammad and Davlet-Birdi [Muhamadiev, Fedorov-Davydov, 1972, pp. 41–66]. Works by A. Muhamadiev introduced numerous illustrative materials relating to the 15th century Bulgarian coinage, including a previously unknown Bulgarian coinage of Dervish, Muhammad Barak, Giyas ad-Din, Barak's coinage used in new mints of Helbirdi Bazari and Jidibik Bazari, as well as a coinage in Jidibik Bazari of Ulugh Muhammad and Davlet Birdi. Subsequently, the word 'Jidibik Bazari' was mistakenly corrected by E. Goncharov to 'Jundi Bazaari' (*Military Bazar*) [Goncharov, 2005a, p. 100].

Importantly, legible coins can be found in emissions only of the first quarter of the 15th century. The quality of coinage issued later increasingly deteriorated with time. 15th century Jochi coinage is characterized by gradual decrease in the size and weight of coins, and deterioration of the quality of coin metal. Indication of the year of coinage became an exception to the norm. The size of the stamp was often much greater than that of the coin. Therefore there are virtually no coins from that period with a fully legible legend. The constant struggle between a plethora of aspirants to power resulted in a large number of issuers' names on 15th century coins. Not all of these issuers have been ascertained and properly identified to date.

Although some 15th century Jochi coins were properly attributed by researchers in the 19th and 20th centuries, the real breakthrough in the study of these historical sources

of material culture was made in this century. Firstly, this is due to the possibility of digital reconstruction of the stamps. Stamp-by-stamp analysis provides an essential, and sometimes the only help in correctly attributing coins, enabling the creation of networks of stamp connections. Such networks help to establish the chronological order of changes in coin types, thus helping to determine the order of the appearance of issuers' names for each mint. Some factual numismatic data has been accumulated to date, enabling research of isolated cases and the disclosure of names of previously unknown issuers, centres and years of coinage.

For instance, M. Severova recognised the name of an issuer of Crimean (822/1419–20 and 823/1420–21) and Genoese-Tatar coins, which other researchers have been unable to discern since the times of O. Retovsky and R. Fasmer—Bek Sufi [Severova, 1994, pp. 98–100]. In 2002, K. Khromov used numismatic data to examine power distribution in the Crimea from 822/1419 to 825/1422, in accordance with the order of coin issuers that replaced one another: Dervish, Bek Sufi, Davlet Birdi [Khromov, 2002, pp. 92–94]. By 2013 he published an article about the coins of Davlet Birdi, where Crimean coins of 827/1424–1425 and a number of new variants of coins minted in Kaffa Jadid were issued, providing a stamp-by-stamp analysis [Khromov, 2013, pp. 378–416].

A. Gaev published Mahmud Hoja Khan's coins, whom he identified with Mahmudek, the son of Ulugh Muhammad. He later revised his opinion in favor of Mahmud Hoja, the son of Kaganbek [Gaev, 2002, pp. 28–30]. He established that Hordu was the mint that issued these coins [Gaev, 1999, pp. 70–73; Gaev, 1999a, pp. 82–84]. He introduced Bulgarian pulis (copper coins) into the research, which were minted on the face side with the 'Tarak Tamga' stamp, and on the reverse side with stamps of silver Bulgarian Shadibek coins dated 807/1404–1405 and Dervish—that is, stamps produced with an interval of at least 10 years! [Goncharov, Trostyansky, 2004, pp. 94–95]. Research of two new types of Timur Khan's coins examined the issue of stamps' re-

location between different mints. The finding was that they were minted with one common face-side stamp bearing the name of Timur Khan and different stamps on the reverse side: One of Azak dated 814 and one of Kaffa Jadid dated 809 ([sic]) [Kazarov, Gorlov, 2011, pp. 77–79].

A Bulgarian stamp of Mahmud Khan, dated 812–813/1409–1411, was discovered (previously, these coins were attributed by researchers to Timur's mint [Fraehn, 1826, pp. 374–375, no. 9, 10]), whom authors identify with a prince who attempted to overthrow Pulad Khan during Edigu's famous raid on Moscow in December 1408 [Goncharov, Trostyansky, 2004a, pp. 39–42]. In 2005, O. Trostyansky published an article presenting a curious unpublished stamp bearing the name of Muhammad Khan, whom the author identified with Ulugh Muhammad [Trostyansky, 2005, pp. 57–158].

A Khan with a name read as 'Giyas ad-Din Sar(?)han' was found by I. Evstratov on Sarai coins dated 824 or 829 [Evstratov, 2003, pp. 91–93]. In 2005, R. Reva and N. Sharafiev discovered a previously unknown issuer, Syed Ahmad, I on coins dated 819/1416, who, according to the authors, was Edigu's protégé [Reva, Sharafiev, 2005, pp. 57–59]. In 2012 V. Lebedev and V. Sitnik published several new types of 15th century coins, including a new type of tamga, the Crimean Dang of Muhammad Barak, and an Azak coin of Davlet Birdi [Lebedev, Sitnik, 2012, pp. 192–210].

Silver bilingual coins with a T-shaped tamga, dated to the 15th century, considered by O. Retovsky to be Tana's Aspras, have raised heated discussions about the place of their possible coinage [Kirilko, 1999, pp. 137–141; Volkov, 2003, pp. 17–29; Kozubovsky, 2006, pp. 188–195; Avramenko, 2013, pp. 51–59].

V. Nastich published data about previously unknown Khwarezm coins of Shadibek, dated 806/1403–04 and Jalal ad-Din, dated 815/1412–13 [Nastich, 2000, pp. 78–80; Nastich, 2002, pp. 90–92]. Several other previously unknown types of 15th century silver and copper Khwarezm coins of the 15th century were published by E. Goncharov [Goncharov, 2011, pp. 71–85].

15th century copper pulis are particularly interesting. E. Goncharov published several previously unknown types of copper coins dated to the 15th century and attributed to Sarai and Hordu Bazaar mints [Goncharov, 2000, pp. 84–86]. V. Lebedev and V. Smirnov showed several interesting 15th century coins, including some unpublished ones, in particular, a Horde pool dated 807 [Lebedev, Smirnov, 2008, pp. 145–152]. In 2004, two types of 15th century Azak pools were disclosed [Piperidy, 2005, p. 9, fig. on p. 107], and in 2005, a silver coin of Temür Qutlugh, which was issued by the same mint, was published [Piperidy, 2008, p. 74, fig. on p. 213]. In 2001, E. Goncharov announced the existence of a previously unpublished pool issued by the '... Bik Bazaar' Mint [Goncharov, 2005, pp. 9–12, fig. on p. 185].

A. Pachkalov was the first to publish images of coins that were previously known only by their descriptions in A. Markov's inventory catalog. These coins were minted by Timur Bik Bazaar Mint, bearing the name of Akhmat Khan [Pachkalov, 2005, pp. 67–68]. In 2004, the same researcher disclosed several new types of Ordu Bazaar pools [Pachkalov, 2004, pp. 96–97]. However, the most detailed catalog of Ordu Bazaar coins was presented by K. Khromov, containing both silver and copper coins, many of which were published for the first time [Khromov, 2004, pp. 34–66].

E. Panin described a copper Hajji Tarkhan coin, which he rightly attributed to the times of Pulad [Panin, 2008, p. 73, fig. on p. 213]. It should be noted that copper coins in the 15th century were far more rare than silver coins and their role in the currency of the time requires further inquiry.

Incorrect identification of 15th century coins by some researchers is usually due to the poor condition of the coins and the lack of stamp analogues for comparison. For example, in 2002, V. Klovov and V. Lebedev published a large article about coins discovered in the Selitrennoye Hill Fort, presenting several new 15th century coins. Unfortunately, some of the coins were wrongly identified [Klovov, Lebedev, 2002, pp. 73–165]. Later, the authors introduced several other unpub-

lished types of Golden Horde coins into the research [Lebedev, Klovov, 2004, pp. 23–75], but this work also incorrectly attributes some types of 15th century coins. A monograph by V. Mayko describing a treasure trove containing over 4,000 Jochi coins dated to the 15th century presents photographs of many specimens, including previously unpublished ones [Mayko, 2007]. Unfortunately, some of the coins were also wrongly identified in the work. Such cases reconfirm how careful any researcher should be when attributing new, previously unknown types of 15th century coins.

In 2005 R. Reva studied the stamp of Derwish Khan, publishing the first descriptions and drawings of several coin types of the ruler and establishing the period of the coinage to be 818–822/1415–1420 [Reva, 2005, pp. 159–164, fig. on pp. 207–209]. In 2008, he published a stamp network of Kibak Khan's Bulgarian coinage and showed the relationship between the Bulgar coins and the mythical 'Binalihan' [Reva, 2008, pp. 126–127]. In 2008 R. Reva presented a report on a stamp-by-stamp analysis of Shadibek's Bulgarian coins, drawing some important conclusions: minting in Bulgar was resumed in the 15th century only in 805 AH, and many dates read by prior researchers on coins were rejected because stamps with these 'years' were 'pressed' in-between stamps with very legible dates [R. Reva, Stamp-by-stamp analysis of Shadibek's Bulgarian coins (A New Look). Presented at the 7th Bakhchysarai International Numismatic Conference in 2008. The materials of the conference have not been published.]

The method of stamp-by-stamp analysis proved extremely effective for attributing 15th century numismatic materials, as confirmed by other studies as well. This method was used by V. Lebedev when studying New Bulgarian silver coins of Shadibek and Pulad [Lebedev, 2007, p. 19]. Stamp-by-stamp analysis was used to study several new types of Kerim Birdi coins, with the coinage period being limited to 815 AH/1412–1413. A stamp connection was established for anonymous coins of the following type: *Fair Sultan—*

minted [in] Sarai [Reva, Sharafiev, 2004, pp. 91–93].

At the 4th International Numismatic Conference, held in Bulgaria in 2005, N. Sharafiev relied on this method when raising the question of whether the Il Uy Mu'azzam mint may be identical with the Ordu Mu'azzam mint, showing that the two shared stamp links [Sharafiev, 2008, pp. 55–56].

R. Reva, A. Kazarov and V. Klovov published a reconstruction of Jabbar Birdi stamps from Hajji Tarkhan dated 817/1414–1415, stamps and stamp links of previously unknown coinage—Jabbar Birdi and Sayyid Ahmad I in Sarai, as well as the coinage of Giyas ad-Din in Ordu Mu'azzam dated 819/1416, who may be identified with one of two rulers: either Giyas ad-Din—the son of Shadibek, or Giyas ad-Din—the father of Hacı Giray [Reva et al, 2009, pp. 78–80; Reva, Kazarian, 2013, p. 60–75].

At a conference held in St. Petersburg, a report titled 'Coins of Ibrahim Khan' (2012) was presented, correcting some inaccuracies in works by A. Nesterov [Nesterov, 1990, pp. 29–30; Nesterov, 2001, p. 274]. The coins were attributed to Ibrahim Khan, the grandson of Hajji Muhammad. New, previously undescribed types of coins were presented, some variants of reading one of his mints were proposed, and the approximate coining time was indicated. In 2013, articles were published examining the coinage of a previously unnoticed issuer, Murtaza Khan, the son of Akhmad [Kazarov et al., 2013, pp. 53–58, 148–149; 2013a, pp. 340–377]. In the same year, a digital reconstruction of stamps of coins of shibanid Jochi Ulus rulers was published: Mahmud Hoja, Mahmoud, the son of Hajji Muhammad, his son Ibrahim (Ibaka) and Abu'l-Khayr [Reva, 2013, pp. 56–58]. A question was raised regarding the existence of the mint and of Hajji Muhammad, and references were provided to published coins of Muhammad Sheibani minted in Bukhara and Samarkand in 906, corresponding to 1500–1501 AD,—that is, the last year of the 15th century [SNAT XVa, 2008, no. 368, 1159].

Over the past two decades, information has been published on discovered treasure troves of 15th century coins [Goncharov, Alekseenko, 1998, p. 77; Volkov, 2011, pp. 64–68; Goncharov, Trostyansky, 2004, pp. 94–95; Kolyzin, 2003, pp. 95–97; Lebedev, Trostyansky, 1997, pp. 78–86; Lebedev, Muhametshin, 1997, pp. 75–77; Lebedev et al, 2011, pp. 89–93; Lebedev, Klovov, 2012, pp. 138–142; Mayko, 2003, pp. 97–98; Mayko, 2007; Nastich, 2000, pp. 78–80; Nastich, 2002, pp. 90–92; Pachkalov, 2000, pp. 19–23; Singatullina, 2006, pp. 215–216; Trostyansky, 2005, pp. 157–158; Fomichev, 1999, pp. 69–70; Fedorov-Davydov, Fomichev, 2004, pp. 270–278; Fomin, 2012, pp. 66–80, etc.]. Of course, these are not all the published treasures, and certainly not all the treasures of 15th century Jochi silver coins that are known to numismatists. Information on the main treasures was published in reports by G. Fedorov-Davydov and A. Pachkalov, as well as in some publications by other authors [Fedorov-Davydov, 1960, pp. 94–192; Fedorov-Davydov, 1963; Fedorov-Davydov, 1974; Fedorov-Davydov, 1965, pp. 179–219; Fedorov-Davydov, 1990, pp. 102–103; Pachkalov, 2002, pp. 178–210; Pachkalov, 2004, pp. 158–171; Pachkalov, 2012, pp. 124–130; Piperidi, 2008, pp. 70–72]. However, the vast majority of treasures was published concisely,—that is, without images (photographs) of coins, making it impossible to verify whether the attributions are correct. Now is a very important time

for studying this type of numismatic source because the data collected to date enables a more accurate attribution of the coined silver, and hence, a better assessment not only of the contents of the treasure, but also of the time when it was hid away. As a result, only a few treasures suitable for a full-fledged analysis have been introduced into the research, requiring further documentation and adequate publication of such treasures. Furthermore, there are many unsorted treasures stored in various local museums, awaiting researchers who will study them.

Numismatics of 15th century Crimea is a special chapter in Jochi numismatics. Despite the existence of the above-mentioned works by O. Retovsky, numismatists sometimes find new coins bearing names of unknown issuers, as well as previously unknown names of mints or years of coinage. Several works by K. Khromov can be cited as examples [Khromov, 1997, pp. 21–22; 1997a, p. 25; 2005, pp. 101–106; 2013, pp. 378–416]. A great contribution to the development of 15th century Crimean numismatics was made by V. Lebedev. In a series of works, he showed all the Crimean coins known at the time of publication [Lebedev, 2000, pp. 10–23; Ibid, 2000a, pp. 32–35; Ibid, 2000b, pp. 10–14; Ibid, 2000v, pp. 1–48; Ibid, 2002, pp. 139–149].

According to the above materials, it is apparent that there was no numismatic research on the second half of the 15th century. This stratum of numismatic information remains unexplored.

§ 2. Linguistic Sources

Enze Kadirova

Written sources are particularly valuable for examining a fuller picture of language during various periods. Researchers who look into the history of the Tatar people in the 15–16th centuries point out the scarcity of sources from that period that have been preserved to date.

The poems 'Tukhfa-i mardan' (1539) and 'Nur-i sodur' (1542) by Muhammedyar, a leading representative of 15th century Tatar

literature, are well known and generally well studied writing dating back to the period of the Kazan Khanate. When studying the language of the period, many scholars consider Muhammedyar's poems to be masterpieces of the time. These works provide a vivid depiction of the lexical composition, phonetic system and morphological construction of 16th century Tatar literary language.

Muhammedyar's creative work has drawn the attention of several prominent researchers. He was first introduced into the research in the first half of the 19th century, when I. Berzin, a professor at Kazan University (1846), found his poem 'Tukhfa-i mardan' ('A Gift to Men') in the manuscript department of the Leningrad Museum and published some extracts from it. Muhammedyar's second poem, 'Nur-i sodur' ('Hearts' Light'), was discovered by the Tatar writer and scientist N. Isanbet only in 1940. The scholar published extracts from the discovered manuscript and authenticated it. Unfortunately, original author's manuscript of Muhammedyar's works have not survived. Several handwritten copies are available in manuscript archives in different cities in our country. Three handwritten copies of the poem 'Nur-i sodur' and one copy of 'Tukhfa-i mardan' are kept in the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The most complete manuscripts of both poems can be found there.

The poetic collection 'Bakyrhan kitabı', an anthology of sorts of medieval Turkic Sufi poetry, also includes works of the Tatar Sufi poet Qolşarif. Qolşarif's creative legacy has reached us in several works. A. Sharipov [Qolşarif, 1997] described, researched and published the poet's works. Authors of Volume 1 of 'Tatar ädäbiyatı Tarikhi' provide information on the Tatar writer Muhammedsharif, who lived in Kazan in the 16th century [Tatar ädäbiyatı, 1984, 294 b.]. The scholars M. Ahmetzyanov (1995), A. Sharipov (1997) and D. Iskhakov (1998) believe that the above-mentioned Muhammedsharif—the author of *Zafärnamäi vilayate Kazan*—and Qolşarif are the same person. In 1965, in Turkey, in the collection of the Zeytin ogulları library in Tavşanlı, near the city of Kutahya, a manuscript was found where the composition 'Zafärnamäi vilayate Kazan' was included on pages 60a–64b. M. Ahmetzyanov believes that the verses of this work were written in the Tatar literary language of the period. They include few incomprehensible words, with some parts of the text written in Arabic and Persian [Ähmätcanov, 1995a, 12 b.].

In the history of the Kazan Khanate, one of the patron khans of literature was Muhammad Amin, who himself was a poet.

When attempting to recreate a more accurate and objective picture of the Tatar language at various stages of its development, chancellery written records are quite important as well. Traditions of the business style of the Old Tatar literary language, which by the Middle Ages had become one of the most popular language styles, have roots stretching back into antiquity. The necessity of studying documents written in business language and the importance of its impact on the formation and establishment of the norms of Tatar language have been repeatedly pointed out by scholars who study this problem (M. Usmanov, F. Khisamova, A. Mannapova, etc.).

The chancellery writing records from the Kazan Khanate period frequently attract the attention of researchers. Among them, the *yarliqs* of Khan Ibrahim and Khan Sahib Giray are particularly worthy of notice. A postgraduate student of Kazan State University, R. Stepanov, was the first to notice the *yarliq* of Khan Ibrahim in the State Archive in Moscow. M. Usmanov, S. Muhammedyarov, F. Faseev and I. Mustakimov worked on describing, researching and publishing this manuscript. In 1965 M. Usmanov, S. Muhammedyarov and R. Stepanov published the article 'Yaña *yarliq*' in *Kazan Utları Magazine*. The language and certain terms of the *yarliq* were discussed in the press [Gosmanov, 1965]. The *yarliq* was transcribed and translated into Russian by F. Faseev [Starotatarskaya, 1982] and later by I. Mustakimov [Mustakimov, 2010a].

The second *yarliq* is the famous *yarliq* of Khan Sahib Giray, who was the Khan of Kazan in 1521–1524 and the Khan of Crimea in 1532–1551. This work drew the attention of numerous scholars, including M. Khudiyakov, G. Rakhim, G. Gubaydullin, A. Battal-Taymas, S. Muhammedyarov, M. Usmanov and others, who believed it to be a valuable resource for studying Kazan Khanate history. The first pieces of evidence of the *yarliq*'s language were presented by S. Vakhidi, who originally discovered it. Comparing it to

the *yarliq* of Temür Qutluğ, the researcher concluded that 'the language of Temür Qutluğ is similar to that of Sahib Giray,—that is, the document is written in the Kipchak language. The style clearly reveals a noticeable Ottoman-Arabic influence'. In the Bulletin of the Tatar Research Society, the author specifies his opinion on the language of the record: 'Apart from the names of positions, some other names of tributes and taxes in the *yarliq* are also expressed in Arabic and Persian. The rest of the words are expressed in the general Turkic language'. [Vakhidov, 1925a, p. 36] Certain aspects of *yarliq* study are elucidated in works by M. Usmanov, F. Khisamova, I. Mustakimov [Möstäkimov, 2003; Mustakimov, 2013b], and others. When examining the *yarliq* of the Kazan Khan Sahib Giray in the context of official acts of the Golden Horde, Crimean Khanate, Ilkhan empire and Timurid states, I. Mustakimov mentions that 'the *yarliq* of Khan Sahib Giray was written in the literary language of the Golden Horde—the Volga Turki', and points out that 'it contains more Arabic-Persian words than other *yarliqs* of khans of the Golden Horde and Crimea' [Möstäkimov, 2003, 19 b.]. The obtained results are further supported by the study of historical documents written in the Crimean, Kasimov, Astrakhan and Siberian khanates, as well as the Ottoman Empire [Le khanat, 1978; Documents, 2008; Zaitsev, 2009a].

Epigraphic works serve as an integral part of the vast historical, cultural and spiritual heritage of the Tatar people, reflecting the highly developed culture of the people and the degree of society's civilization. The results of researching epigraphic monuments of the Kazan Khanate period serve as valuable material in the study of the Old Tatar language of the period [Rakhim, 2008; Muhametshin, 2008; Garif, 2010].

Monuments introduced from outside and created in the 15–16th centuries certainly play an important role in determining the language status and language processes of the period. Such works were distributed among the Tatar people and 'were paramount in creating the cultural background of the era, besides their

considerable impact on the language situation' [Khisamova, 2012, p. 35].

Bilingual dictionaries were also important. They were used to ease the interpretation of texts. Their use dates back to antiquity. The research of glossaries is of considerable importance because it provides a foundation for the study of lexical, phonetic and grammatic phenomena of the Old Tatar language, facilitates the study of texts from the period, and shows the lexicographic description of the language of the time. An Arabic-Turkic-Tatar Dictionary was discovered by the famous Tatar archeographer S. Vakhidi in 1928 in the village of Kuyuk of the Spassky Canton. The manuscript comprises 294 pages, with seven lines on each page. A handwritten copy of the manuscript is currently kept in the rare book section of the N. I. Lobachevsky Scientific Library. In the Arabic-Turkic-Tatar Dictionary, Arabic words are written horizontally, with the Turkic translation provided underneath in a slanted script. The words are listed alphabetically. This order is applied not only to the first letter of words, but also to the subsequent ones. It is supposed that this dictionary was used to interpret the Quran. In 1965, I. Avhadiyev published the article, '16th Century Arabic-Turkic Dictionary' [Avhadiyev, 1965]. The dictionary was not particularly studied thereafter. Only in 2003, we mentioned certain aspects of the language of this manuscript in several articles [Kadyirova, 2003; Kadyirova, 2012].

Another 16th century work remains poorly explored—'Madjamag al-kavagydy' ('Compendium of Rules'), written in 1542 [Dmitrieva, 2002, p. 115]. For a long time, it was used as a textbook in Kazan medreses, testifying to the extensive development of mathematical education in the Kazan Khanate. This rare work comprises a collection of nearly all of the arithmetic rules that existed in the ancient world. The book has three parts, each divided into chapters. In his article 'Boryngy kul'yazma', V. Berkutov insists that the author of the treatise was a Kipchak who lived in the Volga Region and then moved beyond the Danube.

(٢٢) هَرْنَه وَارِسَه وَ قَلَمُ تَمَامُ اُولُجَقْ هَبْ بِلَهْ يَزَارْ هَسَنْ
وَمِنْ بَعْدِ اَشْكَالُ بَاقِي دُخَى بَوَاسْلُوبْ اَوُزْرَهْ
يُورْدَهْ سِنْ وَ خَاصِلُ ضَرِيْدَنْ هَرْنَه وَاقِعْ اُولُورْسَه
رَاَدْ نَكْ تَحْتَهْ يَزَارْسِنْ وَيُونْدَنْ صُكْرَهْ شَكْلِي
ثَانِي دُخَى بَيَانْ اِيْدَهْ لَمْ مِثَالُ شَكْلِ ثَانِي



وَيُو شَكْلُ ثَانِي كَهْ صَرْبُ تَحْتَا نِيْدَرْ غَيْرُ مَرْفُوعِدَرْ
بُونُكْ دُخَى قَاعِدَهْ سِي بُوْدُرْكَهْ يَسَارْنِدَنْ يُوْرَرْ
اَمَّا بُونْدَهْ عَشْرَاتْ نَوْعِنْ دَنْ نَسْنَهْ دَاقِعْ اُولِسَهْ
اُولُ مَرْفُوعْ دُوْتْلَبْ اَلْهَ دَنْلَمْزْ اَحَارْدَنْ وَ عَشْرَاتِدَنْ
فِي الْجُمْلَهْ هَرْنَهْ اَشْكَالُ وَاقِعْ اُولُورْسَهْ
تَمَامُ يَزَارَهْ سِنْ اَمَّا عَشْرَا تَدَنْ اُولِنْ اَشْكَالُ
هَرْنَهْ اُولُورْسَهْ اُولُ يَسَارْنِدَنْ طَرْفَهْ بَرْ خَانَهْ
كَرْوِيَهْ يَزَارْزْ مِثْلَا بَرْ كَرْهْ بَرْ وَيَرْكَرْهْ
بِيْشْ وَيَرْكَرْهْ اِي وَ يَنْهْ بَرْكَرْهْ بِيْشْ بُونْدَرْ
هَبْ عَلَي التَّرْتِيْبِ رَاَدْ نَكْ تَحْتَهْ يَزَارْسِنْ وَ قَلَمُ
ثَانِيْدَهْ كَهْ بَشْ كَرْهْ يَشْنَدَنْ يَكْرَمْ بِيْشْ عَدَدْ
اُولُورْ اُولُ بِيْشْ قَاعِدَهْ بَسِيْطْ اَوُزْرَهْ مَوْقَعْنَدَهْ
يَزَارُوبْ وَ عَشْرَاتِدَنْ اُولَانْ اِكِي عَدْدِدَنْ
يَسَارْنِدَنْ طَرْفَهْ بَرْ خَانَهْ كِيْرُوِيَا يَزَارْسِنْ
وَ هَمَانْ يُونْدَنْ اِجْتِنَانْ اِيْدَهْ سِنْ كَهْ بُو مَحْلَدَهْ سَهْوْ
خَانَهْ اِيْتَمِيَهْ ثَاكَهْ خَرْيُوَكَهْ خَلْ كَلُوبْ نَقْصَانْ اَوُزْرَهْ
اُولَمِيَهْ وَ بَاقِيْسِنْ بُو طَرِيْقْ اَوُزْرَهْ يُوْرِيْدَهْ سِنْ

In the opinion of V. Berkutov, 'the manuscript was written in the ancient Turkic-Kipchak language' [Berkutov, 1968, 28 b.]. A. Khayrullina, studying the formation and development of mathematical terms in the Tatar language, also mentions this work, pointing out that 'the arithmetic treatise of Akhmadja Hajji Mukhetdin Muhammad is written in the Ancient Turkic language, while the principal arithmetic terms are expressed in Arabic-Persian units' [Khayrullina, 1996, p. 8].

The next work —Quran Tafsir—was discovered in 1958 in Kazan and is currently kept in the archives of the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan. The work was written in 913 AH according to the Hijri calendar, or 1508 according to the Gregorian calendar. The manuscript is well preserved and contains 856 pages.

There are few mentions of this book in the scientific literature. The authors of the work 'Borıngı Tatar Ädäbiyatı' ('Ancient Tatar Literature') attribute it to the 'works of various content brought from the East and Middle Asia as a result of economic and cultural relations with these regions, and distributed through handwritten copies by educated people who passed them from hand to hand'. The authors stress that this source is important because

'it was written in the Old Turkic language of the Tatar people' [Borıngı, pp. 340–341]. This manuscript was also mentioned in some works of the renowned philologist J. Zaynullin. Information on it was also provided in his doctoral dissertation [Zaynullin, 1999, p. 30].

The author of the Quran Tafsir first provides an explanation for writing the work. He asks: '*Belgel, äy gäziz käredeş. Bu kitab şhärif vä dörrilätiş cämğ idüb tärcemä kılmanä säbäb*' ('Know, dear brother, why I have translated and publicized this great book, beautiful as a pearl'). He continues: 'Since the sea of words of the Almighty and the Just (Allah) and the pearls in the sea have been sent down to us in Arabic, not all those who wish to do so can use them, so I, a servant of God, have translated it into the Turkic language for the general use. And I am gladdened that all people, old and young, can now study these pearls' [Kadirova, 2012, p. 303]. The author states this on page 8 of the manuscript.

The Arabic text of the ayats is written in red ink, with some individual harakats (supplementary diacritics, vowel marks) written in black ink. At the beginning of each surah, in each case of the word 'bismillah', the letter س (sin) extends across the entire length of the line, making it easy to find each surah.

The manuscript contains almost no corrections. The text is written neatly and the handwriting clearly belongs to one person. There are, nevertheless, a few corrections. For example, page 41 is written half-way and then crossed out. However, it was not removed, and the text continues on the new page. On some pages there are inscriptions executed in other handwritings. The expression 'Bine Gilmetdin Ibrahim oğly' ('Ibrahim ugly bine Gyl'metdin toryr') on the page 3 appears in two places. We believe that these marks were made by the owners of the manuscript. There are lines with other content on the margins. For example, the inscription on page 48 reads: '*Shihab diyülogatdä häd ak näsnäyä dirlär ki nurlu la*' ('The ray of a star is white and radiant').

The Tafsir presents interpretations of all surahs, starting from Yasin and ending with the last surah, An-Nas. Therefore, this manu-

script is presumably the second part of a single two-part work. The explanations to ayats are detailed, precise and supplemented by individual events. For example, in the Tafsir, explanations to the surah 'Yasin' are presented on pages 6–44, and the next ayah, 'As-Saffat', is elaborated on pages 44–86.

The study of these linguistic materials provides an understanding of the condition and functioning of the Old Tatar language of the Kazan Khanate period.

§ 3. Material Sources

Ayrat Sitdikov

The study of the material culture of Tatar states of the 15–18th centuries is closely associated with archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic research. Material sources of various Tatar states have been studied to varying degrees. Material culture objects of the Siberian and Kazan Khanates have been studied best [Sitdikov, 2013; Matveev, Tataurov, 2011; 2011a]. Vast data is available on the material culture of individual cities: Saray-Jük, Solkhat, Bakhchysaray, Hajji Tarkhan, Kasimov, and others. On the whole, material sources attributed to the history of Tatar states are currently at different stages of classification and are largely fragmentary.

Most sources on the history of the Kazan Khanate have been colligated and introduced into the research. Materials of archaeological research of the Kazan Khanate were first published in the works of N. Kalinin in the 1920–1950s [Sitdikov, 1999b]. He collected extensive information on the cultural layer of Kazan, and together with G. Yusupov and A. Khalikov, he arranged a study of monuments of the Kazan Khanate era and of the epigraphic materials [Kalinin, 1927; 1954; Yusupov, 1960].

Systematic archaeological research of many monuments of the Bulgar Tatar period was carried out in the second half of the 20th century, disclosing new data on the material culture of the Kazan Khanate. The monuments studied include such well-known objects as the Kazan Kremlin and adjoining territories, Kamaevo and Russkiy Urmat, Elabuga and Bulgar settlements, and so on.

In the early 1970s, R. Fakhrutdinov determined the priority objectives for the study of

the Kazan Khanate material culture [Fakhrutdinov, 1973]. Many problems that he posed were effectuated in subsequent research. Some questions took on a different guise in light of the new data, while a number of tasks remain unsolved and are still relevant.

The study of Kazan provides unique information on the material culture of the Kazan Khanate. Research of the city's cultural stratas was commenced by archaeologists from Kazan University back in the 1970s [Khalikov, 1983]. Significant results were achieved in the 1920–1970s. An enormous contribution was made by N. Kalinin and A. Khalikov [Sitdikov, 1999, 1999b, 2006; Khalikov, 1983]. Their works exposed layers of the Bulgar-Tatar period, established the pre-Mongol origin of the city, and revealed major architectural objects of the khanate-period Kazan [History of Kazan, 1988].

A new level of study of Kazan is associated with archaeological research carried out in the 1990s. A program of the city's exploration was developed under the management of F. Khuzin [Khuzin et al., 1995]. In the course of its implementation, prior to 2005, over 50 square metres were excavated. A khan palace, mausoleum, khan mosque and the Qolşärif mosque were unearthed, as well as stone fortification structures of the khanate court. The research provided materials that shed light on the past of the Söyembikä Tower [Egerev, 1928; Sitdikov, 2013; Sanachin, 2002].

Despite the successes in the study of Khanate-period Kazan, a number of significant problems remain related to the research of the material culture, architecture and pla-

nigraphy of the medieval city [Egerev, 1928; Sitdikov, 2013; Dulsky, 1943; Dulsky, 1929; Gubaydulin, 2002]. The large-scale, previously unknown structures and the street development of the Kremlin that were discovered in the course of the excavations demonstrate the planning features of the city and the stages of its reconstruction.

The study of ceramic materials, discovery of production facilities for their manufacture on the territory of Kazan, and other settlements of the period are of fundamental importance. Publications by T. Khlebnikova and N. Kokorina on the topic were based on materials discovered in other settlements [Khlebnikova, 1978; Khlebnikova, 1988; Kokorina, 1995, etc.]. The strata of the Kazan Khanate period are characterized by ceramics produced with the use of traditional forms of the Bulgar era. There is a noticeable reminiscence of pre-Mongol traditions.

Production facilities for ceramic manufacture from the period have not been found in Kazan yet. Materials from a 15th century pottery workshop in Russkiy Urmat Settlement have been studied quite well [Kokorina, 1995; Kokorina, 1999; Kokorina, Fakhrutdinov, 1999]. In the opinion of N. Kokorina, during the Kazan Khanate period, the old traditions served as a foundation in the emergence of new features.

The issue of local production of glazed crockery is a particular problem in the research of ceramic production. It is possible that the Kazan Khanate was the place of its manufacture, but more in-depth studies are required for a definitive conclusion on the matter. The manufacture of leather and leather goods was one of the principal types of production, as evidenced by many finds. Such goods have been subject to significant generalizations in recent years. The question of metallurgical production in the Kazan Khanate, evidenced by a wide range of products from the cultural layers of the period, remains unresolved. Workpieces produced by Kazan jewelers and metalworkers are a separate subject.

Unfortunately, no special studies have been carried out of items made of precious and ferrous metals, as well as the technique

of their production. A study of metallurgical problems and related products would assist in disclosing the degree of development of one of the key production types that reflects the status of overall societal development.

Resolving a wide range of problems in Kazan Khanate archeology would require research aimed at disclosing archaeological objects of the Kazan Khanate epoch. By analyzing written sources, E. Chernyshev localised about 700 settlements of the period [Chernyshev, 1971]. Many of the settlements are extant. Approximately 130 objects were discovered using archaeological methods, a significant portion being comprised of necropoleis [Archaeological Map, 1981; Fakhrutdinov, 1975].

The development of the Kazan Khanate, as that of any state, was tied to a distinct management structure in which cities unquestionably played an important role [Ermolayev, 1982]. In the domestic historiography, this has always been an ambiguous matter, with the existence of cities sometimes outright denied [Shavokhin, 1988]. The last few decades of research have disclosed cultural strata of the Khanate period in Laishevo, Bolgar, Bilyar, Sviyazhsk, Alabuga, Russkiy Urmat Settlement, and others [Sitdikov, 2013; Rudenko, 2004; Valiullina, 2004; Khlebnikova, 1978, etc.]. Excavations have also affirmed that these settlements developed successively, starting from the pre-Mongol era, including that of Arsk. These observations indicate that urban culture of the Khanate period was formed based on traditions of the Bulgarian and Golden Horde times. The settlements continued existing despite the significant political, economic and social turmoil, which demonstrates a stable social and economic structure, as well as a resettlement system that was established back in the pre-Mongol period. Presumably, the Kazan Khanate system of government also preserved ancestral traditions. The city centres were focal points of military, administrative and economic powers of the state, and the successive nature of their distribution indicates the preservation of traditional forms of governance. A study of previously unearthed settlements of the Ka-

zan Khanate and the late Golden Horde periods would impart greater understanding of the Khanate system of governance.

Analogous research of settlement complexes on territories of other Tatar states are very few. The most complete materials available are devoted to the study of the Siberian Khanate, where numerous settlements have undergone archaeological exploration [Matveev, Tataurov, 2011; 2011a; Adamov, 1995; 1998; 2000, etc.]. The studies have contributed to a fuller understanding of the organisation of economic life in the Siberian Khanate and of its boundaries.

Saray-Jük, Kasimov, Bakhchysaray and Hajji Tarkhan are among the cities of other Tatar states on which extensive archaeological materials have been accumulated [Guzeyrov, 2004; Gribov, Akhmetgalin, 2010; Samashev et al., 2008, etc.]. Unfortunately, the chronology of item complexes from these monuments of the 15–16th centuries was poorly presented. This limits the opportunities for analysis and comparison of these cities' material cultures.

The economic condition of medieval states depended significantly on the degree of development of trade relations. One of its indicators is coinage, enabling the study of monetary circulation and the nature of economic relations. Unfortunately, there is no available analysis of regional coinage of Tatar states. There are only publications of individual coins and treasure troves, with no general analysis of the monetary system and coin typology [Samashev et al., 2006; Muhamadiev, 2005, etc.].

The availability of own coinage in the Kazan Khanate was a contentious issue for many years. In recent years, a hypothesis was presented supposing that Kazan money has existed before the middle of the 16th century [Muhamadiev, 2005]. No coins minted in later periods have been discovered yet. Findings from excavations indicate that coins from the Crimea, Astrakhan and Ulugh Muhammad, minted in the Crimea, were present during the initial period. Coins minted in Kazan in the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th century were not found in the cultural strata of the Khanate period. Treasure troves dis-

covered to date indicate the complete domination of Russian-minted coins from the early 16th century on, which points to the economic domination of Muscovy in the region [Muhametshin, Sitdikov, 2001].

Item complexes in archaeological monuments reflect extensive trade connections between regions. In Kazan, they are represented by Western European coins, Chinese porcelain, glazed ceramics from Spain that probably arrived from the Crimea, Russian principalities and other regions [Koval, 2006]. Another indicator of the extensive influence of Crimean traditions is the arrival of Bakhchysarai architects in Kazan in order to build the Khan's court and its fortifications, as mentioned in written sources [Sitdikov, 2006; 2013]. This is also reflected in the architectural features of buildings and fortification structures found using archaeological methods. Stone towers of the Khan court are similar to those found in the Crimea. The construction techniques of stone buildings of the court and the adjoining Qolşarif Mosque require detailed study and possible reconstruction.

The well-preserved architectural monuments on the territory of the Crimea offer significant possibilities for the study of architecture of the period [Chervonnaya, 1995]. These structures have been purposefully researched by numerous experts. The objects found in the Crimean Khanate afford a unique opportunity of tracing the formation and development of the construction trade in the Muslim world of Eastern Europe.

In recent years, several necropoleis of the Khanate period have been studied from the archaeological perspective in Kazan [Sitdikov, 2013]. Among them is the Khan's mausoleum and neighboring burials, a Muslim necropolis in the southern extremity of the Kremlin, and a burial site in the area of the Gostiniy Dvor [Mausoleums, 1997; Sitdikov, 2006]. All of the burial sites contain Muslim burials with iron-bound wooden tabut (coffins). Fragments of gravestones can be found as well. The discovered materials require thorough anthropological study to gain a better understanding of the population of medieval Kazan.

Characteristics of the formation of Kazan Tatars in this area. The study of Cheremiss cemeteries is quite significant in the research. The need for such studies was pointed out by R. Fakhrutdinov [Fakhrutdinov, 1973]. In the 1980–1990s, the Muslim burial ceremony was traced. Unfortunately, the published archaeological map of the Trans-Kazan region does not specify the locations of such burial sites, rendering the understanding of the placement and number of these monuments incomplete [Archaeological Map, 1981; Fakhrutdinov, 1975].

In other regions, purposeful studies of the subject have been conducted only on monuments of the Siberian Khanate [Korusenko, 2003]. The works of researchers of this region clearly trace the tradition of the burial ceremony practiced by the Tatars in the region and its development over the course of an extended period. At the same time, the Tatars noticeably possess elements of the cultural tradition of the Ugric people.

Information on gravestones is also an important source for studying the characteristics of the Tatar Muslim culture [Borzenko, 1850; Chervonnaya, 1997; Dulsky, 1929; Ähmätcanov, 2002–2003; Katanov, 1921; Kereyrov, Chervonnaya, 2002–2003; Kornilov, 1929; Muhametshin, 2008]. Research of epigraphic monuments of the Volga Region and Crimea has produced unique materials on the written culture and high professional development of the stone-cutting trade. Systematic work in this field in the Volga Region has been presented in works by Kazan researchers [Yusupov, 1960; 1963]. Certain characteristics unique to the region are expressed in the traditions of stone gravestone placement. There is

also a notable succession of traditions dating back to the Golden Horde period.

One of the most urgent problems that has not been thoroughly studied by Kazan researchers is the formation of the Tatars of the Volga-Oka region. The objects of study are the settlements of the Kasimov Khanate, and dense residential locations of the Temnikov and Nizhni Novgorod Tatar groups. At the same time, we must keep in mind that these regions fell under Turkic influence starting with the pre-Mongol period. Dozens of Bulgar burial sites and settlements are known on this territory. The penetration of the Turks continued into the Golden Horde period. The long-term coexistence of the Turks, Slavs and Finns in the region was an influential factor in the ethnogenesis of these peoples. Preliminary research materials on the region's settlements indicate significant integration of Volga-Finnish traditions in the material culture of the Tatar population.

In recent years, extensive archaeological materials have been collected on the history of Tatar khanates and numerous works have been published on the subject. However, unfortunately, the related problems have not been resolved yet, and no consistent research has been undertaken to resolve them despite their obvious importance. The current stage of research calls for a novel approach to the study of relevant problems in the archeology of these states. Material sources, unfortunately, have been published only partially. A more detailed typological analysis and classification of each category of objective materials are required. These will allow the previous observations of the unique material culture of the period to be updated and specified.

§ 4. Tatar States in European Cartography of the 15–18th Centuries

Igor Fomenko

To avoid drowning in the sea of graphical materials or simply listing the sources, which alone can go on for dozens of pages, we will focus only on the hallmark cartographic materials¹.

As a rule, foreign authors who wrote about Russia before the 16th century received only second-hand information on Muscovy and various Tatar Kingdoms, relying on data from literary sources, annals, documents and oral tales. This is how Maciej Miechowita, Paolo Giovio, Paolo Campagni, Johann Fabri, and others worked. 'Notes on Muscovite Affairs' by Sigismund von Herberstein presented one of the first descriptions of the country by an eye-witness. Nevertheless, no matter how frequently various European guests visited Muscovy, their stereotypes of the Tatar-Russian state remained generally unchanged.

15th century. Let us refer to the graphical language to discern what knowledge about the far-away, mysterious Tartary the Europeans depicted in their medieval maps. It is worth mentioning that portolan charts, the most accurate cartographic materials, are important sources for the 15–16th centuries.

The sea maps of the 15th century produced by workshops under various European map-making schools show the principal Golden Horde cities of the Black Sea Region. The most important place names are accompanied by miniature flags with the Jochid tamga seal and stylized icons cities. The territory attributed to the flags with the Jochi tamga seal coincides with the borders of the Golden Horde traced in written sources. The western-most point is the town of Vichina, a large harbor in the lower reaches of the Danube, and the eastern-most one is Tana (Azak). The Golden Horde city of Azak is marked on portolans with the greatest number of flags in the Northern Black Sea Region, along with various designs of the Jochid tamga seals. This indicates

that the city was a vital hub both for regional and international trade. In addition, states that had vassal relations with the Jochi dynasty can be traced by flags bearing the Golden Horde tamga seal. All Golden Horde cities marked by miniature flags were administrative centres, at the least [Fomenko, 2011].

Let us examine a round copper map of the world—the Planisphere of Stefano Borgia (1440/1450—17th century) from the Vatican Apostolic Library [Djurova, Dimitrov, 1978, Table LVII (Borgiano XVI)]. The planisphere, which served primarily as a wall-mounted ornament, includes one of the first mentions of the ethnic name of *Tartary*. The miniature image shows a nomadic city in the Middle Volga Region (left bank), which may have been the residence of the Golden Horde khan. Tents interspersed with carts form a square, with a stream flowing in the centre and unharnessed horses grazing nearby. The miniature images depict the day-to-day lives of nomads. Next to the nomadic camp there is a text that, with slight alterations, can frequently be seen in the cartography of the 16th century in the same place: *'Kingdom of the Great Tartary: when the Tatars move to a place, they hitch bulls and other beasts of burden, and search for a place with good grazing pastures. Their city consists of multiple tents, carts, etc'*.

The 1448 planisphere of Andreas Walsperger, a Benedictine monk from Salzburg [Almagià, 1944, pp. 31–32], also shows one of the early placenames related to the name 'Tartars'. The state of the *Tartar Empire* is located above the *Koman Kingdom* in the Middle Don Region. On the right bank of the Don (apparently, Brother Andreas mixed up the rivers), there is a city with a text next to it: *'Sarai is the capital of the Tartars, where the Emperor lives'*. In the Middle Volga Region, in the land of *Kumaniya*, there is a large miniature painting of a city enclosed by a fortified wall, with a commentary next to it: *'This city (Sarai al) is the Jedit of the Tatar Batay, where the great Khan died'*. It is worth men-

¹ Data from cartographic sources (placenames, legends and texts) is presented in the text in italics

tioning that the name of the Golden Horde khan mentioned in the 1448 map is the only one I have ever encountered in cartographic legends known to me.

Some portolans demonstrate the vassal relations within the Golden Horde. For example, the 1482 sea map by Jaime Bertran places a figure of the ruler sitting on pillows, with a curved sword and a round shield with a tamga seal on it above the Crimea, with an inscription that reads, *'The King of Tartary'* next to him. To the East, there is a much larger image of a ruler holding the scepter and orb, known as *'LaGranchanAmperatorde'Tartaria'* [Roncière, 1925, N. 1–2. Pl. 19].

On an anonymous mid–15th century planisphere from Modena (the Modena Anonym) [Kretschmer, 1968, h. 358], in the *Great Tartary*, close to the North, next to the green hills, there is an enormous royal crown denoting the place where Temujin was elected khan with the title 'Chinggis', bearing the following note: *'In 1187, the first Tartar King was crowned here'*

Let us refer to the world map of 1459 produced by Fra Mauro in Venice (kept in Biblioteca Marciana). The author undoubtedly used Ptolemy's materials, evidence from Eastern tradesmen, Russian sources and notes of European travellers. The map was made by the order of the Portuguese monarch, Afonso V. It is worth mentioning that before this masterpiece of medieval cartography, no roads were shown on European maps. Fra Mauro depicted the roads that connected Russian regions and cities—another argument supporting the idea that the monk received information from travellers who had been there. The information was probably provided by the 'Surozh guests',—that is, merchants who traded with the Italian posts in the North Black Sea Region.

The Venetian cosmography contains the ethnonym *'Tartary'* in the names of regions where cartographers previously depicted Alania and Cumania (the southern Russian steppes) in the area between the Dnieper, Don and Volga rivers. This map also shows the city of *Tartaria* below the mouth of the River Medveditsa, which flows into the Don. So far,

this city has not been located due to insufficient archaeological study of the region.

The miniature of the first capital of the Golden Horde—the city of *Sarai*—on the map by Fra Mauro is significantly inferior to the *Sarai* enclosed with a mighty fortified wall that artist Andrea Bianco deservedly called *'Grando'*. Close to *Saray Grando*, there is a miniature of a luxurious burial vault accompanied by an epitaph that harkens back to the events of 1395: *'A Tartar burial vault containing 18 burials performed by the will of Tamerlane, who routed them (the Tartars) here. And he ordered that only the noblest of them be buried here, and this mausoleum is similar to the one shown (on the map)'*¹. The 1459 map is also valuable because the author placed two capitals of the Golden Horde on the left bank of the Edil (Volga): the *Sarai* on the left bank of the *Kara Sarai* River where it joins with the Edil, which corresponds to the city of Sarai Batu, and *Saray Grando* (*Sarai al-Jedid*). The map depicts a third *Sarai* as well—*Kalmuk Sarai*, located on the right bank of the Volga.

16th century. On the 1505 planisphere by Nicolo Caverio [Wigal, 2000, map No. 26], a ruler sits on a low throne in the middle of the Golden Horde, marked as *Tartaria* on the map, in a luxurious red and blue tent, above which a red two-pointed flag with a golden Jochid tamga flies. This is the sole anthropomorphic image on the map, which testifies to its particular importance.

With the weakening of the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde state, the image of the ruler of Sarai on maps gradually grows smaller, and his title also changes—the word 'Emperor' is removed. An aggressive image of a *'Tartaro'* armed with a sword can be seen in the Northern Black Sea region on the navigation map in the 1512 sea atlas of Vesconte Maggiolo, as well as on the portolan of another representative of the famous Genoese map-making clan of the second half of the 16th century, Jacopo

¹ This, undoubtedly, refers to the funeral complex where 'prominent Tatars' from the Tokhtamysh army who were defeated by Aksak Timur (Tamerlane) in the battle by the Kondurcha were buried.

Maggiolo [Portolani, 1994, p. 88–89; Frabetti, 1978].

When describing countries and peoples far removed from the cartographic centres of Europe, authors made wide use of the works of antiquity (Strabo, Pliny, etc.). Therefore, a paradoxical situation frequently arises—both the antique and medieval names of the same country are often included in a map. The popularity of the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy continued to grow, and by the middle of the 16th century various European printing houses had published numerous editions of this work.

Let us examine several important cartographic appendices to Ptolemy's Geography, paying particular attention to the 'Tartar' onomatology.

On the map of Italian monk Marcus Beneventanus (Rome, 1507), who used the map by Nicholas of Cusa as a guide [Lithuania, 2002, p. 18–19], the westernmost branch of the 'Tartar' people—*Perekop Tartary*—was located on the Eastern bank of the Dnieper. On the world map by Johann Ruysch (Rome, 1508) [Nordenskiöld, MDCCCLXXXIX, Tab. XXXII], the lands beyond the 'Polar Circle' are known as '*The Dark Province*', and to the east of that lies *Great Tartary*. To the south of the North Pole are Muscovy, *Russia Alba* (the right bank of the Dnieper), *Kazan*, *Strakhan*, and the *land of Tartary* (between the *Euxine* and the *Hyrcanian Seas*). On a 1513 world map (Strasbourg) [Ibid. Tab. XXXV], entitled '*The Hydrographic, or Sea Map*', Tartary is placed in the foothills of the North Caucasus, in the Middle Volga Region and on the left bank of the Ra (Volga). All of Western Siberia is called '*Tartary*'. The 1515 map by Gregor Reisch, the prior of the Carthusian monastery in Freiburg [Ibid. Tab. XXXVIII], is very schematic. It is noteworthy that the cartographer paid particular attention to various '*Tartaries*' in '*Asia*': *Perekop Tartaria*; *Cuman Tartaria* (Middle Volga Region); *Raven Tartaria* (West Siberia); *Tartaria Torquesten* (East Urals); *Tartaria the Most Affluent Süm* (East Siberia); and *Tangut Tartaria* (Northeast Eurasia).

In 1516, the cartographer Martin Waldsmüller produced and published his famous sea map ('*Carta Marina...*') on 12 pages [Bagrov,

2004, pp. 119–121], from which, despite its numerous archaisms, Europeans were able to obtain at least some information on Tartary, which was almost unknown to them. Most notable for our topic is the 3rd page of the first row, which depicts '*Russia Alba*' and a significant portion of Asian Russia, stretching to 65° E [Kordt, 1906, p. 3–5, Table I]. Waldsmüller received information on the lands shown on the map from the works of Odoric of Pordenone, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Marco Polo and other travellers.

Beyond the *Riphean Mountains* spreads a boundless *TARTARIA* consisting of numerous kingdoms (*regio*). Along the eastern slope of the Riphean Mountains, north to south, the following regions are located: Mordvani with the legend: '*Here, in this region, live the people known as the Bilers, and they are the vassals of the Tartars*'; then follows the region of *Great Bulgaria*; in the lower reaches of the Don (left bank) the country of *Kazana* can be found, and above it—the land of *Nagay*. In the land of *Nagay*, between the *Tanais* and the *Ra*, on a low throne in a tent with a sword in his hand sits '*the great nomadic ruler over great emperors, the tsar of Kazana and the Emperor over many peoples*'. Beyond the Volga, which flows across the entirety of Russia diagonally from the Caspian Sea to the Baltic, crosses Lake Ilmen and flows into the Gulf of Finland¹, above the Caspian Sea, called '*The Sea of Abak, or the Salty Sea*', spreads the vast land of *Cumania*. In the East, beyond the *Yaksart*, lies *Saracen Tartary*; '*The Land of the Bisermens*' and '*The Kingdom of the Kangits*' lie above it. In the centre of *Tartary*, among tents spread in a field, there is a frame with a traditional legend on the lifestyle of the *Tartars*: they do not live in cities, but travel with their herds, and their food is milk and meat.

In the 16th century, the Italian school of cartography held the leading position in the world, primarily due to its maritime maps. In 1525, the cartographer Battista Agnese produced a map of Muscovy based on first-hand

¹ In the Late Middle Ages, the Volkhov river was conflated with the river Ra, as in this case on the 1516 map of Martin Waldsmüller.

information. This is *'The Map of Muscovy based on statements received from the Ambassador Dmitry (Gerasimov) himself'* [Fomenko, 2006, p. 213]. The map was created as an appendix to a book on Muscovy and Tartary by Bishop Paolo Giovio. The source of information was the interpreter (in the title of the map, the *'Ambassador'*) of Grand Prince Vasili III.

The ethnonym *Tartary* appears seven times on the relatively small map, as well as one image of *'MAGNUS TARTARUS OCCIDENTALIS'*. *The Great Ruler of East Tartary* is shown in three-quarter profile sitting on a throne. He is wearing long robes, with a tall headdress on his head and a scepter in his right hand. Behind the ruler, one can see a tent city spread in the *'desert'*, with only rhumb lines running through it. The map shows *Perekop Tartaria* (located between the estuaries of the Dnieper and the Don); simply *Tartaria* (between the lower reaches of the Dnieper and the Don); *Asian Tartaria* (on both banks of the Volga); *Tartaria* (located above the only *'Tartar'* city on the map—*Casanum Tartarum*); and opposite *Kazan of the Tartars*, across the Volga, live the *Shaybanid Tartars*. Up the river (probably the Kama) is located the land of *'nogaitartari'*, and the seventh *Tartaria* can be found in West Siberia, where *MAGNUS TARTARUS* reigns.

Let us examine a map of Muscovy by Anton Wied [Kordt, 1931, map N. 39–41]. The artist from Danzig produced this map based on materials provided by the fugitive Moscow voevode and okolnichy, Ivan Vassilevich Lyatsky [Bagrow, 1975, pp. 64–68]. In 1542, Wied created the manuscript, and the well-known engraving by Frans Hogenberg is dated 1555. The toponyms on the map are given in two languages: the Latin transliteration of the Russian toponyms and their duplicates in Cyrillic script. To the North of *Kosaki Orda*, in the watershed area of the *Deyk* (Yaik) and the *Volga*, the camping grounds of the *Nogai Horde* are shown; the Nogais have the most numerous flocks of sheep and herds of horses in Tartaria. The *Perekop Horde* is located in its traditional place in the Crimea; their flocks graze further to the north, reaching the source of the *Sosna River*. The following commentary

is placed next to the armed figures of the Perekop Tatars: *'These Tartars are the bitter enemies of Christians'*.

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Lithuania was the cause of the 1526 ambassadorial mission to Russia of Sigismund von Herberstein, who had instructions from Austrian Archduke Ferdinand. The map *'Moscovia Sigismundi Liberi Baronisin Herberstein Neiperget Gutenhag MDXLVI'* [Ibid, Tab. XI] (1546), which had been intended as an appendix to his book, was published 3 years before Herberstein's *'Notes'* appeared. It was produced by famous engraver Augustin Hirschvogel, who worked with Herberstein to great effect in 1546 and 1547 [Kordt, 1899, pp. 6–8]. This small map depicted: *the Nagai Tartars, the Cheremiss people, the Mordva people, the Circassian people, and the Pyatigorsk Circassians*.

One of the best representatives of the Italian school of map-making of the Renaissance period is Giacomo Gastaldi. His contemporaries bestowed on him the epithet *'excellētissimo cosmografo Piamontese'*. In 1548, he created *'The New Map of Muscovy'* [Ibid, map N. IV]. The eastern and southeastern portions of the map comprise the region of *Kuriapatsor* (in the North Caucasus); the area of *Tartacosia* to the East of the Maeotic Sea; and above it—*Circassia and Alania*. On the right bank of *La Volga fl.*, the following regions are located: *Qipchaq* (above Astrakhan); *Palastra* (on the Middle Volga); and *Kabata* close to the city of *Casan*. On the left bank of the Volga, one can find *Chagatay* (close to the estuary); the *Shaybanid Tartars* are placed above them.

The works of the famous Flemish geographer and map-maker Abraham Ortelius were of utmost importance for the development of historical geography. His *'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum'* was extremely successful. The work comprised 70 maps on 53 pages; from one edition to another, the book's size increased, and it became the first systematic compendium of maps. Among the maps published by Ortelius was a 1562 map of Muscovy that was republished without revisions until 1612, as well as a map of East Asia—*'Tartary, or the Kingdom of the Great Kham'* [Abrahamus Ortelius, 1964. Tav. 46–47].

The author of a map of Muscovy, or to be more precise, a *'Description of Russia, Muscovy and Tartary'*¹, was Anthony Jenkinson, an illustrious diplomat and merchant who represented England's Muscovy Trading Company at the court of Ivan the Terrible. It is remarkable that the Kazan Khanate was shown as a part of the Muscovite State, while the Astrakhan Khanate was still shown as independent, even though Jenkinson was aware of the conquest of Astrakhan by Moscow, which he mentioned in his literary work (a frequent discrepancy between the author and the publisher). North from the region of *Kondor* to the land of *Bayda* stretches the region of *Samoyed*; the middle portion of the map, up to the *Volga*, is occupied by *Russia*; to the South, from the region of *Mordva* to the area of *Boghar* (Bukhara) is the ethnonym *TARTARI*, and to the south of the *Samar River*—*NAGALIA*. These areas are dotted with tents and nomads herding camels. The geographic accuracy of the territory shown on the map where Anthony Jenkinson travelled in 1557 while leading an expedition in search of trade routes to Bukhara and Persia² is relatively great, which was partly achieved by establishing the latitudes of individual places. Below the region of *Bayda*, to the right of the large *Chinese Lake*, the source of the *Ob*, there is a note regarding miracles that took place in *Tartary*. The commentary to the miniature image is placed within a rich cartouche complemented by a corresponding picture. The viewer can see how an *impressive armed column surrounded by numerous flocks of sheep and herds of camels moves down the Eastern slopes of Mount Imaus*³. The commentary says: *'These rocks have the likeness of men, and also of camels and other animals carrying various loads, as well as small livestock. Once upon a time, in the ages past, this was a horde whose representatives raised stock, and grazed small*

and large cattle; however, once by some magic they were all turned to stone and became rocks while maintaining the likeness of humans and animals. This amazing transformation took place about 300 years ago'.

The map *'Tartary, or the Kingdom of the Great Kham'* was created in Antwerp in 1570 [Abrahamus Ortelius, 1964. Tav. 46–47]. It is preceded by a historical ethnographic text. Below are some excerpts that are typical of the established ideas of Europeans on the 'Tartars', as well as the sources of their knowledge. *'Those whom we call the Tartars comprise a great number of peoples who live on an enormous territory. Since Tartary currently stretches from the East Ocean or Mangico, its lands spread from the Northern Ocean to the Southern reaches of Sinam, a portion of India, and go beyond the Ganges, the Sakos, the Oxus..., the Caspian Sea and the Maeotian Swamp; in the West, Tartary borders on Muscovy, which once was completely occupied by the Tartars and had representatives in its cities. In the ancient compositions, Tartary was known as Asian Sarmatia, as well as Scythia and Serica (a territory that currently roughly corresponds to that of China). Its horrifying name was first heard in Europe in 1212. In their language, "ordy" means "a multitude". And although they live in different provinces, at a great distance from each other, they have much in common in their customs and lifestyles. Their build is squarish; their appearance is squat; their eyes are deep-set and narrow; their beards are horrible; in all other respects their bodies are powerful and their spirit is brave; they kill horses and other animals and use them for food, but they do not eat pigs... Sigismund von Herberstein provides information on the Tartars, their customs and traditions. Also see Antonius Bonfinius and his commentaria Hungarica, and Marco Polo the Venetian, who lived among them (the Tartars) for a long time. On their origin, read Matthew of Miechow; (the work of) Hayton of Armenia; the Saracen history by Celio Curione, and the writings of the Jesuit Jacob of Navarre. The information on the Tartars offered by Nikephoros in Book 18, Chapter 30 would be good to have as well'*. The texts placed on the map abound with data that date back to traditional antique

¹ 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum'. Antwerpen, 1588–1612(7). State Historical Museum, GO-5926. The map comes from the Spanish edition of the atlas by Abraham Ortelius.

² See: [Gautier, 1906; Gautier, 1937].

³ From the time of Claudius Ptolemy, Mount Imaus had been identified with the Urals; later it was associated with the Altai, Tien Shan and the Himalayas.

and medieval authors and contain numerous legendary and mythological themes.

On Ortelius's 1570 map, the domain of the Great Khan includes the following lands and peoples: *Astrakan, Kazan, Turkestan—the Kingdom where... the number of tribes amounts to 900, Transoxiana, Chagatay, Samarkand, Charsian, Istigias, Tacalistan, Kamul, Tangut, Chiorsa*; and in the North, mainly 'the hordes'. The Taimyr Peninsula is shown as the place of residence of two Israeli peoples lost in ancient times, *the tribe of Dan and the tribe of Naphtali*, which in the state of the *Emperor of Tartary* are also called 'hordes'. The placement of Judaic peoples in the Scythian Desert is an indispensable tribute to medieval ideas on the vassals of Antichrist, the peoples of Gog and Magog. The neighbors of the Judaic 'hordes' are *the Cheremiss Horde, the Turbonim Horde, and the Horde of the Merkits*, as well as the *Usezucanorum horda, the Chiesanorum horda* (apparently the Kazan Horde), the *Bashkir Horde, the Siberian Horde; the kingdoms of Tabor; the land of Chiorsa, and Bargu*. Next to each 'horde' (apart from the Judaic and Cheremiss hordes) there are miniature images of tents.

In the so-called 'Wrocław Jenkinson', in the area of *Tartary*, to the southwest of the *Chinese Lake*, in the area of *Tumen, Nagaia and Cassakia*, near a miniature of a nomadic camp surrounded by numerous flocks of sheep and herds of horses and camels, there is a commentary in a cartouche, describing the way of life of the people who live there: *'The residents of the Tumen region, the Cossaks and the Nagais, are Mahometan Tartars who live in communities. And wherever they go, they take with them their numerous wives, whom they value. The Tartars are people who eat horse meat, but from some horses they also obtain milk. They also eat fruits growing on trees. They do not have any money in circulation. These people are partial to doing magic and to conjuring evil spirits. If any enemy threat arises or the skies are darkened due to a storm, they convene a council*

meeting in order to pass a decision regarding the omen or the enemy threat. And then one of them (a priest or shaman), using spells, herbs, roots and (special) stones, demonstrates his art in interpreting various signs'.

For the map of the Detecum brothers, *'A New Description of the Northern Regions, Including Muscovy, the Ruthenes, and the Tartars, as Well as the Tartar Hordes Surrounding These Lands...'* (before 1572)², an unknown author compiled materials of outstanding travelers and map-makers of the first half of the 16th century: Sigismund von Herberstein, Ivan Lyatsky, Gerardus Mercator, Anthony Jenkinson, Giacomo Gastaldi, Olaus Magnus, and Master Caspar Fopellius. To the southeast of the *Chinese Lake*, in the region of Yugoria and Cassakia, next to the miniature of a nomadic camp, we can read the following commentary with a generalized characteristic of the Tatar ethnicity: *'The Tartar people have always been known for their warlike attitude and led a nomadic life, and it is divided into Hordes'*. The most important of them are: the *Horde in the land of Bulgaria*; the *Horde in the land of Cassakia* (the southeast of Lake Teletskoye); the *Horde in the area of the Middle Urals*; the *Horde in the land of Nagai* (between the Volga and the Yaik); the *Horde in the upper reaches of the Yaik*; and the *Horde in Turkestan*.

An explanatory commentary is placed between the Yaik and the Volga, next to an image of a nomadic Horde: *'In the Tartar language, a horde means a group of people who comprise one community. And this community (the Horde) constantly leads a nomadic life, moving from one region to another'*. The map offers a lot of information on past wars and wars contemporary to the authors of the map. Below are the notes pertinent to the topic under examination. In the Northern Azov Region, in the area of the *Crimea*: *'The Crimeans are Mahometans; they raid the Muscovites, with whom they are always at war'*. Above the city of Ka-

¹ 'New comprehensive description of Rus, Muscovy and Tartary. Anthony Jenkinson. Clement Adams'. Illuminated print. London, 1562/1568. University library, Wrocław. See: [Fomenko, 2010, p. 12].

² Regionem Septentrionalium, Moscoviam, Ruthenos, Tartaros, Eorumque Hordas Comprehendentium, Ex Antonii Jenkesonii Et Sigismundi Liberi Baronis Ab Herberstein Itinerariis, Nova Descriptio. Ioannes, Lucas Duetecum. (1563–1572). The only known copy in the world. State Historical Museum, GO-6350.

zana: 'In 1551, the Tartar Kingdom of Kazan was defeated and included in the realm of the Emperor of Russia'. Near the city of Astrakhan: 'In 1554, the Astrakhan Tartar Kingdom was defeated and joined to the Russian Empire'. As we can see, the map-makers are ahead of true events by 1–2 years. Near the town of Maliy Khorasan: 'Here is the town of Khorasan that is located in the Persian Kingdom; in 1558, it was seized by the Tartars'.

17th century. The Europeans still associated Sarmatia Prima, or European Tartary, with wildness and barbarism, as well as a scale of territory that was very difficult to describe. During this period, the image of the *King of Tartary* completely lost its aggressive features. On the portolan of Aragonian map-maker Placido Caloiro-et-Oliva, dating to the early 17th century, the 'King of Tartary' in the Black Sea region is the vassal of the 'Great Turk' [Cartografia, 2000, p. 172.]. Unlike the other 'tsars', armed with swords and shields, the Tartar ruler sits on cushions in the lower reaches of the Volga and holds a cup instead of a curved sword.

Let us look at the map of 'Tartary'¹ produced in the early 17th century by Jodocus Hondius, a famous Flemish map-maker and engraver. The territory of *Tartary* (Muscovy is its western border portion) on this map is an island separated from the rest of the world. In the North, it is washed by the *Northern Sea*, the *Sea of Nyaren*, that is, the *Calm Sea*, the *Russian Sea*, the *Tartar Sea*, which is covered in ice. In the East, *Tartary* is bordered by the *Pacific Sea*. In the South, *Tartary* is separated from the ancient civilizations of the East by the *Great Chinese Muros*, that is, a wall, and seas of sand: the *Desert of Lop*, the *Desert of Muks*, and the *Black Desert*, as well as a belt of various 'hordes'—the *Kalmuk Tartars*, the *Nagai Tartars*, the *Trans-Volga Tartars* and the *Perkop Tartars*.

The map is accompanied by a French text written by Amsterdam geographer Peter van den Berg. 'Spread through the great steppes of *Scythia*, *Tartaria* stretches to the North. It is

populated by the Tartars, who are famous for the moderation and antiquity of their people. It is said that they are descended from Abraham and have never served anyone, despite the wars Alexander the Great, Darius, Cyrus, Xerxes and other powerful kings and peoples have fought with them. In the past, they served only one Kham, or Lord, but now their kingdom is divided, and it is ruled by numerous princes. The name of their country goes back to the name of the River Tartar; we call it the *Magog*, but the local people call it the *Mungul* according to the name of the country that borders it from the North. Tartary borders with the Chinese Kingdom in the East, with India in the South along the Ganges and the Oxus, and with the Caspian Sea and Poland, as well as Muscovy, in the West, and with the Arctic Sea in the North.

The first king of the Tartars was called the *Kangi*, or the *Khama*, but Paul Venet calls him the *Kinhin*. His son's name was *Ekukham*; the third king, whom some also call *Batu*, was named *Zaykham*; the fourth was known as *Temur Kutlu* or *Tamerlan*, and he captured the Turkish emperor *Bayazet*, chained him in gold chains and carried him in a cage around Asia...

The country is mostly a desert, sad and savage... Tartary is divided into two parts, the European and the Asian. The European part is known as *Little Tartary*; the kingdom of the *Perekop Tartars* is located there. It occupies the portion of European *Scythia* located between the Rivers *Borysthenes*, *Psel* and *Desna* that run into the *Borysthenes*, the small river *Tanais* that is usually known as the *Donets*, and the *Tanais proper*; as well as the *Maeotian Swamp* and the *Euxine Sea*...

Earlier the *Scythians* ruled there..., but since the Tartars came from Asia and settled there, the land became known as Tartary, and it was given the name of *Little Tartary* to differentiate it from *Great Tartary* located in Asia...

Great, or Asian, Tartary is divided into five principal parts, namely, desert Tartary, *Chagatay Tartary*, the Kingdom of *Turkestan*, the Kingdom of the Great Master of *Kanten* (the Emperor of China) and *Old Tartary*'.

Desert Tartary is located between the rivers *Tanais*, *Volga*, and *Jaxartes* and the *Tapir*; *Se-*

¹ Josse de Hondt. *Tartaria*.. Amsterdam. [Early 17th century] State Historical Museum, GO-6074. Illuminated print.

biy and Imaus Mountains. *'It covers a portion of Asian Sarmatia and most of Scythia, located between the Imaus Mountains. It is divided into numerous Hordes, among which the following are the most important: the Trans-Volga Horde, also known as the Horde of Bulgar Tartars, the Kazan, Nogai, Tyumen, Shilban, Cassak, and Astrakhan Hordes, the latter of which is also known as a kingdom, and the Bashkir Horde. All of them are named after cities. Their residents, who once used to be free, are now the subjects of the Muscovite Kingdom, with the exception of the Tyumens, who recognise the power of the Great Kham Katyan...*

The last portion of Tartary is Old Tartary, located between the Rivers Paropamis and Serik, or the Chinese Kingdom and the Northern Ocean, and the Strait of Anián. It is called Old Tartary because the very name of the Tartars originates there... It has numerous provinces, or hordes, and their names are almost unknown to us. Learned scholars believe that the countries of Ung and Mongul are in fact the Gog and Magog mentioned in the Holy Scriptures'.

A European reading about the Tartars could also learn that *'the nature of these people is cruel, wild and savage... The Tartars always ride, they do not use carts during a war; they own numerous strong horses, they have no cities that they would need to use their armies to protect...*

They always hide their wives. Following the call of nature and the example of the ancients mentioned in the Bible, they are allowed to have several wives. Each (of the Tartars) has numerous children and concubines; the more wives they have, the more they love them, and their marriages are happy. They do not strive to marry rich brides or women of rare beauty or those coming from a noble house. Frequently, their noble princes marry slaves they have purchased....'

The following is said about the battle garments of the Tatars: *'They wear long robes without folds, suitable for fighting and riding. During a battle they wear large, long, pointed white hoods that shine so brightly that they bring terror to the hearts of their enemies even though they do not wear helmets...'* In addition to the texts, the Hondius map provides a sketch

of the Tartar way of life: tents, cattle, a saddled horse, and a cart, as well as warriors armed with lances.

The 1613 map of *'Muscovy, or White Russia'* by Gessel Gerard Gerrits is mostly based on authentic Russian 16-century drawings¹. A portion of the Latin text on the reverse side of the 1614 re-engraving is directly related to our topic: *'Some Asian peoples who live in the Tartar steppes and travel as a part of their hordes are also under the rule of the Grand Prince of Muscovy: the Zavoloch and Kazan Tartars, the Nogais, the Shaybanids, the Cossaks, and the Astrakhan Tartars, who used to have their own state, as well as the Bashkirs'.*

'The Latest Map of Russia Created by Isaac Massa' [Russiae, 1638], a Dutch traveller and map-maker, was published in 1636. It also contains a Tartar onomasticon. The land stretching from the Volga to the source of the Ob is called *'Tartariae Pars'*, and this *'portion'* includes the following territories and peoples: the *Tungus, Samoyede, Bayda, Obdora, Sibiriya, Lukomorye, Yugoriya, the Piebald Horde, Kazan, Kolmaks, Bulgaria, the Nagai Horde, Kolmaks, and Astrakan*. To the West of the *Astrakhan land is the Nagayski*; to the South of the *Wild Field*, above the *Maeotis*, lies *'the Crimea, or Przekop Tartary'*.

European map-makers traditionally marked the Siberian Kingdom, the Astrakhan Kingdom and the Kazan Kingdom on the territory of European Tartary².

'A General Map of the Ukraine, or the Demonstration of Lands Depicted According to New Data...' by Johannes van Keulen (the second half of the 17th century)³ offers us the

¹ Hessel Gerard (Herrits). *Tabula Russiae*. Amsterdam. 1613. State Historical Museum, GO-6523. It is considered that if the map of Muscovy used by Herrits was drawn by Tsarevich Feodor Godunov, who had access to Russian official secret maps, including the 'Big draft', then the map of Herrits was a kind of a remake of the lost 'Big draft' graphics. See: [Bagrov, 2005, p. 258].

² N. Sanson le fils. *Estats du Czar ou Grand Duc de la Russie Blanche ou Moscovie*. Paris. [First half of the 17th centuries] State Historical Museum, GO-6363.

³ Gerardus Valk et Petrus Schenk. *Typus Generalis Ucrainae sive Palatinatum Podoliae, Kioviensis et Braczlaviensis terras nova delineatione exhibens*. Am-

following material on *Little Tartaria*. *The state of the Krymchaks, or the Crimean Tartars or the Perekop Tartars*, is limited to the Tauric peninsula; in the North of this state, there is the sentry settlement of *Or, or Perekop*; in the South, a moat (*Fossa*) is shown that connects the Karkinit Bay with the Sivash.

On the 1665 Volga map by Adam Olearius¹, on the left bank between the towns of *Soratoj* and *Zariza* there is a large miniature that depicts the lifestyle and customs of the residents of this steppe land, the Nogais and the Kalmyks. The artist shows how the nomadic tribes move their tents using camels; what they wear; what fruit their land gives (miniatures of impressively large watermelons and melons, which were exotic to Europeans); how their tents look on the outside and on the inside, and how the hearth is arranged.

The Tartar onomasticon on the 1688 map *'White Russia, or Muscovy'*² by Guillaume Sanson is comprised of: the *Crimean Tartars* and the *Nogai Tartars*. The camping grounds of the latter group are located in the area of *Little Tartaria* (the northern shore of the *Maeotian Swamp*). The *Circassian Tartars* are placed on the map between the Don and the Kuban. The *Mordovian Tartars* are located between the towns of *Moruma* and *Alater*. And from the northeastern shore of the *Mar Caspio* to the region of *Tingu(t)* a begins the territory of *Great Tartary*.

A map by Nicolaes Witsen, a close associate of Peter I, is a graphic supplement to his work *'Northern and Eastern Tartary'* published in Amsterdam in 1692. It was based on Russian cartographic materials. Witsen's map is the first true printed map of Siberia, and it exceeds even the Russian drafts of the period in the amount of information provided³.

sterdam. Late 17th century. State Historical Museum, GO-2400/18.

¹ Adam Olearius. *Accurata delineatio Nobilissimi toti Eúropae flúminis Wolgae olim Rha dictae*. Sculps Christ Rothiesser. (Schleswig). 1665. State Historical Museum, GO-6171.

² Gulielmo Sanson, Hubertus Jaillot. *La Russie Blanche ou Moscovie*. Paris. 1692. State Historical Museum, GO-5712/25.

³ Nicolaas Witsen. *Lant Kaarte, vant Oost Tartarie*. Amsterdam. [Late 17th century] State Historical Mu-

The following inscription stretches through all of Siberia: *'The Entirety of the Muscovite State Together with Great Tartary'*. The *Circassian Tartars* occupy the left bank of the river Terek; the *Shafkali Tartars* are in Dagestan; the *Bashkir Tartars* reside to the east of Saratov; the *Nagai Tartars* are between Tsaritsyn and Saratov, on the left bank of the Volga; the *Ufa Tartars* are spread from the Kama to Saratov; and *Great Tartary* stretches from the Selenga and the Orkhon to the *Eastern Ocean* and from the Amur to the Great Wall of China.

18th century. During the reign of Peter I, Russia made a decisive step forward in the sphere of cartography. By the end of the previous century the Siberian Prikaz had accumulated several hundreds of pages of drafts, and in 1696 the government took it upon itself to create a new map of Siberia. Orders were sent to all Siberian towns for the voivodes to make separate plans of towns and areas that would later be brought together in a single drawing by Semen Remezov, a draftsman and researcher of the territory. In 1701, he compiled the first Russian handwritten atlas of Siberia (only 1 original and 2 handwritten copies are extant) comprising 24 maps and called *'The Drawing Book of Siberia'* [The Drawing, 2003]. The 23rd page of the book is the first ethnographic map of Siberia. It depicts the borders of the settlements of the tribes in detail; the places of residence of each ethnicity are colour coded. 87 different peoples are shown in *Great Tartary*! [The Drawing, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 23; Vol. 2, pp. 143–144].

The European maps of the Enlightenment period, like two hundred years before, continued to call Russia *'Muscovite Tartary'*.

'The New Geographic Map of the Great Kingdom of Muscovy, Representing its Southern Portion' by Nicolas Visscher was produced in Amsterdam in 1706.⁴ On the map, the area in the Volga Region from Nizhni Novgorod to Astrakhan is called *'Muscovite Tartary'* and comprises: *the Kazan Tsarstvo, or the King-*

seum, GO-6068.

⁴ Nicolas Visscher. *Nouvelle Carte Geographique Du Grand Royaume De Moscovie Representant La Partie Meridionale...* Amsterdam 1706. State Historical Museum, GO-2400/5.

dom of Kazan; the Duchy of the Bulgars; the Astrakhan Tsarstvo, or the Kingdom of Astrakhan, which also includes the lands of the Golden Horde, or Horde d'Or, bounded by the Akhtubia and the Yeruslan.

In the Volga Region, the map marks the lands of the Mordva People, the Meadow or Plain Cheremis, the Mountain Cheremis, the Kalmuks (camping grounds between the Irgyz and the Samara); the Orlokouri Horde, and the lands of the Great Nagais, or the Grand Nagay, which include the lands of Memaks on the right bank of the river Yeruslan (the largest number of nomadic tents is shown in the Great Nagai lands); in the lower reaches of the Volga (the right bank), the lands of the Grebensky Cossacks are marked, and the territory of the Astrakan Tartars, or Nogays, are located below that.

On the 1714 'General Map of Russia' by Henri Chatelain¹, Samogesia, or the land of the Samoyeds, is located in Siberia, to the west of the Yenisei, as are Kondoria, Obodria, Lukomorye, the Painted Horde, the Tyumen Tartars and the Barabinsk Tartars.

In 1725, in Nuremberg, Johann Baptist Homann produced 'The Latest General Map of the Entire Russian Empire, Showing a Great Portion of the Globe, from the Arctic Pole to the Sea of Japan and the Northern Borders of China, as Well as the Road Recently Taken by the Tsar's Ambassadors from Moscow through All Tartary to the Great Chinese Empire....'² It was based on Russian cartographic materials. It is worth mentioning that this map was the first one to include the name Russian Empire instead of the Muscovite State, the designation common in Europe. Russia's borders were shown in accordance with the Treaty of Nystad. In the South, the Russian Empire shares a border with Little Tartary, the Circassian Tartars, the Aral Duchy, numerous tribal unions of the Nomadic Kalmyks, the region of Nayda and Chinese Tartary.

On the 1769 map produced by Facius, printed in Bonn [Kordt, 1931, Table 19], all lands beyond the Oka were called 'Tartarie', as in the 14th century.

Let us assess several maps from 'The Universal Geographic Atlas of the First Geographers Guillaume Delisle and Philippe Buache of the (French) Academy of Sciences...' published in Paris in 1789³. Number 116 in it is a 'Map of Tartary... 1766' decorated with miniatures of tents and domestic scenes. Little Tartaria (the Northern Black Sea region) is dominated by the people of Nagai; the lands of the Little Nagais, also known as the Black Nagais or Black Tartars, are included in the domain dependent on the Tartar Khan (the watershed area of the Don and the Kuban); the Kuban Tartars are also marked on the map, as is Asian Russia, or Russian Tartaria, divided into gouvernements in the west and provinces in the east. The borders of Tartary stretch from the Don to the Kamchatka Sea, which is also called the Sea of Lama; Independent Tartary (from the Aral Sea to the Gobi Desert) includes the Yelyui Kalmuks, the centre of whose camping grounds is shown on both sides of the river Ili. Independent Tartary also included the Cossack Horde (on the banks of the river Syr Darya). Furthermore, the map depicts the Tyumen Tartars; the Tatar tups (Northern Caucasus); Great Tartary (from the Kara-Kalpaks to the Gilyak people, below the southern border of Russia); and Chinese Tartary (from the Khalka Region to the Amur). The centre of Tartarie Chinoise is located in Urga, or the Field. Text to miniatures of tents is the legend: 'In this place or close to it was Karakum, the capital of Chinggis Khan'. The north and the northeast of Muscovite Tartary are bathed by the Mer de Len and the Mer d'Amour—a sign that the authors were familiar with Russian charts of Siberia.

¹ Henry Schatelen. Carte Generale des Etats du Czar, ou Empereur de Moscovie. Amsterdam. 1714. State Historical Museum, GO-5944.

² Johann Baptist Homann. Generalis Totius Imperii Russorum Novissima Tabula. Norimberg. 1725. State Historical Museum, GO-6368.

³ Atlas Géographique et Universel, par et Guil. Delisle Phil. Buaché Premiers Géographes de l'Académie des Sciences. Et par Dezauche Ingénieur Géographe, et Successeur des Srs Delisle et Buaché. A Paris chez Dezauche rue des Noyers. Avec Privilège d'Auteur. Paris. 1789. Maps No. 118 (1723); No. 116 (1766); No. 117 (1780); No. 120 (1781); No. 119 (1785); No. 114–115 (1788).

A remarkable map of the Northern Black Sea region, created in 1772 by Giovanni Rizzi Zannoni¹, shows the Russian-Turkish border established after the Russo-Turkish war of 1735–1739, equipped with a fortified line built in 17 Giovanni 40 for protection from the Nogai and Ochakovo Tatars, stretching from the Ivanovskaya Fortress on the right bank of the Dnieper to the Old Arkhangelskaya Fortress (22 fortifications!). The map also shows numerous camps of the Ochakovo, Budjak and Nogai Tatars. The following are marked on the left bank of the Dnieper, in the land of the *Nogai Tatars*: the *Yuguri Horde* (to the north of the Konka River); the *Ivak Horde* (the upper reaches of the Krynk River); the *Teliak Horde* (the upper reaches of the Ak Suyub River); the *Kjijiut Horde* (the middle of the Kara Derezi River); the *Nogai Yambuluk Horde* (the upper reaches of the Kara Derezi River); the *Kangly Argakly Horde* (to the west of Lake Kuru-Gelyu); and the *Hadji Keray Horde* (in the basin of the Heyan Derezi River). On the right bank of the Dnieper, in the *land of the Ozyu-Kala Tatars* (the Ochakovo Tatars), are the following: the *Mir-Ali Horde* (opposite the Boguzin Fortress); the *On-Chadyr Horde* (the upper reaches of the Rumili Derezi); the *Kazai-Mirzy Horde* (close to Lake Kuk-Kuyu); the *Yagy Zapezakly Islam Keray Horde* (the middle of the Tana-Idel River); the *Krotoyaky Horde* (the source of the Salkan-Dere River); the *Istra Horde* (opposite the Stepanovskaya Fortress); the *Tatar-Medzhet Horde* (opposite the Geremoleyskaya Fortress); the *Geneviz Horde* (the source of the Tuzla River); the *Kevi Camp* (to the north of the confluence of the Gramokleyka and the Ingul Rivers); the *Irkan Kangly Horde* (opposite the Bogoyul Fortress); the *Alakh-Mirzy Horde* (to the northeast of Ochakov); the *Ismail-Mirzy Horde* (near the source of the Olyu-Kagalnig River); and the *Nogai Yedsany Horde* (at the

source of the Urmany-Idel River). Near these nomadic quarters is the largest miniature of a nomadic city, in the centre of which is the Khan's tent surrounded by several (12) smaller tents topped with crescent moons. To the West of the lands of the Ochakovo Tartars, across the river Olu-Teli Gelyu, stretch the lands of the Budjak Horde (*Budziak Tatarlerinugn*).

Let us examine a unique map of Siberia, 'The New Geographic Description of Great Tartary' of 1730², created by a map-maker who had lived an unusual life. The Swedish officer Philip Johan Tabbert von Strahlenberg was captured after the Battle of Poltava in 1709 and remained in Tobolsk from 1711 to 1723, when he was released after the Treaty of Nystad. His work was based on Russian materials. Russian toponyms are given in Latin transliteration. The engraving of the title of the map shows not the stereotypical European spelling, *Tartary*, but its Russian version, *Tattaria*!

The sheer number of toponyms in the map had not been previously seen in the Western European map-making tradition. The borders of the *Kazan Kingdom* and the *Astrakhan Kingdom* are shown. Siberia is called the *Siberian Kingdom*. Middle and Central Asia are called, as usual, *Great Tattaria*; in the west its borders are the lower reaches of the Volga and the *Astrakhan Kingdom*, and in the east, the estuary of the Amur. The lands and peoples who live in *Great Tattaria* are as follows: *The Eastern portion of the Astrakhan Kingdom, the Kabder Tribe, the Yaik Cossacks, the Kara-Kalpaks, Karakum, Arakum, the Cossack Horde, the Djelchekly Tribe, the Djuss Tribe, the Qongirat Tribe, Turkomania* (the northern part), *the White Turkmens, the Karder Tribe, the Djamakayu Tribe, the Mingastagan Tribe, Turkustan, the Yelyui Kalmyks* (the upper reaches of the Irtysh), *the Djungar Kalmyks, the Wild Kirghiz Wild Tatars, the Karagn Tribe, the Irtysh Steppe or Desert, the Kankagai People, the Teleut People, the Land of Kumanda, Mula*

¹ Rizzi Zannoni. Carte des Frontières de Pologne depuis Balta jusques à la Riviere de Sina-Woda; contenant le Territoire des Kosaks de Human et de Zaporow; kes Deserts des Tatares d'Oczakow, de Bessarabie et du Nogai avec leurs Hordes telles qu'elles furent situées à la fin de 1767, par les ordres du Khan de Krimée... // Carte de la Pologne. London. 1772. State Historical Museum, GO-170.

² Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg. Nova Descriptio Geographica Tattariae Magnae iam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis. Siberiae accurate ostensa. Stocholm. 1730. State Historical Museum, GO-5951.

Goya, the Karanguzagan Steppe or Desert, the Altai Steppe of Tala, also known as the White Valley, the Province of Kamul, the Mungals, Khalka, Mungalia, the Waterless Gobi Desert, also called the Khamo Desert, the Tola Desert, the Mongol Desert, Nivkhiya, Nivkhi Kartzin, the Land of the Gilyaks, the Yupi Taffars, the Targuzins, and the Zakhar Nayman Mungals. Next to each name of a nomadic tribe the artist placed miniatures of tents.

In the European part of Russia and in the adjoining Southern regions live the following peoples: *The Wild Voguliches, the Sirayens (Great Perm), the Permyaks, the Votyaks, the Cheremisses, the Kazan Tatars, the Mordva, the Yukan Tribe, the Tirsa Tribe, the Singran Tribe, the Salgat Tribe, the Djagatay Tribe, the Buchzar Tribe, the Bigatin Tribe, the Ayyugly Tribe, the Zelyur Tribe, the Kataysk Tribe, the Nazarmamuly Tribe, the Kipchaks, the Great Nogais, the Mamai Steppe, where the headquarters of the Kabdersay Tribe is located (in the land of the Great Nogais between the Akhtuba and the Yaik), the Kuban Tartars, and the Little Nagais (steppes of the Northern Azov Sea region). The Kara-Circassians live near the Kulikovo Field!* As far as I know, this is the first mention of this particular toponym in cartography.

In 1745 the Russian Academy of Sciences published *'The Atlas of Russia Comprising 19 Special Maps Representing the Russian Empire Along with Neighboring Lands'*.¹ Page No. VII shows *'Little Tataria with the Bordering Kiev and Belgorod guberniyas. This Map Also Includes the Lands Near the Dnieper, Don and Donets, As Well As the Entire Crimea and Parts of the Kuban and the Black Sea. Established on the Above Triangle Created between Kiev, Ochakov and Azov and Based on Accurate Information on the Flow of the Rivers Dnieper, Donets and Don'*. Page No. IX demonstrates *'The Kingdom of Kazan with the Neighboring Provinces and a Part of the Volga; Contains Most of the Kingdom of Kazan and Nearby Places along the Volga and the Kama. This Map is Established on the Triangle between Moscow, Kazan and Astrakhan, and It Is Also Based on Accurate Information on the Volga Received from the Geographical Department'*.

The placenames *'Great'* and *'Little Tartary'* that were invariably included in the maps of Europe until the early 19th century indicate that the memory of the Empire of Chinggis Khan and its successor states had not been erased by implacable time.

Chapter 3. Historiography of the Tatar States (15–18th Centuries)

§ 1. Russian Historiography

Ilya Zaitsev

The so-called *'History of Kazan'* was likely the first fundamental historiographical work dedicated to the history of Golden Horde and bilateral Russian-Tatar relations [Written Monuments, 1985]. This publicistic work was composed in 1564–1565 and is a fictionalized story covering the period from the Mongolian campaign against Russia in 1552 to the collapse of the Kazan Khanate in 1552. After 1592 the text of the *'History of Kazan'* was reworked by replacing the last fifty chapters devoted to 1552 campaign with a compilation from *'Stepennaya Kniga'* and chronicles. It is this variant of the

work that has reached us in the greatest number of copies (in total there are more than 200 copies of the first and the second editions of this work). According to the text of the work, its author who was a man of Russian descent lived in Kazan for about 20 years as a prisoner (from

¹ The Atlas of Russia, comprising nineteen special maps representing the Russian Empire with bordering lands, composed in line with geographic rules and the latest observations, having also attached thereto the General Map of the whole Great Empire, by the efforts and labours of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. St. Petersburg, 1745.

1532 to 1551). Experts on the work claim that the text of 'History of Kazan' used the achievements of all literary genres and styles known in Russia in the 16th century. Nevertheless, this variegated material was united by a common artistic aim: to show the victory over the Kazan Khanate as the logical result of the struggle between the Russians and the khans of the Golden Horde and Kazan. As a consequence, real historical events described in the text are not only transformed artistically, but often are intentionally distorted to serve the overall idea. Nevertheless, the prevailing thought of the triumph of the Russian state and Orthodoxy was not the only distinguishing feature of the 'History of Kazan'. In the text of the work one can find not only touches of empathy towards the inhabitants of Kazan, but also direct condemnation of the grand princes. For instance, in the chapter about the victory of 'Ulu Akhmet' over Prince Vasily of Moscow, the author says: 'Thus, obedience and humility have overcome the fierce heart of our great prince, that he might not break his oath even if he has given a promise to heathens... Because God helps not only Christians, but also assists the heathen'. Many ideas of the 'History of Kazan' predetermined the development of Russian historiography concerning the Golden Horde and Tatar post-Horde khanates for a long period of time.

100 years after the reworking of the 'History of Kazan', in 1692 Andrey Lyzlov, a service class man from Moscow, finished writing the text of his 'Scythian history'. This is a very significant work which pays much attention to Tatar history. Lyzlov's main idea was the struggle between Christian Europe and 'Eastern' aggression. In 'Scythian history', this thought was modernized under the influence of Polish historiography and was transformed into a concept of the struggle against the Turks. Russian-Tatar relations are in the spotlight of 'Scythian history'. Lyzlov follows them from the times of the Mongolian conquests up to 1506, when, in his opinion, the 'yoke' came to an end. The essence of these, according to Lyzlov, was allegiance, the collection of tributes, and the jurisdiction of the Khans over the population: '... cursed Batu assigned his governors in all the cities, who are called baskaks, like atamans

or elders who always collect tribute from the remaining Christians and judge and order the Russian Christians according to their own will' [Lyzlov, 1990, p. 127]. The main sources for this part were 'The Book of Royal Degrees' and 'Synopsis'. Nevertheless, Lyzlov also used other sources in the parts of his work about the Tatars, including personal observations [Bogdanov, 1990, p. 403, etc.].

V. Tatishchev (1686–1750) made a significant contribution to the study of Tatar history. It was he who first tried to provide information about the etymology of Astrakhan and Kazan and their pre-Russian history in the articles of the same name from his unfinished dictionary 'Russian Historical, Geographical and Civil Vocabulary'¹.

Pyotr Ivanovich Rychkov (1712–1777) was one of 18th century's greatest Russian experts on Tatars and Turks. In August 1744, Rychkov finished writing his 'Report on the beginning and the state of the Orenburg commission at the time when it was established, containing some historical and geographic remarks'. The finalized version of this composition was published in 1759 in the academic journal called 'Compositions and translations for benefit and amusement' under the title 'The History of Orenburg and Orenburg guberniya'. It deals with the matters of the ethnogeny and ancient history of the Bashkirs, Kara-Kalpaks, Kazakhs, and Kalmyks, and their relations with Russia. Rychkov gives a brief review of the history of the cities and states of Central Asia, as well as a number of etymologies, including for the ethnonym 'Bashkir'. In 1750, he finished writing one more composition under the title 'A brief historical background of the Tatars and the current state of the peoples who are known as Tatars in Europe, composed in Orenburg on the basis of Turkish and Persian books and legends told by travellers who had been there, for consideration when composing a detailed description of these peoples'. After V. Tatishchev had acquainted himself with this

¹ [Leksikon (Dictionary), 1793]. It should be noted that V. Tatishchev was the first in Russian science to compose a brief essay on the Quran, which was made 'at the level of the best European Oriental knowledge of that time' [Arapov, 2000, p. 213].

work in 1749, he included a part of it in the first volume of 'Russian history'. P. Rychkov made wide use of 'A brief historical background of the Tatars' in writing his other work, 'Topography of Orenburg'. He systematized extensive material on the history of the peoples of the Volga River in 'Experience of the History of Kazan in the Ancient and Middle Ages' (1767) and 'Introduction to the Topography of Astrakhan' (1774).

In the 19th century, the development of the historiography of the Tatar states was connected both with classical experts on Russian historiography, authors of important works on Russian history, such as N. Karamzin (1766–1826) and S. Solovyov (1820–1879), and with historians specializing in the history of Kazan, such as K. Fuchs (1776–1864), M. Rybushkin (1792–1849), N. Firsov (1831–1896), and others.

It was at that time that the important area of the publication and criticism of medieval Tatar sources on the history of the Horde yurts emerged and began to grow rapidly. This activity is connected with A. Kazembek (1802–1870)¹, I. Berezin (1818–1896), and especially V. Velyaminov-Zernov (1830–1904), the author of 'Research on the tsars and princes of Kasimov' (published in four volumes in Saint Petersburg, 1863–1887), who also published the first collection of original diplomatic Crimean texts together with H. Faizkhanov.

A separate stage of the research on the Crimean Khanate is connected with V. Smirnov. His two-volume work 'The Crimean Khanate under the Ottoman Empire' (1887, 1889) is considered to be a classic and remains relevant to this day. According to V. Smirnov, the research did not claim 'to be a full historical review of the Crimean Khanate, but only a digest of information which can be found in Turkish written literary and documentary sources and which can prove facts that have already been acknowledged by science, but only tentatively and with insufficient data, or shed light on phenomena which had previously been insuffi-

ciently explained, or direct attention to those aspects of the subject which had for some reason been neglected' [Smirnov, 2005, p. 29].

Smirnov's greatest contribution was the study of Crimean historiographical texts and Ottoman compositions relating to the Crimea. It was he who first used one of the main compositions on the history of the Crimea in the 16th century—'The History of Khan Sahib Giray'. Initially he used a faulty Saint Petersburg copy when translating some excerpts from this work (now it can be found at the Manuscript Department of St. Petersburg State University's Faculty of Asian and African Studies) [Smirnov, 1913, p. 145; Nekrasov, 1997, p. 95]². However, afterwards he also used the oldest Paris copy (1651). Smirnov prepared a translation of this composition into Russian, but it never came out. Apart from 'The History of Sahib Giray', Smirnov was a real pioneer in discovering a whole range of other Crimean historical texts, first of all, the so called 'Short historical background'. The title of the source also belongs to Smirnov (the composition does not have an original title). At that time two copies of this work were known, and most Russian authors writing about the Crimea still use this text in the excerpt translations prepared by V. Smirnov. The researcher managed to find one more copy of the anonymous history published in French by Kazimirsky and Jaubert. He also found a unique text created in approximately 1790 and containing a short review of the history of the khanate from its founding up to the 17th century, and published it in 1881. A large number of copies of agreements and other official papers concerning the Crimea was included in the composition, which allowed Smirnov to call it a 'collection of works'. Only two copies of the composition are known today (the Paris original and a St. Petersburg copy most likely made by H. Faiz-

¹ It was A. Kazembek, who in 1832 published in Kazan one of the main Crimean chronicles, 'Seven Planets in the Narratives of the Tatar Kings'.

² Before V. Smirnov, the Remmal reports were addressed by F. Khartakhay, who, however, clearly undervalued the work and apparently was not aware of all its copies and editions. In one of his works on the history of Crimea in 1867 he even remarked: 'The historical literature of the Crimean Tatars is poor' [Khartakhay, 1867, p. 157]. Today, there is every reason to refute these words.

khanov). The composition was published by V. Smirnov on the basis of the St. Petersburg manuscript. The text was corrected and supplemented based on the Paris manuscript [Collection of works, 1881]. V. Smirnov translated 'The History of the Crimea' by Mehmet Nejati into Russian using the manuscript of the Asian Museum and the one belonging to S. Chakhotin, interpreter of the Russian Consulate General, and published it in 'Russian Antiquity' [Smirnov, 1894]. Unfortunately, his fruitful activity regarding Russia was not continued adequately. At the beginning of the 20th century, only A. Samoylovich continued studying the historiography of the Crimea, publishing significant news items under the title 'Prelimi-

nary report on a new copy of an abridgment of "Seven Planets" by Muhammed Riza' [Samoylovich, 1913].

* * *

Russian historiography relating to the history of the Tatar states became a branch of independent studies long ago. The works on the history of the Crimean Khanate¹, Astrakhan [Zaitsev, 2006, p. 4, etc.], Kazan [Khamidullin, etc., 2012, pp. 92–113] and the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 2001, pp. 6–25] as well as some aspects of their history (for example, relations between the Horde yurts and the Ottoman Empire [Zaitsev, 2004, pp. 11–48]), have been characterized exhaustively.

§ 2. Foreign Historiography

English-American Historiography of the Turkic-Tatar States of the 15–18th Centuries.

Bulat Rakhimzyanov

The history of the Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries has already attracted the attention of foreign historians since the late 19th—early 20th centuries [Howorth, 1970; Curtin, 1908], but the second half of the 20th century was marked by a renewed surge of general interest on the subject. This was undoubtedly related to the awareness of the military threat coming from the USSR. After Sir Winston Churchill made his famous speech at Westminster College in Fulton (USA) on 5 March 1946, the USSR started to be perceived as a potential adversary for Western Europe and the USA. It was necessary to know the history of this potential enemy, including medieval history, in order to know the tools and methods for fighting against it. That is why from 1940 to 2000, foreign historical research paid considerable attention to the history of Rus-Russia-the USSR, especially the issue of the territorial expansion of the Russian state. This matter was the subject of close attention in the USA and Great Britain. Studying the history of Russian foreign policy and looking for its continuation in the expansionism

of Soviet foreign policy became an important area of research in the field of Russian and Soviet studies in the USA and Great Britain. The problem of Eastern policy in the Muscovite state in the middle of the 16th century was acknowledged to be especially relevant [Petukhov, 2003, p. 3]. The study of the Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries usually was conducted in the context of the history of Rus-Russia.

G. Vernadsky, who worked in Russia, Europe and the USA at different stages of his life, was a pioneer in studying the Kasimov Khanate in the West. In his work 'Outline of Russian history', he dates the end of Mongolian sovereignty over the Russians not to 1480, but to the appearance of the Kasimov Khanate in 1457 [Vernadsky, 1927, pp. 67–111]. This extraordinary thought was repeated many times in works by his foreign colleagues.

¹ West European and partially Russian (pre-Smirnov) historiography were already mentioned and analyzed by V. Smirnov [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 29–31]. See also: [Khoroshkevich, 2001, pp. 34–72; Mavrina, 2002, pp. 135–137; Prokhorov, 1999, pp. 136–148].

Edward K. Keenan, who for a long time was the dean of History Department, Professor, and Director of the Russian Research centre (now known as the Davis centre) at Harvard University, touched on the issue of relations between the Muscovite state and the Kazan Khanate in his Ph.D. under the title 'Muscovy and Kazan, 1445–1552: a study in steppe politics' [Keenan, 1965]. Some parts of it and some conceptual extracts were published later as articles [Keenan, 1967; Keenan, 1969; Keenan, 1964–1968; Keenan, 1986]. The dissertation was successfully defended in 1965 at Harvard University. Unfortunately, this fundamental work demonstrating the exceptional erudition and the inquisitive mind of the author, as well as his profound knowledge of the sources, was never published.

Keenan was absolutely right when he noted that trusting Russian manuscripts when it comes to the reconstruction of the political realities prevailing in the relations between Moscow and the Tatars was unproductive and even erroneous. He directed his attention to ambassadorial dossiers as documents which, in his opinion, had been wrongly neglected by tendentious Russian and Soviet historians because they ran counter to the ideas they (and the authors of chronicles) had set forth. The author emphasized the role of the Nogai Horde in the Late Golden Horde world. According to him, the Nogais were the component that often played a leading role in the relations of the Kazan Khanate, and not only its relations, being a means of military deterrence and influence on neighbors (both other Tatars and Russians). The reason for that was the powerful military force of the Nogais, concentrated in their huge cavalry. The author shows all the interactions taking place in the Late Golden Horde world, their emergence, development and decline, through the prism of relations between Moscow and Kazan. Keenan suggested that initially relations between Moscow and the Tatar world had not been hostile, but friendly, and as a consequence it was Moscow that became the principal heir to 'Sain's throne' and absorbed other fragments of the Golden Horde. Keenan sees in the conquest of Kazan by Moscow the decline of nomadic society in general.

Omelyan Pritsak, an American historian of Ukrainian descent, founder of the Ukrainian school of research at Harvard University, made interesting and extremely important observations on the changing political status of the Kasimov Khanate and the Golden Horde world in general in the course of discussions on the pages of the journal 'Slavic Review' in 1967. He thinks that the Kasimov Khanate acquired vassal status not at the moment of its emergence in the middle of 15th century, but after the representatives of the Giray dynasty had been replaced by the descendants of Ahmad [Pritsak, 1967, pp. 579–580].

E. Keenan; Igor Sevcenco [Sevcenco, 1967], another American historian of Ukrainian descent; and Jaroslaw Pelenski [Pelenski, 1967], an American citizen of Polish descent, also took part in these debates. Sevcenco noted that Keenan's idea concerning Russian manuscripts was only partly right. It is indeed unproductive to use them for the reconstruction of political realities in the 15–17th centuries because of their bias, but if we want to know how various events were legitimized by Moscow, they are quite representative.

Jaroslaw Pelenski [Pelenski, 1967] presented some ideas in his article 'Muscovite Imperial Claims to the Kazan Khanate' which were later developed in his book 'Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology' [Pelenski, 1974]. He analyzed the ideological aspect of interrelations between Muscovy and the Kazan Khanate. In his works, he relied on the analysis of the source base which had been so underestimated by E. Keenan,—that is, Moscow chronicles of the 15–16th century, as well as literary works and diplomatic papers relating to the same period. Pelenski's works raised the question of the role of Russia's conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates in the process of Russia becoming a state of the imperial type [Petukhov, 2003, p. 15]. Pelenski paid the greatest attention to Moscow's theoretical claims to the Kazan Khanate, which were supposed to explain and legitimate the accession of Kazan to Muscovy, their classification, essence and theoretical grounding, and the characterization of the official impe-

rial ideology which emerged in Russia in the 16th century [Petukhov, 2003, p. 95, 160].

As for the history of the Tatar peoples, the historian draws the conclusion that the political system of the Kazan Khanate was constructed according to a classical nomadic model. He avoids classifying Kazan as a feudal or military-feudal state. Incidentally, the author was not alone in this; the existence of feudalism on the territory of the Muscovite state and its predecessors is questioned by representatives of the Anglo-Saxon historical tradition. In terms of economics, the American researcher considers the Kazan Khanate to be first and foremost a centre of international transit trade. According to Pelenski, the reason for the collapse of the Khanate is the inconsistency between the nomadic model of the political system, transplanted to that territory from outside, from the Ulus of Jochi, and the settled way of life typical for the overwhelming majority of the population of the Khanate, inherited from Volga Bulgaria.

Janet Martin, a student of E. Keenan and a professor at Miami University, deals with the history of the Turkic-Tatar states and their interrelations. She perceives the history of the Kazan, Crimean, and Kasimov khanates and the Muscovite state as integral parts of the history of the 'Steppe' political alliance, i.e., all the heirs of the Golden Horde. Basically the author develops her teacher's ideas using broader factual material and providing evidence of her concept from sources. Following Keenan, she puts an emphasis on the friendly nature of relations between Moscow and the Tatar world. Her articles 'Muscovite Relations with the Khanates of Kazan and the Crimea (1460–1521)' and 'Muscovite Frontier Policy: the Case of the Kasimov Khanate' [Martin, 1983; Martin, 1992] deal with these problems. The author also examines the history of the Tatar Khanates in her fundamental monograph 'Medieval Russia, 980–1584' [Martin, 1995].

In 1987, American author Robert Croskey published the monograph 'Muscovite Diplomatic Practice in the Reign of Ivan III' [Croskey, 1987], which had initially been completed as a Ph.D. dissertation in 1980 at Washington University, famous for its research on the me-

dieval history of Russia. Famous medievalist Daniel Waugh was his academic advisor. The ideas of the dissertation had already been presented in the article 'The Diplomatic Forms of Ivan III's Relationship with the Crimean Khan' [Croskey, 1984]. The main idea of both the book and the article is that, according to the evidence of diplomatic papers dating from the period in question, there was no 'equality', 'brotherhood' or 'partnership' between these rulers; both in status (in the framework of the 'legal' norms of the late Golden Horde area of the time) and in actual fact (militarily), the Crimean Khan was definitely higher than the ruler of Moscow. The ideas of the author were mainly drawn from a book by M. Usmanov [Usmanov, 1979], as he declared himself in the text, but they were developed on the basis of material from the period of the reign of Ivan III.

Historian L. Collins, in his fundamental article 'On the Alleged "Destruction" of the Great Horde in 1502', correctly suggests that there was no 'destruction' of the Great Horde (the state which in so-called 'western' historiography is called the 'Great Horde', which is more accurate in terms of analogy with the 'Golden Horde', or the Ulus of Jochi). All that happened was that the Sarai branch of the dynasty was replaced by the Crimean branch, and the attributes of power and some regions passed from the Khan of the Great Horde to the Crimean Khan. This thought is fully supported by the entire logic of the late period of the history of the Golden Horde in the 15–16th centuries.

Craig Kennedy deals with the history of the late Golden Horde world in his Ph.D. dissertation 'The Jochids of Muscovy: a study of personal ties between émigré Tatar dynasts and the Muscovite grand princes in the 15–16th centuries' [Kennedy, 1994]. It was defended at Harvard University in 1994. The main ideas of the Ph.D. were presented a year later in the form of a short article [Kennedy, 1995]. Edward L. Keenan was his academic advisor; his influence is noticeable throughout the work. Like Keenan's dissertation, this rather fundamental work, which demonstrates the author's profound knowledge of Russian sources, was never published. Following E.

Keenan, the author refuses to acknowledge the representativeness of chronicles. His work is based on the analysis of published diplomatic papers. Kennedy focused on examining the evolution of Muscovy's political power in the 15–16th centuries, showing its development through the prism of diplomatic relations between Moscow noblemen, especially the Grand Prince of Moscow, and Tatar emigres (both actual and potential) serving Moscow. The work contains important observations on interrelations between the Tatar states and Muscovy. The work is rather useful from the standpoint of the comprehensive study of the geopolitical and sociocultural situation in Eurasia during the period in question.

Donald Ostrowski, working at Harvard University, published the provocative monograph 'Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589' in 1998 [Ostrowski, 1998]. Its conceptual foundations were not accepted by many researchers specializing in the history of medieval Russia. The main ideas of the monograph had been presented on the pages of the 'Slavic Review' eight years earlier. [Ostrowski, 1990]. The monograph, based on source material of good quality and providing alternative interpretations of many problems, deals with issues relating to the Tatar medieval states. Nevertheless, these problems were not of primary importance for the author. Ostrowski was specifically concerned with the influence of the Tatar world on the formation of Moscow's statehood. Ostrowski considers Tatar immigrants, along with the court of the grand prince, the main source of Tatar-Mongolian influence on Russia. [Petukhov, 2003b, p. 98]. The borrowing of the administrative system from the Mongols was a result of frequent trips to Sarai made by Moscow princes. According to Ostrowski, 'the civil administration continued to view the practices of the steppe khanates as a model even after 1502 when the Qipchaq Khanate (Great Horde) [the Golden Horde—B.R.] acknowledged the sovereignty of the Crimean khan'.

Mikhail Khodarkovsky, a professor at Loyola University in Chicago who obtained his basic education in the USSR, deals with

the late period of the history of the Golden Horde states as a whole in his work 'Russia's steppe frontier: the making of a colonial empire, 1500–1800' [Khodarkovsky, 2002]. One of its chapters was published in the form of a large article, 'Taming the "Wild Steppe": Muscovy's Southern Frontier, 1480–1600' [Khodarkovsky, 1999]. The author tried to translate the conceptual development of the so-called Colonial Studies accepted and acknowledged in western historiography into the field of interrelations between Muscovy and the Tatar world in the 15–18th centuries. He was not very successful in doing so, which was reflected in the review by V. Trepavlov [Trepavlov, 2003]. According to Trepavlov, the factual part of the work looks like an anthology,—that is, it contains nothing new. As for the author's ideas about the inherent impossibility of peaceful coexistence between the Steppe and the Moscow state in the Middle Ages, one can argue with Khodarkovsky, although his arguments have the right to exist. The strength of this work is the attempt to systematize the relations between Moscow and the Tatar world during this period.

In conclusion, the early 1950s were characterized by the beginning of scientific research on our topic by foreign scholars. American and English historians examined the history of the late Golden Horde states mainly in the context of their interrelations with the Muscovite state, namely, the history of Russian imperial and colonial expansion, which they started with the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan in the middle of the 16th century, or in some works, with the annexation of Novgorod in 1478.

American historians affiliated at various times with the Davis centre (formerly the Russian Research centre) at Harvard University (E. Keenan, J. Pelenski, O. Pritsak, R. Pipes, D. Ostrowski, etc.) examined history of the late Golden Horde states in connection with the problem of the origin of Russian statehood. Their works from 1960–1980 put an emphasis on the Tatar-Mongolian and Byzantine legacy in the political history of the Moscow state in the 15–16th centuries. These researchers mainly relied on the analysis of primary sources, not works by historians of the 19th

century, which were sometimes used as sources by some of their foreign colleagues. With regard to methodology they were under influence of the school of historical anthropology, which was reflected in their emphasis on identifying the specific features of the target culture and approaching a source as the product of a culture [Petukhov, 2003, p. 15]. In their works, this group of historians set forth the thesis that 15–16th century Muscovy belonged to a system of states which were the heirs of the Golden Horde and Tatar-Mongolian political culture. According to these historians, the Moscow princes saw themselves as the heirs of the Golden Horde Khans during this period.

There are two major positions in English and American historiography on the issue of Russia's conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates, reflecting two different models of Russian-Tatar relations [Ibid, p. 18]. The first model emphasizes the hostile nature of relations between the Russians and the Tatars in the 15–16th centuries, caused by the legacy of the Mongol-Tatar invasions and the religious difference between the two sides. According to this model, relations between the Tatar khanates and Russia were mainly hostile, and the Volga region was the object of aggressive Russian expansion during this period. The first step towards establishing Russian hegemony in the Low and Middle Volga basin was made in the middle of the 15th century, when the Kasimov Khanate was

founded. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Kazan Khanate was already a protectorate of Moscow. Escalating struggles against the Crimea in the first half of the 16th century prompted the Russian state to conduct an active expansionist policy on its eastern borders. Russia's conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates was the logical result of the long-term expansionist policy in the east [Ibid].

According to the second model, relations between the Russian state and the Tatar khanates were based not only and not so much on religious or national hostility, but on pragmatism and mutual understanding resulting from the belonging of both sides to a common political culture. This by no means excluded military conflicts between them. However, these conflicts were mostly caused by economic and political rivalry between states which were successors of the Golden Horde, among which Moscow and the Crimea played the main role starting in the late 15th century. The collapse of the Moscow-Crimean alliance at the beginning of the 16th century led to escalating struggles between the Moscow princes and the Crimean Girays for hegemony on the territory of the former Golden Horde, the creation of a theoretical basis explaining the Moscow rulers' claims, and, finally, Russia's conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates during the 1550s. [Ibid, pp. 18–19].

German Historiography

Marat Gatin

German historiography occupies a special position in foreign historical studies. Such famous medieval German historians as Johannes (Hans) Schiltberger¹ and Sigismund von Herberstein² showed an interest in Tatar history. Over the centuries, German historical science was the leader in the West, at least until the

1970s, in studying issues relating to the History of the Tatar states.

Scientific research in the field of the historical problems of the Golden Horde and its successor states was initiated in 1826, when the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences invited scholars to submit their works on Tatar-Mongolian invasions in a competition. The Academy received a work by Austrian orientalist J. Hammer von Purgstall [Hammer-Purgstall, 1840].

The name of A. Ehrmann, professor of Berlin University, is connected with the found-

¹ See the Russian translation: [Puteshestviya (Travels), 1867] (the translation is made from the edition: Schiltberger J. Reisebuch. Tübingen, 1858).

² See the Russian translation: [Herberstein, 1988].

ing of a special body for researching Russia in 1841 (Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland). Slavic Languages chairs were founded in Berlin in 1841 and in Breslau in 1842, giving some researchers cause to attribute the emergence of '*Ostforschung*' to the middle of the 19th century.

The German term '*Ostforschung*' literally means oriental studies, but in German scholarship it refers to the study not of the East in general, but only of European countries situated east of Germany. The term '*Ostforschung*' cannot have a natural analogue in the Russian language because, on the one hand, Russia has no European countries to the East, and on the other hand, the German term historically has a twofold focus: it is the study both of the countries of Eastern Europe and of the German ethnic minorities living there.

In 1845, the so-called German Oriental Society ('*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*') was founded in Leipzig, and it started publishing its 'Journal of the German Oriental Society' ('*Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*'), in which articles dealing with problems of Tatar history were occasionally published¹.

The Crimean war (1853–1856) caused particular interest in the problems of the history of Russian-Crimean Tatar and Russian-Turkish relations [Schuselka, 1854; Mundt, 1855; Ders, 1855; Hammer-Purgstall, 1856]. Researchers characterized Russia as an aggressive state in these works, and depicted the fall of the Crimean Khanate tragically.

The division of Asia among European empires at the end of the 19th century caused a new wave of interest in Tatar history. At the turn of the 19–20th centuries, when German imperialism realized the need for an ideological rationale for its aggressive policy, conservative German historians started working on creating an image of Russia as a potential enemy that could be economically exploited in the future. That was when '*Ostforschung*' finally took shape as a field of research.

It was during that period that the work of Berlin University Professor A. Brückner, 'The history of Russia until the late 18th century', was published [Brückner, 1896]. Brückner considered the main characteristic of Russian history to be the struggle against external cultural influence. He was the first to systematically develop the idea of the dualism of Europe and Asia, West and East, and examine their 'struggle for Russia's soul'.

In 1913, the 'German Society for the Study of Russia' was founded (renamed 'German Society for the Study of Eastern Europe' ('*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde*') after the First World War)). Works dealing with relations between Poland, the Grand Duchies of Lithuania and Moscow, and the Crimean Khanate by N. Ernst came out in the pre-war years. [Ernst, 1911; Ders, 1913, S.1–58].

In spite of the defeat of Germany in the First World War, the number of '*Ostforschung*' organisations and institutions was increasing continuously in the 1920s and the early 1930s. The 'Ural-Altaic annuals' ('*Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*') devoted to the philology, history and culture of the Ural-Altaic peoples started coming out in Wiesbaden in 1922².

A new stage of the development of German historiography was when Adolf Hitler and the national socialists came to power. Most historians viewed national socialism as a radical form of national German traditions. So they did not see any good reasons for refusing to collaborate with the new regime.

In the years of Nazism, German historians were preparing specialists to work in occupied Eastern territories and providing propaganda support before the start of fascist aggression. For example, a work by M. Vasmer devoted to the ethnography and history of the Meri and Mari people came out in 1935 [Vasmer, 1935]. The research presents quite detailed materials about the territorial placement of the Maris, as well as Tatar influence on them.

According to national-socialist theory, many peoples of Eastern Europe belonged to the category of 'Untermensche' (which liter-

¹ See the full text issues of the journal at the site: <http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/dmg/periodical/structure/2327>.

² For the contents of the year-book issues see: <http://s-u-a.de/jahrbuecher.html>

ally can be translated from German as 'sub-humans'), who were considered to have Asian features. Hence, it followed that the Slavs had become 'subhumans' due to the centuries-long hegemony of the Mongols and Tatars (both peoples were practically always interpreted as synonyms in Nazi literature).

Starting in the late 1930s, B. Spuler, who defended his doctoral dissertation titled 'The Mongols in Iran' in 1938, became the leading researcher in the field of Tatar history in the West in general and in Germany in particular [Spuler, 1939]¹. The attitudes towards Tatars in the Third Reich changed gradually changing over the course of the war. The period starting in 1942 was marked with a new wave of interest in the Turkic peoples of the USSR. The work 'Idel-Ural' by B. Spuler came out during fierce fighting on the Eastern Front in 1942 [Spuler, 1942]. This book, marked as 'For Official Use Only', contained information on the history of the peoples living in the Volga-Ural region. Special attention was given to the history of the Tatar states and interrelations between the Russians and the Tatars. Spuler's book 'The Golden Horde. The Mongols in Russia, 1223–1502' came out in 1943 [Ders, 1943]. The second, expanded edition came out in 1965 [Spuler, 1965]. In this work, Spuler described the domestic and foreign policies, internal organisation, state machinery and culture of the Ulus of Jochi. He also presented a detailed genealogy of the Golden Horde khans. The central place in this book is occupied by the ideas of the interpenetration of nomadism and settlement, the symbiosis of the nomadic structures of the Ulus of Jochi and the sedentary society of Russia. The list of references contains more than 600 works. The author used Turkic-Tatar, Arabic, Persian, Russian, Byzantine, Georgian, Lithuanian, Polish and Hungarian sources. Apart from political history, Spuler examined the religious relations, form of government, legal system, military arts, economics, science, art, food and clothes of the Tatars.

At the end of 1943, 'total war' led to the closure of most academic publications. Historical studies almost ceased to exist until the end of the Second World War.

A new wave of interest in Tatar history that appeared during the postwar period was first and foremost driven by political aspirations. German historians often considered their works on the history of Russia to be a means of political struggle against communism. Medieval studies played a considerable role in this. Scholars were searching for the origins of Bolshevism in Russian history. They were often found in the Tatar influence on the historical destiny of Russia.

In 1949, the 'German Society for the Study of Eastern Europe' was revived in Stuttgart. Their primary print media was the journal 'Eastern Europe' ('Osteuropa'). Furthermore, institutes researching Eastern Europe started appearing both at universities and independently.

Starting in the late 1950s, the further development of oriental studies was taking place in Western Germany. Oriental studies departments, chairs and seminars were established at almost all universities. During those years work on creating a single central library catalog of oriental studies resources was underway. Scholars took active part in preparing many important encyclopedias and reference manuals, such as 'Islamic Encyclopedia' or 'Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta'.

In 1961, a work by E. Sarkissjanz called 'The History of Eastern Peoples up to 1917' came out. It mainly focused on history of peoples before they had become a part of the Russian Empire [Sarkissjanz, 1961].

In the 1960–early 1970s, the number of professors and other history instructors almost tripled in connection with the opening of new universities. A special international series of publications, 'Russia mediaevalis', appeared in those years. That period was marked by a large number of new works, among which the research on the history of Central Asia by B. Spuler [Spuler, 1966, S.123–310], the translation of 'The History of Kazan' into German by F. Kämpfer, and his monograph devoted to the Soviet historiography of the conquest of

¹ The second edition came out in West Berlin in 1955, the third in 1968, and the fourth in 1983. The work was translated in the Turkish and Persian languages.

the Kazan Khanate [Historie, 1969; Kämpfer, 1969, S.7–161] are worth noting.

Starting in the late 1970s, a summary work on Russian history titled 'Essays on Russian history' ('Handbuch der russischen Geschichte') was launched. According to the idea of the authors, this multi-volume publication was to present a coherent description of Russian history from antiquity to modern times. The series contained all fundamental works on Russian history of the Middle Ages where Russian-Tatar relations were examined in detail, including works by K. Gerke, H. Russ and G. Stekl [Handbuch, 1982].

In 1982, a fundamental work devoted to the interrelations between the Russian state and the peoples living in the Middle Volga Basin in the 16–19th centuries by A. Kappeler, a Swiss historian and professor at Cologne University, was published [Kappeler,

1982]. In this work, the author describes the Golden Horde period of the history of the Middle Volga region and analyzes the nature of interrelations between the Kazan Khanate and Muscovite Russia. He goes into detail on the conquest of the Tatar state and its integration into Russia.

German reunification in 1990 was the beginning of a new stage in the development of German historiography. Interest in Russian history became enormous. Today, however, when the cold war has come to an end and the successor to the USSR, the Russian Federation, has weakened in the international arena, when relations between Moscow and Tatarstan have lost their urgency, in the early 21st century the interest of German historical science in the problems of the history of the Tatars has begun to wane.

Turkish Historiography

Ilyas Mustakimov

Most Turkish researchers, specializing in the history of Turkic-Tatar yurts, were mainly concerned with the history of the Crimean Khanate and its interrelations with the Ottoman Empire [Acar, 2013f; Ahmet, 1940; Arslangiray, 1959; Aziz, 1938; Ertaylan, 1958; Gökbilgin, 1973; Gözaydın, 1948; Hasan, 1932; Kurdoğlu, 1937; Ortekin, 1938; Özcan, 2006; Sabit, 1934; Togan, 1999; Ülküsal, 1980; Ürekli, 1989].

Among Turkish historians, researching the history of relations between the Crimean Khanate and Ottoman-Crimea, works by H. İnalçık stand out, examining these problems on the background of the history of the Ottoman Empire [İnalçık, 1944; İnalçık, 1948; İnalçık, 1985; İnalçık, 1986].

Specific aspects of interaction between the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire were presented in the work by Y. Öztürk, devoted to administrative and social-economical history of Kafın Sandjak (later—Eyalet) [Öztürk, 2000].

There exists a whole range of scientific and popular scientific works on the history of Tur-

kic-Tatar states. A. Battal, Turkish philologist and historian of Kazan-Tatar descent, is the author of a book that presents a short history of Kazan Tatars, including during the period of the Kazan Khanate, mainly on the basis of well-known sources [Battal, 1966; Battal, 1988; Battal, 1996]. In recent years, many works by Turkish researchers, devoted to Turkic-Tatar states, have been released [Alpargu, 1996; Nogay, 1997; Topsakal, 2011; Koç, 2012; Acar, 2008; Acar, 2013a; Acar, 2013b; Acar, 2013c; Acar, 2013d; Acar, 2013e].

Works by Russian emigrants Zeki Velidi Togan and Akdes Nimet Kurat play a special role in Turkish historiography of Turkic-Tatar yurts.

Z. Togan created a broad overview of the history of Turk peoples, from the antiquity period until the early 20th century, using a considerable amount of source data. His research is especially important from the standpoint of examining the history of the Jochi Ulus and Turkic-Tatar states. Basing on available sources and own research, the author presents

valuable information on the history of post-Horde yurts [Togan, 1965; Togan, 1981a; Togan, 1981b; Togan, 1994].

A. Kurat introduced a great deal of unique papers on the history of the Golden Horde and the Great Horde [Kurat, 1937; Kurat, 1940]. He examined the role of the Crimean Khanate in the system of Ottoman-Russian relations [Kurat, 1966], composed essays on the history of some Turkic-Tatar states in Eastern Europe [Kurat, 1954; Kurat, 1972; Kurat, 1976].

Works by French researchers A. Bennigsen, C. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, E. Carrer d'Ancoce, G. Weinstein, M. Berindey also made a considerable contribution to the study of the history of Turkic-Tatar states. In the

1960s, they examined documents in Turkish archives, such as the Ottoman Archives at the Prime-Minister of Turkey, and the archives and library of the Museum of Topkapi Palace [Trepavlov, 2009b]. Their research resulted in a series of publications devoted to international relations in Eurasia in the 15–18th centuries¹, as well as the collection of papers 'The Crimean Khanate, According to the Archive of the Museum of Topkapi Palace' [Le khanat, 1978]. Their works introduced sources containing important evidence on foreign policy and trade and economic relations between the Ottoman Empire, Turk states of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Russia, and neighboring countries.

Polish Researchers of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars

Andrzej Zakrzewski

Tadeusz Czacki was the first Polish researcher to study Lithuanian Tatars, and published his work *'On Tatars'* in 1810, which was reprinted several times in later years [Czacki, 1845]. This work preceded by a short fragment of his main work *'On Lithuanian and Polish rights'* devoted to Tatars (Warsaw, 1800). However, these works were almost amateur in nature. The really significant contribution to study was made by Antoni Mukhlinski, orientalist and professor at St. Petersburg University. In his first work, which was originally a series of lectures given during the anniversary of the opening of this university on 8 February 1857, he presented the history of the settlement of Tatars and their legal status from 14th century until his time. The strong point of this work was that it added some new sources, including manuscripts and translations of paraphrases from the Quran into the Polish and Belorussian languages, using the Arabic alphabet [Mukhlinski, 1857, p. 70]. In his second dissertation, he presented for the first time a fascinating source. This was a story told by an unknown Lithuanian Tatar from the year, 1558 who had been given the task to document the current conditions of Lithuanian Muslims to the Sultan [Mukhlinski, 1858, no. 4, 5, 6]. Only recently have historical scientists called into

question the originality of this source [Rowell, 1998, pp. 127–132; Łapicz, Jankowski, 2000, p. 25; Drozd, 2000, p. 16].

In the 19th century, several non-critical works were created, which make no significant contributions to historical science. The emergence of the independent Polish state gave a new momentum to researches. Tatars organized themselves and started publishing several magazines, among them the 'Tatar Yearbook' ('Rocznik Tatarski') being the most significant. Its three volumes contained a great deal of materials on the history of Tatar settlements in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The last volume contained the first synthesis: *'Lithuanian Tatars. An attempt to write a historical-ethnographical monograph'*, was the work composed by Stanisław Kryczyński [Kryczyński, 1938], a Warsaw researcher of Tatar family origins. This work became invaluable, and there it was reprinted (Gdansk, 2000) and translated into Lithuanian (Vilnius, 1993). At times the Vilnius Athenaeum (Ateneum Wileńskie) Magazine, published in Vilnius and devoted to the historical past of Lithuania, also contained important

¹ See the translation of a number of articles here: [Eastern Europe, 2009].

works devoted to them. Stanisław Dziadulewicz published the *Heraldry of Lithuanian Tatars* in 1929 in the same city [Dziadulewicz, 1929]. Perhaps not an outstanding work, but unparalleled in its area for many years.

The period after the Second World War was not marked by anything special. In the early 1980s, Peter Borawski started publishing many works. His really original work was a dissertation on Tatar heraldic flags and banners. His next works, being mainly compilations [Borawski, 1986] were based on pre-war literature. Nevertheless, these were great at making this subject-matter more accessible. Being printed in great large numbers, they spread knowledge on the history of the Tatar population in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The work on the legal status of Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by Jacek Sobczak, became pivotal to some extent [Sobczak, 1984]. It presents a critical approach to some constantly repeated views, and shows how groundless they are. Being a highly contested area in academia, it turned out to be useful for further research work. The main polemicist Peter Borawski united his efforts with those of Witold Sienkiewicz, the great expert on archives [Borawski, Sienkiewicz, 1986, no. 1; Sobczak, 1987, no. 2].

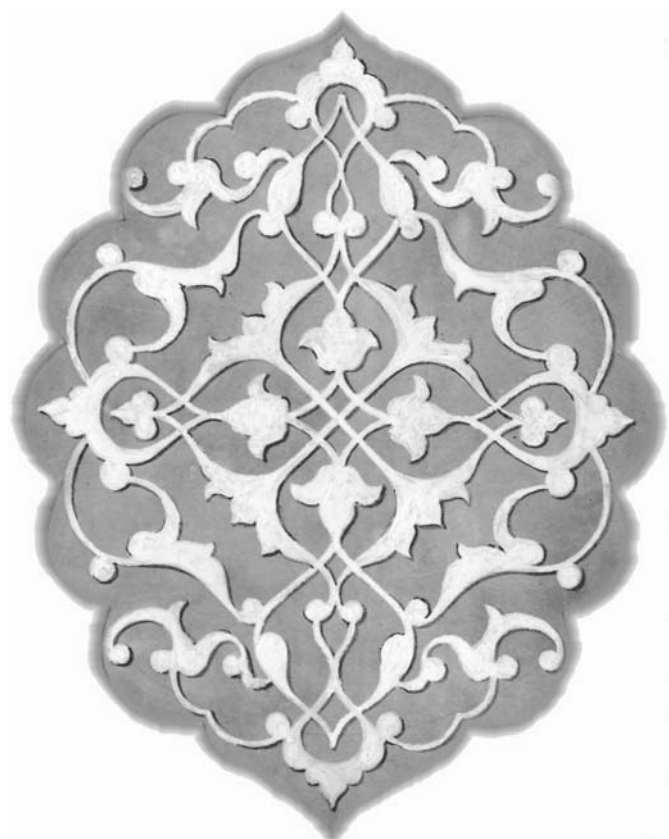
Peter Borawski, Witold Sienkiewicz, and Tadeusz Wasilewski published an invaluable source. This was a review of Tatar estates in Lithuania since 1631, presenting manors, estates, mosques and obligations of the local Muslims [Borawski, Sienkiewicz, Wasilewski, 1991].

The next fundamental work on Tatars, in both Poland and Lithuania, was the one composed by Jan Tyszkiewicz [Tyszkiewicz, 1989]. This researcher presented a few sources dating back to 16th century, among them a letter on Tatars addressed to the King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Sultan Murad III in 1591 [Tyszkiewicz, 1987, pp. 75–97]. It can be stated that the history of settlement, property and legal status of Muslims have been generally studied. An essay on the legal culture of Tatars in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, by Adam Moniuszko, became the latest contribution to historic science [Moniuszko, 2009]. Recently, Artur Konopacki has provided an interesting image of the religious life of Muslims, especially in the 19th century [Konopacki, 2010]. Nevertheless, corrections are possible everywhere.

Research works on the culture of Lithuanian Muslims have especially interesting prospects. Czesław Łapicz was a pioneer in this field. He analyzed the language of one of the Tatar manuscripts [Łapicz, 1986], then, together with Henrik Jankowski, he published this work [Łapicz, Jankowski, 2000]. Three researchers developed a catalog of Tatar manuscripts [Drozd, Dziekan, Majda, 2000]. Henrik Jankowski achieved interesting results questioning present-day views on the language used by Muslims in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [Jankowski, 2003]. This may lead to a new understanding of the history of settlement and contacts with Turkey.

Section I

Formation of Late Golden Horde States



CHAPTER 1

Struggle for Partition of the Political Legacy of the Golden Horde

§ 1. Conditions and Specific Features of Disintegration of the Jochid Ulus

Iskander Izmaylov, Damir Iskhakov, Vadim Trepavlov

In the first half of the 15th century Jochi Ulus entered an irreversible decay stage, and the process of formation of new states on its territory started. The reasons for these processes were rooted in specific features of political and social-political development of the state during the preceding century. At its peak, the Jochi Ulus was a medieval empire with a rigid hierarchical structure of management of provinces and subdued populations, an efficient and harmonious mechanism that was able to quell any signs of unrest. All this required rulers to maintain great numbers of officials. Frequent wars on the borders, civil strife and rebellions of the aristocracy, required the presence of an efficient combat-ready army. This was a heavy burden on the population of the country. Nevertheless, in the second part of 14th century, the Jochi Ulus faced difficult problems, and it had undergo changes to meet the requirements of that time.

What were the main features of this 'challenge'? According to Soviet historiography, the increase of separatism among some feudal lords, whose striving for power had divided the country into hostile provinces, was the most widespread explanation for the collapse of the Golden Horde. The mechanism of this process was clearly described by historians. According to them, the main conflict erupted between rulers of economically and politically self-sufficient uluses and groups of nobility proposing their candidates for the khan's throne—thus attempting to seize the central regional administration and influence domestic and foreign policies of the Golden Horde. All this led to the erosion of central authority and a reduction of activity in the foreign policy field, which subsequently re-

sulted in increasing separatism of the nomadic nobility, for whom military campaigns were the main source of income [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, chapters VI, VII; Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1998, pp. 297–299; Yegorov, 1980; Yegorov, 1985].

This approach was further developed in later research studies of the historical role of the nomadic elite in the final development stages of Jochi Ulus [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, pp. 140–168; Trepavlov, 2007a, pp. 346–348].

Nevertheless, social factors do not seem to be the only reason for the crisis. Overestimating the importance of these factors leads to a paradoxical conclusion—the central authorities grew feebler under the impact of separatism initiated by feudal lords, whose major substantive goal was to seize the Sarai throne. Separatism can hardly be the only explanation for the decay of the Jochis Empire and the strengthening of centrifugal tendencies in it.

First of all, we must point out the natural factors. The most important of these was the sudden drying up of the western areas of Eurasian steppes in the 14–15th centuries, according to research of geologists, geographers, and historians (See, for example: [Mordkovich et al., 1997; Kulpin, 1998, pp. 77–105]). The aridization of the climate in Desht-i Qipchaq led to decreased rainfall and winters with little snow. This brought gradual sand encroachments onto previously rich and green pastures.

The level of the Caspian Sea started to rise at the same time, the waves of which flooded a significant parts of the Volga Delta, and many settlements situated at its periphery, coming close to the cities of the Lower Volga Basin. According to Italian geographer Marino Manu-

to (1320), 'the level of the sea was getting one handbreadth higher every year, and many good cities are destroyed'. This hit hard not only the nomadic districts of Jochi Ulus, but also farming lands that resulted in undermining of the economy of the Golden Horde.

At the same time, all of Europe, West and East, was shaken by a severe demographic pressure. Favorable climatic and living conditions had led to a growth in population. This was also stimulated by political stability on the territory of the Golden Horde, by the emergence of large cities and many settlements. The deterioration of natural conditions led to periodic food crises, which occurred more and more often as time went by. People were driven to the cities by famine, where they had to sell even their own children [Collection, 1884, pp. 231, 235]. High population densities in the cities of the Lower Volga Region, Crimea, and Khwarezm turned out to be a breeding ground for diseases.

The bubonic plague became the most terrible of these. By the middle of 14th century it struck Desht-i Qipchaq several times, literally mowing down the population, especially in the overcrowded cities. A Russian chronicler wrote about this great pestilence in 1346: This plague attacked people in Astrakhan and Sarai and many other cities of the eastern countries, it strikes representatives of different tribes really fast, because there is nobody there to bury the dead [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, 1848, p. 57; The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5, 1851, p. 225, The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1863, pp. 76–77]. We do not rule out the fact that the disappearance of the Bulgarian elite, preserving the ancient Oghur language, was related to the consequences of the 'black death' (as it was called in Western Europe). In particular, this language was used as a sacred language of epitaphs in the 14th century, whereas, after the 1360s, this tradition had disappeared [Shamiloğlu, 1991].

This blow became especially noticeable in the Jochi Ulus. According to Ibn al-Wardi, Arabic historian, geographer, and contemporary to these events, 'the plague which was wiping villages and cities off the map, took place in Uzbek lands'. He confirms that every day, Crimea lost

about one thousand people. In total it lost more than 85 inhabitants [Collection, 1884, p. 530]. According to these data, the consequences of the march of the 'black death' through the Golden Horde were catastrophic. It can be stated that since that very moment, the decline of city life in the Lower Volga Region had started.

The crisis in Trans-Asian trade also contributed to the decay of the economy in Jochi Ulus. Such products as spices, silk, cotton, gems, bread, and slaves were brought to Europe by a famous trade road which started in China and partly passed through the Golden Horde [Petrov, 1995, pp. 60–91]. This flow of goods enriched middlemen, and was one of the basis for the wealth of Desht-i Qipchaq cities. Not only state revenues from trade duties, but also the wealth of the many servants were connected with trade. The caravan leaders, guides, security guards, owners of caravanserais, craftsmen, etc. Moreover, many workshops produced goods for sale and processed semi-finished products. All of these were very responsive to the slightest changes in trade activities.

The decline of international trade started in the early 1340s and reached its peak in the second half of the 14th century. This was brought about by a whole range of reasons, among these being the liberation movement directed against the Mongol Yuan dynasty in China, an unstable situation in Central Asia and Moghulistan, the plague, turmoils in Anatolia after the collapse of the Ilkhanate, as well as an outbreak of hostilities between major Mediterranean trade powers—Genoa and Venice. All this led to restrictions on the movement of goods between the East and West, thus undermining the position of the Golden Horde khans. Only in the late 14th century, people could finally see a way out of the crisis, which brought world trade back to life [Karpov, 1990, pp. 60–63, 300–303].

No doubt, social-political processes, of course, cannot be entirely dismissed. After nearly one hundred years of existence, the Jochi Ulus not only went through a period of nation-state building, but also achieved a high level of social development. Many flourishing provinces, especially Crimea, Khwarezm, and Moksha, did not need a united state, and gravitated towards becoming independent.

The drive towards disintegration was also supported by semi-independent vassal states, which always had a tendency to secede from the Golden Horde. This trend was vividly observed in Russia and Bulgaria. Disintegration trends were kept in check by powerful central authorities for a long time, and the state system was quite strong. But then it started transforming and collapsing under unfavorable conditions.

According to written sources, we can observe the increase in the power of both ulusbegs and owners of feudal estates—*iktas* and *suyurgals*. Their economic power was based on well-developed cattle-breeding and agriculture, as well as the sharing state taxes and other kinds of incomes. Significant judicial and administrative power provided them with all necessary political leverage within territories under their control. Moreover, in the second half of the 14th century, many influential feudal lords became *tarkhans*, that is, owners of territories exempt from taxes and obligations [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 124–134]. Capital city nobility and officialdom also enjoyed respectable incomes, thanks to collection of taxes and duties. This was assisted by a well-developed domestic and international transit trade, as well as the handicraft industry.

In the 14th century, cases of *begs* (*emirs*) turning *uluses*, including cities and nomad encampments into semi-independent territories, became more frequent. On the one hand, small feudal lords and cities, being reliable pillars of the khan's power, started reporting to influential *begs* and *ulusbegs*, considering this as their only chance to weaken the influence of unfavorable natural and social factors. On the other hand, these groupings started claiming the prerogatives enjoyed by the central authorities, in order to harness for themselves the Horde's treasury and armed forces.

Simultaneously, most *emirs* were struggling among themselves for the *Sarai* throne. This is a clear demonstration of the fact that the forces of inertia aimed at the centralization of the state were still great. However, there were groups of people in outlying regions striving to concentrate and preserve power within their possessions—Bulgaria, Crimea, Siberia, and the Blue

Horde, but these managed to gain the upper hand only in the early 15th century.

This category of subjects started becoming more and more notable, decade by decade, since the preceding century. Several factors influenced this situation.

The ethnic consolidation of Turk nomads of the Golden Horde had come to its end by that time. The turmoil brought by the Mongolian conquest and removal of the former *Qipchaq* elite from power, gave way to a peaceful and stable life in a powerful and rich empire. A strict and severe regional system, implying division of the population into *tithes*, was established in the territory of the former Cumanian 'Wild Fields'. The Government of the Horde did not allow free movement from one *ulus* to another, in order not to destroy its advanced system of taxation and military mobilization. A relatively quiet, life without wars and famines, created favorable demographic consequences. The populations of steppe tribes kept increasing, they divided and branched out, and so their *begs* gained more and more subjects. In the nomadic world, this meant an increase of in social significance and political influence of the non-dynastic nobility.

The first sign of this phenomenon appeared under the khan *Tokhta* (1291–1312), when dignitaries not of noble birth were appointed to high positions. The same processes took place under khans *Uzbek* and *Jani Beg*. And already after the death of *Jani Beg*, the leaders of tribes started acting as independent subjects of state policy, who were able to compete with the power of the khan.

The specific features of economic development of the Golden Horde, the formation of closed economic provinces, undoubtedly served as incentives for the to enter the political arena. This phenomenon was long ago noted by historians, but it is usually interpreted as the basis for separatism and disobedience to the central government. Nevertheless, relying on the resources of provincial *uluses*, could not only contribute to separation from the *Sarai*, but also to put pressure on government and manipulate it under certain conditions.

As paradoxical as it may sound, the black death also, evidently, helped the *begs* to assume

power. First of all it struck places of mass gatherings of the settled population. In a situation when superior classes, which used to dominate state management, became feebler, their position were partly occupied by representatives of a different social segment—the aristocracy of the nomadic steppes.

Crises among representatives of the Jochi dynasty created a supplementary excuse for the non-Chinggisids to come to power. All this came amid mass executions of hereditary princes. Khans, surrounded by hostile and intriguing relatives, often preferred to rely on supporters with no dynastic ties with them.

The Jochi Ulus remained united as long as the political powers (the khan and his administration) remained united and economic relations remained strong. The struggle for the khan's throne, between several Chinggisid representatives, became the justification for the outburst of centrifugal forces, each of pretenders had right to rule, and relied on the troops of numerous supporters. Probably this struggle was caused by the breaking of the principles of succession to the throne, under conditions of mass deaths among the population, including the nobility. Deterioration of natural conditions, decline of agriculture and cattle-breeding, lower trade and handicraft manufacturing, reduction of tax revenues and spoils of war in the Volga Region, problems with monetary and fiscal affairs, undermining of influence of the central authorities, serving as the background for the enrichment of some ulus leaders and their striving for levers of management—all these were the characteristics of the growing crisis. These are the very reasons that inevitably placed into question the existence of the empire.

In the 1360s, an internal war began in Jochi Ulus. The khan's throne that turned into an object of struggle between different groups of aristocracy from Sarai, the White Horde and the Blue Horde, passing from hand to hand many times. From 1359 to 1380, there were at least 17 khans in the Sarai. Some of them claimed the throne several times and most of them are absolutely unknown to historians. Names on coins are the only exception to this, and historians are still arguing about their historicity and the

succession of governments (see, for example: [Yegorov, 1980, pp. 190–192; Muhamadiev, 1983, pp. 88–99; Grigoriev, 1983]).

An extended period of decay had started. The collapse of the state was approaching. The unfolding feuding brought about the deterioration of financial state and the deepening decline of trade and handicrafts manufacturing. The threat of attacks ended the regular operations of caravan routes and consequently the imports of raw materials and the exports of products of handicrafts manufacturing were broken. Gradual decline of agriculture and desolation of permanent settlements in the Volga Region took place. Capital cities started being surrounded by walls. Rulers of Russia, Bulgaria, Khwarezm, and other uluses, started to strengthen their independence in the wake of the weakening of the central government. Stably developing regions became the objects of struggle for collection of taxes and retaliatory campaigns between khans under civil strife conditions. All these phenomena had destroyed the daily routines of local populations, and made them desire the protection of their lands from self-styled rulers of the Horde. Its the brightest evidence became the emergence of the Sufi dynasty in Khwarezm, actual independence of Bolgar under Bulat Timur (1360–1366), Hassan and Muhammed Sultan (1370–1376) as well as a war between Mamai and Moscow prince Dmitry Ivanovich [Fedorov-Davydov, 1965, pp. 183–184; Fakhrutdinov, 1984a, pp. 119–123; Kuchkin, 1980; Mukhamadiev, 1983, pp. 88–99; Gorsky, 2000, chapter 6].

Meanwhile, the striving for a united country, and the revival of its greatness, did not lose its historical inertia. Khan Tokhtamysh (1380–1396), who based his position on the aristocracy of the Blue Horde and Sarai, represented these interests. He not only conquered the khan's throne by defeating his enemies, including the Mamai, but also strengthened the central government by putting down separatism in Russia and other regions (devastation of Moscow and Bulgar in 1382). Nevertheless, sometime later, all these reforms resulted in the persecutions of clan aristocracy, removing its members from power and putting down rebellious provinces, which led to discontent and open ac-

tions against the strengthening of centralization. Moreover, the desire of Tokhtamysh to restore the former military glory of the decrepit Golden Horde led to military catastrophes during wars against Timur (1391 and 1396).

Probably the collapse of Jochi Ulus was a natural process of its development but some political actors were not going to allow this to continue. There was a small chance left to preserve the integrity of the state. New attempts to restore the stability of Jochi region through successful state ideological and economic reforms (reinforcement of centralization, money reform, spreading Islam) initiated by beylerbey Edigu who was a talented commander and diplomat [Bartold, 1963a, pp. 797–804; Yakubovsky, 1947; Safargaliev, 1960, pp. 178–195, 227–229; Izmaylov, 1992, 1994] turned out to be efficient for a while and calmed the situation. His reign under nominal khans was marked by a whole range of victories in foreign policy (the defeat of the great Lithuanian prince Vytautas at the Vorskla River in 1399 and the siege of Moscow in 1408 were especially outstanding).

Nevertheless, these efforts turned out to be in vain. The end came in 1419 when Edigu was defeated and died in the struggle against the rebellious Jochids. The collapse of Jochi Ulus became inescapable. This epoch is beautifully described in the Tatar dastan called 'Edigu':

... A dark day fell onto the earth.
The throne created by Chinggis
Became surrounded by rivers of blood.
The palace of the khan disappeared.
Lands were brought to ruins.
Azhdarakan, Kazan and the Crimea
Became independent territories.
The Golden Horde collapsed
[Edigu, 1990, p. 240].

Even after Jochi Ulus had collapsed its historical destiny was not over because Tatar people who had gone through this period of history managed to preserve their rich culture. Post-Golden Horde khanates emerged on the territory of Jochi Ulus. They continued its ethnopolitical and cultural-civilizational traditions.

§ 2. Tatar-Russian Relations

Horde and Russia in the 15th Century

Anton Gorsky

By the early 15th century, a structure in which two large states dominated had occupied the place that used to belong to more than a dozen independent lands on the political map of Russia. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had its territorial core in Lithuania, but also included several Russian *lands* (Kiev, the main part of Chernigov, Smolensk, Volyn, Polotsk, and Pinsk) and the Grand Principality of Moscow. Along with them, there continued to exist Ryazan, Novgorod and Pskov lands (all of them dependent on Russia), as well as the Tver and Yaroslavl principalities in the North-East of Russia. Out of three attributes of dependence of Russian lands on the Horde (the approval of princes by the Khan, paying tribute and military assistance obligations), there remained only two—decrees appointing the right to rule and

the making of 'tax' payments. Moscow princes were obliged to pay 7000 rubles tax per year for their possession. Russian lands, integrated to the Lithuanian state, also continued to pay tribute to the Horde [Gorsky, 2004, pp. 273–275, 293; Rusina, 1998, pp. 58–61].

In the situation, after Aksak Timur defeated the Horde and Edigu became its actual ruler, the Great Prince of Moscow Basil Dmitrievich stopped paying taxes. In Moscow it was considered normal when a khan (the Russian equivalent of '*tsar*') has real power. Moreover, Vasily was trying to avoid a direct conflict. What is more, Horde troops were attracted as allies during wars against Lithuania in the years 1406–1408. At the end of 1408 (after they had not been paid tribute for 13 years), Edigu organized a military campaign against Moscow. The

Horde ruler failed to conquer the capital, but his troops managed to organize a large-scale devastation of the possessions of Vasily I. The military conflict between the Moscow government and the Horde continued until Edigu was dethroned (1411). After Tokhtamysh's sons had come to power, the situation changed, and in 1412, Vasily Dmitrievich even paid a visit to the Horde. However, starting 1414, when Edigu came back into power, the conflict flared up again. Edigu supported the claims of Suzdal princes to Nizhni Novgorod, which had been given to Vasily by Tokhtamysh in 1392. After Edigu was killed (1419) and the situation in the Horde had stabilized, by the second half of the 1420s, traditional (tributary) relations were renewed. In about 1423, Vasily I apparently got *yarliq* for his son Vasily to rule from khan Ulugh Muhammad, who had been exiled from the Horde by his enemies, and was living in Lithuania with the Great Prince Vytautas [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 119–140].

In 1431, the 16-year-old prince Vasily Vasilyevich and his uncle and rival Yuri Dmitrievich went to the Horde on their own initiative to see Ulugh Muhammad and get him to resolve their dispute about who would reign. Thus, the khan of the Horde was still considered to be a legal overlord of the Russian princes. On the other hand, the decision of the khan, who had confirmed the status of Vasily as the Great Prince in 1432 was actually ignored by Yuri, who seized the Moscow throne twice—in 1433 and in 1434 [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949, pp. 249–252; Gorsky, 2000, pp. 141–143].

In the 1430s, the division of the Horde into two parts—headed by khans Küchük Muhammad and Sayid Ahmad—led to a new order for the paying of taxes. Both rulers were considered to be 'tsars' in Moscow [Dukhovniye, 1950, no. 38, pp. 108, 111, 113, 116]. The last document—the decree addressed to Ivan III by Küchük Muhammad Ahmad's son, (1480) stated that the khan had required the payment of 120,000 altyns (that is, 3,600 rubles from the Great Prince (see the issue of a decree on the earliest copy: [Gorsky, 2012])). Actually, this was one half of the 7,000-ruble fixed sum of taxes that Moscow princes had to pay the Horde

until the early 1430–s [Dukhovniye, 1950, no. 29, p. 74]. Apparently, Küchük Muhammad and Sayid Ahmad were paid one half of the fixed sum of money each. It should be emphasized that after the Horde of Sayid Ahmad had collapsed in the 1450s, the size of tribute being paid did not go up to the previous maximum.

Being cast out from the Horde in 1437, Ulugh Muhammad tried to settle on Russian territories, which led to conflict with Vasily II. At the end of 1438, the khan defeated Moscow troops in the upper reaches of the Oka River, near Belyov. Next summer Ulugh Muhammad came up to walls of Moscow. In 1444, he tried to settle down in the lower Oka, in Nizhni Novgorod. In summer 1445, the troops of Ulugh Muhammad defeated Moscow's army near Suzdal, Grand Prince Vasily himself was taken prisoner and the released after he had promised to pay a ransom. Then the horde of Ulugh Muhammad went to Kazan where his son Mahmutek, after killing the father, became the ruler of the Kazan Khanate. These events, as well as the removal of Vasily II from power by his cousin Dmitry Yurievich Shemyaka, led to suspending of tax relations between Moscow and the Horde of Ulugh Muhammad and his sons. In 1447, Kazan khan Mahmutek became an ally of Dmitry Shemyaka against Vasily II, who had come back to the throne [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 143–146].

By the late 1440s, Moscow had stopped paying tribute to the Horde of Sayid Ahmad. Probably a *yarliq* for the rule of the Grand Duchy was received from Küchük Muhammad in 1449, by Ivan, the son of Vasily II. As a result Sayid Ahmad's troops started military campaigns in Moscow's possession in 1449, 1451, 1455, and 1459. They ended after his Horde had collapsed in the second half of the 1450s [Ibid, pp. 146–148, 153–154].

In the 1450s, a vassal principality—headed by Ulugh Muhammad's son Kasim, who came to serve Vasily II, was created within possessions of the Moscow princes. Its centre was the Gorodets Meshchyorsky situated at the River Oka. Then it was renamed Kasimov, after Kasim, and respectively, that is why it became customary to call the corresponding political institution the 'Kasim Khanate', which was headed

by Chinggisids, that Moscow princes appointed (this practice existed until the late 17th century). There is a theory, according to which its foundation was one of the conditions under which Vasily Vasilyevich had been released by Ulugh Muhammad in 1445 [Safargaliev, 1960, pp. 26–27; Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 54–61]. Probably initial state support for Kasim in the Grand Principality of Moscow was really planned as an integral part of the ransom for Vasily, but he was moved to the Gorodets Meshchorsky only in the late 1450s, when the obligations of the great prince, given to Ulugh Muhammad, had been invalidated a long time before [Zimin, 1991, pp. 171–172].

Three years after Ivan Vasilyevich had come to the throne (1462), the khan of the Horde himself took part in a military campaign in Moscow (for the first time since Tokhtamysh): Mahmud, the son of Küchük Muhammad's, made a similar attempt in 1465. The military campaign was brought to naught, since the Crimean khan Hacı Giray had attacked Mahmud at the Don River and had defeated him [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, p. 186; Gorsky, 2000, pp. 154–155]. Most likely it was the integration of Yaroslavl Principality by Ivan III into his possessions, without the authorization of the khan, in 1463 that caused anger of the ruler of the Golden Horde [Gorsky, 2010, pp. 131–132].

In the late 1460s, during several years the Grand Principality of Moscow waged war against the Kazan Khanate. What is more, it even went on offensive campaigns. Initially, military campaigns by Moscow troops against Kazan were not very successful, but in the end of 1469, they were able to conclude peace on favorable terms [Alekseev, 2007, pp. 36–95].

In the situation, when the Horde was actually divided into several political institutions, its 'central part', situated between the Don and the Volga Rivers, whose ruler was considered to be the suzerain in Russia, was defined in sources as the *Great Horde* since the 1470s [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949, pp. 277, 291, 292, 299, 302, 303, 308]; the use of this term, in conformity with earlier times, beginning with the 1430s, was noted only in the Nikon Chronicle, and represents an obvious retrospection. It is tradition-

ally supposed that this an equivalent translation for 'the Great Horde' in Tatar [Trepavlov, 2010, pp. 7–8]. But the *Ulug Horde* was translated in Russia as '*the Big Horde*' (this definition was an integral part of the title of Crimean khans since the early 16th century, and can be found in messages which reached us in ambassadorial books on relations with Crimea [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 12, 21, 27, 29, 70, 75–77, 80]; but the Horde of Ahmat's children was defined as '*the Great Horde*' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 119, 157, 170, 214, 255]). Moreover the adjective '*big*' was not frequently used in the meaning of '*large*'. The word '*great*' was usually used for this purpose. One of the most wide-spread meanings of the lexical element '*big*' was an adjective in a comparative degree meaning 'having a higher position', 'major' (it is denoted by the modern Russian word '*bolshiy*', in which the first syllable should be stressed) [Sreznevsky, 1893, columns 147–148; Dictionary, 1988, pp. 289–290, 384–386]. Most likely the name 'Great Horde' appeared in Russia when the collapse of the Horde became obvious, and they needed to detach the 'main parts' of the state from less influential ones [Gorsky, 2014, pp. 123–125]. In this connection, it is noticeable that this term and mentioning of Hordes in plural appear in the chronicles simultaneously [Spiritual, 1950, no. 69–70, pp. 226, 228, 231, 236, 238, 240, 244, 246, 249; Gorsky, 2000, pp. 165–167]. Both reflected the striving for accommodating themselves to a new political situation in the steppes of Eastern Europe.

In the summer of 1472, Ahmad, khan of the Great Horde, organized a military campaign against Moscow. The troops of Ivan III met their enemies at the Oka River near the city of Aleksin. Ahmad did not dare to cross the river, and went back to the steppe [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949, pp. 297–298; Alekseev, 2007, pp. 146–181]. Most likely the reason for such behavior was that the Moscow prince had managed to put down rebellions in Novgorod in 1471: Ahmad had supported the claims of Polish king and great Lithuanian prince Kazimir IV to rule the Novgorod Republic. So in this connection, the campaign in Novgorod, initiated by Ivan III, was consid-

ered as going against his overlord's will [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 156–158].

Repulsing the campaign initiated by the tsar had serious consequences: the majority of people in Moscow decided to end relations of dependence with the Great Horde. First of all, this was expressed by refusing to pay tribute: by 1480, they had not paid it for nine years [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 265]. Moreover, Ivan III started negotiations with the Crimean khan Mengli Giray, who was an enemy of Ahmat. Initially their relations were like ones between friends and partners. Paying any traditional taxes was absolutely unnecessary in this case. In 1480, they concluded the Moscow-Crimean treaty where both contracting parties named their 'common enemies'—Ahmat and Kazimir [Collection of Russian Historical Community, 1884, pp. 1–25].

As for the Great Horde, Ivan III exchanged ambassadors with it, trying to avoid conflict. However, in 1476 when they had not paid taxes for more than five years, an ambassador of Ahmat brought a demand addressed to the great prince, according to which he personally had to go to the Horde to see him [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949, pp. 308–309]. Ivan III disobeyed, and so a conflict became inevitable. Ahmat organized a new campaign against Moscow only in 1480, after concluding an alliance with Kazimir IV. The opposing troops spent two on the opposite banks of the Ugra River, the left tributary of the Oka River, which was the border between Moscow and Lithuanian states. The Great Prince was surrounded by people who were ready to acknowledge him as the 'tsar'. However, the prevailing view of supporters was against making this step. In November, as the weather turned cold, Ahmat went back home, and the attempt to restore control over the Grand Principality of Moscow failed [Nazarov, 1983, Alekseev, 1989; Alekseev, 2007, pp. 216–266]. The death of Ahmat at the hands of Siberian Tatars and Nogais in January 1481, put an end to these plans forever.

Consequently, the Muscovite state, which has been called Russia since the late 15th century, became independent of the khan of the Horde between the years 1472–1480. As a result, Ivan III was given the title of 'tsar' (this

was mentioned in a diplomatic document for the first time in 1474, after the first campaign of Ahmat was repulsed [Charters, 1949, no. 78, pp. 133, 135]). This was equivalent to the title of the rulers of the Horde and post-horde khanates, although there was no crowning ceremony held neither under Ivan III nor Vasily III.

In subsequent years, Ivan III maintained an alliance with the Crimean khanate, in order to counter the Great Horde, where the sons of Ahmat were struggling for leadership. Accomplishing his promises given to Mengli Giray, the Great Prince sent his troops, mainly consisting of Kasimov Tatars, to the Horde, but no serious military conflicts took place [Gorsky, 2000, p. 179].

Ivan III pursued a policy of interfering in dynastic struggles, in his relations with the Kazan Khanate in the 1480s. In 1487, Moscow troops conquered Kazan, Khan Alegam was taken prisoner and Muhammed Emin, son of Kazan khan-widow Nursultan, came to the Crimean throne. A year earlier, she had married Crimean khan Mengli Giray, an ally of Ivan III [Alekseev, 2007, pp. 280–293]. The Kazan Khanate was dependent on the Muscovite state for two decades. In particular, Kazan troops took part in a military campaign against the Great Horde in 1491. Ivan III also maintained diplomatic relations with the Nogai Horde and the Siberian Khanate [Collection of Russian Historical Community, 1884].

In the early 16th century, when Moscow was waging war against the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Livonian Order simultaneously, the relations with the Great Horde worsened. In 1501, Khan Sheikh Ahmed (Ahmat's son) acting as an ally of Lithuania, headed towards the Upper Don. Mengli Giray, being an ally of Moscow, also came there and Moscow troops moved there to assist him. However, no battle took place, Mengli Giray came back to Crimea and Sheikh Ahmed ravaged the cities of the North, which had been won back from Lithuania by Moscow troops. In this situation, in the winter of 1501–1502, Ivan III decided to acknowledge his dependence on Sheikh Ahmed, in a formal way as a diplomatic trick. An ambassador from Moscow brought collected tribute to the khan. The goal was to break the al-

liance between Lithuania and the Great Horde. Moscow urged Mengli Giray to organize a military campaign for a decisive blow against the Great Horde. In 1502, the Crimean khan finally set off and at the beginning of June, conquered the horde of Sheikh Ahmed in the area of tributaries of the Dnieper—Samara and Sula Rivers. The defeated and running away khan sent an ambassador to Moscow. He offered Ivan III—in exchange for dropping his alliance with Lithuania and neutrality towards Crimea, to be granted the throne of the Astrakhan Khanate. This appeal received no reply, and in the winter of 1503–1504, Sheikh Ahmed himself took refuge in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 181–184].

The collapse of the Great Horde created a new configuration in relations between the young Russian state and post-Horde political institutions. The main one of these became the Crimean Khanate. By that time, relations between Moscow and Crimea had turned into a dialog between equal partners. At the same time, there were elements related to acknowledgment of a higher international status of the Crimean khan as a person having the tsar title, see: [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 186–205]. Conditions were created for the start of a struggle between Russia and the Crimean Khanate for influence on other states, formed from the ruins of the Horde.

Tatar-Russian relations (16–18th centuries)

Ilya Zaitsev

Russians and Tatars (more precisely—Slavs and Turks) living close to each other for centuries, could not help fixating in their own minds and creative activities, conflicting images of each other. Let us try to have a look at this images and as much as is possible, trace the dynamics of changes of these mutual perceptions. Historical chronicles, manuscripts, folklore and especially proverbs and saying can be useful here. These perhaps express better and more clearly reflect the mutual likes, claims and dislikes. It goes without saying that one should right from the start reject attempts to identify a stable and unchangeable image of a people, as seen by the representatives of the other nation. No doubt these views could vary significantly, depending on historical consequences—from the image of an enemy, to the image of a friend.

The issue concerning the *name* of Tatars, in the eschatological sense of their emergence, was especially topical in the context of the concepts of scribes in 13th century. In this connection, the text that opens the story about the battle at the Kalka River (Lavr. chronicle, p. 153) is especially illustrative. On the one hand, nobody understands who they are (that is, the Tatars). On the other hand, there was another point of view, according to which, the secrets

of their emergence was unveiled in books by wise men [Harkavy, 1998, p. 89]. This fragment shows clearly that in facing an unknown nation, a Russian chronicler tries to identify his place in the common world landscape first of all. For this, one needed to identify his ancestor, among sons of Noah. On this depended the definition of the place of these people in this picture: Ishmaelites (descendants of Ishmael, in the end, people fitting into the picture of Bible history) or "impure people".

Only 15 years had passed, and Russia was facing a new nation closeby. An episode on an attack on Vladimir by troops of Batu had appeared in the very Laurentian Chronicle. In describing these events, the chronicler emphasizes that the sons of the Vladimir prince refused to participate in the fighting, and the author does not criticize this. The analysis of this event, and its interpretation in later manuscripts can lead us to the conclusion that in the second half of the 13th century, an invasion was considered to be a punishment of God against human sins, and according to this perception, scribes modeled the behaviour of their characters. Refusing to resist is interpreted not as cowardice, but as true Christian humility before the Lord's punishment. Tatars in 13–14th centuries were a real "scourge sent by God" in

the collective consciousness of the Russians. Works by Serapion Vladimirsky can serve as examples. He was an Orthodox cleric, whose manuscripts reflected the reaction of his contemporaries to this event. Apparently, the point of view, according to which the Tatars were considered to be the means of God's punishment, dominated in the common evaluations, and eliminated the perception of Tatars as a nation, at least the feelings of hostility towards them appeared much later. As it seems to me, especially important here was that Russians were facing pagans. Probably, before the 14th century, representatives of Russian priesthood hoped that their missions among Tatars would be a great success. It should be emphasized that these hopes were not groundless at all. It is sufficient to recall the Sarai bishopric, patronage of the church, decreed for Metropolitans, the acceptance of Orthodox Christianity by Tatars, and the formation of a new service class of Tatars, etc. After the Horde adopted the Islamic faith, this confrontation increased (although the baptism of immigrants from the Horde continued). Now the hostility spread onto the religious sphere, and reconciling Christianity and Islam at that time, seemed an impossible utopia, after which, the settlement of the conflict seemed to be very far off. In the 15–16th centuries, refusing to battle against Tatars was considered to be a reproachful act. At the same time, in connection with this new perception, the behavior of historical personalities, who had figured in manuscripts, was reviewed and corrected [Rudakov, 1998, p. 193]¹.

The changes in the images of Tatars in the Russian mass consciousness in the 15–16th centuries was traced in detail by A. Amelkin. According to his research, the image of an enemy is seen in the "Story About Mercury Smolensky"—which is different from the one

presented in chronicles written in the 13–14th centuries. This difference was due in part to the influence of folklore traditions, in part due to changes in ideas about the enemy, towards the strengthening of the negative characteristics. Tatars were considered as being a cultural-historical society of another kind, in opposition to Russia. In the Russian social consciousness of the late 15th century—the first half of 16th century, "Tatars, being used as the instruments of punishment, were compared to an irrational, destructive, faceless element, lacking any culture. Their cunning and desire to change the way of life of indigenous peoples that they conquered was emphasized" [Amelkin, 1992, pp. 7–8].

At the same time, the traces of Russian-Tatar synthesis, the duality of perception of the Tatars and their assessment can be found in records dating back to 16–17th centuries, after which this line has been expressed in different ways up to our days. For example, the author of the "History of Kazan", rather enigmatic work of the second half of the 16th century, who generally shares the traditional Orthodox views of his time, portrays the inhabitants of Kazan in contrasting ways. Sometimes he sympathizes with them, and sometimes he calls them the antagonists of Russia [Solodkin, 2001, p. 199]² According to Ya. Solodkin, the author of this composition "who had lived in Kazan for 20 years, ... could feel sympathy for its residents. He saw the real state of affairs from within, and that made him portray these people in a different way than it was dictated by tradition" [Solodkin, 2001, p. 206]. According to the research by A. Amelkin, even Batu Khan "had features of a wise and formidable tsar" in Russian literature of the first half of the 16th century [Amelkin, 1992, p. 9].

According to G. Sabirzyanov, the roots of animosity, defining the attitude of the current feudal-noble establishment of Russia towards the Kazan Tatars, can be found in the three decades after 1521, when the khans of the Crimean dynasty were dominating Kazan [Sabirzyanov, 1993, p. 21]. However, in 16th century, in relations between the two nations, there were

¹ By the way, similar attitude can also be found in the Little Russian dmy of the 16–17th centuries. The Turkis and Tatars, who were regarded as identical in the Ukrainian folklore, were both adversaries of Ukraine and acted in concert. The Tatars, according to the dmy, were God's punishment for the disrespect of parents, the clan, townspeople, and the gromada-community and for the non-observance of fasts and rituals (see: [Erofeev, 1908, pp. 77–78]).

² See also: [Keenan, 1967a].

no national-racial conflicts, but only political and religious ones¹.

Examining biographies of Peter and John Kazansky, A. Amelkin comes to the following conclusion: "The ethnic side of the issue does not matter for the hagiographer. A Russian prisoner from Nizhni Novgorod or an inhabitant of Kazan turning to Orthodox Christianity and serving the Great Prince are absolutely equal to him" [Amelkin, 1992, p. 10]. Not ethnic, but religious and political aspects dominated the relations between Russians and Tatars in the late 15th century—the first half of 16th century. The religious and political aspects were much more important.

Russian proverbs of those times would be an excellent source for us, but these started to be recorded only since the 17th century². In one of the earliest records, we find a huge number of proverbs and sayings, one way or another connected with the Tatar theme. This is a testimony of their importance and significance in the Russian consciousness. One can divide these into several groups. No doubt, ones having negative connotations definitely prevail. "There are many unclear Crimean songs" (p. 74), "A messenger from Crimea is like a cockroach appearing from smoke" (p. 92), "Living in Crimea is like living in smoke" (p. 101), "The time for the Tatars to head to Russia hasn't come yet" (p. 152), "We won't give in to the Tatars" (p. 154), "Azov does not mean a "hundred eyes" and Crimea does not mean "curved", "Azov was glorious, Smolensk was terrible, and Vilnius was wonderful" (p. 76). A great number of them reflect the differences between the ways of life typical for both great nations, from the Russian point of view: "The Tatars are endless carnivores" (p. 143—that means there are no Lents in Islam, but there is *sawm* from the point of view of Orthodox). There are many rather neutral proverbs, where the Crimean and Tatar themes are just an excuse, an instru-

ment to illustrate the themes which are common to all mankind. "As great at home, as the khan in Crimea" (p. 82), "Women's minds are like Tatar bags" (p. 103), "Whatever happens to a bow-string, a Tatar is always safe and sound" (p. 143, that is, the role of archers in Tatar troops is emphasized here). On the other hand, there are benevolent and well-disposed proverbs, showing the relativity of ethnic, religious and state values, and the absoluteness of morality: "I would live even in the Horde, the main thing is to live well" (p. 104), 'Even in the Horde, as long as things are well' (p. 148), 'Devil is taken away by the damned Turks' (p. 152), 'The Turkish tsar is an enemy of Russia' (p. 154), 'The Turkish took off their trousers and the Russians whipped them' (p. 167), 'Bear, eat up the Tatar, not a Russian' (p. 160), 'Klim is greasing a cart, he is going to Crimea to buy turnips' (p. 120).

This duality of perception of the Tatars, and dependence of the image and esteem on the period of time when the proverb was spreading, can also be seen in sayings which still exist in the Russian language. On the one hand, there is this Russian proverb—'An uninvited guest is worse than a Tatar', which is still used, although in the 17th century they used the variant 'An uninvited guest is better than an invited one' (p. 127), where, as we can see, there is no ethnic aspect that all. On the other hand, we can see sympathy and friendly attitude towards the Tatars, demonstrated by the authors of some literature and publicist works written in the Middle Ages.

The religious background of these interrelations can be clearly seen in folklore. Apparently, comparing Tatars to pigs was an old and traditional identification. No doubt, this comparison is related to the prohibition of eating pork in Islam. It can be found literally everywhere, beginning with Russian children's teasers and ending with sustainable ideas applied for the purposes of state ideology. Most likely this idea is typical of the attitudes of Russian towards Muslims in general (towards Tatars of different kinds within the empire, and abroad—to the Turks). A. Pushkin wrote in his 'Journey to Erzerum' the following words describing how he had met Cossacks carrying their com-

¹ In the opinion of I. Erofeev, in the first half of the 15th century, there were no signs yet of animosity between the Russians and the Tatars, though everything changed after 1475 (see: [Erofeev, 1908, p. 85]).

² See: [Ancient Collections of Russian Proverbs, Sayings, Riddles, etc., 1899]. Subsequent citations in brackets will contain the page numbers of this edition.

rade, injured in a battle at Sagan-Lu near Kars: 'Are there many Turks?', Semichev asked. 'It smells like pigs, sir', answered one of them¹. By the way, G. Sabirzyanov called a phrase from 'Men and Women' by B. Mozhaev 'the echos of false historiography, pseudo-science' in vain: 'You, bald Tatar, get out of my way' [Sabirzyanov, 1993, p. 36].

I am afraid it has nothing in common with science. Most likely this is an echo of ideas of different nations about each other, however biased they may be. The epithet '*bald*' is very transparent, from the standpoint of its origins. Apparently it comes from the Muslim custom of shaving the scalp. This epithet is commonly found, and can be seen even in Tatar texts written in the late 19th—early 20th centuries as a nickname for Tatars among the Russians (satire by G. Tuqay 'Confessor revived' published for the first time in 'Yalt-yult' magazine in 1912, no. 43 [Tuqay, 1975, p. 112]).

There is one more comparison: Tatar—prince. It can be found in the works by V. Lenin (in the article called 'Letter on the national issue'). However, by the way, aside from this oddity, this idea was also reflected in Russian literature. Ivan Severyanov hides himself from the police behind Tatars, after a fight in 'The Enchanted Wanderer' by N. Leskov: 'Save me, princes! You saw everything, the fight was fair...' [Leskov, 1957, p. 427]. I refer once again to all the same satire by G. Tuqay. He parodies a dialog between a gendarme and a Muslim. 'Prince, go and pray, the mullah is crying.—I can't, I must sell my goods.—Well move along, bald one' [Tuqay, 1975, p. 112]. And here is one more excerpt from a conversation between an old second-hand bookseller and a Tatar dealer of old-clothes (the situation takes place in pre-revolutionary Moscow): 'Prince, he says, will you give me back the money?' [Ivanov, 1982, p. 73].

¹ The fact that this attitude is related to foodstuff prohibitions (most evident and eye-catching in daily communication) is also clearly seen in the attitude of Russians towards Jews. See, for example, Alexander Pushkin's writings (The Story of the Village of Goryukhino): '... the madmen sneered at the Jewish coachman and exclaimed mockingly: 'Jew, Jew, eat a piggy's ear!...' [Pushkin, 1969, p. 65].

Where does this nickname come from? I think that a stable real or mystical connection between a significant part of Russian nobility and the Jochid aristocracy seems to be a quite a logical explanation.

N. Leskov allows us to gradually shift to the opposite pole of evaluations. In that same work, the main character has this to say about the Tatars: 'It is customary for them to call all Russian men *Ivan*, women—*Natasha* and boys—*Kolka*. It was the same thing with my wives, although they were Tatars, they were considered Russians, and thus called *Natashas* and the boys were called *Kolkas*. Nevertheless, it goes without saying, that this is very superficial, because they had received no church sacraments and I did not consider them as my children.

What do you mean? Why didn't you consider them your children?

Because they are not baptized and not been anointed with myrrh [Leskov, 1957, p. 433].

This paragraph shows very well that in the common consciousness of a Russian man of the first half of 19th century, ethnic affiliations are defined by religious affiliations, and in the end, even influence family affiliations. As for the Tatars described by Leskov, ethnic affiliations are defined not by religion, but by belonging to a certain clan or family—the wife of a Russian man must be Russian as well.

The self-identification of Ivan Severyanovich is very interesting in this sense. 'If people make the sign of the cross over themselves and drink vodka, they are Russians' [Ibid, p. 447] (some combination of ethnic attributes—religious-ceremonial and alimentary ones). Religion dominates: to have no idea what is the religion of a man 'living in the steppe is dangerous'. A Chuvash met by the main character had a more concentrated view on ethnic-religious affiliations. According to him, 'A Tatar has no God, he eats horseflesh. I have a God [...] the Sun is God, and the moon is God, and the stars are God... everything is God'. Besides God, there is Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas [Ibid, p. 446]. It is interesting that, according to results of sociological surveys, ethnic identity of the Volga Tatars is first of actualized through their mother tongue, secondly, through the knowl-

edge of culture and history, and belonging to it. Religious aspects do not prevail in their self-identification [Khabenskaya, 2002, p. 196].

Now let us have a closer look at the image of Russians in Tatar folklore and literature. Of course, right away I should note that this topic cannot be fully exhausted in this section. Therefore, my observations should be regarded as just the first approach to this topic.

It is interesting to mention that Tatars also had ethnic definitions based on the outward anthropological signs, as did the Russians. For example, the Crimean Tatars called all Russians 'red-haired Ivan' [Olesnitsky, 1910, p. 60]. By the way, this can be found very frequently in Crimean papers concerning Slavic slaves (for example, in one of *protocols*). Using a specific name concerning representatives of a social or ethnic group was also very widespread in different languages of the world. For example, the Russians used 'Fritz' and 'Hans' for Germans, foreigners use 'Ivan' for Russians, or Turkish 'Mehmetchik' as a tender nickname for a soldier. Moscow horse traders, standing in the Horse Market in the Serpukhovskaya Zastava District in the 19th century, who were mostly gypsies, also had many Tatar words in their vocabulary, and used to be under the cultural influence of Tatars, also used this principle: 'There were times when they called every man "Frolka", for some reason' [Bogatyrev, 1989, p. 127]¹.

Let us have a closer look at international stereotypes reflected in Crimean medieval historiography. 'History of Khan Islam-Giray III' by Hadji Mehmed, the Crimean author, official of the khan's chancellery, historiographer of the khan known as Senai (that was his pen-name) provides great material on this subject. The author finished writing this work, composed at the request of Sefer Gazi-agi, vizier of the khan in August 1651 (apparently it was started sometime after 1648) [Hadzy, 1971]. Senai uses the term 'dog' concerning the unfaithful (he uses words '*seg*', '*segler*' in their plural form, having a Persian origin, instead of

'*eet*' or '*kyopek*', which are common in the Turkish language. He rhymes them with 'begler', that is, princes, which he calls the Polish gentry [Ibid. p. 16], he also calls enemies '*cuffar*', that is, simply the unfaithful ones, or '*melain*', that is, the damned). In general, in relation to other peoples, the chroniclers did not hesitate, rhyming ethnonyms with derogatory epithets. Thus, they called Cossacks 'stubborn, obstinate' (*Cossack—ack*), Russians—'bringing misfortune' (*Rus—menkhus*), Kalmyks—'evil doers' (*Kalmyk—bed makhlyuk*) [Ibid. p. 62].

Let us have a look at the proverbs. There are some proverbs devoted to Russians, among the ones used by the Crimean Turks (Tatars) in Dobruja (Romania): **Urustan dost bolmaz domuzdan post** (tur. Rustan dost olmaz domuzdan post), that is, 'One cannot make friends with a Russian as you cannot make a fur coat from a pig'; **Urusman dos bolsañ baltañ katiñda bolsun** (tur. Rusla dost olursan baltan yanında olsun), that is, 'Making friends with a Russian is like walking along the cutting-edge of an axe' [Ülküsal, 1970, p. 93].

Very illustrative are such proverbs of the Crimean Tatars as '**Kazakny zatrafısy bitmes**'. That is, 'Russian will not end tomorrow'.

On the other hand, one can see a critical attitude to their own people: **Tataryng akla sonunda kelur** ('Tatar brain turns on late (at the end)'). There is an almost completely exact equivalent in the Russian language: 'Russians are truly wise, in hindsight'.

So we can see the combination of two points of view: Russians are bad, but some Tatars may be even worse. The last Crimean khan Shahin Giray remained in the memories of Tatars as a bad character. There is one more proverb of the Crimean Tatars that has been preserved. '**Kamchy boyunda kazakka khizmet iderim, Shagin Girey khanga khismet itmem**' that is, 'I'd rather serve a short Russian with a whip, than Khan Shahin Giray' [Proverbs, 1915, p. 55 (No. 484)].

We can see that in traditional insults against Russian, the Tatars use the same elements. 'Tatars and Russians live in harmony now, and the Russians no longer use any offensive language towards the Tatars, as they had done about forty years ago. Nevertheless sometimes Russian

¹ Probably, it is somehow related to the fact that Florus and Laurus were considered to be the patrons of livestock, including horses, in Russia.

coachmen scold a Tatar by calling him a *dog*, if he fails to make way for his wagon. However, the Tatar, in such circumstances, murmurs under his nose quietly '*dongus*'¹ and thinks to himself: 'You, *alcafer* (infidel)'² [Fuchs, 1991, pp. 143–144].

Thus, the dynamics of changes in mutual perceptions of the Russians and Tatars, concerning each other, are reflected in the religious continuity and the development of religious policies in Eurasian empires—the Golden Horde and its successors. Shamanism had spread among Mongolians under Chinggis Khan, and for a long time after his death, while some Mongolian tribes (Naimans and the Keraites) confessed Nestorianism (Nestorian Christianity). Meanwhile, there were many Muslims serving Mongolians during the early period of Mongolian expansion to the West. Chinggis Khan himself, and the first generations of his descendants, including the Jochids were rather tolerant, when it came to faith: political loyalty to the governing dynasty was much more important than a common religion. The conquests were not followed by religious repressions: political expediency dictated the necessity of equal treatment of representatives of all religions within the empire. At the beginning, the devotion to shamanism was typical for representatives of the Chinggisids, being a specific necessary attribute of belonging to the dynasty. At that time, the religious affiliation of a governing Chinggisid was rather his personal choice, rather than a public confession. A Muslim khan could be replaced by a pagan khan. A significant part of population of Jochi region continued remaining non-Islamized, traditional Mongolian norms and customs prevailed in state structure, administration and clerical work. Only under Uzbek, did Islam become not a matter of choice, but the religion of the dynasty, and religion of the state. Meanwhile, the acceptance of Islam, at the state level, was followed by numerous repressions against followers of other faiths and church organisations. Already back in 1257, a population census was conducted in Russia, initiated by Khan Mengü [The Complete Collection of Rus-

sian Chronicles, 1, 1997, columns 474–475]. Its main purpose was to organize the collection of taxes. At the same time, churches were exempt from paying taxes. This policy continued until the 14–15th centuries.

The Muscovite state, which turned out to be the successor of the Empire of Chinggisids, did not demonstrate an essentially new attitude towards representatives of religious minorities, that is, primarily towards Muslims as the largest group among them. Researchers noticed long ago that, although the Russian state proclaimed itself the embodiment of an Orthodox state on Earth, the protector and guardian of Orthodoxy as the true Christianity since the late 15th century, and especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, neither the state itself, nor its church, made any attempts to convert Muslims to Christianity and did not carry out systematic missionary activities³. Historians gave various explanations for this: as the consequence of an absence of a source on this theme, at least before the 18th century (Joseph Glazik)⁴, the specificity of formation of the Muscovite state and the Russian state, as a specific kind of a pre-modern empire, which did not fit into the common rules of colonial empires (Andreas Cappelletti), the acceptance of Muslims as foreigners, and not as followers of other non-Orthodox beliefs (Heinz-G. Nolte), specific features of the Byzantine-Orthodox attitude of showing understanding towards followers of other non-Orthodox beliefs, which is a specific model of Orthodox religious-cul-

³ See, for example, the latest published literature: [Dmitriev, 2007, pp. 121–134]; [Dmitriev, 2012, pp. 114–125] (indicating also reference literature on the subject). The last two years in Moscow under the leadership of Prof. M. Dmitriev, a continuous seminar is held titled 'Islam, Eastern Christianity and Judaism in the European East in the Middle Ages and the new time: a special model of religious-cultural pluralism?'.
⁴ J. Glazik divides the entire history of Orthodox missionary work in four large epochs: 'spontaneous' missionary activities (11–15th centuries) in the Russian North and among the Tatars; church-led missionary work in Siberia and the Asian part of Russia (from the 16th century); the period of state-controlled missions with a tendency towards Russification (from the epoch of Peter the Great); return to the church missionary practice in Asian Russia (from the reign of Catherine II). See [Die Russisch-Orthodoxe, 1954, p. 1–3].

¹ That is a 'pig'.

² That is 'al-kafir' (a disbeliever).

tural pluralism (M. Dmitriev)¹. It seems to me that it would be more reasonable to talk about the imperial Eurasian continuity of religious-linguistic integration, which was the most remarkable during the Horde and Russian periods of Eurasian history.

In the late 13th century—14th century followers of other non-Christian beliefs (Jews, representatives of other branches of Christianity) started serve Russian princes in family, trade and other spheres. Their presence in Russia, in various positions, often meant converting to Orthodoxy. In most cases, this occurred when a person married or entered into service. In 1302, the Prince of Belozersk Fedor Mikhailovich married the daughter of prince Ilbasmysh, in 1317, Yuri Danilovich married Konchaka, sister of Khan Uzbek, christened as Agafia [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, 1997, chapter 528; The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, 2000, p. 108]. The first case when a Tatar came to serve a Moscow prince was registered in 1318, when Telebuga left the Horde for Moscow, in order to serve Yuri Danilovich [Kuzmin, 2002, p. 10]. Most likely most of these newly baptized were Muslims at the moment they came to serve Moscow. Naturally, the converting to Orthodoxy necessitated the creation of special texts, regulating the procedure of Christening. Indeed, since 14th century the so called Rules of Converting to Orthodoxy according to which this going over took place started spreading. 'The rules of accepting for those coming from Judaism', 'the rules of those coming from the heretics', 'the rules of those coming from the Saracens'. They were based on Greek texts, which were translated

into Slavic languages, starting in the 13th century. The canons of accepting followers of other non-Orthodox beliefs into Christianity firstly appeared in Serbia at the turn of 12–13th centuries in the Serbian edition of the 'Kormchaya kniga' ('Book of the Helmsman'), which came to Russia in 1262. The structure of the rules of accepting Muslims represented the pronouncement of a series of curses of various elements of the Islam dogma (both real and imaginary ones), and only the mentioning at the beginning of the text that this action takes place in the church, at the place where baptism is performed, in front of the baptismal font, means that after the curses were pronounced, the Christening followed. These rules are known from the Greek manuscripts written in the 12th century, and in the Slavic tradition, they appeared in the same Serbian version of the 'Kormchaya kniga' ('Book of the Helmsman'). When the initial Russian version was compiled, on the basis of Serbian and ancient Slavic versions in the late 13th century, this rules were not included there. Nevertheless in 14th century when new canonical compilations were composed, the rules of accepting Muslims becomes a part of the 'Kormchaya kniga' and then comes to the Prayerbook (its most ancient copy dates back to the late 14th century). It should be emphasized that according to M. Korogodina, the editor of the Russian Book of Needs, they did not just take, as its basis for ranks, the early Serbian translation from the Greek, but the Greek text was also used, to clarify the obscure areas [Korogodina, 2013, p. 100].

The most important thing is, that in some cases, the Russian text of the rules of the Book of Needs turned out to be more detailed than the original. Thus, the Serbian version contains the following phrase: 'Damn Alim, Muhammed's son-in-law and Apoupikert', that is, Ali, the real son-in-law of the prophet, the husband of his daughter Fatima and Abu Bakr as-Siddik (the first righteous caliph and Muhammad's father-in-law). In the Russian version of the Book of Needs, this curse sounds in the following way: 'Damn Alim, Mohammed's son-in-law, and Hasan and Housen and his sons and Apoupiker'. The name of Abu Bakr was distorted beyond recognition in the Russian version of the Ko-

¹ This specific feature of Orthodoxy (the absence of external public activities including, consequently, missionary work), contrasting with Western Christianity, was pointed out already by P. Chaadayev and then after him by V. Solovyov. For P. Chaadayev, Eastern Christianity preserved the purity and asceticism of Byzantium but lost the political freedom; it was subordinate to political power and thus did not become the yeast of social life. In Preservation of the canonic truth was the prime task of the Orthodox East; organization of church activities under the leadership of the single and definitely independent spiritual authority was the prime task of the Catholic West' [Solovyov, 1883]. See: [Gershenzon, 1908, pp. 166–169].

rmchaya: The name 'Aputiker', or 'Apopukriy Sadokiyskiy' present in the Greek and Serbian originals, was not mentioned at all. There was no enumeration of Muhammed's sons in the Serbian version or in the Russian version, on which it was based. Nevertheless this can be found on the Greek lists [Ibid, 101].

The Book of Needs also contains other individual readings, which were not typical for

the Serbian and early Russian versions of Kormchaya. This means that, for some reason, the Russian editor of the Rules in the Book of Needs had decided to expand the Rules, whose Greek original had been firstly addressed to the Sunnis, at the expense of the Shiites. It is difficult to say why this happened in Russia, but it is evident that the initial text was adapted to Russian conditions and circumstances.

§ 3. Tatar Yurts and the Ottoman Empire

Ilya Zaitsev

The emergence of diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Golden Horde dates back to the 14th century. However, the earliest example of correspondence between the Golden Horde and the Ottoman Empire known to us is the original of a letter from Khan Ulugh Muhammad addressed to Sultan Murad II dated March 14, 14 [TSMA, no.10202]. The document was written in the Chagatai language. The letter was found by A.N. Kurat in the archive of Topkapi Palace and published by him in 1937¹. Ya. Pelenski regarded this document as a Kazan text. He justly commented that there may be objections regarding the inclusion of this letter among Kazan documents, as the message was written when Ulugh Muhammad was

still on the throne of the Golden Horde, i.e., before he had become the first ruler of the new Kazan Khanate. However, the fact that "the Kazan Khanate was founded by dissident elements of the Golden Horde and Ulugh Muhammad became the first khan of the new Tatar state allows us to consider this patent at least a borderline case" [Pelenski, 1974, p. 14]².

The reverse side of the sheet of paper contained a text which seemingly had no relation to the letter of Ulugh Muhammad. This is a copy of the *Fateh-nama*³ of Murad II about the conquest of the fortress Güvercinlik⁴, written

¹ See [Kurat, 1937]. This edition, by the publisher's own acknowledgment, represented work 'accomplished within a brief, almost three-week-long period' and contained inaccuracies. For amendments to this edition with specification of textual discrepancies and conjectures, see: [Halasi Kun, 1942, pp. 144–145]. More reliable editions are: [Kurat, 1940, pp. 6–36; Halasi Kun, 1949, pp. 609–626; Sultanov, 1975, pp. 53–61]. See the appendix, corrections to the text and translation, as well as a description of the document's outer appearance in the following work: [Sultanov, 1978, pp. 237–239]. For conjectures to the edition by A. Kurat, see: [Malov, 1953, p. 188]. For the Russian translation of the letter's 1940 edition by A. Kurat, see: [The letter, 1996, pp. 28–34]. A near-full copy of the 1940 edition (though without the reproduction of the text and commentaries) was undertaken in 1996 by A. Melek Özyetgin, though, if compared to the edition of A. Kurat, this publication was of a significantly lesser value [Özyetgin Melek, 1996]. For a description of the appearance and specific features of the document, see also: [Zajaczkowski, 1948, pp. 214–215]. See also: [Zaitsev, 2004a, pp. 49–50].

² J. Pelenski's use of the term 'yarliq' in relation to Ulugh (Ulugh) Muhammad's letter seems to be incorrect and results from the inconsistency in the classifications of Golden Horde documents and those from the post-Horde time by A. Kurat. 'When speaking about yarliqs, they imply here mandative letters (nameler) of the Golden Horde, Crimean and Kazan Khans addressed to rulers of foreign lands; the name [yarliq] is also applied to letters patent (yazilar) issued by Khans to their subjects or any person at all' [Kurat, 1940, p. 3; Usmanov, 1979]. On the other hand, A. Kurat was absolutely correct in calling the Khans' papers, which were addressed, for instance, to Turkish Sultans, as letters or messages (bitikler) [Kurat, 1940, p. 4]. In subsequent uses of the terms 'yarliq', 'message', 'letter', etc. I fully follow the definitions given by M. Usmanov, except in cases of quoting other authors.

³ About the Ottoman fateh-name, see: [Lewis, 1962, pp. 192–196].

⁴ The same name of the fortress is also mentioned in the Ottoman takvim (calendar-chronicle), of the so-called list A, see: [Turan, 1984, p. 24], and also in one of the Ottoman documents of 1487, see: [Hazai, 2001, p. 180] (Ve bir dahi Gügercin-lik karşısında Varadin adlı hisârlik vardır). A slightly different spelling (Gügercinlik) is given in the Ottoman defter of 1549/1550, see: [Ottoman, 1996, p. 13]. For the trans-

in the Arabic language in 831 AH and sent to Egypt to a Bek Akbuga [Kurat, 1940, p. 7]¹. 831 AH corresponds to a period between October 22, 1427, and October 10, 1428. The name "*Gügercinlik*" is the Turkish equivalent of the Serbian word "Golubac"; this is a fortress situated on the right bank of the Danube River east of Belgrade [Kołodziejczyk, 2000, p. 106]. Ottoman troops conquered the fortress two times. The first time was in November 1427, when Golubac was voluntarily yielded to the Turks by the city's commander, Jeremija, instead of being handed over to the Hungarians as provided for by the treaty between the Serbian despot and King Sigismund² [Hammer, 1827, p. 430; Jireček, 1918, pp. 163–164; Istorija, 1982, pp. 220–221; Ćorović, 1993, p. 300–301. According to Tursun Beg's *Tarih-i Ebülfeth*, the city was conquered for the second time by the troops of Mahmud-Pasha in July 1458 [The History, 1978, p. 81a]³. The final conquest of Golubac made the city a strategically important border fortress. Its citizens guarded Ottoman ships in the river and protected the city itself from the raids of Hungarians and Gayduks [Ziroevich, 1990]⁴. The fortress was besieged by Sigismund's troops from the beginning of 1428 until June of that year, fierce battles were being waged around the city, the sanjak-bey of Vidin, Sinan Bey, struck a destructive blow to Hungar-

ian troops in an unexpected sally [Öztuna, 1964, pp. 151–152]. It is obvious that the original of the *Fateh-nama* refers to the first conquest of Golubac by the Ottomans, which means it was written after November 1427, when the Ottomans conquered the city.

Ashraf Sayf-ad-Din Barsbay⁵ was ruling in Egypt at this time, from 1422 to 1438. Murad II exchanged embassies and letters with him. A letter to Murad Barsbai dated Zul-hidj 10, 831⁶ and the reply of the Mamluk sultan have been preserved [Feridun Bey, 1275/1858, s.195–198]. The fall of Güvercinlik and the defeat of the Hungarians in 1428 became a reason to continue Ottoman-Mamluk contacts. In 1430, an Ottoman messenger brought a message to Egypt about the Turks' conquest of Thessaloniki [Darrag, 1961, p. 389]⁷. Apparently, Akbuga, to whom the *Fateh-nama* of Murad II was sent, was the emir of Barsbay, the "inspector" of Upper Egypt, whose full name was Akbuga Jamali [Darrag, 1961, p. 46–47, 149]. He was called "the emir of true believers" and "the pillar of the state and faith" in the text of the *fateh-nama*. In any case, the text of the *fateh-nama* apparently ended up on the reverse side of Ulugh Muhammad's letter after it had been received in Istanbul, i.e., the original of the khan's message was reused in the sultan's chancellery. It is not quite clear what the reason was for creating the copy of the *fateh-nama* on the reverse side of the letter from Ulugh Muhammad. It is hard to imagine that it was done for lack of writing material. However, there seems to be no direct connection between these documents except the year of writing (1428)⁸.

formation of kef-i farsi into the sound 'v' in live pronunciation, see [Samoylovich, 2002, p. 34].

¹ See a truncated version of this document here: [Feridun Bey, 1275/1858, pp. 201–202]. The reply to Murad is also reproduced there.

² Sigismund (15 February 1368–9 December 1437) was the son of Charles IV, King of Hungary (1387–1437), King of Germany (1410–1437), King of Bohemia (1419–1436) and the Holy Roman Emperor (1433–1437). About him, see: [Biographisches, 1981, p. 122].

³ Huseyn refers the capture of Gügercinlik and the defeat of the Serbs and Hungarians at the fortress to 831–832 AH (1427/29). See: [Huseyn, 1961, pp. 169a, 171a]. The historian also dates the capture of Jan-owasa to the same year. Huseyn also mentions some other 'Gügercinlik', probably, in Iran [Ibid., p. 143a], though more likely it is a town in the sanjak of Hüdavendigâr (for example, see: [Das osmanische, 1984, 90 b. 6]).

⁴ In the 17th century, Golubac was an ordinary judicial-administrative district (*kasa*) in the sanjak of Semendire of the Budin Eyalet (see: [Stojkov, 1970, p. 227]).

⁵ It was his name that was mentioned in the heading of the *fateh-nama*. The heading of the letter calls it (the letter) *name-i humayun* (that is, the august message).

⁶ The date corresponds to 21 September 1428.

⁷ Thessaloniki was taken by Ottoman troops on 13 March 1430 (see: [Öztuna, 1964, p. 152]).

⁸ In principle, cases of using the reverse side of a document for writing another text are known in diplomatic practice. For example, the letter of the Azov *dizdar* to Moscow in 1521 was written on the reverse side of the charter of the Caffa Sanjakbeg Muhammad [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 89, inv. 1, item 1, p. 146]. Both texts there, however, were authentic. In our case, the reverse of the original was used for the copy of another document.

The text of the letter of Ulugh Muhammad was not fully preserved: some parts of it were damaged by moisture and are illegible. In his letter to Murad II, the khan deals with the history of Ottoman-Horde relations: "Our former brother Khans and your fathers, the sultans of the vilayet Rum and our elder brothers, sent one another ambassadors, exchanged gifts and greetings, traded through merchants and maintained good relations. Then, our brother khan Tokhtamysh Khan and your great grandfather Gazi Bayezid Bek, according to a good old custom, exchanged ambassadors, gifts, greetings and, living in friendship and harmony, were granted the Lord's mercy" [Kurat, 1940, pp. 8–9, 161–165; Sultanov, 1975, p. 54]. This document testifies "not only to the exchange of embassies between the Sarai khans and the Turkish sultans in the 1320–1330s; it also reports that such contacts took place under Sultan Bayezid and Khan Tokhtamysh on the eve of Timur's military campaigns in the Volga Region and Anatolia, i.e., when the Sarai khans and the Turkish sultans were interested in creating an anti-Timur alliance. It is also clear from the letter that the correspondence between the Turkish sultans and the Jochids has an earlier tradition" [Usmanov, 1988, p. 128].

Indeed, the words of Ulugh Muhammad on the ancient history of Ottoman-Horde relations most likely "are not simply of a declarative nature, but of a documentary one" [Ibid, p. 132]. The impetus for continuing official contacts was the common foreign policy interests of the two states in the late 14th century. M.G. Safargaliev supposed that a rapprochement between Tokhtamysh and Bayezid may have occurred in 1394, when Tokhtamysh was looking for allies against Timur. "There is no direct indication of this, but indirect data speak of the possibility of such an alliance" [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 418]. This assumption may be verified. In 1394, Egyptian Sultan az-Zahir Barquq hosted ambassadors from Tokhtamysh in Damascus: Bayezid and Burhan al-Din Ahmad, the ruler of Sivas. An account of this was preserved by Tagri Birdi, a Mamluk historiographer: "The ambassadors of Tokhtamysh Khan, the ruler of the Kypchak land, arrived there to offer an alliance against Timurlenk. The sultan accepted their offer. The

ambassadors of the Ottoman sultan Yildyrym Bayezid, the ruler of Asia Minor, came after him, reporting that he had sent 200,000 warriors to help az-Zahir, and he would be waiting for the sultan's reply that he might act accordingly..." [Taghri Birdi, 1954, p. 148; Zakyrov, 1966, pp. 95–96]¹. Barquq accepted these offers gratefully. It may have been in August 1394 in Damascus that the first official contacts between representatives of Tokhtamysh and Bayezid took place. There the representatives of four countries discussed the prospects of a war against Timur².

The defeat of Tokhtamysh in 1395 and the catastrophe of July 28, 1402 (the battle of Ankara), suspended the development of relations between the two states for a time. Both the Ottoman Empire and the Golden Horde were suffering serious internal shocks, as a result of which diplomatic contacts between the two countries lost their relevance. Nevertheless, according to the information of two of Timur's court chroniclers, Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi and Nizam ad-Din Shami, and of Byzantine historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles, a part of the Horde defeated by Timur at the Vorskla River fled to the lower reaches of the Dnieper, headed by Emir Aktav. Afterwards, they most likely went west and reached Ottoman possessions on the Danube in 1398. Aktav was forced to enter into negotiations with Bayezid, as a result of which the

¹ According to the works of Ibn al-Furat, al-Maqrizi and Ibn Shokhba al-Asadi, the Tokhtamysh embassy arrived in Damascus on 26 March 1394 (23 Jumada I 796 AH, on Thursday) or, per al-Asqalani and al-Ayni, on 20 Jumada I of the same year (that is, on 23 March). See: [Tiesenhausen, 1884, pp. 356 (363), 428 (442), 445 (448), 450 (453), 531]. The negotiations, therefore, had been held there before August 28th, when the Sultan moved to Aleppo.

² A special report by Ezher Muhammadi was dedicated to this event at the 13th Congress of the Turkish Historical Society. The scholar, however, called it a 'triple' alliance, as he did not count in the Sivas ruler. See: [Muhammedi, 1999, p. 136]. By the way, the following lines have remained in the divan of Kadi Burhaneddin (1345–1398): İki âlemde Hak'a sığınmışız // Tohtamış ne ola ya ahsah Temur (see: [Yücel, 1986, p. 5]). That is, 'in the two worlds (this and the other world), we set hopes upon the Truth (that is God), so what are Tokhtamysh or Aksak Timur (to us)'. These lines of the poet once aroused the interest of A. Krymsky (see [Galenko, 1998, p. 73]).

refugees settled on the southern Danube and in the Balkans. It is possibly this group that ransacked Varna in February 1399. However, soon Bayezid changed his mind and arranged a bloody massacre of Tatar chiefs, which could not help but provoke resistance from the Tatars. The survivors were settled around Edirne¹.

Unfortunately, we have no information regarding the development of Ottoman-Horde diplomatic relations in the early 15th century. In one of his early articles, T. Halasi Kun dated the embassy of Ulugh Muhammad to Murad in Adrianople to 1424 [Halasi Kun, 1942, p. 143]. Apparently, this is a mistake. In February 1424, after a trip to some cities in Asia Minor, Murad received ambassadors from neighboring powers in Ephesus [Zhukov, 1988, p. 73]. There is no information in sources known to me on an embassy to Murad from Ulugh Muhammad in 1424. The letter of Ulugh Muhammad looks like a first official message intended to restore diplomatic relations after a long interval. The reason for this gap can apparently be found in the renewal of the alliance between Tokhtamysh and Timur in the very beginning of the 15th century.

It is clear from the letter of Ulugh Muhammad that there were two routes by which embassies were exchanged between the two countries. One of them, the land route, went through the steppes along the Black Sea and through Wallachia. The second one went through the Black Sea: "We did not send a person to you because if we did, Aflak² would not let him pass. We knew that you had sent a man to us by sea. How did it happen that he did not arrive?" [Kurat, 1940, pp. 8–9, 161–166; Sultanov, 1975, p. 54; Sultanov, 1978, p. 239].

At that time, European diplomats were devising plans to create an anti-Ottoman coalition with the participation of Asian states. One of the main roles in this potential alliance was given to the khans of the Ulus of Jochi. The

idea of engaging the Qipchaq khans in the anti-Ottoman alliance already had a history by the early 15th century, because in the 1380–90s European states, in particular Byzantium³ and Venice, had made similar attempts [Silberschmidt, 1923].

In autumn 1411, before meeting of Sigismund (1387–1437) and the king of Poland, the Polish delegation in Rome asked Pope John XXII to declare a crusade against the Tatars. However, Sigismund's ambassadors convinced the Pope that organizing such a campaign would be a fatal mistake. Sigismund thought that the Tatars were the natural allies of European countries against the Ottoman Empire. Wladyslaw was willing to share Sigismund's views: in 1412, when the ambassadors of the Tatar khan arrived in Buda to offer the Polish king an alliance against all his enemies, he, like Sigismund, accepted this offer. At the beginning of 1412, Sigismund sent ambassadors (Nicholaus de Geretz) through Genoese Caffa to Khan Jalal al-Din (Tokhtamysh's son), who ruled between 1411 and 1412, inviting him to join the anti-Ottoman league with Byzantium, and received an affirmative response [Stromer von Reichenbach, 1972, s.591].

The list of gifts (*litterae donationis*) given by Sigismund in Nadsombat on February 6, 1428, contained a description of the mission of two Hungarian ambassadors (recipients of the grant) to Asian rulers with the aim of concluding an alliance against Turkey. This document is kept in the Hungarian National Archive (*Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár*: 100.445). The ambassadors' names were Miklos Szerecsen (Nicolaus Sarachenus) and Josza Török (Iosa Turcus). Nicolaus de Geretz (one of Sigismund's ambassadors) had been taken prisoner by the Turks and spent 12 years in captivity. After being set free in 1408, he entered Sigismund's service. Possibly, he was called Sarachenus because he had been a prisoner of the Muslims. When he returned to Hungary from captivity, a Turk, later christened as Jozsa Török, joined him on his way back. He also started serving Sigismund and carried out

¹ Such is the reconstruction of the events, suggested on the basis of reports by Chalkokondyles, Badr al-Din al-'Ayni and the chronicles of Shami and Yazdi. See: [Decei, 1950–1955, pp. 77–92]. See also: [Akmedova, Murtuzaliev, 2001, p. 155; Ditten, 1968, pp. 13–14].

² Iflak/Aflak—Wallachia.

³ Byzantium actively tried to find a counterbalance to the Turks in the figure of Tamerlane.

diplomatic commissions of the monarch with Nikolaus Sarachenus [Agoston, 1995, p. 273].

Among other things, the document stated: "...Jozsa Török was sent to Prince Mahomet, the lord of the Tatars of the Horde, as our messenger; the prince was also planning to attack the vile Turks, so he (i.e., the ambassador) brought us the reply we wanted to hear..." [Katona, 1790, pp. 503–507; Tardy, 1978, pp. 10–13]. According to L. Tardy, Mahomet, the ruler of the Tatars of the Horde who received the ambassadors of Sigismund is Ulugh Muhammad [Tardy, 1978, pp. 18–19]. However, L. Tardi based this on the dating of the embassies mentioned in the manuscript as having been in 1428 (i.e., the year the copy of manuscript itself was written). Not so long ago, D. Agoston, using the original archive document, showed that the copy mentioned the mission of Miklos Szerecsen not to Caramania in 1428¹, but the embassy of Sigismund to Kara-Uluk Ak-Koyun in 1419 [Agoston, 1995, p. 273–274].

Thus, Sigismund's embassy to "Mohammed, the Lord of the Horde Tatars" (i.e., Ulugh Muhammad) took place between 1419 and 1428. Stromer von Reichenbach placed the embassy of Török to Ulugh Muhammad in 1419–1423 [Stromer von Reichenbach, 1972, p. 596]. Since, according to the calculations of M.G. Safargaliev, Muhammad's accession to the throne took place in late 1421, the time during which the embassy took place may consequently be narrowed down. Jozsa Török visited Ulugh Muhammad and received a satisfactory response to Sigismund's offer before 1423. In this connection, it becomes clearer why the chancellery of the sultan linked the correspondence of Ulugh Muhammad to documents about military actions against Sigismund, and why there was a copy of a *fateh-nama* dated 831 (late 1427–1428) reporting the conquest of the Serbian fortress Golubac on the reverse side of the letter of the khan to Sultan Murad II.

According to the Tati treaty between Serbian Despot Stefan and Sigismund concluded in May 1426, Đurađ Branković (Stefan's nephew, Vuk I's son and Lazar's grandson on his mother's

side) was acknowledged as the heir to the Serbian throne. According to the treaty, Belgrade and Golubac were to be passed to Sigismund if Lazarević died without male heirs (which, considering the state of his health, was obvious). If Đurađ had no heirs, the Serbian lands would also pass to Sigismund. In essence, signing the treaty meant the Serbians were accepting a Hungarian diktat in return for assistance in defending themselves against the Turks. Serbia, which was considered a vassal of the sultan, entered the anti-Ottoman coalition².

On June 19, 1427, Despot Stefan Lazarević died after hawking. Đurađ Branković was anointed to rule, as expected. He ascended the throne without notifying Sultan Murad II. Branković went to Golubac, and it was the voevode of Golubac, Jeremija, who put his hand and weapons on the anointed ruler as a token of acknowledgment of Đurađ's rights.

Meanwhile, the Ottomans, displeased with their vassal getting out of hand, sent a powerful expeditionary corps against Serbia; on September 3 the Ottoman army, headed by Isa-Beg, besieged Novo Brdo. Murad himself set out to help Isa's corps. Soon Krusevac was captured. In this critical situation, Branković started fulfilling the promises of the Tati treaty, relying on Hungarian assistance against the Turks. It is likely that in September or even late October 1427, Belgrade was handed over to Sigismund. Now it was Golubac's turn. However, Jeremija, the voevode of the fortress, interfered and demanded 12,000 ducats to hand the fortress over to the Hungarians. Most likely, this was the amount he had paid to the despot for the right to rule the city³. Jeremija presented a document as proof, but the king questioned the authenticity of the seal and the amount of the payment. Caught in the crossfire between the Turks and King Sigismund and seeing that

² For more details about the treaty, see: [Prleander, 1992].

³ Turkish historian I. Uzunçarşılı explained the origin of these twelve thousand ducats in a similar way (as a debt of the town vicegerent or a kind of a redemption sum). Sigismund allegedly had even paid that money, but the fortress passed to the Ottomans (see: [Uzunçarşılı, 1988, p. 407]. Compare the unfortunate misprint—831 AH—1425 (!) [Ibid]).

¹ As N. Iorga supposed [Iorga, 1909, p. 406], and after him, L. Tardi, as well.

it was pointless to negotiate with Sigismund, Jeremija made a similar proposition to the sultan and obtained his consent. As soon as winter came, Jeremija surrendered Golubac to the Turks without a fight. Apparently, the required sum of money had been paid. Until May 1428, there were almost no changes in the situation around the fortress: Đurađ maintained peace with the sultans and paid thekharaj without fail. Nevertheless, the situation became more complicated when Sigismund interfered; he led 1428 Hungarian troops in a siege of the Turkish *garrison* of the fortress at the end of April 1428. Until June 1428, when the opposing sides concluded a three-year truce with the assistance of Sinan-Bey, the Turkish garrison of Golubac was besieged by Sigismund's Hungarian troops from the direction of the Danube River and the field and was actively subjected to bombings [Jireček, 1918, p. 163–164; Radonic, 1905, pp. 54–55; Istorija, 1982, p. 220–221; Corovic, 1993, p. 300–301; Dinic, 1978, p. 106, 108, 338; Spremic, 1994, p. 71, 90–92, 96, 99, 101].

Possibly, Istanbul was afraid of the participation of Ulugh Muhammad in Serbian-Hungarian events or, on the contrary, they were speculating on the possibility of engaging the khan, who had spent the winter at the Dnieper (the Ozu), according to his letter addressed to Murad, in military actions on the Danube. Unfortunately, we cannot give an exact answer.

Europe's plans to engage Islamic states in an anti-Ottoman coalition included Mamluk Egypt. Venice sent two ambassadors to the Egyptian sultan to prevent the renewal of friendly relations between Egypt and the Ottomans. The foreign policy of Ulugh Muhammad was quite active. As al-Aini reported on April 21, 1429 (i.e., a year after the letter to Murad II had been written), his ambassadors arrived in Egypt bearing a gift and two letters (in Arabic and in Mongolian written with the Uigurian alphabet) [Tiesenhausen, 1884, p. 502; Spuler, 1943, p. 158]. Possibly, J. Schiltberger, who mentions the embassy to the Mamluk sultan on the occasion of his daughter's wedding, was included in this very embassy to sultan al-Malik Barsbay [Schiltberger, 1984, pp. 36, 46].

Unfortunately, the results and real purposes of these embassies are unknown. It is not

clear just how real Ulugh Muhammad's "anti-Ottoman" position was. The poverty of sources does not allow us to give a definitive answer to this question. Papers on relations between Ulugh Muhammad and Turkish sultans in the subsequent period are unknown. Possibly, this can be explained by the fact that the formation of the Kazan Khanate brought about changes in Ulugh Muhammad's foreign policy interests. The Ottoman Empire did not play the main role in his foreign policy. Initially, this place was occupied by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, then by the Duchy of Moscow.

Ulugh Muhammad started developing relations with Grand Prince of Lithuania Vytautas in the first half of the 1420s. In 1424, ambassadors of Ulugh Muhammad came to Vytautas. On January 1, 1425, Vytautas wrote the great grandmaster: "... We report to you that the Tatar state is split into two and divided. So, there are six rulers there now who are struggling for power. One of them, Mahmet, is with us. All the rest live in different places, as their lands are great and expansive" [Barbashev, 1891, pp. 189–190].

At the end of January 1429, the Grand Prince of Lithuania and Russia Vytautas, the King of Poland Wladyslaw (Jagiello), the King of Germany and Rome Sigismund, and representatives of the Pope, the Byzantine emperor, the King of Denmark, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia, the Ruler of Moldavia, minor Russian and Lithuanian princes, the dukes of Mazovia, etc., gathered. The sessions of the congress lasted about two weeks. The main issue on the agenda of the conference was the fight against the Turks which united all European countries [Taube, 1989, p. 139]. According to some dubious information, the Perekop khan was present at the congress [Cheshikhin, 1887, p. 60]. A.E. Krymsky thought that this was Hacı Giray—"a recent vassal of Vytautas and an enemy of Turkey" [Krymsky, 1916, pp. 43, 177]. The presence of Hacı Giray at the congress as the Crimean Khan was unlikely. At that time, Ulugh Muhammad was the khan of the Crimea and the Jochid lands. Vytautas wrote in a letter addressed to the Livonian Order dated September 9, 1429 (shortly before the congress): "Our friend tsar

Mahmet wrote to us that he now possesses the entire state and the Horde and offered us a lasting union through his ambassador" [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 486]. Most likely, the khan did not attend the congress personally, but his representatives could have been there¹. The question of Moldavia was at the top of the agenda. Sigismund, who had heard that King Alexander was interacting with the Turks, asked Jagiello to start the partition of Moldavia or order Alexander, as his vassal, to stop negotiations with the Turkish and help the emperor in the struggle against them. Sigismund was conducting negotiations with the ambassadors of the Order to establish a special branch on the Danube River as a permanent military colony to fight against the Turks. This idea was not brought to fruition [Taube, 1989, p. 145]. The emperor asked Jagiello and Vytautas to help him against the Turks. Jagiello collected a detachment (mainly consisting of immigrants from Russia, which caused much discontent there), but the detachment, having joined the King of Moldavia, did not wait for Sigismund's forces and returned to Lithuania [Barbashev, 1891, p. 233]. In August 1430, the Perekop khan was in Vilnius personally for the coronation of Vytautas, which never took place [Taube, 1898, p. 151].

Correspondence between the khan and the Livonian Order is an important source of the history of the policies of Ulugh Muhammad regarding Eastern Europe. The fate of these materials collected by Gennig and kept in the Königsberg archive is unknown. Most likely, they were not preserved, like the materials from this collection used by N.M. Karamzin while working on his "History of the Russian State"². They were not found among copies of documents from the Königsberg archive in the Russian State Archive Of Ancient Acts (f. 147). The only source is paraphrases of the letters of Svid-

rigailo and Ulugh Muhammad, for example, a very unclear German translation of a letter of Ulugh Muhammad addressed to the Grand Master of the Livonian Order dated 1433 (Secret Archive No. LXXVII), in the monograph of A. Kotsebu [Kotsebu, 1835, pp. 168–169] and the works of N.M. Karamzin. A. Kotsebu, who worked in the Königsberg archive in 1813, had this document at his disposal, as well as letters of Svidrigailo addressed to the Grand Master of the Order containing unique information on the participation of Ulugh Muhammad in Lithuanian feuds. N.M. Karamzin used copies sent to him and Minister for Internal Affairs O.P. Kozodavlev by the Expedition of Baltic Nobility [Karamzin, 1998, p. 357].

Ulugh Muhammad entered into an alliance with Svidrigailo, who together with the Order was fighting against Jagiello for the throne of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and apparently at the beginning of 1431 he swore an oath to him. On May 9, 1431. Svidrigailo wrote to Livonian Master Paul from Smolensk that his ambassador, "the austere knight Peter, voevode of Novgorod, has returned from the Tatar khan with the assurance that the khan wishes to maintain friendly relations with him and his administration, and that he was ready to provide him with troops and even take part in battles personally if necessary. He confirmed his words with a promise in writing, as many previous khans had given to the representatives of the Svidrigailos. He also sent to him four noble princes, including his father-in-law, to confirm their friendship, and released voevode Gregory Protacy, voevode Mchasky, and many other prisoners" [Kotsebu, 1835, p. 94; the Secret Archive No. XXI]³. According to N.M. Karamzin, a more precise text of Svidrigailo's letter of looks like this: "...we sent our boyar Mikhail Arbanass to Tsar Mahomet in the Horde, and then we sent Pan Ivashka Monivodovich to the Horde again, asking the tsar for help. Mikhailo Arbanas came to us in Smolensk on the same day as Kuntur's servant

¹ Prussian commanders in their report from the conference in Lutsik (January 15, 1429) noted that the burgomaster of the town of 'Kassan' sought the patronage of Vytautas at the conference. A. Barbashev considered that it related not to Kazan, but to the Kashin prince [Barbashev, 1891, p. 201, note 23].

² About the documents of the Königsberg archives used by Karamzin, see: [Karamzin, 1998, pp. 357–358].

³ Mtsensk voivode G. Protasiev was captured through deception by the Ulugh Muhammad's son-in-law Aydar nearby Mtsensk in October 1430 [Zimin, 1991, pp. 43, 44, 227].

Klimok: Tsar Mahmet told us through Mikhailo, "If I promised to stand with you, my brother Grand Prince Svidrigailo, I will keep my word in full. I sent twelve thousand men to help you this winter, brother, headed by many princes, but when they reached Kiev they had to go back; it was snowing so heavily that they could not go further. Now, my brother Grand Prince Svidrigailo, I'm sending my elder son Prince Mamutyak¹, my son-in-law and right hand Prince Aidar, and another son-in-law, Prince Elberdey, with many men... and in my decree I have written: if these men are not enough I can come myself and bring all my people..." [Karamzin, 1993, p. 334].

On December 13, 1432, the Master of Lithuania reported to the Grand Master of the Order that he had heard from Svidrigailo's servant Yushka that the Tatar khan had sent Svidrigailo "his son-in-law and 20,000 warriors, adding to them 50,000 Wallachians and another 50,000 warriors headed by the voevode of Kiev. These forces are to act together against the Poles" [Kotsebu, 1835, p. 153; the Secret Archive No. LXXI]. The strength of the troops sent by Ulugh Muhammad was clearly overstated by Svidrigailo, but the report about a number of Wallachians² having been sent is interesting in itself. Wallachia and Moldavia played an important part in the anti-Ottoman plans of European monarchs. The Wallachian ruler Mircha (1386–1418) paid the kharaj to the Turks for the first time in 1394 and then in 1415, but he remained independent. However, Alexander Aldea (1431–1436) was forced to start sending prisoners and making annual payments to the Ottoman Empire in 1431, i.e., a year before the khan supposedly sent the troops. That meant the beginning of Wallachian vassalage [Hitchins, 1967, p. 124]. See also: [Matei, 1972, pp. 65–81; Matei, 1973, pp. 81–95].

Svidrigailo suggested to the Roman emperor through his messenger, S. Rota, that he marry the Moldavian voevode's daughter to draw him away from a union with the Turks

and Poles. The emperor agreed and expressed his gratitude for the prince's intention to help him in his struggle against the Turks [Kotsebu, 1835, p. 203]. Naturally, the participation of Wallachians in Ulugh Muhammad's military operations, if such participation occurred, could not have gone unnoticed by the Ottomans. It is not clear to what extent the actions of the khan with regard to Turkey's vassal were authorized by the Ottoman Empire itself. The letter of Ulugh Muhammad to Murad II dated 1428 testifies to friendly relations between the two states. It is clear from the letter that relations between Ulugh Muhammad and Wallachia were rather tense: "For the past one or two years, we have been coming to the Ozu River to spend the winter³. We did not send a person to you, because if we did, Aflak would not let him pass... Let us know how best to get rid of those unfaithful serving Aflak who are between us" [Kurat, 1940, pp. 8–9; Sultanov, 1975, pp. 54–55; Sultanov, 1978, p. 239]. It is possible that common military operations of the Ottomans and Ulugh Muhammad against Wallachia took place, as a result of which the country became a vassal of the empire, and in 1432 the khan could have sent Svidrigailo a number of Wallachian troops (vassals of the sultan and thus allies of the khan) as aid.

On January 6, 1433, commander Ludwig Lanze (the ambassador of the Grand Master to Svidrigailo) forwarded the German translation of the khan's letter to Svidrigailo to the Grand Master from Veitvisk. According to A. Kotseb, the contents of the letter are, "most likely due to a lack of knowledge on the part of the translator, completely incomprehensible. One can only guess from it that Khan Mahmet intended to come personally to the aid of Svidrigailo, or to send him his military commanders and allies. All the Grand Prince needed to do was to say immediately what kind of assistance he needed, and Mahmet and his troops were ready to set off. And the khan also ordered Prince Mikhail of Kiev to appear before him [Kotsebu, 1835, pp. 168–169; the Secret Archive No. LXXVII]. Lanze also wrote in a letter addressed to the Grand Master from Lukelin dated Febru-

¹ Mahmudek, the successor of Ulugh Muhammad in Kazan.

² For the etymology and correlation of forms wallach-vlach-woloch see: [Ivanov, Toporov, 1979, pp. 61–85]. See also: [Korolyuk, 1979, pp. 5–17].

³ The Dnieper.

ary 11 that "the Tatar khan sent five princes [Ulaen]¹, his close relatives, and 10,000 warriors [Bogen]", with whom Svidrigailo was planning to advance on Lithuania that winter [Kotsebu, 1835, p. 169; The Secret Archive No. LX–VIII.]. On April 11, 1434 Svidrigailo reported from Vyazma that the khan's ambassador had come to notify him that the khan and all his troops had set off for the Kiev region [Ibid, p. 192]. On February 24, 1436, Svidrigailo wrote to the Grand Master from Kiev that the Tatar khan himself had come to help him and his camp was standing near Kiev [Ibid, p. 220], but on November 29 of the same year he said in a letter from Lutsk (the Secret Archive No. CXVI) that everything was going well, and that the Tatar khan Sedahmet, who was his friend and ally, had defeated Mahmet and subjugated the Horde, and promised him help in the near future [Ibid, pp. 223–224]. The defeat of Ulugh Muhammad by Sayid Ahmad in 1436 and by Kūchūk Muhammad in 1437 resulted in his flight to the borders of Russia in the direction of Belyov. Subsequent events (the Battle of Belyov, the formation of the Kazan Khanate, the battle at the Saviour Monastery of St. Euthymius and the capture of Vasily II) are beyond the scope of our topic (they are described in Russian historiography in detail, so there is no need to retell them here) [Zimin, 1991, pp. 81–83, 101–108]².

The collapse of the Golden Horde as a single state led to the formation of new, independent political entities in its outlying areas—the Kazan Khanate (1438 or 1445), the Crimean Khanate (approximately 1441), the so called Qasim Khanate (1452) and then the Astrakhan Khanate (approximately 1502). The main successor to the Golden Horde was the Great (or Greater, i.e., the largest of all) Horde (Taht Eli, i.e., the "Throne Possessions", as the state was officially called). Most likely, the Ottoman Empire established diplomatic contacts with some of them in the 1450s (with the exception, apparently, of Qasim and Kazan). The Great Horde

and the Crimean Khanate were the most significant. The documents of diplomatic exchange between the khans of the Golden Horde and the Ottoman sultans have clearly reached us in an incomplete form. The letter of Khan Mahmud to Ottoman padishah Mehmed II dated April 10, 1466, and mentioning some "important affairs" which prevented the khan from sending people to the sultan earlier was the first from a chronological point of view. This document, which was a reply to an Ottoman embassy to the Horde, looks like an attempt to form an alliance with the Ottomans against a third side, most likely the independent Crimea [Zaitsev, 2004a, pp. 84–86]. The answer to this message has not been preserved. The next documents in the Horde-Ottoman diplomatic exchange date from the second half of the 1470s, when the situation in the region changed significantly (in 1475 the Ottomans conquered the southern coast of the Crimean peninsula and concluded a vassal-protectorate treaty with the Crimean Chinggisids). These are two messages from Khan Ahmed to Mehmed II (881/1476–1477 and 882/May–June 1477) and an undated text of Mehmed II written between July 1475 and April 1477 [Ibid, p. 92].

Since then, the position of the Great Horde was defined not only by the conflict with the increasing power of the Crimean Khanate, but also with the Ottoman empire, which stood behind the khan. Moreover, Muscovy was also an ally of the Crimea. It is possible that in the 1480s, after the death of Khan Ahmed and the onset of turmoil in the Horde, the Ottomans did not maintain direct contacts with the Chinggisids of the Great Horde. An indirect testimony to this is the letter of Mengli Giray to Bayezid (1486), which told of a crisis in the Throne Possessions and the Crimean khan's intention to tell the sultan about those events [Ibid, p. 93].

Meanwhile, in the relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Horde, "brotherhood and amity" reigned "from the great tsar Batu". The khan had high hopes for this alliance. Having temporarily lost his contacts with Lithuania, in the mid-1490s Khan Sheikh Ahmed asked Lithuanian prince Alexander, who had ascended the throne of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1492 and in 1501

¹ That is, ulans (uhlans).

² An article by B. Florya is also dedicated to the relationship between the Horde and the states of Eastern Europe at the time [Florya, 2001a].

had become the King of Poland as well, to inform him about the power dynamics, adversaries and allies of Lithuania. Alexander was in no hurry to restore contacts with the Horde, which had been interrupted by the death of Ahmed, Sheikh Ahmed's father; the ambassador Tagir was detained in Lithuania for 8 years, and Kodjak, Sheikh Ahmed's brother, was not acknowledged by the Lithuanian prince [Khoroshkevich, 2001, p. 153].

In 1497 Sheikh Ahmed took the initiative to revive Horde-Lithuanian relations. The embassy speaking on the behalf of him, his brother Kodjak and the princes Hacı Giray and Aega offered to help Alexander in the fight against Crimean Khan Mengli Giray. Lithuania's reaction was rather restrained and temporizing; in 1498 Sheikh Ahmed reproached Alexander for breaking his promise to fight against the Crimea together [Ibid].

Meanwhile, the difficult international position of the Throne Possessions and the serious turmoil inside the dynasty were intensified as a result of an acute ecological crisis: a bad harvest and a cattle plague placed the state in danger of ruin¹.

In summer 1498, Muscovite messenger in Wallachia Boris Odintsov reported to the Grand Prince: "And now, sire, Khan Mengli Giray got news from the Horde, from Sheikh Ahmed. People say that the Horde is very hungry and poor. They also say that the Cherkases came to the Great Horde and defeated many Tatars of the Great Horde" [The Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 255]. The khans' attempts to reach fruitful areas of the Kuban was resisted by the "Cherkases". Mengli Giray himself wrote to Moscow that he was preparing a military campaign against the Horde next winter (the time of the greatest fodder shortage in the steppe) and that "Ahmat's sons are ready" [Ibid, p. 263].

At the end of November 1500, Kievan voevode Dmitri Putyatich was sent as an ambassador from Lithuania to the Crimea. The aim of the legation was to talk Mengli Giray out of

an alliance with Moscow. However, the Lithuanians failed to obtain the support of the khan².

According to a translation of the verbal embassy of Mengli Giray to Polish King John Albert preserved as a part of the so-called Zagreb Code, the situation in the Trans-Volga Horde (as the Poles called the Great Horde) could be described as very severe: discord and famine dominated there [Hamm, 1952, p. 175; Materiały, 1966, pp. 97–99, no. 33].

According to Mengli Giray, in summer 1500, the Horde was planning to graze its cattle between the Don and the Dnieper, i.e., on territory which formally belonged to the Crimean khan and was situated far from the Horde's own camping lands [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 301]. The Horde faced a very serious problem: this step, which was vitally important to the Horde, was fraught with the threat of confrontation with Ottomans—the overlords of the Crimean khans. Nobody doubted that Mengli Giray would refuse to yield to Horde. In this complicated situation, Sheikh Ahmed, one of the sons of Khan Ahmed, decided to turn to the Turks directly to get permission first-hand. In August 1500, letters from Mengli arrived in Moscow. They contained the following information: "An ambassador from the Tsar of the Horde Shih-Ahmet called Kuyuk came to Sehzade³ in Caffa saying, Bid us to head to the Dnieper River; there it's bad for us to camp, because many of the Nogais and the Cherkases quarrel with us. You should also bid us to camp by the Dnieper, but you do not bid us to camp by the Dniepr, and we need to camp there. And Shahzoda replied, "these are not my lands and waters, they belong to the free man Tsar Mengli Giray; if you are a brother and friend of Tsar Mengli Giray, you are my brother and friend too; I do not bid you to camp by the Dnieper, that is a matter for my father" [Ibid, p. 321]. According to I. Kubensky, the heir of Bayezid gave Kuyuk the following reply: "I do not bid you to camp by the Dnieper, that is a matter for my father, Tsar Mengli Gi-

¹ About the events of 1500–1502 and, in particular, several factors behind the Crimean victory, see: [Zaitsev, 1999, pp. 49–51; Zaitsev, 1999, pp. 253–258].

² The voivode left on the 23rd or 27th of November. See [Khoroshkevich, 2001, pp. 154, 161].

³ That is to Mehmed, the son of Sultan Bayezid, vicegerent of Kefe (Caffa).

ray. The lands and water by the Dnieper belong to Mengli Giray" [Ibid, p. 323]. The Ottomans, who stood by their stake on Mengli Giray, did not want to change the situation in favor of the enemies of the Crimean khan.

The socioeconomic crisis in the Throne Possessions led to the flight of the population from the Horde's regions to the Crimea (this also occurred in 1465 when the victory of Hacı Giray on the Don resulted in a significant population outflow from the Horde to the Crimea). In August 1500, Ivan Kubensky reported to Moscow: "There came, sire, from the Horde to serve Tsar Mengli Giray Ebagah uhlán and his brother, the sons of Chenbulat uhlán, and Kirey Menglishik's son Kitay. About three thousand people came with them, and they were very hungry and naked. They say, the Horde is in Pyati-Gory under the control of the Cherkases; famine and chaos prevail there, and relations between the tsar and his brethren are not peaceful" [Ibid, pp. 322–323]. In I. Kubensky's message which was delivered to Moscow in October 1500, the Muscovite observer repeated this information: "They say the Horde is in Pyati-Gory under control of the Cherkases, and famine and chaos prevail there [Ibid, pp. 332–333].

In autumn 1500, the flight from the Horde to the Crimea continued. According to I. Mamonov, "Molozoda, the head mullah of the headquarters of Ahmed's descendants," came to Mengli Giray [Ibid, p. 354]. He reported to the khan that Sheikh Ahmed was planning to spend winter 1500–1501 on the Don River ("and now we will cross on the blue ice of the Don") and was preparing a joint military campaign against the Crimea with the Grand Prince of Lithuania. He was also trying to go around the Crimea concerning the nomads' encampments at the Dnieper River. This time Sheikh Ahmed decided to send the ambassador directly to Sultan Bayezid. He sent him to ask for permission to camp beyond the Dnieper in the field near Belgorod. But "the Turkish sultan did not bid Sheikh Ahmed to camp there and sent the ambassador away without honors" [Ibid]. Relations between the khan of the Horde and the padishah were clearly not successful.

Mengli Giray declared the mobilization of all warriors over the age of 15 years on the

peninsula within 15 days. The conscripts were to have armor and provisions. The Crimean khan hurried to secure the support of Bayezid. According to the information of I. Mamonov, "Mengli Giray... the tsar said... that he had sent a man to Sultan Bayazyt, and the sultan of Caffa sent a man to his father Sultan Bayazyt; the tsar says that Shih-Ahmet wants to go in their direction to the Dnieper River". And the Turkish sultan sent a charter to the tsar: the Horde and Tsar Sheikh Ahmed are heading toward you, but you should not fight against them alone. You should find out who they are and what their strength is and notify me. If the Horde crosses the Dnieper, I will send my troops against them from Belgorod, and you should then march against them from your side" [Ibid, pp. 356–357]. The third charter of I. Mamonov stated: "Things are bad in the Horde now, although they have sworn to the Lithuanian prince. They had to come to the Don River because Murtoza is in Tyumen¹ now and Prince Azika² is with him, and Tyumen and the Cherkases are enemies of the Horde, and the Horde is wary; that's why nobody is ploughing there. According to rumors, sire, Sheikh Ahmed did not want to come here, but the people didn't want to be under the Cherkases, so Sheikh Ahmed and they headed to the Don" [Ibid, p. 358].

In August 1501, the troops of Mengli Giray met the troops of Sheikh Ahmed at the mouth of the Tikhaya Sosna River. However, there was no conflict. Himself facing the problem of a shortage of fodder for the horses ("the horses are tired, and we have run out of fodder", "now, we are weary, and our horses are very weary as well, and we are hungry"), Mengli Giray was in no hurry to start a fight against an enemy which, while significantly weakened, was still strong. "Sheikh Ahmed, our enemy, is in a bad state... and they are now in a very bad state, and on foot and unclothed," the Crimean khan wrote to Moscow describing the situation in the Horde [Ibid, p. 368].

Meanwhile, on June 17, 1501, King John Albert of Poland died, and on October 23 the

¹ This relates to the Tumen Shamkhalate in Cis-caucasia and not the Siberian Tyumen.

² Hajjike.

Grand Prince of Lithuania Alexander accepted a union with Poland and affirmed its oath [Lubavsky, 1900, pp. 143–145]. Sheikh Ahmed used the lull after the standoff at the mouth of the Tikhaya Sosna River to continue contacts with Lithuania. The ambassador Dovletek was sent to Alexander to "ask for Kiev" [Khoroshkevich, 2001, p. 155].

In autumn 1501, after a fruitless standoff on the bank of the Don River, Mengli Giray knew that the Horde would have to spend winter "at Ust Semi, near Belgorod". The Crimean khan writes the following words in a message to Ivan III: "And I ordered to make fires so that they would have no place to spend winter; my army is ready" [The Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 377]. The scorched-earth tactic was not new in warfare on the steppe. In the early 1480s, Mengli Giray advised the Kievan viceroy Ivan Khodkevich to burn Samara and Oryol, where the Great Horde camped ("order that fires be made near Orel¹ and Samara before the spring comes") [Collection, 1866, p. 24; Lithuanian Metrica, 1910, p. 327].

The Crimean khan got cannons, ten artillerymen and 100 warriors from the sultan in Caffa.

After standing for 40 days near Kanev, Sheikh Ahmed headed to Chernigov, where his brother Janai had died [Khoroshkevich, 2001, p. 156]. The flight from the Horde was increasing; people were fleeing to Mengli Giray even on foot, with their families, wives and children. According to I. Mamonov, famine and fear prevailed in the Horde's lands, and the livestock was dying off: "They say many people wanted to flee, but they had nothing to flee on. There is much disorder, and they say that people are in a bad state and are wandering separately" [the Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 381].

Looking for a way out, Sheikh Amed tried to conclude a peace treaty with Moscow, but failed. Moscow-Horde negotiations during an exchange of embassies in December 1501–March 1502 turned out to be fruitless [Khoroshkevich, 2001, p. 156]. Voevode Stefan of Wallachia was ready to join the coal-

tion between Moscow and the Crimea directed against the Great Horde, which had been weakened by famine and turmoils [the Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 384, 414].

In winter 1502, the Horde was camped on the left bank of the Dnieper near Kiev. An uncommonly cold winter had completely exhausted Sheikh Ahmed. His defeat was a matter of a few days. Someone from Sheikh Ahmed's circle appealed vainly to Lithuania: We are between two wars; we'll have to wage war against either Mengli Giray or the bondman Ivan... If you do not come quickly with troops, we will not be able to stand between two wars" [Khoroshkevich, 2001, p. 156].

In early May, the ambassador of the Crimean khan told the Grand Prince of Moscow on behalf of Mengli Giray: "The current days are extraordinary; skylarks are building nests, and the winter is unusual now. When Azi Giray Khan conquered the Horde, the winter was like this; except for that one, I don't remember such a winter" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 414]. It is interesting that Mengli Giray compares the situation in 1465 (when his father Hacı Giray defeated the Throne Possessions) with the situation in winter-spring 1502. Indeed, the son acted as if according to his father's scenario, thus guaranteeing his victory.

In spring, the flight from the Horde to Mengli Giray continued. In May, Sheikh Ahmed stood at the "Turpach Water" and on the Sula [Ibid, pp. 416–417]. Famine in the Horde's lands was combined with a favorable situation in Mengli's camp near the Mare Water: "God has given us a lot of fodder; for a month or two do not expect that we will turn back from him (from Sheikh Ahmed—I.Z.)", he wrote to Ivan III. Soon, Mengli's optimism was justified: the Horde was collapsed under his blow.

After the rout in summer 1502, Crimean Khan Mengli Giray wrote to his ally, Grand Prince Ivan of Moscow: "My man has come from Astrakhan recently; Shih-Ahmet, Prince Bagatyr and Ablekerim's brother came to Astrakhan, and they left on friendly terms with each other, and a man was sent to Prince Seit-Mahmut". The Nogais sent a person to Sul-

¹ Here should be 'Orel'.

tan Ahmat Mirza and talked to them" [Ibid, p. 445]¹.

Sheikh Ahmed was trying to create a coalition including the Nogais and representatives of the Astrakhan dynasty, who were dependent on the Nogais [Safargaliev, 1952, p. 39]. As the Russian ambassador in the Crimea Alexey Zabolotsky reported, "And regarding Shih Ahmat, sire, news has come to Mengli Giray that Shih Ahmat has united with his brothers and his uncle Tsar Ablekerim and the Nogais; he is planning to attack Mengli Giray" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 451]. However, Sheikh Ahmed did not have enough forces for that [Ibid, pp. 456–467].

In this situation, he apparently decided to gain the diplomatic support of the Ottoman Empire. Moscow diplomatic documents contain evidence of that. "They say Shi-Ahmat sent his ambassador to Constantinople to the Turkish sultan," Zabolotsky wrote to Moscow [Ibid, p. 451].

This is fully confirmed by Ottoman sources. In the so-called "Notebook for writing down good deeds, honors, sendings off, etc." (Defter-i müsevvedât-ı in'âmve tasaddukaat ve teşrifât ve irsâliyâtve 'âdet ve nukeriye Gayruhu vâcibi Sene Tis'a ve Tis'a Mie) dated 909 AH (i.e., June 26, 1503—June 13, 1504), there is a record of expenditures for the month of Muharram ul-

Haram for Sheikh Ahmed's ambassador named Muhiddin (Be-cihet-i Muhiddin, Kaasîd-ı Şeyh Ahmed Han) [Barkan, 1979, p. 300]. A total of six items were recorded. He received: 1) 5000 coins (nakdiye); 2) broadcloth, velvet, gilded silk from Bursa, and a robe; 3) a groom's robe made of scarlet velvet from Bursa (Câme-i mîrahorî, 'an Kadife-i alaca-i Bursa, sevb)². Furthermore, he was granted: 4) a silver dish; 5) two *lari* cups (Kadeh-i Lârî; from Luristan?)³; 6) velvet from Bursa (Kadife-i rişte-i Bursa) and 7) two pieces of *peshaveri* (Peşaverî) fabric⁴. Everyone in his suite (their number is unknown) got a robe made of red fabric and a robe made of peshaveri fabric (Câme-i peşaverî, sevb).

The ambassador of Sheikh Ahmed came to the capital of the Ottoman state accompanied by another Horde diplomat, the ambassador of Sheikh Ahmed's brother and kalga, Kodjak. His name is not stated in the document. The gifts for Sultan Kodjak's ambassador were more modest: 3,000 golden coins, a groom's robe made of speckled velvet manufactured in Bursa, a *lari* cup, two pieces of velvet from Bursa (Kadife-i rişte-i Bursa), and two pieces of *peshaveri* fabric. His suite was given red robes (Câme-i kırmızı, sevb) and received state dotations ('Âdet-i Hazînedârî—1 982) and rewards authorized for messengers ('Âdet-i Çavuşî—4040).

The fall of Sheikh Ahmed seemed to have a bad influence on his relations with Bayezid. As we saw from the materials of the Moscow-Crimean ambassadorial exchange, the sultan did not favor the khan. However, the comparison of the amounts of payments to the ambassadors of Sheikh Ahmed and Kodjak with the ones to the ambassador of Khan Mengli Giray⁵, called Lutfi, who also visited the capital of the empire that month, show that the payments to Lutfi were almost equal to that received by Kodjak's nameless ambassador. Muhiddin re-

¹ The reading of this extract, suggested by the publishers of the text, needs a correction. The whole phrase, perhaps, should be read as follows: '(Shih) Sheikh Ahmed arrived in Astrakhan. Prince Bagatyr and brother (Ablekerim) Abdal-Karim came out and welcomed him...'. 'Brother (Ablekerim) Abdal-Karim' is mentioned later in the materials of the failed embassy mission of Ivan III to Mengli Giray in the person of I. Beklemishev (late February 1503): '...and what your man told you about Tsar (Shih) Sheikh Ahmed', the Grand Prince wrote to the Khan, 'that as if he was joined by Tsarevich Bagatyr and brother Ablekerim (our Italics—I.Z.) and the Nagays, and that they want to go against you: and this winter our people came to us from Astrakhan, Kopil and his men; and they say that Tsar Shih Ahmed and Tsarevich Khozyak are in Astrakhan and are to stay there to spend the winter; and that as if they do not have many of their own people, only some five hundred men, but Hozyak tsarevich has many people, and that Khozyak tsarevich wants to come to us, while Bagatyr' tsarevich wishes to see in Astrakhan either Sayyid Mahmut tsar or Sheikh Ahmed tsar; and they do not want Ablekerim in Astrakhan' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 456].

² Câme, in the broad sense of the word, is any kind of cloth put on the back, a cloak. See [Pakalın, 1947, p. 255].

³ It is so in the text. This caused natural questions on the publisher's part [Barkan, 1979, p. 300].

⁴ Most probably, this word denotes such things as a 'rag, cloth, kerchief, napkin'. See: [Budagov, 1869, p. 307]. Thus, perhaps, here it means just some kind of a kerchief.

⁵ Mengli is called 'the Khan of the Tatars' (Hân-ı Tatarân).

ceived much more from the court. Lutfi got: 3,000 golden coins, patterned *jame* from Bursa (Câme-i münakkaş-ı Bursa), as well as state financial support and a payment to the messenger (‘Âdet-i Hazînedârî ve Çavuşî—in total 4 500) [Barkan, 1979, p. 301].

Most likely, the difference in payments for Sheikh Ahmed and Mengli Giray's ambassadors was determined by the status of the diplomat. Most likely, Lutfi was not an ambassador but a messenger (he brought a letter from the khan and a prisoner); that is why his rank equaled that of the ambassador of Kodjak Sultan. Our assumption is indirectly confirmed by the indication of the amount of payments received a little later (in Jumada al-Akhira of 909 AH) by servants of Mengli Giray: only 1,000 golden coins, patterned *jame* from Bursa (Câme-i münakkaş-ı Bursa), as well as the traditional ‘Âdet-i Hazînedârî ve Çavuşî—only 250 [Ibid. p. 328].

As we can see, the defeat of the Horde in summer 1502 did not demoralize Sheikh Ahmed completely: some rulers continued to take his opinion into consideration. Ivan III, in response to Mengli Giray's request for help against Sheikh Ahmed, promised his support. However, the Moscow Grand Prince did not seem to be deeply concerned with this conflict. He was much more concerned with Mengli Giray's plans concerning Lithuania.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Astrakhan behaved like barbarians towards both the Moscow ambassadors to Caffa and the ambassadors of the Caffan Shahzade, despite friendly relations with the Ottomans; they were robbed, and many Turks were beaten to death [The Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 462].

In 1503 Sheikh Ahmed, apparently having lost any hopes of uniting anti-Crimean forces, sent ambassadors to Ivan again with a request to "get" Astrakhan for him in return for his rejection of a union with the king. He asked Ivan for that for the first time in 1502 (before October) [The Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 453, 482; Karamzin, 1998, p. 189, 307–308, comment 527]. But Sheikh Ahmed did not wait for the help of Moscow and besieged Astrakhan with Sultan Ahmed Mirza at the beginning of July 1503 (when his ambassador was in Istanbul). "Relations with Prince

Bagatyr and Tsar Ablekerim are good," wrote Ivan III to Mengli Giray in the Crimea in August of the same year [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 486]. In September 1503, Moscow's ambassador in the Crimea I.I. Oshcherin was instructed to talk to Mengli Giray in private: "I (i.e., Ivan III—I.Z.) want, with God's help, to conquer Astrakhan for him (Sheikh Ahmed.—I.Z.) for your great good, so that you, my brother, and your yurt will have no trouble from him [Ibid, p. 489].

Sheikh Ahmed preferred an attempt to gain the understanding of Bayezid II to the prospect of obtaining Astrakhan with the help of the Grand Prince. In August 1744, Mengli Giray wrote to Ivan: "In autumn, Tsar Shih Ahmet and his brothers, Khozyak¹ and Khalek, and the princes arrived in Kiev from Nogai; then they left Kiev for Belgorod, and then wanted to visit Bayazit Sultan. When Bayazit Sultan heard that Shih Ahmet and his brothers were coming, he sent his pasha to tell them, "You must go back the way you came; we do not know you. Tsar Mengi Giray is our friend and brother; we are friends of Mengli Giray's friends and we are enemies of Mengli Giray's enemies. You, enemies of Tsar Mengli Giray, may not enter our country." Thus he spoke. And the sultan's men escorted him as far as Belgorod, and drove them away from Belgorod. Since the beginning of winter, our sons were in Novgorodok, and they, having heard of Sheikh Ahmet, pursued him... And Sheikh Ahmet, Hozyak, Halek, and the Alchin² Taktamysh, eight of them, arrived in

¹ This is the above mentioned Kojak.

² It is not a name, but the clan origin of Tokhtamysh. He was of the *Alchins* (compare to the 'alchin place' in the Golden Horde, similar to the 'Aydar place' for the Crimean Khan. See: [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 36]. If these fragmentary pieces of information are collated with the tradition, which connect Astrakhan with the beglerbegs/beylerbeys? (*amir al-umara*) of the Golden Horde, being the descendants of the *Qungrats* (which found a reflection, for example, in the works of Munis, see: [Bregel, 1982, p. 369]), then it turns out that it was the *Qungrats* who represented the chief clan group under the Astrakhan Khans. Apart from them, representatives of the *Alchin* and *Manghit* clans were also living in the Khanate. The Astrakhan Prince Tinish was an *Alchin* (see: [Iskhakov, 2001b, pp. 115–117]. The *Alchins* are an old clan of the Horde, whose representatives were beglerbegs (for example, the beglerbeg of the Great Horde Temir ibn Mansur wrote to Casimir the following: "... and there is a born servant to the tsars, the Alchins hold

Kiev. The Kievan voevode Dmitry caught them and took them to Vyshgorod [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 509]¹.

The flight of Sheikh Ahmed and his brothers to Belgorod to for the assistance of the sultan was a risky undertaking. It is possible that the brothers invoked the longstanding friendship between their father and Mehmed II Fatikh. This was unlikely to affect Ottomans deeply. Turkey would never replace the familiar and pleasing Mengli Giray with any of Ahmed's sons, whose behavior was hard to predict². That is why Istanbul decided to remain indifferent to requests of Sheikh Ahmed and neutral to the current situation, not undertaking any abrupt steps. Basically, Turkey let events develop without its participation. It was not concerned with the feuds of the Chinggisids. The risky undertaking of Ahmed's son ended badly.

According to M. Mekhovsky, the story of Sheikh Ahmed looks a little different. By the beginning of winter 1500, the khan, summoned by King Albert of Poland and Grand Prince Alexander of Lithuania to fight against Mengli Giray, came up to the Lithuanian borders with 60,000 warriors and more than one hundred thousand women and children. That winter turned out to be extremely severe: unable to bear the cold and famine in the steppe, Sheikh Ahmed's wife,

in conspiracy with Mengli Giray, fled with the main part of the Horde troops to the Crimea. As a result of loss of warriors, extreme cold and attacks of Mengli, Sheikh Ahmet "was crushed and fled with three hundred horses to Bayazet, the Turkish emperor. When he arrived in Belgorod on the Black Sea, which means White Castle, he learned that by order of emperor Bayazet he was to be taken prisoner. Then, he fled back headlong with fifty horses and found himself in a field near Kiev. The ruler of Kiev, who had learned about him through his scouts, surrounded him, captured him and sent him to Vilnius to the Lithuanians. He fled several times, but he was run down, caught and taken back" [Mekhovsky, 1936, p. 65]. Soon, however, at the Seim in Brest, the khan was solemnly received by Alexander, "who went out to meet him a mile from the city. Then, the Poles in Radom decided to send him back to Tataria beyond the Volga with a few thousand lightly-armed warriors. In order that his return would be more comfortable and more acceptable to his countrymen, they sent Kazak Soltan, the brother of Shihmet, ahead of him". The khan went beyond the Volga, but soon, "when going to Lithuania to send warriors, he was caught again by the Lithuanians at the instigation of Mendliger, emperor of Perekop, and confined in Kaunas Castle near the Baltic Sea" [Ibid, p. 66]. In his treatise, composed before 1514 and first published in 1517, Miechovius wrote of the khan as a prisoner in Kaunas [Ibid, p. 65]³.

Sigismund Herberstein almost completely repeats Miechowski's story. However, he omits a number of details, and some do not match the "Treatise on the Two Sarmatias". Sheikh Ahmed came to Lithuania to conclude a treaty with Alexander against Mengli Giray. The Lithuanians, "as was their habit", delayed the war longer than they were supposed to; meanwhile, the wife of the khan and his troops, tired of famine and cold, asked Sheikh Ahmed to leave the king and take care of his own matters. The khan did not listen

the place since the tsars' forefathers, there is a great man'. See: [Lithuanian Metrica, 1910, col. 357].

¹ According to Bartoshevich, Kiev voivode prince Dmitry Putyatich died the same year in 1503. Another Dmitry Putyatich was the ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in the 70s of the 15th century and died during the embassy [Bartoszewicz, 1860, pp. 149–150].

² The boastful tone of Mengli's letter to Ivan, where he wrote that the Turks called him 'a friend and brother', was not justified. An analysis of Mengli's messages to Turkey and the reply letters to Crimea shows that the Sultan could not call him this way. If, back in 1469, Mengli Giray called the Sultan his brother, without explicating his name and putting a detailed date on the document, then later, the correspondence of the Khan demonstrates the utter decline of his significance in the eyes of the addressee: the square tamga disappears, the Khan's signature becomes even more submissive ('Your servant Mengli Giray'), with the date being less and less specific and later disappearing entirely [Grigoriev, 1987, pp. 130–132]. The tone of the letter was a demonstration of the power of the 'older brother', ready to help in trouble, and simultaneously of his equality in relation to the Sultan. Moscow knew the real state of affairs and was hardly under a delusion in this regard.

³ As it is known, Miechowita confused Sheikh Ahmad with Sayid Ahmad, who had been indeed confined in Kovno some decades before that. See: [Miechowita, 1936, p. 91 and notes on p. 240], so the name of the Kovno fortress here, most probably, is a part of Sayid Ahmad's biography.

to these persuasions, and his wife and part of his troops deserted him and went over to Mengli Giray. The latter, on the prompting of Sheikh Ahmed's wife, defeated his troops. The khan and about 600¹ horsemen were forced to flee to Alba on the Tiras River (i.e., Akkerman, or Belgorod on the Dniestr—I.Z.) "hoping to ask the Turks for help. Having noticed that an ambush had been prepared for him in that city, he changed his route and arrived in Kiev with barely half of his horsemen. He was surrounded and captured by Lithuanians there and then taken to Vilnius [on the orders of the Polish king]. The king met him there, recieved him with honor and took him to the Polish Sejm². There they decided to wage war against Mengli Giray". The Polish were gathering their troops very slowly, and the khan, "insulted, started thinking of flight, but he was caught and taken to Trakai Castle four miles away from Vilnius". Sheikh Ahmed was treated well there, but remained under house arrest [Herberstein, 1998, pp. 182–183]. On December 30, 1517, Herberstein and the khan had dinner at Trakai Castle together. At dinner, according to Herberstein, "he spoke to me though an interpreter about various affairs, calling the tsar his brother and saying that all rulers and tsars are brothers to each other" [Ibid. p. 183]³.

The story of Miechowius about Sheikh Ahmed was reproduced by Blaise de Vigenere without significant changes [Vigenere de Blaise, 1890, pp. 83–84]⁴, as well as Bernard Wapowski [Kroniki, 1874, p. 47–48]⁵.

¹ As Herberstein commentators note, the Latin text contains an ambiguous 'sexingentis'. According to Miechowita, as we have seen, the number of horses (that is horsemen) that fled with the Khan was 300.

² The Sejm in Brest, where the King stayed from 8 February to 15 March 1505. See: [Herberstein, 1988, p. 344]. According to Strykowski, Alexander solemnly welcomed Sheikh Ahmad at the Sejm in Brest; sitting with him in a rich tent, he conferred knighthood on many Poles, Lithuanians, and Tatars, with the Khan also taking part in this. See: [Lyubavsky, 1900, p. 454].

³ Miechowita commentators considered that this took place in the spring of 1517. See: [Miechowita, 1936, p. 240].

⁴ Blaise de Vigenère is the author of the compilation memorandum on Poland and its neighbors, written and printed in 1573 in Paris for Henry of Valois, elected the King of Poland. The story was referred to the year 1500.

⁵ The story was referred to the year 1501.

Apparently, in 1505, relations between Alexander and Sheikh Ahmed were quite friendly. For example, that year the king granted privileges to Pan Jan Zabrzeziński, the "supreme marshal" of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania "at the request of our brother, Tsar Ahmat" [Acts, 1897, p. 152 (№ 698)]. However, soon their relations became more complicated.

In 1506, the Tatar suite of Sheikh Ahmed was partly turned into captives and partly ransomed by Lithuanian Tatars⁶. In this connection, the following hypothesis arises: were these actions some kind of punitive action for the khan's misdeeds, i.e., most likely for an attempt to flee or relations with a third side? It is possible that the change in relations between the authorities and the khan was also determined by other circumstances: On August 19, 1506, Alexander died in Vilnius [Lubavsky, 1900, p. 148]. The death of Sheikh Ahmet's protector could significantly change his status in Lithuania.

The Grand Prince of Lithuania Alexander II tried to exert pressure on Mengli Giray using the fact that Ahmed's children were in his hands. Ivan reassured the khan, reminding him of the fate of Sayid Ahmad: "For Lithuania does not have the custom of releasing captives once they are caught" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 552]. Sheikh Ahmed gave a speech to justify himself in front of the noblemen and King Alexander at the Sejm in 1505 in Radom, and he was released to the Nogai Horde up to the Caspian Sea to seek help against the Crimea and Moscow [Bielski, 1830, p. 79; Strykowski, 1978, pp. 577–578]. "Chinggis-name" by Ötemish Hajji says that the khan returned to his ulus – Astrakhan ("Hajji Tarkhan came to his vilayet") [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 41a].

In 1506, the lords of the council reassured Mengli Giray in a letter of the Lithuanian embassy to the Crimea: "You, your Majesty, write to us in your edicts mentioning Shahmet Tsar and his brother Hojak Sultan, but regarding the movements of Hojak Sultan, Your Majesty will

⁶ See: [Ibid., p. 172 (No. 730, Description of the left bank Volga Tatars, who were bailed out); p. 197 (No. 772, Description of the Tatars, distributed among different households)]. Thus, a certain 'Ahmet ulan' ransomed the envoy of Kojak Sultan 'Vsein' (that is Husein) for a hundred groschen, etc.

understand from the letters and the embassies of our sovereign, your brother. Regarding Tsar Sheikh Ahmet, we have always advised our sovereign, and do so now, that Tsar Sheikh Ahmet not be allowed to do you any harm. [Malinovsky, 1901, pp. 123–124 (№XIX)]. At the same time, the lords of the council of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania expressed their anxiety in a letter to the lords of the council of the "Polish Crown" regarding the health and activities of Sheikh Ahmed and his circle: "We also remind Their Graces of Sheikh Ahmed, the tsar of Transvolga, and his son, and his people and the Nogai Tatars, that they would be healthy, safe and sound [Ibid, p. 128 (№XXI)].

The prisoner khan was for Lithuania first and foremost a means of deterrence against its southern neighbor, the Crimean Khanate. On November 28, 1509, Sigismund¹, in response to an embassy of prelates and lords of the parliament of the Great Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, speculating on advisability of extraditing Sheikh Ahmed to the Crimea, asked another question: "I wonder, if he were not turned over, what the defense of Mengli Giray would be like?" [Malinovsky, 1901, p. 144 (№XXVIII)] Meanwhile, Sheikh Ahmed sent ambassadors to the king, asking to send embassies to his mother and brothers, who were in the Nogai Horde. Sigismund wrote to the lords in the quoted letter: "The same ambassador Abdullah who had been sent to us by Sheikh Ahmet told us that our ambassador and he were sent to his mother and to his brothers the Nogais. Then, if you think it necessary, you should find those who would go in our interests. But those things with which he must go should be kept secret so that Tsar Mengli Giray does not hear of it, so that later the last evil would not be worse than the first. Just as in the time of the reign of King Alexander of glorious memory, when you sent old Vasily Glinzky with [?] to Tsar Sheikh Ahmet when he was still in his tsardom, and then when Hodjak Soltan was released, all those embassies and matters fell into the hands of Mengli Giray. That is why we have to meet, so that this matter



Mengli Giray

may be done after the Perekop ambassadors. As we see, it would not be very good if they attacked the Nogai, with whom we are bound with friendship, for I would not be glad to seek friendship elsewhere" [Ibid, pp. 145–146]².

The existence of Sheikh Ahmed, even though he was in Lithuania for so long, still disturbed the Crimea. A letter from the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray (Mengli Giray's son) to Ottoman Padishah Suleiman Kanuni, written in spring 1521, focused on his fate: "Our old oppressor and enemy, the Khan of the Throne Possessions Sheikh Ahmed, is detained by the King"³. Then, the khan reported that he was concerned that the king might release Sheikh Ahmed in the case of hostile actions [Lemerrier-Quellejay, 1971, p. 487; Le Khanat, 1978, p. 113]⁴.

In Lithuania the khan was officially considered not a captive, but a 'guest' of the king. This status did not allow him to receive any grants of land in Lithuania.

² Thus, Sigismund specifically insisted on the strictest secrecy of the embassy, as the previous ones (of special significance for us is the embassy of Sheikh Ahmad's brother Kojak) were captured by the Crimeans.

³ This name of the Polish monarch (and also of the Polish and Ukrainian lands) was quite widespread in Ottoman, Crimean and Central Asian sources. See for example: [Ötemiş Hajji, 1992, p. 41a, p. 96 of the translation], see also the excursus by V. Grigoriev [Grigoriev, 1987, p. 133]. For example, Evliya Çelebi used the name the 'krol (king)' country to call the Ukrainian lands, which were in the Polish possession [Evliya Çelebi, 1996, pp. 197, 214, notes 80 and 311]. See also: [Oeuvres, 1949, pp. 115–162].f

⁴ Code E. 1308 (1301/2). For corrections to the translation and additions to the description, see: [Ostapchuk, 1987, pp. 262, 269].

¹ Sigismund (In Polish Zygmunt) I the Old Casimir (1467–1548), King of Poland from the Jagiellon dynasty from 6 December 1506 to 1545, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (from 20 December 1506 to 1544).

Most likely, Sheikh Ahmed's long stay in Lithuania weighed heavily on both the Lithuanians and the prisoner himself. It was useless to keep the khan in captivity and complete military inactivity, because the longstanding threats directed to the Crimea became less and less persuasive (threats must be supported by evidence, otherwise they mean absolutely nothing). On the other hand, if Sheikh Ahmed were to be released, Lithuania would have no more levers of influence (except perhaps for relatives held hostage) and guarantees of his peaceful attitude towards Lithuania, which had conflicts with the Crimea. In any case, in the early 1520s, Lithu-

ania resigned itself to the necessity of releasing the khan¹. The khan was released to his homeland in 1527, and apparently soon died².

After the collapse of the Throne Possessions and the death of Sheikh Ahmed, the spectrum of Ottoman interests in the post-Golden Horde space narrowed significantly. Having created a kind of buffer territory in the form of the Crimean Khanate between his own possessions and the remote northern lands, the Ottomans left the role of intermediary in diplomatic relations with the successors of the Golden Horde to the Crimean khans, themselves remaining absolutely indifferent to their fate.

§ 4. Relations between the Tatar States and Poland and Lithuania

Dariusz Kolodziejczyk

The nature of relations between the Golden Horde and Lithuania (which since 1386 had been united with Poland because of Jagiello's election to the Polish throne) changed after 1395, when Tokhtamysh lost his throne due to the invasion of Aksak Timur and had to seek sanctuary in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He turned from a magnificent monarch with pretensions of becoming Lithuania's overlord into a refugee asking for help. Grand Prince Vytautas, who held autonomous power in Lithuania according to a treaty with King Jagiello, decided to restore Tokhtamysh to the throne of the Golden Horde and dethrone Temür Qutlugh, the protege of Aksak Timur. According to the grandiose plan of Vytautas, he would become the actual overlord of the Golden Horde and the most powerful monarch in Eastern Europe. A Russian chronicler, recalling his plans, put the following declaration in Vytautas's mouth: "Let us go to capture the Tatar lands, defeat Tsar Timur Kutluy, divide his possessions, money, and estates, and make Tokhtamysh the tsar in the Horde, and in Caffa, in Azov, in the Crimea, in Astrakhan, in the Horde beyond the Yaik, on the territories near the Black Sea, and in Kazan. It will all belong to us and our tsar will rule there" [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11, 1965, p. 172; Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, pp. 381–382]. On August 12, 1399, the Lithuanian-Tatar army, which

also included Polish knights, headed by Vytautas and Tokhtamysh, was defeated utterly at the Vorskla River at the hands of the troops of Temür Qutlugh and his emir Idegey. Tokhtamysh never returned to the throne of the Golden Horde and died in Siberia several years later, but his numerous relatives and followers still relied on Vytautas's help and stayed at his court. A part of them settled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and they are still known as Lithuanian Tatars or Lipka Tatars [Abrahamowicz, 1986, p. 765]. One of Tokhtamysh's sons, Jalal ad-Din, took part in the battle of Grunwald between Polish-Lithuanian and Teutonic troops (1410), and in 1412 he ascended the throne of the Golden Horde with the help of Vytautas. As a result of infighting between Tokhtamysh's sons, several years later they lost the chance to consolidate their power in the Horde, and in the 1420s Vytautas himself supported another Chinggisid candidate, Ulugh Muhammad, who after many years of fighting for the throne of the Golden Horde settled in Kazan at the end

¹ Apparently, this was also indirectly related to the changing situation in Crimea (the death of the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray during the Astrakhan campaign, the Nogais incursion in the peninsula, a brief taking of the throne by Gazi Giray and the Ottoman interference staged by Saadet Giray).

² For more details, see: [Zaitsev, 2004a, pp. 110–113].

of his life, laying the foundation for a new khanate which existed until 1552.

Vytautas also supported Hacı Giray, a young Chinggisid whose father arrived in Lithuania as a follower of Tokhtamysh and who was possibly born in the Lithuanian city of Trakai. After the death of Vytautas, Hacı Giray attained independent power in the Crimea and in 845 AH (1441–1442) started minting coins, creating a separate khanate on part of the territory of the Golden Horde. Before his death in 1466, Hacı Giray had friendly relations with the Polish king and the Lithuanian Grand Prince Kazimir [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 11–16]. The memories of the help which Tokhtamysh and his sons and then Hacı Giray received from Vytautas was a legitimate motif of old friendship in the correspondence between the Crimean khans and Lithuanian-Polish Jagiellons, in which we often find mention that the exiled Chinggisids "were always guests in the Lithuanian state before the Grand Prince Vytautas" [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, p. 595]. In their patents sent by Jagiellon, the Crimean khans confirmed the assignment of the Russian lands to Vytautas by Tokhtamysh in return for hospitality, although in the 16th century this was a fiction and the "assigned" lands were beyond the control of the Crimean khans. In 1454 with the help of Kazimir, Hacı Giray defeated Sayid Ahmad, who remained a Lithuanian captive until his death [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, p. 13].

In the 1470s, the grandson of Temür Qutlugh, Ahmed, whose state is called "The Great Horde" in modern historiography and "the Volga Horde" in medieval Lithuanian sources, on the one hand, and the ambitious son of Hacı Giray, Crimean Khan Mengli Giray, on the other hand,



Battle between the Lithuanians and Tatars. Miniature of the Polish chronicle. (16–17th centuries)

were fighting for the legacy of the Ulus of Jochi in Eastern Europe. At the beginning, it seemed that Mengli Giray would maintain friendly relations with Vilnius, but Grand Prince Kazimir angered the Crimean khan by entering into an anti-Moscow union with his rival Ahmed. In response to this, in 1474, Mengli Giray entered into an alliance with Ivan III [Khoroshkevich, 2001]. As a result, the Crimean Tatars devastated the lands of Lithuania and southeastern Poland many times (for instance, in 1498).

On the other hand, the Jagiellons failed to derive any benefits from the alliance with the Great Horde. In 1480, when Khan Ahmed came to the Ugra River to attack Moscow with the Lithuanians, Kazimir failed to muster an army, and his ally returned home empty-handed. In 1501, this scenario was repeated when Sheikh Ahmed, son and successor to Ahmed, waited fruitlessly for his Lithuanian ally because the Grand Prince Alexander, Kazimir's son, was

busy securing the Polish throne after the death of his brother, John Albert. Spending a severe winter in the Dnieper steppes, the army of Sheikh Ahmed was completely destroyed by troops of Mengli Giray at the Sula River, and the surviving warriors submitted to the Crimean khan. After unsuccessful attempts to muster a new army, Sheikh Ahmed arrived in Kiev, where he was arrested by his former ally and exiled to Vilnius. He was only released in 1527 and spent the last year of his life on the throne of the Astrakhan Khanate [Zaitsev, 2003; Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 577–578].

Paradoxically, the collapse of the Great Horde eased tensions in the relations between Lithuania and the Crimea. Mengli Giray was no longer afraid of being surrounded by Lithuania and the Great Horde, and the arrest of Sheikh Ahmed became an important argument in conversations with the khan, who was afraid that his sworn enemy might be released. On the other hand, Mengli Giray did not need Moscow as an ally against the Great Horde anymore, and Moscow's plans to subdue the Kazan Khanate started disturbing the khan, who considered himself the legal heir of the rulers of the Ulus of Jochi. All these reasons led to changes in alliances and a rapprochement between the Crimea and Lithuania. Several years later, Mengli Giray avoided taking sides between Vilnius and Moscow, concluding a peace treaty with Sigismund in 1507 and with Vasily III in 1508, while the Crimean horsemen continued devastating the lands of both neighbors. Finally, in 1512, Mengli Giray agreed to send his grandson Jalal ad-Din to Vilnius as a distinguished hostage, and the Polish-Lithuanian side agreed to send 15,000 golden coins to the khan every year, one half from Lithuania and the other one from Poland, so that he would maintain the "old friendship" and wage war against Moscow and other enemies of the Jagiellons in return. The exchange of peace treaties between the khan and King Sigismund, separately for Poland and Lithuania even though the same monarch ruled there, took place in 1513–1514 [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 37–49]. Although Mengli Giray died the next year, his son and successor Mehmed Giray renewed the union, and in 1515 the Tatar-Lithuanian forces cooperated in the invasion

of Moscow's outlying territories. After a temporary crisis in Crimean-Lithuanian interrelations in 1518–1519, the union and peace were renewed again, and King Sigismund, who was then at war with the Teutonic Order, observed with relief the Tatar military campaign against Moscow in 1521, in which a Lithuanian contingent also took part.

The annual "pominki" which the Polish-Lithuanian side sent the Crimean khan, albeit on an irregular basis, from 1512 almost until the end of the 17th century (the last time was in 1682) were considered in Vilnius and Krakow to be voluntary payments for military help against Moscow and other royal enemies, but in the Crimea they were considered tributes. In the correspondence of the khan, they were mentioned as "gifts" (*bölek*, *hedaya*, *pişkeş*) and "treasury" (*hazine*) but sometimes as "taxes" (*vergü*), "tribute" and even the as the annual tribute (*cizya*) which was to be paid by non-Muslim subjects to Muslim monarchs according to the Quran. For example, in 2002, Mehmed Giray rejected the invitation of Sultan Suleiman for the Tatars to attack Poland, arguing that "some time ago the Polish king sent his ambassador to this humble servant (i.e., the khan) and, so that this country would not be subject to raids, promised to pay annual tribute (*cizya*) equaling fifteen thousand florins (golden coins), and we made a vow (*yemin*) and reconciled with each other" [Lemercier-Quelquejay, 2009, p. 55; Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 59, 445–446, 497–499, 504–506]. Judging by the example above, paying these "pominki" to the Tatars also played an important role in Polish-Ottoman relations. For Islamic lawyers, it eased the legitimization of the "eternal peace" which bound the Polish kings and Ottoman sultans starting in 1533. Although it was useful for both sides, meaning the political cooperation of the Jagiellons and the Ottomans against the Habsburgs, such perpetual peace between Muslim and Christian monarchs was prohibited by Sharia unless the Christian monarch agreed to pay tributes. Although Polish kings refused to pay tributes to the sultan, they sent payments to the Crimean khan, whom the Ottomans had considered their vassal since 1475. It was not by chance that an article on giving the khan tra-

ditional gifts (*'adetler*) every year as a condition of maintaining peace was included in all charters of treaty sent to the Polish kings by the Ottoman sultans between 1553 and 1678. Only the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) revoked this article and prohibited Tatar raids on the territory of Poland even if the king refused to send the "pominki" [Kołodziejczyk, 2006, pp. 125–136].

The death of ambitious Mehmed Giray, who had for a time united the main part of the territory of the former Ulus of Jochi, and the internal struggle for his legacy in the Crimea urged the Polish-Lithuanian court to change its policy. Sending gifts to the Crimea was suspended, in 1523 Lithuanian troops burnt Islamkermen, a town situated in the Lower Dnieper region, and in 1527. Sheikh Ahmed was released from captivity and ascended the throne of the Astrakhan Khanate, cooperating with the Nogais against the Crimea. The Polish-Lithuanian court supported Crimean malcontents, first of all Islam Giray, who fought for the throne first against Saadet Giray and then against Sahib Giray from 1524 until his death in 1537. Naturally, these steps led to further Tatar raids, but the khans could not react forcefully enough because of infighting, and even the siege of the Cherkases by Saadet Giray Khan (1532) turned out to be unsuccessful [Cherkas, 2006, pp. 151–198].

The policy of the Sublime Porte, which had been at "eternal peace" with Sigismund since 1533, and the opportunity of creating a new alliance against Moscow which appeared after the death of Vasily III in the same year, influenced the reconciliation between the king and the khan. The peace treaty and the alliance were renewed in 1535, which affected the anti-Moscow campaign in the same year. Gomel and Starodub were conquered by Lithuanians, and the power of the Girays in Kazan was restored. Although the king soon became reconciled with Moscow, the peace treaty with the Crimea was continued, and in 1542 Lithuanian ambassador Ventslav Mikolaevich, the author of a famous description of the Tatars published in 1615 in Latin under the pseudonym Michalon Lituanus, went to the Crimea [Dmitriev et al., 1994, pp. 14–25].

In the first half of the 16th century, the presence of the Ottoman Empire on the North Black

Sea Coast became more evident. In 1538 the Ottomans took the castle of Jankermen (Ochakov), built in 1494 by Mengli Giray, from the Crimean khan, and in 1551 they removed Sahib Giray, whom they suspected of striving to obtain greater independence from the Sublime Porte, from the throne. The new khan, Devlet Giray, started his reign with a raid on Lithuanian lands, where he conquered and burnt Bratslav, but soon he became reconciled with the king in the connection with the threat caused by the campaign of Ivan the Terrible on the Volga. Although the alliance between the Crimea, Poland, and Lithuania was renewed, Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Nogai Horde continued to submit to Moscow between 1552 and 1556. Soon, Crimean-Lithuanian relations deteriorated again because of the activities of Cherkas village head and Cossack headman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, who continually attacked the Tatar-Turkish borderlands.

It is hard to speak of any coordination of military actions during the Livonian war (1558–1583), although the both the Lithuanian state and the Crimean Khanate were at war with Moscow. Among the reasons for the absence of military cooperation are the talented diplomacy of Moscow, which managed to conclude truces with the Crimea several times; the absence of part of the Tatar forces, which were forced to take part in Ottoman campaigns against the Habsburgs (1566) and the Safavids (1578–1583); and disagreements between the Tatars and the Turks during the Astrakhan campaign of 1569, seen by Andrey Taranovsky, who was invited there as an observer from an allied country. Although the Tatars were concerned about the expansion of Moscow in the Volga Region, they were also afraid of Ottoman hegemony threatening the self-government of the Crimea.

In 1569, on the eve of the death of the last Jagiellon, the personal union of Lithuania and Poland was replaced by a real one. Some time earlier, Sigismund II August separated Ukrainian provinces from Lithuania and joined them to the Polish Crown to break the Lithuanian opposition. Thus Lithuania lost its common border with the Crimea, and after that the Crimean policy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was shaped first and foremost by the Polish chancellery and Polish hetmans.

The reign of Gazi II Giray (1588–1596 and 1597–1607), one of the most outstanding Crimean khans, coincided with the 15-year Ottoman-Habsburg war (1593–1606) in which the Tatars took part and crossed Moldavia almost every year on their way to the Hungarian front. The interests of the Rzeczpospolita, the Sublime Porte and the Crimea crossed in Moldavia, but when the armies of both (or more accurately, all three) sides met near Cecora, they reached a compromise and established a *de facto* condominium for several years, placing Ieremia Movilă on the Moldavian throne [Kortepeter, 1972, pp. 142–146; Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 111–112, 512]. Although the khan always blamed the Polish king for Cossack raids and delinquencies in the payment of *pominki* and the Polish side blamed the Tatars for devastating Ukraine, their relations were still relatively peaceful. In this period, Polish ambassadors traveled to the Crimea; they composed valuable notes on the inhabitants of the peninsula and the ceremonial of the khan's palace: Martin Broniowski (trips in 1578, 1584, 1587, 1591–1592) and Lavryn Pisoczynski (1601–1603) [Broniowski, 1595; Broniowski, 1867; Pułaski, 1911].

In the early 17th century, at the beginning of the Polish intervention in Moscow, Tatar raids in Moscovia recommenced. Although Alexey Novoselsky thought that these raids were proof of the existence of a Crimean-Polish alliance against Moscow [Novoselsky 1948, pp. 50–55], other authors emphasized that the Tatars carried out raids against Poland at the same time. Their raids against Moscow should not be explained by the existence of a political alliance, but by the desire to derive benefit from the weakening of Moscow's defenses. Dmitri Liseytssev claimed that if there was any alliance at that time, it was between the khan and Vasiliy Shuyskiy [Liseytssev, 2006, pp. 265, 269–271, 278]. It goes without saying that over the years of the Time of Trouble, the Tatars started worrying about the increasing hegemony of Poland in Eastern Europe, and in 1614 Khan Canibek Geray decided to conclude a treaty with Russian Tsar Mikhail Romanov [Novoselsky, 1948, pp. 83–84]. It is remarkable that the standard formula about military cooperation against Moscow which used to feature in all peace trea-

ties exchanged by the Crimean Khans and the Polish-Lithuanian monarchs between 1507 and 1609 disappeared from the documents of khans issued after 1609, to appear again in documents of the Polish-Crimean alliance concluded in 1654 [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 126, 498–500].

The second decade of the 17th century brought tensions not only to Polish-Crimean but also to Polish-Ottoman relations caused by Cossack raids in the Black Sea Region, interventions of Polish magnates in Moldavia and secret support of the Habsburgs by Polish king Sigismund III at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Tatar warriors supported Ottomans during the Polish-Ottoman war (1620–1621) and Khan Canibek Geray was personally involved in the Khotyn campaign organized by Sultan Osman II (1621).

After the Battle of Khotyn ended with a renewed truce, internal fighting for the khan's throne began between Canibek Geray and the allied brothers Mehmed Giray and Shahin Giray, in which the latter were temporarily striving to gain the support of the Polish king, the Zaporozhian Cossacks and even Persian Shah Abbas the Great [Baranowski, 1948a, pp. 29–31, 36–38; Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 133–135]. The conflict for the Crimean throne brought the weakening of the khan's position and the growth of the role of Kantemir, a Mangyt bey who with the help of the Ottoman Porte strengthened the autonomy of the Nogais of Budjak. The invasions of Kantemir's Budjak Horde in the 1620s caused more significant human losses than the invasions of the Crimean Tatars. Only in 1628, did Canibek Geray get the throne back with the support of the Porte and exile Mehmed and Shahin Giray from the Crimea, and in 1637 the Sublime Port executed the rebellious bey Kantemir. Fearing repression from the new Crimean khan, the Budjak Nogais even strove to accept Polish protection, but this did not occur because of mutual distrust [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 147–148].

Although the internal crisis weakened the international position of the Crimean Khanate and increasingly subordinated the khans to the Ottoman sultans, this process did not stop Tatar invasions in Poland, and the weakened khans were not even capable of guaranteeing

peace. Under these conditions, after the defeat of one of the Tatar raids near Okhmatov by the great hetman Stanislaw Koniecpolski on January 30, 1644, the Polish-Lithuanian Senate decided to stop giving gifts to the khans, and the hetman and King Wladyslaw IV started planning an alliance with Moscow aimed at the destruction of the Crimean Khanate and the partition of its lands between Russia and Poland. In 1645, the king developed his plans, and he wanted the Rzeczpospolita and Russia to support Venice in its war against the Ottoman Porte, but all these military plans were destroyed due to the resistance of the Sejm. It is very ironic that the Ukrainian Cossacks, whom the king once promised Venetian money for taking part in the war, instead of striking a blow against the Crimea united with the Tatars in 1648 and started a great rebellion against Poland. According to the Treaty of Zboriv concluded in 1649 between the Polish king and Khan Islam III Giray, who took on the role of the protector of the Cossacks, the latter got significant autonomy, and the Rzeczpospolita had to recommence giving gifts to the khan [Baranowski, 1949, pp. 131–190; Baranowski, 1948; Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 154–161, 954–963; Senai, 1971].

The Treaty of Pereyaslavl in January 1654, when the Cossacks accepted the patronage of the Russian tsar, brought radical changes in Crimean policy. Wary of Russian hegemony in Eastern Europe, Islam III Giray and his brother and successor Mehmed IV Giray joined a military alliance with king John Kazimir, which lasted until 1666. In this period, the Crimean Tatars helped the Rzeczpospolita not only against Russia, but also against Sweden, and their participation in the second Northern war (1655–1660) led to the activation of diplomatic contacts with Sweden, Brandenburg and even Denmark. The widespread use of Crimean clothes, weapons, and horse harnesses among the Polish gentry, on the one hand, and the use of the Polish language in the diplomatic correspondence of the Crimean chancellery, on the other hand, are evidence of Polish-Tatar cultural ties [Baranowski, 1957; Augusiewicz, 2009; Wójcik, 1966; Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 163–174, 237–239].

The partition of Ukraine between Poland and Russia established by the Truce of Andrusovo (January 30/February 9, 1667) angered not only the Cossacks, but also the Tatars, wary of an alliance between its Northern neighbors. In 1667, the Tatars and the Cossacks carried out a joint military campaign against the Rzeczpospolita which ended with the compromise treaty of Pidhaitsi (October 16), but soon the Sublime Porte, freed from the war against Venice after the conquest of Crete (1669) and deciding to activate its policy in Eastern Europe under viziers from the Keprulu family, interfered in the conflict. The Ottoman-Polish war began in 1672 with the conquest of Kamianets-Podilskyi by the Turks and lasted until 1676. Then, after a short break in which the Turks and Russians were struggling for Ukraine, the war began again in 1683, but that time the Rzeczpospolita was part of a broad anti-Ottoman coalition, including the Habsburg Empire, Venice and, starting in 1686, Russia. The Crimean Tatars took part in Ottoman military campaigns, but the khans suggested many times that an agreement be arrived at between the sides, at first fearing that the strengthening of the position of the Sublime Porte in Eastern Europe could limit the autonomy of the Crimea, and later, after Ottomans' defeats in the war with the coalition forces, fearing the conquest of the Crimea by Russia.

The Treaty of Karlowitz (January 1699), in which Tatar diplomats did not participate, forced the khan to give up the traditional gifts and prohibited Tatar raids in Polish lands. The Ottoman sultan guaranteed the fulfilment of these conditions by the khan, who was not considered a sovereign monarch in the text of the treaty. The weakening of the international position of the Rzeczpospolita and the Crimean Khanate limited the ability of both powers to make direct contacts and carry out independent active policies, and Russia's annexation of Zaporozhie led to the geographical "distancing" of Poland and the Crimea. Wary of Russian expansion, the Tatars emphasized the patronage of the Ottoman Porte, and the foreign policies of the Rzeczpospolita were paralyzed by the presence of Russian troops and the constant confrontation of supporters and adversaries of

a Russian orientation. Despite this, the Poles and Tatars made attempts to cooperate against the Russian Empire, which can be seen in the examples of Khans Devlet II Giray and Kaplan Giray supporting Stanislav Leshchinsky's followers (1709–1714) or Khan Kyrym Giray supporting the Bar Confederation (1768–1769). After the Turkish-Russian war of 1736–1739, during which the army of Field Marshal Minikh burnt Bakhchysarai, Khan Selyamet II Giray not only restored the palace of his ances-

tors, but also tried to revive the tradition of the Chinggisids, and in 1742 he sent a decree to the Polish king consisting of seven articles of a new peace [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 202–203, 1001–1008].

International contacts between the Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland dating from the 15th century were interrupted by the annexation of the Crimean Khanate by Russia in 1783, only a few years before the last partition of the Rzeczpospolita.

CHAPTER 2

The Formation of the Late Golden Horde States

§ 1. The Shaybanid Uzbek Khanate—The State of the Nomadic Uzbeks

Alexander Nesterov

The Shaybanids were the descendants of Shibān, the fifth son of Jochi Khan. The exact borders of the Ulus of Shibān are not quite clear. With the exception of the works of Abu al-Ghāzī Khan and Mahmud ben Valī, sources do not provide any information on the possessions of Shibān and his descendants. According to Abu al-Ghāzī Khan, Batu Khan allotted an extensive domain in the Southern Urals and Kazakhstan to Shibān in 1238: "... the yurt, in which you will live, will be between my yurt and the yurt of my elder brother Ichen: in the summer live on the eastern side of the Yaik, along the rivers Irgiz, Or and Ilel up to the Ural mountain, and during the winter live in Arakum, Karakum, and by the banks of the Syr Darya, by the estuaries of the Chu Su and Sary Su rivers" [Abu al-Ghāzī, 1906, p. 160]. Similar information can be found in works by Mahmud ben Valī [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 41]. Thus, according to these sources, the initial possessions of Shibān included only the territories of the Southern Urals and Western Kazakhstan. These lands were most likely held by the descendants of Shibān as well. Their rule had to be confirmed by the leaders of the Jochi state's right wing. For

instance, Mengu Timur Khan confirmed the possession of this area by Shibān's son Behadur [Abu al-Ghāzī, 1906, p. 152]. At the same time, the procedure for the confirmation of the rulers of the Shaybanid Ulus indicates that it was part of the right wing of the Jochid state.

Unfortunately, sources give almost no information on the history of the Shaybanids in the second half of the 13–15th century (see: [Kostyukov, 2010, pp. 88–109]. One can only suppose that the Shaybanids gradually incorporated the territories of modern Kazakhstan and Western Siberia into their possessions. Sources only enumerate the rulers of the Shaybanid Ulus without giving any information on their activities. According to Abu al-Ghāzī Khan and Mahmud ben Valī, Bahadur, Jochi Buka, Badakul (Badagul), Ming Timur and Pulad (Fulad) were the successors of Shibān. According to Mahmud ibn Valī, Jochi Buka extended the territory of the Ulus of Shyban significantly ("he incorporated many countries into the vilayets blessed by God") [Materials, 1969, p. 347]. Abu al-Ghāzī Khan reports that after the death of Pulad, his sons Ibrahim (Aba-oglan) and Ar-abshakh divided their father's possessions be-

tween themselves [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 162]. According to the information of Mahmud ibn Vali, the partition of the Ulus of Shyban among separate representatives of the Shaybanid dynasty was carried out earlier, after the death of Ming Timur Khan, when Ibrahim (Ibak), Ming Timur Khan's son, received his domain [Materials, 1969, p. 348].

By the beginning of the 15th century, the territory occupied by Shaybanid khans and sultans spread from the Manghits' possessions in the southwest to the Baraba steppe in the northeast and from the mouth of the Irtysh in the North to the Aral sea in the South. This territory was divided between separate representatives of the Shaybanid dynasty. However, the development of historical events indicates that the possessions of these rulers can be considered as a single regional political entity; Shaybanid rulers, before trying to conquer any other possessions beyond the historical territory of the Ulus of Shyban, steadfastly fought for dominance among the Shaybanids.

The formation of the Shaybanid Khanate, which is also called "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" in scholarly literature, took place in the early 15th century. By that time, the territory of this state had been more or less defined: the lands of the Ulus of Shyban, bounded by the possessions of the khans of the Volga Region and the Mangyt (Nogai) emirs in the west and in the southwest, and possessions in the south in Khwarezm and on the Syr Darya neighboring those of Timur. The northern and eastern borders of the ulus were not defined; in fact, the possessions of the Shaybanids spread through steppe and forest-steppe areas of the Urals and Western Siberia from the territory of modern Bashkiria up to the Ob River. Most likely, a significant part of modern Kazakhstan was also in the hands of the Shaybanids. It should be emphasized that it was the Shaybanid Khanate that was the basis for the formation of a whole range of political entities of Turkic nations—the Tumen and Siberian Khanates, the Uzbek (Bukharan) Khanate, the Kazakh Khanate and subsequent Kazakh states [Nesterov, 2003].

The population of the Ulus of the Shaybanids consisted of various Turkic tribes dwelling in the eastern part of Desht-i Qipchaq. Accord-

ing to Masud bin Usman Quhistani, Mahmud ibn Vali and other sources, such tribes as the Burkuts, the Kiyats, the Koshchis, the Iyians, the Kungrats, the Kenegesies, the Ushuns, the Utadjis, the Naimans, the Jats, the Chimbays, the Karluks, the Durmans, the Kurkauts, the Tubais, the Mangyts, the Nukuzes, the Tanguts, the Uygurs, the Khitais, the Taimases, the Echkis, the Tuman-Mings, the Shadbakls, the Shunkarls, the Uirats, the Madjars and the Qipchaqs were subordinate to the Shaybanid rulers [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 16]. The names of the tribes show that among them were not only Turkic tribes, but also tribes of Tibetan (Tanguts), Mongolian (Kungrat, Nukuz, Kiyat) and Kidan (Khitai) descent.

Starting in the middle of the 14th century, the term "Uzbeks", which had no definite ethnic meaning at that time, was used to refer to the population of the eastern part of Desht-i Qipchaq. In descriptions of the events of the late 14th century provided in works by Muin ad-din Natanzi and Khondemir, the term "Uzbek" was used in exactly this meaning [Collection, 1941, p. 133]. Fazlallah ibn Ruzbehan Isfahani divided the Uzbeks into three groups—the Kazakh Uzbeks (اوزبكان قزاق), the Uzbeks of the Ulus of Shyban (اوزبكان شيبانى) and the Mangyts: "Three tribes belong to the Uzbeks, who are the most glorious in the possessions of Chinggis Khan. One of them is the Shaybanids, and His Majesty the Khan (Muhammad Shaybani Khan) was and is their ruler. The second tribe is the Kazakhs, who are famous throughout the world for their strength and fearlessness, and the third tribe is the Mangyts, from whom come the Astrakhan tsars. One edge of the Uzbeks' possessions borders on the ocean, the second one borders on Turkestan, the third one on Derbend, the fourth one on Khwarezm, and the fifth one on Astrabad" [Ruzbekhan, 1976, p. 62]. The term "Uzbek" acquired its ethnic meaning only in the 16th century, after Muhammad Shaybani Khan had conquered Transoxiana and created the Shaybanid Uzbek state with its centre in Bukhara.

In the early 15th century, there were several nomadic Shaybanid khanates: the area between the Ishim and the Tobol was a part of Mustafa Khan's possessions. To the West of the Ishim lay

the possessions of Ibrahim ibn Pulad, and Northern Kazakhstan was ruled by Jumaduk Khan ibn Sufi [Materials, 1969, p. 352]. After the death of Ibrahim ben Oulad, his possessions passed to his son Daulat Sheikh Oglan, who also conquered the fortress Chimgi-Tura (جیمگی تورا), which belonged to Giyas ad-din Tokhtamysh Khan in the late 14th century. Daulat Sheikh was not a powerful Shaybanid ruler: he did not even take the title of khan, unlike his rivals Mustafa Khan and Jumaduk Khan and his elder brother Hizr Khan, whose authority spread through the lands of the Southern Urals.

In 1426 Daulat Sheikh died, and his possessions came under the control of the emirs of the Burkuts. The heir to the possessions of Daulat Sheikh Oglan, Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidallah Sultan (born in 1412), was sent to Jumaduk Khan and stayed in his possessions [Materials, 1969, p. 141]. Abu'l-Khayr Sultan participated in many military campaigns of Jumaduk Khan. In 1428, Abu'l-Khayr Sultan participated in the campaign of Jumaduk Khan against the Mangyts, in the course of which Jumaduk Khan was defeated and killed. Abu'l-Khayr Sultan was captured by Sagyr Usman Bek the Mangyt [Materials, 1969, p. 142], but he was not killed. On the contrary, he got the opportunity to establish good relations with the Mangyt emirs, which played an important role later when Abu'l-Khayr was struggling for dominance among the Shaybanids.

The support of the Mangyt emirs became very important to Abu'l-Khayr Sultan almost immediately after the death of Jamaduk Khan. Abu'l-Khayr started his activities with an attempt to subjugate lost possessions of his father Daulat Sheikh Oglan with their centre in Chimgi-Tura. With the help of one of Mangyt emirs, Alash Bahadur, Abu'l-Khayr Sultan collected a significant band and headed to Chimgi-Tura.

The Burkut emirs Kibek Hodja Bek and Adad Bek, who were ruling in Chimgi-Tura, submitted to him without resistance [Materials, 1969, pp. 144–146]. In Chimgi-Tura, in spring 1429, Abu'l-Khayr Sultan took the title of khan (Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidallah Khan, أبو الخير أوبيد الله خان). According to Mahmud ben Vali, Abu'l-Khayr Khan was supported by a significant part of the upper aristocracy of Desht-i Qipchaq—about 200 heads of tribes

and clans, as well as sultans and olgans from among the descendants of Jochi Khan [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 46].

Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidallah Khan ibn Dawlat Shaykh ibn Ibrahim ibn Pulad is considered the first khan of the Shaybanid Uzbek Khanate (the so-called State of the Nomadic Uzbeks) which took shape on the territory of Western Siberia and Kazakhstan. At the same time, Abu'l-Khayr Khan may be considered the founder of the Uzbek Shaybanid dynasty, which was established in 1500 in the person of Muhammad-Shaybani Khan in Mawarannahr, where it reigned up until the 16th century.

After restoring Shaybanid power over Chimgi-Tura, the necessity of uniting the isolated Shaybanid uluses became the primary goal for Abu'l-Khayr. He immediately declared his claim to supreme power, and after minting coin in Chimgi-Tura demanded submission from other Shaybanid khans and sultans. In fact, the program of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's activities included not only the restoration of the united Shaybanid ulus, but also the restoration of the Jochid state on the territory of Desht-i Qipchaq, from the Volga Region to Eastern Kazakhstan.

Chimgi-Tura became the initial centre of the new Shaybanid state. The city of Chimgi-Tura was a fortress typical for the region which was built at the confluence of two rivers—the Tavda and the Tumenka. Generally speaking, settlements of the Siberian yurt left by the Turkic population were built high up on the steep banks of rivers or lakes. Such an arrangement made it possible to leave at least one side of the fortress unfortified; natural obstacles such as cliffs and ravines played the role of natural fortifications. Usually, settlements had a fairly complex system of ditches and ramparts; two ramparts were almost a mandatory element of the Siberian fortified settlement. Even in provincial forts the ramparts and ditches were quite solid: for example, in the Tumenka settlement the flooded ditches are 2–2,5 meters deep and 9 meters wide; in the Chinyaev settlement the ramparts are 1.5 meters high and approximately 5 meters wide. Perhaps, ditches in many settlements were filled with water. Embankments were additionally strengthened by wooden fences.

On the territory of the settlements and near them, there were dwellings, as a rule semi-dug-outs or shallow dugouts with log or plank walls reinforced with columns. In the centre of the dwellings were fire pits. The walls of the houses were possibly daubed with clay, as traces of clay coating on the walls are preserved in many settlements. Most likely, there were no buildings made of more durable materials in almost all the settlements, except for Chimgi-Tura and Isker. Significant numbers of bricks from the 15–16th centuries were found in Chimgi-Tura and Isker. Unfortunately, there have been no archeological studies of Chimgi-Tura with the use of modern methods; nowadays the city is partly degraded by rivers and partly under the buildings of Tyumen.

Chimgi-Tura remained the main residence of Abu'l-Khayr Khan until the centre of the state was moved to Sygnak in the south. The ruins of Sygnak studied by A. Yakubovsky [Yakubovsky, 1929] show that Sygnak was a typical town-fortress of Central Asia, a large centre of trade and handicrafts. The town was fortified with rammed clay walls. Inside it, there were numerous buildings—official buildings, private houses, caravanserais, workshops, etc. Archaeological finds on the territory of Sygnak show that artisan production mainly focused on the needs of the nomadic population of the steppe: the inhabitants of the town produced various metal items, including jewelry; weapons; leather items; and various carts, wagons, etc. The central fortification of Sygnak, the ark, was occupied by the khan's court.

One of the most mysterious buildings of the Southern Urals—the so-called "Tower of Tamerlane"—can tentatively be connected with the time of the formation the state of Abu'l-Khayr Khan. The Tower of Tamerlane is situated near the village of Varna in the Chelyabinsk region. It is a square building made of large square bricks crowned with a 16-meter-high 12-sided pyramidal tower. The monument was excavated by E.Y. Petri in 1889 [Salnikov, 1952, pp. 144–146] and was studied in detail by an expedition from Chelyabinsk University headed by S.G. Botalov in 1982–1984. Several burials carried out according to a Muslim ritual and without any belongings were found inside

the monument. According to S.G. Botalov, the monument dates to the 14–15th century, most likely the first half of the 15th century. The architecture of the monument is reminiscent of the buildings of Urgench. To whom "Tamerlane's Tower" belonged and what its purpose was is one of the most complicated questions relating to cult monuments of the Siberian yurt. The local population has no legends related to the given monument; this is connected with the complete displacement of the Turkic population from the area there the monument is situated. The name "Tamerlane's tower" is merely conventional. No texts were preserved in the tower. Dating this building to the time of emergence of the Shaybanid Khanate as an independent state, however, does not enable us to conjecture as to how and why this building was erected. There is no information about "Tamerlane's Tower" in written sources.

The traveling headquarters of the khans, called Ordu-Bazar, were the real capital of the Shaybanid state. This term was first encountered in the state of the Shaybanids in connection with the conquest of the Lower Volga Region in 1431. The traveling residence accompanied the khan literally everywhere; it was in this traveling residence that Abu'l-Khayr Khan's successor, Sheikh Haider Khan, was killed (1469).

The submission of Chimgi-Tura did not signify the complete formation of the Shaybanid Khanate. Abu'l-Khayr Khan continued uniting Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq.

Abu'l-Khayr's main rival became Mahmud Khodja Khan ibn Kaan-bey ibn Ilbak ibn Ming Timur Khan, Abu'l-Khayr's second cousin once removed, whose possessions were situated in the south of the Tobolsk region. According to Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, Mahmud Khodja Khan was one of the main contenders for supreme power in the Shaybanid Ulus. In 1430, on the banks of the Tobol river, Mahmud Khodja Khan was defeated, captured and killed by Abu'l-Khayr's forces. As a result of this victory, the entire Western part of the Siberian yurt, from the confluence of the Ob and the Irtysh Rivers in the North to the Mangyt region in the south—the former possessions of the Shaybanids Daulat Sheikh Oglan, Jumaduk Khan and Mahmud Hodja Khan—came under

the control of Abu'l-Khayr Khan. Abu'l-Khayr Khan married Mahmud Hodja Khan's widow Aganak-Bika to formalize the victory over his main rival [Materials, 1969, pp. 147–148]. According to Mahmud ben Vali, after Mahmud Hodja Khan had been defeated, Abu'l-Khayr Khan declared his independence from the descendants of Tuq Timur Khan, who considered themselves the supreme rulers of the Jochid state [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 48]. From that time, Abu'l-Khayr Khan's cousin Bahtiyar Sultan, son of Khizr Khan ibn Ibrahim, became his main supporter. Bahtiyar Sultan usually headed the vanguard of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's army during military actions.

The desire to establish his supreme power over the entire Jochid state prompted Abu'l-Khayr to conquer the territories of Central Asia and the Volga Region.

In 1431, immediately after the defeat of Mahmud Hodja Khan, Abu'l-Khayr organized a military campaign in Khwarezm. The Timurid ruler of Khwarezm Emir Ibrahim and his troops did not resist the attacking troops of Abu'l-Khayr Khan and surrendered Urgench, the capital of Khwarezm [Materials, 1969, pp. 149–151]. According to the report of Masud ibn Usman Kuhistani, after the capture of Urgench, Abu'l-Khayr Khan "ordered that the treasury which the previous rulers had collected with such labor and trouble be opened, and told two of the great emirs to sit at the doors of the treasury, and all the commanders, the people from the khan's suite and other soldiers to enter the treasury in pairs...each took as much as he could carry, and they went out" [Ibid, p. 152].

However, Abu'l-Khayr Khan's stay in Khwarezm turned out to be brief. Soon, the khan's troops left Urgench and Khwarezm in general. The departure of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's troops from Khwarezm had several causes. The first, one mentioned by all sources was a plague caused, in the opinion of the author of "The History of Abu'l-Khayr Khan", by the "dampness of the air" in Khwarezm [Ibid]. Other reasons for leaving were an increase in the activities of Ahmad Khan and Mahmud Khan, the rulers of the Lower Volga Region, and the threat of invasion from the troops of Emir Shahruh, the head of the Timurid state [Akhmedov,

1965, p. 51]. The military and political situation forced Abu'l-Khayr Khan to eliminate the threat coming from the Volga Region before trying to strengthen his position in Transoxiana.

In 1431–1432, Abu'l-Khayr Khan moved his troops to the Lower Volga Region against Ahmad Khan and Mahmud Khan. The battle between the adversaries took place at Ikri-tub, the location of which has not been established [Ibid, p. 52]. The rulers of the Great Horde were defeated and fled; Abu'l-Khayr Khan occupied their main camp, Ordu-Bazaar, and minted coins there as the supreme khan of the Jochid state [Materials, 1969, pp. 154–156; Nesterov, 2001, p. 275]. Nevertheless, one cannot assert that Abu'l-Khayr established control over the Lower Volga Region. Apparently, Ahmad Khan and Mahmud Khan were hiding in Hajji Tarkhan, and the authority of Abu'l-Khayr Khan extended only to the territories east of the Volga River.

The interference of Abu'l-Khayr Khan in the affairs of the Lower Volga Region was brief and did not play a significant role in the history of the fierce struggle for the throne of Sarai taking place in the first decades of the 15th century. Most likely, the power of Abu'l-Khayr extended for a short time to the area east of Hajji Tarkhan, and he did not claim the more northerly lands. The campaign in the Lower Volga Region had another aim – to eliminate the threat coming from the khans of the Great Horde and present himself as the lawful supreme ruler of the Jochid state.

The invasion of Abu'l-Khayr Khan in the Lower Volga Region and the victory over Ahmad Khan and Mahmud Khan led to an abrupt increase of internal fighting between the Jochid rulers of the region. Feuds between rulers of the Volga Region led to the increasing influence of Abu'l-Khayr Khan in the region, and this influence did not need to be constantly reinforced with military might. During this period, Abu'l-Khayr Khan was trying first and foremost to extend his possessions at the expense of other Shaybanid rulers of Western Siberia who had remained independent. In particular, the Shaybanids of Siberia (Hajji Muhammad Khan), Mustafa Khan, and the Tuq Timurids Jani Beg Khan and Giray Khan retained a certain amount

of independence. The most important adversary of Abu'l-Khayr Khan was Mustafa Khan ibn Musa ibn Kiran ibn Bayankejar. In 1428 Mustafa Khan supported Abu'l-Khayr in his struggle for Chimgi-Tura. However, after the campaign of 1430–1431, Mahmud Khodja Khan's death, coupled with the proclamation of Abu'l-Khayr as the Jochids' supreme khan, such a powerful neighbor was of extreme concern to Mustafa Khan, as he clearly understood that Abu'l-Khayr could attack him. Mustafa managed to draw over to his side Waqqas-bey, the ruler of the Manghit ulus and one of the strongest nomadic feudals in Abu'l-Khayr's state. His support had been essential in Abu'l-Khayr's military successes of 1428–1431. The emergence of the coalition between Mustafa Khan and the Manghits jeopardised the integrity of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's dominions, and he immediately came out against Mustafa Khan. The decisive clash occurred in 1446 at the Atbasar, a tributary of the Ishim. Mustafa Khan was defeated and fled to the Mangyshlak Peninsula into the possessions of the Manghits [Materials, 1969, pp. 157–158]. Apparently Mustapha Khan acknowledged the superior power of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, and all his further actions were taken under the latter's authority.

Mustafa Khan's rout signified the elimination of the last independent Shaybanid khanate on the territory of the Siberian Yurt. From then on, the entire yurt was controlled by Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah Khan. However, Abu'l-Khayr did not dare in this situation to start a conflict with the Manghits, instead opting to pretend to have forgiven Waqqas Bey for building an alliance with Mustafa Khan, and then again appointing him as the commander of the khan's troops. Waqqas-bey was one of the participants of Abu'l-Khayr's Turkestan campaigns, and as a result became the khakim of Uzgend.

After Mustafa Khan had been defeated, Abu'l-Khayr Khan continued fighting for Transoxiana. The task of Abu'l-Khayr Khan was simplified by complications in the situation of Emir Shahruh and the political fragmentation of the possessions of the Timurids. The fortress Sygnak at the Syr Darya River was chosen as the target of a campaign in 1446. According to "The History of Abu'l-Khayr Khan", "the

hakim of the city of Sygnak saw the number and strength of the khan's troops, and went out to him with submission and obedience and handed the city over to the emirs and servants of the khan" [Ibid, p. 159]. The city of Suzak and the fortresses Ak-Kurgan, Arkuk and Uzgend, situated on the left bank of the Syr Darya, all submitted to Abu'l-Khayr simultaneously. Abu'l-Khayr moved his headquarters to Sygnak, permanently leaving Chimgi-Tura. Most likely, after that, Chimgi-Tura came under the authority of Hadji Muhammad Khan and became the centre of the Tyumen Khanate, the state of the Siberian Shaybanids.

Mustafa Khan supported the military campaign of Abu'l-Khayr Khan with active operations in Khwarezm. He managed to subjugate the southwestern part of Khwarezm, including Urgench. Mustafa Khan founded a new fortress, Vazir, south of Urgench and moved a significant part of the inhabitants of Urgench there. Mustafa Khan ruled in Khwarezm until 1460/1461 and took part in war between Abu'l-Khayr Khan and the Kalmyks in 1457. Later, Mustafa Khan returned to Mangyshlak again after a rebellion of the population of Vazir, which was supported by the Kungrat tribe. His subsequent fate is unknown [Akhmedov, 1965, pp. 64–65].

The death of Emir Shahruh (1447) and the escalation of infighting in the Timurid state led Abu'l-Khayr Khan to the decision to move his troops to the Timurid capital, Samarkand, because Shahruh's successor as the supreme ruler of the Timurid state, Muhammad Taragai Ulugbek, was forced to head to Khorasan with his army. According to "The History of Abu'l-Khayr Khan", Abu'l-Khayr Khan announced that "the city of Samarkand is empty, and Mirza Ulugh Beg has headed to Khorasan and Iraq, and I want to turn the reins of my decisiveness toward the God-protected city of Samarkand" [Materials, 1969, pp. 159–160]. The army of Abu'l-Khayr Khan reached Shiraz (near Samarkand). The ambassadors of the hakim of Samarkand and Emir Jelal ad-din Bayezid visited Abu'l-Khayr Khan in Shiraz. Jelal ad-din Bayezid offered to conclude a peace treaty with the khan, referring to the fact that "Sultan Ulugbek...has done no wrong" to Abu'l-Khayr Khan [Ibid, p. 160]. One can assume that at that

time Abu'l-Khayr Khan did not feel powerful enough to try to conquer the Timurid capital, starting a confrontation with the main forces of the Timurid state, and decided to back down. However, from that time on Abu'l-Khayr Khan constantly interfered in the domestic affairs of the Timurid state.

This interference was usually caused by internal feuds among the Timurids. For example, after Ulugbek had been killed, his son and successor Mirza Abd al-Latif tried to kill the ruler of Bukhara, Mirza Abu Said, which forced the latter to ask Abu'l-Khayr Khan for help. With the exception Masud ibn Usman Kuhistani, Central Asian sources reported that Mirza Abu Said sent a person of high standing to Abu'l-Khayr Khan to ask him for help [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 130]. The author of "The History of Abu'l-Khayr Khan" claims that Abu Said came to Abu'l-Khayr Khan personally to ask him for help in the struggle for power [Materials, 1969, p. 162]. According to the well-reasoned opinion of B. Akhmedov, only the personal request of Abu Said could influence Abu'l-Khayr Khan and lead to a situation when the khan supported one of the contenders for power among the Timurids [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 130]. Mirza Abu Said was received by the Khan. After a conference with the participation of members of the khan's house, the aristocracy and military leaders, Abu'l-Khayr made the decision to support Mirza Abu Said and head to Samarkand [Materials, 1969, p. 163]. The joint military campaign took place in summer 1451. On June 10, 1451, the ruler of Samarkand, Mirza Abdullah, was defeated and killed. Samarkand came under the control of Abu Said, who took measures to prevent the troops of Abu'l-Khayr Khan from entering the city, fearing the sacking of Samarkand. The daughter of Mirza Ulugbek became one of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's wives. According to the data of Masud ibn Usman Kukhastani, a khutbah in the honour of the khan was read in Samarkand, and coins with the name of Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidallah Khan were minted, but such coins are not actually known [Ibid, pp. 168–169]. Historians specializing in the epoch of the Timurids report that many Timurid emirs asked Abu'l-Khayr Khan for help many times; Muhammad Juki ibn Abd

al-Latif; Ala ad-Daul, who lived in the state of Abu'l-Khayr Khan from 1452 to 1457; Sultan Husein; and Mirza Manuchekhr were among them [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 130]. Historians report that the troops of Abu'l-Khayr Khan invaded not only Transoxania, but also Northern Iran [Ibid, 133]; however, integrating these provinces into the state of the Shaybanids was not on his agenda.

The moving of the centre of the Shaybanid state to Southern Kazakhstan turned out to be related to the formation of new structures of state administration typical for Transoxania and the Jochid state. Abu'l-Khayr Khan gave conquered provinces to members of his family and representatives of the tribal nobility. For instance, after the lands of Southern Kazakhstan had been conquered, Suzak was given to Bahtiyar Sultan, Manadan Oglan governed Sygnak, and Vakkas Biy received Uzgend [Materials, 1969, p. 159]. There were also the Tarkhan possessions (mentioned in "The Collected Stories from the Book of Victories").

The political structure of the Shaybanid state has not been sufficiently examined. The scanty information of the sources lets us know that the khan ruled the state, but he did not have absolute power; in order to organize a large-scale state undertaking, the khan had to convoke a council with the participation of the heads of tribes, members of the ruling house of the Shaybanids, and high-ranking clerics [Ruzbekhan, 1976, p. 62]. The tribes were the foundation of the state; its troops consisted of the irregulars of the tribes. Clerics had a great deal of influence (for instance, Kul Muhammed Said and Kara Said were councilors under Abu'l-Khayr Khan). Their point of view was decisive when the decision about Khwarezm was being made in 1431.

The structure of the state machinery of the Shaybanid State is unknown to us.

Among public positions mentioned are atalyks, responsible for bringing up under-age princes (sultans). The position of an atalyk corresponded to the positions of regent and tutor; atalyks governed the independent principalities of sultans until they came of age. For example, Emir Baisheikh was the atalyk of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's successor Shah Budag Sultan, and after the latter's premature death, he became the

atalyk of Shah Budag Sultan's sons Shaybani Sultan and Mahmud Sultan.

Another position mentioned in sources, *divan* (*Dualat* Hodja *Divan Koshchi* and *Yabagu Divan Uigur* are mentioned in "The History of Abu'l-Khayr Khan"), is not quite clear with regard to its functions and duties. One can conjecture that the *divan* headed a group of counselors who prepared information on certain issues for the khan. By the early 16th century, the position of "divan" had turned into the position of "the head of the divan", and was recorded as such in the Bukharan Shaybanid state.

The supreme *qadi* dealt with religious and judicial matters. These duties were performed by Kul Muhammad Said under Abu'l-Khayr Khan.

Such positions as the *ichki*, who dealt with the life of the khan's court (in the first years of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's reign these duties were fulfilled by Kongurbai Bakhadur Koshchi), and the *inak*, who was a counselor of the khan (*emirs* of the main tribes of the khanate usually became *inaks*), are mentioned in sources many times. One can assume that there were such positions in the Shaybanid state as *yasavul* (a servitor of the khan's court), *mubashir* (a messenger who delivered the orders of the khan to different regions of the state), etc. Governors with the traditional Mongol title of "daruga" were appointed to conquered territories. The governors of towns in Central Asia were called "hakims". It is stated in the sources that the majority of public positions were held by representatives of the Uigur and Koshchi tribes.

According to the sources, the troops, which preserved the structure and principles from the times of Genghis Khan and Batu Khan, played a major role in the state. They mainly consisted of the irregulars of the tribes and were divided into right and left wings. A part of the troops was the vanguard (*karavul*); the rulers of the Shaybanid state made wide use of reconnaissance units [Akhmedov, 1965, pp. 105–107].

Thus, one can say that even limited information on the state structure of the Shaybanid Khanate lets us see its gradual evolution; the Shaybanid state gradually added state structures typical for Transoxania to the state forms existing in the Jochid state.

The middle of the 1450s was a time of crisis in the Shaybanid state. In 1455–1456, nomads separated from the state of Abu'l-Khayr Khan and submitted to Giray Khan and Jani Beg Khan, the heirs of Borak Sultan, who was an adversary of Abu'l-Khayr Khan in 1420s. The nomadic sultans, whose tribes went down in history as the Uzbek-Kazakhs or the Kazakhs, were subordinate to Chagataid Isa Buka Khan, ruler of Mogolistan. Jani Beg Khan and Giray Khan are traditionally considered the founders of the Kazakh Khanate; 1465/1466 is usually considered the date of its foundation [Ibid, pp. 62–63].

The war against the Kalmyks had a great influence on the further development of the Shaybanid state. By the middle of the 15th century, the Kalmyks already controlled the northern regions of Mogolistan, the Chu River valley and Semirechye. In spring 1457, the troops of the Kalmyks, headed by Uz Timur Taisha, appeared on the banks of the Syr Darya and headed to Sygnak. The bloody battle between Abu'l-Khayr Khan and the Kalmyk troops took place at Nur-Tuqay, not far from Sygnak and the ancient necropolis of the khans of the Blue Horde, Kok Kashane. Not only Abu'l-Khayr and his closest comrades such as Bahtiyar Sultan took part in the battle, but also Shaybanid rulers only acknowledging the supreme authority of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, such as Mustafa Khan, who ruled in Khwarezm, or Ahmad Sultan, who ruled in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya. The battle ended with the defeat of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's troops. It was the first significant defeat in all the period of his reign. Bahtiyar Sultan and Ahmad Sultan were killed during the battle, and Abu'l-Khayr Khan and the rests of the troops were forced to hide in well-fortified Sygnak. The Kalmyks devastated the outskirts of such Timurid towns as Tashkent, Shahruhiya, and Turkestan. The author of "Collected Stories from the Book of Victories" notes that 3-year-old Mahmud Sultan ibn Shah-Budag Sultan, Abu'l-Khayr Khan's grandson, was taken prisoner by the Kalmyks and spent 7 byears in captivity, but according to B. Akhmedova he may have been a hostage (*amanate*) who guaranteed the concluded peace treaty [Ibid, p. 67]. It is still unknown whether Abu'l-Khayr Khan ac-

knowledge of the supreme power of the ruler of the Kalmyks (as B. Akhmedov supposed).

The weakening of the Shaybanid state after the defeat inflicted by the Kalmyks in 1457 led to a situation in which Abu'l-Khayr Khan abruptly reduced his participation in the feuds between the Timurids (in particular, he refused to help Mirza Ala ad-Daula in the struggle for supreme authority). The reduced interference of the khan in the affairs of Transoxania was also caused by the fact that Mirza Abu Said, who came to power in 1451 with the support of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, managed to unite the majority of the Timurid state. The strengthening of Abu Said forced Abu'l-Khayr to regard the Timurid ruler as a real political force.

The disintegration of the Kalmyk state into numerous little provinces in 1460 eliminated the Kalmyk threat for the possessions of Abu'l-Khayr Khan for a while, and he once again directed his attention to events in Transoxania. At that time, Mirza Muhammad Juki, a Timurid prince and the nephew of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's wife Rabi'a Sultan Begim was at the headquarters of Abu'l-Khayr Khan. Making use of the fact that the forces of Abu Said were headed to Horasan, Muhammad Juki invaded Transoxania with the support of the troops of Abu'l-Khayr Khan. He managed to conquer Tashkent, Sairam, and Ahsikent, then he penetrated deeper into Transoxania and conquered almost all its territory, with the exception of Samarkand and Bukhara [Materials, 1969, pp. 170–171]. The troops of Abu'l-Khayr Khan defeated the garrison of Samarkand, but failed to capture the city and only sacked its outskirts.

At the beginning of 1412, Mirza Abu Said came out in opposition to Muhammad Joki and his Uzbek allies. Disagreements between the followers of Muhammad Joki resulted in the rejection of the plan of the leaders of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's troops to meet the attacking forces of Abu Said at the crossing of the Amu Darya River, and Muhammad Joki's troops started their retreat north toward Shahruhya. Burka Sultan and Pishkade Oglan took the Uzbek troops to Sygnak, halting military actions against Abu Said. The retreat of Muhammad Joki led to the protracted siege of Shahruhya, its surrender in 1463, and the death of Muham-

mad Joki in prison in 1464 [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 141].

The participation of the Shaybanid state in civil strife in Transoxania in 1464–1469 mostly consisted in the support of the Timurid Mirza Sultan Husein, who managed to conquer the greater part of Khwarezm after he had driven away Mustafa Khan. In 1465, Abu Said managed to drive Sultan Husein out of Khwarezm, but in 1467 Sultan Husein conquered Khwarezm again with the support of Abu'l-Khayr Khan; however, soon he was driven away again. Sultan Husein's request for support from the Shaybanid khan, which took place in 1469, turned out to be unsuccessful in the connection with the death of Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidallah Khan after a brief illness.

It should be emphasized that the foreign policy interests of Abu'l-Khayr Khan were almost completely reoriented toward Central Asia after he had moved the state's capital to Sygnak. The Volga Region fell out of the sphere of interest of the Shaybanid state, and relations with this region remained sporadic. The existence of political contacts between Ahmad Khan, ruler of the Great Horde, and Mustafa Khan, who ruled in Khwarezm and on the Mangyshlak peninsula, can be verified. Mustafa Khan's brother Pir Budag Sultan, who was at odds with his elder brother and married to Mirza Sultan Husein's sister Badi al-Jamal Begim, died in a war against Ahmad Khan; Badi al-Jamal Begim became one of Ahmad Khan's wives [Ibid, pp. 142–143].

The death of Abu'l-Khayr Khan changed the domestic policy situation in the Shaybanid Uzbek Khanate significantly and essentially led to its collapse. The state, united almost exclusively due to the will and power of its creator, immediately turned into an arena for infighting among numerous khans and sultans.

The issue of direct successors to Abu'l-Khayr Khan is not entirely clear either. The majority of sources consider Sheikh Haidar Khan the heir of the deceased khan (the eldest son of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, Shah Budag Sultan, died earlier than his father). Only the poetic chronicle "Fateh-nama" mentions that after Abu'l-Khayr Khan power went to Jadgar Khan, Bureke Sultan's son and Timur Sheikh

ibn Arabshah's grandson. [Materials, 1969, pp. 53–36]. According to Fateh-nama, the reign of Jadgar Khan was attended by conflict with the ruler of Moghulistan and did not last long. However, the reign of Jadgar Khan in the Shaybanid state cannot be confirmed for certain. According to R. Pochekaev, the reign of Jadgar Khan was of short duration in the connection with his advanced age; he died in 1469, but still managed to alter the direction of the foreign policy of the Uzbek ulus and conclude a union with the ruler of the Volga Reion, Ahmad Khan [Pochekaev, 2012, p. 255]. Nevertheless, Sheikh Haidar Khan was the real successor of Abu'l-Khayr Khan for the overwhelming majority of population of the Shaybanid state, and the seizure of power by Jadgar Khan in Sygnak, even if it really took place, turned out to be brief.

Sheikh Haidar Khan failed to preserve the state created by his father. As Kamal ad-din Shir Ali Binai noted in "Shaybani-nama", "the sultans of all the outskirts, finding the moment opportune, went to war against Sheikh Haidar Khan" [Materials, 1969, p. 99], whom sources characterize as "soft and weak-willed" [Ibid, p. 393] (however, the khan might be characterized this way only because his reign was brief and unsuccessful).

Among the rulers who started the war against Sheikh Haidar Khan, were the ruler of the Tyumen Khanate Said Ibrakhim Khan, the Kazakh khans Jani Beg and Giray, the Mangyt emirs Abbas Bek, Musa Bek, and Yamgurchi Bek, and others. Many tribes which used to support Abu'l-Khayr Khan left his successor even before the attack. Many tribes preferred to go over to the Kazakh khans. Nevertheless, even the remaining forces of Sheikh Haidar Khan were quite significant, and he was able to ward off the enemy attack. In this situation, Said Ibrakhim Khan and the Mangyt emirs concluded a union with Ahmad Khan, the ruler of the Great Horde, who remembered the defeat inflicted on him by Abu'l-Khayr Khan in 1431–1432. The united forces of the enemies of the Shaybanid state defeated Sheikh Haidar Khan. The descriptions of the death of Sheikh Haidar Khan in various sources do not coincide; "Shaybani-nama" says he was killed

"with sabres and arrows" [Ibid, 99], "Fateh-nama" and Mahmud ibn Vali only note the fact of the martyrdom of Sheikh Haidar Khan [Ibid, pp. 58, 362] and "The Collected Stories from the Book of Victories" mentions that Sheikh Haidar Khan was killed personally by Said Ibrakhim Khan, who cut his throat [Ibid, p. 20].

The death of Sheikh Haidar Khan led to the final collapse of the Shaybanid Uzbek state. The matter of successors was not an issue anymore; the state practically ceased to exist. The legal heir of Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidallah Khan, his eldest grandson Abu'l-Fatkh Muhammed Shaybani Sultan ibn Shah Budag Sultan was forced to leave his grandfather's possessions and hide in Hajji Tarkhan. Fleeing from his enemies and leaving Hajji Tarkhan, Muhammad Shaybani Sultan and some his relatives reached the city of Turkestan and hid in the possessions of Timurid Mirza Muhammad Mazid [Ibid, pp. 20–21].

Some uluses of the devastated state still existed in the basin of the Syr Darya River and in nearby areas. Thus, according to the data of Mahmud ibn Vali, a Burunch Oglan, who entered into a conflict with the khan of Moghulistan Yunus, was active until 1472 [Nesterov, 2010, p. 87]. Some historians of the 17th century (Hafiz-i Tanush Bukhari, Muhammad Haidar) think that Burunch Oglan was Abu'l-Khayr's son; Mahmud ibn Vali only calls him "a descendant of Jochi". Several authors identify him with Bureke Sultan ibn Jadgar, the grandson of Shaybanid Timur Sheikh ibn Arabshakh. B Akhmedov suggests the possibility of his identification with Buzundjar Biy Kiyat [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 69], but there are no reasons for such an identification. One may suppose that the tribes of the former Shaybanid state gradually united around Muhammad Shaybani Sultan. This was promoted by the collapse of the Great Horde, the murder of Ahmad Khan by Said Ibrakhim Khan, and the collapse of the state of the Siberian Shaybanids after the death of Said Ibrakhim Khan (about 1495). The unification of the Uzbek tribes led to Muhammed Shaybani Khan's invasion of Transoxania (1500) and the creation of a new Shaybanid Uzbek state, which existed until the late 16th century.

The Kazakh Khanate

Alexander Nesterov

The Kazakh Khanate has a special place among the states which emerged after the collapse of the Jochid state. At the same time, the process of its emergence and early development is an integral part of the processes of ethno-political development taking place in Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq in the 15–16th centuries, which were a direct consequence of the collapse of the Golden Horde. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the Kazakh Khanate lasted much longer than any other late-Jochid states (until the early 19th century) and became the basis for the Turkic Kazakh ethnos. It should be noted that it is impossible to talk about the precise ethnicity of the population of the Kazakh Khanate (just as that of the State of Nomadic Uzbeks and the Siberian Khanate). The population of these political entities represented a mixture of Turkic tribes and ethnic groups, including some ethnic groups of non-Turkic origin, united under the power of various branches of the Jochid dynasty.

The formation of the Kazakh Khanate was directly connected with the process of the formation of the Uzbek Khanate of Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidallakh Khan. The formation of the Kazakh Khanate is related to the activities of khans Jani Beg and Giray. There are several theories on their origins deriving their family tree from Orda Ichen, Jochi's elder son, or Tuq Timur, the thirteenth son of Jochi. The majority of sources say that Jani Beg and Giray are the descendants of Tuq Timur. For example, Abu al-Ghazi Muhammad Khan wrote in "Genealogy of the Turkomen": "Chinggis Khan had a son called Jochi khan, his son is Tuqay Timur, his son is Uz Timur, his son is Hodja, his son is Badakul Uglan, his son is Urus Khan, his son is Koirchak Khan, his son is Barak Khan, his son is Abu Said called Jani Beg Khan. He had nine sons as follows: Irandzhi, Mahmud, Kasim, and after him followed Itik, Janish, Kanabar, Tenish, Usuk, Juak" [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 157]. Mahmud ibn Vali reports in his work "Bakhr al-asrar" that "some of the descendants of Tuqay-Timur Khan, for example,

Kirey Khan and Jani Beg Khan, whose fathers' names will be mentioned in detail in the list of names of Tuqay Timur's khakans, left the circle of submission and obedience [to Abu'l-Khayr Khan] and preferred to leave their motherland [Materials, 1969, p. 352]. Muhammad Haidar Dughlat wrote in "Tarikh-i-Rashidi": "Abu'l-Khayr Khan was ruling in Desht-i Qipchaq at that time. He caused much anxiety to sultans of Dzhuchid extraction. Jani Beg Khan and Kirai Khan fled from him to Mogulistan. Isan Buga Khan hosted them with great pleasure and gave them the district of Chu and Kozi Bashi, which forms the western border of Moghulistan. While they were flourishing there, the Uzbek ulus was in a state of disorder; great troubles started there. The majority [of his subjects] went to Kirai Khan and Jani Beg Khan, such that there were about two hundred thousand [people gathered] around them. They were called the Uzbek-Kazakhs. The Kazakh sultans started reigning in 870 (1465/1466), but Allah knows better." Thus, the real founding of the Kazakh Khanate, headed by the descendants of Tuqa Timur, occurred after the collapse of the state of the nomadic Uzbeks in the period when feuds between the Jochid sultans and khans claiming the legacy of Abu'l-Khayr Khan started in Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq.

Researchers have no common opinion about the time and place of the formation of the early Kazakh Khanate. One may note the point of view of M. Abuseitova, according to which the Kazakh Khanate was formed as an independent political entity at the turn of the 15–16th century, and the departure of Jani Beg and Giray and their return from Moghulistan was just an episode in the struggle for power in Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq and a stage in the formation of the Kazakh Khanate [Abuseitova, 1985, p. 40]. However, according to tradition Giray (Kirey, Kiray) Khan is considered the first khan of the Kazakh Khanate; Kazakh historiography dates his reign to the period between 1459–1473, although it is obvious that it is an exaggeration to state that there was an in-

dependent Kazakh Khanate in Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq before 1468, when Abu'l-Khayr Khan died and Giray and Jani Beg came back from Moghulistan. The history of the activities of Jani Beg Khan is equally mysterious and unclear. The dates of his reign are traditionally considered to be 1466–1480; at the same time, it is noted that his name was not mentioned in sources after 1474. Thus, one can state with certainty only that after 1468 in the Eastern part of Desht-i Kipchak, in parallel with the Tyumen Khanate, which was strengthening its independence under Sayiid Ibrahim Khan, the Kazakh Khanate was forming. One can assume that in this period the rulers of the Kazakh Khanate saw themselves exclusively as the lawful successors of the khans of the eastern part of the Jochid state, not as independent rulers having no relation to the tradition of the Golden Horde.

The 1480–90s 15th centuries were a period of fierce fighting between the Kazakh khans for cities situated beyond the Syr Darya River, which used to be centres of the State of Nomadic Uzbeks under Abu'l-Khayr Khan – Sygnak, Suzak, etc. Abu'l-Khayr's successor, Muhammad Shaybani Khan, was the main adversary of the Kazakh khans. He conquered the Timurid possessions in Central Asia and became the founder of a new Shaybanid power—the Uzbek Khanate, with its centres in Samarkand and Bukhara. During military confrontations, Jani Beg Khan and Giray Khan's successor, Giray Khan's son Burunduk Khan (about 1480—about 1511) was able to subordinate the territories near the Syr Darya River to himself. Thus, the territory of the Kazakh Khanate was extended, and from that time on it included the historical capitals of the state of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, which enhanced the prestige of the Kazakh khans significantly.

In 1511 Burunduk Khan was dethroned by Jani Beg Khan's son Kasim Khan, who ruled in the eastern part of the Kazakh Khanate. The dethroned khan left for Transoxania and died in Samarkand. The overthrow of Burunduk Khan led to the final removal of Giray Khan's descendants from power in the Kazakh Khanate, and power was consolidated behind the branch of Jani Beg Khan.

The reign of Kasim Khan (1511–1518/1521/1523) became a golden age for the early Kazakh Khanate. He managed to subjugate a number of cities in modern Southern Kazakhstan and expand his possessions in the regions on the coast of the Caspian Sea. Kasim Khan subjugated the city of Saray-Jük, one of the historical capitals of the eastern part of the Golden Horde. The territory of Semirechye, which previously part of the Chagatai ulus, became part of the possessions of the Kazakh Khanate. The state of Kasim Khan became one of the most important political entities in Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq.

The exact date of death of Kasim Khan is still open to question. Various sources indicate the period between 1518 and 1524; according to V. Trepavlov, 1521 is the closest to the real date of death of Kasim Khan [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 161].

The death of Kasim Khan led to feuding in the Kazakh Khanate; Kasim Khan's son and successor, Mamash Khan (1521–1522/1523), was killed in this feuding. Tahir Khan (1523–1533), son of Adik Sultan, replaced him on the throne and extended the possessions of the Kazakh Khanate at the expense of the lands of modern Kyrgyzstan; in this period the main political interests of the khanate were related to Moghulistan, as the cities on the Syr Darya River had been lost. The years of Tahir Khan's reign were a time of weakening of the khanate; as for the period of Baidush Khan (1533–circa 1560) sources (Muhammad Haidar Dughlat) speak of "the complete disappearance of the Kazakhs", which was related to the fact that the khanate was divided into several dozen uluses, not less than five of whose rulers bore the title of khan.

One of Kasim Khan's sons, Haqq Nazar Khan (circa 1538–1580), became the unifier of the Khanate. His activities were related to wars in the eastern part of the khanate. Abdullah Khan II Shaybanid, the years of whose reign in Transoxania were marked by the flourishing of the Shaybanid state, was an ally of Haqq Nazar Khan. Essentially, at that time, the Kazakh Khanate became one of the vassal khanates of the Shaybanid state, along with the Balkh Khanate and the Siberian Khanate. The same

situation remained under Shigai Khan (1580–1582), as well.

Subsequent events show that the Kazakh Khanate completely lost its ties with the legacy of the Golden Horde, except for dynastic traditions. In the early 17th century, the towns situated on the Syr Darya River were claimed by the rulers of the Kazakh Khanate once and for all. The Kazakh Khanate was divided into

Juzes under Tauk Khan (1680–1715). Each of them was governed by one of the branches of Jani Beg Khan's descendants. Starting in the 1770s the Kazakh Khanates became dependent on the Russian Empire. In 1847, the power of the khan in the Kazakh Juzes was abolished and the territory of the former Kazakh Khanate was integrated into the Russian Empire.

§ 2. Tatar political institutions on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the Jagoldai "t'ma")

Ilya Zaitsev

The name "Jagoldai t'ma" appears in the edict of the Crimean khan Mengli Giray to the King of Poland and Grand Prince of Lithuania Sigismund (July 2, 1507), which says: "They gave... the Kursk t'ma with its taxes, tributes, lands and waters; the t'ma of Jagaltai son of Sarai, Milolyub with its taxes, lands and waters; Muzhech, Oskol; Starodub and Bryansk with their taxes and tributes, and lands, and waters..." [Acts, 1848, p. 5; Nasonov, 1940, pp. 28–29, appendix 2; Rusina, 2001, p. 150; Kołodziejczyk, 2011, p. 557]. The "t'ma of Jagoldai son of Sarai" is mentioned in a similar context in an edict of Mengli Giray dated 1513 [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, p. 595]. It is well known that the word "t'ma" is the Russian adaptation of the Mongolian term "tumen". Tumens were military-administrative districts which were able to provide ten thousand battle-worthy warriors. Mongolian authorities often divided settled and nomadic populations into tumens. Tumens were, in turn, divided into thousands, hundreds and tens. This system was also introduced by the Mongols in conquered lands with a settled population, particularly in Russia after the empire-wide census in the second half of the 1250s. However, most likely this division was not a military institution, but a fiscal one, i.e., it was the basis for the tax system, not mobilization. In the course of time, this term became synonymous with a territorial unit, as well as the incomes collected there. Apparently, it must

be understood in this meaning with regard to the Jagoldai "t'ma"¹.

The time of its formation has not been precisely established yet. According to S. Kuczyński, whose opinion was later shared by B. Spuler, as well as by B. Grekov and A. Yakubovsky [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 418], the formation of the Jagoldai "t'ma"

¹ Compare with the mentioned yarliq of Mengli Giray of 1513 [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, p. 595]. Compare with the yarliq of Mengli Giray of 1514: 'Hereby we inform you that our forefathers, tsars, and our father Mehmed Giray, the tsar, went, spurring their horses, to the Lithuanian land, to the Grand Duke Vytautas, the King and Grand Duke Casimir, coming there as guests and being received with great honour and kindness, and, following the old tradition, wrote down the Russian lands with towns and settlements, volosts and **tumens**, with lands, waters and yields, nothing excluding from those yarliqs, which had been written out in favour of the Great Duchy by the first tsars'. Compare with the yarliq of Sahib Giray (1535): 'Our forefathers and my father Mehmed Giray, the tsar, went, spurring horses, to the nobles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to the Grand Duke Vytautas and the King and Grand Duke Casimir, coming there as guests and being received with great honours, and in the old tradition wrote down the Russian lands with towns and settlements, volosts, **tumens** and all the yields'. Quoted by: [Shabuldo, 2005, pp. 106, 108–109]. It is worth noting, however, that there exists a somewhat different interpretation of the term 't'ma', which was suggested by K. Averianov, on the basis of the mentioning of the five Nizhny Novgorod 'tem' ('t'ma's): 'the term "t'ma" should be understood as denoting a small administrative-territorial unit, similar to a volost, on the lands predominantly inhabited by non-Russian populations, maintaining a certain independence in the internal governance' [Averianov, 2001, p. 39].

dates to the period after 1438, when a part of the Tatars accompanying Ulugh Muhammad headed by a Jagoldai Saraevich left the khan and settled on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, receiving a fief of sorts near the southeastern border in about 1440. In return for the granted lands, Jagoldai was to protect the Lithuanian borders from Tatar raids. Thus, according to Kuczyński, Jagoldai became kind of an analog of the Kasim Khanate, which was formed almost at the same time [Kuczyński, 1936, pp. 184–185]. F. Petrun, followed by modern Ukrainian sources, considered Jagoldai to be a Tatar fiefdom which was integrated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania over time. The rulers of the Duchy were gradually transforming the Tatar nobility into common landowners [Petrun, 1928, p. 177, Yakovenko, 1993, pp. 171–172]. A. Nasonov saw no reasons "to assume the formation of local feudal landowners from amongst the Tatars at the borderline between Lithuania and the Moscow state outside of the policy of these states", and he considered the settlement of feudal landowners at the border impossible if it was not a part of the government activities of the Lithuanian princes and, with regard to Kasimov, the Moscow Grand Princes [Nasonov, 1940, pp. 28–29, appendix 2]. Modern Polish historians (for example, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk) also believe that this territory was assigned by Vytautas to Ulugh Muhammad when he was seeking sanctuary in Lithuania, and when he returned to the throne it was passed to his retainer Jagoldai [Kołodziejczyk, 2011, p. 562].

However, according to research by F. Petrun, the edict of Mengli Giray mentioning a "t'ma" refers to an original from the late 14th century, the edict given to Vytautas by Tokhtamysh on the eve of the Battle of the Vorskla River (1399), and it was in the original that the mention was made [Petrun, 1928, p. 177]. This means that the Jagoldai "t'ma" had to exist at that time. Then, Jagoldai Saraevich, after whom the "t'ma" was named, could be the grandfather of the Jagoldai whose name was mentioned in the Lithuanian Metrica two times between 1440 and 1486 (although, strictly speaking, these mentions may refer to

different people). S. Kriczynski identified this elder Jagoldai with Jagoldai Bek, who was at the court of the Golden Horde at the time of the conclusion of treaties with Venice in 1347 and 1358. Later on, he could have been in Severia with either *Kyat* Mansur, forefather of the Glinskys, in 1380, or with Tokhtamysh in 1397 [Rusina, 2001, pp. 147, 150, appendix 26]. Indeed, there was a Jagoldai mentioned in two edicts to Venitian merchants of Azov: those of Jani Beg (1347) and Berdibek (1358) as one of the intercessors [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, pp. 115–118, 121]. A. and V. Grigoriev thought he was a vizier at the court of Jani Beg [Ibid, p. 163].

Thus, the origins of Jagoldai himself are unknown to us as well. S. Kuchinsky, based on the time when the "t'ma" was formed, thought he was a brother of Ulugh Muhammad's retainer Usein Saraev¹, and their father was Sarai son of Urasakh, mentioned in the Moscow Chronicles in the late 15th century [Moscow Chronicles, 1949, p. 260]. A.N. Nasonov wrote frankly, "Unfortunately, we do not know if Jagoldai existed in the era of Lithuanian domination and if he was a descendant of the Golden Horde settled on the land by Lithuania. It is also unknown whether this name reflects relations of ancient times and is a trace of the military and administrative or financial activities of a person" [Nasonov, 1940, pp. 28–29].

Apparently, the territory of Jagoldai included the upper course of the Oskol and the Siverskyi Donets and the southern part of the basin of the Desna River, with the towns of Muzhech (between modern Sudzha and Obayan), Milolyub (a region within the modern Belgorodsky, Yakovlevsky and Prohorovsky districts of the Belgorod region) and Oskol (modern Stary Oskol in the Belgorod Region) [Rusina, 2001, p. 148]. Analyzing the language of Mengli Giray, F. Petrun thought that the Jagoldai "t'ma" was a "synonym" of the Kursk "t'ma", because Kursk was destroyed in 1278, and that means that later

¹ There are extant formulary versions of travel-tarhan charters from the Metropolitan Jonah to the Kazan Khan Mahmud and Kazan Prince Shaptyak Saraevich about the trade of metropolitan stuff, that is, furs. Probably, this Shaptyak was a brother of Usein (Husein) and Jagoldai [Russkij (Russian), 1986, pp. 154–155].

mentions are "memorial" [Petrin, 1928, pp. 176–177, 186].

Jagoldai existed as a vassal possession (the essence of which is admittedly unknown to us) until 1497, when it was broken down. Prince Roman Jagoldaevich², a descendant of the first owner of the fiefdom, "had one daughter, and that daughter was married to prince Yuri Borisovich Vyazemsky, and Prince Roman passed his estates to his daughter" [The Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389, inv. 1, file 6, sheets 138 reverse–139, quoted in: [Acts, 2012, p. 150; Rusina, 2001, p. 145]. After Vyazem-

sky started serving Grand Prince Ivan in about 1494, his estates were confiscated and passed to Lithuanian Grand Prince Alexander. After 1497, the territory of the former Tatar fiefdom was divided between Kiev boyars who were relatives of Roman Jagoldaevich through the female line, and soon (1503) it passed to Moscow. As A.G. Bakhtin notes, "One can argue about the political status of the duchy or 't'ma' of Jagoldai because sources do not enable us to solve this problem more precisely, but it goes without saying that it was a Tatar state institution" [Bakhtin, 2008, p. 153].

§ 3. The Formation of the Crimean Khanate

Ilya Zaitsev

After the Mongolian conquest, the greater part of the Crimea became one of the uluses of the Golden Horde; however, Italian possessions on the Southern Coast remained autonomous and started paying tributes to the Horde, like the Russian princedoms. William of Rubruck, who arrived in Soldaia (Sudak) in 1253, could not talk to "the governors (capitaneos) of the city" and had to negotiate with their deputies because "the governors went to Batu in winter to deliver tributes and haven't come back yet" [Journeys, 1997, p. 90]. According to al-Mufaddal, the incomes from Sudak were divided between four Tatar rulers [Tiesenhansen, 1884, pp. 183–184, 195]. This part of the Crimean peninsula paid tributes first to the Horde, then to the Crimean Khanate as the successor to the Horde until it became a part of the Ottoman state as the *liva* or vilayet of Caffa [Fisher, 1978, pp. 191–205]¹.

¹ However, after the siege of Caffa in 1454 by the Ottoman fleet led by Demir Kahya, the town paid simultaneously to the Ottoman Padishah (3,000 Venetian dukats a year, then 4,000, and from 1468, 6,000 and soon 8,000) and the Crimean Khan (600 soms or 4,000 chervontsy, and then 8,000 chervontsy) [Volkov, 1872, p. 113; Colley, 1918, pp. 132–133, 155; Chipiris, 1960, pp. 137–145]. The amount of the tribute was the subject of continuous bargaining. It was no accident that Hacı Giray, in his *yarliq* of 1453, mentions Caffa among the subordinate territories [Kurat, 1940, pp. 64–67; Malov, 1953], and the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III, in his instructions to Alexei Starkov (1475),

In the 13th century, the Crimean steppe and some lands in the Crimean mountains were integrated into the territories of the Golden Horde and divided into traditional Horde tumens headed by viceroys (emirs) belonging to the tribal elite of the Horde. The first edicts regarding the Crimea (that of Tokhtamysh dated February 19, 1381, that of Ulugh Muhammad dated April 15–24, 1420, that of Hacı Giray in 1453, and that of Mengli Giray in 1468) contain the name "Crimean tumen" in the address [Grigoriev, 1987a, pp. 43–44]. Judging by the edict of Temür Qutlugh (April 24, 1398), this tumen was also called the tumen of the Crimea and Qırq Yer [Grigoriev, 2006, pp. 97–112]. However, the Crimean tumen was clearly not the whole peninsula, but only Solghat, i.e., the city of Krym, not the Crimea as a state, while Qırq Yer was a separate independent tumen (edict of Hacı Giray to the population of Qırq Yer, 1459; that of Muhammed Giray to the population of Qırq Yer and the daruga-beks

ordered him to tell Mengli Giray: '...spoke to my boyar Mikita about Caffa, and call Caffa our people' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 12]. At the same time, Mengli Giray himself, in the letter to Mehmed Fatih (19 Rabi II 874 / October 25, 1469), directly indicated that the Ottomans levied *kharaj* upon Caffa [Kurat, 1940, pp. 84–85].

² There also existed another descendant of Jagoldai, Roman's brother Zinovy [Rusina, 2001, pp. 145, 148].

headed by Appak)¹. Thus, we can assume the existence of two tumens in the second half of the 15th century and in the early 16th century—Solghat, governed by a daruga-bek (from among the Shirins), and Qırq Yer, also ruled by darugas².

Apart from this decimal system of administrative division, the Crimean lands were integrated to a more traditional regional system where lands were connected with their owners³. According to many researchers, in the 13th century, the Crimea was a separate unified ulus within the overall Jochid right wing [Trepavlov, 2010a, p. 31]. But as we have already seen, this is implausible; it is obvious that the Italian colonies of the Southern Coast and late-Byzantine princedoms (Mangup-Feodoro and possibly Alanian Qırq Yer) remained autonomous. According to the data of al-Kalkashandi, in the 15th century, the Golden Horde was divided into ten districts (iklim). Three of them were directly related to the Crimean peninsula: Crimea itself, Azov, and As. The Crimea was listed by al-Kashkandi as the fourth district, with its centre in Sulgat, but it also included Sudak, Caffa, and Ukek (Uvek) situated on the banks of the Volga River⁴. The fifth district, Azak, contained

its capital Azak (Azov) and Kerch (al-Karsh). The ninth district was "As Country", with its centre in Qırq Yer. Thus, the peninsula was divided between three uluses. The main Italian ports on the Southern coast (Sudak and Caffa) had a direct relationship to Solghat, where they paid taxes and trade duties. Apparently, they made up a single administrative unit for this very reason. It is important to note the capital status of Qırq Yer.

Tuluk Timur (mentioned as "the lord of Solghat") and his son Temür Qutlugh were the owners of the Crimean tumen in the 14th century. A slab with an inscription (apparently about the building of a well by an Idris ibn Hadzhi-Yahya ibn Muhammad Iraki), found by O. Aqçoqraqlı in Otuzı, dates to 760 AH (1358) and indisputably contains the name of the then-current Crimean "great emir" Temür Qutlugh Bek [Aqçoqraqlı, 1927, p. 9]. Apparently, these Solghat beks of the 14th century were descended from the Kyat clan.

As D. Iskhakov noted, the powerful Kyat Mamai was related to them somehow [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, p. 151]. Possibly, his father was a daruga of Solghat. The conquest of the Crimea by Mamai took place in the beginning or middle the 1370s. The Chronicles of Simeon date Mamai's murder of Khan Timur-Hodji, successor and son of Khan Hyzra, and his crossing of the Volga River and the conquest of the Crimea to 1361 [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, 1913, p. 101; Grigoriev, 1983]⁵. Utemish Hadji described it in his "Chinggis-nama": during the reign of Berdibek (1357–1359) "there were many turmoils. Kyat Mamai took the right wing and went to the Crimea, and Tengiz Buga, Kyat Jir-Kutla's son, took the left wing to the bank of the Syr River [Utemish Hadji, 1992, pp. 108, 135 (table xxx)]⁶.

Notes on the margins of Armenian liturgical books of Crimean origin confirm these data: Mamai conquered Solghat and then the whole peninsula at the end of August 1365

clear distinction between Ukek and Ulak, regarding the latter as a separate district-iklim.

⁵ See also: [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 59].

⁶ The latter was the son of Isatai (the son-in-law and father-in-law of the Ozbeg Khan Isa Beg).

¹ Thus, the text of the yarliqs is not damaged or distorted here, as M. Usmanov supposed, but just refers to a different administrative division [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 206–207].

² These darugha-vicegerents of Qırq Yer were descendants of Hacı Giray's brother Mustafa (see below).

³ See: [Pochekaev, 2011, pp. 177–178].

⁴ The easternmost point of this region in the area of the Ukek river, according to al-Kalkashandi, seems doubtful for V. Gulevich [Gulevich, 2013, p. 116]. It is obvious, however, that here we have a district consisting of (at least) two territorial units without a common border. There are known examples of such uluses, which were situated on the territories of two tumens, located apart from each other [Pochekaev, 2011, p. 178]. Al-Kalkashandi clearly writes that Ukek belongs to the towns assigned to the Crimea iklim [Grigoriev, Frolova, 1999, p. 72; Grigoriev, Frolova, 2002, p. 287]. And here it could have been assumed that al-Kalkashandi confused Ulak and Ukek (Uvek / Uvek) ((اولاك ~ اولاك)) (the form اولاك is widely represented on the coins: [Nedashkovsky, 2000, p. 21, Picture 2]), all the more so that part of the districts of al-Kalkashandi (Djulut Cherkess, Kara Ulak, Qırq Yer) are mentioned in other sources as tumens granted by Batu to his brother Shibani [Mustakimov, 2011, p. 231]. This is unlikely, however, as al-Kalkashandi makes a

[Sargsyan, 2004, pp. 153, 156; Galenko, 2005, p. 153]. Al-Kashkandi noted that Mamai was ruling in the Crimea in 776 AH (1374/5) [Tiesenhausen, 1884, p. 413]. Mamai's bastion before his military campaign in the Crimea could have been Azov, where his protege Khan Abdullah was minting coins (with short breaks) from autumn 1362 until 1370 [Grigoriev, 1983, p. 37 and table], or the city of Orda (Abdullah's place of coining starting in 765/1363/64), which was identified by A. Grigoriev with Zaporozhie Settlement, 30 kilometers away from modern Zaporozhie [Grigoriev, 1983, p. 37; Grigoriev, 2007, p. 117]. In 1363, we once again see the Tuluk-Timurids as Crimean governor-generals: Kodja Alibek ibn Isa ibn Tuluk-Timur was mentioned after Zeinaddin Ramazan (according to al-Muhibbi, the correspondence between him and the Egyptian sultans started in 765/1363–1364) [Tiesenhausen, 1884, pp. 349–350]. The well-known edict of Tokhtamysh on Syutkul¹ dated February 19, 1381, was addressed to the head of the Crimean tumen, the ruler of Solghat Kutlu Beg. One of the three brothers defeated by Algirdas during the Battle of Blue Waters in 1362 had a similar name (Dmitri, Kutlubuga and Hachebey). A. Galenko quite plausibly places Kutlubuga's ulus in Solghat, identifying him with a relative (most likely a son-in-law) and retainer of Khan Jani Beg called Inak Kutlubuga [Galenko, 2005, p. 136].

In the era of the formation of the Crimean Khanate (in the 1430–50s), this division of the peninsula into units with different state and administrative statuses was preserved. Having inherited the full authority of the head of the tumen, the khans were content with the Crimean Steppe with its capital in Solhat, acting as of independent rulers enjoying full rights. The Crimean mountains were the southern border of the khanate. In the north, the khan's borders went beyond the edges of the peninsula and spread to the district of the Konka River, in the north-west to the Synjucha River, and in the east, in the direction of Astrakhan and the

Nogai, for a time the border was the Mius River ("Milky Water"). The western border spread beyond Ochakov in the direction of Ottoman Akkerman [Khartakhai, 1866, pp. 189–190].

* * *

Until recently, the chronology of the reigns of the khans in the Crimean Ulus in the 1420s and early 1430s was rather inaccurate and confused. A.L. Ponomarev [2013] offered the following sequence of reigns during these dark years based on the accounts of the Genoese Treasury in Caffa for 1420–1428:

Bek Sufi (1419—spring 1420)
 Ulugh Muhammad—spring 1420
 Bek Sufi (summer 1420—September 1421)
 interregnum (September 1421—
 November 1422)
 Devlet Berdi (November 1422—
 November 1423)
 interregnum (November 1423—
 January 11, 1424)
 Devlet Berdi (January 12—June 12, 1424)
 Ulugh Muhammad (June 12—
 August 23 (?), 1424)
 Devlet Berdi (August 23 (?), 1424—
 May 1425)
 Ulugh Muhammad (May 14, 1425—
 February 1426)
 interregnum (February—April 1426)
 Devlet Berdi (April 12 (?), 1426—June 1427)
 Ulugh Muhammad (June–July 1427–1436)

We must admit that currently this source provides us with what is apparently the most detailed information about the chronology of reigns in the Crimea at that time².

The Crimea, as well as other Golden Horde Khanates, was ruled by representatives of one family—the Jochids (descendants of Chinggis's son Jochi). The khans were the descendants of Jochi's youngest son, Tuq Timur. One of the latter's sons, Uran Timur, received the Crimea as a yurt from Mengu (1266–1280). Later on, the Jochid tradition, including the historiographical

¹ Sutkul ('milk lake') is a place located between Feodosia and Arabat [Grigoriev, 1979, p. 181; Protokoly (Minutes), 1913, p. 231].

² This detailed information is only partially confirmed by the more general chronological scheme of the reigns of Khans Bek Sufi, Devlet Berdi and Ulugh Muhammad, composed by K. Khromov on the basis of the numismatic data [Khromov, 2013, p. 402].

tradition, linked the Crimea with the descendants of Tokhtamysh [Kratkaya, p. 25], and the peninsula was considered "the yurt of Tsar Tokhtamysh" [Nekrasov, 1999, p. 49; Trepavlov, 2011, p. 375].

For example, in 1506, the ambassadors of Mengli-Giray to the Polish king Alexander "recalled the ancient rulers and Grand Princes beginning with Vitautas and thenceforth (i.e., the khans who ruled the Crimea starting with Tokhtamysh.—I.Z.), such as Tokhtamysh, Gzhelindinya, Pereburdi, Kebik, Kerem, Berdi, Mahmet, Azhi Giray, Mordovlat, and Mendi Giray. All of these tsars maintained friendly relations with the Grand Princes of Lithuania, having vowed to attack any enemies together" [Collection, 1838, p. 27]¹. Clearly, here we have Tokhtamysh, Jelal ad-Din, Kepek (Kebek), Keremberdi, (Ulugh) Muhammad, Hacı Giray, Nurdevlet and Mengli himself. Most likely, this list may be regarded as the official point of view about the change of rulers in the Crimea, an official Giray version of the formation of the so-called "Tokhtamysh yurt". Most likely, a part of Tokhtamysh's treasury was even preserved in the Crimea. In 1489, Grand Prince Ivan asked Nursultan bint Temir through his ambassador Gribets: "I was told that you have many good pearls that belonged to Tsar Takhtamysh. Don't begrudge us the pearls, and if we have something good, we won't begrudge it to you either" [The Collection of the Russian Imperial Society, 1884, p. 80].

The Giray dynasty², descendants of Khan Hacı Giray of the Golden Horde, took shape in the khanate. The origins of the dynastic name of the Girays is not entirely clear. Even medieval historians were puzzled by it. For example, the Ottoman author Muneddjim Bashi wrote about Hacı Giray: "He added the word 'Geray' to his name, but we do not know why he did

it and why it was necessary for his children" [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 184, 199–200]. Possibly, the word itself is related to the name of one of the Mongolian tribes, *Kireit*, where *kere* is the Mongolian word for "a raven" and *"t"* marks the plural form. N.I. Veselovsky was probably one of the first researchers to suggest such a connection [Veselovsky, 1889, p. 176]. But even before him, the suggestion was made with some doubt by V.D. Smirnov. Criticizing J. von Hammer, he wrote: "if not quite identical to the name 'Geray', the name of a Turkic tribe, 'Kerayt', mentioned in works by Rashid-ed-Din, is somewhat close to it. But one would have to assume the abbreviation of the above-mentioned form of the ancient name in order to acknowledge a genetic connection between both names" [Smirnov, 2005, p. 192]³. Y. Nemeth also compared the name "Giray" with the tribe of the *Kireit* (the Mongolian plural form of "*kirei*"), from which the Tatars are supposed to originate, but he derived the word "*kirey*" (*giray*, *geray*) itself from the ancient Turkic "*ker*" ("enormous", "gigantic"). It is possible that it was reflected in this initial form in the name of one of the Hungarian tribes in the works of Konstantin Bagryanorodny [Nemeth, 1963, p. 133; Nemeth, 1965, pp. 360–365]. H. Inaldjik also suggested a connection between the name *Girey*/*Giray* and the tribe of the *Kereits*. The researcher noted that there was a special group called the *Tarakls* ("the crested") among the *Kereits* of Central Asia. That gave him reason to suggest that there is a connection between this group and the Crimean khans, since their *tamga* was called "*tarak*". H. Inaldjik associated the word "*Giray*/*Geray*/*Kerei*" itself with the Turkic "*ker*", meaning "the strongest being" [Kangieva, 2007, p. 80–81]. Maria Ivanich justifiably noted that "it is hard to imagine that a dynastic name could originate from a clan name because it completely goes against the Mongolian social hierarchy: the descendants of Chinggis Khan, members of the golden clan (*altyn uruk*) deliberately distinguished themselves from the common people

¹ For a more exact quotation, see: [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 50; Kolodziejchuk, 2011, p. 13, note 32].

² I continue to adhere to the commonly recognized modern spelling of the family name of the Crimean dynasty in the form of *Girey* (and not *Giray* or *Geray*, as it is customary in Ukrainian, Western and Turkish literature, and which at times may also appear in modern Russian literature, though still under the influence of Western literature). The reasons for such a spelling were sufficiently expounded by N. Veselovsky [Veselovsky, 1889, p. 176].

³ The question of the Mongol or Turkic origin of the *Keraites*, and of their relationship with the supposed descendants of the clan and tribal groups of various Turkic and Mongol peoples, has not yet been resolved [Ushnitsky, 2011, pp. 30–33].

(kara kishi)". They considered everybody else, including people of high rank and noble descent, *kara kishi*. For the members of altyn uruk, the members of the Kirei clan, even the most noble and distinguished ones, remained kara kishi. Thus, it is impossible that they took the name of this clan as a dynastic name" [Ivanich, 2012, p. 479].

Turkish lexicographer Ahmed Vefik Pashah derived the Crimean dynastic name from the Mongolian word "garai" meaning "noble", "worthy", "enjoying full rights" [Sultanov, 2001, pp. 144–145]¹. As A. Gafurov noted, "the case of attributing the nickname to a prince after his preceptor would seem to be very rare and hardly plausible. But the assertion that this is a Mongolian name is not groundless. The names "Giray" and "Geray" are encountered fairly frequently among Mongolians. Two grandsons of Khulagu and two Mongolian commanders-in-chief had this name...the basis of the name "Geray" is the root "*ker*", meaning "persistence", "steadfastness", "argue". Names having this meaning compose a large group in *Turkic* and Mongolian anthroponymy. It is quite possible that the name Geray/Keray/Girey means "persistent, stubborn" [Gafurov, 1987, pp. 28–29]. F. Khartakhai asserted that Devlet Giray was the real name of the first khan. He received the addition to his name at the request of his Lithuanian tutor, whose name was Giray. "No doubt, wise and devout Devlet Giray did much to study the new religion. He traveled to the tomb of Muhammed, which is why he was called Hadji, i.e., pilgrim. But the fall of Constantinople and the triumph of Islamism over Christianity had the most important influence on the final development of Mohammadanism among the Tatars [Khartakhai, 2003, p. 23; Khartakhai, 1866, pp. 198–199]. This idea was developed by O. Gayvoronsky, who believes that Giray was the initial name of Hacı Giray, and then, after the hajj, which may have taken place in 1419, the honorific "*hadji*" was added to his name [Gayvoronsky, 2003, p. 105]². According to Seiid

Muhammed Riza, Hacı Giray supposedly took the name because his father Hyias-ad-Din was brought up in the Giray tribe and had an atalyk there who had made the *hajj* [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 186–187].

The work of talmudist David ben Eliazar Lekhno (or Lyakhnu; d. 1735) from Karasubazar provides us with one more theory on the origin of the dynastic name of the Crimean khans. This work, "Oral narration" (שפתיים דבר), was written in Hebrew between 1681 and 1731 [Finkel, 1848, pp. 693–704]. The work contains 53 chapters preceded by an introduction containing a description of the history of the Crimean khans up to 1681. The foreword ended with the accession of Kaplan Giray to the throne for the third time in 1143/1730–1731. Both copies of the work, which were kept at the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity, had a lacuna of 5 sheets after this event. Then came a fragment from the second chapter. The third chapter began with the accession to the throne of Hacı Giray in 1094 AH, and the 35th chapter, covering the year 2490 according to the Jewish calendar, or 1143, began with the dethroning of Mengli Giray by Sultan Mahmut [Finkel, 1848, pp. 693–704; Harkavy, 1884, pp. 1–41; Markon, 1910, pp. 599–602; Markon, 1916, pp. XI, XII; Markon, 1938, pp. 547, 548; Borovoy, 1941, pp. 295–299]. I. Markon partially published the text of the chronicle in the original language. Lekhno reports in the introduction that the eighth khan in the Crimea was Nur Devlet, who was in Kirkor (Karaim Kale), the ninth was Haidar, and the tenth was Geldysh Khan, against whom the nobles of the house of Mansur Oglä rebelled, and they killed him and all his sons except for one. He hid and, putting on rags, was employed as a shepherd by Giray Bay. Giray Bay's daughter that he ate bread on a tablecloth, and her father guessed that he was the heir to the

¹ Mária Ivanich considers that in reality this word is not included in any dictionary and is actually a phantom word [Ivanich, 2012, p. 478].

² Theoretically, this is possible. It is, however, more likely that the close relatives of Hacı Giray used

the word 'haci' (hajji) as a personal name. For example, the aunt of the Crimean Khanate's founder (the daughter of Tash Timur and sister of Gıyas al-Din) bore the name Hacı Sultan [Materials, 1969, p. 40]. Besides, the undertaking of the Hajj pilgrimage almost always meant a voluntary abdication of the throne for Islamic rulers (including those in Desht-i Qipchaq). For this reason, the Khans themselves never carried out Hajj (it was always only their close relatives, brothers, mothers, and spouses).

throne. The shepherd ascended the throne with the help of her father as Muhammed Khan and killed Edig-Murza (his father's murderer). Out of gratitude to Giray, he added this name to his own name [Harkavy, 1884, pp. 2–3]. Despite its disrupted chronology, this version of the early history of the khanate is deserving of close attention. Apparently the author used a Turkic text close to the text of Seiid Muhammed Riza which he called "The History of the Crimean Tsars" [Zaitsev, 2013a, p. 164].

One of the versions of *Daftar-i Chinggis-name* (most likely an early one), after listing the six sons of Tokhtamysh, says: "When Tokhtamysh found himself in a difficult situation, his two sons were brought up by [someone] named Giray Bay. After taking these two of his sons, they were installed as Khans in Crimea. Their names are Iskander and Abu Said". In the original (as given by I.A. Mustakimov), the last phrase can be read as "The name of his son is Iskander Abu Said" [Mustakimov, 2009b, pp. 127–129]¹.

This story looks a bit different in "The Collection of Chronicles" by Qadir Ali Bek: "After Hacı Giray Khan's elder brother Jan Giray Sultan had been killed [by the Konrat beks], he was a fugitive and stayed with Chakyrghan Bey serving him; the beks [being in disagreement] went in their disagreement and, having found him, selected Hacı Giray Sultan to be the khan ... 906 ..." (the translation of Chokan Valikhanov) [Zaotov, 2011, p. 550]. The *Dastan* of Hacı Giray is one of the most confused and mysterious works in The Collection of Works from the standpoint of chronology (the calling of Hacı Giray in the versions of C. Valikhanov, A. Rakhim, and Khalfin are dated 906, 954, and 956 AH, respectively) and geographical disparities (they contain names of settlements on the territory of the former Kazakh Khanate) [Zaitsev, 2004a, pp. 168–169; Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 231–232].

¹ In the short hand-written note on the history of the Crimean Khanate, published by N. Seityag'yaev based on a manuscript from the National Library of Ukraine named after V. Vernadsky (manuscript 3780), those two (or just one?) personalities were also named among the descendants of Tokhtamysh [Seityag'yaev, 2011, p. 344].

In a distorted form, the version according to which the dynastic name originated from the name of a shepherd even got into the documents of the State Political Department at the beginning of the 1920s. In a document signed by the Chairman of the Crimean Political Department, S.F. Redens, dating from 1922–1933, we read the following words: "The first khan was Hacı Giray (from the word "Giray", shepherd, because supposedly as a child during the Tatar turmoils he was saved by a shepherd); that is why all Tatar khans were called Giray, shepherd" [Efimov, Beloglazov, 2002, p. 149].

V.D. Smirnov also suggested another connection of the name of the dynasty: "Might it be that Mengli Giray liked this name because it sounds like the Greek word *"Κύριος"* meaning "lord", "sovereign", which he might have heard from the Greeks both in the Crimea and in Constantinople, where he lived for a while as a captive?" [Smirnov, 2005, p. 201, appendix 1]. This idea was supported recently by Mária Ivanich. The Hungarian researcher made Smirnov's idea a little more complex, supposing that *"kirey"* is derived not directly from the word *"kirios"*, but from the vocative form of this word, *"kirie"* (similarly to how the Turkish language borrowed the Greek word *"efendi"* in the vocative form) [Ivanich, 2012, pp. 482–483].

In fact, Hacı Giray was most likely not the first khan to rule the Crimea who had this name. For example, the Ottoman historian Mustafa Ali Efendi (1541–1600) calls one of Uzbek's successors to the throne of the Golden Horde Jani Beg Giray [*Ali Efendi*, p. 87]. It could be considered a misunderstanding (for example, Mustafa Ali Gelibolulu, who used the information of Muhammad Tashkendi, may have confused two people—Jani Beg and Giray—and united them into one)². However, there are

² More so, and being contrary to the facts, Mustafa Ali says that a certain Qalan Oghlan reigned after Ozbeg (قلان اوغلان), followed then by Jani Beg Giray Khan [*Ali Efendi*, p. 87]. About this manuscript by Ali Efendi, see: [Vejsi, 1976, pp. 19–21]. No doubt, the order of the Golden Horde khans is represented by Ali Efendi in this passage according to Tashkendi. According to Abdullah bin Rizwan (the 20s of the 17th century), whose source was the work of Ali (or directly the text of Tashkendi), the ruler between Jani Beg and Ozbeg was Insan Oghlan [Zaitsev, 2009a, pp.

several independent testimonies according to which Ulugh Muhammad had this addition to his name.

The fact stands out that a Mehmed Giray was mentioned among the predecessors of Hacı Giray in the record of the succession of the Crimean khans from the Collection of Matenadaran [Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 205–206]. Apparently, they mean Ulugh Muhammad, who was traditionally included in the list of khans who ruled the Crimea¹. It is interesting that we see the dynastic prefix Giray, which was typical for the Crimean khans, in his name. This is not the only instance where Ulugh Muhammad was called Mehmed Giray. In the same way, he is also called a successor to Kadyr Berdi in the genealogy of the Shirin beys [Lashkov, 1889, pp. 98–100]².

84–85, 87–88, 216–217]. This same *Insan Oghlan* (انسان اوغلان) from the lineage of Batu is called the ruler of Desht (who took power from the descendents of Shiban) by Abu Muhammad Mustafa al-Jenabi (died in 999/1590/91), who also used the text of Tashkendi [Tiesenhausen, 1884, p. 536]. Finally, we meet *Insan Oghlan* again (and again between Ozbeg and Jani Beg) in the text by Huseyin Hezarfen, who in his Crimean section refers to both Tashkendi and 'Künhü'l-Ahbar' by Mustafa Ali [Hezarfen, p. 28 reverse]. Tashkendi, therefore, definitely included this passage. However, neither Jenabi, nor Abdülmevlâ, nor Hezarfen ever mention any Jani Beg Giray. In Jenabi's text, Jani Beg is called 'Great' (الکبير) [Tiesenhausen, 1884, p. 536]. Could it be that the affix 'Giray' appeared in Ali's works because of the incorrectly read Arabic epithet? The epoch of Jani Beg's rule was considered to be the Golden Age in the history of the Golden Horde. For example, Abu al-Ghazi called him 'fair' [Kononov, 1958, p. 1299]. There is one more known epithet for him ('aziz'—'holy'), existent in the text of 'Tawarikh-i guzida—Nusrat-name' [Mustakimov, 2013a, p. 235]. I have already voiced the assumption that the text by Tashkendi (which reached us in the Ottoman version) was of a pro-Shibanid nature [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 88] and, probably, was partly dedicated to the confrontation between the Shibanids and Tuqay-Timurids, reflected in 'Chinggis-name' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 92, VII; Ötämiş, 2008, pp. 10, 69].

¹ Compare the quoted words of Mengli Giray's ambassadors to King Alexander in 1506.

² Researchers have already noted the fact that the genealogical tradition closely connected the Giray clan with Ulugh Muhammad; 'The Shirinsky Genealogy', composed in October 1820, mostly on the basis of folklore legends, narrated that in 820 AH (18 February 1417–7 February 1418) the Shirin Bey Tegine elected Ulugh Muhammad Giray Khan to the Crimean throne [Lashkov, 1897, p. 38; Grigoriev, 2006, p. 118; Akchurin, 2013, p. 6].

Moreover, being aware of that, one can understand some of the information in sources differently. For example, in one charter of the Nogai nuradin Ismail, delivered to Moscow in September 1552, he speculated about the possibility of ascending the throne of Kazan, which was then free, to prevent the independent selection of a Khan by the common people: "That is not their yurt, it was the yurt of Mahmet Giray Khan; it was divided equally between the two of us" [Ambassadorial books, 2006, p. 106]. These words from Ismail's charter are traditionally associated with the Crimea [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 253] and Mehmed Giray I [Trepavlov, 2011, p. 375], who reigned between 1515 and 1523, but as Trepavlov noted, "the link between the Kazan Khanate and this ruler is unclear: Mehmed Giray never aspired to the throne of Kazan" [Ambassadorial Books, 2006, p. 229, comment 120]. With this understanding, I.A. Mustakimov tried to explain the words of Ismail by the fact that after the dynasty of Ulugh Muhammad had come to an end in Kazan, the Girays, who were their close relatives, were considered by the rulers of the Tatar states as lawful successors to the descendants of Ulugh Muhammad [Mustakimov, 2009a, pp. 188–189]. Indeed, Ulugh Muhammad was remembered well in the Crimea, and the Crimean khans considered him their direct relative. For example, Khan Sahib Giray wrote in a charter (delivered to Moscow in May 1538): "You also wrote us about Kazan, saying that you had enthroned a tsar in Kazan". When Tsar Mahmed Amin and his older brother Tsar Alekham were arguing about the yurt, and Tsar Mahmed Amin came to Moscow for that purpose, and your father gave him his assistance, and he ascended the throne in Kazan. That is true, and when does such not happen among rulers? But did he put him on the throne by giving his assistance? Your great-grandfather Vasily fought against our grandfather, the great tsar, the late Mahmed, and he was taken prisoner. At that time, our grandfather could have killed your great-grandfather and taken the Muscovite state with all its lands, for such was his power and might. But he forgave him and spared his blood, disregarded all of that and gave him Moscow back again. And you don't

recall those good deeds of the past..." [Florya, 2001, p. 239]¹. In another text, an edict dated 1535 and issued in the name of Sahib Giray, the khan calls Ulugh Muhammad as "Mehmed Giray": "Our forefathers the tsars and my father Muhammad Giray the tsar went to Grand Prince Vytautas and to the King and Grand Prince Kazimir, to the Pans of the Great Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and were received by them and given great honor..."².

Thus, the above-mentioned letter of Ismail, the record of the succession of the Crimean khans from the collection of Matenadaran, the genealogy of the Shirins and the edict of Sahib Giray use the epithet "Giray" with reference to Ulugh Muhammad. It is hard to imagine that the epithet "Giray" is used with reference to Ulugh Muhammad by mistake in four sources which are absolutely independent of each other. Sometimes, some medieval authors included Ulugh Muhammad among Tokhtamysh's sons (although in fact he was the son of Ichkele Khasan, and Tokhtamysh was his paternal uncle)³. Then, one might assume that the nickname "Giray" was assigned to one of the branches of Tokhtamysh's descendants, or even more ancient family ties between the Crimean khans and Ulugh Muhammad, namely, their common kinship as the descendants of Tuqay Timur. This kinship was emphasized in Russian genealogical records which were based on a Tatar source [Vásáry, 2008, pp. 369–370]. According to "Muizz al-ansab" Hacı Giray's brother also had this epithet in his name (his name was Jan Giray) [Muizz, 2006, p. 45].

According to "Collected Stories from the Book of Victories", Solghat and Caffa were initially given by Chinggis Khan to his son Jochi

[Mustakimov, 2013a, p. 239]⁴. Tuqay Timur was the thirteenth son of Jochi [Rashid al-Din, 1960, pp. 66, 77]. "Mu'izz al-ansab" names the concubine Kangri Khatun from the Merkit tribe as his mother [Sultanov, 2001, p. 142; Muizz, 2006, p. 38]. This may be why the descendants of Tuqay Timur seemed to have a lower status among the other representatives of the Jochid dynasty. According to "Chinggis-nama" by Utemish Hadji, the descendants of Shiban supposedly criticized the Tuqay-Timurids for the fact that, unlike the other brothers (Jochi's sons), Tuqay-Timur did not receive an ulus after his father's death in 1226. "When, after the death of our father Jochi Khan, our fathers headed to our grandfather, the great Chingis Khan, after Ijan and Sain [i.e., after Orda and Batu—I.Z.] he put up a yurt for our father Shayban Khan. He didn't even put up a [covered] wagon for your father" [Utemish Hadji, 1992, p. 92, VII; Ötämiš, 2008, pp. 10, 69]. According to Mahmud ibn Vali ("Sea of Secrets Regarding Noble Valors"), Tuqay Timur's descendants were called "sons of the khan" (khan-ogly) [Sultanov, 2001, p. 142]. Indeed, there are many Chinggisids among his descendants who had the epithet "oglan" ("uglan") in their names [Iskhakov, 2002b, p. 70]⁵.

According to Mahmud ibn Vali, the descendants of Tuqay Timur ruled the As (vilayet-i as), as well as Mangyshlak and Hajji Tarkhan. Tuqay Timur's son Uran (Oran) Timur was granted the vilayet of Krym and Caffa at the very beginning of Mengu Timur's reign (1267–1280). Before that, under Berke, warlord Tuk

¹ It is obvious that 'the Great Tsar Mahmet' in the letter of Sahib Giray is the Russian translation of the title 'Ulugh Khan Muhammad'.

² Quoted by: [Shabuldo, 2005, pp. 108–109]. This 'Mehmed Giray' of the yarliq cannot be the son of Mengli Giray, as this Mehmed Giray was not the father, but the brother of Sahib. Besides that, the reference of the yarliq to the epoch of Vytautas (died in 1430) and Casimir (died in 1492) excludes the possibility for Sahib Giray to write about Mehmed Giray bin Mengli Giray.

³ For the reasons see: [Iskhakov, 2002b, p. 73].

⁴ This text, 'Tawarikh-i guzida—Nusrat-name' about the grants to Chinggis' sons, in the opinion of I. Mustakimov, was borrowed from some Turkic epic, created most probably in the Chagatai ulus [Mustakimov, 2013a, p. 237].

⁵ Even if Tuqay-Timur was born by a Keraite (for example, if his mother was the elder wife of Jochi, Niktimish Fujin, who was the niece of the Keraite Ong Khan and the daughter of his brother Jakha Khambu [Rashid al-Din, 1960, p. 65]), then even in this case the appearance of the affix 'Giray' in the name of some (but by far not all) of his descendants would not have been more easily explained. Unfortunately, of all the offspring of Jochi, we only know the tribal origin of several of his sons, out of a total number of about 40: Orda was born by Sartak of the Khungirat clan; Batu was the son of Ukin Kuchin Khatun (also a Khungirat) [Rashid al-Din, 1960, pp. 66, 71].

Buga was in command of the Crimean steppe [Sultanov, 2006, pp. 218–219; Nekrasov, 1999, p. 48]. It may be that Uran Timur inherited the Crimea from his father. The ulus of Tuqay Timur's descendants assigned to them after the western military campaign included Mangyshlak, Hajji Tarkhan and the region of the Ases, and in 1266, according to Abu al-Ghazi, Mengu Timur granted Shiban Khan's son Bahadur Khan a region (mamlakat) called Ak Orda, and Caffa and the vilayet of Krym were passed to Tuqay Timur's son, Uran-Timur, while he himself went on a campaign to the country of the Bulgars. In two years, he came back as a victor [Aboul-Ghazi, 1871, p. 173; Aboul-Ghazi, 1874, p. 182; Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 1992, p. 191]. If we proceed from the idea that Bahadur inherited this region from his father, that means that Uran Timur's inheritance was also confirmed by the supreme khan. Referring to Abu al-Ghazi, V.D. Smirnov also believed: "The earliest formally acknowledged ruler of the Crimea was Oran Timur, the son of Toqay Timur, Batu's younger brother, who received this region as his dominion from Mengu Temir" [Smirnov, 2005, p. 80].

In this case, the region of Ases may mean the Ases who lived in the lower reaches of the Don River and the Azov steppes.

It is quite likely that the fact that the Crimea and the above-mentioned regions belonged to the descendants of Tuqay Timur was reflected in family relations between governors of the Crimea and Khwarezm, noted by I.A. Mustakimov. For example, the governor of Khwarezm, Kongyrat Ak-Husein ibn Nagadai, was the maternal uncle of the son of Sejeut Ali-biy Hasan. According to "Madjmu' at-tavatikh" by Saif ad-Din and Nur-Muhammad Akhsikenti (early 16th century), Ak-Husein was the governor of the Crimea, then he fled from Mamai to Bulgar, and then to Turkestan and Khwarezm [Mustakimov, 2011, pp. 235–236. comment 51].

There is one more attribute connecting the descendants of Tuqay Timur besides the dynastic epithet. This is the tamga. The image of the three-legged tamga (the so-called "tarak-tamga") went down in the historical traditions as the clan sign of the Crimean dynasty of the Girays; however, it can also be seen on the

coins of Tokhtamysh, Shadibek, Pulad, Chekre, Ulugh Muhammad (as well as on his yarliq of April 15–24, 1420 [Grigoriev, 2006, pp. 115–116]), Giyas ad-Din, Kichi Muhammad, Murtaza (the son of Khan Ahmed of the Great Horde) and some other khans. All these rulers, like Murtaza, are descended from Tuqay Timur, so the "tarak-tamga" could be the common clan sign of the representatives of this branch of the Jochids. But this is complicated by the fact that on coins of khans of the 15th century who are descended from Tuqay Timur, another tamga is seen which is reminiscent of a "two-toothed fork" [Kazarov et al., 2013, p. 348]. Moreover, the same khan could put different tamgas on his coins (depending on the place where it was minted). For example, Ulugh Muhammad stamped the "tarak-tamga" on his Sarai coins, although his coins from Hajji Tarkhan and Ordu-Bazar bear a completely different tamga. Three-legged tamgas were also coined on the Tatar-Genoese coins of Caffa (1421–1445). Hacı Giray ibn Giyas ad-Din chose a variant of such a tamga as the clan tamga of the Girays, and starting in 845 AH (1441/42) it was stamped on coins [Lebedev, 1990, p. 149]. A.P. Grigoriev asserted that the Golden Horde khans who were descendants of Jansa¹ used the trident tamga. They ruled long before the time of the establishment the Giray dynasty in the Crimea [Grigoriev, 2006, pp. 1115–1116].

Hence, it must be acknowledged that neither the etymology of the dynastic name of the Crimean khans nor the historical context of its origin is completely clear. Finally, the logic of attributing the name "Giray" to representatives of the dynasty for the first two generations is not quite clear. We know at least three brothers of Mengli Giray I for sure (Nurdevlet, Aidar and Keldi-bay (Keldish), who ruled in the Crimea), as well as brothers and nephews who did not rule, who did not have this nickname².

¹ Jansa (Jine or Chente Oghlan) was the father of Ichkele Hassan (Hassan Oghlan) and hence the grandfather of Ulugh Muhammad [Iskhakov, 2002b].

² This can indirectly testify to the fact that in the 15th century the affix 'Giray' indeed somehow related to tribal origin (by mother's line?), but not to the fact of holding the Crimean throne, and only later, already in

Considering all of the above, perhaps we should abandon the Mongolian etymology and ethnic and clan associations with the dynastic name of the khans, and search for the etymology in the Turkic languages and family ties. Then, possibly, the name "Giray" (گرای) originates from the Ottoman and Crimean Tatar dialectal word "*geri*" (گری; گرو), meaning "breed, clan, grandfather" [Sevortyan, 1980, p. 27] and the affix -ai (-ei) used in some Turkic languages to form diminutive, mainly affectionate nouns denoting various degrees of relation (for example, *babai*—"granddad", *anai*—"mommy", *atai*—"daddy", *abai*—"auntie") [Serebrennikov, Gadjeva, 1979, p. 104]. Then Geray would mean "grandfather", which combines well with the legend about the tutor of the khan after whom he was named. Then the full name of the first Crimean khan can be translated into Russian as "Grandfather Pilgrim" (hadji)¹.

According to the sources, the father of Hacı Giray was Gıyas-ad-Din ibn Tash Timur ibn Janai ibn Tula Timur ibn Kungek ibn Ruk Temur ibn Tuqa Timur ibn Jochi ibn Chinggis [Halim Giray, 2013, p. 31]². We do not know the name of Hacı Giray's mother. Information about Hacı Giray's brother Janai Oglan is reliably known [Smirnov, 2005, p. 186]. According to "Muiz-al-ansab", he was called Jan Giray [Muizz, 2006, p. 45]. Hacı Giray's nephew (his brother's son) Janay Oglan is mentioned in "Asseb as-Seyar" and abridged versions of this work [Asseb o-sseyar, 1832, p. 72; Abridged, p. 26; Smirnov, 2005, p. 188; Ortekin, 1938, p. 8]. Apparently, he was named after his grandfather (Janai ibn Tula Timur). There was a tradition in the Muslim East to name grand-

sons and great-grandsons after grandfathers and great-grandfathers, repeating the correlation of names every few generations. Apparently, keeping that in mind, a few decades later one of Hacı Giray II's brothers was named Jihan Giray [Kara Mustafa, 1973, pp. 315, 392]. It is possible that Hacı Giray also had the nickname (or another name?) "Malik" (ملك; "tsar")³. Ottoman historians from the circle of Tashkendi Ali call him that [Hezarfenn, s. 29], as do Crimean authors [Halim-Geray, 1909, p. 11; Halim Giray, 2013, p. 31].

According to the traditional view, an independent state (khanate) in the Crimea was established by Hacı Giray with the support of the Polish-Lithuanian state in the early 1440s [Nekrasov, 1999, p. 49]. This role of Poland and Lithuania in the formation of the khanate and Hacı Giray's destiny was underscored not only by Polish-Lithuanian Medieval authors, but also by Crimean texts addressed to Lithuania, for instance, by *yarlyks* (charters) of Mengli Giray and Sahib Giray⁴.

Researchers suggest several dates for Hacı Giray's accession to the throne: 1441 (according to a coin dated 845 AH)⁵ [Ürekli, 1989, p.

the 16th century, it became a clear distinctive feature of Mengli Giray's descendants regardless of their mothers' origins.

¹ Hence the derivative personal name Girayli that Abu al-Ghazi mentions among the grandsons of Oghuz Khan [Kononov, 1958, p. 527].

² See, for example, the copy of 'Es-Seb'us-Seyyar' in the collection of the Süleymaniye Library (Reşid Efendi 664), which, however, contains two slips of the pen: the word 'ibn' is omitted between the names Gıyas ad-Din and Tash Timur (the slip resulting from the similarity of the name ending and the word ibn) and there is a misspelling of Jatai (instead of Janai). For more details, see: [Smirnov, 2005, p. 183 et seq.]. See also: [Gayvoronsky, 2003, p. 10].

³ Theoretically, with other vowel marks it can also be read as 'malak', that is, 'angel'.

⁴ For example, in the *yarliq* of Mengli Giray of 1514: 'Hereby we inform you, that our forefathers, the tsars, and our father Mehmed Giray the tsar went, spurring horses, to the Lithuanian land, to Grand Duke Vytautas, the King, and Grand Duke Casimir, coming there as guests and being received with great honour and kindness...'. Quoted by: [Shabuldo, 2005, pp. 106]. Although according to historians, these Crimean *yarliqs* for the Russian lands as such did not have much practical meaning to those to whom they were endowed [Kolankowski, 1935, p. 290], they indicate the claims of the Crimean khans to the legacy of the Golden Horde.

⁵ Let us put aside for a while some unconfirmed data about an earlier Crimean (Solihat) coinage of Hacı. The silver coin of Hacı Giray ibn Gıyas ad-Din, minted in Crimea with a *taraq tamga* inside the lesser circle and showing the date of 841 AH, that is 1437, had been stored before the Great Patriotic War in the Museum of Turkic-Tatar Culture (at present the Bakhchisaray Historical, Cultural and Archaeological Museum-Reserve) in two copies (under the code 715), but in 1938, it was stolen. As a result, Act no. 2 was filed on the loss of the copies, dated 12 October 1938 (Inventory book of the state palace and museum of the Turkic-Tatar culture (Bakhchisaray Historical, Cultural

13; Gayvoronsky, 2007, p. 19; Kolodziejchuk, 2011, p. 11] or, even more precisely, March–April of 1442 [Gulevich, 2013, pp. 128–129]; or 1443 [Sakharov, 1965, col. 208]. If we accept the last dating, Ulugh Muhammad must be considered the first Crimean khan, since in 847 AH (May 1443–April 1444) he was governing the Crimea [Tiesenhausen, 1884, pp. 501–502, 533–534]. A number of scholars place the beginning of Hacı Giray's rule in the Crimea—and thus the emergence of the Crimean Khanate—in 1449 [Kolankowski, 1930, pp. 264–266; Kolankowski, 1935, p. 288; Vásáry, 2012, pp. 15–16; Trepavlov, 2010, p. 50].

Feoktist Khartakhai hypothesized that at first the Tatars' capital in the Crimea was Eski Qırım, "then, in the age of feuds, before the Giray dynasty,—Karasu-Bazar, and finally, under Mengli Giray the capital was Bakhchisarai, which then turned into the centre of the Tatar civilization" [Khartakhai, 2003, p. 22]. This point of view was later supported by other scholars: "There is a reason to think that under Hacı Giray the capital was moved from Eski Kirim not to Bakhchisarai—which did not exist that time—but to the already developing city of Qırq; its fortified citadel was the fortress of Qırq Yer" [Bodaninsky & Zasyrkin, 1929, p. 181].

Coin issues are the most important evidence of the transfer of the capital from Solkhat (Kirim) to Qırq Yer. The earliest unquestionable coin of Hacı Giray minted in the city of Kirim (Solkhat) dates from 845/1441/42 [Retovsky, 1893, pp. 76–77; Ürekli, 1989, p. 13]. In 858/1454, Hacı Giray was minting coins in Qırq Yer [Retovsky, 1893, p. 79 et seq.]. A coin dated 867/1462/63 was apparently minted there as well. However, a coin of Hacı Giray minted in Solkhat most likely belongs to the same year [Retovsky, 1893, pp. 86–88]. Therefore, from 858/1454 until at least 867/1462–63, the khan was minting coins in two cities at the same time:

at his old headquarters in Eski Kirim (Solkhat) and at the new one (Qırq Yer).

The significance of Solkhat as the old capital obviously still remained in 868/1463/64. It was apparently then that the father of the khanate's founder, Hyias-ed Din, died. He was buried in Solkhat. In the early 1880s, according to G. Karaulov, his mausoleum remained in the northern outskirts of the city [Karaulov, 1883, p. 46]. It was described for the first time (in 1794) by P. S. Pallas: "From Eski Kirim, one descends the last limestone hill into a valley full of grass, where seven versts away, near the village of Kara Goz, lies the estate of the hospitable and cheerful General von Schutz. Behind the village, we saw an old rampart, but I did not notice its direction and did not measure its length. In this area, are the remains of a monument built of hewn stone, with a Gothic vault and an inscription in Tatar [868] 1454, indicating that it is the mausoleum of Hyais-edin Sultan, son of Khan Kilai-Temir" [Pallas, 1999, p. 116]. According to G. Karaulov, this "sepulchral monument made of hewn stones, with a Gothic vault and a Tatar inscription of 868 (1454)", which showed that someone named "Hyiasedin Sultan son of Kilai Temir Khan" had been interred in that mausoleum, was still unharmed at least in 1883 [Karaulov, 1883, p. 46]¹.

However, V.D. Smirnov, who visited Solkhat in the summer of 1886, did not find it: "Not a trace of it is left there now, and no one could even point to the location where that monument used to stand" [Smirnov, 1887, p. 278]².

¹ The report by Karaulov, however, looks almost exactly like a word-by-word quotation of Pallas. Did he really see the historical ruins or did he just simply quote the great explorer? His report looks even more suspicious considering that already three (!) years later, in 1886, no-one could either remember the mausoleum or even show its location.

² Perhaps, it was indeed this installation (the so called Mausoleum no. 6, see its coordinates on the archaeological map of Stary Krym by A. Smekalov http://www.archaeology.ru/ONLINE/Smekalov/solkhat_map.html) that was studied in the 80s of the last century by the Golden Horde (Stary Krym) expedition of the State Hermitage Museum, led by Mark G. Kramarovskiy (verbal report by M. Kramarovskiy to the author).

and Archaeological Museum-Reserve, no. 10307). Autograph by U. Bodaninsky (?), 1920s. No. 504a and b.). Considering the qualification of Usein Bodaninskiy, it is difficult to imagine that the coin was interpreted incorrectly, but it would be too early to make any conclusions until the actual coin is found.

In fact, 868 AH corresponds to the period of time between September 15, 1463, and September 2, 1464. 858 AH, however, totally fits into 1454 (from January 1 to December 21). It is not clear which date named by P. S. Pallas and G. Karaulov contained a mistake¹.

In the meantime, subsequent representatives of the dynasty were interred at the foot of the plateau which currently bears the name of Chufut-Kale, and some of them may have been buried on the plateau itself. There was also an opinion that Qırq Yer was the place of the original burial of Hacı Giray [Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, p. 64]. Gilbert Romme, who visited the fortress in 1786, mentioned in his writings that it was there that Hayder (Hacı Giray's son), who took the throne for a short time in 1456, was buried: "In the city centre, in the midst of the houses, we see the remains of a tomb erected above the ashes of Hayder Khan, who died 300 years ago". The famous Djanike Khanum, who died in 1437, was also buried there. Her mausoleum still towers above the plateau; at the beginning of the 19th century there were undoubtedly other burials near it [Aqçoqraqlı, 2006, pp. 263–268, 273]. Thus, Qırq Yer almost immediately turned into a sacred family necropolis.

The Tarkhan *yarlyk* of Hacı Giray dates back to Safar 857/March 1453, when the khan's headquarters was still "in the palace" of Qırq Yer [Kurat, 1940, pp. 64–65]². This forces us to move the transfer of the khanate's capital from Solkhat to Qırq Yer back to a period no later than spring of 1453 (as we remember, in

858/1454 coins were already being minted in Qırq Yer).

Transferring the capital from Eski Kirim was most likely an attempt to avoid the influence of the powerful clan of the Shirins [Williams, 2001, p. 45]. However, why did they choose Qırq Yer?

Qırq Yer/Kyrk-Or is first mentioned by Syrian Abu'l-Fida (1273–1331) as Kerkri (قركري). It is located in the land of the Ases (من بلاد الاس), i.e., the Alans [Konovalova, 2009, pp. 101, 121]. According to I.G. Konovalova, Abu'l-Fida's message about Qırq-Or "belongs to the time when the city existed autonomously under the rule of local Alan princes." Other sources also strongly associate the fortress with the Alans and Goths (the Gothals). Bavarian soldier Johannes Schiltberger, who visited the Crimea between 1394 and 1427, noted: "Then, one city is called Karkeri and possesses good land, and is called Sutti, and the pagans call it Tat" (cited in: [Ganina, 2011, p. 78]). Sutti is probably a distortion of Kuthi (Guti), i.e., Gothia.

In "Tavarikh-i-Guzida-ij Nusrat-Name" (early 16th c.) Qırq Yer is mentioned as one of the *tumens* (areas capable of deploying or supporting 10,000 soldiers) which Batu granted to his younger brother Shiban after the latter had conquered the Crimea and Kafa [Mustakimov, 2011, p. 231], i.e. it was among the demesne possessions of Jochi's descendants. The story of Shiban's conquest of Qırq Yer is retained in the writings of Ötemish Hajji. A somewhat distorted version is also present in the work of Sayyid Muhammad Riza, an 18-century Crimean historian.

Ötemish Hajji describes this episode as follows: "There is a fortress of granite in the Vilayet of the Crimea which is called Kyr(k)-Yer [قير يري], the might and impregnability of which are known [all over] the world. or several years, [Shayban Khan] besieged [it and] stormed it, [but] was not able to capture it. At last, he ordered: "From sundown till dawn take any items that produce noise and beat them one against another!" [His people] took [such things] in both hands and started beating one utensil against another, and they started making noise with copper pots, trays and cups. Such din and roar arose amongst the troops that the

¹ There is one more surprising circumstance. According to other sources, Gıyas ad-Din died in 841/1437/38 after a year-long reign in Crimea [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 179, 189]. This does not correspond with the Solkhat mausoleum either by the date, or the content (no matter how brief his stay on the throne, the epitaph must have mentioned him as khan).

² Despite the fact that the *tarhan yarliq* of Hacı Giray is not original, but, by the definition of M. Usmanov, is an approximate, sometimes distorted copy, composed in Turkey on the basis of several similar deeds and combining individual qualities of different documents in one sample-model [Usmanov, 1988, p. 129], the date of this model does not raise substantial doubts (though, as it was already noted by Akdes Nimet Kurat, the date of the month in the date does not match the day of the week and needs to be corrected).

earth and the sky were shaken [and] ears were deafened. The besieged started rushing about in a terrible panic, asking what had happened. That night the din and roar did not stop till the morning, and the besieged could not go to sleep. When the dawn broke, [the besieging force] stopped [making noise]. When the evening came, they began to cause a din and roar as they did before. For a week [or] about ten days, they did this. The besieged were so exhausted from sleeplessness [that] they started to say: "If they intended to undertake something, they would have done it [already]. Most likely, they have such a rite and custom at this time of the year," and calmed down. When Shayban Khan knew that they had calmed down, he gathered his troops. They say that fortress was situated on a bare rock. That night [the besiegers] clanked and shouted more [than they usually did]. They dug tunnels from the four sides of the fortress. By the dawn, they had dug [such] a tunnel that a man could pass through it. Because of the din and roar, the besieged did not hear the noise of picks [and] were not able to detect [the tunnels]. When the tunnels were ready, [the besiegers] stormed the gates. The beleaguered rushed to the gates. One troop of Baghaturs was assigned to the tunnels. The [Baghaturs] ran out of those tunnels, stormed the fortress and took it. We questioned travelers who had seen that stronghold; they said that [even now] there are traces of that tunnel" [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, pp. 95, 174, xi; Ötämiš Hhājī, 2008, pp. 13, 72].

It is likely that the version of Ötemish Hajji directly or indirectly (via intermediary texts) influenced Sayyid Muhammad Riza's story of how Qırq Yer was conquered. Citing Abu'l-Fida with regard to the geographical coordinates of the fortress (incorrectly, at that!), Riza states: "In former times, the illaudable people of the *Mughal tribes*¹ called As, due to their full confidence in the castle's inaccessibility, exhibited rebelliousness and resisted the Crimean khans. One of Chinggis Khan's descendants, Sheibek Khan, exerted all his efforts to besiege and constrain it, but was unable to conquer and subdue

it. Then, one of the emirs from the Yashlau tribe, a quick-witted man, made a brilliant suggestion to arm themselves with the new and robust weapon of the saying "War is cunning". He gave an order to collect all drums, horns, and all musical instruments from the khan's camp, as well as basins, pots and other copper utensils, and beat them for three days and nights. In accordance with the proverb: "A basin fell from the roof," the noise produced, just as the doomsday, bewildered and stupefied the inhabitants. They thought that an attack was already taking place, and, with weapons in their hands, stayed awake for three days: everyone kept watch in their assigned places, on their feet, just like cemetery tombstones. When it became unbearable on the fourth day, against their will they fell asleep like the dead. Taking advantage of the opportunity, the cunning mirza raised his victorious standard and together with his followers, renowned Tatars, made an attack. The nasty infidels slept and did not sense the attack of the Tatars, who without any fight or battle took possession of the keys of the aforesaid fortress" [Smirnov, 2005, p. 117; Asseb O-Sseyyar, 1832, pp. 76–77; Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, pp. 54–55]. Regarding the name of Sheibak, V.D. Smirnov once noticed: "There is either a lapsus linguae or an anachronism in this legend" [Smirnov, 2005, p. 126]². Apparently, Riza's scribe (or Riza himself?) distorted the unfamiliar name of "Shiban", turning it into "Sheibak" (شيباك → شيبان), thus V.D. Smirnov had neither the initial text of Utemish-Hadjji, nor the more accurate copy of "The Seven Planets" (however, I am not sure that this slip of the pen was not present in Riza's protograph).

In his story of the conquest of the Crimea by the Mongols (the event of 1238), Rashid al-Din says, "Shiban, Buchek, and Buri went on a campaign in the land of the Crimea, and seized Tatkara from the Chinchakan tribe" [Rashid-ad Din, 1952, p. 39]. "Chinchakan" is probably a distortion of "Qipchaqan", i.e., the ethnonym "Qipchaq" in the Persian plural. What city (area) was that? According to A.Y. Karpov, Batu's bi-

¹ V. Smirnov noted that in the truncated version the As are called a people from the 'Tatar clans' [Smirnov, 2005, p. 117].

² He, however, did not view the whole legend entirely as an invention, as A. Herzen and Yu. Mogarichev believed [Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, p. 55].

ographer, it was "a mountain range near Crimean Sudak" [Karpov, 2011]¹. This hypothesis is reasonable (such a toponym really does exist), but the context of Rashid al-Din's message does not indicate the capture of a ridge; it rather describes the conquest of a stronghold². Since the text is obviously distorted, it is quite possible to see in the name *Tatkara* a toponym referring to the above-mentioned *Qırq Yer* (let us remember Schiltberger's *Tat*).

However, according to the view expressed by V.L. Yegorov, throughout the 13th century, the city was an autonomous fiefdom semi-subordinate to the Golden Horde. Its autonomy was abolished after Nogai's forces destroyed it in 1299. In the 15th century, after the decline of *Solkhat-Kirim*, the Girays' administrative centre was transferred there for a short period of time. *Qırq Yer*'s decline is related to the emergence of a new residence of the khans—*Bakhchisaray* [Yegorov, 1985, p. 88]. This opinion was justly criticized by A.G. Herzen and Y.M. Mogarichev. According to them, at least until the end of *Uzbeg Khan*'s rule (1342), *Qırq Yer* was outside the territory of the Golden Horde. The first written evidence of the fortress's being "in the possession of the Tartars" and its status of one of the Golden Horde principalities is the mention of the Khan of "*Kirkel*" in the report of the Battle of Blue Waters (1363)³. Thus follows the conclusion that *Qırq Yer* was seized by the Tatars between 1342 and 1363, to be more exact, during the time of *Jani Beg*. It is curious that even Muslim epigraphic works of the 14th c. originating from the plateau are considered to have appeared there later [Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, pp. 56–57]⁴. As we have seen, *Shiban* had already conquered the fortress in 1238. It is more than likely that the fortress was a semi-autonomous Alanian possession with a *darugha* representing the khan. The tax which was imposed on it (similar to Russian princedoms and

Italian colonies of the Southern Bank) was received personally by the khans.

It is highly likely that *Mengli Giray*, born around 850 AH (1446/1447), was the son of *Hacı Giray* and an Alanian princess, *Prince Indiavu*'s daughter. In respect of his mother's origins, *Mengli Giray* himself wrote thus: "...my mother the queen's father is *Indiavu* the prince" [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 270]. As far as I know, her name does not appear in accessible sources. But her father's name (i.e., *Mengli Giray*'s grandfather) is found in one text, and quite an unexpected one.

According to *Giosafat Barbaro*, a burial mound called *Kontebe*, situated 60 miles away from *Tana*, right near the *Don* (*Kumtepe* was possibly *Kobyakovo* settlement), which he and his companions dug open at the beginning of 1438 belonged to a leader of the Alans named *Indiabu*. *Barbaro* noted: "I believe that the person who ordered the arrangement of such a grave—his name was *Indiabu*—and desired to comply with all of the numerous ceremonies which were observed at that time must have thought in advance how to collect all of these things and put them in place." Treasure, "if there indeed was one, was hidden for the following reason: when the Alans' leader—the aforementioned *Indiabu*—heard that the Tatar khan was going to war against him, he decided to bury his treasure, but such that no one would notice it. Thus, *Indiabu* pretended he was preparing a grave for himself according to the local customs, but secretly ordered that what he considered necessary be put there, and afterward that this mound be constructed" [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 139–140].

This legend traditionally belongs to the time of the Mongol invasion of the Azov steppe, i.e., to the 13th century. However, another interpretation is possible. The *Prince Indiabu* mentioned by *Barbaro* could have been his older contemporary and *Hacı Giray*'s actual father-in-law. The Tatar khan, whom *Barbaro* mentions, is not necessarily *Chinggis* or his nearest descendants, but one of *Chinggisids* of the turn of the 14–15th centuries. Based on *Mengli Giray*'s date of birth, his mother should have been born in the 1420s or at the very beginning of the 1430s, and thus her father *Indiavu* was most

¹ See also [Belyansky and others, 1997].

² Also supposed by B. Akhmedov [Akhmedov, 1992, p. 8].

³ A. Galenko reasonably warned against such identifications, which F. Brun took the risk to suggest back in his time.

⁴ For more details, see: [Aqçoqraqlı, 2006, pp. 267, 273].

likely born in the late 14th century. The question remains open until new sources are discovered. However, the possibility that Mengli Giray was one-quarter Alan (the nationality of his maternal grandmother is not known) exists.

The name "Indiabu/Indiavu" is not recorded among Turkic names, but that is not cause to consider it Alanian. Such names as "Indi", "Yndy"/"Yndu", and various derivatives thereof are mentioned. The name of Mengli Giray's grandfather could have been produced from these stems, similar to the name Istiebe [Baski, 1986, pp. 58, 60, 61].

In September 1486, Mengli Giray wrote to Moscow that his mother had died when one Moscow merchant who traded "overseas", Ivan Zheglov, died in the Crimea. The diplomatic mission from Moscow regarding an attempt to return Zheglov's goods, is dated March 1486. Therefore, Mengli Giray's mother died before March 1486, most likely in 1484 or 1485 [Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 47–48, 51].

Thus, a Tatar-Alanian union cemented by a dynastic marriage was formed shortly before Mengli Giray's birth in 850 AH, probably in the early 1440s [Zaitsev, 2007a, pp. 64–71]¹. In the framework of the idea of a Tatar-Alanian (Gothalanian) dynastic union, the transfer of the capital from cosmopolitan multiethnic Solkhat to an impregnable Alanian fortress on a rocky plateau looks very logical and justified.

This does not mean, however, that the stronghold was inhabited solely by the Alans (Gothalans). Part of the plateau belonged to the Yashlav beys and was apparently inhabited by Muslims. The oldest yarlyk issued by a khan to this family line is dated 1637 and was granted by Khan Bahadır Giray. The yarlyk calls the beys "the ancient rulers of the city of Kerki, now called the Jewish City". According to V.D. Smirnov, "even the most inveterate Eastern rhetoricians—the scribes of the Khan's secretariat—would never mention such

things in grant-charters by accident" [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 126–127]². However, the Yashlav did not live in the fortress themselves, but possessed the right to collect taxes from its people. Moreover, a significant part of Qırq Yer's population in the 14–15th centuries was made up of Armenians. The yarlyks for the population of Qırq Yer from Hacı Giray dated 864 AH (1459) and from his son Nur Devlet dated 872 AH (1467), as well as the accord between the townsmen and Mengli Giray of 1478–1479 clearly show that the city was inhabited by Muslims, Christians, and Jews [Aqçoqraqlı, 2006, p. 269; Vásáry, 1982].

It seems that the time of Hacı Giray's move to his new residence corresponds to the time of the construction of Djanike Khanum's mausoleum. Most likely, her remains were transported from another tomb. In Qırq Yer, Hacı Giray established a madrasah near the already existing mosque. As a result of excavations in the 1920s, 6 meters from the north-west corner of the mosque a fragment of a stone slab was found. The fragment contained the remains of an inscription in which the name of Khan Hacı Giray, son of Hyias-ed Din, could be made out [Aqçoqraqlı, 1929, p. 185, no. 1; Bodadinsky, Zasyrkin, 1929, p. 181, fig. 15]. The very first khans apparently created a menagerie on Cape Burunchak. It was a kind of a preserve for battue hunting which belonged solely to the khans and was supported by the Treasury [Pallas, 1999, p. 33]. Two pools for rainwater were cut out in the centre of the cape (in the 1970s, they were studied by archaeologists), and the cape itself was walled off from residential areas [Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, p. 30]. Only members of the ruling house were allowed to hunt in this preserve. After annexing the peninsula, the administration of the Russian Empire for a long time did not know what to do with the deer remaining there.

For a long time, Qırq Yer served as the place where the Girays' mint was located and the dynastic Treasury was kept [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, pp. 5, 23]³. The khans' war spoils

¹ It was no accident that Laonikos Chalkokondyles (who lived from 1432 or 1423 to 1490) wrote between 1480–1490 that Ατζιερής, that is Hacı Giray, enforced tribute payment on peoples, including the Crimean Goths and Caffa Genoese, as well as part of the Sarmatians (Russians) [Ditten, 1968, pp. 13–14].

² About the legends linking Chufut-Kale and the Yashlavs, see [Zaitsev, 2009a].

³ The capital status of Qırq Yer is echoed in the chronicles by Maciej Strykowski (1582), narrating that Vytautas, who, in the opinion of V. Smirnov, had

were also kept there. According to khan Sheikh Ahmed (about 1527), it was there that his property and the Golden Horde's Treasury (which had been seized by the Crimeans in 1502) were kept absolutely safe: "... my property in Perekop's Kirel is now kept in a safe place, so that I could get it back in full, because I do not want my property or my country's property to be captured by the Perekop tsar" ("Perekop tsar" was another name of Mengli Giray) (cited in: [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 34; Trepavlov, 2011, p. 378])¹.

Thus, Qırq Yer looks like a classical Central Asian "*kuruk*"—a forbidden place, a preserve. Mahmud of Kashgar (11th century) repeatedly uses this word in the form of قرغ ("*kurig*" or "*korig*", which means "the ruler's shelter". Any secluded place, according to Kashgari, is called a *kurig* [Mahmud al-Kashgari, 2005, p. 356]. In A.R. Rustamov's translation, the word is rendered as "protected [lands]", "the preserve of a bey or someone else. Any protected place there is قرغ" [Mahmud al-Kashgari, 2010, pp. 65, 312]. Such preserves of the khan existed in the Golden Horde; in particular, Oz Beg possessed some². Abu'l-Fida, speaking of the Alanian city, interprets its name: in Turkic it supposedly means "forty men" (اسمها بالترکی اربعون رجلا). Moreover, V.V. Bartold noted that this meaning would correspond to "Qırq-Er" rather than

Kerkri, as Abu'l-Fida rendered it. V.V. Bartold also mentioned another etymology—Qırq-Or ("Forty graves")—suggested by other researchers [Bartold, 2002, p. 369]. However, Crimean coins only show the form Qırq Yer (i.e. "Forty places"). U.A. Bodaninsky and B.N. Zasyrkin thought that the word "qırq" in its name is not the numeral "forty", but the name of the clan which established the city and lived in it. As such, the fork-shaped (horned) tamga which is often seen on stones in Chufut-Kale was considered to belong to "one of the branches of the qırq clan," as it was also the tamga of the village Qırq-Cholpan [Bodaninsky, Zasyrkin, 1929, p. 185]. In reality, this tamga is the tamga of the Yashlav clan (to whom, possibly, the village Qırq-Cholpan belonged). It is interesting that those symbols were subsequently used by the Karaites in order to justify the continuity of power and the possession of Chufut-Kale.

A.J. Harkavy rejected the Turkic etymology of the name and proposed the Indo-European root "kar" as its basis, as reflected in the Iranian name of the Kerkeri fortress in Gilan [Bertier de la Garde, 1920, p. 106; Smirnov, 2005, p. 119; Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, p. 52].

V.D. Smirnov suggested his own version of the emergence of the name: from Greek Καλλιάρια, influenced by the Turkic national etymology.

A.P. Grigoriev suggested that Abu'l-Fida used the name of the Qırq Yer fortress written with a mistake, and tried to find an etymology for this erroneous name [Grigoriev, 2007, p. 140]. A.P. Grigoriev himself proposed his own etymology: "kirik" ("cleft").

Considering Qırq Yer's role as a classical kuruk (khan's preserve/necropolis), we can cautiously suggest another possible etymology of the name: "koryk/kyryk-yer"—"preserved, sacred area" [Zaitsev, 2013, p. 494–503].

With the transfer of the khan's residence to Bakhchisarai, Qırq Yer lost its significance, but remained the place of the khans' reserved hunts, and the valley at the foot of Burunchak became the final resting place for the first four generations of the Giray dynasty. [Gavrilyuk, Ibragimova, 2010]. Soon the whole city was granted to the Yashlav beys as a holding and was populated by the Karaites.

a direct relation to the rise of Ulugh Muhammad Khan, gave two Sultans to the Perekop Tatars. One of them, Muhammad, to Qırq Yer: 'for the Qırq Yer tsardom'; the other one was Devlet Giray [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 178–179]. True to say, though, that memory of the capital status of Solkhat-Qirim continued to live long in the minds and hearts of its natives. Years later, in 1581 in the work of the well-known Ottoman historian Mustafa Ali Gelibolulu, we come across a kind of moralizing plaint about the devastation and decline of the town of Qirim, which is put in the mouth of the Ottoman Padishah Mehmed II and his interlocutor, a native of Solkhat, the famous Mevlana Seyid Ahmed ibn Abdulla Qirimi (died in 879 / 1474/75) [Tietze, 1979, pp. 101–103, 25–26]. See also the text by Taşköprüzade: [Shakaik, pp. 109 reverse–111]

¹ Devlet Giray used to mint coins there in his time [Muralevich, 1928, p. 141].

² I accept the amendment of Devin De Weese to the text of Ötemish Hajji with the description of the conversion of Ozbeg to Islam, where, most probably, such a *koruk-korug* is actually mentioned [De Weese, 1994, pp. 544–546].

§ 4. Kazan Khanate

Anvar Aksanov

As a result of numerous internecine conflicts in the XVth century, the Golden Horde began to crumble and New Tatar states gradually started to emerge in the areas it left behind. In the middle of the 15th century, the Kazan Khanate was formed at the site of the Bulgarian Ulus Desht-i Qipchaq. Kazan became an independent political centre of the Middle Volga Region after representatives of the ruling family of the Chinggisids appeared in the city. However, due to a lack of data, historical studies cannot provide precise answers to the questions of who, when and under what circumstances the Khanate was formed.

At the end of the 17th century, A.I. Lyzlov expressed the opinion that the Kazan Khanate was formed by former khan of the Horde Ulugh-Muhammad [Lyzlov, 1776, pp. 68–69]. This point of view was firmly established in the works of 18–19th century historians [Rychkov, 1767, p. 81; Karamzin, 1819, p. 273; Solovyov, 1988, p. 392]. This view came together based on accounts from the Kazan Chronicler. V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov put greater trust in the data from the Voskresensk and Nikon chronicles, believing that the Khanate was established by Ulugh Muhammad's son Mahmud, who conquered Kazan in 1445 [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, pp. 6–10]. However, the author of the first monograph of the Kazan Khanate M.G. Khudyakov went back to the opinion that the Khanate was formed in 1437–1438, by Ulugh Muhammad [Khudyakov, 1991, pp. 22–25]. A.A. Zimin had a similar thought process. He confirmed his observations by the fact that the Voskresensk, Nikon chronicles and "Gosudarev Rodosloviets" ("The Sovereign's Pedigree Book"), which are the cornerstone of V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov's hypothesis, are of a later origin and contrary to other sources. [Zimin, 1991, p. 105]. But A.A. Zimin, just as the researchers who came before him [Alishev, 2001, p. 34; Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 52–53], never specified which "other sources" the official annals of the 16th c. are contradictory to. Sh.F. Mukhamediarov flat out rejected any unambiguous as-

sertions on this issue. In his opinion, the first Kazan khan was Ulugh Muhammad or his son Mahmud [Mukhamediarov, 2012, p. 98].

B.L. Khamidullin brought something new to the discourse by stating that no source from the 15–16th centuries, except for "The History of Kazan" treats Ulugh Muhammad as the first Kazan khan. The researcher concludes that genealogical books, along with the Voskresensk and Nikon chronicles, are more authentic. These texts state that the first khan of Kazan was Ulugh Muhammad's son Mahmud, who subdued the city in 1445 [Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 128–130; Mukhamediarov, Lkamidullin, 2010, p. 56]. D.A. Kotlyarov arrives at the same conclusion, stating that after khan Ulugh Muhammad's death Mahmud gathered together the majority of Tatars and marched down the Volga to conquer Kazan [Kotlyarov, 2005, p. 102].

In A.G. Bakhtin's opinion, Mahmud was the one who overthrew local prince Alim-bek and established himself in the Middle Volga Region, whereas Ulugh Muhammad never desired to directly govern the Bulgar Ulus because he planned to return to Sarai. He also concluded that the founder of the Kazan dynasty was Ulugh Muhammad, but the first khan of Kazan was his son Mahmud [Bakhtin, 2008, pp. 140, 231].

Thus, historians are seen to put forth various hypotheses on how Mahmud ascended to the throne of Kazan. In order to clarify the situation, we shall look over source texts coming from their own genealogy. The earliest records are preserved in the Moscow chronicle from the end of the 15th century, the Chronicle of 1497, and the Nikanor, Yermolin, Simeon, Typographical, and Tver chronicles.

The Moscow chronicle from the end of the 15th century, a pivotal text for official Russian annals, contains the following story related to the events of current interest to us. In Autumn 1437, the overthrown khan of Ulugh Muhammad's horde arrived in the city of Belyov as they fled from pursuers. There Vasily II dispatched "numerous troops", and Ulugh Muhammad "be-

came frightened and started to surrender to the Russian princes". But the voevodas "did not heed the tsar" and "a large fight" broke out at the walls of the fortress as "the Tatars were pressed into the city". The following day khan Ulugh Muhammad made a peace offer promising he would guard the "Russian lands" after his return to the throne and would not take any "vykhod" ("exit", i.e. tax) from them. In order to "prove his intentions", he suggested to exchange sons "between himself and the princes". When the Russians once again rejected his offer, despite the fact no one was "attacking them", their troops became spooked and ran away. As a result, "a small army of the impious vanquished the innumerable troops of Christians, as if one godless could defeat ten of our warriors or even more". In the chronicler's opinion, the reasons for this unprecedented defeat can be seen in the multiple sins the Orthodox warriors committed towards their co-religionists on the way to Belyov [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949, p. 260].

According to the same source, Ulugh Muhammad suddenly attacked Moscow in July 1439. He never managed to completely subdue the city, but "perpetrated much evil towards the Russian land". In the winter of 1444/45, Ulugh Muhammad "came and sat in old Nizhny Novgorod and from there moved on to Murom". After finding out that the grand prince's troops were close, the khan left Murom and headed back to Nizhny Novgorod, with Vasily II "having beaten" the Tatars near Murom and Gorokhovets returning to Moscow. In Winter 1445, Ulugh Muhammad's sons Mahmud and Jakub obliterated the Russians near Suzdal, captured Vasily II, reached Vladimir and, leaving the city in peace, returned back to Nizhny Novgorod. Ulugh Muhammad, "together with his children and the entire Horde, left Novgorod, moved onwards towards Kurmysh and took the grand prince along with himself". In October, the Tatars, having accepted the ransom and taken the Russians' oath (i.e. kissed the Holy Cross of Christ, in Russian "krestnoe tselovanie") released Vasily II and sent him to Moscow accompanied by "many of their ambassadors" [ibid, pp. 260, 262–263, 394–395].

The Moscow Chronicle from the end of the 15th century does not say another word about further events in the life of Ulugh Muhammad. However, it does say that in 1447: "...Kazan tsar Mahmutek sent all his mightiest princes to fight in the land of the grand prince—Volodimir, Murom, and other cities—as he had heard that the grand prince sent armies against him" [ibid, p. 269]. What deserves particular attention is that here Mahmud is referred to as a "Kazan tsar". Moreover, for the first time the chronicler directly connects the Kazan throne to the dynasty of Ulugh Muhammad. Prior to this event, the location of the khan's Horde had been associated with Belyov, Nizhny Novgorod, Murom, and other human settlements, but never with Kazan.

Similar reports can be found in the Ermolin, Nikanor, and Simeon chronicles [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, pp. 149–152; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 27, 1962, pp. 106–107, 109–110, 114; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, 2007, pp. 188–190, 193–195, 203], the Chronicle of 1497 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28, 1963, pp. 101–102] and briefly in the Tver and Typographic chronicles [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1863, col.491; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, 2000, p. 183]. These events are also interpreted in a similar way in the 16th century chronicles. [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 2001, col.69–70, 102, 104–106; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 107, 111–114; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1901, pp. 24–25, 30, 63–66; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, 2004, pp. 240–241, 256–259, Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 21–II, 1913, p. 460, 463–464, 471; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, pp. 192–193, 196–199, 207; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, pp. 43–44; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 43, 2004, pp. 180–181]. This means that Ulugh Muhammad's contemporaries and direct descendants did not treat him as the khan of Kazan, i.e. chroniclers did not associate the khan's raids into Russian lands with the actions of the Kazanians. Based on said information, we can only conclude that in 1437 the khan lost the Sarai throne, and spent

the following years conquering Russian cities and spending winters in them, as he did not have his own "yurt".

The author of the Nikon chronicle (written in the mid-16th century), states that Ulugh Muhammad fled from the Great Horde's khan Kichi-Muhammad to Belyov and, after the Russian troops were defeated, "sat" in Nizhny Novgorod and "lived in it" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1901, p. 64]. In other words, the chronicler states that from 1437 to 1445 Ulugh Muhammad lived in Nizhny Novgorod and used it as a home base to organise raids into other Russian lands. In an entry from 1555, the author of the Nikon chronicle writes about the formation of the Kazan khanate in a description of the history of how Orthodox Christianity expanded. According to him, after Vasily II was set free in 1445, "tsar Mahmutek arrived from Kurmysh, took Kazan, killed Galim-Bek and started ruling Kazan himself" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1901, p. 251]. Another unique addition to these events can be found in the Voskresensk chronicle, according to which in Autumn 1445 Mahmud killed local prince Libey, conquered Kazan and "became the tsar himself" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 114]. Thus, even quite similar chronicles from a textual perspective describe Mahmud's conquest of Kazan differently.

The author of "The History of Kazan" explained at the beginning of his narrative that he had not found any references about the formation of the khanate in Russian chronicles, yet he had seen something in the Kazan ones. Seeking out this information, he appealed to "the most skillful Russian people", but they responded in different ways because none of them actually knew the truth. In other words, in the 1560s, there were no clear and definite ideas in Russia regarding the formation of the Kazan khanate. It is most probable that the compiler of "The History" simply cited one of the most popular versions of "the emergence of Kazan".

According to "The History of Kazan", in 1397, khan Ulugh Muhammad defeated the 40-thousand warrior strong army of Vasily II and headed to Kazan, which was desolate on account of Russian raids, and there constructed

a rampart and became tsar. Gradually, "barbarians" from the Golden Horde, Azov, Astrakhan and Crimea flocked to the city. "And the tsar's fame came and the honour of the Great Horde descended on the miserable young daughter which was Kazan".

Ulugh Muhammad besieged many Russian cities, including Moscow. In this scribe's conclusion, he brought more troubles with him than any other khan ever did. "And died (Ulugh Muhammad.—A.A.) in Kazan together with his youngest son Jakub, both slaughtered at the hands of his eldest son Mahmutek. And he ruled Kazan for seven years" [History of Kazan, 2001, pp. 254–276].

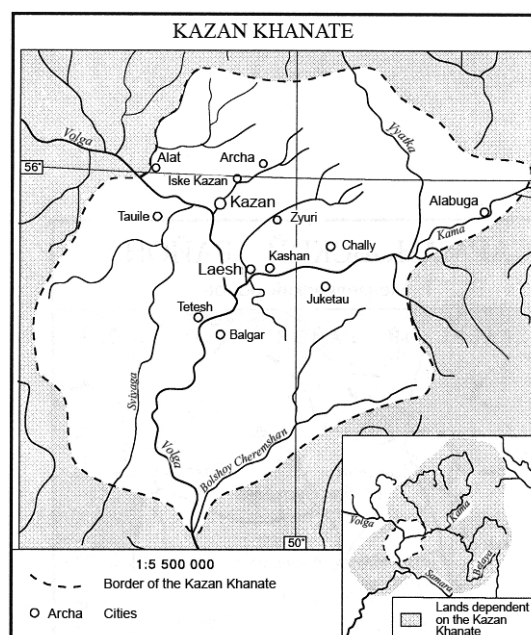
This reference from "The History of Kazan" that Ulugh Muhammad founded the Kazan khanate and died at the hands of his own son is not repeated elsewhere. V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov and N.P. Zagoskin took the story about Mahmud murdering his father Ulugh Muhammad as truth [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 11; Zagoskin 1895, pp. 36–37], while M.G. Khudyakov considered it a "ridiculous fiction" [Khudyakov, 1991, p. 34]. Taking this story as its basis, L.N. Gumilyov concluded that Kasim "took the burden of revenge for his father on himself". According to him, this struggle between Kasim and Mahmud was reflected in the further events of 1467. With the support of Ivan III, Kasim marched out against the young Kazan khan Ibrahim, who was Mahmud's son [Gumilyov, 2004, p. 183]. A.G. Bakhtin considered this issue in the following way: since many Tatar khans of those times "died in power struggles", "the violent elimination of Ulugh Muhammad from the political arena seems quite reasonable for the Golden Horde". In addition, he believes that it was Mahmud who founded the Kazan khanate in 1445 after Ulugh Muhammad's murder [Bakhtin, 2008, pp. 135–140]. This means that he understood the information provided in the Nikon and Voskresensk chronicles through the prism of circumstances presented by the author of "The History of Kazan".

Moreover, G.Z. Kuntsevich noted that the idea of Ulugh Muhammad's murder was not confirmed by any other source except for the very last reference by one Kazan mullah

[Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 251]. It is also essential to keep in mind that the author of "The History" often used allegories that were popular in Medieval literature at that time. All one needs to do is look at his descriptions of Soyembika, Ivan IV's campaign against Kazan in 1552 or other references created on the basis of Biblical reminiscences and bearing a symbolic meanings. [Plyukhanova, 1995, p. 193, 200]. Perhaps, in this case, the author of "The History" was simply appealing to the popular plot of regicide, thus interpreting real events in an allegorical way. The semantics of this message can be explained by the Old Testament story in which the cruel Assyrian king Sennacherib was murdered by his own sons, as he had been persecuting righteous people and attempting to subdue Jerusalem [2 Kings 19: 36–37; Book of Tobit 1: 15; Book of Isaiah 37:37–38]. Medieval scribes therefore treated this type of death as punishment for an unjust reign and the oppression of God-fearing people.

The author of "The History of Kazan" also uses direct and indirect quotes from other records, thus emphasizing the root idea of his work. Throughout the entire narrative he continuously repeats the idea that "sword and blood gave birth to Kazan, and by sword and in blood it will end its days" [History of Kazan, 2001, p. 203]. This chronicler might have borrowed the depiction of regicide from the most reputed compositions of the time, as it perfectly fits in with his concept of the blood-drenched birth and blood-drenched death of "the tsardom of Kazan".

As we can see, the narrative in "The History of Kazan" is a far cry from previous references. The only similar references are ones about the defeat of the grand-ducal troops and Ulugh Muhammad's campaigns against Russia. Therefore, the idea that the khanate was established by Ulugh Muhammad in 1437–1438 was formulated by connecting contradictory facts. At the heart of this hypothesis lies the statement from "The History of Kazan" that the Horde khan arrived in Kazan in 1397. But at the same time, scientists flat out reject this erroneous dating, instead taking the chronology of events from official chronicles that never connected Ulugh Muhammad with the Kazan khanate.



Kazan Khanate. Map by I. Izmaylov

As a result, none of the two above observed versions of the formation of the Kazan khanate is confirmed by even two independent sources. Let us note that for a long time Russian scribes were not interested in this matter. It only became important in the middle of the 16th century when chroniclers started to reflect upon the circumstances of the khanate's formation after the occurrence of certain important events. What is more, the conceptualisation of these events was formulated in accordance with the official position of Moscow reflected in the charter addressed to Crimean khan Sahib Giray. Russian diplomats responded to the Crimean khan as they justified Ivan IV's right to occupy the Kazan yurt: "when a governor comes with troops and subdues another governor and brings him to his grave, takes his land away, and is capable of giving this land to anyone he wants... shall not he possess this land?". In their words, Ivan III was the one who conquered Kazan, just as "the tsars who lost their Horde yurts brought the war to the Kazan yurt and conquered it by hook and by crook" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, fund 123; Russia-Crimea Relations, book 8, ch. 480]. In other words, in the 16th century the idea of the military subordination of the Kazan khans to the Horde khans might have emerged due to the fact that it both explained

the legitimacy of Moscow's political claims and justified Russian campaigns in the East.

Other sources also point out that Mahmud was the first Kazan khan [Collection of Imperial Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 696; Red Book, 1787, part 1, p. 26], however only the Nikon and Voskresensk chronicles refer to the appearance of the khan in Kazan in 1445. Everything mentioned so far forces us to be extremely careful when making assertions about the dates and circumstances of the Kazan khanate's formation.

It is most likely that after Ulugh Muhammad died, his nomadic horde became fractured: his eldest son Mahmud established himself on the Kazan throne, and the younger ones—Kasim and Jakub—took "the Meshchera yurt" and stayed around serving the grand prince. But no matter what actually happened, the Horde grandees united the lands of the Middle Volga Region around Kazan. Tatar military and political traditions were built upon Bulgarian socio-cultural ground, and a new Turkic state emerged.

§ 5. The Kasim Khanate

Bulat Rakhimzyanov

In the 1430–1440s, the Golden Horde, formerly a strong and powerful state, was living out its final years in power as it gradually decayed, leaving behind a number of autonomous states. After Beylerbey Edigu passed away (the de facto ruler of the Horde from 1396 till 1410), the Golden Horde was not capable of playing the significant role it used to in Eastern Asia and Europe. On the periphery of Jochi Ulus (the Middle Volga Region), centrifugal tendencies were especially clear. In the 1530–40s, in this region one of the heirs of the Golden Horde is born: the Kazan khanate.

We cannot speak about the Russian state when the 15th century is being discussed; using this term in such a timeframe is nothing more than an abstraction. The Russian state at that time did not exist, neither de jure, nor de facto. The following principalities at that time could be found on the territory of the future Russian state: the Moscow, Yaroslav, Rostov, Ryazan, and Tver autonomous principalities, along with the independent Pskov and Novgorod feudal republics. The Moscow principality was gaining power during that period and made claims to its rule over the rest of the Russian lands. However, the process of their engagement in Muscovite policy-making was not yet over.

What was the relationship between the Moscow and the Ryazan principalities? The Grand Prince of Ryazan Ivan Fyodorovich (in power 1427–1456) was not focused on Moscow at the beginning of his reign, but instead leaned

towards the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and sought the friendship of its ruler Vytautas. Under an agreement with him, the Ryazan prince accepted Vytautas's patronage and promised to help Moscow only if that be Vytautas's wish [Spiritual letters, 1950, pp. 67–68]. Then, the situation changed after Vytautas died in 1430, and Ryazan shifted its focus to Moscow, admitting its superiority. During the opposition between Vasily II and Yuri Dmitrievich, the Ryazan prince hesitated between the two (see his accord with Yuri Dmitrievich: [ibid, pp. 83–87]); in 1447, Ivan Fyodorovich entered into an agreement with Vasily II according to which the latter promised to protect the former from Lithuania [ibid, pp. 141–145]. Ryazan's dependence on Moscow can be traced back from the accord between Vasily II and Kazimir [ibid, pp. 160–163].

Meshchersky Gorodok and the adjacent area (the future Kasim Khanate) were located adjacent to the Ryazan principality, which was called the "Meshchera places" or "Meshchera". Its status was specifically agreed upon in charters of treaty [ibid, p. 144]. Even though, "Meshchera places" were acquired by Ryazan princes at a certain time, by 1447 these places were property of the Moscow grand prince starting no later than 1382 [ibid, p. 29].

Thus, by the mid 1440s, centrifugal tendencies had already weakened the Golden Horde. However, its contemporaries still viewed it as a unified territory. The Moscow principal-

ity was pushed into a cruel feudal war, and was not yet sufficiently strong enough to consider the future of its external policies and international status. The Kazan khanate was not yet formed as an independent political entity, but it was already proving itself to be an aggressive and strong neighbor of the Russian lands, often using its increasingly favorable commercial advantage to achieve its goals.

In 1437, another upheaval took place in the Golden Horde when Sarai khan Ulugh Muhammad was dethroned by Kichi-Muhammad. At the same time, Sayyid-Ahmad khan became an overlord in the West of the Horde (to the West of the Dnieper River) [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 117–118, 126, 140–141, 150; Safargaliev, 1960, pp. 242–244, 258–260].

After establishing himself in Kazan, Ulugh Muhammad intended to fight to recapture the All-Horde throne as he had done in the 1420s. He began conducting raids in the Russian lands starting already in 1439. The goal of these actions was most likely to reestablish the "suzerain-vassal" relations between tsar Ulugh Muhammad and his vassal—Grand Prince Vasily II—who had received the *yarlyk* from his hands. Ulugh Muhammad stepped up his actions by the mid-40s of the 15th century [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1901, p. 62]. In the winter of 1444 not only did he enter "Old" Nizhny Novgorod, but also conquered Murom and then "sat in Murom" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23, 1910, p. 151; 26, 1959, pp. 196–197; 12, 1901, p. 64]. Vasily II, at that time the Grand Prince of Moscow bound by the *yarlyk*, decided to end his subordination to the suzerain and expel him from the Moscow lands. His military campaign against Ulugh Muhammad was completed victoriously, and on March 26, 1445, Vasily II returned to Moscow [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 197; 4, 1915, p. 454].

In Spring 1445, Ulugh Muhammad sent Mahmud and Jakub to Ruthenia [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949, p. 395; 23, 1910, p. 151; 28, 1963, p. 103], and on 6 July 1445 Russian troops came to the Kalinka River and stopped near the Saviour Monastery of Saint Euthymius in the vicinity of Suzdal (this is evidenced by the fact that on July 6,

1445, Vasily II conferred a grant-charter to the Monastery of Saint Euthymius, which Alexey Ignatievich sealed [Acts, 1958, p. 488]). As many chroniclers note, that evening the grand prince went on a binge. The next day, on July 7, the Russian army was utterly demolished in battle with Ulugh Muhammad's sons. Vasily II, prince Mikhail Andreyevich and a number of other princes, nobles, and their children were captured by the Tatars [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1863, col.492; First chronicle of Novgorod, 1950, p. 426]. All of them were brought to Nizhny Novgorod, to Ulugh Muhammad.

After the news of Vasily II's capture reached Moscow, grand ducal power passed to his rival Dmitry Yurievich Shemyaka. He became the eldest in Kalita's kin, and while Vasily II was in jail he reigned in accordance with the rules of traditional inheritance.

Vasily II was held prisoner for quite a long time, from July 7 till October 1, 1445 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 199; 23, 1910, pp. 151–152]. It seems that during this period Vasily established fairly positive relations with Ulugh Muhammad's younger sons, Kasim and Jakub (later, in 1446, the Tatars from sultan troops would say "he brought much good to us" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853, p. 177; 8, 1859, p. 120; 26, 1959, p. 206]). Meanwhile, the chronicle texts portray Ulugh Muhammad's elder son Mahmud as an irreconcilable opponent of the Russians.

After a misunderstanding involving ambassador Begich, Ulugh Muhammad released Vasily II and other captives to Moscow [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 199; 23, 1910, pp. 151–152]. In the meantime, according to the Russian chronicles, Ulugh Muhammad obligated Vasily to pay him a sizeable "monetary reward", but chroniclers are divided in respect to its size. This payback seems to have been a kind of "compensation" for being disobedient to him as a suzerain. Moreover, Vasily II returned in escort by a large squad of Tatars.

Moscow scribes of the 1470s kept tactful silence on how much the ransom for Vasily Vasilyevich's freedom was. They only wrote that the

grand prince was set free after he promised to pay the Tatars "as much as he could" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 199]. With this in mind, Novgorod data shows that the ransom payment constituted 200 thousand rubles, and also "God knew what else" [First chronicle of Novgorod, 1950, p. 426]. The Pskov chronicles tell us that Vasily II only promised 25 thousand rubles to the Tatars (and therefore could give them nothing), though they also note that he brought 500 Tatars with him [Pskov chronicles, 1941, p. 47]. A Tver scribe wrote that "great tributes had to be paid" when Vasily II came back and that "he bought off the Tatars" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1863, col. 492].

We can therefore note that the ransom to release Vasily II and the arrival of Tatars with him are recorded in almost every source from Medieval Russian times that scientists have access to.

M.G. Khudyakov believed that when Vasily II was set free, Ulugh Muhammad signed a peace treaty with him (the terms and conditions of the grand prince's release). Present-day US researcher Craig Kennedy sticks to the same opinion [Kennedy, 1994, 1.39]. However, researchers were perplexed on how such an important "interstate" act was not legally justified. But in reality, there is nothing bizarre in this at all. We must perceive this situation taking into account the peculiarities of the international "legal" standards of that epoch when the Horde khans were the acknowledged suzerains and the Muscovite grand princes were their indisputable vassals. When ascending to the grand-ducal throne (in 1432), Vasily II obtained a yarlyk for ruling Moscow given him by khan ("tsar") Ulugh Muhammad. After Ulugh Muhammad was exiled from Sarai and the Crimea, Vasily wanted to use the turmoil in the Horde at his advantage and attempted to stand against his former suzerain. However, after suffering an overwhelming defeat at the hands of Ulugh Muhammad and finding himself captured, we have to assume he repented and found his vassal dependence lawful, and perhaps even inviolable. This is why there was no use to enter into any agreement *de jure*. No new "interstate" act was needed, they simply reconfirmed previous law and order. The yar-

lyk from Ulugh Muhammad he had given to Vasily II remained valid.

Therefore, in 1445, Ulugh Muhammad was not just the ruler of Kazan for Vasily II, he also remained the Horde khan, just as he used to be. At that time, Vasily II did not treat Kazan as the centre of an autonomous state; for him it continued to be part of the Golden Horde. This state of affairs was beneficial for both Vasily II as he struggled for power against Dmitry Shemyaka, and for Ulugh Muhammad, who considered himself a legitimate ruler of the entire Golden Horde and—according to simple logic—dreamed of returning his lost lands. If Kazan was recognized as the centre of a sovereign state and Ulugh Muhammad was the head of this new khanate, Vasily II's rule would automatically become illegitimate. This is the reason why Moscow politicians and the Russian scribes who reflected their opinions and aspirations behaved in a tactful way towards the factual founder of the Kazan dynasty, i.e. the khanate, and did not portray him as the ruler of a mere portion of the entire empire. There is no written accord for this same reason, only a presumed oral agreement in 1445 on the ransom of the grand prince and the transfer of several Russian towns to Tatar rule for their "kormlenie" or "feeding".

The question regarding this mysterious lack of a written "contract" in 1445 is therefore necessary to dig into not just in terms of local problems, but in regards to relations between Moscow and Meshchersky gorodok, the future Kasimov, and even Kazan. The question can only be fully answered when it is considered in the context of larger phenomena, namely Horde-Russian relations in general.

There is a likelihood that one of the points of this alleged oral agreement between Ulugh Muhammad and Vasily was the transfer to the Tatars of certain Russian cities and districts as "kormlenie" ("feeding"). Later, information paints the same picture: after Shemyaka "caught" Vasily II in February 1446, charges were brought against him for bringing the Tatars into Ruthenia (this information is from the Novgorod chronicles, which are not vested in embellishing the Moscow prince or Moscow policy-making in general). "Why did you bring

the Tatars into the Russian land and give them towns and districts for kormlenie? And you love the Tatars beyond all measure, and you torture peasants beyond all measure, and you give gold and silver and land to the Tatars" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, 1915, p. 443]. They probably had in mind sultans when they blamed him for distributing cities and districts among the Tatars.

One of those sultans was most likely Kasim, Ulugh Muhammad's son, who received Meshchersky Gorodok on the Oka river as a unique sort of apanage (it was located in the Ryazan principality). Later on, this town became named after its first owner.

The initial assignment of Gorodets to Kasim (the town was also called Gorodets Meschyorsky or Gorodok, or what is later known as Kasimov) was indeed not voluntary from the perspective of the Moscow administration. Back in the 1440–1450s, no one had any far-reaching goals in mind. When it comes Vasily II, there were never any strategic plans to conquer the Kazan khanate. He simply wanted to pay off Ulugh Muhammad.

Information from a later source (charters of treaty) also speak in favor of the formation of the Kasim Khanate on the political map of Eastern Europe. One of the most important of these texts is the charter of treaty between Ivan III and Ryazan Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich dated June 1483 [Spiritual, 1950, p. 284]. The tradition of establishing special relations with the Kasimov Tatars dates back to the times of Ryazan Grand Prince Ivan Fyodorovich, who died in 1456. Logic tells us that by 1456 it is safe to assume the Kasim Khanate already existed.

Everything said in relation to Daniyar, Kasim's son, can be referred back to himself. The ban on establishing connections and concluding agreements clearly shows that the Moscow administration saw some true power in Kasim, as they prohibited their vassal, the Ryazan prince, from contacting him. Moscow quite obviously demonstrates concern, distrust and extreme caution when it came to matter involving Kasim. Such an attitude would be highly unlikely towards the prince Vasily II voluntarily granted a city to in the Russian lands. A dangerous ten-

ant like Kasim could have only started living in Russia due to unfavorable circumstances for Moscow when the Muscovite government simply had no choice. A similar inconvenient situation was observed in 1445 when Vasily II was bought back from Tatar captivity.

The charter's text contains certain information about money transfers to Kasim from Ryazan. In fact, it was Vasily II—not Ryazan's Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich—who was part of the payment procedure negotiations (Vasily II negotiated on behalf "of Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich", i.e. instead of him). The charter does not specify any details on those payments. However, the money issue here is clarified in other contractual and several Wills charters. The following can be found in the last will and testament of prince of Vologda Andrey Vasilyevich's apanage (this Wills charter dated no later than March 1481): "... Give to your master, to your elder brother Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich thirty thousand rubles, which he had given to the Horde, and to Kazan, and to the tsarevitch townlet instead of to me" [ibid, p. 275]. This text makes it clear that for quite some time Ivan III was paying a "vykhod" (tax) to Kasimov instead of to Andrey Vasilyevich, and so the latter is repaying his debt. Thus, the tax was undoubtedly paid to Kasimov.

In the charter of treaty ("dogovornaya gramota") between Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich (future Vasily III) and Prince Yuri Ivanovich (June 16, 1504), we find the following: "... I, the grand prince, saw and knew the Horde. And you do not know the Horde. Those vykhods for the Horde and to Kazan, and to Astrakhan, and to Tsarevitch townlet (Kasimov had this name in the 15–16th centuries—B.R.) and in the times of other tsars and tsarevitches who rule in the land of mine, or my son's—the grand prince's—you shall pay to all the Tatar territories from your homeland, since our father, the grand prince, wrote so in his clerical letter. And if we do not send the vykhod to Tatar lands, we will not have an advantage" [ibid, p. 367]. This document proves that payments were made to Kasim and the rulers after him. Vykhods as a tax were paid to Kasimov both from the Moscow Principality and from Ryazan. The tribute to Kasimov was equal to the one given to the

Crimea, Astrakhan, and Kazan just as Ruthenia used to pay tribute to the Golden Horde. The relationship between Moscow and the tsarevitch of Kasimov in this case can be compared to the relationship between Moscow and the Golden Horde's heirs, as any relations with them had to be thoroughly discussed. Moreover, Muscovite rulers kept a wary eye on their vassal princes to make sure they had no contacts with those territories. Tribute cannot be paid to servants, but historians often present khans of Kasimov and sultans as such, thus transferring the realia of the 16th century onto the 15th century. Based on the text of the charter at hand we can see that the Kasim Khanate is associated with Golden Horde descendants, in line with the Great Horde and the Crimean, Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberian khanates.

Ivan III's testament (the clerical letter dated 16 June 1504) contains proof of the information contained in the previous source that tribute was indeed paid to Kasimov [ibid, 1950, p. 362]. Another confirmation of this fact can be found in the charter of treaty between Vasily III and Yury Ivanovich of Dmitrov (dated August 24, 1531) [ibid, pp. 417, 419], as well as in the accord between Vladimir Andreyevitch of Staritsa and tsar Ivan IV (dated March 12, 1553) [Collection of State Charters and Treaties, part 1, p. 461]. Taxes continued to be paid to Kasimov during the first half of the 16th century (to give readers an idea of how strong the tradition was).

It appears as though Ulugh Muhammad's demands after the Suzdal victory were not limited to getting one huge payment for granting the grand prince his freedom, but instead rested on steadier tax obligations, i.e. efficient payment of "vykhods" [Bazilevich, 1952, p. 55]. The fact that taxes were systematically collected from the lands of the grand principality and sent to the Horde is unquestionable; the issue of "vykhod" payments was included in all contractual letters between the grand prince and apanage princes of that time, as we saw above. It is harder to define which Hordes ended up receiving this "vykhod". Some charters align the Kasim Khanate with those receiving tribute, including the Kazan, Crimean, Astrakhan khanates and the Great Horde.

At the beginning of his stay in the Russian lands, starting in 1445, Kasim was therefore hardly a mere pawn in the hands of the Moscow grand prince. It is likely that he obtained Meshchersky Gorodok under conditions that were unfavorable to Moscow as part of the oral agreement of 1445 between Ulugh Muhammad and Vasily II. However, later on, as the Muscovite Principality, the formation of the Russian state, and the consolidation of its international positions started to progressively strengthen, the status of Kasim and his successors underwent a change.

This alteration was not external, as those at the head of the Kasim Khanate after Kasim continued to receive tribute, and were considered official tsars and tsarevitches. It was in fact that the dependence of the developing Russian state on the Kazan khanate stipulated by the agreement in 1445 was now over as Russia had started to consolidate itself. Now the dependence on khans and sultans of Kasimov as some kind of "feudals" under the terms of 1445 was out of the question.

However, the Muscovite government did not abolish the Kasim Khanate, which was a move nothing other than forward-thinking. The following reasons explain why the Moscow grand prince thought that the continued existence of the Kasim Khanate on Russian territory was possible.

First of all, he wanted to use Kasimov rulers as claimants to the thrones of other Tatar khanates. If the grand prince had a sultan (who was a Chinggisid) in his pocket, he could use him as a figure head on the Kazanian or any other Tatar throne without taking any responsibility for his actions. If a tsarevitch was on the throne in Kazan, for instance (and the concept of a dynasty allowed Kasim to lay claim to this throne), then with his help the grand prince could pursue a pro-Moscow policy in the Kazan Khanate. Negotiating with Kazan would be easier to a pronounced degree if its khan was a former khan of Kasimov. What is more, with the help of Kasim (as we mentioned earlier, a man with a reasonable claim to the Kazan throne) it would be possible to support various discords and conflicts within the Kazan Khanate, thus weakening it from the inside.

Secondly, Kasimov's geographical location was actually quite beneficial for Moscow from a policy standpoint. In this respect, the Kasim Khanate was a buffer state between Moscow and Kazan. If Kazan troops marched against Moscow, Kasimov would be the first to take the brunt of the attack, and the Kasimov Tatars would fight back against the Kazan people. The Ryazan land, which sat nestled in the middle flow of the Oka River, was as it were fenced in and protected by a strip of forests and large rivers from the East and South [Kargalov, 1974, p. 37]. To the East these forests spread out quite far towards the Volga. The tributaries of the Don River were an obstruction for any incursion into the Ryazan land from the South and West. The Meshchersky edge of the territory was even more inaccessible for the Tatars, as it sat to the North of the Oka where there was a thick wall of impassable forests. The Kasimov Tatars ("Gorodets cosacks"), i.e. Kasimov sultan troops deployed in Gorodets, were therefore understandably designated to defend the Moscow lands from the Kazan Khanate [ibid, p. 75]. Gorodets cosacks not only guarded the frontier and intercepted ambassadorial missions from Kazan to the Crimea and back, but also attacked Tatar uluses on their own initiative.

The third reason was Moscow's reluctance to rule directly over the "foreign" population (the Mordva and Meshchera, who were still pagans) living in the Meshchera land. The ruler of Kasimov was used for these purposes as well. American researcher A. Rorlich attaches a rather meaningful significance to the fact that the Kasim Khanate's population was multi-ethnic. She notes that among cities like Serpukhov, Zvenigorod, Kashira, Yuriev, and Surozhik, it was Qasim alone that became the center of the khanate, as its population was not Russian in comparison with other similar areas; the Tatars and Finno-Ugric peoples inhabited it long before it became an endowment possession of Tatar princes [Rorlich, 1986, p. 25].

Moscow at last became the primary political heir of the Golden Horde. Its charms, image, and example represented a bastion that all Muscovites strived towards. Russian princes reconstructed the very system, structure and

model of the Golden Horde state that Muscovite Russia laid claims to. All the Turkic speaking populations were united on similar terms, while the Russian lands possessed a special status. They constituted a part of the Horde only as a state within a state. Vasily II and Ivan III prepared the same destiny for the Kasim Khanate and others. Moreover, the stratification of Russian nobility took on a definite shape in the last thirty years of the 15th century. The principle of Territorial Corporation "worked", and because of constant wars there was never any time to change anything related to the social, material and organisational structure of the nobility.

By 1480, Moscow had thoroughly come to terms with all the advantages of having representatives of the Golden Horde dynasty in its service, as the latter were convenient pawns in the former's subtle political games. This is evidenced by the charter Ivan III sent to Crimean khan Mengli Giray, in which the Russian ruler offered him a place to hide in the Moscow state in case of any troubles in the khan's motherland [Collection of State Charters and Treaties, part 5, p. 2].

One of the subjective results of the civil war on the land of the future Russian state during the second quarter of the 15th century is the formation of the Kasim Khanate in 1445 on the conjoined lands of the Ryazan and Moscow Principalities. This khanate only managed to appear in the environment of hostility and implacability within the Grand-Ducal house of Moscow, and as a result of frequent changes among grand princes. Analysis of the charters of treaty and the Wills charters ("dogovornye gramoty" and "dukhovnye gramoty") of grand and apanage princes during 1481–1553 extrapolated onto the second half of the 15th century allows us to conclude that the Kasim Khanate came to be because of the ransom terms Moscow prince Vasily II promised khan Ulugh Muhammad in 1445 after the Russian troops were defeated near Suzdal. The charters explicitly show that taxes collected from the lands of the Moscow and Ryazan Principalities were transferred to Kasimov, along with Kazan, Crimean, the Astrakhan khanates and to the Great Horde. Hence, the Kasim Khan-

ate was quite a substantial financial burden for citizens of the Russian principalities. Its formation was not a matter of free will from the perspective of the Moscow Principality. In its first years of its existence, it was a reminder of Moscow's defeat, a speck of Tatar territory on

the Russian land. Not only did the disintegration of the Golden Horde cause its most cultural areas to break off and form independent khanates, it was also the catalyst for the creation of special Tatar entities in the developing Russian state.

§ 6. The Nogai Horde

Vadim Trepavlov

At the end of the 15th century, the territories of the Western Kazakhstan and the Left Bank of the Volga Region were occupied by a newly-established political entity headed by the elite of a Turkic-Qipchaq tribe of the Manghits. This entity was officially referred to as the Manghit yurt. Both Russian Medieval sources and modern scientific literature call it the Nogai Horde after the common name of the yurt's multitribal population, the Nogais.

Various sources contain scattered evidence on the whereabouts of the Nogais' ancestors before they appeared at the Yaik, the future Nogai Horde. Historical legends from various ethnic groups narrate their travels from Eastern Desht to the Volga, from the Volga to the Crimea and from the Crimea to the Northern Caucasus into the Kuban and Terek valleys.

The Manghits took part in the stormy events of "Great Troubles," a civil war that broke out in the Golden Horde in the second half of the 14th century. The end of the 14th century in the history of the Ulus Jochi is marked by Timur's raids. In 1391, he came through Central and Western Kazakhstan, crossed the Yaik and utterly demolished the left bank of the Volga. In 1395, Timur's army invaded the Northern Caucasus from Azerbaijan, where in the battle on the banks of the Terek River the Horde's khan Tokhtamysh suffered a crushing defeat. After this loss, Timur destroyed the Volga-Don interfluvial area along with the Lower Volga Region. In the period between these two campaigns, events occurred that many historians interpret as the formation of the Nogai Horde and that are linked to the Manghits' leader Edigu.

He accompanied his new patron Aksak Timur in the military expedition against the Golden Horde in 1391. Upon returning from

the campaign, Edigu secretly sent a messenger to the left-wing tribes (apparently, to the Northern Caucasus) ordering them to "leave their homes and travel nomadically away from their native places towards where the very centre and the areas before the centre (present) difficulties in intercommunication and many dangers, so that they... did not stay at the same encampment for more than two days... otherwise, Timur will catch them, dispel them and murder them all" [Collection, 1884, p. 467]. The tribes obeyed and escaped to the steppe wilderness, and when this was done, Edigu used a plausible excuse to leave Timur's main camp and come to Desht (for more details see: [Mirgaleev, 2003]).

Authors from the 15–16th centuries find the Manghits (Edigu's tribe) to be in the area of the Yaik and Emba rivers. It is obvious that this interfluvial area was the exact place that was "difficult and dangerous to reach". After finding himself among his fellow tribesmen and beyond the reach of Transoxiana armies, Edigu managed to fortify himself in the Western Kazakh steppe and lay the foundation for a time-long standing rule that came to be known as the Manghit yurt.

The idea that Edigu was the founder of the Nogai Horde is common and popular among present-day Nogais. Quite a large number of researchers adhere to the same opinion, believing that after falling out with Timur, the head of the Manghits detached from the Golden Horde and formed an independent land.

Yet it is hard to agree with this interpretation of events. The Yaik-Emba interfluvial area was part of the Golden Horde, and the Manghit yurt was an autonomous entity within the Ulus of Jochi. Edigu himself was not the founder of the sovereign steppe empire of Nogai, merely an ancestor of the Manghit ruling house. There are no

explicitly clear signs that the Manghit nomad camps were independent.

The assumption can be made that the Manghits were not the only ones who desired to stay away from the Lower Volga Region, the Northern Black Sea Region, and the Northern Caucasus, as those areas were riddled with chaos. We can therefore guess that originally other ulus-es existed in the Manghit yurt. But it was the Manghits alone who became the core of a new foundation, due both to their bey's authority and because of their numbers.

Far from Timur and under the leadership of Edigu, the left-wing tribes managed to snap back from the negative consequences of infighting and enemy invasions, and soon became a pillar of strength for their commander. Edigu started to enthrone submissive khans and made them appoint him to the highest position of the Beq-lar Beg (Beylerbey or Beglerbeg which means "the Commander of Commanders"). Among a physically weakened Horde it was not difficult to find obedient tsarevitches ready to rule under the patronage of a powerful and skillful commander. It seems that Edigu took this practice of seating puppet leaders from Timur, as he had lived many years at his court.

Holding the position of Beylerbey, Edigu managed all public affairs of the Golden Horde and entrusted the Manghit yurt to his sons. His closest associate, as various sources attest to, appears to be his eldest: Nur ad-Din. Towards the end of Edigu's life, a grave conflict broke out between them. The information that remains about this eldest son is controversial and terse. But in any event, Nogai folklore kept alive the memory of the period of Nur ad-Din's independent rule; to be more precise, of his coregency with other khans. According to available sources, the following string of events can be reconstructed. Edigu delegated control of the lands between the Volga and Yaik to Nur ad-Din. The tribute in favor of this mirza was collected during the years of Temur-Qutlugh's rule and amounted to roughly 40,000 altyns. Nur ad-Din also kept his rank under the khans who reigned after this khan, even after his father left for Khwarezm in 1410.

But no document ever mentions Nur ad-Din as a bey or a prince, he is always a mirza. Ac-

cording to the facts as presented by a Tatarian chronicler named Qadir Ali Bek (beginning of the XVIIth century), he died from a stomach disease when his father was still alive. Epos suggests another reason that is more befitting of a hero: the mirza died of blood loss when his old wounds opened after he came back from one of many campaigns.

Meanwhile, Edigu did not manage to hold on to his power. After a quarrel with one of his henchmen, he tried to settle in Khwarezm, then stayed in Western Siberia for some time before he began to enthrone obedient tsarevitches. In 1419, in the area around Saray-Jük, khan Kadir-Berdi's troops attacked Edigu, resulting in his death.

After Edigu perished, his sons managed to retain the Manghits' influence in the Ulus of Jochi. The main reason behind their successful career is undoubtedly the example and inherited authority of their predecessor: their father. Edigu's traditional influence was so strong that after his death the rank of Beylerbey was preserved in his family.

Governing duties of the Manghit yurt were entrusted to his son Gazi. What is known is that he, "based on his father's example, became the ruler of his nation and tribe, and brought aimag and other tribes under his wing". It seems that Gazi proved himself as a relatively autocratic ruler, although he was considered the beylerbey under one khan named Jumaduk. This irritated the nomadic aristocracy, already estranged from the iron fist of absolute power. In 1428, Gazi was killed by rebels, and in that

same year Chinggisiide Abu'l-Khayr was declared khan. He got along with the Maghits who were supported by the large multitribal population of their yurt. Throughout the time of his rule (1428–1468), they were loyal to him from the very start. Among Edigu's descendants in Abu'l-Khayr's empire—the so-called khanate of the nomadic Uzbeks—Nur ad-Din's Waqqas son moved to the fore.

Between him and the khan there was close competition for at least two decades: "They drank from the same cup, the first from the one side and the second from the other; at the same time one was the khan and the other was the bek". The Manghit bey's reputation as an

"extraordinary servant and warrior of the great khan" eventually reached Europe [Collection, 1854, p. 157; Mekhovsky, 1936, p. 92, 171]. Muslim chroniclers considered Waqqas's main merit the fact that "he conquered Sain khan's throne twice" for his patron Sain khan is Batu, who de facto founded the Ulus of Jochi. Apparently, this meant Waqqas's participation in the occupation of Ordu-Bazaar, the former main capital of Batu, as well as in the defeat of Abu'l-Khayr's rivals, the khans of the Great Horde.

As the beylerbey, Waqqas was at the head of the khanate's military forces and participated in all the major campaigns of 1430 towards the beginning of the 1440s. As a reward for his loyalty, Waqqas was granted Uzgend, a town on the Syr Darya.

The Manghits belonged to the right wing of the Uzbek state. The high rank of this tribe and the sovereign's benevolence towards it were confirmed by a matrimonial alliance: the mother of Abu'l-Khayr's two sons belonged to this tribe. At the same time, the Manghit yurt was not overshadowed by other uluses subordinate to Abu'l-Khayr. The independence of the Manghit possessions in the Waqqas era was can be seen in the opposition between them and the Great Horde, with Khan Abu'l-Khayr hardly participating in what was going on. Busy warring with the East-Asian Timurids, the leader of the nomadic Uzbeks did not interfere in the matters of his Western servants and did not inhibit the autonomy or gradual strengthening of the Manghit yurt.

Polish chronicler Matthew Mekhovsky recorded that "Oqqas, an extraordinary warrior and servant of the great khan... was killed". After his death, "his sons broke away from the main Trans-Volga Horde and settled near the Sarai palace (i.e Saray-Jük.—V.T.) approximately seventy years before the current 1517. Soon afterwards, they expanded in gigantic proportions, so by our times they had already turned into the most numerous and largest Horde". The approximate dating of this event according to "Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis" is 1447 "or a little earlier", as the author writes [Mekhovsky, 1936, p. 92, 93, 171].

Documents treating on the second half of the 15th century mention several Manghit

beys who were in power at the same time: 1) Waqqas's brother Abbas. This ruler was active in the 1470 and then disappears from the view of chroniclers only to return in the 1490s; 2) Waqqas's son Khwarezmi, known from occasional mentions; 3) Waqqas's son Musa, the true creator of the independent Manghit yurt, i.e. the Nogai Horde. The simultaneous existence of several Manghit beys who were not opposing but cooperating with each other suggests that one of them was the tribal leader of the Manghits, while the others served as the beylerbeys under the simultaneously reigning monarchs.

It appears that immediately after Waqqas's death and before splitting apart from his sons, khan Abu'l-Khayr was to appoint another Manghit noble for the position of the supreme bey, as the established tradition dictated. The candidacy of Waqqas's younger brother Abbas seemed promising. According to nomadic traditions, when inheriting the status uncles had an advantage over nephews (in this case, over Waqqas's children).

Furthermore, Qadir Ali Bek writes that "Khwarizmi-bek came after" Waqqas. The most plausible theory is that Khwarezm became head of the Manghit tribe.

However, Waqqas's other son Musa started dictating Manghit policy in the Western steppes until he was defeated in a battle with one Chinggisid prince. In search of help and followers, he turned his attention to someone named Bureke, son of Yadgar. Musa's visit elated him, as the attention of a highborn Manghit aristocrat opened up the perspective of obtaining the rank of khan. The established order demanded one obligatory condition: there must be a Manghit beylerbey by the khan. Thus, if a Manghit leader agreed to become the beylerbey under one of the countless Jochids, that Jochid became the khan with the support of the Manghits. Yadgar "was seated on a white felt (mat) and was made the khan" [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 167]. This is how a mediocre blood prince surprisingly even for himself obtained the highest monarchical rank: Musa was immediately granted the rank of the beylerbey (bey). The Manghits needed a khan for the sole purpose of enlightening their growing political influence.

Abu'l-Khayr's personality and power united the Uzbek state for forty years. But no one wanted to obey his son and heir, Sheikh Haydar. In fact, leaders from all parts of Desht-i Qipchaq united in order to overthrow the dynasty. Among them were khan Ibak (Ibrahim) from the Tyumen yurt, Jani Beg Khan (Abu'l-Khayr's old antagonist and one of the founders of the Kazakh khanate), Bureke, whom we already know, and Manghits Abbas-bey and Musa-bey with his brother Yamgurchi. Ibak quickly killed Sheikh Haydar, leaving Desht-i Qipchaq without a ruler. However, the beylerbey-bey could only serve along with a khan at that time. Thus, Musa was expected to establish a partnership with some other sovereign.

From 1470–1490, the Manghit leaders only recognised the primacy of the Kazakh Jani Beg khan, and afterwards only the Tyumen leader Ibak khan.

Eastern sources usually list the Manghit aimaks, the tribe and the ulus of the Manghits as Musa's possessions. But now, the Manghits included a wider number of peoples, not just the Qipchaqs who inhabited nomadic tenures granted by the Mongol-Manghits and then ended up on the Yaik. In the years of the Horde disintegration after Timur's invasions, Edigu took advantage of the crisis of khan power and managed to gather huge numbers of the Horde population on his territory behind the Volga. It can be safely presumed that a stable and safe life in the Volga steppes also attracted nomads later, in the late 14th and the first decades of the 15th century.

Gradually, families and entire communities from neighboring lands gathered in the nomadic camps controlled by the Manghit beys. These mingled nomads fought together against Tokhtamysh's children, marched with Abu'l-Khayr against the Timurids, and battled with Sheikh Haydar and Burunduk. Major wars or other natural disasters almost never made it to the Manghit yurt. By the end of the 15th century, the third or fourth generation of its inhabitants were already living on the steppes between the Volga and the Emba. Their common historical destiny and political interests made them aware of their communality.

The word "*Nogai*" was a symbol of this union. All the nomads subordinate to the Manghit bey were referred to like this, regardless of their tribal affiliation. From now on, the Manghits themselves, as well as the Keraytes, Naimans and other tribes became known as the Nogais.

Many (if not all) uluses chose the head of their beys from among the old aristocracy, but keeping them united was only possible if the leader possessed extraordinary wit and tact. Apparently, these features were inherent to Musa. The talent to find common ground with the leaders of other uluses was especially useful when it came to the cruel war for Desht-i Qipchaq's "Uzbek heritage". The strength of Musa's power rested on his successful external policy-making and can be attributed to his high rank of commander-in-chief, or beylerbey (bey), which was once given to him by puppet khan Yadgar.

Towards the end of his days, Musa was obviously attracted to the idea of getting rid of the image of the supreme ruler, i.e. the khan. Sovereignty in the Manghit yurt gave him the opportunity to govern without a decorative false suzerain. The old bey's authority and the power of the yurt he had created helped him get by with his own forces and without using the mask of the beylerbey serving some khan. Bey Musa died around 1502. What his younger brothers and sons inherited was not a tiny nomadic possession with a dependent status: it was a powerful steppe empire known as the Nogai Horde.

In the second half of the 15th century, the relations between the Nogai Horde and other Volga Tatar khanates were still at their very earliest stages. This era was a prelude to the Nogais' active policy-making in the contiguous Western yurts during the first half of the proceeding century. Kazan was far away from the tumultuous events resonating out from the collapse of the 'Throne Empire' (Great Horde), and even from the beginning it did not have very close contacts with the Nogais. M. Safargaliev seems to have the most logical opinion on this question: 'When the Nogais let themselves be known to their Western neighbours, the Khanate of Kazan had already been established. The relations of Ulugh Muhammad (the first khan of the Khanate of Kazan.—V.T.) with Edigu's children could not have been friendlier after

the treason of Nowruz. as the commander-in-chief, Navruz betrayed Ulugh Muhammad and deserted to Kūchūk Muhammad. As a result, Ulugh Muhammad was expelled from his possessions and headed to Kazan. Because of this, the participation of the Nogais in the conquest of Kazan by Ulugh Muhammad was out of the question. During the time of the early khans, the Khanate of Kazan was quite strong and did not need any support from its neighbours' [Safargaliyev, 1938, pp. 126–127].

The available sources do not clearly show whether the Nogai-Kazan connections were somehow affected by familial relations between the khan dynasty and the Great Horde Manghids (Timur ibn Mansur's daughter Nur-Sultan was the wife of khan Ibrahim ibn Mahmud ibn Ulugh Muhammad, and the mother of future khans Muhammad Amin and Abd al-Latif). In any event, the support of Kazan ruler Ali ibn Ibrahim on behalf of Musa and Yamgurchi can be explained by the fact that after her husband's death Nur Sultan set off to the Crimea and married Mengli Giray. Thus, the Crimean yurt together with the Moscow principality favored Nur Sultan's children. In opposition to this, the Nogais took the side of Ali.

The start of relations between the Nogai Horde and Kazan is visible from the beginning of the 1480s, i.e. immediately after Ibak and Yamgurchi killed Ahmed, and just as the Nogais made their appearance in the political arena of Western Europe. G.I. Peretyatkovich related this revival of contact to the death of Kazan khan Ibrahim in 1478. However, it seems that the strengthening of the Kazan factor in the Nogai Horde was in line with other events happening during the epoch of the Great Horde's disintegration. G.I. Peretyatkovich and M.I. Khudyakov for all intents and purposes correctly associated the formation of the pro-Moscow and pro-Nogai parties of the Kazan aristocracy to those exact times. The former supported Muhammad Amin ibn Ibrahim, and the latter supported his brother Ali [Peretyatkovich, 1877, p. 151,152; Khudyakov, 1991, p. 45].

The contributions of Musa and Yamgurchi in the palace coups of the 1480s can be seen as their political debut. Ali, who ruled for five

years after his father's death, was dethroned, and leadership passed to his brother Muhammad Amin. One year later, Ali returned to power and was again dethroned. And in 1487, supported by the Nogai troops, he "ousted his brother from Kazan". In July of that year, Russian voevodas occupied the city and once again enthroned Muhammad Amin to rule in the khan's palace; only this time he remained there for a long time. Ali and his family were brought to Ruthenia, and from there he was deported to Beloozero (present Belozersk). Such resolute behavior on behalf of the Moscow authorities sobered up the Nogais for a certain time, prompting them to act more carefully in the Middle Volga Region. The unyielding firmness of the Russian administration also kept them off demarches, as in response to numerous appeals to release Ali they always received a firm refusal. When the Kazan princes—Ali's followers—dared to attack the khanate, Ali's servants in Russia were executed and Yamgurchi's ambassador was detained as a hostage.

The Nogais' ardency was also constrained by the fact that Ali's wife, "tsarina Kara Kush", who was staying in Beloozero, was Yamgurchi's daughter. Ivan III demanded from the former that he must slay Al-Gazi bey, the leader of the Kazan emigration in the Nogai Horde. After he found out about that, he escaped to Ibak, Tyumen, in order to avoid any risks. In general, the epicentre of the opposition was of great concern to Muhammad-Amin and his Russian patrons. Having failed to spur repressions against the Kazan refugees, the Russians tried to make Musa persuade beys Al-Gazi, Begish and his son Utesh, as well as sayyid Kasim, to move to Moscow by promising them a generous salary. They refused and continued to advocate for Ali's release.

Out of the two brothers leading the Nogai Horde, Musa was inclined to cooperate with Moscow, while Yamgurchi adhered to the idea of a military solution of the Kazan issue. In these particular conditions and taking into account the current environment, Musa stood at the head of the Nogais after Abbas's death. After returning from "the Turkmen", he managed to prevent a large military campaign prepared

by khan Ibak and Yamgurchi. The Tatar beys were instigators of this escapade as well. However, small raids and border skirmishes at the end of the 1480s and beginning of the 1490s were happening between the Nogais and Kazanians "on a daily basis", as Muhammad-Amin complained openly to Mengli Giray.

Musa and Yamgurchi abandoned all attempts to support the Nogai party by force and instead focused on the peaceful implementation and spread of their influence through dynastic marriages. Some historians attribute the initiative of the Kazan-Manghit twinning arrangements to Muhammad Amin, as he desired to secure himself from the Nogais' invasions. At first glance, the khan Muhammad Amin was indeed the one who asked for Musa's permission to marry his daughter Fatima. But such marriages for princesses were already traditional at that time: Yamguchi's daughter Kara Kush was the wife of khan Ali, and Muhammad Amin's mother Nur-Sultan was Edigu's great-granddaughter. Shaybanids from Eastern Desht, including Abu'l-Khayr, were also marrying Manghit women in the 15th century. Thus, it would not be entirely correct to present this initiative as some kind of cunning plan on the part of the Kazan khan. Musa reflected and hesitated on this for several years. Becoming relatives with a Russian successor meant betraying the Nogai party of the Kazan yurt and its symbol, the dethroned and expelled Ali Khan. Besides, Moscow could treat the twinning of the two Turkic dynasties as behind-the-scenes collusion.

Finally, only in the summer of 1490 did the bey decide to ask the Russian sovereign for advice, as the latter was "the father, brother, and friend" of Muhammad Amin [Ambassadorial book, 1984, p. 29]. The khan himself even pummeled Moscow with letters asking for the marriage to be approved. The Russian government had their own interest in this dynastic union, as they hoped to spread their influence throughout the Nogai Horde via Kazan. Ivan Vasilyevich allowed his protegee to marry the Nogai princess "so that Musa became your direct servant and friend". Musa also received a polite answer, something along the lines of "since we are also interested in the friendship

between you and Muhammad Amin, wed your daughter to him" [ibid, pp. 30, 32].

However, the matter dragged on for a long time still to come. Musa justified the delay by referencing the conflict with the Great Horde. Only Ali's death in the Northern prison finally allowed the bey to cast aside all doubts and let Fatima go to Kazan. Upon an order from Moscow, Ali's widow (Yamgurchi's daughter) was also wed to Muhammad-Amin. Ivan III was trying to tweak the levers of pressure on the Nogais through marital bonds. In 1489, he prohibited Muhammad Amin from wedding his daughter to mirza Alach ibn Yamgurchi until the Nogais pay compensation for the goods they had stolen during their recent raid on Kazan.

Beys emigrants who lived at Yamagurchi's and Ibak's (then referred to as Mamuq's), did not share Musa's conciliatory moods. An attempt to reverse the situation in Kazan in favor of the pro-Nogai party resulted in Mamuq's opportunistic occupation of the city in 1496 and his inglorious departure from there a year later, as was already covered earlier. Musa was of course against this campaign and tried to prevent it. However, when the Russians brought Muhammad Amin's younger brother Abd al-Latif to Kazan and made him the khan, that was the last straw for Musa: carrying out a new enthronement without consulting with the Nogais first was an all-too-obvious act of Moscow's disrespect towards their interests. In 1500, the Nogai troops for the second time (after 1496) besieged the yurt's capital. This time Musa and Yamgurchi led the campaign personally, and their chosen claimant to the throne was another Siberian named Shaybanid Agalak ibn Mahmutek, the younger brother of Ibak and Mamuq. Kazan survived a three-week blockade, and young khan Abd al-Latif sallied on a daily basis. After failing to achieve any kind of success, Musa, Yamgurchi and the Siberian tsarevitch escaped to the steppes.

The double failure to enthrone their protegees deeply discouraged the leaders of the Nogai Horde, and they ceased to carry out military actions in the Middle Volga territories. The confounded "war party" finally calmed down. Bey Musa, Yamgurchi-mirza, and Ivan III

through their ambassadors entered into a pact of non-aggression towards Kazan. In March 1502, a Russian ambassador traveling to the Crimea was said to notify Mengli Giray that from now on "the Nogais of the Kazan land are peaceful", and the Nogai ambassadors, on behalf of their leaders, promised that "they shall not commit any more evils" [Collection of Imperial Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 386].

The extent of the penetration of the Nogais into the Khanate of Kazan is still as of yet undetermined. We have already mentioned the unlikely probability of their initial presence in Yurt during the time of Ulugh Muhammad. However, the presence of Nogai among the population of the state can hardly be brought into question. First of all, this is clearly highlighted by toponymy: the Nogai Gate in the capital fortress and the Nogai daruga (one of the five provinces of the yurt), etc. Secondly, the influx of immigrants is recorded in Bashkir and Tatar shejeres (genealogies). But it is still difficult to say to what extent the Nogais mentioned in folkloric sources match up with the historic Nogais originating from the Nogai Horde. Neither the larger number of Kipchak elements in the language compared to the local population, nor coincidences in the names of clans (els) allow us to identify the foreign Kipchaks with the Nogais. The migration of the Qipchaqs continued for hundreds of years, and the Nogais settled down in the Manghit yurt only in the second half of the 15th century. Although they were also Qipchaq-speaking, they could not "bear responsibility" for all the

movements the Qipchaq-speaking population of Eastern Europe were involved in.

It is entirely a different matter that from time to time Nogai troops would come to the lands of the khanate to resolve political issues and, sometimes, stay there for long periods. For example, it is a fact that when Muhammad Amin was in his second reign (1502–1512), a 20-thousand strong Nogai cavalry was active in his possessions. With several reservations, we can agree with V.M. Zhirmunsky, who suggested that the Nogais served khans in exchange for tribute and other monetary compensations [Zhirmunsky, 1974, p. 425].

In general, the events of the 15th and the early years of the 16th century show us that Nogai-Kazan relations were quite uneven: active participation was followed by years of indifference, and military maneuvers were swapped out for cooperation. Perhaps, it makes sense to agree with S.Kh. Alishev and take into account the seasonal character of the Nogais' nomadic movements, plunging either deeper into the steppe or approaching the borders of the Kazan khanate. We must also not forget the factor of the political environment in post-Horde Eastern Europe. The Nogais were distracted from Middle-Volga matters not just because of their winter movements to the South, but also due to internal conflicts, campaigns against the Great Horde, and then later against Crimea and Astrakhan, as well as portions of their population migrating to the Siberian yurt, Kazakh and Uzbek khanates.

§ 7. The Tyumen and Siberian Khanates in the 15th Century

Alexander Nesterov

The Siberian yurt

The Turkic-Tatar states of the Urals and Western Siberia—the states of the Siberian Shaybanids and Taibugids—are the least researched among the entities the Ulus of Jochi left behind after it dissintegrated in the 15th century. Historical works starting in the 18th century continually referred to those states as "the Siberian khanate", but this term is only

relative by nature because no source from the 15–16th centuries ever used it. The term "Tyumen khanate" appeared later and was used to refer to the state of the Siberian Shaybanids of the 15th century. Its capital was Chimgi-Tura (Tyumen), but this name was also conditional. The absence of reliable evidence about the real name of the Turkic states in the Siberian-Ural region raises the question of the legitimacy of using any of the known designations to discuss

them. Furthermore, usage of the terms "Tyumen khanate" or "Siberian yurt" is objectively connected only with a rather narrow chronological period. In this regard, it is more reliable to use the term "Siberian yurt" when referring to the government entities of the given region. The term "yurt" (يورت) in the Turkic-Tatar historic tradition, just as in the texts of the Moscow orders, is used as a synonym for an independent state. This term is also relative, but is not strictly bound to the chronology and may serve as a name for all the Tatar government entities that existed in the Ural and Western Siberia territories.

The history of states in the Siberian yurt consists of the following chronological periods:

1. The formation of the Shaybanid state in Western Siberia and the creation of the nomadic Uzbek state (the first half of the 15th century). This period covers the time when several branches of the Shaybanid dynasty were struggling for power within the Siberian yurt. Among them were the Mahmud Khodja khan (about 1422–1430), Dawlat Shaykh Oglan (the end of the 14th century—1426), as well as Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah Khan I (in Siberia from 1428–1446). The state centre during this time was Chimgi-Tura. The period comes to a conclusion when the greater part of the nomads move to the South towards the borders of Transoxiana.

2. The state of the Siberian Shaybanids (circa 1446—the beginning of the 16th century), which formed after the "Uzbek" Shaybanids moved away to the South. The centre of the state here is Chimgi-Tura, and that is why it can be referred to conditionally as the Tyumen khanate. Throughout the approximate 65 years of the existence of the state, it was ruled by the following khans: Hajji Muhammad Khan (circa 1444—circa the 1460s), Mahmud Khan (circa 1460—circa 1465), Sayyid Ibrahim Khan (circa 1465—circa 1495), Mamuq Khan (circa 1495—circa 1499) and Qutlugh Khan (circa 1500—circa 1505).

3. The first half of the 16th century was the time of the Taibugid state, which existed in Western Siberia and had as its centre a place named Iskar. Rulers of this state held the rank

of beys (princes), so it is legitimate to name it the Iskar principality of Taibugids. Successors of the Siberian Shaybanids stayed under the patronage of the Central Asian Shaybanids, but it is possible that some Siberian-Shaybanid possessions were left in Western Kazakhstan. The Siberian yurt during this period represented a complex conglomerate of dominions governed by representatives of the local Tatar aristocracy, as well as the Mansi and Khanty tribal nobility.

4. The Siberian khanate of the Shaybanids as part of the Shaybanid empire (1563–1598), which is when the restored state of the Siberian Shaybanids was dependent on the Bukhara Shaybanids. The rulers of this period were: Kuchum Khan (1563–1598) and his brother Ahmad Giray Khan (circa 1560). This period ends when the Russians conquer the region.

5. The final period of dynastic history (the first third of the 17th century) was when Kuchum Khan's heirs Ali Khan, then Ish Muhammad Khan and their successors, fruitlessly tried to restore their power in Western Siberia. The last Shaybanids still laid claims to rule over Western Siberia up until the 1660s.

It is difficult to research the history of states within the Siberian yurt due to the scarcity of sources. The ones directly devoted to the states of the Siberian yurt only describe the period of Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah Khan's rule (1428–1468) along with the period of the annexation of the Urals and Western Siberia to the Muscovite state in the second half of the 16th—the beginning of the 17th century. The remainder of the period of the Siberian yurt's existence is known only from scattered mentions in Russian and Oriental historical works, documents, etc. Archaeological sources addressing the history of the Siberian yurt are also quite poor. Moreover, only a small number of monuments from that period have been discovered to date, and the most important of them were excavated back at the end of the 19th—the beginning of the 20th centuries. In post-revolutionary times, peripheral archaeological sites were the main research subjects, but they could barely provide any precise idea on the culture of the Siberian yurt in general.

The Territory of the Siberian Yurt

The territory of the Siberian Yurt, which was a vast regional and political entity of the 15th—17th centuries, varied considerably throughout the years of its existence.

The term "Siberian yurt" was never used in relation to any territory during the period preceding the Mongol conquest of Western Siberia or the emergence and rise of the Jochi state in the 13–14th centuries. However, sources mention Siberia in the period of Chinggis Khan's campaigns. Thus, Rashid al-Din states that "Siberia" was one of the first targets of Jochi Khan and Batu Khan's Western campaigns [Rashid al-Din, 1960, p. 71]; later, it was noted that Jochi Khan's yurt was located on the Irtysh river [ibid., p. 78]. Muin al-Din Natanzi noted that Siberian rulers belonged to the right wing of the Jochids [Collection, 1941, p. 127]. It seems that even at the beginning of the 14th century when Muin al-Din Natanzi was writing, the Shaybanids had gained power over the Siberian yurt.

The Shaybanids (Shibanids) are descendants of Shiban, Jochi Khan's fifth son, to whom Batu Khan granted a vast dominion in the Southern Urals and Kazakhstan: "... the yurt, in which you will live, will be between my yurt and the yurt of my elder brother Ichen: in the summer live on the eastern side of the Yaik, along the rivers Irgiz, Or and Ilel up to the Ural mountain, and during the winter live in Arakum, Karakum, and by the banks of the Syr Darya, by the estuaries of the Chu Su and Sary Su rivers" [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 160]. Therefore, Shiban's initial possessions were solely related to territories of the Southern Urals and Western Kazakhstan, which were the lands inherited by Shiban's descendants. Their rule had to be approved by leaders of the Jochi state's right wing. For instance, Mengü-Timur khan secured the possession of this area for Shiban's son Behadur [ibid, p. 152]. At the same time, the procedure for the confirmation of the rulers of the Shaybanid Ulus indicates that it was part of the right wing of the Jochid state.

Yet to this day, it is still unclear who possessed the territory of the final Siberian yurt. It is most likely that Western Siberia belonged to the left-wing Jochids, who were the descendants of

Orda-Ichen and Tuqay-Timur. Indirect evidence for this statement is the fact that Tokhtamysh Khan escaped to Siberia after Timur defeated him at the end of the 14th century. However, in the 13th and first half of the 14th centuries the notion of the "Siberian yurt" did not yet exist. It appears only simultaneously with the emergence of independent or semi-autonomous entities in Western Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan.

The formation of the Siberian yurt was inextricably linked to the development of the Shaybanid ulus, which belonged to the Jochi state. Unfortunately, sources do not explicitly cover the history of the Shaybanids in the second half of the 13–14th centuries. We can only guess that the Shaybanids were gradually starting to live on the lands of Kazakhstan and Western Siberia. The Siberian yurt was formed beyond any doubt by the beginning of the 15th century, comprising the territory occupied by the Shaybanid khans and sultans. It spread from the Manghits' possessions in the Southwest to the Baraba steppe in the Northeast, and from the Irtysh estuary in the North to the Aral sea in the South [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 29]. This territory was divided between several representatives of the Shaybanid house: Mustafa Khan, Dawlat Shaykh-Oglan, Jumaduk Khan, and Mahmud Khodja Khan. However, the development of historical events indicates that the possessions of these rulers can be considered as a single unity, in other words the existing regional and political formation referred to as the "Siberian yurt". Before attempting to occupy any possessions outside the territory of the Siberian yurt, Shaybanid rulers persistently fought for autocracy in that territory alone against other Shaybanids.

Throughout the 15–16th centuries, the notion of a "Siberian yurt" was gradually becoming more and more narrow. The most important characteristics that made it different from other state formations that cropped up on the ruins of the Jochi state were its peculiar natural conditions and population. Along with the steppe, the Siberian Yurt included extensive forest-steppe and taiga areas inhabited by Ugric peoples. The centre of the Siberian yurt was gradually shifting towards the North, finally settling down in the modern-day Tobolsk area (Iskar).

Several state formations that were Turkic at their core appeared on the territory of the Siberian yurt. At the beginning of the 15th century, one of the branches of the Shaybanid dynasty established the Uzbek khanate. Then, after Abu'l-Khayr moved Southwards, another branch of the Shaybanids came to power. They created the Shaybanid state on the territory of the Siberian yurt. This formation disappeared at the beginning of the 16th century, and a unique type of federation emerged instead of it. This federation, known as the Taibugid state, consisted of possessions of different Tatar feudals and Ugric tribal "princes" governed by the beys of Iskar. The Taibugids were defeated in battle against the Shaybanids in the middle of the 16th century. As a result, the territory of the Siberian yurt was thus included in the Shaybanid empire as its Northern ulus, the Siberian khanate. During that period, the Siberian khanate consisted of vast territories stretching to the Lower Ob in the North. However, all of these areas, especially the ones inhabited by the Ugric people (the Khanty and Mansi), were de facto independent from the Siberian khans and only recognized their supremacy as a formality.

The internal division of the Siberian yurt in the 16th century depended on the peoples inhabiting it. Within the khan's possessions, we can distinguish the vast woods of the Trans-Irtysh and Trans-Ob areas where the Ugric population prevailed, along with the Baraba steppe, Eastern Urals, the Ishim steppe, and Northern Kazakhstan where the Turkic population prevailed. The Siberian yurt was included in the Russian state with these exact borders and covering the same areas.

Therefore, the historical sense of the term "Siberian yurt" differs from the 15th to the 16th centuries: if in the 15th century the Siberian yurt was the centre of the Shaybanid state, Turkic at its core and quite vague geographically, then in the 16th century it represented a territory with clear boundaries that at first was part of the Taibugid state and then included into Shaybanid country as the Northern ulus. During this period, the Siberian Yurt was a regional-state formation with a mixed Turkic and Ugric population consisting of individual

small holdings poorly connected with each other and just barely controlled by a central authority.

The Population of the Siberian Yurt

The population of the Siberian yurt belonged to the Turkic and Ugric language families, but it did not remain stagnant throughout the prehistory and history of the Siberian yurt. Its main elements appeared on the territory of the future Siberian yurt in the 9–10th centuries, when the bulk of the Hungarian (Magyar) population migrated to the West, and the Turkic tribes, especially the Qipchaqs, became the dominant peoples in the steppes of Desht-i Qipchaq [Hungarian History, 1971, p. 89; Kumekov, 1972, p. 55; Savinov, 1979, pp. 103–104]. The turkization of the forest-steppe zone of the Siberian yurt continued on during the 11–13th centuries, and while gradually pressing the Ugrics to the North, the Turkic tribes moved to the taiga areas of the Trans-Irtysh and Trans-Ob regions [Mogilnikov, 1965, p. 281]. An additional impetus to this process came through in the form of the Mongol conquest, after which the territory of Western Siberia was occupied by the Turkic tribes of the Uzbeks and Kazakhs [Akhmedov, 1965; Sultanov, 1982]. However, in the 16th century, a significant portion of the population of the Siberian yurt was composed of Ugric tribes, the ancestors of the Khanty and Mansi.

During the 15–16th centuries, the Khanty and Mansi were forming tribal ties that were at the level of statehood formation [Bakhrushin, 1935, pp. 34–84]. In the second half of the 16th century, we can see the existence of a number of Ugric tribal "kingdoms" formed in the Siberian Yurt: The **Kodsk** principality in the Northern Urals and the Trans-Ob region (which emerged no later than the middle of the 15th century; the only one among all the Khanty "principalities" that developed into a "feudal" possession of the Alachev princes and existed almost till the mid-17th century); the **Obdor** principality on the Lower Ob; the **Lyapin** principality on the Northern Sosva; the **Sosva** principality on the Northern Sos-

va; the **Kazim** principality on the Kazim river, the right tributary of the Ob; the **Belogor** principality near the Irtysh-Ob interfluvium; the **Demian** principalities on the Demianka; the Surgut principalities around **Surgut**, and lastly the **Bardakov** principality. All the above listed "principalities" were inhabited by the Khanty. The Mansi lived to the South and Southwest of the Khanty. Their possession was Pelym, a triune proto-state entity and the most developed among the Ugric "principalities". Pelym consisted of the **Pelym** principality with its centre on the Pelym river, the Kondinsk principality located on the Konda river, and the Taborin plowland (volost) in the Southwest of Pelym. Pelym's rulers were considered to be a bellicose group, with sources mentioning their numerous raids into Russian possessions in the Transurals in the 15–16th centuries. The Taborin volost of the Siberian yurt was the only district in Western Siberia where its people practiced primitive farming [ibid, p. 83].

In general, the Ugric part of the population of the Siberian yurt were hunters and fishers (the Ob Ugrians practiced them through the beginning of the 20th century), which sharply distinguished them from the Turkic cattlemen. The more developed traditions of the Turkic statehood had an impact on the ruling circles of the Ugric principalities and especially Pelym. Members of Turkic tribes number among the leaders of the Pelym and the Taborin volost (for example, Ablegirim was the last prince of Pelym), and Murzas and other Turkic ranks can also be found among them.

Along with the Ugric, there were a number of iTurkic feudal estates in the Siberian yurt. First of all, we should mention the **Ishimulus** with its centre in Kyzyl-Tura, one of the historic centres of the Siberian Tatars [Miller, 1937, p. 190]; the **Barabaulus** in the North-west of the Siberian yurt; the **Jalairulus** on the middle tributary of the Tobol, and a whole list of others.

Comparatively few settlements were known to exist in the Siberian yurt. The initial centres of the state were Chimgi-Tura (the modern city of Tyumen), and Kyzyl-Tura on the estuary of the Ishim river. The latter, according to legend, was the first capital of beys from the Taibugid dynasty [Nebolsin, 1849, pp. 12, 36,

38]. Later (in the 16th century), the centre of the state moved North, towards the confluence of the Tobol and Irtysh, where a new capital emerged. Different sources refer to this new city using three names: Iskar, Qashliq or Sibir (Old Siberia). It is likely that its original name was "Qashliq". The term "Sibir" was a possible name for the state, while "Iskar" (meaning "the old city") was most likely a descriptive name for that centre emerging in the second half of the 16th century.

Besides the above described, there were also several fortified centres known to exist on the territory of the Siberian yurt. Thus, in the area of the final capital—Iskar—there were a number of fortresses, including Suzge-Tura, Bitsik-Tura, and Kasim-Tura. In the area of modern Yalutorovsk there was also a fortress called Yaulu-Tura that protected trade routes to Central Asia. Siberian chronicles also mention centres of separate uluses as part of the Siberian yurt. Among them, we should mention the townlet of Yapanchi murza located on the site of modern-day Turinsk, a fortification controlling the path through the Ural mountains, as well as Karachin townlet, which was the centre of the Jalair ulus. Unfortunately, excavations of Karachin Isle on the Tobol river where according to legend this townlet had been located, only revealed the ruins of a Russian settlement from the 17th century. No traces of the Jalair town were found.

Generally speaking, settlements of the Siberian yurt left by the Turkic population were built high up on the steep banks of rivers or lakes. This method of construction let inhabitants keep at least one side of the settlement unfortified, as natural obstacles such as cliffs and ravines served the function of natural fortifications. Typically, settlements had a fairly complex system of ditches and made-made embankments; two embankments were almost a mandatory element of every fortified Siberian settlement. Even in peripheral settlements, embankments and ditches were sufficiently massive: for example, in the Hill Fort of Tyumenka (located on Lake Chany in modern Novosibirsk Oblast) these bloated ditches were 2–2.5 metres deep and up to 9 metres wide, and shafts of the Chinyaev settlement (on Chinyaikha Isle of

Lake Chany) were 1.5 metres high and 5 metres thick. Perhaps, ditches in many settlements were filled with water. Embankments were additionally strengthened by wooden fences.

In these settlements and also near them, there were dugout-like dwellings, which were mostly semi-dugouts or shallow dugouts with log or plank walls reinforced with columns. In the centre of the dwellings were fire pits. The walls of the houses were possibly daubed with clay, as traces of clay coating on the walls are preserved in many settlements. Any structures made of more durable materials were all but absent everywhere besides Iskar, where large amounts of brick was found from the 16th century (it is known that the main mosque of Iskar was built of adobe brick [Pignatti, 1915, p. 35]).

Unfortunately, at present a complete characterization of the Siberian yurt's settlements is impossible, as only a minor part of the yurt researched. The most widely examined aspects are the monuments of the Baraba ulus, which in the 15–16th centuries was the distant Eastern edge of this territory. A significant factor hindering research is that the location of the settlements of the Siberian Yurt contributes to their intensive erosion: the most interesting monuments such as Iskar and Chimgi-Tura have subsequently been almost completely washed away. Furthermore, the rest of Chimgi-Tura's historical monuments are now located on the territory of modern Tyumen, and their study is impossible due to the housing development presently located there.

To sum things up, we can note that the Siberian yurt and the government entities located on its territory formed a peripheral region underdeveloped in both political and economic terms. It emerged after the collapse of the Jochi state and was mostly inhabited by the Finno-Ugric population, as they were in the process of doing away with the old tribal system and forming an early statehood. The Turkic population mostly occupied the Southern part of the steppe region covered in forests. The main occupations of the population in the Northern and Central parts of the Yurt were taiga hunting and fishing, and cattle breeding in the South. Agriculture in the Siberian yurt was extremely undeveloped.

The Tyumen khanate: the Siberian Shaybanid state (the 15th—the beginning of the 16th century).

At the end of the 14th century, the Ural and Western Siberian lands apparently belonged to Hyias-ed Din Tokhtamysh Khan, or at least Iskender 'Anonymous' informs us that Tokhtamysh "died of natural causes in 800/1397–1398 in Tyumen" [Collection, 1941, p. 133]. Russian sources are also consistent with this information, but the death of Tokhtamysh Khan might possibly belong to a later time: Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi indicates that Tokhtamysh Khan's ambassador went to Timur in Rajab in 807/ January 1405. Moreover, Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi portrays Tokhtamysh Khan as a man who roamed the steppes and was abandoned by his fellow men [ibid, p. 189]. We can guess that Tokhtamysh Khan was hiding in his possessions, but when Western Siberia fell under the rule of Tuqay Timur's descendants is still unknown. It is possible that the rule of the Tuqay Timurids over these lands was comparatively short, as in the first decade of the 15th century the territory of the Siberian yurt was occupied by leaders of various branches of the Shaybanid house. It is most likely that the power of Tokhtamysh Khan only spread throughout Chimgi-Tura (Tyumen), while other lands of the Western Siberian steppes were occupied by Shaybanids. At any rate, at the beginning of the 15th century, there were several nomadic Shaybanid khanates and the area between the Ishim and the Tobol belonged to Mustafa Khan's possessions. To the West of the Ishim spread the possessions of Ibrahim ibn Pulad, and Northern Kazakhstan was ruled by Jumaduk Khan ibn Sufi [Akhnedov, 1965, p. 33]. In the Southern Trans-Tobol Region, the possessions of Mahmud Kodja Khan ibn Kaanbek found their home. At the same time, the opinion V.V. Pokhlebkin expressed that Tokhtamysh Khan was the founder of the Siberian khanate [Pokhlebkin, 2000, p. 155] seems inaccurate.

We can assume that after Ibrahim ibn Pulad's death his lands passed to his son Dawlat Shaykh-oglan, who also possessed Chimgi-Tura. Dawlat Shaykh-oglan may be considered the first ruler of the Siberian Shaybanid state with

Chimgi-Tura at its centre ("the Tyumen khanate"). It is possible that his rule was recognized by some local tribal princes of the Khantys and Mansis, however this theory is not supported by any evidence. In any event, Dawlat Shaykh was not the most powerful Shaybanid ruler, as in comparison to his rivals Mustafa Khan and Jumaduk Khan, he did not accept this title (as khan). Almost nothing is known about his real activities; sources only treat him as the father of Abu'l-Khayr, i.e. the founder of the nomadic Uzbek state. At the same time, another ruler whose possessions were located in the vicinity of Chimgi-Tura – Mahmud Khodja – assumed the title of khan, so he might also be considered the ruler of the Siberian yurt ("the Tyumen khanate").

In 1426 Dawlat Shaykh died, and his possessions passed to the emir of the Burkuts, which was the dominant tribe of Chimga-Tura. Dawlat Shaykh's heir Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah ibn Dawlat Shaykh was sent to Jumaduk Khan [Materials, 1969, p. 141]. This situation lingered until 1428 when Jumaduk Khan died. Afterwards, Abu'l-Khayr, supported by the Manghit emirs, regained control over Chimgi-Tura and the entire ulus of his father. Burkut emirs Kibek Khodja-bey and Adad-bey bowed their heads without resistance [ibid, p. 144–146].

The creation of the independent strong state of the Shibanids (Shaybanids) came about in 1429, the rulers of which laid claim to supreme power over the Jochi state. Its founder—Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah Khan ibn Dawlat Shaykh ibn Ibrahim ibn Pulad is considered to be the first khan of the Uzbek khanate (referred to as the state of the nomadic Uzbeks or the Shibanid khanate), which was formed on the territory of Western Siberia and Kazakhstan. At the same time, Abu'l-Khayr Khan may be considered the founder of the Uzbek Shaybanid dynasty, which was established in 1500 in the person of Muhammad-Shaybani Khan in Mawarannahr, where it reigned up until the 16th century.

After restoring Shaybanid power over Chimgi-Tura, the necessity of uniting the isolated Shaybanid uluses became the primary goal for Abu'l-Khayr. He immediately declared his claim to supreme power, and after minting coin in Chimgi-Tura demanded submission

from other Shaybanid khans and sultans. Unfortunately, the coins Abu'l-Khayr minted in the Siberian yurt's capital did not survive to the present day, so we only know about them from source material. Thus, Masud ibn Usman Quhistani in his work "Tarih-i Abu'l-Khayr-Hani" informs us that Abu'l-Khayr Khan issued coins at least twice: in 1429, after he conquered Chimgi-Tura, and in 1431, after he defeated Ahmad Khan, the ruler of the Great Horde, and occupied his main camp Ordu-Bazaar [ibid, pp. 48, 52].

Abu'l-Khayr's main rival then became Mahmud Khodja Khan ibn Kaan-bey ibn Ilbak ibn Ming Timur Khan, Abu'l-Khayr's second cousin twice removed. According to the information provided by Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, Mahmud Khodja Khan was one of the main claimants to supreme rule over the Shaybanid ulus. In 1430, on the banks of the Tobol river, Mahmud Khodja Khan was defeated, captured and killed by Abu'l-Khayr's forces. As a result of this victory, the entire Western part of the Siberian yurt came under the rule of Abu'l-Khayr. Thus, he controlled the territory from the confluence of the Ob and Irtysh in the North to the Manghit yurt in the South, in other words the former possessions of Shaybanids Dawlat Shaykh-oglan, Jumaduk Khan and Mahmud Khodja Khan [ibid, pp. 146–148; Maslyuzhenko, 2012, pp. 102–103].

The desire to establish his supreme power over the entire Jochi state prompted Abu'l-Khayr to also conquer territories in Central Asia and the Volga Region. Already in 1430, immediately after defeating Mahmud Khodja Khan, Abu'l-Khayr subdued Khwarezm, and in 1431 he deployed troops against Ahmad Khan and Mahmud Khan of the Lower Volga Region. The leaders of the Great Horde were destroyed and fled, after which Abu'l-Khayr Khan occupied their main camp Ordu-Bazaar and minted coin there as the supreme khan of the Jochi state [Materials, 1969, pp. 156–158].

After proclaiming his supreme power over the Jochi state, Abu'l-Khayr started fighting his last rivals in the Siberian yurt, the most important of which was Shaybanid Mustafa Khan ibn Musa ibn Kiran ibn Bayankejar. In 1428 Mustafa Khan supported Abu'l-Khayr in his struggle

for Chimgi-Tura. However, after the campaign of 1430–1431, Mahmud Khodja Khan's death, coupled with the proclamation of Abu'l-Khayr as the Jochids' supreme khan, such a powerful neighbor was of extreme concern to Mustafa khan, as he clearly understood that Abu'l-Khayr could attack him. Mustafa managed to draw over to his side Waqqas-bey, the ruler of the Manghit ulus and one of the strongest nomadic feudals in Abu'l-Khayr's state. His support had been essential in Abu'l-Khayr's military successes of 1428–1431. The emergence of the coalition between Mustafa Khan and the Manghits jeopardised the integrity of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's dominions, and he immediately came out against Mustafa khan. The decisive clash occurred on the Atbasar—a tributary of the Ishim. Mustafa khan was defeated and subsequently fled to the Mangyshlak Peninsula and into the possession of the Manghits [ibid, p. 157–158].

Mustafa Khan's rout signified the elimination of the last independent Shaybanid khanate on the territory of the Siberian Yurt. From then on, the entire yurt was controlled by Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah Khan. However, Abu'l-Khayr did not dare in this situation to start a conflict with the Manghits, instead opting to pretend to have forgiven Waqqas Bey for building an alliance with Mustafa Khan, and then again appointing him as the commander of the khan's troops. Waqqas-bey was one of the participants of Abu'l-Khayr's Turkestan campaigns, and as a result became the khakim of Uzgend.

As a result of the Turkestan campaign undertaken by Abu'l-Khayr after his victory over Mustafa Khan, cities such as Sygnak, Suzak, Uzgend, and Ak-Kurgan were conquered. This means that already in the 1440s Abu'l-Khayr continued the struggle for Central Asia: in 1444–1445, he subdued Sygnak beyond a shadow of a doubt, in 1446 he transferred the khan's residence away from Chimgi-Tura, and in 1447 initiated his campaign against Samarkand.

Abu'l-Khayr's later actions, as well as the history of the Uzbek khanate he created on the territory of the Siberian yurt, are inextricably connected with the history of Central Asia (and the reason why it is not covered in the research at hand). Let us only note that moving the centre of gravity of Abu'l-Khayr's empire

to the South in the 1450s triggered the state to collapse. Kazakh khans Giray Khan and Jani Beg khan split apart from him, and the same thing happened in the Northern areas belonging to the Siberian Shaybanids. The founder of this dynasty was Hajji Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Bey Khwandi-oglan ibn Ming Timur Khan. Just like Mahmud Khodja Khan, Hajji Muhammad Khan was a second cousin once removed to Abu'l-Khayr Khan.

Hajji Muhammad Khan's historical role and concrete actions are still a mystery. Soviet researchers Z.Ya. Boyarshinova and N.N. Stepanov put forth the view that even in the 1420s Hajji Muhammad conquered the Ishim Tatars and founded the city of Kyzyl-Tura near the confluence of the Ishim and Irtysh. Moreover, both of them share M.G. Safargaliev's theory that Sayyid Ibrahim Khan was the grandson of Hajji Muhammad [Boyarshinova, Stepanov, 1964, pp. 475–504]. A number of other researchers also adhere to this line of reasoning. We cannot therefore assume that there was confusion between the actions of Hajji Muhammad Khan (خاجی محمدخان) reigning in the 1440s, and Mahmud Khodja Khan (محمود خواجه خان) who apparently ruled in the middle—second half of the 1420s. Moreover, the formation of Kyzyl-Tura—the historic centre of the Taibugid ulus—cannot be related to anything Hajji Muhammad Khan had accomplished (nor to the actions of Muhammad-bey, who reigned at the end of the 15th century and de facto established the Taibugid state). Sources from this time associate the appearance of this town with On (On-Son, Onsom), a semi-legendary ancestor of the Taibugids who, according to the bloodline legend, lived at least five generations before Muhammad-bey. Hajji Muhammad's activities were thought to have occurred in the 1420s due to an error in Khafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari's book "Sharaf-nama-ii-shakhi" ("The Book of the Shah's Fame"), which was written at the turn of the 16–17th centuries. When describing the deeds of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the author mentions Hajji Muhammad Khan instead of Mahmud Khodja Khan [Khafiz-i Tanysh, 1983, p. 76]. Yet at the same time, we cannot discard the possibility that Hajji Muhammad Khan was one of the Shaybanid rulers subdued by Abu'l-Khayr

at the turn of the 1420–1430s. Nevertheless, the existing opinion that Hajji Muhammad Khan died in 1429 and Mahmud Khodja Khan became his successor (see, for example: [Maslyuzhenko, 2011, p. 59]) does not seem to be sufficiently sound.

Unfortunately, no details about Hajji Muhammad Khan's further life were ever mentioned in the sources, nor do we know the date of his death. Perhaps, in the 1430s, Hajji Muhammad Khan was indeed one of the leaders subordinate to Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah Khan, but after the centre of the Uzbek state was transferred to the South, Hajji Muhammad became *de facto* independent along with the Manghits. In general, we can only assert that the question of Hajji Muhammad Khan's activities is still open due to the paucity of sources.

Who were his successors? It is known that he had three sons. Two of them—Sayyid Ibrahim (Ibak) Khan and Mahmud Khan—held the title of khan, and the third, named Shayban Gazi-sultan, is only mentioned in genealogical books, as he did not bare any title. Perhaps he was that one younger brother of Sayyid Ibrahim who was killed as revenge for the murder of Sheikh Haydar Khan in 1469, as "Tavarikh-i-Guzida-ij Nusrat-Name" suggests. Being as it were that Ibak Khan began his activities a bit later, we can assume that the direct heir of Hajji Muhammad Khan was the very Mahmud Khan (محمود خان) who reigned for a comparatively short time. At the same time, a number of researchers (particularly M.G. Safargaliev, Z.N. Boyarshinova and N.N. Stepanov) consider Mahmud Khan (Mahmutek) to be the true heir of Hajji Muhammad Khan. But because they associate Hajji Muhammad Khan's activities with an earlier period, they build a separate genealogical tree where Sayyid Ibrahim Khan is not Hajji Muhammad's son at all, but rather the son of Mahmud Khan. Drawing the tree this way suggests that Hajji Muhammad Khan died in 1429/1430, and allows us to avoid any chronological straining in order to relate the period of 1440–1450 to the time of Mahmud Khan's rule. Abu al-Ghazi considers Mahmud Khan and Sayyid Ibrahim Khan to be brothers, the sons of Hajji-Muhammad Khan. We might also assume that Mahmud Khan and Sayyid Ibrahim

Khan were co-regents, but there is no reliable data to support this theory. Coincidentally, D.I. Maslyuzhenko agrees with Mahmud ben-Vali, who believes Sayyidek Khan and Ibak Khan were different rulers. This idea allows him to construct the following chronological and genealogical layout: Hajji Muhammad Khan—his heirs the Sayyidek Khan and Mahmutek Khan brothers—and their heir Ibak Khan ibn Mahmutek Khan [ibid, p. 59]. We can admit that the issue of early rulers in the Tyumen khanate remains largely open ended, and the concrete list of Tyumen khanate rulers in the 15th century is restored only tentatively. In our opinion, the succession of the khans looked as follows: Hajji-Muhammad Khan—Mahmud Khan and Sayyid Ibrahim Khan—Mamuq Khan—Agalak Khan—Qutlugh Khan.

In the middle of the 15th century the Muscovite state attempted for the first time to invade part of the Siberian yurt. In 1465, a Moscow troop under the command of voevode Vasily Skryaba travelled from Great Perm to "Yugra" to collect tribute in the name of the Grand Prince of Moscow. The leaders of the Tyumen khanate did not respond in the slightest to Moscow's campaign, possibly because the ruler of the khanate was changing. At the same time, the Moscow state treated the campaign of 1465 as a kind of precedent, a legal basis to lay claim to the Northern Urals, which was *de facto* under the Tyumen khans' rule. However, the leaders of the Ugrik principalities of the region recognized their dependence on Moscow.

There is reliable information that at the end of the 1460s a more extraordinary ruler was at the head of the Siberian Shaybanids, a man named Sayyid Ibrahim Khan (سید ابراهیم خان), or Ibak Khan, first mentioned in the primary sources when describing the defeat of the Uzbek khanate in 1469.

Sayyid Ibrahim Khan was hostile towards the house of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, and the sources call him the direct murderer of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's successor Sheikh Haydar Khan [Materials, 1969, pp. 99–100]. It is possible that the consistent hostility of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan towards the Uzbek Shaybanids took its roots from the time of Hajji Muhammad Khan when Abu'l-Khayr subdued the possessions of the Siberian

Shaybanids. Ibak Khan pursued Muhammad Shaybani-sultan, the heir of the Uzbek Shaybanids, for a long time, even besieging Hajji Tarkhan where Muhammad Shaybani was hiding. But the latter managed to break through the ranks of the besieger and escape to the Trans-Aral area (1471).

Only nine years later, in 1480, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan once again became a player in the political struggles of the time. It was then that the Shaybanid khan formed an alliance with Ivan III, the Grand Prince of Moscow that was geared against the ruler of the Great Horde Ahmad Khan and his claim to the throne of the Jochi state. During the struggle between Sayyid Ibrahim Khan and Sheikh Haydar Khan ibn Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah, the leader of the Great Horde Ahmad Khan (who was also an old opponent of Abu'l-Khayr Khan) appeared to be the only ally of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan. His troops took part in the defeat of Sheikh Haydar Khan in 1469, as well as in the siege of Hajji Tarkhan. However, after the defeat of the Uzbek khanate, the leaders of which considered themselves to be the first representatives of the Jochids, the two sides started to both claim inheritance to the Uzbek Shaybanids—the Siberian Shaybanids and the khans of the Great Horde.

The moment when contact was initially made between the Russian state and the rulers of the Siberian yurt is still not clear. It seems as if the first connections with Moscow were established long ago by Hajji Muhammad Khan. In a letter to Ivan III, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan wrote: "My father stands with your yurt side by side; he was both your friend and your brother" [Karamzin, 1846, p. 393]. This alliance of Ivan III and Ibak Khan played its role during the Great Stand on the Ugra river: Sayyid Ibrahim Khan, in an alliance with Manghit emirs Musa and Yamgurchi, plundered the Volga uluses to the rear of Ahmad Khan, and in January 1481 he suddenly attacked Ahmad Khan's main camp and killed him personally.

The murder of Ahmad Khan, the most prominent claimant to supremacy among other khans of the Ulus of Jochi, allowed the Tyumen khan to declare his claims to the throne of the Jochi state.

Later, in 1494, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan wrote to Ivan III: "God gave me happiness: having killed the son of Timer Qutlugh, I took the throne of Sain and agreed with my brothers and children... and prepared the throne for my children" [Pamyatniki, 1884, p. 199]. After the death of Ahmad Khan, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan therefore proclaimed himself the supreme khan of the Jochi state, as he had almost no rivals at the time. Abu'l-Khayr's successors were nomadising near the Northern borders of Transoxiana and lacked the proper forces to fight Sayyid Ibrahim, the Great Horde had already been defeated, the Crimean khanate had long been segregated from other Jochid states, and Kazan's Ali Khan was in favor of the alliance with Sayyid Ibrahim Khan. Ahmad Khan's heirs recognised the supremacy of Sayyid Ibrahim, and the nomadic quarters Ordu-Bazaar was transferred to Chinggi-Tura where Sayyid Ibrahim Khan minted coins.

The existence of coin issued on behalf of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan was only proven quite recently. It is necessary to note that all researchers are aware of the underdeveloped currency exchange relations on the territory of the Siberian yurt. Moreover, the existence of coins issued on behalf of later Jochid khans in general was brought into question even by G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, though he was the one who personally discovered the coins of Ahmad Khan from 862/1457–1458 and 886/1481–1482 [Mukhamadiev, Fedorov-Davydov, p. 315]. The discovery of these coins on the territory of the Siberian yurt allows us to make certain conclusions about coin issues under Tyumen khans.

Among the coin discoveries, several are of particular interest to us. One was found in the Hill Fort of Iskar at the beginning of the 20th century and contained the inscription "Al-sultan al-'adil..." (السلطان العادل) [Pignatti, 1915, p. 6]. Three coins were found by V.P. Biryukov, a famous historian of the Urals and director of the Local History Museum of Shadrinsk. He discovered them on denes Tatar Bor near Barsukova village of the Shadrinsk uyezd of the Perm guberniya. V.K. Trutovsky described one of them as the coin of Jani Beg Khan of the middle of the 14th century minted in "Sibir" (أسير ذرب) [Biryukov, 1926, p. 40]. Four more coins were

discovered by Yu.A. Argentovsky in 1912 on dunes near Mogileva village of the Shadrinsk uyezd [Argentovsky, 1912, p. 39–40].

It is likely that all of these coins are kept in private collections, as they were not found in any museums of Yekaterinburg, Tobolsk, Tyumen, Kurgan or Shadrinsk. It is difficult to say anything precise about the coins found in Iskar and denes Tatar Bor, for there is no additional information about them. Yu.A. Argentovsky's discovery is extensively documented, and we were able to find photographs of these coins taken by famous Ural archaeologist V.Ya. Tolmachev. These photographs allowed us to restore the inscriptions on the coins.

On the obverse of all these coins, one can see a lowercase inscription that reads "Supreme sultan Ibrahim Khan" (سلطان عظم ابراهيم خان) or "Sultan Ibrahim Khan" (سلطان ابراهيم خان). On the tail side of the coin, there is a tamga depicting a bident with its spikes turned down. Between the spikes there are two dots placed vertically, with the entire tamga framed by the circular inscription "Minted in Ordu-Bazaar" (اوردو بازار ذرب). According to the conclusion of famous Russian numismatist Professor A.K. Markov (who at the beginning of the 20th century was the keeper of the numismatic collection of the Imperial Hermitage), the coins discovered by Yu.A. Argentovsky were minted by Kazan khan Ibrahim ibn Mahmud ibn Muhammad (1467–1479). Furthermore, A.K. Markov noted that before this finding, the coinage of this ruler was absolutely unknown. However, this attribution immediately spurs doubts: the only basis for it was "the opportune fact that the name "Ibrahim" and names with the ending "-ahim" were used neither in the Crimean khanate, nor the Golden Horde, ever" [ibid, p. 39]. However, the tamga picturing a bident with two dots between its spikes were only found on coins of khans from the first half of the 15th century, which were issued in the Lower Volga Region in Hajji Tarkhan and the nomadic quarters Ordu-Bazaar: i.e. the coins of Muhammad ibn Temur (Kichi-Muhammad), Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Temur, Mustafa ibn Hyias ad-Din, and Devlet Berdi. All these khans belong to different branches of the Jochids: Muhammad and Mahmud were the descendants of Orda Ichen, and Devlet Berdi and Mustafa were

the offspring of Tuqay Timur. The only thing uniting these rulers is that they possessed Hajji Tarkhan and its surroundings, where it is possible their nomadic quarters Ordu-Bazaar was located. Based on this, we can assume that in the first half of the 15th century tamgas indicated the location of rather than belonging to some family, since the very fact of possessing Hajji Tarkhan and its area provided the right to issue coins with the tamga picturing a bident with dots between its spikes. Thus, A. Markov's attribution can be rejected, as Kazan's Ibrahim Khan had no power over the Lower Volga Region.

The name "Ibrahim" was indeed rare among the Jochids. However, A. Markov was incorrect in suggesting that Ibrahim Khan of Kazan was the only one to bear it, as that name was also held by Tuqay Timur's successor Ibrahim ibn Musliq ibn Hyias ad-Din, as well as Shaybanids ibn Pulad, the grandfather of Abu'l-Khayr Ubaidullah Khan, and Sayyid Ibrahim Khan ibn Hajji Muhammad Khan. Neither Ibrahim ibn Musliq, nor Ibrahim ibn Pulad had anything to do with Hajji Tarkhan and the Lower Volga Region in general. The only possible person who could have issued the coins we are interested in is the ruler of the Siberian Yurt Sayyid Ibrahim Khan, who (as mentioned above) repeatedly participated in wars on the territory of the Lower Volga Region and in 1481, after defeating the ruler of the Great Horde Ahmad Khan, transferred his main camp Ordu-Bazaar to Tura.

It is known that the Jochids continued to issue coins even during the complete decay of the Jochi state in the middle and second half of the 15th century. As we have already mentioned, among the artifacts that made it to our time, there were coins from Ahmad Khan issued in Hajji Tarkhan and Bik-Bazaar, including coins from 862/1457 and 886/1481–1482, which was the final year of Ahmad Khan's rule. Among other treasures coins from Ahmad Khan's brother Mahmud Khan were also found, who ruled over Hajji Tarkhan, as well as coins from Sayyid Ahmad Khan issued in Hajji Tarkhan, Ordu-Bazaar and Bik-Bazaar [Fedorov-Davydov, 1960, pp. 167–168, 175–177]. According to written sources we know that the khans of the 15th century, including those who ruled the Siberian yurt, minted their own coins. Usually, such issues

coincided with certain important events in their reign. For instance, Masud ibn Usman Quhistani in his work "*Tarih-i Abu'l-Khayr-Hani*" informs us that Abu'l-Khayr Khan issued coins at least twice: in 1429, after he conquered Chimgi-Tura, and in 1431, after he defeated Ahmad Khan of the Great Horde and occupied his main camp Ordu-Bazaar. Unfortunately, the coins minted by Abu'l-Khayr have not yet been discovered.

It is likely that during the second half of the 15th century coin issues of certain khans were purely declarative; they were a mere representation of one of the characteristics of supreme power. We know that rulers of the Great Horde in the 15th century Ahmad Khan and his son Sayyid Khan minted coins as they claimed to be direct descendants of the khans of the Jochi state from the 13–14th centuries. This is why it seems feasible that Sayyid Ibrahim Khan issued his own coin in 1481 after the defeat of Ahmad Khan, when Sayyid Ibrahim Khan declared he had "taken the throne of Sain". It is also possible that Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's coins were minted in Ordu-Bazaar, which was transferred to Chimgi-Tura but still retained its tamga. The epithet "supreme" also indicates a time after 1481, as it was preserved in the inscription on one coin. Before that time Ibak Khan had no reason to claim supremacy among the Jochid khans and sultans.

The coins of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan represent evidence of the Siberian Shaybanids' claims to supremacy in the Jochi state. At the same time, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's attempts to unify the Jochi state were clearly ephemeral: in reality he only controlled the lands of the Siberian yurt. Technically speaking, the Siberian Shaybanid state (the Tyumen khanate) in the first half of the 1480s covered the territory of Western Siberia, Western Kazakhstan and the Lower Volga Region, including the possessions of the Ugrian and Siberian-Tatar aristocracy—the Iskar Principality of Taibugids and the Pelym state, the Manghit ulus, and the Great Horde in the Volga Region. Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's closest ally was khan Ali. A significant part of these lands were only formally under the Shaybanids' control, so the Shaybanid Tyumen state began to crumble even before its formation was finished.

Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's efforts to consolidate himself in the Volga Region caused a sig-

nificant weakening of his influence in "Yugra", the Finno-Ugrian "principalities" of Western Siberia and the Northern Urals: Koda, Konda, Pelym, Obsdorsk, etc. In 1483, military men under the command of voevodas—princes Fyodor Kurbsky and Ivan Saltykov—were sent from the Vishera river to the Lozva river and Pelym. As the Ustug chronicle informs us, the Russian voevodas scattered troops of Pelym prince Yumshan and headed "down the Tavda river past Tyumen into the Siberian land" [Ustug chronicle, 1950, p. 94]. After the Russians completed their campaign in the Urals in 1483, Pelym prince Yumshan recognized the dependency of his possessions on the Russian state. Further movements of the Russian troops from the Tavda to the Tobol and then down the Irtysh and the Ob were made in order to subdue Kodsk prince Moldan and the other Khantys of Kodsk.

The campaign of 1483 did not cause a serious conflict between the Russian and the Shaybanid states, though the Russian army traveled down the Tavda past Chimgi-Tura, as Sayyid Ibrahim Khan was staying in the Volga steppes at the time. In addition, it is possible that the defeat of the almost autonomous Ugrian states was beneficial for Sayyid Ibrahim, as their military was now weak, which could later that provide the opportunity to establish more effective control over them. Finally, the khan of Tyumen was not interested in a conflict with the Muscovite state that had already demonstrated its strength.

At the same time, the campaign of 1483 brought about significant consequences for the Tyumen khanate: the Ugrian territories of the Siberian yurt started ridding themselves of Chimgi-Tura's influence. At the end of 1483, Pelym prince Yumshan sent his relative Yurga and centurion Anfim to Ivan III to ask for a "dangerous charter" and permission to come to Moscow. In 1485, Yumshan visited Moscow and Pelym recognized his dependency on Muscovite state. In 1484, the Kodsk princes Moldan, Pytkey and Sonta, who visited Ust-Vym, also recognized their dependency on the Muscovite state. Eventually, the Siberian Shaybanids lost control over the Northern (taiga) part of the Siberian yurt and the former source of fur peltries, which were the region's main economic value.

But even more trouble for Sayyid Ibrahim Khan was the conquest of Kazan by Russian troops in 1487. As a result of this campaign, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's ally Ali Khan (Alegam) was dethroned, and instead of him the Russians enthroned their protégé Muhammad Amin Khan. Many Kazan aristocrats and supporters of the "Eastern orientation" found themselves in the main camp of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan. In November 1489, Ibak Khan's ambassador Chumgur arrived in Muscovite state to pass Ivan III a bitig (or "bitik"—"letter" in Turkic) of protest against the dethronement and arrest of Ali Khan. In that letter, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan referenced friendly relations between the Moscow and Siberian states and asked for the release of the dethroned khan of Kazan to Siberia [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 20; Iskhakov, 2006, p. 176–177]. No positive answer followed. This might have been what led to the deterioration of the relations between the Muscovite state, the Kazan khanate that depended on Moscow, and the Tyumen khanate. Already in 1491, Kazan khan Muhammad Amin was informing Crimean khan Mengli Giray I that "Ivak and Mamuq, Musa and Yangurchi are bringing war" against him [ibid., p. 106]. It is obvious that at the end of the 1480s the Tyumen-Manghit union had gotten stronger. Moreover, the Kazan opposition was concentrating in Chinggi-Tura, as they were discontent with the Russian protégés' reign in the Kazan khanate. The Manghits recognised Sayyid-Ibrahim Khan as the supreme khan, but due to internal conflicts in the Manghit yurt, a number of Manghit beys rejected Sayyid-Ibrahim and declared Abul-Fath their supreme leader [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 33]. In 1492 Sayyid Ibrahim Khan along with Mamuq Khan plundered Hajji Tarkhan, so the Manghits once again recognized his supreme power. In the Russian translation of the bitig directed to Ivan III in 1494, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan names himself "the tsar of the Nogais". In this document, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan once again asks to turn over to him the ousted Kazan khan Ali, and mentions that his residence is currently located in the Volga Region. We can guess that this very Tyumen vilayet (Chimgi-Tura) was governed at that time by Mamuq Khan (the brother or nephew of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan, see below).

The Tyumen khan invested too much energy into the political struggle for the Volga Region, and this caused his influence to weaken in Western Siberia where positions of the local Tatar and Ugrian aristocracy were strengthened.

The exact date of the end of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's rule is still unknown. It is only known that he was killed by Siberian bey Muhammad from the clan of the Taibugids, who was the ruler of the Iskar ulus and de facto founder of the Siberian (Iskar) Principality of Taibugids. Yet, the time of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's death can be restored hypothetically: in 1494, he is still depicted as the ruling khan of Tyumen, and in 1496, the throne of Tyumen had already been taken by Mamuq Khan. That is why 1494/1495 can be considered the conditional date of his death. Where exactly Sayyid Ibrahim Khan was killed is also as of yet unclear. We can clearly assume that the site of his death was not Chinggi-Tura, as this town was controlled by Mamuq Khan and not Muhammad-bey. During that time the Taibugids did not have any power in the Volga Region, and they were not seeking it either. This is why two versions can be put forth: either Muhammad-bey Taibugid took part in some military actions in the Volga Region and used the situation to his benefit, or Sayyid Ibrahim Khan decided to intensify control over the Siberian bey and visited one of the centres of the Taibugid principality (Iskar or Kyzzyk-Tura) where he was killed. Both versions are possible, but if we take into account the main pillars of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's political activity during the final stage of this reign, his death in the Volga territory where Muhammad-bey Taibugid was staying seems more likely. On the other hand, Siberian chronicles created significantly later than the observed events indicate that Muhammad-bey killed the father and destroyed the "city of Chingiden", i.e. Chimgi-Tura [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, 1987, p. 47]. However, sparse information from the Esipov chronicle along with other Siberian chronicles covers only the consequences and not a precise chronological interrelation of events. The heir of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan Mamuq Khan, a fortiori, ruled in Chimgi-Tura. It is possible

that Muhammad-bey only plundered the city, and did not demolished it.

Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's actions turned out to be the final attempt to restore the Jochid empire under the rule of one khan. Keeping this in mind, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan was actually content simply with the recognition of his supremacy by other khans and sultans; he never strove for efficient control over the state as a whole. But this political line was doomed from the start to failure by the course of historical development. After Sayyid Ibrahim Khan's death no ruler of the Siberian yurt or other Jochid states—the Kazan, Crimean, Uzbek and Kazakh khanates—could claim supremacy in the Jochi state, and the very notion of the "Ulus of Jochi" was lost to history.

Besides, policy-making and the "imperial" ambitions of Sayyid-Muhammad led to the collapse of his own state: the struggle for power over the Volga Region made him forget about the ancient lands of the Shaybanids and put the Shaybanids' power at risk in Western Siberia. In its final form, all of this spurred on the disintegration of the Shaybanid state in Siberia at the beginning of the 16th century.

The heir of Sayyid-Ibrahim Khan was Mamuq Khan (مامك خان), the son (?) of Mahmud Khan and nephew of Sayyid-Ibrahim. A number of sources consider Mamuq Khan to be the son of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan, but certain authors also suppose that Mamuq Khan could even be the brother of Sayyid-Ibrahim Khan. Obviously, there is no reliable information on his pedigree. According to Qadir Ali Bek, the karachi of Jalair and "Shaybani-name", we can assume that Mamuq-khan was the nephew of Sayyid Ibrahim-khan, the son of his brother (possibly of Mahmud-khan). In D. Maslyuzhenko's opinion, a historian who considers Sayyid Ibrahim-khan to be the son of Mahmud-khan, Mamuq-khan (just as his successor Agalak-khan) was the younger brother of Ibak-khan [Maslyuzhenko, 2011, p. 59]. The name "Mamuq" seems to be a diminutive form or a cognomen of this ruler (likewise, Sayyid Ibrahim-khan was often called Ibak or Ivak). What the regent's full name was is unclear, but we could surely suggest that Mamuq Khan was officially named Mahmud. Mamuq Khan's accession to the throne of the Tyumen

khanate did not cause any real debate, as according to the sources by that time he already had Chingi-Tura in an iron fist.

In all likelihood, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan intended to make Mamuq the khan of Kazan. After the former's death, the latter continued his political line. In Spring 1495, a part of the Kazan aristocracy—beys Kel Ahmad, Urak, Sadyr and Agish—persuaded Mamuq Khan to occupy Kazan. He organized a campaign against the city, but the supporters of Muhammad Amin Khan and pro-Russian policy-making called upon the Russian troops. The adherents of the "Eastern orientation" ran away from Kazan to join Mamuq Khan, who was the one who stopped the campaign.

At the beginning of 1496, the Russian army was withdrawn from Kazan. When Mamuq Khan found out about this, he swiftly headed to the city and occupied it. Muhammad Amin Khan then escaped to Russia.

Mamuq Khan behaved in Kazan as in a subdued city, vividly demonstrating that the centre of his state was Chimgi-Tura. The "Eastern" representatives of the Kazan aristocracy in their hopes that after the first coup the power would pass to them, quickly became disappointed in their protegee. Mamuq introduced some extraordinary taxes and ignored the local aristocracy. One of the leaders of the "Eastern" group—Kel Ahmad-bey—was even arrested. With the goal of expanding the territory he ruled over, Mamuq marched against Kazan's vassal, the Arsk principality. Kel Ahmad-bey and his allies did not lose a second in taking advantage of the khan's absence and executed a coup. Mamuq Khan was proclaimed dethroned, and the brother of Muhammad Amin Khan, Abd al-Latif Khan, was invited to occupy his position. Mamuq Khan's allies—a significant group within the aristocracy led by Urak-bey—fled from Kazan to Mamuq Khan, who returned to Siberia after he saw there were no possibilities to immediately restore his power in Kazan. An attempt to return to Kazan, expel Abd al-Latif Khan and regain power was unsuccessful for Mamuq, and the siege of Kazan did not bring about any results. According to the Nikon chronicle, Mamuq died on his way from Kazan to Siberia [Complete Collection

of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 1965, pp. 242–243]. His date of death is still unknown, and it is also not clear who Mamuq Khan's successor was in the Tyumen khanate. Sources retained the memory of at least two rulers who were distinguished as leaders of the Tyumen khanate at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries: Agalak and Qutlugh. But even data about their titles is not quite truthful. For example, Agalak is usually named a sultan, though in "Bakhr al-asrar fi manakib al-akhiar" he is mentioned to be a khan [Materials, 1969, pp. 347–350]. Russian chronicles call him "tsarevitch, the brother of Mamuq". It also seems that Agalak-sultan was treated as the supreme ruler of the Tyumen khanate for a while (circa 1497–circa 1500?).

In 1499 Agalak-sultan, supported by Kazan emigrants, made an attempt to regain Kazan, but Abd al-Latif-khan repelled the attack with the help of Russian troops. In the meantime (1499), Russian troops crossed the Ural mountains to the North and invaded the Pelym principality, the rulers of which recognised the dependence of "Yugra" on the Muscovite state. According to information from the Ustug Compiled Chronicle, 42 fortified towns and 58 princes were captured in the course of the campaign [Ustug chronicle, 1950, p. 100]. Grand Prince Ivan III after 1499 assumed the title of "Prince of Kondinsk and Obdorsk", which signified a formal declaration of Russian sovereignty over the Northern Urals. We can assume that during this very time of the state's collapse, Chimgi-Tura was destroyed. The exact time when Agalak-sultan ceased to govern the Tyumen khanate is not known.

The last ruler of the Tyumen khanate with its centre in Chimgi-Tura—the state of the Siberian Shaybanids—who reigned independently or along with Agalak Khan, was Qutlugh Khan or sultan (كطلوك سلطان كطلوك خان), primarily known for his raids in Russian possessions in 1505 or 1506. After being defeated, Qutlugh Khan retreated into Siberia. One curious thing about him is that his status was not clear even to chroniclers: thus, the Vychegodsko-Vymsk chronicle mentions him as "Siberian tsar Qutlugh Saltan" [Documents on the History of Komi, 1958, p. 264], meaning Qutlugh is referred to as the khan and sultan at the same time. The given controversy may be solved if we assume that the word "Sultan" was part of the khan's name, which pronounced in full is "Qutlugh Sultan Khan".

It is possible that after being defeated, Qutlugh-sultan irretrievably lost power in the historic centre of the Siberian yurt where the capital city of Chimgi-Tura had already been destroyed by that time. The date of Qutlugh Khan's death is not known. It is possible that after the death of Muhammad Shaybani Khan in 1510, Qutlugh-sultan together with his brother Murtaza-sultan and other relatives moved away from the Siberian yurt to the Northern borders of the Shaybanid state in Central Asia. In any event, we can assume that at the end of the first decade of the 16th century The Khanate of Tyumen disappeared from the pages of history and its place was taken by a new state formation—the Iskar Principality of Taibugids—usually referred to in Russian historical sources as 'the Siberian kingdom'.

§ 8. The Emergence of the Astrakhan Khanate

Ilya Zaitsev

The Astrakhan khanate was one of the states that appeared after the collapse of the Jochi Ulus, with its capital in Hajji Tarkhan (Rus. Astrakhan)¹.

According to the traditional view, Hajji Tarkhan was founded in the 13th century. "This city," as Ibn Battuta wrote, "received its name

from a Turkic hajji, a godly man who settled on this site. The sultan granted this place to him without any taxes (i.e. made him a tarkhan.—I.Z.), and it became a village, and then it grew bigger and turned into a town" [Tiesenhausen, 1884, p. 301; Battuta, 1962, pp. 496–497]. Hajji Tarkhan of the Golden Horde was destroyed in the winter of 1395–1396. This city was usually associated with the settlement on Sharen Hill: sections of the vast Golden Horde complex on

¹ For the names of the town, see: [Zaitsev, 2011, pp. 607–632].

the right bank of the Volga, a little higher than modern Astrakhan (at present it is almost completely washed away or destroyed due to current construction projects). Shortly after the city was captured by Timur, it was abandoned, but in the 15th century it already existed as a relatively small but important trading town.

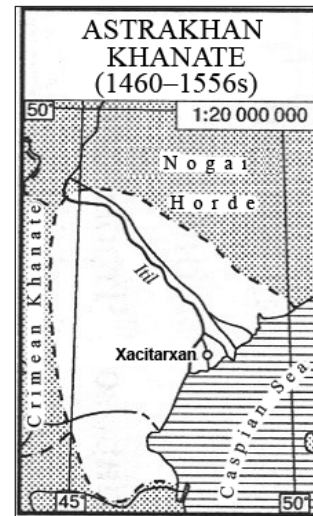
The bulk of its population was formed on the basis of Turkic tribes (the Qipchaq group). In ethnic and linguistic terms the population was quite uneven, albeit small (by the middle of the 15th c. there were around 10 inhabitants in Astrakhan, or perhaps a little more). Along with Turkic-speaking inhabitants, it is possible that Persians, Armenians, and Russians lived there during different periods of its history. The ethnic basis of the later Astrakhan Tatars was formed by descendants of the old Turkic population and the Nogais (and later by the influx of the Turkic population from the Middle Volga Region)¹.

In the first half of the 15th century, the city repeatedly passed from one Chinggisid khan to another, as numerous offspring of Chinggisid khans were aspiring to rule in the Ulus of Jochi. The founder of the new Astrakhan on the site of the city destroyed by Timur was Temür Qutluğ (the son of Temür-Malik, whose father was Urus) who controlled this area after Timur left in 1396. Nogai mirzas in the 16th century were considered Astrakhan as "the yurt of tsar Temir Qutlu". The city's relationship with Temür Qutluğ (descendants of Tuqay (Tuqay) Timur) is emphasized not only in the later writings of the Tatar historians, but also in the works of Central Asian authors [Trepavlov, 2009, p. 373]. Temür Qutluğ's heir Shadibek, under whom the unification of all former uluses of the Jochi house occurred for the last time in the history of the Golden Horde, minted coins in Astrakhan since 805 AH (1402/1403), and they already contain the name "Hajji Tarkhan al-Jadid", i.e. "New". Throughout the next few years, the city is passed from hand to hand (Tokhtamysh's son Jalal ad-Din mints coins there along with Pulad, the son of Shadibek; the latter's uncle Timur khan; another son of Tokhtamysh Kebek; Cekre; Dervish; Küchük Muhammad; Ulugh Muham-

mad; Devlet Berdi (the son of Tash Timur and the uncle of Hacı Giray) and others [Zaitsev, 2006].

The Astrakhan khanate was formed on the basis of the domain of emir Hajji Cherkes, who owned the town in the second half of the 1360–1370s.

There is no consensus among historians on when the khanate was formed; the date of creation of the independent state was attributed to either 1459–1460, 1465 or 1466. It is more likely that in the 1450–70s the city represented one of the centres of the Great Horde, i.e. was part of the "Namagan yurt" (the dominion of Namagan, where it is the second name or cognomen of khan Timur, the son of Temür Qutluğ, as well as his grandfather Temür Malik). We can only speak of an independent state starting from 1502 (destruction of the Great Horde by Crimean khan Mengli Giray). In the political sense, Astrakhan becomes the heir of the Great Horde. It is no coincidence that the diplomatic documentation (ambassadorial books) that recorded the relations between Moscow and the newly formed state appear only towards the beginning of the 16th century. It is obvious that before grand principal Vasily Ivanovich ascended to the throne there existed only "Horde" notebooks (books in which the development of relations with the Great Horde was recorded). Thus, on June 11, 1508, Moscow released Nogai mirza's ambassador Dzanmammad, and "the grand prince released that... person... together with Aztorokan ambassadors" ("Aztorokan" meaning "Astrakhan"). If they were set free at the beginning of June from Moscow, then that means they arrived there at the end of spring. This is the first Astrakhan embassy in Moscow documented by sources. It is interesting that the idea of a special pass



Astrakhan Khanate.
Map by I. Izmaylov

¹ It is no accident that a 'Kazan quarter' existed in Astrakhan up to the 19th century [Zaitsev, 2009].

for ambassadors allowing them to move freely throughout Russian cities and Kazan was documented in the Horde notebooks" [Ambassadorial book, 1984, p. 76]. This may indicate indirectly that "the Astrakhan notebooks" did not exist at that time yet. On the other hand, the archive of the Ambassadors' Bureau contained "Books of Astrakhan from summer 7016 till the summer 7025 under grand prince Vasily Ivanovich of All-Ruthenia, on the stay of tsar Obdyl-Kerim in Astrakhan" [Inventories, 1960, p. 106], i.e. they were kept starting 1508. It is therefore quite possible that the special books reflecting the development of Moscow-Astrakhan relations appeared in that very same year (possibly, after June).

It was precisely at the beginning of the 16th century when Moscow started treating Astrakhan as an independent state. Two volumes of the Sofia collection of the Russian National Library still contain an entry that begins with the words "Names of the Tatar lands...", which is actually a list of different Muslim countries. "The Tale of Temir-Aksak" (from the beginning of the 15th century) served as the source for that entry, since this tale includes the list of lands conquered by Timur. The copy of "The Tale..." was composed taking into account the political realia of the beginning of the 16th century when the entry "Names..." was being created. The copy was supplemented by a number of names of Tatar lands that the source did not contain. The list of these names, along with the Great Horde, the Crimea, Azov, Kazan, the Kalmyks, the Nogais, Sarai, "the Shibans" (Siberia) was supplemented by "Vastorokan" [Kazakova, 1979, pp. 253–254], i.e. Astrakhan.

Finally, another piece of evidence proving that the khanate was formed at the beginning of the 16th century and not earlier is represent-

ed by a Wills charter of Ivan III. Ivan died on October 27, 1505, leaving a will in which he included the payment of a "vykhod" (or tribute) amounting to 1,000 rubles to Astrakhan, along with the Crimea, Kasimov, and Kazan [Spiritual, 1950, p. 362]. This clerical letter from Ivan III is dated no later than 16 June 1504. This supports the fact that Vasily Ivanovich "finished with Yury Ivanovich"; the "vykhod" and other payments to Astrakhan are also mentioned [ibid, pp. 365, 367, 369]. As shown by S. Kashtanov, the will was drafted at the beginning of November 1503 (before prince Ivan Borisovich Ruzsky died), and the final version was drafted after the death of the latter, which came on 28 November [Kashtanov, 1967, p. 200]. There is no doubt that at that time Hajji Tarkhan was an independent yurt and, as the Horde's successor state, had a right to its portion of the tribute. Yet, it is difficult to say how large that portion was. A typical funeral feast at the beginning of the century might have cost less (for example, 500 rubles).

The borders of the Khanate to the North spread approximately to the area of present-day Volgograd, although at some point the Astrakhan lands might have been even higher, near Uvek (within the territory of present-day Saratov). To the South, the natural border was the Caspian sea (probably the sea coast up to the Kuma River). In the West, the frontier could touch the upper reaches of the Don (it is possible that for a while Crimean Yurt was bordered by the Mius River. It is more likely that on the right bank of the Volga Astrakhan ownership was confined to a narrow coastal strip of the river. The Eastern (Nogai) border of Astrakhan lands in the Buzan River estuary [Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 243–248; Zaitsev, 2009, pp. 171–178].

Section II

The Political Development of the Tatar States in the 15–18th Centuries



CHAPTER 1

The Great Horde

Vadim Trepavlov

In historiography, the name 'Great Horde' is attributed to a part of the 15th c. Ulus of Jochi, located in the south of Eastern Europe. It was actually the southern area within the right wing of the Golden Horde, remaining under the control of the 'central' (Sarai) government after the newly formed khanates had broken away. Some books tell us that the term 'Great Horde' was first used in the Russian sources in a story about Mahmud Khan's raid on Ryazan in 1460. In fact, there are earlier references in Nikon's chronicle. In 1438: 'In autumn, there came Khan Ulugh Muhammad of the Great Horde to the city of Beliov and took it, escaping from his brother Küchük Muhammad, Khan of the Great Horde'; in 1440: 'That autumn, Khan Muhammad of the Great Horde killed his Grand Prince Mansup'; in 1442/43: 'In the summer of 6950, the Tatars of the Great Horde came to the Ryazan borderland, committed much evil and returned with captives' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, pp. 24, 30, 42].

It is hard to determine the exact date when the Great Horde originated. We can refer it to the event most convenient for research—the accession of Küchük Muhammad in the steppes of Eastern Europe in 1438, the dynastic cycle of whose reign along with his descendants made up the history of the Great Horde in 1438–1502.

The Russian expression 'Great Horde' is undoubtedly a loan-translation of the Turkic '*Ulugh Ordu*', which, according to M. Usmanov, was 'the original Tatar name of the Golden Horde', the Ulus of Jochi [Usmanov, 1979, p. 193]. In Polish-Lithuanian sources, the 'Great Horde' was always called the Trans-Volga Horde.

The Turkic names used both in the Horde and in the neighbouring Turkic dominions were phrases that included the term *takht*

(throne) and repeatedly occurred in the chronicles and diplomatic correspondence: *Takht Eli*, *Takht Memleketi*, *Takht Vilayeti*. All of them are translated roughly as the 'Throne domain', the 'Throne region', or the 'Capital Region'.

Land and people. The borders of the Great Horde were seldom outlined in historiography, because this state was not a subject of special study. D. Iskhakov is the author of the to date most detailed description of the 'Throne domain' location: between the Volga and the Dnieper, and from the North Caucasus to the borders of Rus and the Kazan Khanate, with the landmark near the of rivers Sura, Moksha, Tsna, and upper Don; east of the Dnieper, the Tatars roamed the rivers Samara, Ovechiya Voda (Sheep Water), Kobylia Voda (Horse Water); in the North Caucasus, the border was 'under the Circassians'—in the Pyatigoriye area along the Kuma River; The Great Horde owned land along the Don (Azov area), Khopyor and Medveditsa; the eastern boundary was probably located to the east of the Volga, maybe along the Volga arm, Buzan, but it is possible that prior to Nogais' movement to the Volga, the Great Horde had controlled vaster areas in the east [Iskhakov, 2009, pp. 42, 43].

The statement concerning the eastern dominions of the Horde seems wholly reasonable. If we rely on our main sources on this topic (the Muscovy and the Lithuanian sources), it seems that all the events associated with the Great Horde in the mid-to-late 15th century took place to the west of the Volga. However, it was no accident that in the Polish-Lithuanian texts this yurt was persistently referred to as the 'Trans-Volga Horde', and there was certainly good reason for such a reference.

In fact, sometimes we come across mentions of the trans-Volga lands. In 1480, a mandate to the Moscow ambassador in Bakhch-

ysaray instructed him to persuade the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray to attack the Great Horde, if Khan Ahmed is 'on this side of the Volga and goes to Rus'; 'if Khan Ahmad is beyond the Volga, do not mention it' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 19, 20]. The same mandate dated 1486 retold the speech of the Crimean ambassador in Moscow, stating that Khan asked Ivan the Great to send his army to fight the Horde if 'Khans Murtosa and Sedehmat are on this side of the Volga' [Ibid., p. 46]. This means there was a chance that these co-ruling khans, successors to Ahmed, could remain on the left bank of the Volga. That probability was also stated in the instructions to the next ambassador from Moscow (dated 1487): 'If Khans Murtosa and Sedehmat cross the Volga, but not attack the Grand Prince...' etc. [Ibid., p. 66].

In 1509, Mengli Giray reported to the Rada members of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that 'for long, the children of Timir Qutlu¹ have been living beyond the Volga, near Yaik' [Lietuvos, 1995, s. 60]. Three years later, he wrote to King Sigismund I, refuting claims of the overthrown 'children of Ahmat' to the Black Sea steppes: 'Shigahmat's fathers and children were roaming beyond the Volga, but never on this side' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389, inv. 1, file 7, sheet 188], and this despite the fact that practically all known history of the Great Horde took place on 'this side' of the Volga.

The location of the Khan's headquarters in the east is evidenced by a reference to the place of writing the letter to the Turkish Sultan Mahmud Khan in 1466: 'The Great Horde was stationed on the shores of Azugly Uzen', which is explained by researchers as being the rivers Greater and Lesser Uzen in the northern part of the Volga and Ural interfluvium, on the territory of the present-day Saratov Region of Russia and the Ural Region of Kazakhstan [Kurat, 1940, s. 170; Sultanov, 1978, p. 242].

The majority of the Great Horde warriors were forced to move to the right bank of the Volga because of a conflict with the rising

tribes of the Mangit yurt, located in the Yaik and Emba interfluvium, who would later form the Nogai Horde.

The Horde warriors were mainly engaged in tending herds and sowing crops in the steppes of Ciscaucasia, the Azov Sea and the Northern Black Sea regions. Ambrogio Contarini puts it explicitly that the principal khan 'now (1476—V.T.) rules over the Tatars who live in the steppes of Circassia and around Tana. In summer...they go to the Russian borders in search of shade and grass' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 220]. As for the last two decades of the 15th century, different sources chronicle the Horde moving 'between the Don and the Crimea', 'between the Don and the Dnieper', 'on this (here—the eastern—V.T.) side of the Dnieper', 'to Oryol and Samara and Ovechiya Voda', 'to Oryol and Samara' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 67, 88, 113, 140, 301; Lietuvos, 2004, s. 90]. In early 1481, Nogais and Siberians defeated the 'Ahmat Horde' 'between the Don and the Volga, on the Lesser Donets, near the Azov' [The Chronicle, 1819, p. 188; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, p. 95].

The political situation in late 15th century was evolving in such a way that the rapidly weakening Horde tried to stay away from its most dangerous opponents—the Nogais, Circassians, and Crimeans. It is no coincidence that the Polish documents dated early in the next century contain synonyms for 'the Trans-Volga Tatars'—Tatarzy Zadońsky and Transtannaitani [Materiały, 1966, see Index]. Up to a certain time, the area between the Don and the Volga (including the Ciscaucasian steppes) acted as a relatively safe haven. However, in 1497 Khan Sheikh Ahmed announced his intention to 'cross the Don with all the Horde', so that to be closer to the allied Lithuanians [Lietuvos, 2007, s. 84]. Therefore, 'all the Horde' was then based on the east side of the Don, perceiving it as a border line.

However, when stationed in between the Don and the Dnieper, the Horde found itself dangerously close to another one of its worst enemies, the Crimea (in 1500, the Ottoman governor of Kaffa refused permission for the Great Horde men to move beyond the Dnieper, because it was 'the land and water of a free man,

¹ Descendants of the Golden Horde Khan Temür Qutluğ (1391–1399) were the rulers of the Great Horde and later of the Astrakhan Khanate.

Khan Mengli Giray' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 321]). Locked by bitter enemies and unreliable allies, 'the Throne domain' finally turned into a group of uluses wandering around a relatively small space on the banks of the Don.

In their attempts to determine the population of the Great Horde, historians are faced with the usual challenges that arise in the study of the demographics of medieval nomads. The sources either give absurdly overestimated figures, or state only the number of the armed forces. In the latter case, the researchers usually calculate the total number of residents of a nomadic tenure by approximately correlating the number of troops and civilians as 1:4. It is believed that, during a war, a nomadic society furnishes about a quarter of its people as the militia (guard); half of the people are women, one fifth are boys aged under 15–16 and senile old men, and 5% are those staying to tend to the livestock.

Let us look at the specific numbers, which may be found in the sources. In 1438, the Venetian envoy Giosafat Barbaro watched from the walls of Tana (Azak~Azov) the exciting and frightening picture of the Kūchūk Muhammed's people migrating from the east. For six days, Tatars with their families and caravans of pack camels, flocks and herds were coming together in the lower reaches of the Don, eventually occupying a plain 120 miles across. It was impossible to count the steppe nomads, but Barbaro writes, 'I am confident and stick to the opinion that there were three hundred thousand souls in the entire Horde when they gathered together' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 146]. K. Bazilevich had good reason to doubt the accuracy of the given number (300,000 people); M. Safargaliev admitted that if Kūchūk Muhammed had actually had so many people at his command, the majority soon left to join the deposed Ulugh Mohammad to the Middle Volga region, while another part left together with Mahmoud b. Kūchūk Mohammad to Hajji Tarkhan [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 515; Bazilevich 2001, p. 51].

Stories by Eastern chroniclers contain some data about the army of a successor to Kūchūk Mohammad, his son Ahmed, describing its involvement in the defeat of the nomadic Uz-

bek Khanate after the death of Abu al-Khayr Khan. During this war of the 1460–1470s, the grandson of Abu al-Khayr, Muhammed Shaybani, intended to attack the army of Ahmed, consisting, according to different sources, of 100 to 150 thousand horsemen; Molla Shadi in his chronicle *Fatah Namah* refers to a kind of 'calculus of this army' [Shaybaniad 1849, p. LVI; Materials, 1969, pp. 20, 65, 101, 363]. Around the same time, in 1472, Ahmed himself, through his ambassador in Venice (while the republic tried to draw him into a war with the Turks), claimed to have a 200,000-strong army under his command [Zaitsev, 2004a, p. 89].

If we take for granted the data given by eastern sources (about an army of 100–150 thousand men), it appears that in the early 1470s, —that is, at the height of his power, the Great Horde had about 400–600 thousand people. Generally speaking, we do not find such a number incredible. After all, the right wing of the Ulus of Jochi had been a populous and rich khanate during the previous century and a half. It was the cities that were primarily affected by the internecine conflicts and external invasions (like Temür), while nomads, we believe, had no fatal losses of people.

Even in the twilight of the Great Horde, chronicles and diplomatic correspondence mention a significant number of Tatars. Despite the famine and extreme poverty, the ambassador of Ivan III reported to Moscow from the Crimea in 1498, 'They say, the Tatars in the Great Horde are many' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 255]. According to Maciej Miechowski, in the early winter of 1500, the army of Khan Sheikh Ahmed accounted for 60,000 men and 100,000 women and children [Miechowski, 1936, p. 65]. A year later, Sheikh Ahmed brought his people to the Seversk land, to the Lithuanian-Muscovite frontier, 'and stationed his troops near Novgorod Seversky and other cities, and the whole area almost as far as Bryansk was occupied with his countless men' [Chronicle, 1966, p. 115]. Maciej Strykowski adds that Sheikh Ahmed, planning to attack Moscow, called on the Lithuanians' support, telling them that he had 100 thousand horsemen under his command [Kronika, 1846, s. 313].

But it was already the period of collapse and agony of the Horde. People left their unsuccessful rulers for neighbouring yurts. Sayyid Mahmud, brother and co-ruler of Sheikh Ahmed, led his people away to Hajji Tarkhan. As a result, on the eve of the fatal attack by the Crimeans, the Tatars ended up with 'Khan Sheikh Ahmed and sultans and princes, altogether twenty thousand horsemen and foot soldiers' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 367].

Statehood. The administrative structure of the Great Horde was mainly derived from the management system of the unified Ulus of Jochi and repeated it in many ways. However, the historical circumstances of the 15th century led to a simplification and curtailing of the once extensive government mechanism. The historiography marks a regression of statehood after the collapse of the Golden Horde in the eastern yurts—the Uzbek Khanate of Abu al-Khayr and the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 2001, pp. 548–558]. It seems possible to apply the conclusion of the 'gradual extinction of the Golden Horde (Kipchak) statehood' to the Great Horde.

Just as in Abu al-Khayr's domain, the inner life of Takht Eli was governed by the administration of the Khan's headquarters, which was typical for any nomadic structure; the agricultural area (the Syr Darya coast for the nomadic Uzbeks, the Dnieper region and Pyatigorye for the Great Horde Tatars) was too small and weak to create an economic base for a nomadic empire. In addition, these areas became the scene of frequent conflicts between Uzbeks and the Temürids, Tatars and the Circassians.

The main difference between the two khanates from the Golden Horde was that their rulers lacked effective means of coercion for the rebels. Begs, dissatisfied with official policy, could freely take away their uluses to other lands or isolate themselves from the Khan, without even moving away. The only way for the Khan to attract the Elis and their leaders were frequent and preferably victorious wars with neighbours. The Golden Horde padishahs living in a stable government environment could not afford such military activity and did not really need it.

After losing almost all agricultural aid to the Khanate's economy and the levers of state

power, Küchük Muhammad and his successors found themselves in charge of a formation, which can hardly be considered a full-fledged state. Nevertheless, a rather complex hierarchy of Elis and their leaders, the supratribal territorial division, remnants of the Golden Horde urban civilization (Islam, the old cultural urbanized area in the Lower Volga) prevent us from seeing the Great Horde and such a relatively primitive social structure as a composite chiefdom. Perhaps, by analogy with the khanate of nomadic Uzbeks, it can be defined as an early embryonic state, a transitional stage between a composite chiefdom and a typical early state¹.

The state was led by a monarch bearing the title of Khan. At the turn of the century, another title emerged in the Horde—*qalga*, a declared heir to the throne. Hajji Ahmad (Hajjike, Kojak, Hozyak), Khan Sheikh Ahmad's younger brother, was announced as *qalga*.

In the hierarchy of power, *qalga* was followed by *beklyaribek* (*Ulugh beg*). As stated above, this position in the Great Horde was monopolized by the Mangits from the family of the Golden Horde *beklyaribek* Edigu. During the rule of Küchük Muhammad, it was occupied at different times by Edigu's sons Mansur, Nowruz and Ghazi, during the rule of Ahmed—by Temur b. Mansur, during the rule of Ahmed's successors—by Temur's son Tawakkul, Mansur's grandsons Jan Quvvat and Hajjike b. Din Sufi. Khan, *qalga* and *beklyaribek* made up the triad of supreme rulers of the yurt.

There is direct evidence that the Great Horde had four Karachi begs. In literature, these four are usually interpreted as a mandatory advisory body to the Khan, consisting of the leaders of major Tatar clans. A letter by Khan Sheikh Ahmad sent in the summer of 1502 to the three Glinski princes living in Lithuania says: 'Kiyat princes, Mamai's true children², you are there beside my brother³, and here beside me, in my

¹ According to the early state typology developed by H. Claessen and P. Skalnik.

² This convincing evidence of the veracity of the Glinskys' kinship to beylerbey Mamai refutes the doubts of those historians who view their genealogy as an invented genealogical legend.

³ That is, in Lithuania, under the Grand Duke Alexander, son of Casimir.

kingdom, I have Ulan princes to the right and to the left, **four Karachis** greater than the Kiyats, servants to the princes and your men, but I have no greater or better ones' [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 180]¹. Khan is clear about the four Karachis who are 'greater' than Kiyats, although the latter are his 'greater and better' servants². Thus, this Eli had lost its dominant position, as already mentioned, giving way to another.

The composition of the Great Horde ruling elite is often designated in the sources by an expression 'uhlan princes', —that is, oglans and begs. Oglans at that time were members of the Jochi branch, not belonging to the family of the ruling Khan (male members of that family were titled sultans). The meeting of oglans and begs addressed the most important issues of state. There is evidence in diplomatic letters that Khan made a decision after holding a discussion ('rada') with his noble compatriots: '...we have summoned all the uhlans and princes and held a rada', '...we and the uhlans and princes, having discussed that matter, decided to do it', '...our uhlans and princes told our father...', etc. [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 125, 138; Lietuvos, 2007, s. 84, 88].

Data about public officials in the Great Horde are scanty. Khan Sheikh Ahmad sent to the Crimea as ambassador 'Molozoda, a great molna, son of Ahmad', who wrote charters on Khan's behalf in his own hand [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 354]. Apparently, this 'molna' (*mawlana*, meaning a learned theologian) also acted as the chief superintendent of the Khan's mobile camp (*ordobazar*, Horde's bazaar). The list of Lithuanian awards to the attendants of Sheikh Ahmad provided for payments to 'Abdulla, marshal of Khan Sheikh Ahmad' [Lietuvos, 1995,

s. 430]³. The 'Description of the Trans-Volga Tatars Freed on Bail', compiled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1506, mentions Khan's *komorniki* [AGAD, f Metrika Litewska, sygn. 191d, l.18]. This word usually meant homeless poor peasants, but was also the title of a junior judicial officer.

Such a compulsory element of the Horde bureaucracy as *daruga* (governor of a city or region, typically with a sedentary population) is only mentioned once. In 1470, Ahmad Khan was being set up against Ivan III during the negotiations with the Poles by 'Prince Temir, Ryazan daruga etc.' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, 2007, p. 224]. Apparently, that officer was in charge of the affairs related to the Principality of Ryazan, in the same way as a Moscow daruga was attached to the court of Ulugh Muhammad (see: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, p. 15]).

The Muslims of the Golden Horde (presumably, in particular the nobles and nomads) were united both by the very fact of the conversion to Islam and through a special institution of *sayyids*. It is no accident that, in a number of post-Golden Horde khanates, sayyids (leaders of the local Muslim clergy) traced their roots to common ancestors who had lived in the era of the Jochi Ulus [Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 105–107; Iskhakov, 1997a; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, pp. 205, 206].

However, if we look at the events in the Golden Horde during and after its collapse, religious unity is out of the question. Islam never played a significant role in politics, remaining at the level of official ideologemes, and did not prevent internecine conflicts. However, the prominent role of clerics in the internal life and foreign policy of Tatar yurts is obvious. We mentioned above the mawlana being in charge of the ordobazar. The sources on the Great Horde documented sayyids and hadjis as heads of ambassadorial missions to neighbouring countries [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 138, 178, 179; Lietuvos, 2007, s. 88]. As stated in a letter by Khan Sheikh Ahmad, among the Horde men taken prisoners in Moscow at different times

¹ We have Sectionally changed the punctuation of this passage as our interpretation of it, apparently, slightly differs from the publisher's version. We have removed the semicolon after the words 'in my tsardom', the full stop after 'and on the left', and the commas after 'and on the right' and 'four princes'; a comma has been added after the words 'Ulan princes'.

² Such flattery in relation to the Kiyats, fellow tribesmen of the Glinskys, is explained by the fact that in the quoted message, Sheikh Ahmad requests the three brothers to mediate in his contacts with the Grand Duke Alexander.

³ The marshal (Marszałek) in the Polish-Lithuanian state was a royal court official performing the functions of the master of ceremonies and judicial duties.

there were 'a sayyid, and priests of the Horde' [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 181].

Among such figures, sayyid Hajji Ahmad was particularly distinguished. He enjoyed the same honour in the Great Horde and in Crimea, but probably resided in Takht Eli. After the state had been destroyed by the Crimeans in 1502, Hajji Ahmad, accompanied by many Tatar refugees, ended up on Lithuanian land. According to Mengli Giray, 'that sayyid of ours was honoured by me and by Sheikh Ahmad', and Khan requested to let him go to the Crimean yurt. Son of Mengli Giray described Hajji Ahmad as 'a clergyman descending from our grandfathers and fathers'. The Girays requested to release the sayyid from Lithuania not only because of the reverence for his authority and wisdom, but also being annoyed by the protection extended by Hajji Ahmad to the Horde emigrants, including those close to Sheikh Ahmad [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 511; Lietuvos, 1995, s. 73].

The Great Horde as an embryonic early state apparently had no clear administrative division, which was typical for its great predecessor, the Ulus of Jochi of the 13–14th centuries. However, the typically nomadic system of two wings was evidently present in this Khanate. Moreover, amid the decline of the Golden Horde civilization, when the steppe society was going back to the previous stage of development, to its 'matrix' forms of existence, the two-wing division of the people and camps was natural for the nomadic Tatars. However, in this case again, we lack information about the wing system composition and have no idea about the geographical location of the right (usually western) and the left (eastern) wing. We can only guess that initially the Volga acted as the boundary between the wings, but the subsequent migrations of a large number of people to its right bank changed this.

Sheikh Ahmad wrote about his begs: 'the Ulan princes are both to the right and to the left' [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 1180], meaning that oglans and begs of both the right and the left wings were in the Horde. Furthermore, it is known that the Great Horde guard, and, therefore, the population, was divided into two wings. In 1484, Khan Murtaza promised to King Casimir IV that he would try to prevent damage to the

king's possessions 'from the right hand or from the left hand, or from those who stand beside me, from my brothers or my children...' [Lietuvos Metrika, 1910, col. 348–349]. The 'right hand' and the 'left hand' (the Turkic designation of wings—*on kol* and *sol kol*), which we come across in diachronous yarliqs and other sources, were an apanage to an independent nomadic state, which the Great Horde certainly was, despite the immaturity of its statehood.

The Horde's nomadic population united into ulus communities. We do not know for sure, but we can guess that this 'lower' Tatar society led a life of its own, struggling for survival amid the continuous economic turmoil and enemy attacks. Takht Eli was far from being a monolithic social organism. Occasionally, the medieval texts bring bits and pieces of the conflicts between the elite and the bulk of ordinary people (however, led by tribal begs).

By analogy with other nomadic states, we can assume that there were areas in the Khanate assigned to certain Elis. It is reliably known only about Mangits. The Mangit yurt was located on the territory of the Great Horde. In the times of Ahmad Khan,—that is, in the 1460–1470s, it was governed by beklyaribek Temur, with his permanent camp stationed there. Mengli Giray attacked the 'Prince Temur's ulus' in 1485 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 216]. The Mangits roamed the west of the state, the Dnieper steppes (see: [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 119]), making up the right wing of the state, in full accordance with the rank of beklyaribek. Temur died in the mid-1480s, and his rank and yurt were inherited by his younger relatives. One of them, Hajjike (Azika) became a beklyaribek under Khan Sheikh Ahmed; in 1491, Khan Mengli Giray referred to the events 'in the Horde, in the Mangit ulus of Azika' [Ibid., p. 124].

Economy. The nomadic lifestyle of the Great Horde Tatars was described in 1476 by Ambrogio Contarini: they 'wander in search of fresh grass and water, and never live a settled life. They have no other food, except milk and meat' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 223]. Like in any nomadic society, the ulus communities were moving across the steppe not in a chaotic and spontaneous way, but in accordance

with the established routes between the seasonal pastures. We have some data on summer camps and winter camps only in the territory west of the Volga. In 1500, Mengli Giray reported to Moscow about the Great Horde khans: '...our foes, Ahmad's children, spend summer between the Don and the Dnieper' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 301]. Three years earlier, the mandate to Ivan III's ambassador forbade returning from the Crimea 'in spring or in summer', because there was a danger of meeting the Horde 'on this side of the Don'; the ambassador had to wait until it 'goes... across the Don and starts roaming to the Volga' [Ibid., p. 67]. In January 1481, the Nogais and Siberians defeated Ahmed Khan's uluses 'between the Don and the Volga, on the Lesser Donets, near Azov' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, p. 95].

These reports suggest that the summer pastures were located in the Don area, while the winter ones were in the Volga-Don interfluvium, making up the latitudinal cycle of nomadism. However, this area of Desht-i Qipchak had traditionally (since pre-Mongolian times) been characterized by a meridional cycle with summer camps in the north and winter camps in the south. This fact was related to the state of grass in different seasons, the possibility to feed cattle in winter, etc. It might be that the Volga-Don nomadic cycle also provided for movement of people and cattle not from west to east and back again, but to the north-west, to the Moscow and Lithuanian borders (in summer) and to the south-west, to the lower reaches of the Volga (in winter).

The herd composition was typical for Eurasian nomads. We know it from Giosafat Barbaro's description of the arrival of Küchük Muhammad's people to Tana in 1438: 'First came the herds of horses at sixty, one hundred, two hundred or more in a herd; then came the camels and oxen, followed by small stock'. The Italian diplomat gives flattering epithets to the Tatar cattle, like 'marvellous big bulls', 'tall shaggy double-humped camels', 'huge sheep on tall legs, with long hair and such tails that some weigh up to 12 pounds each', [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 142–143, 149].

Many sources give credit to the agriculture in this nomadic society, despite its second-

ary and supportive role in the economy. The most detailed description is also ascribed to this same Giosafat Barbaro. He writes that in the days of the February full moon 'the entire Horde is called up' to prepare for the sowing during the March new moon, stating the exact time and venue of the session. At the fixed time, the Tatars load their carts with seeds, take the ploughing animals, sometimes with their entire families, and go to the area of future cropland, which is, as a rule, a two-day journey from the nomad camps. After the sowing is over, they return home. The khan monitors the growing of crops, personally touring the fields. The harvest is gathered by the same people who performed the sowing. They are joined in the fields by those wishing to buy grain. Barbaro notes that the Tatars cultivated wheat (with yield 1 to 50) and millet (with yield 1 to 100). 'Sometimes they reap a harvest so abundant that they leave it in the steppe' (that is, do not reap?) [Ibid., p. 150].

The author does not name the area used by the Tatars for arable farming. There is evidence to this respect from other sources. Croplands of the Great Horde were situated on the banks of the Dnieper tributaries Oryol (Orel) and Samara, and on the Qom river, in the steppes adjoining the Pyatigorye area (see: [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 113, 119, 149]). Any crop failures or disruption of ploughing caused by enemy raids put the Tatars in a very difficult situation, giving rise to social tension and conflicts over migration routes.

In addition to animal husbandry and agriculture, the Tatars produced handicrafts ('In the army, they have artisans like weavers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths and others, and they generally have all the necessary crafts' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 147]). Hunting, too, was important for subsistence ('The Tatars are excellent hunters with falcons and have many gyrfalcons. ... they hunt deer and other big game' [Ibid., p. 148]).

Like any nomadic formation, the Great Horde needed trade with its sedentary neighbours. And like most khaganates, khanates and hordes, it marketed the products of livestock farming. The major and most valuable commodity was the Tatar horses. Herds of many

thousands were driven for sale to Muscovy and Persia. Apart from horses, bulls were exported to Poland and Transylvania (from there, bulls were transported to Italy and Germany), and camels to Persia. In order to do business abroad, dozens of merchants joined the Khan's embassies [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, pp. 156, 168; Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 149].

A significant item of income was the slave trade. The captives taken in raids were sold 'overseas' to the Turks [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 225, 230], who needed slaves as rowers for the huge rowing fleet. According to B. Florya, at the time when the Eastern European states sought to limit the Horde's interference in their affairs, the disgruntled Tatars began to attack their neighbours, primarily the Muscovite state and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the mid-15th century, the Great Horde started its regular raids with the taking of captives. 'It was in these years that the slave trade was becoming a major source of the Horde's subsistence' [Florya, 2001a, p. 191].

Until the end of Khan Ahmed's rule, Muscovy maintained tributary relations with the Horde. It is unclear how noticeable the flow of funds in the form of tribute (toll) was in the Horde's economy¹. In any case, its role came to nothing, when Ivan III stopped paying [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 160–163].

The belief in a completely nomadic nature of the statehood and economy of the Great Horde sometimes leads historians to a complete rejection of urban life in the Horde (see, for instance: [Fyodorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 166; Safargaliev, 1996, p. 17]). As an additional argument, they present the words of Tatar interlocutor of Giosafat Barbaro regarding the fortifications of Tana: 'Those who are afraid, build towers' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 148]. A question arises in this regard, what the connection was between the Great Horde and the cities of Sarai and Hajji Tarkhan, the former Golden Horde metropolises on the Lower Volga? They still existed in the 15th century,

and apparently served as centres of active commerce. In any event, the Viatichi who captured Sarai in 1471, 'took many goods and many captives' [Full Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, p. 141], so the city was populous and enjoyed lively trade.

The known history of the Great Horde prevents us from regarding any of the cities as its capital or the Khan's permanent residence. Khans preferred to live in their mobile camps, as the sources describe. We believe that Sarai and Hajji Tarkhan, on the assumption of their geographical position, still belonged to the Great Horde, but were not its capital cities. The Great Horde was destroyed in 1502, when the Crimeans took over the nomadic camp and ordobazar of Khan Sheikh Ahmed. But Sarai was left unscathed, meaning that the city no longer had any symbolic significance for the sovereignty of state.

Political history. Küchük Muhammad, son of Temur Khan b. Temur Qutlugh (1410–1412), began his path to power in the eastern steppes. According to Qirimi, after the death of the Golden Horde beklyaribek Edigu (1421), his son Mansur escaped to the 'Russian yurt'. Then he returned to the Volga, becoming a beg (beklyaribek) under Khan Ghiyath ad-Din b. Shadi Beg. Two years later the khan died, and Mansur enthroned Küchük Muhammad. However, he soon lost interest in his minor protégé and decided to support the eastern Khan Barak b. Koirichak b. Urus [Qirimi, 1343/1924–1925, pp. 84, 85].

Most likely, Mansur also became beklyaribek during Barak's rule, because they led a joint fight with Ulugh Muhammad, another contender for the throne of the right wing. Ulugh Muhammad wrote to the Sultan of Turkey on 14 March 1428 that in 1426 their army from the eastern steppes was defeated, 'and we put Barak and Mansur to flight' [Sultanov, 1975, pp. 54, 282; Kurat, 1940, pp. 8, 9, 14]. This defeat was followed by a rift between the allies. Qadir Ali Bek writes about Mansur being murdered by Barak [Library, 1854, p. 156] (probably in 1426 or 1427). Edigu's sons Ghazi and Nowruz, who were staying with Barak, immediately fled west to Küchük Muhammad. Soon (around 1428) they returned with his army, defeated and killed Barak, assisted by Mansur's

¹ In the early 15th century, the value of the vykhod (tribute) from the Grand Principality of Vladimir amounted to 5,000 Rubles (see: [Spiritual, 1950, P. 49]).

former subjects [Langles, 1802, p. 395; Qirimi, 1343/1924–1925, pp. 89, 90; Usmanov, 1972, p. 75].

Immediately after these events, Ghazi became the beklyaribek of Kūchūk Muhammad and Nowruz became the beg of the simultaneously ruling Ulugh Muhammad [Shamiloglu, 1986, p. 195]. The latter tandem kept together for about ten years until facing a rift so deep that Nowruz decided to go over to Kūchūk Muhammad (Ghazi was no longer alive by that time). Kūchūk Muhammad immediately made the Mangit nobleman his beklyaribek, and this position of his was described in 1438 by Giosafat Barbaro. Together, they attacked Ulugh Muhammad's camp and overthrew him [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 140–142, 150, 151].

Obviously, Kūchūk Muhammad was closely related to the populous and powerful family of Mangits, descendants of Edigu. It is known that Edigu's son Nur ad-Din married his daughter to would-be Khan Temur, father of Kūchūk Muhammad [Natanzi, 1957, p. 99]. It is possible that she was the mother of the latter. I. Izmaylov even suggested that he was brought up in Edigu's family [History of the Tatars, 2009, p. 726].

Oriental chroniclers note that Kūchūk Muhammad was very young when enthroned. When he came to Don in 1438, the Venetian consul of Tana sent Giosafat Barbaro to the Tatar prince with gifts and testimony of obedience. The messenger was brought in front of Kūchūk Muhammad, who sat leaning on the shoulder of his beklyaribek. Barbaro wrote: 'The Tsarevich (young khan) was about 22 years old, Nowruz, about 25' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 42].

It appears that Kūchūk Muhammad took up the race for power on emerging from boyhood. We believe that he was encouraged to act when Nowruz, Ulugh Muhammad's beklyaribek, sided with him. In accordance with his status, Nowruz commanded the Horde's army, and he took much of it with him. Barbaro writes with certainty that Nowruz left for 'prince Kizim Ahmet' 'taking along the men, who wanted to follow him' [Ibid., p. 141].

The sources do not mention any reasons for the rift between the beklyaribek and the khan. But the chronicles note that Ulugh Muhammad was displeased with the powerful

nobleman Tegin, beg of Shirin. In 1432, the camp of Ulugh Muhammad was the site of the famous dispute about the rights to the Grand Prince yarliq between Vasily II Vasiliyevich of Moscow and his uncle Yuri Dmitrievich of Zvenigorod. Confident of his mighty influence, Tegin vowed Yuri successful resolution of litigation, but Khan took the side of the Prince of Moscow. Being outraged, 'Tegin of Shirin opposed the king and wanted to depart from him, because at that time Mahmet (Ulugh Muhammad) was attacked by king Kichi Ahmet (Kūchūk Muhammad)' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, p. 16].

The 14-year-old 'king' presumably set off to Sarai at the instigation of the defectors led by Nowruz. Until then, he had resided somewhere in the east or in Hajji Tarkhan, the yurt of his grandfather Temur Qutlugh. The first battles were drawn. Eventually, the 'Elder' and 'Younger' Muhammads came to an agreement on the division of subordinated territories. Ulugh Muhammad retained the Volga region, while Kūchūk Muhammad received the Crimea [Smirnov, 2005, p. 180]. Obviously, it is more likely (and this is how this situation was interpreted by O. Gayvoronsky) that the Khanate was divided into wings: one khan obtained the right western wing, from the Don to the Danube, and the other khan gained the left eastern wing, from the Don to the Caspian Sea [Gayvoronsky, 2007, pp. 17, 33].

The confrontation was finally resolved in 1438. It might be that the power shift took place without bloodshed. Ulugh Muhammad broke down facing the growing danger from his younger cousin, who was gaining power. Barbaro observed an impressive picture of the mass migration of Kūchūk Muhammad's people to the Don, and he wrote about the outcome of the struggle for the throne: 'Ulugh Muhammad...after Kezim Ahumet (Kūchūk Muhammad) had come to his land, seeing that he cannot fight him, left the horde and fled together with his sons and his other men' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 150]. Finally, he managed to settle in Kazan, and thus, the Middle Volga region was no longer part of the Great Horde.

There is no data on the Horde's internal history during Kūchūk Muhammad's rule, except for one chronicle entry dated 1440: 'That

autumn, King Mahmet of the Great Horde killed Mansup, his great prince of the Horde, and many Tatars were then killed in the Horde' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, p. 30]. This clearly refers to an uprising, headed by the beklyaribek. Mansup is, of course, Mansur b. Edigu. However, since Mansur had been killed by Khan Barak thirteen or fourteen years before, it can be assumed that the chronicler received the news of the execution of Mansur's brother, 'great prince' Nowruz, who had entered into conflict with Küchük Muhammad. Not too long before this, this beg brought his numerous armed men to the young khan and accompanied him in the struggle for power. Perhaps, over time, the absolute power of Nowruz started to press upon the khan, and he decided to get rid of the Mangit nobleman along with the 'many Tatars', who supported the bey.

Generally speaking, in 1430–1440s Deshti Qipchaq saw some stability. In the east of the former Ulus of Jochi, beyond the Yaik River, was the land of powerful Abu al-Khayr, to whom the Mangits generally pledged allegiance. The Lower Volga and the steppes of Ciscaucasia were possessed by Küchük Muhammad. The Horde of Sayid Ahmad was roaming beyond the Don. We see no major conflicts between them, other than that both khans claimed the Crimea and the steppes along the Seversky Donets. In 1434, Vasily II of Moscow, in a treaty with Dmitry Shemyaka, reminded how he 'had sent his ambassadors to the khans Kichim Agnet (Küchük Muhammad) and Sidi Ahmet (Sayyid Ahmad)' [Clerical, 1950, p. 116]. This means that the Muscovites recognised the delicate balance of power in the steppes and the legality of the two neighbouring khans.

Küchük Muhammad died in 1459, leaving the Khanate to his sons, Mahmud and Ahmad, in a state if not prosperous, but quite stable and able to compete with the neighbouring yurts for supremacy in the lands of the former Golden Horde.

The work by Mahmud b. Vali tells us that after the death of Küchük Muhammad, three of his sons were left: 11-year-old Mahmud, who inherited the throne, 8-year-old Ahmad, and 5-year-old Mangyshlak. Khan Abu al-Khayr set off with his army, the brothers were frightened

and took refuge in a fortress. They lived quietly there until Abu al-Khayr lost the war against the Kalmaks. Mahmud got out of his shelter and 'headed towards his hereditary lands'. Later, Abu al-Khayr died and Mahmud became the sovereign Khan [Alekseev, 2006, pp. 84, 85].

This story is broadly consistent with the chronology of events known from other sources. The Uzbek army was defeated by the Oirats ('Kalmaks') in 1457 [Akhmedov, 1965, pp. 65–67], while Abu al-Khayr died in 1468 or 1469. Perhaps, this account reflects some details of the history of the Great Horde at the turn of the 1450–1460s and the story of its relations with the Uzbek Khanate (the more so as we have no data thereabout for an earlier period).

Some undated coins of khans Mahmud and Ahmad have been preserved. The coins were minted in the name of Mahmud in the cities of Ordu Bazaar, Beg Bazaar, Kyrym al-Mansur, Hajji Tarkhan, Ukek and Bolghar; in the name of Ahmad—in Beg Bazaar and in Hajji Tarkhan [Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 39, 40].

In Russian sources, Mahmud is known for a single reason. In 1460, he tried to besiege Ryazan, but ran up against opposition and retreated, suffering heavy losses. Some chronicles transcribe the khan's name as Ahmut (which may be confused with Ahmad), but in the Typographical Chronicle he is called 'tsar (Khan) Mahmud' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, 1921, p. 184]. Mahmud's escort during this campaign included beklyaribek Temur and his brother Din Sufi (Tensufuy) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5, 1851, p. 272; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, 1910, p. 271; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23, 1910, p. 156]. Later, Temur would become a close ally of Ahmad Khan, and Din-Sufi would inherit his high rank.

Historians describe the relations between Ahmad and Mahmud as fighting for power (see, e.g.: [Grigoriev, 1987, p. 544; Zaitsev, 2004a, p. 84]). The fatal landmark, after which Mahmud was unable to defend his superiority, had probably been his defeat by the Crimean Khan Hacı Giray. In 1465, the Horde Khan set out to attack the Russian land and made his way towards the Don. He was unexpectedly attacked there by the Crimeans, who 'beat him and took over the Horde'. The campaign plans had to be left be-

hind, the forces of the Great Horde turning to hold off the attack: 'and they started fighting' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, 1921, p. 186]. Mahmud managed to drive away Hacı Giray, but after that dropped out of active politics.

Even suspended from the real government of the state, he seems to have enjoyed the prestige befitting his status. The Moscow mandate to the ambassador in the Crimea dated March 1475 ordered to tell Khan Mengli Giray that, traditionally, Muscovite princes had sent ambassadors to the tsars (khans) of the Horde, that is why 'my lord, grand prince...sends his ambassadors to tsar Ahmat and **his brother Mahmut**, and they are send ambassadors to my lord' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society 1884, p. 10]. The use of titulary is representative: the Russians, sensitive to the nuances of ranks and titles, do not call Mahmud 'tsar', despite his kinship with khan and ambassadorial ties with Moscow.

The same or the next year Mahmud died, because in 1476 Ambrogio Contarini describes Hajji Tarkhan as being under the rule of his son and successor Kasym, who, incidentally, held the title of khan: 'Senior Khan (Ahmad—V.T.) is at war with Kasym Khan, his nephew (and Kasym believed that he should be the senior khan, like his father, who used to rule the Horde, and that is why a major war was between them)' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 221]. Here we obviously see a case of coregency, a phenomenon quite common in nomadic history. The status of the junior co-ruler was inherited by the son from the father, while maintaining subordination to the senior co-ruler, Ahmad, despite the dissatisfaction of Kasym.

However, he had to recognise the supremacy of his uncle, after all. In 1480, he was within the Horde's army approaching the Ugra: '...and the whole Horde was with the tsar, including his **nephew tsar Kasym**, and six of his sons, and thousands upon thousands of Tatars with them' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 27, 1962, p. 282]. In the sources, Kasym is specifically associated with the city of Hajji Tarkhan. It might be that he chose the city as his permanent residence or settled there, obeying Ahmad's order.

Having gained strength, the Great Horde initiated active contacts with neighbouring and distant monarchs¹. After a long break, the khan's envoys appeared in Istanbul. We know of two messages to Sultan Muhammad II (Mehmed Fatih), sent by Mahmud (dated 10 April 1466) and Ahmad (dated May or June 1477). Around 1475–1477, Mehmed Fatih, in his letter, informed Ahmad of the conquest of Kaffa and the Turks' campaign against Moldova. In form, it was a typical *syuyunch* (good news of a victory), but the underlying message held a warning to the Great Horde to stop hostilities with Mengli Giray, who was Ottoman protégé in the Crimea [Sultanov, 1978, p. 244].

The rivalry between the Great Horde and the newly formed Crimean Khanate began as soon as the first of the Girays had established his power. The meaning of this fighting was not only to establish hegemony in the lands of the former Golden Horde, at least of its right wing (the left wing was far too tough for both the Great Horde khans and the Girays: the 'countless Nogais' were on the rise there). The fertile Tauris with its fields, pastures, rich cities and trade ports attracted the Great Horde men, who vegetated by the will of fate in the meager steppes of the Western Desht.

Ahmad acted quite carefully in regard to the Crimea, waiting for the coincidence, when certain forces would be formed inside the Khanate, on which the Great Horde could rely. The opportunity presented itself in the summer of 1466, when the sons of the deceased Hacı Giray started fighting for the throne. Prince Nur Devlet asked Ahmad for a *yarliq* for the Crimean yurt. Obviously, he was trying to give legitimacy to his rule by means of this purely Horde procedure. The flattering request implying the recognition of the Great Horde khan as a supreme sovereign was gladly satisfied by Ahmad without delay. The *yarliq* turned Crimea into his feudatory domain. However, the local noblemen had no wish to obey the ruler of Takht Eli. As a result of many intrigues

¹ Occasional contacts with the Temürid regions are illustrated by Ahmed's marriage to Badke Begum, the sister of the Khorasan ruler, Sultan Husayn Bayqara [Babur-name, 1993, P. 172].

and after the outbreak of an armed struggle in Crimea, Nur Devlet was dethroned. Mengli Giray was proclaimed the khan.

Ten years later, Ahmad took another attempt to incorporate Crimea into his sphere of domination. At that time, the discord among the local begs took a shape so deep that some of them decided to resort to the help of the Great Horde. The leaders of the Shirin Eli, Aminek and Hajjike, happened to be in opposing camps. Hajjike and Abdullah, leader of the Baryn Eli, brought tsarevich Janibek (b. Ahmad?) from the Horde, but they were fought off by the army gathered by Aminek. Having waited until in the summer of 1476 the Crimean army led by Aminek went to Moldova by order of the Ottoman sultan, Janibek, leading a large army, given to him by Ahmad, rushed to the peninsula and started looting. Aminek hastily returned but, facing the preponderance of the enemy's forces, took refuge in the fortress. Janibek became the khan instead of the dethroned Nur Devlet (who had managed to briefly take the throne in that turmoil). In fact, a short-term union of the two khanates took place. In 1486, Murtaza b. Ahmad wrote about those times to Nur Devlet, who lived in Kasymov: Ahmad 'made as if one yurt from your yurt and our yurt' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 69].

Nothing is known about the rule of the Great Horde appointee, but his position was very precarious. Janibek asked Ivan III if he could settle in the Moscow lands in case he had to leave Crimea. As soon as in the spring of 1478, Nur Devlet, who had regained power, sent ambassadors to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Relations of the Great Horde with the Polish-Lithuanian state, patronizing the hated Girays, evolved initially as hostile, but later they seemed to form a coalition partnership. The confrontation with Muscovy pushed Ahmad and King Casimir to form a military alliance. In 1470, ambassador Kirei Krivoy came from Krakow to the Horde, proposing a joint attack on Rus. But the king was distracted from forging an anti-Moscow coalition by the conflict with Hungary, and the next round of negotiations with the Great Horde took place in 1479–1480.

Initially, relations of the Great Horde with Muscovy evolved traditionally, based on the two-century tributary relationship (so-called 'yoke') of the Russian lands with the Ulus of Jochi. In the 15th century, visits of the grand princes to the Horde gradually became a thing of the past, and, from the 1440s, contacts between the two countries were maintained through ambassadors. The Muscovy rulers explained regular mutual visits of ambassadors not by the payment of toll or obtaining yarliqs (which was indisputable for the neighbours), but by the long-established practice 'from the fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers' or by the geographical proximity of the lands (see: [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 4, 10]).

Annals recorded a fairly active exchange of ambassadors in the 1470s. The most illustrative was the visit to Moscow of Ahmad's envoy Bochuki in July 1476 with a demand to Ivan III to appear 'before the tsar in the Horde' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 183; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, p. 108]. It is not a mere coincidence that the account of this mission immediately follows reference to the war between Ahmad and Mengli Giray. It seems those historians who saw a connection between these events have a point: namely, Ahmad's desire to restore the old-time Golden Horde statehood, to gather under his rule the separated yurts and make the Russian tributaries come to the Horde to pledge obedience and obtain yarliqs [Nazarov, 1983, p. 34; Gorsky, 2000, p. 162].

If it was so indeed, then Ahmad played the wrong card. Muscovy was on the rise and became increasingly tired of the duty to collect the toll for the khan. During the rule of Ivan III, payments of the tribute were stopped. Recent studies show that it was a long and gradual journey for Moscow to be released from its tributary duties. In 1440–1460s, the toll was sent to the Horde with long intervals, and finally ceased to be paid in 1471 [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 153–162]. This explains the relatively frequent visits of Ahmad's ambassadors to Ivan III: the 'tsar' demanded the proper tribute bequeathed by his ancestors.

The flash point of the escalating conflict was the so-called 'Great Stand on the Ugra River' in

1480, which is the most well-known and thoroughly studied episode of the Russian-Horde relations in the 15th century. The autumn and winter of 1480 was spent by Ahmad in a fruitless and impotent standing on the bank of the Ugra River, a tributary of the Oka, against the Moscow army of Ivan III, not daring to attack the Russians and waiting in vain for the allied Polish army. At the year end, Khan led the exhausted and famished Horde army back home to the south and dismissed men to their uluses.

The outcome of the 'Ugra Standoff' was interpreted by the Tatars and the Poles in a significantly different way than the Moscow version. Ahmad's son, Khan Sheikh Ahmad, in a letter to Alexander I Jagiellon, dated 1497, cited as the reason for the Horde army's retreat the perseverance of the khan's retinue recommending against warfare because the Poles had failed to arrive: 'The Khan, our father, being angry with Ivan, got onto a horse, but your father, the King, did not come that year. Our uhlans and princes told our father: Ivan is both your subject and king; the other king did not come that year, and you should go back...So they took my father's reins and returned him. And then our father was taken by God' [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 125].

Maciej Strykowski in his chronicle explains the failure of the campaign as being down to the beklyaribek's greed and intrigues. The 'trans-Volga tsar' stood on the Uhrae river, waiting for news from King Casimir; in the meantime, the Moscow prince sent rich gifts to the 'hetman, tsar's prince Temir'. Temir convinced the tsar to retreat. The khan followed the advice, and 'then Temir the hetman stabbed Khan for the gifts of the Grand Prince' [Kronika, 1846, s. 284].

In all other sources, the death of Ahmad is described quite differently. In January 1481, the Siberian-Nogai troops routed Ahmad's camp, and the khan himself was killed by Nogai murza Yamgurchi b. Waqqas [Ioasaph's Chronicle, 1957, p. 122; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853, p. 232; Complete Collection..., 12, 2000, pp. 20, 23; Complete Collection..., 18, 2007, p. 268; Complete Collection..., 19, 2000, p. 39; Complete Collection..., 25, 1949, p. 328; Complete Collection..., 39, 1994, p. 268]. Some chronicles state that Ahmad was killed by Tyumen Khan Ibak, who led

this campaign [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 274; Complete Collection..., 28, 1963, p. 315; Complete Collection..., 33, 1977, p. 124]. According to A. Gorsky, this discrepancy can be explained by the desire of each coalition partner to take all the credit for the khan's murder in the correspondence with Moscow [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 177, 178]. We can find curious details in selected annalistic texts, like: the size of the Siberian-Nogai army (16 thousand), a statement that Ahmad was killed early in the morning, the capture of Ahmad's daughter by Ibak [Chronicle, 1819, p. 188; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 274; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 33, 1977, p. 124].

The Tatars of the Great Horde, being left without a ruler, roamed the steppes under the gaze of hostile neighbours. In his letter to Casimir dated 1482, Mengli Giray informed the king of the presence of 'our big enemies' 'on that side', but noted with satisfaction that 'these people are skinny and hungry'. According to his information, these 'capital uluses' intended to move to the Dnieper tributaries Orel and Samara, and the king had better order the burning of the steppe in that area as a precaution, so that not to let the Horde come close to the borders [Lietuvos, 2004, s. 90]. At that time, the Horde remained without a leader. The surviving ruling elite was in confusion and tried to find support in neighbouring countries. Neither in the spring of 1481, nor a year later, Moscow knew who commanded Takht Eli, and the ambassadors going to Bakhchysaray were told to find out, 'who will be the tsar in that yurt instead of Ahmad', 'which tsar will take Ahmad's place' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 26–28, 31].

Beklyaribek Temur managed to escape unscathed from the Siberian-Nogai raid. Taking Ahmad's children with him, he went to Crimea to Khan Mengli Giray. Temur was undeterred by the fact that Mengli Giray belonged to a hostile camp (the Crimeans sided with Moscow against the Horde and the Polish-Lithuanian state). The Horde refugees found shelter and well-being in the Taurida peninsula. The Crimean khan decided to host the beklyaribek, powerful in the not so distant past, and treated him with due respect. But 'Ahmad's children', tsareviches Murtaza and Sayyid Mahmud, were not

attracted by the lot of honourable dependents in Bakhchysaray. After a while (probably, in two or three years), Sayyid Mahmud together with Temur returned to the Great Horde. Temur occupied his former high position. But Mengli Giray managed to take Murtaza hostage, having seen through the reemigration plans of his 'guests'. In retaliation to the fugitives, a khan's squad headed north 'to drive away what was left of the Horde'. Having gathered the Great Horde men throughout the steppe, the new Khan Sayyid Mahmud with the chief beg decided to go and rescue Murtaza. The first task was to find out whether there were Turkish troops in Crimea. When it became clear there were no Turks, the Great Horde's cavalry advanced upon Mengli Giray. Murtaza was released, and the khan himself secretly fled from his army and urgently called the Ottomans to his aid. The Horde did not wait for the Sultan's soldiers to come and retreated hastily back home [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 216; Complete Collection..., 12, 2000, p. 217; Complete Collection..., 28, 1963, p. 318; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 53].

Having returned to Desht-i Qipchaq, the Horde finally engaged in the restoration of its statehood. Murtaza and Sayyid Mahmud shared the khan's throne. The texts of Moscow origin first mention the brothers in the charter of Ivan III sent to V. Nozdrevatov, ambassador in Bakhchysaray, in June 1484 [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 43]. In August of the same year, Murtaza informed King Casimir: 'First, Ahmad Khan was the only tsar, and now we are two tsars together with my brother Sayyid Mahmud...' In another letter, he emphasized his legitimate monarchic rank: '... you should regard me like you regarded Ahmad Khan...' [Lietuvos, 2004, s. 98, 99]. However, both this and his other messages dated 1484 imply conflict relations in the Horde. Murtaza repeatedly said that he had no idea where his brother and co-ruler and chief beg Temur were at the moment [Ibid., s. 98, 100].

Eventually, Murtaza completely broke up with his brothers. His place on the throne was occupied by Sheikh Ahmad; Sayyid Mahmud reserved his position as a co-ruling khan. Murtaza had to demonstratively separate from his relatives ('moved away from them...into the

field', as worded by Casimir) and ask for a residence permit in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [Ibid., s. 144].

After the death of skilled politician Temur (between 1484 and 1486), who had restrained the tsareviches' ambitions, quarrels broke out in the khans' family, and khans began to replace each other with amazing rapidity. Sometimes, it may be difficult to understand the coregency combinations, because there would be no single sovereign until the end of the Great Horde's history.

At the turn of the 15–16th centuries, the Great Horde began to plunge into turmoil. The collapse of its already primitive statehood was clearly manifested by the increase in the number of simultaneously ruling dynasties. What is more, there is little evidence that they had any territorial disputes. Each khan ruled over the inherited group of ulus people and did not claim absolute domination (which, however, did not prevent violent conflicts).

The main foreign policy challenge for the Great Horde in the last stage of its history was the relationship with the Crimean Khanate. Beklyaribek Temur, whose daughter married Mengli Giray, was leading an autonomous policy towards Bakhchysaray. Mengli Giray thought highly of the Mangit nobleman and, apparently, regarded him and his congeners as a counterbalance to the powerful Shirins and Baryns gathered around the Girays' throne.

In the mid-1480s, the tension in Horde-Crimean relations decreased slightly, but soon the feud was renewed. In September 1490, the Horde's embassy on behalf of the khans Sheikh Ahmad and Sayyid Mahmud, as well as 'grand prince Mangit Azika, in the name of all Karachi and the good men' made peace with Mengli Giray. When the Crimean Khan, believing in the sincerity of the Horde khans' intentions, disbanded the Tatar soldiers 'to arable lands and corn', the joint Horde and Mangit army invaded the peninsula and plundered uluses of one of the noblest Eli, the Baryn Eli. Then the attackers moved to the north to spend the winter at the Dnieper estuary. Ivan III, respecting the partnership with Mengli Giray, rejected Hajjike's proposal of 'brotherhood' with the co-rulers of the Great Horde because of their enmity with Crimea [Collec-

tion of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 108, 160, 161].

In a response raid in the winter of 1490/91, the Crimeans managed to steal many horses from the enemy, 'cutting the enemy's legs' [Ibid., p. 105]. The combat capability of the Horde sharply decreased. The Crimean khan wanted to consolidate the success by another campaign and obtained the Janissary troops from the Sultan for that purpose. In addition, the Horde was continuously threatened from the north by the growing power of Moscow. In 1491, after negotiations with the Turkish governor of Azov, the Great Horde ceased hostilities.

Face-to-face confrontations gave way to backstage politics. 'Ahmad's tsar's children' did not send official ambassadors to Bakhchysaray, but operated through the ever-present merchants, who were instructed to communicate to Mengli Giray their intention to form an alliance with him, provided that he broke up with Moscow; the khan regarded these assurances as a pack of lies [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 218]. And he was right: at the same time (in 1495), Sheikh Ahmad in his correspondence with King Casimir revealed his true approach to his southern neighbour: 'What you should know is that we have no other enemy, except Mengli Giray' [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 97; Lietuvos, 2007, s. 75]. Reconciliation between the two 'post-Horde' countries was no longer possible. However, peace was not what Mengli Giray wanted. At the end of the 15th century, the looming collapse of the Great Horde was quite evident. The Crimean troops began entering the steppe, not to fight with the Horde's men, but rather to plunder the defenceless uluses and take captives.

The relationship of the Great Horde with the Christian Polish-Lithuanian state (and at the time of its division, with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in particular) evolved in a much closer and warmer way than with any of the Muslim countries. The Lithuanian-Muscovite border disputes and clashes continued, and Casimir IV still regarded the Tatars of Takht Eli as allies in his fight against Ivan III. In 1482, the Grand Duke informed Mengli Giray that the king 'presently, does not want peace with me, but sent messengers to the Horde to raise my enemies on me', meaning the sons of Ahmad

[Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 29]. Two years later, co-ruling khans Murtaza and Sayyid Mahmud accepted another embassy from Krakow headed by Stret. In his message to the king, Murtaza assured that no harm would be done to his lands [Ibid., p. 43; Lithuanian Metrica, 1910, col. 348, 349]. When Murtaza broke up with his brothers, Casimir invited him to live on his land, 'and we would not deprive you, our brother, of our bread and salt' [Lietuvos, 2004, s. 144].

Both Moscow and Bakhchysaray were watching this diplomacy warily, rightly sensing the danger to themselves. Ivan III and Mengli Giray agreed to catch the Polish-Lithuanian and Horde's ambassadors in the steppes [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 202, 210] in order to prevent a hostile coalition. The Crimean khan angrily blamed Alexander Jagiellon, who had replaced Casimir, that he had exchanged embassies with the enemies of the Crimea, being replied with journeys into history, reminders of the traditional Lithuanian-Horde relations and the proximity of Tatar encampments to Lithuania and so on.

In fact, these relations were far from being trouble-free. One of the Horde's ambassadors had been detained in Lithuania for several years, while another did not receive the appropriate diplomatic status. After all, Alexander, son of Casimir, behaved towards the Great Horde men in a more detached and cautious way than his late father. In addition, the situation in the Horde was discouraging of any close coalition with it. The co-ruling khans of the declining state, who were continuously quarrelling among themselves and frequently replacing one another, were losing their appeal as allies for Lithuanian politicians. Nevertheless, the Tatar cavalry was still able to draw a significant part of Moscow's troops and thus assist Vilna in the confrontation with the Grand Duke of Moscow.

In the fall of 1500, Sheikh Ahmad's mobile camp was visited by Michail Khaletski, Alexander's ambassador. On behalf of his sovereign, he urged the khan to take military action against the Muscovites. According to the ambassador, the Horde would have powerful allies in this war: the Polish king Jan Olbracht, and the Hungarian and Czech King, Wladyslaw; Sheikh Ahmad was suggested to involve the

Nogais in the Rus campaigns. The persuasion was enforced by rich gifts and huge homage, the so called '*ordynschina*' [Acts, 1846, p. 213; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 32, 1975, p. 101; Horoshkevich, 2001, pp. 154, 155; Lietuvos, 1994, s. 147, 148, 159].

The khan agreed to military action and in 1500–1501 attacked the Muscovy 'borderlands' twice. In addition to all the promises given during the negotiations, he naively supposed that the allies would give him control of Kiev. Accompanied by Khaletski, the Tatar cavalry set off to the Seversk land that had recently been regained by Ivan III from the Lithuanians. Rylsk and Novgorod Seversky were captured, but not sacked; the khan regarded the cities as the property of Alexander. Sheikh Ahmad sent Khaletski to Vilna with the news of a successful campaign and an invitation for Alexander to join the Tatars in the campaign. For forty days, the Horde army stood near Kanev, waiting for the Lithuanian army, then retreated to Chernigov. The waiting lingered on. Alexander Jagiellon could not and maybe had no desire to take part in the campaign. After the death of Jan Olbracht, he was elected King of Poland, and, instead of Chernigov, went to Krakow for the coronation, 'leaving behind his affairs with the Trans-Volga tsar' [Kronika, 1846, s. 313; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1882, p. 520; Chronicle, 1966, p. 115; Lietuvos, 1994, s. 170, 172, 178].

In late 1501 or early 1502, Sheikh Ahmad and beklyaribek Tawakkul came to the conclusion that the alliance with Lithuania was of no benefit to them. The Moscow ambassador was pleased to report from Crimea in the summer of 1502, that '...Khan Sheikh Ahmad is in discord with the Lithuanian tsar' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 418]. The Horde's leaders intended to persuade Moscow into the anti-Crimea alliance, promising 'to break up with Lithuania' [Ibid., p. 384]. However, Ivan III did not wish to break up the established relations with Mengli Giray for the sake of this dubious acquisition and informed Mengli Giray of the Horde's embassy.

In contrast to the Polish-Lithuanian monarchs, the dukes of Moscow had no plans to form a coalition with the Great Horde. Quite the opposite; the Horde, roaming along the southern frontier, posed a constant threat to Musco-

vy lands. Therefore, the efforts of Russian diplomacy were focused on creating anti-Horde alliances, with the involvement of Crimea, Kazan, the Nogais, and using the ever increasing number of Tatar soldiers in the Russian army. The troops of Ivan III under the command of the Russian voivodes and Nur Devlet, serving the tsar of Kasymov, had repeatedly gone into the steppes in order to loot the Horde's uluses and drive them away from the borders.

The ambassadorial relations between the two neighbouring countries were quite rare. In the 1480s, the Horde's politicians nourished the idea to lure Nur Devlet and make him the symbol of fighting against his hated brother Mengli Giray. In August 1487, Murtaza and Sayyid Mahmud sent an embassy to Moscow in order to discuss the conditions of the former Crimean khan moving to Takht Eli [Ibid., pp. 63, 68, 69]. But the plan did not work out: neither Ivan III, nor Nur Devlet himself wanted to get involved in the unpromising schemes of 'Ahmad's children'.

At the end of 1501, Sheikh Ahmad and Tawakkul sent their messenger to the Kremlin to negotiate on 'friendship and love', namely, to announce their reorientation from Vilna to Moscow for a joint struggle with Crimea. As stated above, the khans' plan failed again. Nevertheless, the Grand Duke sent his ambassador D. Likhorev to the Horde to assure the khan of the 'same good intentions' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 241; Complete Collection..., 12, 2000, p. 255]. The ambassador returned to his homeland already after the collapse of the Horde.

The relations between the Muscovite state and the Great Horde had always been shadowed by the past tributary duties of Rus of the 'yoke' era. When communicating with Ivan III, the Tatars did not dare to even mention it. The khan's letters now started with the phrase 'The word of (name of the khan) to Ivan', omitting the imperative 'My word' used in the past,—that is, just mentioning different ranks of the rulers—khan ('tsar') and Grand Duke [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 179, 180]. Still, in correspondence with Vilna and Krakow, the Khans gave way to nostalgia, always adding the words 'our servant' to any references to Ivan the Great (see, e.g.: [Lietuvos, 1994, s. 172, 173, 175, 179, 181]).

There was only one case when Ivan III decided to pay a kind of tribute, what is more (as far as can be judged from the sources), without any particular insistence on the Tatar part. In 1502, Sheikh Ahmad wrote to Alexander Jagiellon, overjoyed: the Duke of Moscow 'sent to us the datka (homage), which he had not given to our father or brothers'. He was seconded by Tawakkul: '...sending to us what he had not given to the tsar's or our ancestors' [Ibid., p. 181]. First, what stands out in these letters is the stressing of the unique nature of payments. It seems that the khans had already forgotten the sum, which the Russians had to pay to the Horde, and the fact of payment was perceived by them as a revival of the practice of old times, even before 'our father' and 'the tsar's ancestors'. Second, the term 'datka' is used to refer to the payments, which seems to be out of use in the practice of the Russian-Horde tributary relations. Use of this word instead of the expected 'homage', 'tribute' or 'yasak' also testifies to the uniqueness of the situation.

In the 16th century, the Great Horde was on its last legs. The period of unrest and wars had exhausted its herds of horses, decreased its flocks of sheep, and disorganised its agrarian system. Famine broke out in the nomad camps. All this was known in Bakhchysaray: agents of Mengli Giray had rooted in Tawakkul's camp [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 354]. What remained of the Ulus of Jochi was rapidly becoming easy prey for the Crimeans.

The Horde's bazaar was roaming the steppe in a chaotic manner. Its routes were now limited to a strip of steppes between the Volga and the Dnieper; the 'trans-Volga tsars' did not set foot beyond the Volga anymore. The sources describe the co-ruling khans' location one day near Astrakhan, another day in the North-East Caspian Sea region, then at the Don River and its tributaries (Medveditsa), then at the Dnieper (Desna, Orel, Samara, Sula)...In 1500–1501, the main aspiration of Sheikh Ahmad (not shared by his brothers) was to cross to the right bank of the Dnieper, even if it would be the Lithuanian or Ottoman lands, just to have a guarantee of subsistence and security. A good indicator of the pending collapse was the mass migration of nomads to neighbouring countries.

The impoverished Tatars were leaving their unsuccessful khans and rushing to the protection of more reliable patrons.

In May 1502, Mengli Giray, leading the Crimean cavalry, marched on the Great Horde. Every now and then, the army would meet migrants along the way: '...many people go to him (Mengli Giray—V.T.) to Perekop', 'an ulus from the Great Horde, and that ulus heads off to Perekop' [Ibid., p. 419]. The attackers knew that Sheikh Ahmad had broken up with his beklyaribek Tawakkul, and now had only about twenty thousand Tatars under his command. Around 15 June 1502, where the Sula River meets the Dnieper¹, the last battle in the history of Takht Eli took place and was completely lost by Sheikh Ahmad. The khan fled, the victor gaining his treasury along with the Horde's bazaar. The uluses of the Great Horde Tatars were now also under his allegiance, and Mengli Giray planned to relocate them to the south, closer to Crimea.

The neighbouring rulers were immediately informed about the victory. Couriers from Bakhchysaray delivered to Moscow and Krakow (and probably to other capitals) a syuyunch drawn up in similar terms: 'Thank God, we have defeated our enemy Sheikh Ahmad, and God gave us his Horde and all of his uluses'; 'By the grace of God, we took the Great Horde together with its people'; 'Thank God, we have defeated our enemy Sheikh Ahmad with our great army, drove tsar Sheikh Ahmad away, and God gave us his Horde and all of his people' [Acts, 1846, p. 344; Ulyanitsky, 1887, p. 193; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 420].

This is usually considered to be the end of the history of the Great Horde (although later there were some futile attempts to revive it). The lands to the west of the Volga, which used to belong to the Horde, were divided between the Crimean yurt and the newly formed Astrakhan yurt; the banks of the steppe rivers were populated by increasingly numerous free Cossacks, who did not wish to be governed by any rulers; and the eastern lands had long been occupied by the Nogais.

¹ On the establishment of the battle location and date see: [Gayvoronsky, 2007, Pp. 79, 111, 112].

CHAPTER 2

The Astrakhan Khanate

Ilya Zaitsev

Astrakhan, as well as the Kazan and the Crimean Khanates, was ruled by representatives of one family—the Jochids (descendants of Jochi, son of Chinggis). A dynasty of descendants of the Golden Horde khan Temür Qutlugh was formed in the khanate. Scanty and fragmentary sources make it impossible

to reconstruct a complete picture of the khans' reign. Based on available materials (mostly ambassadorial books on the links of the Grand Principality of Moscow with the Crimean Khanate and the Nogai Horde), we can present this succession in tabular form [Zaitsev, 2010, p. 110].

Table

Khan's name	Presumed dates of reign
Abd al-Karim ibn Mahmud	1502 (1508?)–1514
Janibek ibn Mahmud	1514—summer of 1521 (not later than 15 August)
Hussein b. Janibek	October, 1521 at the earliest –?
Sheikh Ahmed b. Ahmed	?–? (between 1525 and 1528)
Kasym b. Sayid Ahmed	?—summer of 1532 (with an interval)
Islam Giray b. Muhammad Giray	1531 (in May, at the latest) 1532 (in January, at the latest)
Akkubeg b. Murtaza	summer of 1532–1533
Abd ar-Rahman b. Abd al-Karim (qalga—'Abli-Saltan' b. Hussein)	1533—end of October, 1537 at the latest
Dervish Ali b. Sheikh Haidar	October, 1537—summer of 1539
Abd ar-Rahman b. Abd al-Karim (for the second time)	summer of 1539 –1543 (?)
Akkubeg b. Murtaza (for the second time)*	1545–1546
Yamgurchi b. Birdibek (with an interval) (qalga—Takbildi)	1546–1550 / 1551–1554
Dervish Ali b. Sheikh Haidar (for the second time) (qalga—his son Jan-Temür?; after that Kazbulat b. Devlet Giray)	1554–1556

* His son Baki sought refuge in the Nogai Horde even before the capture of the city by Moscow troops.

For nearly all of its history the Astrakhan Khanate found itself in a dependent position. The Nogai Horde, the North Caucasian Principality, and the Crimean Khanate acted in turns as its sovereigns. The khans often changed as a result of deadly invasions and upheavals with the participation of external forces. Fragmentary data mean we can assume that the line of descendants of Ahmed b. Küchük Muhammad was supported by the Kabardians, and the line of Mahmudovichi —by Nogai: the two

branches of the dynasty relied upon different ethnopolitical forces and were closely allied with them.

As early as during the reign of Temür Qutlugh Astrakhan paid tribute for the benefit of his son Edigu Nur ad-Din (*karasnap*) in the amount of 40 thousand altyn: 'an altyn from every hut, and from Nogai selling horses an altyn from a horse, three coins from a cow, one coin from a sheep' (cit. ex. [Ambassadorial book, 2003, pp. 47, 80–81]).

The most ruinous were the Crimean raids to Astrakhan (Muhammad Giray in 1523 and Sahib Giray in 1546). According to Remmal Hojja, the last campaign was provoked by Yagmurji (Yamgurchi), who, having taken the throne in Astrakhan, captured a commercial caravan traveling from Kazan to Crimea. The ill-treated merchants complained to Sahib Giray, and the latter, indignant with the interference with the trade between Kazan and the Crimea (for he reigned in Kazan in the first half of the 1520s, and trade with Crimea, which was very important for Kazan, was well-known to him) started preparing a full-scale march on the city. Complete mobilization was announced for the Astrakhan campaign; the khan's letter (*yarliq*) stated that 'no one can stay on this land, and all the people, or the army (*halk*) shall place themselves on a war footing (*sefer aiagyn edyub*), and if anyone does not stand by the khan immediately after Or Agza (Perekop), his property shall be plundered, and his head cut off'. The khan's Divan was postponed, and letters were sent all around informing that if a man aged between 15 and 70 had not joined the troops, he would face a severe penalty of death (*myuhkem siyaset*). The Crimean troops on the march numbered from 200 to 1000 *tyufenkchi* (fighters armed following the Ottoman model with guns—*tyufenk*), the khan's forces reached 10,000 (including a bey division), and tribal levy supposedly reached 250,000. After the Crimean troops forced the crossing of the Don (the only major obstacle on their way) in a day, the city's fate was sealed. Astrakhan was captured thanks to field artillery and *tufenkji* forces. Yagmurji fled, and some of his retinue and surroundings were captured and taken to Crimea with a promise that they would not be harmed [Tarih-i Sahib, 1973, s. 97–105; Ostapchuk, 2001, pp. 399–405].

At the end of 1549 or early 1550, the city was for some time captured by the Moscow Cossacks. In 1551, Pyotr Turgenev, Ambassador of Moscow in the Nogai Horde wrote: 'And sent the Turkish tsar his envoy called Chevush to Ismail murza this spring. They say, sire, the message was like that: in our books, dey, it is written that the time came, that the Russian tsar Ivan time came, and his hand is high above the mussulman. And I am, dey, also greatly offend-

ed by him. The field, dey, and all the rivers he has taken from me, and the Don, and Ozov city, has taken all power away. In Azov his Cossacks take tribute from Ozov and don't let water be drank from the Don...And his Cossacks, dey, has taken Astrakhan and such atrocities committed. And the tsar Ivan's Cossacks have taken both banks of the Volga River from you and power from you, and for your uluses fight, and gorodetskye Cossacks have come to your uluses, fought and Dervish the Astrakhan tsar was captured. And is it not a shame on you, dey, if you cannot stand up for that' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheets 39–40]. The information on the capture of the city by Cossacks is evidenced by one more source. Nikita Sushchev, Ambassador of Moscow in Lithuania, who came to the Grand Prince of Lithuania in early 1553 (having left Moscow on 15 January) had been ordered to inform: 'Three years have passed since Astrakhan was captured by our tsar's Cossacks, and Astrakhan tsar Yamgurchi left Astrakhan for Cherkasy, but from Cherkasy he sent a prayer to our tsar and asked our tsar to rule that he be placed again to rule in Astrakhan. And our tsar decreed that he be placed again to rule in Astrakhan, and now the tsar in Astrakhan is ruling on the orders of our tsar and hangs on every word of our tsar. [Collection of Imperial Russian Historical Society, 1887, pp. 375–376].

Relations of the Astrakhan Khanate with the Great Principality of Moscow before the 1550s were quite friendly, which was reasoned by the fact that they had a common enemy—Crimea (Astrakhan had inherited the conflict with the Crimean khans from the Grand Horde). Before 1551, the Astrakhan residents arriving in Moscow came here together with the Nogais. A separate Astrakhan Dvor in Moscow is mentioned to exist already in 1552–1557, but there is no information on its location. Probably after the capture of the city it was eliminated: tsarevich Ibak brought from Astrakhan in 1558 'was placed' on Rozhdestvenskaya Street 'at a farmstead' [Khayretdinov, 2002, p. 53].

After conquering Kazan in 1552, Moscow developed a plan for taking possession of the entire Volga Trade Route. Ivan IV justified the fight with the Astrakhan Khanate in 1554 by the breach of agreements on the part of khan

Yamgurchi and the offence of the Moscow Ambassador. The justifying idea was supported by the 'Tmutarakan' legend (mythical identification of Astrakhan with Tmutarakan, which was at the time of Prince Vladimir given by him to his son Mstislav as a domain). In April 1554, a military expedition was sent from Moscow to Astrakhan (voivode prince Yu. Pronsky Shemyakin 'with comrades'—about 30,000 people). Hajji Tarkhan was taken without a fight on 2 July, 'there were few people in the city at that time' [Complete Russian Chronicles, 13, 1904, p. 242]. Yamgurchi fled to Tyumen in the North Caucasus (he was married to a daughter of the Kumyk ruler in Dagestan). Khan Dervish Ali, who had long lived in Moscow up to that point, was placed at the head of the city. Vicegenet P. Turgenev was left with the khan with a small military camp ('to stay for a year', as the sources put it). Astrakhan was laid under a tribute. There are different details as regards its amount. The Astrakhan shert (a kind of an agreement-oath) mentions 1000 rubles in cash¹ and 3000 fishes, 'and to collect this tribute themselves and every year send it to the great tsar and his children and heirs to Moscow till the God let the earth stay, with their envoys, and give it all away unreservedly and without keeping anything back' [National Library of Russia, Collection Pogodin, no. 1490, l. 86–86 reverse; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 181, inv. 1, file 49, sheet 180]. Another source describes the tribute in a different way: 'ten thousand horses a year, and twenty thousand sheep, and thirty thousand sturgeons and belugas' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 450]. In case of the death of Dervish the shert prescribed Astrakhan residents to apply directly to the grand prince.

However, Dervish Ali started soon to tend toward an alliance with Crimea, and sent P. Turgenev away from the city. In summer 1555, G. Kaftyrev, the head of Streltsy, and F. Pavlov, Cossack chieftain, took Astrakhan again, which had been left by the khan and the residents. Dervish was soon brought back and released of the tribute for a year, and L. Mansurov was left in the city as the Moscow representative. Thus, a dinarchy formed in the city, and soon Dervish,

in alliance with children of Nogai murza Yusuf, besieged Mansurov in his residence, a kind of small fortress. Mansurov managed to escape. In March 1556, Astrakhan was again attacked by Streltsy headed by I. Cheremisinov and by Cossacks headed by M. Kolupayev. Before that Cossack chieftain L. Filimonov had been let on the march. Having come to the city in summer, the voivodes once again found nobody there: 'the tsar had fled from Astrakhan and burnt the city' [Razrjadnaja kniga, 1975, p. 37].

Part of the Astrakhan nobility managed to escape to the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire. Some Astrakhan tsarevich was taken 'alive' by the Moscow troops on 30 July 1572 in the course of the Molodinskaya battle. Muhammad, son of Dervish-Ali lived in the early 1570s in the Ottoman Empire and earned a salary from the Sultan². In register No. IV of so-called *Registers of Important Affairs* (Mühimme Defterleri) there is a short, 3-line record from 23 jumad I 967 AH (20 March 1560) on payment of thirty akche to the sons of Dervish Ali taking refuge in Turkey (see: [Bennigsen 1967]). As I. Novosiltsev wrote in 1570, 'Magnet tsarevich, son of Dervish Ali of Astrakhan, is staying at the Sultan of Turkey, and he is living in the Uryumsky township, and he is not let out of the town, and is not allowed to come to the Sultan' [Puteshestviya, 1954, p. 89 (389)]. The same source mentions some 'Astrakhan Semen murza and Tenim called Tereberdeyev with comrades who first ran from Astrakhan to Azov' [Ibid., p. 67], and then took an active part in the Astrakhan campaign of Ottoman and Crimean troops in 1569.

Supporters of Yamgurchi also happened to be in Istanbul. In Muharram 976 (June–July 1586) a reply letter of Selim II to the letter of Devlet Giray was written, where the khan informed that he was ready to start a military campaign to take Astrakhan back. The first half of the letter was about the preparations for the Astrakhan campaign. The second half was rather devoted to complicated relations of khan Devlet Giray with

¹ Or 40,000 Altyns (3 kopecks each), that is, 1,200 Rubles.

² There is a rather widespread assertion in the historiography that descendants of the Astrakhan Khans fled to Middle Asia, founding their own Janid dynasty (Ashtrakhanids) there. About the real links between Temür Qutlugh's descendants and the Ashtrakhanid dynasty see: [Trepavlov, 2009a].

other khans of the Giray dynasty. In particular, Padishah promised him to expel to Algeria some especially ardent defenders of the Astrakhan khan Yamgurchi (see: [Bennigsen, 1967]).

Crimea could not put up with the conquest of Astrakhan and Kazan for a long time. Moscow actually offered a ransom for the Volga khanates to cross over to under its jurisdiction — a surplus to the maximum former amount of tribute, and Crimea, after a long period of resistance, agreed.

Like in other Jochid states, the second person in the state was qalga (an heir of the khan, usually his son, brother or nephew). The nobility consisted of sultans, oglans (uhlans), begs and mirzas (according to Russian sources, in 1554 they numbered a minimum of 500), and many of them owned domains. The existence of an institution of Karachi beys in Astrakhan is not particularly subject to much doubt. The dominating clan group under the Astrakhan khans was probably the Kungrats. In addition, the khanate was inhabited by representatives of the Mangit clan. Most likely, the structure of the power elite of the khanate was arranged in a way traditional for Jochid states of the 15th to 16th centuries: four ruling classes (specific sets of clans varied), which were later supplemented by one more—the Mangits. It is fair to assume that the classification structure of the Astrakhan Mangit branch was similar to branches in other khanates (with qalga, nureddin, ordinary begs and murzas). The dependent tribute-paying population was formed of the so-called 'rabble'. After annexation 'murzas and rabble tatars', who stayed in the city were assigned to service and had to pay tribute in natural products (yasak). They were given names 'yurtovye' or 'domovnye'. Those who stayed in steppe under the rule of the surrendered princes got the name 'kochevnye' ['nomads']. The later soon left the historical stage. It's most likely that in households slave labour (probably the labour of Slavic and Caucasian captives) was widely used. The sources also mention Astrakhan religious servants—'mullahs and akhuns and seits and abyzes'. In 1554, they numbered about 3,000 people.

The Astrakhan Khanate had tight cultural contacts with Central Asia, Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and Desht-i Qipchaq lands. These ties were substantiated not only by commer-

cial interests, but also by religious unity: Hajji Tarkhan was situated on one of the traditional routes of ihrams from Central Asia to Mecca. Astrakhan residents themselves also completed the hajj, and their ties with Mecca were not broken, even in the first years of their city's annexation to the Muscovite state. Muslims began to settle in the now Russian town of Astrakhan and entered into Russian service. In 1561, the Nogai bey Ismail asked Ivan the Terrible for a certain slave named Tabich, who served in Astrakhan: '...and he fasts and observes namaz, and his religion is ours', Ismail wrote.

In the period of independence, the Muslim clergy must have been active in carrying out missionary work in the territories to the east of Astrakhan, disseminating and strengthening Islam and the Muslim religion among the Kazakhs. In the early 16th century Ulemas from Hajji Tarkhan extirpated paganism among the Kazakhs [Fazlallakh ibn Ruzbikhani Isfakhani, 1976, p. 106]. As everywhere in the cities of Golden Horde, Hanafiyah was dominant, but there also were Shafiites and Malikites. In Astrakhan they were also aware of classic works on Islamic law (fiqh), including works by Hafiz-ad-Din Nesefti (died in 1310 or 1320). It is unmistakable, that most Muslims in the Lower Volga Region professed Sunni Islam, while there probably also were some Shiites (owing to the near location of Safavid Iran). On the whole, the Astrakhan khanate was probably in the same position as the Golden Horde had been in the earlier period: the city itself was a stronghold of Islam, while the steppe and the surroundings of the city were rather poorly Islamized. In Hajji Tarkhan they also knew Sufism. Initially tariqah Yasaviya might have been most widespread in Astrakhan. Later the most popular might have been tariqah Naqshbandiyah, but the Kubrawiya fraternity was also known. Like in Central Asia, Crimea and Kazan, there were sheikhs (ishans)—the most honoured and respected persons, religious authorities, leaders of tariqahs.

The city was also a place to write literary and historical works: Sherif Hajjitarhani, a poet and a writer, a native of Astrakhan wrote 'Zafer name-i Vilayet-i Kazan', a book about an unsuccessful Russian march on Kazan in 1550. Without doubt, Astrakhan had its own

historiographic tradition. Astrakhan residents Baba Ali and Hajji Niyaz, informers of Ötemish Hajji were well-educated people for their time. The latter, probably a merchant 'famous for his wealth', spoke to Ötemish Hajji on the epoch of wars between Berke and Hulagu, and he elaborated the story with his comments on the territories where these events had taken place. Hajji Niyaz is mentioned as 'Khoneyaz' in the letter of a Moscow diplomat Kubensky (October 1500). His brother Ak-molla ('Akhmolna') also was a trader: together with other Astrakhan residents he ran a trading business in Moscow and probably spent some time there in custody. Ablez Bakshi (a Moscow official, who was in charge of translations from Tatar and other eastern languages) allegedly wrote a letter to 'Khoneyaz', where he proposed that khan Abd al-Karim moved forward to the Don and watched over the Moscow ambassador and the guests. If he captured the diplomat and the merchants, Khoneyaz would be able to exchange them for Ak-molla [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 333–334].

We can assume that there were written records of the Golden Horde historical events in the khanate, and presumably there was a strong oral tradition connected with Astrakhan itself, as if including it in the general course of history. Most likely, classical works of Muslim historiography (such as the work by Rashid ad-Din) circulated in the city and enjoyed wide popularity. However, no Tatar historical works specially devoted to Hajji Tarkhan history, in whose existence there could be no doubt, have been preserved. The book by Jihanshakh b. Abd al-Jabbar al-Nijgaruti al-Hajjitarkhani 'Astrakhan History' unfortunately does not cover the khanate period in the history of the city [Hajjitarkhani, 1907; see also: Frank, 2001]. At the court of the Astrakhan khans there were calligraphers (bakshi), who were in charge of business and diplomatic correspondence, and probably, of the rewriting of books. One such calligrapher-bakshi of khan Abd Ar-Rahman, included in the legation to Moscow in 1540, is mentioned in Russian chronicles¹. In Hajji

Tarkhan they also knew classic works of Arab and Persian literature (e.g., the 'Shakh Name' by Ferdowsi), works on mathematics, geography, and astronomy. Pagan vestiges did not disappear either with the advent of Islam in the city.

No authentic Muslim manuscript from Hajji Tarkhan written before its annexation to the Russian state has come to our notice. Several manuscripts have been preserved from the time of Russian Astrakhan. They may be divided for our purposes into two groups: manuscripts written on their own initiative by a member of the Muslim community of the city inside the community; and manuscripts written by Astrakhan Muslims under orders from Christian missionaries. The bookwork of Astrakhan Muslims includes both manuscripts of a purely practical religious nature (treatise on abolished and abolishing surahs of the Quran) and manuscripts of a secular nature (poetical divans and individual petic texts, Ali's 'Yusuf and Zuleikha'), which are mostly historical ('Dastan-i nasl-i Chinggis Khan', 'Shajara-i turki', 'Tarikh-i Naditi'). A classic picture is observed: Quranic research is presented solely in the Arab language; manuscripts of wider genre variation are written in Farsi (ethics, poetry, history); Turkic is almost completely shifted into the 'secular' sphere of poetry and history [Zaitsev, 2009, pp. 206–210].

From the 14th century Hajji Tarkhan was one of the major trading points on the Lower Volga, where the great caravan route ran connecting Mediterranean trade with the East. Hajji Tarkhan trade probably developed with the greatest intensity with the cities of Northern Azerbaijan, as well as with Azak and ports on the Black Sea. The ties of the Lower Volga Region and Hajji Tarkhan were very close, in particular, with Khwarezm. It is not by chance that at the beginning of the second quarter of the 14th century, a number of caravan-serais simultaneously emerged on the trade route from the lower reaches of the great river to Central Asia—on the Ustyurt, which stopped functioning in the 1370s because of Temur's ruinous attacks on Khwarezm. Temur's campaigns of 1391 and 1395 clearly had a considerably impact on another direction of Astrakhan's trade, the Azak. After all, this route connected the

¹ The use of this word indirectly testifies to the fact that the Astrakhan chancellery was not yet fully islamized.

Iranian Caspian (through Astrakhan and Azak) with Kaffa and then with internal regions of the Ottoman Empire. The major products traded along this route were silk and spices. At the end of the 15th century, the trade in spices from the east through Astrakhan (primarily, from India through Shamakhi and Baku) was still very important. Over the whole period of its history up to the Russian conquest, Hajji Tarkhan was a major centre of the slave trade. Slaves were sold to Crimea, Kazan, Central Asia, and Iran. After the city's annexation to the Muscovite state, Russian slaves continued coming back to their motherland for a long time thereafter.

Astrakhan's economy was evidently formed of two components: transit trade and the export of local products [Zaitsev, 2006]. The main products of Astrakhan's economy were fish and salt, which were sold both to Volga towns and probably, to a lesser extent, to Caspian countries. Salt in the neighbourhood of the city was extracted from the lakes (so-called deposited salt); it was raked out of the water with shovels, dried in the sun, and then loaded onto transport. It could be kept for a long time in mounds, only getting firm over time, and because of that the blocks had to be crushed with axes and iron bars.

Fishing was a long-established practice in Hajji Tarkhan. Almost all Russian fishery terms used in the lower Volga regions are of Turkic origin, which testifies to its borrowing by Russian fishermen from the local population (the Tatar vocabulary is very frequently used, for example, in describing a trap net). Sturgeon breeds (starred sturgeon?) (probably, the sign of the zodiac for Pisces) are even depicted on one type of coin from Hajji Tarkhan from the 14th century. Sturgeon fishing was practiced three months a year—from the end of May to the end of August. Fish was salted on the spot, loaded onto vessels and shipped up the Volga. The range of shipped fish was probably not so wide: Russian documents mention mostly sturgeon, beluga and starred sturgeon. Terminology regarding fish salting is also almost completely of Turkic origin, which leads us to assume that during the period of the khanate fish was salted in Hajji Tarkhan in much the same way. Fish was also dried (sometimes it was used instead of bread). It is likely that in

the first half of the 16th century trap nets belonged to Hajji Tarkhan aristocrats. Some of the trap nets in the arms of the Volga delta and its shallows belonged personally to the khan.

Bread had to be imported to Astrakhan. The city must have been constantly suffering from a lack of grain; in such conditions famine and hunger must have been rather frequent among the local population.

Cattle breeding was always very important for the khanate economy. Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhani Isfahani wrote that 'Many riches, tallowy sheep, horses, camels, and other valuable goods are supplied from Hajji Tarkhan'. And it is for good reason that a Tatar proverb has been preserved to this day: 'Açtarqanda sôjêr bër aqça, kilä-kilä mên aqça' [Ramstedt, 1991, s. 63] ('In Astrakhan a cow [costs] one coin, [and if] you move away, [it's already] a thousand'). Gardening, vegetable cultivation, and hunting must have played some role in the khanate economy; however, their part must not have been very significant (the existence of developed horticulture in Astrakhan in the khanate period is most probable). Russian proverbs of the 17th century state that Astrakhan is notable for its watermelons: 'Astrakhan for watermelons, and we—for beggars'.

It may be safely suggested that there were khan and qalga domains in the khanate (*qalgalyk*). The latter was granted to a qalga only for use. Peasants living on the *qalgalyk* land, the same as those living on the khan's lands, worked there at a proportion of 1/10. There are no detailed on beiliks in Astrakhan like in the Crimea and Kazan, but it is most likely that they were also there. Most probable is the existence of land holdings of clergyman and religious teachers (*hojalyk*). Some part of arable land must have been common property. It is most likely that there was an institute of soyurğal in Astrakhan (conditional military feudal land owning, a right to collect rent for a certain time—a tax, which had earlier been paid to the khan).

Throughout its centuries-long history, the city remained the major cultural and commercial centre of the Lower Volga region.

¹ An approximate analogue of the Russian saying 'over the ocean the calf costs half, but it is dear to ship it here'.

CHAPTER 3

The Siberian Khanate

§ 1. The Siberian Khanate as Part of the Shaybanid State (Second Half of the 16th Century)

Alexander Nesterov

After the Shaybanid State in the Siberian Yurt was laid to ruin at the beginning of the 16th century, the descendants of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan took refuge at their far relatives in Central Asia, where a Shaybanid State had been thriving since 1500 founded by Muhammad Sheibani Khan b. Shakh Budag Sultan b. Abu al-Khayr Ubaidallakh Khan. It is likely that representatives of the Siberian branch of the Shaybanids retained certain domains in Western Kazakhstan, but the sources do not contain any reliable data on the matter. The only mention of the heir of Sayyid Ibrahim (Murtaza Sultan?) is a letter from Nogai bey Sayyid Ahmad sent in 1535 to Moscow, where he wrote that 'Ivakov tsar's son confessed to us with all his friends and servants' [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 131]. At that time the heirs of the Shaybanids must have been migrating between the lands of the Uzbek Shaybanids and Nogai Horde.

In the early 1550s, the most realistic claimants to the heritage of the Siberian Shaybanids made an appearance among Shaybanid sultans: the sons of Murtaza Sultan b. Sayyid Ibrahim Khan Kuchum Sultan and Ahmad Giray Sultan. Their father Murtaza Sultan does not seem to have played an important role in politics, but Russian Siberian chronicles and Siberian Tatar folklore usually refer to him as a ruler, and historical legends of Siberian Tatars recorded by G. Miller even name Murtaza the 'Khan of Bolshaya Bukhariya' [Miller, 1937, p. 196]. We certainly have no reason to assume that there was some powerful land holding of Murtaza Sultan in Central Asia or Southern Kazakhstan not mentioned in the numerous Asian sources of the 16–17th centuries. The most probable explanation is the sugges-

tion that Murtaza Sultan owned some small ulus near the southern borders of the Shaybanid State in Central Asia.

It is assumed that Murtaza Sultan died around 1555, as it was at this time that Kuchum Sultan distinguished himself among the four known sons.

It is likely that immediately after the death of his father Kuchum Sultan started the war against the Taibugids. The reason for such a suggestion is not only Yadigar Beg's request for help to Ivan IV in 1555, but also the date provided in 'Shajara-i Turk' by Abu al-Ghazi Khan of the beginning of Kuchum Khan's reign as 1555 [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 156]. It is impossible to be certain now which of the Shaybanid rulers of Central Asia granted support to Kuchum Khan, but it is clear that such support was granted, and the sons of Murtaza Sultan became a real threat for the Taibugid State. The position of Kuchum and his brothers considerably strengthened after a vigorous Khan Abdullah II came to power in 1557 in Bukhara (in 1583, he became supreme khan of the entire Shaybanid State). The war was successful for Shaybanids, and in 1563 the Taibugid State was destroyed the Siberian Yurt passed once again under control of the Shaybanids.

However, the restored Siberian Yurt was nothing like the Shaybanid State of the 15th century. Now it was a vassal Siberian khanate that was a part of the Shaybanid State, as for example the Balkh khanate. The ruler of the Siberian Khanate acknowledged his dependence on the supreme khan of the Shaybanid State, who to a great extent controlled his new land and had a right to appoint khans: for example, in 1564 Ahmad Giray Khan, an elder brother of Kuchum Khan was appointed to his position,

and Kuchum Khan then became his co-regent. But the Siberian Shaybanids did not seek independence, as it was vital for them to get constant support from the South. The Shaybanid Siberian khanate would not have been able to survive without support from the Shaybanid State in Central Asia because of constant opposition from the local Siberian Tatar nobility and Ugrian aristocracy. In the fight with the nobility Ahmad Giray Khan was killed, and power passed onto Kuchum Khan. Eventually the Siberian khanate of Shaybanids took over the structure of the Taibugid State, which consisted of separate, actually independent lands of local noblemen nominally subordinate to the khan. Isker remained the centre of the state, as Chimgi-Tura was abandoned after the ruin of the Shaybanid State at the beginning of the 16th century and was never restored.

The khanate population was comparatively small—in 1555 it numbered 30,700 rabble [Dolgikh, 1960, pp. 28–77] and was settled across a vast territory; there was no effective administration. Sources tell us about only two positions existing in the Siberian Yurt: the *karachi* (*dumny tzarev*), the first person after the khan who probably acted in the interest of the local aristocracy (the ruler of Dzhalaïrsky ulus at the Nizhny Tobol Qadir Ali Bek was appointed to this position), and the *daruga*, who was in charge of collecting tributes. To retain some control over local feudals, fortified points were built along important routes and in the centres of certain uluses. Such fortresses included fortifications defending approach routes to Isker: Bitsyk-Tura; Suzge-Tura; Yaulu-Tura, which became a stronghold on the way to Central Asia; Kyzyl-Tura, which was an ancient centre of Priishimsky Tatars newly strengthened in the second half of the 16th century; a number of nameless fortresses in Barab along the river Tura, etc.

Military support for Kuchum Khan was provided by Central Asian mercenaries, as the khan could not confide in local troops. Groups of them were deployed throughout the main fortified areas of the khanate territory. In addition, to strengthen his power Kuchum Khan conferred titles and positions to the local noblemen (*murzas* and *sotniks*; as far as we can see these positions were not associated with any

specific duties, and were therefore honorary titles) among both the Tatar and Ugrian people, most of all the Pelym aristocrats, and also promoted the intense adoption of Islam throughout the Siberian khanate.

The foreign policy of Siberian rulers also changed. In the second half of the 16th century it had a clear anti-Russian orientation. While in 1557 Ahmad Giray sultan sent a mission to Moscow in order to neutralize the Russian State as part of the fight with the Taibugids [Nebolsin, 1849, pp. 35–36], after the victory relations deteriorated sharply. As early as on 2 January 1564 Ivan IV wrote about the threat of a Shaybanid attack on Perm territories [Additions, 1846, no. 117]. Ahmad Giray and Kuchum formally confirmed Yadigar Beg's tribute obligations towards the Russian State, but they had no plans to fulfil them, as the Siberian Yurt was no longer the vassal of the Russian State, but of the Shaybanid State, and its rulers were therefore informed by Central Asia.

The policy of Siberian Yurt Islamisation was actively supported by the central power of the Shaybanid State, first and foremost by Abdullah II himself. In 1572, he sent the first spiritual mission to Siberia.

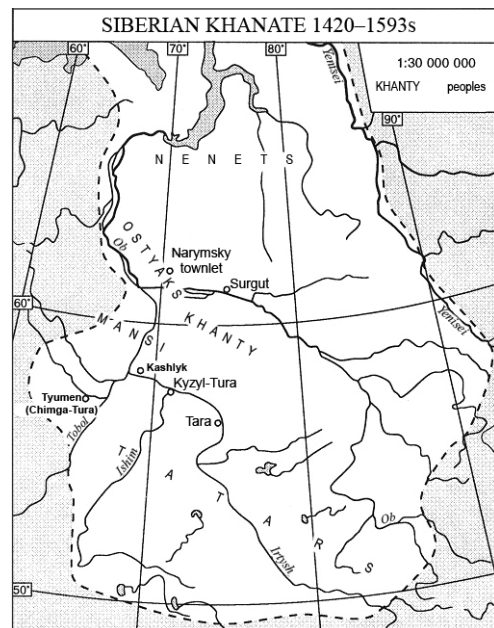
In the Siberian Tatar historical work of the 17th century 'Shajara Risalasi' the history of this mission is presented as such: '980/1572 Kuchum Khan of Isker sent a legation to Abdullah Khan of Bukhara with a request to send one more sheikh...Then Abdullah Khan ordered hakim: Send one more letter to Khan Sayyid of Urgench hakim, let him send Yarym sayyid from the sayyids and Sherbeti sheikh from the sheikhs for the sake of teaching (Siberian people) the faith of Islam [Radlov, 1877, p. 118]. After the mission arrival in Isker Yarym-sayyid was appointed hakim—governor of the state—and stayed with the khan until he died in 1574. Thus, in 1572 a new position was introduced in the Siberian khanate that was to a certain degree meant to stand in opposition to the *karachi*.

After the death of Yarym Sayyid in 1574 Sherbeti Sheikh left Isker and returned to Urgench. In 1575, Abdullah II sent Sherbeti Sheikh to Isker once again at the head of the ecclesiastic mission that also included Din Ali-khoja, a nephew of Yarym Sayyid. This time

both Sherbeti and Din Ali stayed in Isker, and Din Ali was made confidant to Kuchum Khan, who married his daughter Leile to him [Ibid., p. 220]. Descendants of Din Ali and Sherbeti Sheikh lived in certain Tatar settlements near Tobolsk even up until the 18th century [Miller, 1937, p. 201].

Members of the ecclesiastic mission began intensely spreading Islamic propaganda among the Siberian khanate population. A lot of grave sites of 'Siberian fighters for the Islamic faith' were 'discovered', and at these places mausoleums were erected. To intensify religious outreach, members of missions were spread out across the territory of the khanate: for example, a member of the 1575 mission named Yakub Mullah, according to the Siberian Tatar chronicle 'Ylyas Mullah Atasyndan Ishitkeni' settled at Sargatsky ulus at the mouth of the Ishim river [Radlov, 1877, p. 212]. Nevertheless, Islamisation progressed with great difficulty, as a large portion of local people, especially on the outskirts of the country retained their pre-Islamic beliefs. And this is not just about the Ugrian population who never adopted the Islamic faith, but also the Turkic, who retained their pre-Islamic beliefs up to the 19th century.

Russian-Siberian relations that were for all intents and purposes broken off after 1563 were renewed after 1569. But the Russian government still insisted on the Siberian khanate's fulfilment of their vassal obligations towards the Russian State, while Siberian rulers at that period treated relations with Russia as relations between equal countries at best (although in the opinion of Russian diplomats Kuchum Khan was ready to acknowledge Ivan IV as 'his elder brother') [Collection, 1819, pp. 52, 63, 64], and the supreme khan of the Shaybanid State was recognised by Kuchum Khan as a sovereign. Thus, from the point of view of Russian diplomatic protocol, the Russian State was viewed by Siberian diplomats as lower than the Shaybanid State. Documents sent from the chancellery of the Siberian khanate to the Russian tsar in 1569 were executed in the form of a letter (*hatt*) sent to an equal. In reality, Kuchum Khan sent to Moscow a proposal for peace and the division of territory along the Ural mountains, and not a letter of obedience and acknowledgment of dependence, as the Russian



Siberian Khanate. Map by I. Izmaylov

diplomats had wished. In his reply letter Ivan the Terrible demanded the acknowledgment of such dependence with reference to a historical precedent, because in the tsar's opinion the reason for that was the request of Taibugid prince Eydiger to take Siberia under Russian control [Nesterov, 2004, p. 280]. Russia's position here was certainly not favourable for the improvement of Russian-Siberian relations.

This became even more clear after the defeat inflicted on the Russian State by troops of the Crimean Khan Daulat Giray in 1571, and the letter of Kuchum Khan to Moscow executed in the *yarliq* form. The text of the document is not preserved; in the Russian sources only the beginning and the final protocols of the document are preserved, along with a brief overview of the content: 'Wrote the Tsar and the Great Prince to take him in hand, and collect tribute from the whole Siberian land as before'. However, the protocol of the document contradicts this interpretation of Russian diplomats. The document began with the formula 'Kuchum bogatyr tsar—our word', which is easily reconstructed as 'Köçüm bahadur han sözü'. This form is typical of *yarliqs* sent from the superior ruler to someone inferior or dependent. The form of the document is also proved by the end formula 'written with nishan' ('usbu nišan yarliq'), which also corresponds

to the *yarliq* form of the letter. Kuchum Khan probably decided to show the arrogant Russian tsar that he was the lawful heir of the Jochid power, and that the Russian lands were just an Horde ulus. In any event, the interpretation of this document as an acknowledgment of the Siberian khanate's dependence on Moscow was evidently an exaggeration on the part of Russian diplomats. The Russian government sent Tretyak Chubukov to Siberia as a messenger with the text of an oath that Kuchum Khan and 'the best people' of Siberia had to pledge to. The mission was a failure, as its very existence testified to the fact that the Moscow government did not comprehend the actual state of relations between Moscow and Isker. Kuchum Khan rejected the claims of the Russian government, and relations between the Siberian khanate and the Russian State were *de facto* ended.

In 1573, Muhammad Kuli Sultan, a nephew of Kuchum Khan made a raid on Perm lands and devastated the Chusovsky volost. Tretyak Chubukov, who was sent by the Moscow government to Kazakh Haqq Nazar Khan, Shaybanids enemy, was captured and killed. This raid gave rise to a series of armed conflicts that ended in the march of Yermak and other Russian voivodes, and the ruin of the Siberian khanate. It is possible that by provoking the conflict Kuchum Khan underestimated the real power of the Russian State and supposed that the international climate was favourable for driving Russians out of the Urals. At the end of 1570s to the beginning of 1580s Muhammad Kuli Sultan and Ali Sultan, a son of Kuchum Khan, made several devastating raids on the Perm land that robbed them blind. However, it can hardly be assumed that Kuchum Khan was aiming to conquer Russian lands in the West Urals. Instead, they were trying to prevent possible blows from a powerful enemy. But finally the policy of Kuchum Khan resulted in the opposite: the regular attacks of Siberian troops on Russian border became one of the excuses to set off the Russian-Siberian war of 1581–1598.

In the 1570s, the situation became difficult on the Southern borders of the Siberian Yurt, where a hostile to Shaybanid Kazakh khanate was increasing in power. One of the most consistent enemies of the Shaybanid power, Haqq Nazar Khan of Kazakhstan, tried to cut

off the Siberian khanate from Central Asia. The success of this step would cause the fall of the Shaybanid power in Western Siberia, because as mentioned above, the retention of this power was possible only under the condition of constant support from the south. The death of Haqq Nazar Khan in 1580 in the fight with Abdullah II led to a time of peace, as Shigai Khan b. Jadik Sultan, who replaced Haqq Nazar Khan, was a long-time ally of Abdullah II, and a daughter of Shigai Khan was one of the wives of Kuchum Khan [Sultanov, 1982, p. 118]. The Jalairs headed by Qadir Ali Bek karachi were one of the strongest tribes of the Siberian khanate, so an alliance with Shigai Khan, who patronized the Jalairs, was even more important. Shigai Khan acknowledged himself a vassal of Abdalakh II in 1581, and Abdullah granted Khujand to Shigai Khan as a domain. The Kazakh khanate, like the Siberian khanate, became a part of the Shaybanid State.

The period from 1580–1582 was the time of the greatest territorial expansion of the Shaybanid power, which called its own at that time the territories of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Western Siberia, Eastern Iran and Northern Afghanistan. But this strength turned out to be soft at its core. The fall began with some seemingly insignificant events of 1581–1582: the beginning of the move of a small Cossack unit of Yermak at the Western border of the Siberian Yurt, and the succession of power in the Kazakh khanate to Tavakkul Khan b. Shigai Khan (in 1581–1582 he was ruler of the Afarinkentsky vilayet of the Shaybanid State) [Sultanov, 1982, p. 120]. Tavakkul Khan soon opposed Abdullah II because he suspected Abdullah II was hostile towards him and considered it a threat to the fact that Kuchum Khan had granted shelter in Isker to Uraz Muhammad Sultan b. Undan Sultan b. Shigai Khan, the lawful heir to the Kazakh khanate.

After 1582 a new stage in the history of the Siberian Yurt began—the period of its integration into the Russian State.

The international climate in 1582 was extremely unfavourable for Kuchum Khan. The Kazakh khanate of Tavakkul Khan became an enemy of the Shaybanids. Abdullah II got stuck in a longstanding war against Baba Sultan, and then started long wars in Khorasan and Eastern Turkestan. In reality, Kuchum

Khan could only rely on the force of the Siberian khanate: the tribal levy of individual feudal lands of Siberian Tatar origin, the Ugrian tribal levy and Central Asian guards of insignificant numerical strength. The situation became even more acute after Sayid Ahmad Beg Taibugid, the lawful heir of the Taibugid dynasty, which symbolized the independent Siberian State for the local aristocracy, escaped from Sygnak where he had lived as an honoured prisoner. Sayyid Ahmad Beg made his way into the lands of Kuchum Khan with his small unit and began military actions against the Shaybanids.

As stated above, the Siberian Yurt was not an integrated state entity. Under direct control of the khan there were only several fortresses along the strategically important route, including Isker, Yaulu-Tura, Suzge-Tura, Kyzyl-Tura, Ton-Tura, etc. Most of the state territory was controlled by Ugrian tribe alliances, among which the most important were Mansi Pelym and Khanty Koda.

Pelym in the second half of the 16th century was on the brink of forming feudal institutions and was the most Turkic of all Ugrian tribal alliances of the Transurals. The Triune territory of Pelym (Pelym principality, Konda principality and Tabory) was divided on the Tatar model into hundreds and dozens. Local Mansi noblemen bore the title of Murza like Tatar aristocrats of Western Siberia [Bakhrushin, 1935, pp. 34–36], and names of Turkic origin were also very popular. It was not chance alone that prince Patlik, the Pelym ruler, was one of the most consistent supporters of Kuchum Khan in his fight against the Russians. Koda prince Alach, the strongest Khanty ruler of that time adopted a similar position.

The intrusion of a small Cossack unit of Yermak at first did not seem to the khan as a serious threat to the Siberian Yurt because he believed that it would not last long, as the troops of the Siberian khanate headed by Ali Sultan b. Kuchum Khan and Pelym prince Patlik had crossed the Urals and started military actions in Perm. The Khan expected that the Stroganovs, who owned a large territory in the Cisurals and were of great support to Yermak's Cossacks, would have to call off the Cossack unit to protect their lands. But the march went on.

The Russian government demanded that the Stroganovs stopped the march: in the midst of a war with Sweden and constant fights with the Crimeans and Nogais, it seemed unreasonable to Ivan IV to start a new war in the East. But the tsar's 'opalnaya gramota' (deed of disfavour) came too late, as on 1 September 1582 the unit had already left the Stroganovs lands (the charter is dated November 1582).

Yermak's march was as fast as lightning. The outcome of the first stage of the war was to a great extent determined by speed: Yermak advanced to Isker without lingering on lands passed by for the sake of cementing his power there. The initial plan of the march might have only involved plundering the central regions of the Siberian khanate in order to paralyze the khan's attacks on Russia's Perm territories for an extended period. Kuchum Khan entrusted military operations to Muhammad Kuli Sultan, who intended to use the force of the Siberian Tatar's cavalry. The outstanding administrative abilities and military talent of Muhammad Kuli Sultan helped for some time to consolidate the scattered military forces of the northern Tatar and Ugrian feudals (the southern feudals, first and foremost Qadir Ali Bek karachi jalair, had to protect their land, which lay in the way of Yermak's unit). However, even Muhammad Kuli Sultan could not overcome the hostility of local noblemen to the Shaybanids, which became evident as early as after the first major fights of the Cossacks with the Siberians: during the Chuvash battle that ended in a draw (near Isker in the district of Chuvashsky Cape) Muhammad Kuli Sultan was wounded, which caused the Khanty princes and their forces to immediately desert the battle field. After he lost his army, Kuchum Khan had to leave Isker fortress, which had no sources of potable water, and on 26 October 1582 Isker was taken by the Cossacks, who took hold of large stocks of peltry stored in the fortress.

In late October 1582, the Cossack's lands were actually limited to the near outskirts of Isker. But as early as 30 October, knyazets Boyar from Demyanka river arrived with tribute to the new beg of Isker Yermak (Yarmak Beg). Boyar's example was then taken by a number of local Ugrian elders.

The Cossacks position then became unstable in December 1582 after the troops of Ali Sultan had come back from the raid on Cherdyn. Kuchum Khan gave this army to Muhammad Kuli Sultan and ordered they drive the enemy out of Isker. However, the battle of Abalak on 5 December 1582 brought even more success to Yermak: Muhammad Kuli Sultan was defeated, which was followed by the recognition of Yermak's authority as the beg of Isker by Tatar feudals both from Isker and remote regions, e.g., Yermak was recognised by murzas from the river Tavda Ish Berdi and Suklem. Those that surrendered were made to pay tribute in furs, mostly sable.

However, Yermak's position as beg of Isker was even more uncertain than Kuchum Khan's position. For all intents and purposes, the seizure of Isker and the battle of Abalak resulted in the disintegration of the Siberian khanate into separate feudal lands independent from Isker. Cognisant of these conditions, Yermak made the decision to ask for help from the Russian tsar.

This act of Yermak turned his military actions into a whole new category: the half-predatory raid of a small Cossack unit transformed into a country-to-country Russian-Siberian war aimed at the annexation of a vast forested territory to the Russian State.

After the battle of Abalak Kuchum Khan retreated to Kyzyl-Tura on the Ishim. The loss of control over the Isker and Irtysh river route resulted in the actual independence of Pelym, Koda and other Ugrian alliances. It was against these weak 'principalities' of the Ob Ugrians that the northern march of Yermak from Isker in summer of 1583 was directed, which resulted in the integration of the Nizhny Irtysh and Nizhnyaya Ob territories into Russia.

Military failures immediately enhanced the discord among the Tatar aristocrats of the Siberian Yurt. In their infighting they were even about to turn to Yermak for assistance: for example, murza Sainbakht (judging by the name he might have been a relative of the Taibugids) arranged a Cossack march on the Vagai against the sultan headquarters because of his enmity to Shaybanid Muhammad Kuli Sultan. As a result of this sudden raid, Muhammad Kuli Sultan was captured and immediately sent to

Moscow. At later points Muhammad Kuli Sultan was in the military service of Boris Godunov, Vasily Shuysky, khans of Kasymov Uraz Muhammad Khan and Alp Arslan Khan b. Ali Khan b. Kuchum Khan, and eventually died in Kasymov in 1618 (where his tombstone is preserved) [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 47].

The capture of Muhammad Kuli Sultan undermined Kuchum Khan's position. Qadir Ali Bek jalair refused to submit to the khan and made an alliance with Taibugid Sayyid Ahmad Beg (in Russian chronicles referred to as prince Seydyak) and Uraz Muhammad Sultan b. Undan Sultan b. Shigai Khan, the Kazakh sultan who had taken shelter at the court of Kuchum Khan. This alliance was set in stone by 1584 when its members started an active struggle against the Cossacks of Yermak.

Cossack forces were exhausted from the battles against Siberian feudals, and there was no material support coming from Russia. Under these circumstances in 1584 Yermak set off on a march towards Pelym. The main goal of this march was most likely to open the most convenient Lozva route from Perm to Siberia, but the march (although ending in the thrashing and death of Patlik, prince of Pelym) did not reach its goal, as the river route down Tavlda and Lozva remained inaccessible for the Cossacks, and Ablegirim, the new ruler of Pelym, was as hostile to the Russians as his predecessor.

The main plan of Yermak in 1585 was to capture Kuchum Khan because as long as Kuchum Khan roamed free, Yermak's power in the Siberian Yurt was unstable. In March 1585, Yermak was killed as he travelled up the Irtysh river, and the rest of his unit (by 1585, 90 out of the 500 Cossacks who had come to Siberia in 1582 were still alive) decided to leave Siberia. Isker was abandoned by the Cossacks and soon taken by the forces of Ali Sultan b. Kuchum Khan. But the war raged on: the unit of voivode I. Mansurov, who arrived to help Yermak (but was too late) founded Obsky gorodok in autumn of 1585, which became the first Russian fort in the Transurals. In 1586, voivode V. Sukin founded Tyumen Ostrog at the site of ancient Chimga-Tura, and in 1587, D. Chul'kov founded Tobolsk, a fortress 15 versts from Isker. The Russians were all but establishing themselves freely throughout Western Siberia.

This was enabled by the internal war that also broke out in the Siberian Yurt. After Yermak's death during the *de facto* disintegration of the Shaybanid Siberian khanate, an heir of Taibugids made an attempt to restore his power. In 1586, Sayyid Ahmad Beg took Isker after he drove Shaybanid ruler Ali Sultan, the elder son of Kuchum Khan, out of the city. The rulers of the Western Siberian 'principalities' were eager to support the restoration of 'their' dynasty. In reality, power in the new Taibugid State was more of a triarchy: Sayyid Ahmad Beg Taibugid; Qadir Ali Bek karachi jalair, the ruler of the mighty Jalair ulus located in the lower part of the Tobol; Uraz Muhammad Sultan, grandson of a Kazakh khan and later the khan of Kasyrov (most likely recognised by the other triarchy members as the khan of Siberia). But the Russian government was not inclined to wait for the final restoration of the Isker begs power, or for the return of Shaybanids to Isker because its plans included the complete integration of the Siberian Yurt territory into the Russian State. Ostrogs that popped up in 1585–1587 in the central part of the yurt at strategically important points (first and foremost in Tobolsk) helped carry out these plans. As early as the beginning of 1588 Tobolsk voivode D. Chul'kov managed to craftily capture Sayyid Ahmad Beg, along with Qadir Ali Bek and Uraz Muhammad Sultan, who were the top leaders of the restored Taibugid State. The captured Siberian aristocrats were sent to Moscow, and the Isker principality was wiped off the map. However, the war continued on, as Kuchum Khan had not yet been defeated and Pelym and Koda still remained independent.

It is likely that around 1589 Kuchum Khan at last received some help from Abdullah II. This greatly worried Tavvakul Khan of Kazakhstan and eventually spurred him on to ask Moscow for help against the Shaybanids. Tavvakul Khan suggested that the Russian government recognise Kazakh khanate dependency in the Russian State under the condition they enter into an anti-Shaybanid alliance against Abdullah II and Kuchum Khan [Kazakh-Russian, 1961, no. 1–5]. The Koda principality was neutralised: its ruler Igichei Alachev was then recognised the prince of Koda and participated in the defeat of Pelym and Koda.

Kuchum Khan remained the most serious enemy. He made multiple raids on the Russian lands in Siberia, although he seems to have come to terms in the final years of his life with the fall of the Shaybanid power on the majority of the Siberian Yurt territory, and he did not fight for the land, but for the people, as he tried to force them to move beyond the Russian lands. Russian voivodes took their own counter actions, for example in August 1591 at the Ishim river a large Tatar military unit was destroyed, and Abu al-Khayr Sultan, a son of Kuchum Khan was captured. The khan's position remained complicated: the Tatar voivodes were constantly ordered to attack him, and Abdullah II came to grips with the loss of the far Siberian vassal and ceased supporting Kuchum Khan. Individual members of the large khan's family started to leave the khan behind, most importantly Ali Sultan and Kanai Sultan. The Siberian Yurt of Shaybanids collapsed beyond the shadow of a doubt.

In 1593–1594, Kuchum Khan turned to the Russian government with an offer of peace. He guaranteed his submission under the condition that the Siberian Yurt be returned to him ('under the higher reign of the tsar') and that Muhammad Kuli Sultan be released. The Russian government ignored the peace overtures of Kuchum Khan, considering them unfaithful, because if not for war, what did they need Muhammad Kuli Sultan for? [Collection, 1819, pp. 9–10]. In 1595–1596, Kuchum Khan for the final time asked Abdullah II for help, but Abdullah II was occupied with the struggle for Khwarezm. Moreover, he was indignant at the seizure by Kuchum Khan of Mangit lands of Auliya Beg, the vassal of Abdullah II, so he refused to directly support Kuchum Khan and demanded he immediately return all lands to Auliya Beg and conclude an alliance with him to fight together against the Russians [Ziyaev, 1968, p. 9–10].

In 1596, Russian voivode prince Fyodor Yeletsky defeated Kuchum Khan at the town of Tunus. The main consequence of this defeat was the fact that a considerable group of Tatar Siberian feudals stopped supporting the khan as because they saw it was hopeless to continue the fight. Having heard this fact, the Russian government addressed Kuchum Khan through

the captive Abu al-Khayr Sultan b. with an offer to accept Russian citizenship [Ibid, p. 121]. Kuchum Khan gave no response to the Moscow government's demarche. In 1597, on behalf of the Russian government Abu al-Khayr Sultan and Muhammad Kuli Sultan sent a letter to Kuchum Khan where they guaranteed to the khan either vast lands in Moscow, or power over the Siberian Yurt under the supreme power of the tsar, on the condition that he adopt Russian citizenship. The Russian government issued a document to Kuchum Khan with a guarantee of free transit to Moscow, but Kuchum Khan, who did not trust offers like this from the Russians, rejected the peace negotiations. In 1597, he managed to restore his power in some of the Western Siberia regions that had yet to submit to Moscow. The reply letter of Kuchum Khan dated 1597 demonstrates that no matter the circumstances he did not want to surrender to Moscow: in fact, his letter contained an offer of peace between equals [Nesterov, 2004, p. 281]. Such an offer was, of course, unacceptable for the Russian government, as they sought the capitulation of Kuchum Khan.

After that the Russian government made the decision to put an end to the threat presented by the existence of a 'lawful' khan of Siberia. In August 1598 a special expedition headed by Andrei Voyeykov was organised. In this decisive battle Kuchum Khan was defeated. Iliten Sultan, a brother of Kuchum Khan, two sons of Ali Sultan unknown by name, and Shaybanid Usman Sultan were also killed in the battle. The Russians captured sons of Kuchum Khan Kumysh Sultan, Molla Sultan, Bibad Shakh Sultan, Asmanak Sultan, Shaikh Muhammad Sultan, 8 wives and 8 daughters of Kuchum Khan, a son of Ali Sultan Yansyuer Sultan, Shaybanids Jura Sultan and Osmei Sultan, 5 high-ranking officials of Kuchum Khan and 50 guardsmen. All of them were taken to Moscow [Acts, 1841a, no. 2–14]. Kuchum Khan managed to escape with a small group. But the fight for his power over the Siberian Yurt was practically over because the defeat of 1598 left no hope for the restoration of Shaybanid power.

In the same year (1598) the patron of Kuchum Khan Abdullah II died. His successor Abd al-Mumin Khan was not interested in keeping the Northern lands of his relatives. Kuchum

Khan decided to turn for help to Mangits, and sent his son Kanai Sultan to ask help from Abd al-Mumin Khan. But Kanai Sultan did not find Abd al-Mumin Khan alive, as an internal war had broken out in Central Asia between the last Shaybanid Pir Muhammad II and representatives of the new Ashtarkhanid dynasty. At the same time Kuchum Khan was killed in a fight with Mangits (1598). The circumstances of Kuchum Khan's death are unknown, but this event completely changed the situation: there was no longer a 'lawful' ruler of the Siberian Yurt. The Shaybanid sultans had to decide the issue of inheriting power over what remained of the state. Moreover, the Siberian Shaybanids had to take into account that they could obtain real support in the fight against Russians only from the Kalmyks, who were the only real power in the Kazakh steppes in the 17th century. Other claimants for power were the Kanai Sultan and Ali Sultan. The nobility of his mother and support from the trading circles of Turkestan worked to the benefit of Kanai Sultan. Though Ali Sultan was not the son of a noble mother he was still the eldest, and after receiving reliable news on the death of his father he nonetheless declared himself the khan. Ali Khan was backed by all the other sons of Kuchum except for Kanai Sultan. In fact, the Russian government also recognised the new khan of the Siberian Yurt (which is evidenced in the documents where he was henceforth referred to as "tsar Alei"). Ali Khan offered peace to the Russian government on the same terms as in 1597: in exchange for granting him power over the Siberian Yurt, he would recognise his country as part of the Russian State. In response Ali Khan was given the opportunity to surrender and benefit greatly from his decision in Moscow.

But Ali Khan preferred to continue the fight. He urged the peoples of the Siberian khanate who had already felt the burden of the Russian tsar's power to rebel. A lot of Tatar and Ugrian rulers of the yurt sided with the khan, including such considerable figures as prince Vasily of Obdorsk and the prince of the Lyapinsky principality Shatrov, but the rebellion was suppressed in 1607 and the princes were executed. In 1608, Russian troops managed to capture Ali Khan, who died in 1646 [Trepavlov, 2011b, pp. 95–100; Nesterov, 2011a, p. 77].

A brother of Ali Khan Ish Muhammad Sultan declared himself the new khan of the Siberian Yurt, but he never gained recognition from either of the still independent Tatar Siberian feudals, nor from the Russian government. Ish Muhammad Khan did not have the actual power needed to fight against the Russians, although he continued the partisan war till his death in 1624.

The last claimant to the Shaybanid legacy in the Siberian Yurt was Ablay Karim Sultan b. Kuchum-khan in fact headed Kalmyk raids on Russian lands in Siberia and organised rebellions among the Tatar and Ugrian population. The memory of the Siberian Shaybanids remained as late as the middle of the 17th century: in the 1650s Khanty of Beryozovo addressed Daulat Giray Sultan with an offer to start a serious military campaign against the Russian government that promised to stir up a mass rebellion and promote the restoration of the Shaybanid power in Western Siberia.

Daulat Giray Sultan carried on a partisan war up until the 1660s, but by that time the Siberian Yurt had once and for all become a thing of the past [Pochekaev, 2011a, pp. 100–104; Khudyakov, 2011, pp. 105–109].

The Siberian Shaybanids dynasty continued to exist in Russia. The senior branch of this dynasty was held by Alp Arslan Khan b. Ali Khan and Sayyid Burkhan Khan b. Alp Arslan-khan ruled the Kasymov khanate up to 1679; Sayyid Burkhan was christianised under the name Vasily. His descendants—the tsarevichs of Kasymov—lived up to the end of the first quarter of the 18th century. The descendants of Altanai Sultan b. Kuchum-khan was granted the title of Siberian tsarevich, and the sons of Altanai-sultan were already christianised. The descendants of Ish Muhammad Sultan (Aleksii) Altanaevich in 1717 were stripped of the tsarevich title and renamed as princes of Siberia. The Siberian prince dynasty disappeared completely at the end of the 19th century.

The Isker Principality of Taibugids (the first half of the 16th century)

As mentioned in the previous section, at the end of the first decade of the 16th century The Khanate of Tyumen disappeared from the pages of history and its place was taken by a new state formation — the Iskar Principality of Taibugids—usually referred to in Russian historical sources as 'the Siberian kingdom'.

The Principality of Taibugids was a relatively weak state formation. In fact, it was a fragile conglomerate of Siberian Tatar Uluses and Ugrik tribal principalities headed by a Beg from the Taibugid clan.

The Taibugid clan was undoubtedly of local, Siberian-Tatar origin. The genealogical legends of Siberian Tatars preserved in the Siberian chronicles or documented by G. Miller call the founder of that clan Tooril Khan, who lived on the Ishim river in the first half of the 8th century (the chronicles call him a contemporary of Chinggis Khan). According to G. Fayzrahmanova, the early Taibugids Tooril and Taibuga were the rulers of the prosperous 8th century Khanate of Ishim in Western Siberia, but this opinion has no confirmation in the extant sources and remains only a speculative construction. There is no reliable information

from historical sources about either the history or the very existence of the Khanate of Ishim.

The son of Taibuga was considered the founder of the Principality of Taibugids. According to the hypothesis upheld by a sizeable amount of research, the word 'taibuga' most likely is not a name, but rather the title of the ruler of that Siberian-Tatar Ulus. Some legends say that Khwāja or Khoja, the son of Taibuga, ruled over domains with the centre in Kyzyl-Tura nearby the confluence of the Ishim and Irtysh. After Khoja died the domains of the Taibugids were inherited by Mar who was murdered by a certain 'Kazan Khan Upac'. The sons of Mar, Adair and Abalak, perished in Kazan captivity, but rule over the Ulus of Taibugids was passed over to Adair Muhammad, who founded Iskar and revenged his father's death (according to the chronicle, Muhammad killed Upac).

The Taibugid shejere (genealogy) recorded differently depending on the versions in Yesipov, Stroganov and other Siberian chronicles, as well as in the 'History of Siberia' by G. Miller, has only one chronological reference point: the ancestor of Taibugids Tooril lived in

the first half of the 13th century. The second crucial moment in the chronology of the Taibugids is also determined quite easily, as the sole candidate for the role of 'Kazan Tsar Upac' was the ruler of the State of Siberian Shaybanids Sayyid Ibrahim (Ibak) Khan, who was killed by Muhammad Khan of the Taibugids at the end of 1494 or the beginning of 1495. Thus, it turns out that during a period of approximately 275 years (1220–1495) there had been six generations of the Taibugids. Numerous investigations into the genealogy, including research on the Turkic peoples, shows us that on average each century sees a change in generations five times. The most likely solution to the Taibugid genealogy issue is the assumption that the mid-level familial links were omitted in historical sources. Moreover, by that time the Taibugid shejere records had ceased to exist, and the legends preserved only the names of the ancestors/founders of the clan (Tooril and Taibuga), along with the names of the princes of the Isker Principality from the end of the 15th century to the first half of the 16th century. However, perhaps there is another interpretation of the shejere: the genealogy of the Taibugids was artificially stretched out with the aim of connecting it to such a significant event as the Mongol conquests at the end of the 13th century. To date this question still remains open. The only thing that one may believe for certain is that in the first half of the 15th century the Principality of Taibugids with its centre in Kyzyl-Tura not only existed, but was subdued by Sayyid Ibrahim Khan and maintained as an independent domain. At the same time it should be noted that most likely in the 14th century the rulers of the Principality of Taibugids converted to Islam. The names of its rulers—Mar (Omar) Khoja (Khwāja), Adai (Haydar), Muhammad—are the best testimony to this fact's validity. At the end of the 15th century that principality was ruled by Muhammad Beg, who transferred the centre of his dominion from Kyzyl Tura to Isker (Siberia, Qashliq).

Unfortunately, the history of the Principality of Taibugids remains almost unknown right up until the middle of the 16th century. The only actions of Muhammad Beg featured in the 'chronicles' were the foundation of Isker and the murder of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan.

Isker, according to archaeological facts, had actually existed until the rule of Muhammad Beg, which was at the very least at the beginning of the 15th century; Muhammad most likely just transported the Taibugid Beg residence to that fortified place. The exact name of the capital of Taibugids is also unknown. Different sources refer to this city as 'Qashliq', 'Isker', 'Siberia' or 'Old Siberia'. The most likely theory is that it was called Qashliq, as the central regions of the Siberian Yurt are known in history as Siberia or Ibir,—that is, the middle and North territories of the South Urals and certain parts of Western Siberia, primarily ancient Chinggi-Tura (close to contemporary Tyumen), as well as surrounding areas. The name Isker (Turkic: *Iski*, *Eski*) can be translated as 'Old [town]' (the 'Old [stronghold]') and can hardly be considered an original name for the capital of the Taibugids. It is highly plausible that in the 16th century the name Isker became a colloquial designation of the walled town Qashliq (as well as the Turkic colloquialism 'Istanbul' [which is derived from the Greek phrase *eis tin polin*, 'in town'] that replaced the official Turkic name of Constantinople: Qustantiniyye), at the same time the name Siberia for the city was an ordinary designation for the capital informed by the name of the country.

The murder of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan—the last consolidator of the territories of the Jochid State who claimed supremacy among horde rulers—in fact finally put an end not only to the history of the Jochid power, but also put an end to the independent existence of the State of Taibugids, the first state formation on the territory of the region formed by indigenous peoples. The reign of Muhammad Beg (the end of the 15th century—the beginning of the 16th century) had passed in relatively advantageously from a political perspective, as Mamuq Khan and Agalaq Khan, the successors of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan, had a difficult struggle for power in the Kazan Khanate (in the end the Shaybanids lost that struggle). The last ruler of the Siberian Shaybanid, Khanate Kutluk Khan, was defeated in 1505 by the Russians and had to retreat into his Siberian dominions. Soon the descendants of the Siberian Shaybanids arrived at the court their relatives ruled in Central Asia (Transoxiana). One may suppose

that Muhammad Beg or his closest successor Qazi (Kasym?) completely banished the Siberian Shaybanids from their territories in Siberia.

The successors of Muhammad Beg were listed in a charter sent by Tsar Fedor I to Kuchum Khan, the ruler of the restored Siberian Khanate of Shaybanids. 'After the death of your grandfather, Ibak Khan, the princes from the clan of Taibugids reigned in the Siberian State, where Magmet Khan and Kazy Khan came after him'. The Russian diplomats accurately recorded the titles of the rulers of Siberia: the descendants of Chinggis Khan, Sayyid Ibrahim Khan and Kuchum, were referred to as Tsars (Khans), and for the Taibugids the title Prince (=Beg) was used,—that is, they did not have the rights to the title of Khan as they were not Chinggisids. The frequent literary designation of the State of Taibugids as 'The Khanate of Siberia' is therefore inaccurate, whereas the accurate name of this Siberian Tatar state formation is 'the Siberian Principality of Taibugids'.

To determine the accurate sequence of the rulers of the State of Taibugids is a formidable problem. The previously mentioned charter from Fedor I refers to Muhammad Beg, his son Qazi (Kasym? Kazy?) and his sons, Edigur (Yadegar Beg) and Bulat Beg. The Yesipov and Stroganov chronicles refer to Agusha Beg (Angisha, Agasha), the son of Abalak (that is, the cousin of Muhammad Beg), who reigned in between Muhammad and Qazi. The Remezov chronicle places Kazi's brother, Sain Bakht, and Sauskan Beg after him, whose relation to the previous rulers remains unclear. The names of Abalak and Suskan coincide with the names of the natural landmarks around Isker, and probably originated as folk etymologies in order to explain these designations. Such an assumption is especially reliable because these names can be found in the Remezov Chronicle, whose author S. Remezov lived at the beginning of the 18th century and resorted to such etymologies himself. In order to explain the name of the hill Suzge Tur, he simply 'invented' the wife of Kuchum Khan named Suzge, who supposedly lived on that hill.

The internal structure of the Taibugid State remains largely unclear. The existence of several Turkic clans within this state (primarily the Jalairs, and probably Mangits), and the ex-

istence of the titles of Beg (Beklyaribek) and Karachi are indisputable. Perhaps naming the Principality of Taibugids with the name of the Khanate of Siberia that occurs in the Russian historical sources is not an accident. One may suppose that the Begs from the clan of Taibugids ruled on behalf of some Khan who was crowned by a dynasty of the Jochids. Candidates for the role of 'dummy' Khans could be put forth as children mentioned in the 'Jami' al-tawarikh', namely Qadir Ali Bek Karachi Jalair Agalak Sultan and Butur Sultan, Kuluk Sultan, Museke Sultan, Muhammad Sultan, Kumach Muhammad Sultan, as well as Ak Kurt Sultan, who's origin is not very clear (possibly the son of Sayyid Ibrahim Khan or Mahmud Khan). There are two among the listed dynasts of the Siberian Shaybanids who are in our opinion not real: one can quite possibly identify Kuluk Sultan with Kutluk Khan, and Muhammad Sultan is actually Muhammad Beg of the Taibugids. Considering the presence of a feud, one may suppose that members of the Sayyid Ibrahim Khan branch murdered by Muhammad Beg could not be candidates for the throne of their new state, whereas the descendants of Mahmud Khan, among which Agalak Sultan was most likely present, could have definitely ended up on the throne of the new state. On the other hand, rulers of the Shaybanid State in Central Asia could have been the supreme Khan of the Isker Principality, but this version is questionable.

The political history of the State of Taibugids from 1495 to 1555 is still completely unknown. The Taibugid State of that time represented a peculiar federation of dominions of Ugric tribal princes and Siberian Tatar Ulus possessors (Beks, murzas, etc.) with extremely weak central authorities. The power of the Taibugid Beks most likely spread only to the areas of Isker and Ishim Ulus, which were the patrimonial dominions of the Taibugids. One may suppose that the numerous tribal principalities of Mansi and Khanty (including Pelym, Condat, Coda, Taborin volost, etc.) recognised the supremacy of the Beg of Isker. The population of the territories under Taibugid control in the middle of 16th century amounted to 30,000 men (that is, the total number of the population was about 120–180 thousand people, but perhaps this num-

ber is overstated). The dissemination of Islam in the Siberian Principality was just beginning. It is plausible that the rulers of the state considered themselves Muslims, yet the population, including Tatars, preserved their old pagan beliefs. There was no one eagerly spreading Islam among the rulers of the Taibugids.

The middle of the 16th century was a crucial time in the history of the Khanate of Siberia in general, and the Taibugid state in particular. The annexation of the Khanates of the Volga region to the Russian State in 1552–1556 turned the Khanate of Siberia into a direct neighbour of the Russian dominions in both the North Urals and the entire Western border. The Taibugids lost their opportunities of having a direct bond with the Islamic states of Crimea and Turkey, and also lost the support of Kazan rulers who were not interested in the reestablishment of Shaybanid power in Siberia. The threat of a Shaybanid invasion abruptly increased, especially after the heirs of Siberian Shaybanids Kuchum Khan and Ahmed Giray had gotten in closer with the rulers of the Mangit (Nogai) Ulus and the Kazak Khanate.

In these conditions Yadegar Beg of the Taibugids attempted to gain support from the Russian Government, and in January 1555 the Siberian campaign had arrived asking to annex the Siberian state to the Russian nation. The ambassadors accepted paying out annual taxes to Russia at a total of 30,000 sables based on the number of men. Ivan IV solemnly assented to take Siberia 'under his princely control'. Ivan IV included the words 'and the ruler of all Si-

beria' [PSRL, 13, 1957, p. 248] in his title, but never actually helped the Siberian Begs.

However, the expectations on both sides of the agreement were met with disappointment. Throughout 1556–1557 Russia and Siberia exchanged missions, and the Russian ambassadors were satisfied with mere demands for the payment of taxes and tax debts. On the other hand, Siberian ambassadors demanded military aid and paid taxes in very small amounts (only 1,870 sables were ever delivered instead of 60,000), referring to the fact that 'shibansky tsarevitch waged war and many people of his were captivated'. In 1557 the ambassador of Yadegar Beg delivered Moscow a charter from Beg that guaranteed the repayment of taxes and the retention of the Siberian Principality's vassal dependence on Moscow, and also applied again to the military for help. Further on there were no longer any negotiations, as the Government of Ivan IV limited itself to including the words 'and the ruler of all Siberia' in his title, and having convinced himself for all intents and purposes that obtaining a significant portion of taxes is impossible, refused the Taibugids help. On its behalf, the rulers of the Taibugids were struggling against Shaybanid attacks in Western Siberia and had opportunities to continue a futile dialog with Moscow.

In 1563 Isker fell. The Begs Yadegar and Bulat were killed and their heir Sayyid Ahmad Beg (in the Russian chronicles known as Syedyak, the son of Bulat Beg) was dispatched to Central Asia. The State of Taibugids ceased to exist.

§ 2. The Khanate of Siberia at the End of the 16th Century to the Beginning of the 17th Century

Alexei Matveev, Sergei Tataurov

The campaign of ataman Yermak's troops was not anything extraordinary either for the population of West Siberia or the establishment powers of the Khanate of Siberia. Many people of that state heard from their ancestors the tale about a great campaign set in motion by Ivan III in 1483 and carried out by the nautical battalion of voivodes Fedor Kurbsky and Ivan Saltykov Travin. It is likely that in the

16th century Muscovite troops crossed the Ural Mountains and devastated the local population, taking away the most valuable thing they could from it: Siberian furs. On the other hand, the troops of Tatars, together with the allied Khanty and Mansi princes, also regularly crossed the Kamen in the opposite direction and raided the populations living there. Therefore, the news about Yermak's troop movements was

initially perceived by the population rather calmly, which is a fact confirmed by the peaceful arrival of the Cossacks in Tarkhan and the meeting between Yermak and the noble Tatar Kutugai, who was sent there by Kuchum Khan to collect taxes. G. Miller interpreted the actions of Yermak as a ruse towards the Khan so he would not be afraid of the arrival of Yermak or prepare for military operations, but allegedly that trick failed [Miller, 1992, p. 218]. However, the very fact that Kuchum did not order the army of the Khanate of Siberia under the leadership of Mametkul to return from the campaign to the cities of the Kama, tells us that the Khan really did expect a peaceful way out. Only after Yermak began occupying and directly raiding the Tatar cities located on the rivers Tura and Tobol did it become obvious that the purpose of that campaign was slightly different. At the same time it was quite possible that Yermak and his warriors were initially going to pass the Northern way, which was habitual for people from Novgorod and Moscow, but certain other reasons caused them to change their plans and transition to raiding the Khanate of Siberia,—that is, to direct military actions against that state.

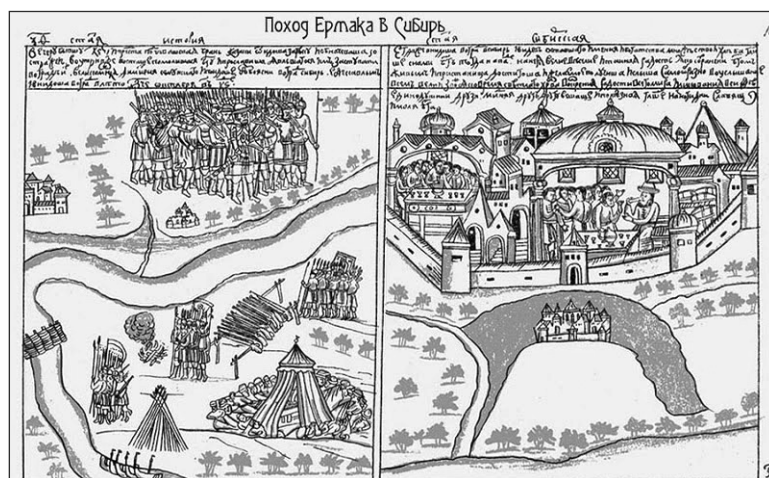
The real beginning of open war must have rallied the population of the Khanate of Siberia together. However, the real tragedy for Kuchum Khan was the fact that it this never happened. In fact it was much the opposite: from that moment on the population of the state was splintered into two irreconcilable sides, and the larger part of the population of the Khanate supported Yermak. The cause of this paradox can be found in the events that happened in West Siberia in the 1560s after Kuchum of the Shaybanids occupied Isker and seized power in the Siberian Principality of Taibugids in 1563. In many of the events to follow the brothers Ahmad Giray and Kuchum, succeeded in founding a new state here, the Khanate of Siberia, and the noble elite of Taibugids lost the lion's share of their dominions at the court of the new Khans. Certainly, the Taibugids retained the hope that their former regime would get back on top, but Kuchum Khan with the help of his strong, devoted armed forces, did not let that happen. Moreover, he adhered to a purposeful policy of transferring dominions to

his devotees among Tatars in the service, so a number of the dominions and the authority of the old nobility was constantly decreasing. The Taibugids badly needed a leader who would be able to oppose Kuchum.

One more reason that resulted in the split among the population of the Khanate of Siberia was the question of religion. In 1560–1570, as Kuchum formed his state with purpose, he understood beyond the shadow of a doubt that without a united religion—Islam (which also included the foundation of a uniform judicial system)—it would be very difficult to unite the population of the Khanate, which consisted of an innumerable number of small ethnic groups. At the beginning of 1570s, he therefore invited preachers of Islam from Central Asia to visit. It is known that ultimately two Islamic missions arrived in Isker and started to actively and heavily propagandize Islam among the population of the Khanate. After Kuchum was defeated and he left Isker, Islamic preachers, namely Din-Aul-Hojja and his family who headed the mission, had to migrate away from the ancestral dominions of Taibugids and settle down in the Trans-Irtysh, one of the settlements of the Ayalyn Tatars. Thus, Kuchum made enemies among ministers of the former religion through his Islamisation policy for the population of the Khanate of Siberia, who became more active after his defeats.

Perhaps there were also some other circumstances of active governmental organisation that irritated the separate population groups of the state. For example, after the migration of new groups of the population from the Nogai and Kazakh Hordes to the Southern and Eastern edges of the state, and their unpublicized proclamation as the 'backbone of the State', the former ancestral aristocracy of Taibugids had to bear a social humiliation that resulted in the rise of inter-ethnic confrontations.

As a result, the arrival of the armed troops of Yermak from the Kamen river became the first chance the Taibugids had to overthrow the hateful Kuchum Khan and bring back their dominions after 1563. In this situation, it was no wonder that Yermak did not stay long on the Tura river and soon stormed the towns of Kuchum's grand people directly in Trans-Tobol (e.g., Karachin townlet), while the dominions



Yermak's Expedition to Siberia. Lithograph
[Brief Siberian Chronicle, 1880]

of the Taibugids were for the most part safe. At the same time the Taibugids operated completely logically and according to the existent political arrangement of the forces. According to that fact, even in 1555 during the rule of Edigur, the Siberian Principality of Taibugids had accepted subservience to the Muscovite state and paid taxes to their rulers. But in the 1570s, Kuchum Khan ended those relations. The Taibugids were dissatisfied with Kuchum's rule and reestablished the status quo by their revolt in favour of the Moscow Tsar. Perhaps the oppositionists supposed fairly that it was better to have the tsar thousands of kilometers away and limit these annual tax relations instead of enduring the Khan-reformer who day after day was consolidating his power to the prejudice of the socio-economic and political positions of the former ancestral aristocracy. Apparently, the Taibugids hoped that after Kuchum's death they would crown a new Khan/Prince who would represent their interests, as governor of the Moscow Tsar. The appearance of Syedyak of the Taibugids in the 1580s on the territory of the Khanate of Siberia, who had pretensions of returning the throne of Isker, confirms our assumptions.

In our opinion, the passive actions of the Taibugids predetermined the defeat of Kuchum's army in the battle on Chuvash Cape. The Siberian chronicles describing this event never mention any of the noble Tatar's names, except the name of Mametkul, who really

struggled right down to the last seconds of his life. There was only one faithful khan cavalry under the leadership of Mametkul, along with the Khanty and Mansi princes with their poorly armed warriors who ran away on the first night. It is very likely that the aristocracy of the Taibugids, having bet on Yermak, under various pretexts did not help Kuchum and did not bring its army to the Chuvash Cape, which essentially weakened the forces of

the Khan. After Mametkul was wounded during the fight, the Khan had to withdraw his cavalry, because as an experienced commander and politician he did not have any right to destroy his one and only support in the battle against Yermak. It is most probable that he understood perfectly well that even if at the cost of that loss he dealt with Yermak, he would remain with nothing against the Taibugid troops. Such a state of affairs also explains the circumstance that after the battle on the Chuvash Cape Kuchum retreated at once from the territory that turned hostile to him: the Tobolsk Trans-Irtysh. The Tatar nobility, vice versa, right after the occupation of Isker by Yermak, came to serve him [Tychinskikh, 2010, p. 46]. The Siberian chronicles states directly that only the treason of the Tatar Seybokht (Senbakht Tagin), became the reason for capturing Mametkul on the Vagai river.

Much later in 1588 Khan Kuchum waged a campaign against Tobolsk. Kuchum did not expect to occupy the city, because the true goal of that campaign was revenge on the Tatar aristocracy that betrayed him in the most crucial moment. G. Miller wrote about the same mission while discussing Kuchum's raid to the Kaurdak and Salym volosts in 1590: 'It was his revenge on those Tatars who did not recognise him as their tsar and instead submitted to the Russians' [Miller, 1999, p. 272].

Therefore, we believe that it was the treasonable political actions of the members of the

Taibugid ancestral aristocracy that became one of the primary causes of Kuchum Khan's defeat in the war against the Muscovite state. As is well known, eventually Kuchum Khan handled Yermak's troops.

In addition to Kuchum's foes, there were also some groups of the population in his state against which Yermak and his warriors were archenemies. Thanks to these people, Kuchum's war of independence went on for 17 years, with an additional 50 years under the rule of his children. Kuchum's primary devotees were the Tatars of Kazan that left the Volga in 1550–1570. Even in 1552 in the course of the savage capture of Kazan many of its Islamic sacred places and madrasah were destroyed, and a great number of defenders of the city and its civilians perished. Muslim civilians were expelled from the city; the highest mosque elite of Islam ran away in fear. The relations between the Siberian Turkic-Tatar States and the Khanate of Kazan by that time had a rather long history of political, merchant and religious interactions, so the refugees found themselves at home there quickly. They supported Kuchum of Shaybanids during his religious reformation and the organisation of the new system of administration. There was of course no place for those people to retreat, so they supported the Khan of Siberia to their last breath. The battle between Yermak and Kuchum took place near the townlet of Chuvash, which was 'apparently populated by the Chuvash people evacuated from Kazan by the Khan' [Ibid., p. 224] and located on the cape of the same name. As it happens, the Cossacks were not able to take possession of the townlet before the battle.

The second group of the state population that was dedicated to Kuchum was from Trans-Irtysh and Baraba. They were members of ancestral subdivisions of the Nogai and Kazakh Hordes, along with Uzbeks, and had been relocated by Kuchum Khan to his state [Abdirov, 1993, p. 207]. The reasons why they were so obsessed with Kuchum were clear: the Khan gave them a new motherland, a new way of life, and initially he was a shield and means of support for them as well. The immigrants received as much land as they could domesticate. Moreover, they even obtained the right to collect *yasak* and participate in campaigns on neigh-

bour territories. They were not at all peaceful cattlemen and ploughmen due to the fact that all the peaceful ones stayed back on their native land. The population of Trans-Irtysh and Baraba formed the most battle-ready part of the Khanate of Siberia. That part of the armed forces (for the most part cavalry) with numbers of about 2–3 thousand people was permanently near the Khan, except for a couple campaigns, for instance in Trans-Kama where the forces were under the leadership of Mametkul or Alei. These warriors were devoted to Kuchum practically until the very end. B. Dolgikh in his research wrote that when Kuchum ran away to the steppe after he was defeated by Yermak, he was accompanied by mostly the same people who came with him from Central Asia, but not the native Siberian Tatars [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 62]. The deep devotion of that population is confirmed extensively in chronicles. In the 1590s the Ayalyns left their settlements and built new townlets on another territory under the order of the Khan [Miller, 1999, p. 288]. After Kuchum had to go East to Baraba because of pressure from the Russian voivodes, the part of that population from there nevertheless returned to their ancestral home. Throughout the 17th century they supported not only the raids of Kuchum's devotees to Russian settlements and strove to resettle on independent Russian territories, but also became participants of important anti-Russian rebellions more than once. The greatest uprisings were the rebellion of the Barabian Tatars in 1628 and the rebellion of the Tara Tatars in 1629.

Thus, in the struggle against Yermak, Kuchum relied predominantly on the non-indigenous population of West Siberia. After the defeat on the Chuvash Cape and withdrawal from Isker, the Khan did not have much of a way to resist Yermak and his followers. The Eastern part of the Khanate that remained under his control did not have the resources to maintain a significant number of troops. For example, the low population density of Trans-Irtysh and Baraba made supplying large military unions with provisions impossible. Kuchum therefore constantly had to divide his army and send it 'barracking' in different uluses. That circumstance certainly decreased its general military efficiency. Despite successes in local wars, all



The Chuvashsky Cape Battle.
Picture by L. Bobrov

those factors in the struggle against Yermak led to his defeat against the Muscovite state and the Taibugid opposition that had joined up with the 'Russians'. Two of his main commanders—Mametkul and Karacha—were defeated; the first one was captured and sent to Moscow, and the second one left Kuchum Khan after the failed siege of Isker. Nevertheless, Kuchum Khan defeated ataman Yermak near the Vagai river at night on 5–6 August 1584.

According to the Remezov chronicle, after his demise Yermak was proclaimed a God by Tatars and buried in the Baishev Cemetery according to Muslim ritual. The funeral was being carried out in the accompaniment of a number of metaphysical conditions. The most striking was the fact that the burial ritual of Yermak gathered together all the previously irreconcilable sides of the conflict: the murdered Yermak, Shaybanids Kuchum Khan, prince Seydyak of Taibugids and acceding to him Karachi, and also the Khanty and Mansi princes. What was Yermak's funeral? Perhaps, it was an unsuccessful attempt to join Kuchum and the Taibugids? We will never know the real answer.

Between 1584 and 1598, a period of almost fifteen years, is a significant period of time for Kuchum as an active and ambitious ruler with political, military and material support from Bukhara, to do nothing. Moreover, the geopolitical situation in West Siberia was working perfectly in favour of Kuchum. On the one hand, after the death of Yermak the Russians 'took a break' and instead of heading South by the Irtysh and Ishim rivers started paying attention to the North. On the other hand, in 1588 voivode Dmitry Chulkov, having captured Seydyak of the Taibugids and Karach in Tobolsk, liquidated the rivals in the struggle for power in the Khanate of Siberia. Kuchum took advantage of that position and in the summer of 1590 had already reestablished his rule under a significant territory of the Khanate of Siberia. He occupied the forest-steppe and steppe territories from the Ishim river to the Ob river. This 'restoration' was really quite challenging for Kuchum. The new geographic scope of the Khanate of Siberia demanded measures for its inner reorganisation and the strengthening of its borders. At the end of 1580s, Kuchum accomplished a mass resettlement of the taxable population from the North to the South along the Irtysh river valley. As a result, in the centre of the 'new' Khanate of Siberia along the Irtysh river and its inflows from the mouth of the Ishim river to the Om river, fortified Tatar settlements began cropping up, including the villages of Tartamak, Aitkulovo, Kirgap, Atak (Otak), Saitovo, Kumanovo, Chertaly, Bergamak, Intsiss, Molodtsovo, Chiplyarova (known to us from documents of the 17–18th centuries) [Tomilov, 1996, p. 192]. Proof of this fact lies in the partially investigated monuments from the later Middle Ages discovered near these settlements (Yekaterina's settlement V, Krapivka II in the Tarsky District of Omsk Oblast).

Another issue that required the Khanate army's redistribution was the maintenance of the southern Khanty communes living in the back of the right-bank terrace of the Irtysh. At that time, the Khanty of Trans-Irtysh were essentially the only population that paid yasak to the Khan. To ensure the supply of furs in the middle current of the right inflows of the Irtysh—the Tui, Shish, Uy and Tara rivers—

Kuchum relied on small military garrisons. Confirmation of this development in events can be found in the results of Omsk archaeological works from 2003–2006, when on right-bank inflows of the Irtysh at a distance of 50–100 km from the mouth of the river, small but well-fortified Tatar townlets (Nadezhdinka settlement VII on Tara in Muromtsevsky District, Koshkul IV on Ui in Tarsky District, Yamsysa III and IV on the Tui river in Tevrizsky District, Linevskaya sopka and The Grand Dock I on the Shish river in Znamensky District of Omsk Oblast) were investigated [Chagaeva, 1966, pp. 118–130; Matveev, Trofimov, 2006, pp. 69–86; Tataurov, 2005, pp. 210–212; Matveev, Tataurov, 2008, pp. 149–152].

In the southeast, in the Baraba steppe, the state border of the Khanate of Siberia was still shielded by frontier townlets and encampments of 'earlier' resettlers. In the southwest, state borders were reinforced through several dynastic marriages contracted by Kuchum with the ancestral nomadic elite. One of the wives of Kuchum Khan was the daughter of Shigay Khan (the Kazakh Khanate), who became an influential leader in the Kazakh Horde after the death of Haqq Nazar Khan. At the same time, Kuchum's unsteady positions surely rallied the Kalmyks and Kazakhs who wanted to participate in the devastation of his people. Due to that fact Kuchum had to strengthen his frontier armed forces.

Thus, in the course of his administrative and political measures in the second half of the 1580s Kuchum had to redistribute his troops, and their distribution did not allow him to make major operations against Russians. To be fair, it should be noticed that before Tobolsk was founded in 1587 the Russians were not a serious threat for Kuchum either. It was more important for him to build a complex mechanism for the domestic and foreign policy of his state. A significant reason for the relative weakness of the troops of the Khanate of Siberia in that



Tatars have found the dead body of Yermak. 13 August 1584.
Lithograph [Brief Siberian Chronicle, 1880]

period was the treasonous Tatar population that went over to the Russians.

This was a major blow to Kuchum's policy of 'gathering dominions' when numbers of the Turkic population suddenly plummeted in a number of districts in West Siberia. Peter Butsinsky compared the population numbers of yasaks in the middle of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century and concluded that large numbers of foreigners perished during the Russian conquest of the Khanate of Siberia [Butsinsky, 1999, p. 26]. Thus, P. Butsinsky wrote that by the time of the foundation of the city of Tara (1594) there were 23 large settlements of Siberian Tatars in the district. Yet the Vasily Tyrkov patrol book of 1624 describes only three Tatar villages near the town on the right bank of the Irtysh river valley.

Despite everything, Kuchum managed to reconstruct his state. His campaign to Tobolsk at the end of 1580s demonstrated to the Russian authorities the necessity of building a powerful frontier settlement as close to the new borders of the Khanate of Siberia as possible. In 1592, the Cossacks of Tobolsk had prepared and reconnoitred the middle flow of the Irtysh to the mouth of the Tara river, and in 1594 they built the burg of a new Russian town—Tara—which played a crucial role in the destruction of the Khanate of Siberia.

The chronicle of the following military actions between the Khanate of Siberia and Tara's people who were serving in combat is described in the following text.

In 1594, there took place a 'reconnaissance via battle' by Grisha (Gregory) Yasyr from the city of Tara up to Irtysh. After that campaign it became obvious that Kuchum, having lost Tarsky Trans-Irtysh, was founding new fortified towns in the South and was resettling there part of the Ayalyn Tatars. To avoid a new consolidation of the Khan's power, in 1595, the writing head of Boris Domozhirov carried out a campaign to the Black townlet located between the Tara and Om rivers. The townlet was destroyed, and Ayalyn Tatars were returned to their former place of residence, the Tara river. Despite those successful campaigns Kuchum still essentially controlled all the dominions South of the Tara river, having shifted his headquarters from Irtysh to the Tara river in the townlet of Tunus. Therefore, in 1596 by the order of Tara voivode prince Andrey Yeletsky, it was the 'Barabinsky campaign' that had the goal of subduing Tatars from the volosts of Changula, Lugui, Ljuba, Kelema, Turash, Barma and Kirpiki. These troops were once again headed by the writing head of Boris Domozhirov. The townlet of Tunus was destroyed, the Tatars of the western Baraba volosts were partially destroyed, and another part simply ran away after their resistance was completely annihilated.

The campaigns of the Tara Cossacks in 1594–1596 forced Kuchum to abandon the Trans-Irtysh and move to the East, and in 1598 the sizable troops of A. Voyeykov shattered the Khan's chance of survival on the Ob river. Kuchum Khan ceased to be a military rival of Russia in Siberia because his state fell apart completely, and his successors needed a certain amount of time to re-establish a hierarchy of power and come up with certain economic and military benefits for themselves. In 1601, the son of Kuchum, Ali, was given the title as Khan, and from there on out the next stage of the opposition between the Khanate of Siberia and the Muscovite state began where the sons and grandsons of Kuchum, supported by the Kalmyks, played one of the crucial roles. In the scientific and educational literature these individuals are often referred to as the 'wandering tsareviches' [Vershinin, 1998, pp. 60–63]. In our opinion, this is not an entirely correct observation. A much more inappropriate depiction of them takes place if we are speaking

about the sons and grandsons of Kuchum Khan as eternal wanderers living on the southern frontier without a home and surviving only by raiding the dominions of the Muscovite state. In the Empire literature of the 19–20th centuries, the descendants of Kuchum are not often represented as illegitimate pretenders to the throne of their country, but rather as 'betrayers' who could contract an alliance with the Kalmyks and Kazakhs for their own gain.

We believe that the descendants of Kuchum should not be referred to as homeless wanderers. It is known that maintaining a nomadic or semi-nomadic economy distributed throughout the forest-steppe and steppe zones of Siberia and Kazakhstan was formed many centuries before the events we are describing here. At the end of the 16th century it was now in fact a neatly developed system of specific nomadic movements on well-known routes from winter pastures to summer ones and vice versa. Thus, the descendants of Kuchum in West Siberia at the southern boundary occupied their own territory and had an accustomed lifestyle. Otherwise, they would have struggled against other nomadic tribes who for a long time had been in possession of those pastures. In that case, they simply would not have had any time for a struggle against the Russians. But we all know that this is not true.

The dominions of the descendants of Kuchum stretched out along the southern Russian borders approximately through the entirety of West Siberia. Those territories were rather quickly and easily transferred by Russian administration into the hands of the Kalmyks who arrived there in 1606. Perhaps, the Russians hoped that the Kalmyks would eliminate the descendants of Kuchum on their own. It is an accepted fact that the border between the dominions of the Muscovite state and Kalmyks became the Kamyshlovsky ravine between the Ishim and Irtysh rivers, and the Om river between the Irtysh and Ob rivers. The Muscovite state could not maintain that border in the 1620s after the rebellions of the Barabian and Tara Tatars, who were Kuchum's former people. As a result, the border was displaced from the Middle Trans-Irtysh and Baraba 100–200 km to the North, and the remaining population began paying taxes to the Russians and Kalmyks,

who were allied with the descendants of Kuchum. Russia could only return to the border of 1610 in the 1720s, and firmly occupied it by the 1750s after building the Novoishimsky line of fortifications [Matveev, 2014, pp. 38–66]. Thus, the territory that was under the control of Kuchum's descendants significantly expanded after their successful military endeavours at the end of the 1620s.

Almost all their major raids were carried out with the support of the Kalmyk Taishas. By that time the Kalmyks had just come to those territories, but according to the customs of steppe rights (at least, at the very beginning), they did not consider them as their own ancestral territories, but rather as certain bridgeheads for future campaigns. Therefore, they did not have any territorial disputes with the descendants of Kuchum.

The Kuchum family strove to populate its own dominions with Kuchum's former people who did not want to live in the Siberian territories of the Muscovite state. The records of Tara voivodes starting in 1594 are evidence of frequent travels out of the Ayalyt Tatars' territories of the Trans-Irtysh to the South, in the lands uncontrolled by the Russians. This phenomenon had a wide-spread character for almost all territories from Irtysh to the East. The most significant withdrawal was when the Barabian prince Kogutai retreated with his people after the revolt was defeated in 1628–1630. He returned only in 1635 [Tomilov, 1981, p. 171]. Special military units were regularly sent from Tara to find and bring back the 'taxpayer'. We must therefore tread lightly when it comes to hackneyed information about the raids of Kuchum's men on the settlements of Ayalyt Tatars that supposedly resulted in the demise of a great number of civilians, and an even greater number being driven back to the steppes. Sometimes the population itself even burnt their own dwellings and went into lands uncontrolled by Russia. There were plenty of reasons for them to do so, but the most important was the extremely adverse living conditions the Russian administration created for the indigenous population.

In fact, throughout the entire 17th century there was a ceaseless war in the forest-steppe zone of West Siberia between the Russian and

Turkic populations. As a result, after that attack the population of natives was reduced by several times. They were expelled from their best lands and forced to resettle in inconvenient or other random places determined by the local administration. Thus, for instance, the suburban (Bukhara) village in Tara was founded, which was located on the lower Irtysh floodplain and submerged in water annually during the floods. The office of the Tobolsk voivode was inundated with petitions from the Siberian Tatars about the unauthorized seizure of their lands by the Russians. The Russians were constantly using Tatar trading grounds for their own purposes.

Another problem for the Tatar population was taxes. The Russian voivodes turned yasak collections into a system of extortion, forcing the local population in addition to the mandatory taxes to pay a large amount of tax 'gifts' related to various holidays and birthdays of the reigning family. These indirect taxes often greatly exceeded the regular yasak rate.

Another point of confrontation between the Muscovite state and former people of the Khanate of Siberia was the issue of religion. The local Russian administration fiercely resisted the spread of Islam among the Turkic population, understanding that process as a form of protest against Russian colonization. Due to that fact a frequent occurrence in West Siberia was the burning of mosques, murder of preachers and forced baptisms [Tomilov, 1992, p. 142].

All of these negative living conditions for former people of the Khanate of Siberia in the Muscovite state ensured a constant flow of people into the territories of the Kuchum family. Among the refugees they recruited soldiers to fill out their troops.

During the first half of the 17th century the Kuchum family had their own permanent settlements in the form of townlets placed by the Kuchum Khan on the Chanov lakes that protected the border at the time of the Kalmyk raids on the Khanate of Siberia. Part of the refugees were safe under their protection, and the other half settled in the vast expanses of the Baraba forest-steppe. These were groups of a settled population. The southern nomads that remained at the border also did not 'wander without a home'. They continued throughout

this period to live out their traditional nomadic lifestyle. It is hard to imagine a better home for a nomad than his yurt.

Thus, at the very minimum the sons of Kuchum were not 'homeless', 'vagrant', 'cossacking' princes. During the first half of the 17th century under these turbulent border conditions

they reigned over their territories and taxed their people living in settlements. They had the sacred blood of Chinggis Khan, which despite all the strife between different ethnic groups of the Turkic population, raised their position very highly and helped them find allies pretty much anywhere throughout the Asian steppes.

CHAPTER 4

The Nogai Horde

Vadim Trepavlov

The Political System. In its heyday (the 16th century) the Nogai Horde occupied a vast territory of eastern Desht-i Qipchaq. Its borders in the east and the south approached the upper reaches of Tobol and Nura, running along the Sary su river and then along Syr Darya to the Aral Sea. The Volga river served as the western boundary for a long time. Eventually, Nogais began settling on the pastures of its right bank. In the 17th century they settled in the Black Sea region and the North Caucasus, abandoning their native Trans-Volga steppes. The northern borders of the horde can be determined very tentatively: a large part of the present Bashkortostan was under control of the Mangit Beys.

The title of a Nogai ruler was the term '*Bey*' or '*Ulubey*'. It is a late East-Kipchak form of the general Turkic word '*Beg*'. In the Turkic political entities of 14–16th centuries the word '*Beg* (Bey)' was a synonym for the Arabian-Persian word '*emir*' and the Mongolian word '*noyon*'. All those terms referred to the nobility belonging to the rank below that of the dynastic ruling aristocracy (who used such titles as '*khan*', '*sultan*', '*oglan*', '*tore*'). In different regions '*Bey*' also could designate a tribal elder (for Bashkirs and Kazakhs), and the head of the tribe, nominally representing the tribe under a Khan (the Crimean and Kasym Khanates), and the highest official after a khan (the Golden Horde, the Uzbek Khanate), and merely 'bosses' in a wider sense.

All the tribes of the Nogai Horde initially were headed by beys, and above all of them was a bey of the Mangit tribe. In addition, there were 'serving' beys at the court of the supreme ruler. In that paradoxical situation, when the overlord held the same title as a lot of inferior subjects, a way to differentiate the Mangit leader was needed.

The Nogai noblemen (*murzas*) applied to the head of the horde, using the expression '*Bey Hazrat*',—that is, 'Prince Majesty', in the medieval Russian translation. The Nogai messages to the neighbouring sovereigns most clearly demonstrate the distinction of the supreme beyship (although almost all such documents are preserved not in the original, but in translations). The rather humble expression of 'king-size amongst the princes Sid Ahmatov princely word' in 1535 simply reveals the superiority of Sayid Ahmad over other beys. The nephew of Sayid Ahmad, Urus, who took the throne in 1578, introduced himself more explicitly: 'of the Mangit sovereign from Prince Urus' (1578, 1581). In this case, the title outlines the territorial and ethnic limits of his power. Here the adjective 'Mangit' is a synonym of the word 'Nogai',—that is, the same Urus in 1579 declared to the Russian ambassador: 'In the Nogai land, I am the prince and the sovereign of all the Nogai lands'. However, the verbal entourage of Ishmael Bey was much more pretentious in a letter to Ivan the Terrible in 1560: 'From Prince Ishmael, sovereign of all Tatars'

[Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 5, sheets 4 reverse, 190 reverse; file 8, sheet 230 reverse; file 9, sheets 152 reverse; file 10, sheet 86 reverse].

However, neither beys themselves, nor the Russian correspondents had any illusions about the scope of power 'in the Nogai'. Beys took the most lavish titles during the period when their horde was in a relatively stable state, powerful and influential. The reign of Sayid Ahmad and Sheikh Mamai,—that is, the 1630s to 1640s, can be considered as the apogee of power. Sheikh Mamai even dared to borrow his throne's designation (*bab-i ali*) from the Ottoman sultan. In the Russian translation of the document of 1548 it means: 'Of the highest threshold of the sovereign and the master, from the warrior of the pious Prince Sheikh Mamai' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 3, sheets 18–18 reverse].

The official full title of a ruler of the Nogai Horde was the term '*ulubey*'. 'Grand prince' (*ulubey*), as a rule, accompanies in the Russian texts the name of Beklyaribek Edigu, the ancestor of Mangit Nogai beys. In the translations of Nogai documents Sayid Ahmad was also called the 'grand prince', and his post of bey was called the 'great principedom'.

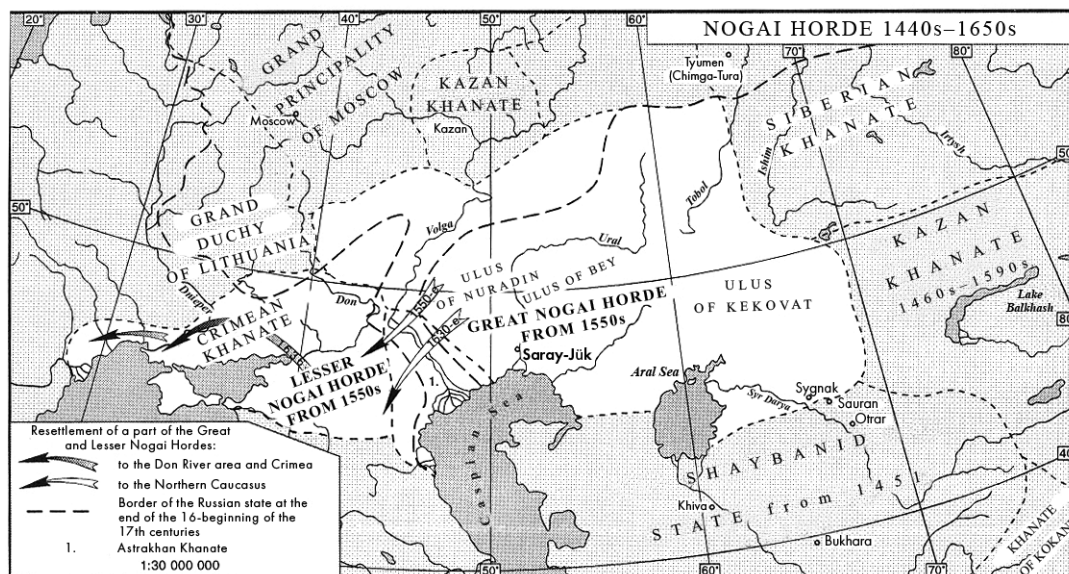
Sometimes, the Crimeans titled the head of the Nogai Horde in the same way. But in the eyes of Giray dynasty, the Nogai ruler had never been their equal-monarch. The princely rank formally assigned him a place at the foot of the throne, but not beside it. The Bakhchysaray office repeatedly emphasized that an *ulubey* was nothing more than a servant (*Karachi*) of the Crimean Khan. And in 1620, Jani Beg Giray Khan tried to bypass the Russian tsar to appoint one of the *murzas* to a vacant position of supreme bey, and at the same time 'made him his own grand boyar and a kind friend for him' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1616, file 2, sheets 239].

A rank of *ulubey* also was not highly regarded in Turkey. Istanbul dispatches to Urus in the 1570s to 1580s titled him as just 'Beg-murza', 'Nogai Hakim', 'Bey and murza of the country of Great Nogais', and Yusuf was designated behind his back as just 'one of the Nogai Beys' [Bennigsen, Lemerrier-Quelquejay, 1976, p.227].

The Russian princes always called the Nogai leader by the title of prince and, depending on the state of foreign affairs, considered him as either a brother, a friend, or just a lackey. Up to the mid-16th century both Moscow, and the capital of the Nogai Horde, Sarai, were under control of the 'grand princes'. Ivan the Terrible attainment of the statute of tsar was a principle milestone in the elimination of nominal equality between them. Together the 'tsars' of Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberia and later Moscow, the Trans-Volga rulers were considered nothing more than just 'Nogai princes',—that is, the descendants of 'great prince' Edigu.

The close blood relations in the core of the ruling clan of Edigu imbued the bonds between its members a visible patriarchal character. Despite a variety of degrees of consanguinity with bey, *murzas* regarded him as the 'father and uncle'. So, formally he took a senior place in the clan, the patrimonial elder, the patriarch of the Nogais. In the eyes of neighbours, he strove to appear as an absolute sovereign: Urus' words quoted above are about the fact that he was the ruler of all the lands of Nogais; in the same document he described *murzas* as 'my serfs'.

But in fact, there were no any practical means to force relatives-*murzas* to submit to the Bey's will at his disposal. In 1611, in response to a Russian Government suggestion to send the Nogai troops to help against the Poles, and to mobilize 'not all hunters, but also other slaves' (that is, to compel by force), Ishterek Bey answered frankly that 'their horde is free... those who wants to, goes, and no one can be sent forcibly'. At that time Ishterek could threaten disobedient *murzas* only with his emigration, carting away as a 'Cossack with their ulus' and calling on God and the Russian army for help. *murzas* tolerated his powerful authority for 'old age' (that is, seniority in the clan.—V.T.) and 'while he...was strong with his Ulus people' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1617, file 5, sheet 4; Acts, 1918, pp. 18, 21]. As soon as a *murza* acquired his own strong and populous ulus, he began to follow an independent policy. This situation existed as a trend in the 16th century and fully revealed itself at the beginning of 17th century by the time of disintegration of the Nogai Horde.



The Nogai Horde. Map by I. Izmaylov

It was no wonder that the most important political issues were solved not solely by a bey, but in council with the most powerful aristocrats. Such problems included, in particular, general Horde military activities, relations with foreign monarchs, and international alliances and coalitions.

All other yurts erected on the ruins of the Golden Horde were ruled by sovereigns of the branched clan of the Chinggisids. Nogai heads who did not belong to that clan did not dare to claim the title of Khan. Basically, there was one more way to establish a monarchic status, and that was through the formation of a 'super-state', successful military operations, which would force neighbours to recognise any rank adopted by the Nogai rulers. Some materials in the sources suggest that such an attempt was made in the Nogai Horde at the end of the 1530s. Having murdered the Crimean Khan in the West after inflicting a crushing on him, and having defeated the Kazakh Khan in the East, the Nogais believed they were entitled to form their own pyramid of power, which would be similar to the governmental structure employed by the defeated Khanates. In the document to Ivan IV, Sayid Ahmad Bey proclaimed his intention to assume the position of Khan. He was immediately awarded the title of *qalga*—heir to the throne, and a great *beklyaribek* commander. However, the neighbouring countries did not recognise his claims, and so the head of

the Horde remained a 'great prince' rather than a Khan. And the Beys had no recourse but to accept this.

A murza acting as a nuradin was the head of the right (western) wing of militia and the settlements of the Volga region, and a murza acting as a kekovat was the head of the left (eastern) wing and the Kazakh settlements. The titles '*nuradin*' and '*kekovat*' came from the name of the sons of Edigu. In the 1580s, in the Nogai Horde a vicarial post of Taibugids arose to manage the settlers from the Khanate of Siberia, which had been taken by Yermak.

In order to justify the legality of the rule of the Mangit leaders, a fantastic version was compiled for the court of the origin of the dynasty of Edigu from Abu Bakr Caliph, the father-in-law and successor of the Prophet, through the holy preacher Khoja Ahmed Baba Tukles. In Muslim Nogai society, this was reasonable, and sufficient legitimacy for the 'principality'. In the Nogai Horde, this conception became the official version, and murzas traced their genealogies to the epoch of Muhammad and the first caliphs. 'The census to the Nogai murzas, how many murzas are in the Lesser Nogai Horde', which was drawn up in August 1638, says: 'And our clan, according to this, the current year of 146 (that is, 1637/38—V.T.), is precisely 1047 years old' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 2,

file 32, sheet 16] Therefore, the beginning of the genealogy was traced to 591.

Most likely the development of the ideological conception had already occurred during the rule of Edigu. After all, he faced the need to legitimize his authority in the empire of Jochids, and to legitimize his domination over the Jochids at the turn of the 14–15th centuries. Not belonging to the dynastic nobility, the 'maker of kings' had to come up with rationales that would favour his position in relation to it. And to prove the origin from the Caliph, dating back a thousand years, was easier than claiming a kinship with Chinggis Khan.

However, adopting the mantle of a descendant of the first Caliph was not all he had to do to gain universal recognition. First, he also needed to make the figure of Abu Bakr meaningful for the general population of the Golden Horde, and second, he had to transform the genealogical legend into an instrument to rally the people around the beklyaribek. Those goals were promoted by the active Islamisation of the Kipchak population, which was launched by Edigu on the lands under his control.

Another important method employed to illuminate the hegemony of the Mangit leader was imbue his character with an epic quality. Already in the first decades after Edigu's death, legendary elements proliferated in writings about his personality and in his biography. His memory was preserved among the nomads of Desht-i Qipchaq for some time. Atop the Idigetau Mountain, in the Ulytau Mountains of (Central Kazakhstan), where, according to legend, a famous ruler was buried, there is an obo (a stone mound) where prayers and sacrifices were made in his honour. Over time, his image became truly sacred, and Edigu evolved into a hallowed ancient hero for the Kazakhs, while the Kara-Kalpaks revered him as the patron of horses.

The epic aura of the founder of the Mangit Nogai bey dynasty cast a glow even on his descendants. Among the Kazakhs, the descendants of Edigu were reputed to be aristocratic—'blue blooded' (ak suyak). This was explained literally—the ancestor of Edigu, Baba Tukles, was born of a woman whose pregnancy resulted from her consumption of a white powder made from a magic skull.

This combination of religion and genealogy raised the prestige of the Nogai dynasty in the eyes of the people, but did not add to his image abroad. His fictitious origin from the first caliph still did not provide justification to his occupying the throne of khan. After all, a bey is not an officially independent sovereign, and it is at the behest of a higher ruler that one is granted the title. The Nogais themselves chose their 'great prince'. The extant sources do not have detailed descriptions of the process. There are only some reports about the 'enthronement': 'And they were chosen to reign by murzas among themselves according to rank and majority, and sat on the throne in the Nogai Horde' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1641, file 5, sheet 27]. Formally, it was believed that ulubey was elected 'according to rank and majority' (that is, to seniority). The candidates for 'enthronement' put forward the thesis 'I'm the oldest' as the basic rationale for their selection. However, in practice, each bey sought to strengthen the power of his sons.

Yet, the Nogais could not just throw away the age-old procedure whereby the legal right of power was held by the Khan-Chinggisid. Therefore, until the 1550s they would herald the fictitious, puppet Khan. The names of such 'rulers' are very rare in the extant sources, because they had no influence in the Horde. Their only goal was to sanctify with their presence the real powers and authority of the head of the Mangits. By the second half of the 16th century, the beys Din Ahmed, Urus, Uraz Muhammad and Din Muhammad could rule without the dummy monarchs.

And from the beginning of the 17th century, the reign of a foreign sovereign to the 'princedom' was sanctioned. Thus, the Russian tsar would then confirm the election of a new bey by murzas through his special charter, and the Astrakhan voivodes developed a solemn ceremony to mark the occasion. In 1600, the newly elected Ishterek with the noblest murzas was asked to come to Astrakhan to receive the charter grant-charters from Moscow. Upon arrival, the Nogais found out that they had to carry out a quite literal act of ascension—the elevation to the Khanate. The voivodes came up with the idea of the murzas lifting Ishterek on felt cloth, in the same way that the Khans-Chinggisid

were anointed with their independent nomadic powers—in the Golden Horde and the Tatar Khanates. The murzas started pondering: 'They say that they did not even know that he, murza Ishteryak, was to be lifted on his mantle to rule...And from times long past this has yet to be'. However, having conferred the whole day, the ulubey was 'lifted on his mantle' for the first time in Nogai history [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1641, file 5, sheets 32–33]. In 1622, the next and final Bey, Kanai, had no objections to this practice.

Turkic and Slavic rulers realized the power of the Nogai Horde, and before the beginning of the 17th century did not aspire to encroach on the sovereignty of its leaders. Within his dominions, Ulubey carried out the administrative functions which were the purview of independent nomadic ruler. After a council with the nobility, he would announce the annual routes for the movement of the herds and the people, point out a place to settle those who were subject to the IIs (tribal communities), and confirm the inheritance rights of murzas to the subjects of the ulus. The duty of the Supreme Commander was traditionally also allotted to him, because formerly, in the Golden Horde's time, a bey (beklyaribek) was the head of the armed forces of the state. However, as the administrative system took shape, the Nogais developed its own commander-beklyaribek,—that is, the nuradin.

A bey, in addition, had an obligation to provide his people with a comfortable existence, or at least a means of acquiring wealth. The Eurasian nomads often sought through raids on settled neighbours. But the Nogais often used peaceful methods, a barter trade and the collection of traditional periodic payments, the 'Mangit income', which came to them from the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan, and possibly from the Siberian yurt. After depending on Russia, the leaders of the Horde relied more and more on the 'sovereign salary'—money and presents from Moscow. The ability of the bey to arrange the supply of this revenue stream was a criterion of his competence. More than once the Nogai leader asked the king, the clerks, and voivodes not to send gifts to the murzas without going through him, saying 'I would myself give my royal salary to my brother and nephew, and

children'. Since 'all of them request from me treasures, but I do not possess a treasury, and I have nothing to give them. And that is my great quarrel' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Arts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1617, file 3, sheets 11–12].

The court of the ruler of the Nogai Horde was a combination of several bureaucratic agencies with offices, which were mainly engaged in financial matters. It was controlled by a rather poorly developed structure: few civil servants (*kara-duvan*, *teku-duvan*), clerks, literate members of the Muslim clergy. Such 'operatives' worked both at the court of the bey and in the capital of Sarai, and at the rates of the main murzas.

But from the beginning of the 17th century, the beys could rely only on their immediate relatives and a few scribes; all other actors disappeared during the unrests. In general, institutions of governance in the Nogai Horde development extremely inconsistently. Having reached an apogee by the middle of the 16th century, the administrative structure of the Horde entered a crisis stage, began a decline and was simplified. During the break-up of the Horde, the scope of powers of the central agencies was narrowed, and by the end of the second decade of the 17th century, these agencies wielded no authority.

Political history. The Nogai Horde maintained the rank of a Cossack entity in the early XVI century. In 1501, bey Yamgurchi (1502–1504) addressed Ivan III as 'uncle', acknowledging his and the Moscow Grand Prince's inequality. The Crimean Khan did not regard him as a bey in the same vein as Musa, who was appointed by Khan Yadgar. Yamgurchi had been crowned by the Mangit and Nogai elite. That is why Khan Mengli Giray gave him the title of 'murza', while Musa was given the title of 'prince' (bey).

According to Qadir Ali Bek, Hasan became the bek to immediately succeed Yamgurchi. The bey's authority and position could hardly be compared to those of his late brothers, Musa and Yamgurchi. In the face of the coming turmoil, when murzas were struggling for power, not all of them recognised Hasan's leadership.

In 1508, an open conflict erupted in Nogai Horde. Some authors interpret the civil strife of the 1510s as a showdown between Musa's

two sons. However, the hostility was not limited to murzas' personal grudges. In his final days, Musa as well as Yamgurchi and Hasan took over the leadership of the nogais according to the decree of the meeting of the elite. There was no official arbiter in the dynasty disputes, as there was no longer the volition of any higher-ranking governors who had once appointed beklyaribeks. After Waqqas's children died, and his grandchildren entered the political arena, they split over the issue of inheriting the title of bey. Musa's elder sons by his two wives could not agree on a division of jurisdictions. Both Alchagir and Sheikh Muhammed proclaimed themselves beys.

In the mid 1510s, the Nogai Horde was at the verge of disintegration. The Nogai ulus dispersed, the opposing murzas' groups fought, killed and robbed each other. The enemies, weakened from internal strife, tried to get support from the Astrakhan and Crimean Khanates, albeit ready to betray their allies at any time.

Thus enfeebled, the Horde was conquered by the Kazakhs. Kasym Khan decided to restore the sovereignty of the eastern Jochids over the Mangit Yurt. In 1519, his troops came to the Volga, and the Nogai murzas fled to the West to stay under the patronage of the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray.

In 1521, Kasym died and was buried in the tomb in Saray-Jük. Everything he achieved and conquered began to fall apart. The Nogais were gladdened by the news of the death of the powerful Khan. Musa's children, Mamai, Sayid Ahmad, Sheikh Mamai, Yusuf, etc, as well as Alchagir's sons managed to gather the nomads scattered on the right-bank pastures and encourage them to take revenge. Thus began the Nogai 'reconquista'. The alien Kazakhs defeated by the Nogais fled to the South-East, and Kasym's successor, Khan Tahir fled to Moghulistan. Now it was the Kazakhs who were distraught and who fell apart. The Nogais would attack their encampments and avenge their recent defeats.

After Tahir retreated to Semirechye, the wide open spaces of the Eastern Desht were left exposed to the Nogai troops. Musa's sons quickly restored their domination over the Trans-Volga and Trans-Yaik steppes. Since that time, for almost a century almost all refer-

ences to the Nogai tribal elite disappear from the sources, except for the Mangit. During the 'reconquista', the foreign Kipchak tribes supporting Kasym seemed to have been exiled, or killed, or removed from power. The Mangits took control over the Nogais of all els (tribes) of the restored Horde.

Over the first two decades of the 16th century the Nogai Horde suffered a genuine shock. Once Musa's brothers and sons inherited the influential and powerful Mangit Yurt, they came close to losing their subjugated territories and peoples. Conflicts between murzas, the emergence of a number of beys promoted by opposing elites, and attacks by the Crimeans and Kazakhs pushed the nomadic empire to the brink of disaster. However, in the end the historic circumstances had become favourable for this. In the East, the Nogais managed to use the turmoil in the Kazakh Khanate after Kasym's death, and summoned the strength for an attack on eastern Desht-i Qipchaq. The Kazakhs were soon driven back to the Uzbek borders, and their former territories fell to the Nogai murzas. In the West, after several humiliating instances of being forced to submit to Crimean governance over them, the Nogai leaders managed to reverse the situation. The 'reconquista' against the Kazakhs was accompanied by the Nogai leaders' victory over the Crimean Yurt (1523), enfeebling and subordinating the Astrakhan Khanate. After Alchagir, his brother Mamai was put forward as the leader of the Nogai Horde. However, he did not deign, or else was unable to arrange his ascendancy to the 'princedom'. He was first and foremost a military leader, a commander. Under his leadership, the Nogais achieved decisive victories in the 1520s, that enabled them to transform their state into a powerful, independent nomadic empire.

From approximately the early 1530s, the documents refer to Sayid Ahmad (Sheydyak) as the head of the Nogai Horde. It was evident that he was proclaimed a bey at a meeting of the elites,—that is, the orthodox Mangit nobility did not regard him as the true head of the Nogai, because he had not been appointed to the status of beklyaribek by a Khan.

And so the offspring of earlier beys, whether or not they were seen as such, would stage

revolts. Sayid Ahmad did not have the military means to subdue the large Nur ad-Din clan, and bring them in as allies. He was forced to work out ways to interest the murzas in the steadfast supreme power of the bey, as well as in the stability of the Nogai territories. The most important objective in this regard was to satisfy the ambitions of the leading aristocrats, the elder statesmen of the ruling family—Mamai and Sheikh Mamai. The first step was to engage in a constructive discussion of the situation, and this involved a meeting of murzas.

The external conditions also highlighted the need for negotiations, as well. The triumphant victories over the Crimean and Kazakh Khanates in the 1520s enabled the Nogais to regain a level of power unseen since the days of Musa. Indeed, it was likely no exaggeration when Sayid Ahmad said to the Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich in 1535, 'Tsar Temir-Kutlu's children (that is, the Astrakhan khans, V.T.) begged our pardon; Jacob, the tsar's son, begged our pardon with all his comrades and servants. The Cossack tsar Kozha Muhammad and his fifteen sons live together with my 300,000 Cossacks' [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 131]. The Girays were terribly afraid of the Trans-Volga nomads, and Kazan curried favour with the 'countless Nogais'. The universal acknowledgment of the power and authority of the Nogai Horde did not carry with it any devotion to it. The local owners were largely afraid of the Mangit beys and hated them, as they had essentially usurped the authority to rule from the ancient clan of Chinggis Khan. Thus, the words of Danila Gubin, the ambassador of those times, ring true: 'We are surrounded by foes'. This environment required the union of murzas both to maintain military and political dominance in the steppes, and to stand against the counter attacks mounted by the various 'foes'.

Those goals, vital for the ruling house of the Nogais, prompted the most influential murzas to suspend any conflicts. In spring or summer of 1537, a meeting of reconciliation took place. The main goal was to unite the different groups of nobility and their leaders. To this end, the Nogai Horde carried out a regulatory reform.

Sayyid Ahmad was deemed equal to a khan (but not a khan, which was impossible for a non-Chinggisid). Sheikh Mamai was named as

his successor,—that is, his successor, similar to a qalgay under the Tatars. Hadji Muhammad was offered the title of beklyaribek. He also could have a successor, similar to a qalgay to a beklyaribek. This title was offered to Mamai, but he was embittered by the failure of his long-held ambition to wreak vengeance upon the Russians and refused to take part in the power distribution. And so it was Yusuf, Musa's next oldest son, who served as the qalgay to the beklyaribek. In the same way, honorary titles were distributed among almost all of the murza nobility. From then on, two of the three most authoritative leaders, Sayid Ahmad and Sheikh Mamai, began acting in unison. Other murzas joined the alliance, despite Mamai's scepticism and disregard for what for him were new procedures.

It seemed risky to encroach on the power monopoly of the Chinggisids. After all, only a descendant of Jochi could be regarded as a true sovereign in the post-Golden Horde yurts. However, the previous history of the Mangits and Nogais shows how this persistent tradition was gradually being overtaken. At different times and in different territories, Khans used to be Mangit puppets. Thus, the beys of the Mangit yurt ruled at their own discretion, concealing their sovereignty with a decorative figure from the dynasty they had arranged. In the late 15th century, Musa bey decided to do without a false sovereign, and he ended his life at the height of glory and power. No one dared question his authority (essentially a khan's sovereign rights). The Beys Yamgurchi and Hasan tried to systematize and preserve the same order. Then, turmoil and the Kazakh expansion put an end to the Horde's transformation into a state. But after the 'reconquista' and the decision to unite, the earlier movement toward statehood again took on life.

The only obstacle preventing the Nogai Horde from becoming a Khanate was the lack of genealogical relation to Jochi. And legitimacy was dependent on the rule of a Chinggisid. There was all of one mention of this. In September 1537, the bey informed Moscow of the appointment of a new tsar, 'I crown Khan Bulat Saltan, my brother-in-law. And you shall regard his ambassador as if he was ours. And regard him ("the tsar", V.T.) as you do me' [Ibid., p.

205]. Tsarevich Khan Bulat is not mentioned in other sources. He might have been the Kazakh sultan Haqq Nazar, the late khan Kasym's son.

The reconciliation of the murzas was followed by the distribution of ranks under the hierarchy and, what is more important, of jurisdiction and apanages within the Nogai Horde. Sheikh Mamai was charged with ruling the eastern Trans-Yaik territories. He controlled the steppes of Kazakhstan and Southwest Siberia. His territories spread from Yaik to Syr Darya and Irtysh.

The western group was given the Volga region steppes. Hadji Muhammad (Koshum) became the senior murza. It was with pleasure that he accepted this appointment, and he had it in mind to settle on the right bank of the Volga. He asked Ivan Vasilyevich for carpenters and tinsmiths to build his own city on the Volga (the six-year-old Grand Prince did not provide him with craftsmen under the pretext that they were already occupied).

Thus, the Nogai Horde was split into three parts: the eastern, ruled by Sheikh Mamai, the central, ruled by Sayid Ahmad, and the western, ruled by Hadji Muhammad. This was a typical nomadic (and not just nomadic) structure consisting of a centre with wings. The political tradition of the Horde presupposed the left (eastern) wing to be ruled by a khan, and the right (western) wing—by a beklyaribek. Sayid Ahmad was bey, a title equal in stature to beklyaribek, though he was not recognised as a khan. Nor was Sheikh Mamai a true qalqay, because this title entailed inheriting the monarch's throne, not just the princely title of the Mangit bey.

The Nogais had to invent their own titular order. The names of Edigu Nur ad-Din's and Kai Kobad's sons, who had once owned uluses on their respective territories, were used to refer to the heads of the wings. The head of the western wing was called nuradin, and the head of the eastern wing was called kekovat. According to the same ancient tradition, the leader of the western wing was the successor to the sovereign. Hadji Muhammad was appointed *muradin*, and Sheikh Mamai became the eastern governor, the *kekovat*.

This reform added clarity to the duties and functions of the Mangit aristocracy. Sheikh

Mamai with his brothers of the eastern wing took upon himself the defence from the Kazakhs of their territories across Yaik on the river Eme (Embe). The western murzas Hadji Muhammad, Mamai, Ismail and Kel Muhammad with Urak defended the territory from the Crimean tribes, and sometimes made incursions in the Northern Caucasus. Incursions now had to be sanctioned by the three governors, and this extremely new order suited the governors.

The administrative changes during Sayid Ahmad's governance marked a discernable shift in Nogai history. The loose union of Cossacks-nogais with an indefinite status suddenly began taking the shape of a stable yurt, a nomadic Khanate. If the dynastic titular order was of no use to Musa's son, they went around any obstacles by introducing their own original titles. The Nogai Horde also introduced a territorial division and a structured power system. That is why the formation of the Nogai empire should be dated to the epoch of the second half of 1530s.

* * *

On 7 November 1541, the ambassadors of prince Sheikh Mamai, murza Koshum, murza Ismail and other murzas visited Moscow. This meant Sayid Ahmad was succeeded by his brother. Fragments of historical documents indicate that this happened as the result of an overthrow, not death. Following certain dramatic events, Sayid Ahmad found himself in Central Asia. He was accompanied by his children and closest associates, the murzas. Sayid Ahmad was alive, and the leaders of the Horde met and discussed methods 'to defend themselves from prince Sayid, his children and Mamai's children. Sayid, his children and the other murzas were in Urgench'. The former bey was not aggressive (due to his advanced age?), but his sons made repeated incursions into their motherland and stole cattle. The later sources, Rodoslovets of the 17th century, refer to a different place of residence, 'Sayid is in Bukhara'. He might have moved to the environs of Bukhara, to the Uzbek-Mangit yurt in the Shaybanid state.

We can only guess that a conflict broke out in the ruling circles of the Nogai Horde. Three or four years after the distribution of the wings

and titles at the reconciliation meeting, Sheikh Mamai was no longer satisfied with his status as successor in the empire, and so he decided to ascend to the top. And this wish was well-grounded. He became the most powerful and influential of all of the Nogai governors. As the governor of the eastern territories, Sheikh Mamai ruled over the Bashkirs and negotiated with the Kazakhs and the Siberian yurt. He was married to a daughter of the former conqueror of the Nogai Horde, the Kazakh Khan Kasym. Sheikh Mamai was a severe and skillful governor of Bashkiria. He introduced taxes and subjugated the local elite. Highborn princes—the Kazakh tsarevich Haqq Nazar and the Siberian sultans Kuchum and Ahmad Giray, Ibak's grandchildren were brought up at the murza's court. This enabled Sheikh Mamai to appoint dependent governors in the neighbouring khanates. He could gather a large number of nomads for his purposes, because all of Desht-i Qipchaq was at his disposal. He refused to obey his elder brother, although that was who had been acknowledged as the sovereign in 1536. His younger brothers, Yusuf and Ismail, became his comrades-in-arms.

The 1530–1540s were when the Nogai Horde reached its peak in terms of power and influence. Through defeating or intimidating their neighbours, the descendants of Nur ad-Din and Musa managed to finally secure their empire from outside incursions. Despite the instability of the union of the ruling clan and bey Sayid Ahmad's overthrow, the Nogai Horde of those times was regarded as a formidable, rather monolithic force. The Nogais were able to join the Kazakh Khanate to their sphere of influence, to maintain and streamline their control over Bashkiria. They competed as equals with Crimea for influence in Astrakhan, and with Russia (even if implicitly) for influence in Kazan. The bey's power was equal to that of a monarch-khan. Sheikh Mamai's governance was the high point of Nogai political and social development.

Sheikh Mamai died in the spring of 1549. Musa's next eldest son, Yusuf, was appointed the new bey. The documents mention a false khan Chinggisiid in the first months of Yusuf's governance. This reference was made by Ismail in a letter delivered in June 1549: 'He ap-

pointed Temir Qutlu's son as his tsar. The one declared himself tsar, the other—prince'. It is likely that this is who was referred to in Yusuf's message in May 1551: 'Yanai is our tsar. That he may summon us to him' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheet 11; Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 287]. No one knows who Janai was. However, it's clear that he was a descendant of the Great Horde of Khan Ahmed and belonged to the Astrakhan House, tsar Temir Qutlu's children.

Starting from the mid 1540s, Russia began playing an increasingly prominent role in the foreign policy of the Nogai Horde. The Moscow state was growing and strengthening. It wielded a decisive influence on Kazan and was ready to spread to Astrakhan. This made Yusuf approach the Russians with caution. His cautiousness showed itself after he was crowned, when the bey refused to approve a sworn agreement executed by the Nogai embassy in Moscow in early 1549 on behalf of the late Sheikh Mamai and murzas (Yusuf among them). Though he orally confirmed his friendship with Ivan IV, he asked the tsar to recognise him and his embassies as equal to the khans of the Golden Horde and the Crimea and their respective embassies.

Russia denied this request, and that sent the bey into a rage. He therefore sanctioned offences and the robbery of Moscow's ambassadors in his territories. Russians would not often pay back in kind, but in July 1551, they declared they did not want 'to be in friendly relations with Yusuf any longer'. Several times the bey planned large military campaigns in Russia. At the turn of the 1540–1550s, the relations between the Nogais and the Crimea warmed up, and they restored their contacts with Porta based on their conflicts with Russia. Yusuf attached importance to relations between the Nogais and Russians such that he factored them into the domestic situation for the Nogais, as well as the relations between the descendants of Nur ad-Din and Musa.

Ismail, the successor to bey Yusuf, became nuradin and the leader of the western wing. This was his true co-ruler as a bey. In late 1540s and early 1550s, he and Yusuf dealt with an array of their relatives and as a rule regarded himself the guarantor of their cohesion and

obedience: 'Our brothers and children will never say a word against our will, nor shall they ever unleash a war' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheet 53].

The territories of nuradin, the leader of the right wing, lay along the Volga. From time to time he would move close to Kazan, whereas in winter his southern border was the lower reach of the river.

Nuradin was independent both in his internal and foreign affairs. He engaged in relations with Crimea and Turkey independently of the bey, planned punitive campaigns against the murza Ghazi, who had moved to the Russian bank of the Volga and become a nomadic 'Cosack'. Ismail was successful at controlling the subordinated uluses. Any disobedience was considered an incident, resulting in a thorough investigation. At the same time he saw his power in a realistic light, knowing his authority was the only means of thwarting any opportunistic attempts of murzas to launch unsanctioned raids.

The right wing was closer to Russia than the other Nogai territories, which is why the Moscow government engaged in contacts with its leader more often than with the leader of the eastern wing, or even the bey. For the Ottoman court Ismail was just 'a murza, one of the Nogai beys', who did not deserve any personal notice from the 'Shining Threshold'. But by the early 1550s, the Russians regarded him the main diplomatic partner and a potential ally from amongst all other murzas. They negotiated military campaigns with him independently of Yusuf, they sent high-ranking ambassadors from Moscow to him to conclude a special (separate) agreement on friendship. And when relations between tsar and Yusuf began to acquire an openly hostile tone, Ivan Vasilyevich informed nuradin he 'no longer wanted the bey's friendship', but he was still 'a friend of Ismail. This difference in the attitude of the powerful and rich neighbour towards the two Nogai sovereigns drove them all the more apart.

Their cooperation was already complicated by many other factors, especially their foreign policy. Nuradin received handsome gifts from Moscow, he sent herds of horses to be sold and trade caravans there, and wished for frequent, friendly contacts with Russia. Ismail preferred

regular supplies staples and horse sales, the nomads' main source of wealth, over sporadic, troublesome raids as a source of revenue. In general this policy was shared and supported by his circle and subordinates, the murzas of the right wing.

Sheikh Mamai's militant sons formed 'Yusuf's party', opposing the increasingly warm relations with Russia. Furthermore, the bey was supported by his children, of whom Yunus (the elder) and Ali were referred to more often in the early 1550s. Yusuf's family and the Shimamaevichs appeared to be losing to Ismail's people in terms of numbers. If every murza owned a ulus with a similar number of people, the number of the subordinates in the East ('the people of the ulus') was at that time smaller than in the West.

By 1554, relations between Ismail and his elder brother Yusuf reached a breaking point. The latter could not excuse the former's opposition to his anti-Moscow campaigns. Ismail has twice frustrated the bey's large military campaigns. The murzas were angered by the intimacy of the empire's successor to power with the 'infidels', Kazan's conquerors. Some of Ismail's own circle shared this indignation.

When the news reached Saraychyq that Ismail was planning to join the Russians in their campaign against the Astrakhan Tatar Yurt, that was the last straw for the bey. The forces he had gathered moved toward the Volga. Ismail marched out against him at the head of a contingent of his devoted murzas. The letter of murza Arslan, which was delivered to Moscow on 25 January 1555, reads as follows, 'My uncle Ismail became a prince...And we... killed prince Yusuf, and enthroned Ismail'. The messenger S. Tulusupov returned from across the Volga and provided some details. Ismail and Arslan moved their cavalry against Yusuf, and they fought for many days. 'First, Yusuf defeated Ismail and occupied his uluses'. But in the end, Ismail prevailed. The bey and his circle were killed, all others were expelled. The fight must have been cruel, 'Many people were killed on either side; the Nogai Horde had never sustained such casualties since the day it was founded' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheet 263 reverse; Russian Chronicler, 1895, pp. 29, 30;

The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1904, p. 249].

Another conflict erupted in the Horde. The confrontation of the groups in Edigu's clan caused the Nogai empire to split in the mid-16th century, and Nogai history underwent a crisis. Subsequently, circumstances with such dramatic consequences attracted the notice of historians, and were the subject of debate and speculations. The original reason for the turmoil seem to lie in the strengthening of the Moscow empire, which was revealed in its defeat of Kazan. The same fate awaiting Astrakhan meant the future falling of the Volga to the forces of Russia, the division of Islamic Desht-i Qipchaq in two, the cut-off of the Nogai Horde from the free pastures of the Crimean bank of the Volga (the ownership of which the Nogais planned to challenge from the Girays).

Since the mid 1540s, the pro-Russian party intensified, when Ismail came to the Volga region from Bashkiria. The Horde was then ruled by Sheikh Mamai. During his governance, before Yusuf was crowned, the former started voicing his concern over Ismail's Russia-friendly policy.

The reasons for the turmoil centered around the economy and the dependence of some murzas (of the right wing) on the Russian market. However, it is undeniable that Moscow was involved in promoting the hostility between Ismail and Yusuf. During the negotiations between the Russians and the Nogais regarding their campaign against Hajji Tarkhan in the summer of 1554, they developed a plan whereby Ismail would attack the bey after the town was conquered.

The chronicles describe the conflict as initiated by Ismail (and therefore a diplomatic success of the Russian ambassador Brovtsyn). 'Ismail fought against his brother Yusuf at the order of the tsar and the Grand Prince'. This version of how it was not the bey who initiated the campaign against his brother, rather, it was the latter who 'at the order of the great tsar under his agreement took up arms against his brother, the prince', is clearly laid out in the official documents of the Ambassadors' Bureau. The same version is mentioned in the description of the final battle at the end of 1554. Both Russian and Nogai messengers, and murzas

wrote to Ivan IV that Yusuf was killed at the tsar's order, that Ismail eagerly carried out the dead. Even tsar Ivan believed this to be the case. In 1581, he reminded bey Urus, Ismail's son, that 'prince Ismail did what had never been done before killing his brother Yusuf **for us and for our benefit**' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 10, sheet 20 reverse]. Therefore, although Ivan IV did not assume the responsibility for hatching the plot, he acknowledged its benefits for his foreign policy.

Objectively speaking, the coup played into his hands. In November 1555, the tsar forwarded his honorary salary to the new bey, nuradin and kekovat 'for defeating prince Yusuf'. He thanked them for paving the way for Moscow in the Nogai Horde. Now Russia was rid of the threat of a nomadic attack that in fact had been in the works by the previous bey. Steppe nomads were in no mood for attacking Russia: if Ismail won in Saraychyq, the tsar would have an ally; if conflict were to occur between Yusuf's and Ismail's contingents, the Horde would be thrown into civil strife, which would enable Russia to launch a campaign in the Volga region.

The bey's murder engendered anger and outrage among many murzas, and, most of all, among his children. The laws of vendetta were automatically activated. Now it was not contemplative Yusuf, yielding to persuasion and suggestion, who Ismail faced, but his angry sons. Now, instead of one political opponent the new bey faced a plurality of his worst enemies. When the fights and the mutual murders started, the number of blood enemies increased, and more and more descendants of Edigu's clan were involved in such hostilities. The previous political and economic origin of the hostility was now backed up by a powerful motivation to fight over mutual claims, hatred, revenge for the death of relatives.

Ismail's people were from a range of backgrounds, and their union can't be explained not by the economic orientation to Russia. If this had been the case, Sheikh Mamai's children wandering about the far East of the Nogai Horde would have had to stand against the victor with his ties to Moscow. But it was, in fact, the other way around. Not all of the murzas of

the western wing adhered to their leader, and some of them dared oppose him. This resulted not from their commercial interests, but from the logic of the political fight and psychological factors,—that is, they were angry at Ismail for his treachery towards Yusuf.

Prior to the Russian attack, Yamgurchi Khan left Astrakhan, whereas Ismail's opponents came to the Crimean tsar, making their way to the right bank of the Volga. This attack was headed by Yusuf's eight sons with Yunus at the helm.

Even before this, civil strife and conflicts had taken place in the Nogai Horde. After reconciliation (a victory of any of the feuding groups) peace reigned, and the Nogais restored their powerful empire. However, the crisis of the mid-16th century had more dramatic consequences. The Nogai Horde came out of this crisis with its population and territories reduced and economically enfeebled. Ismail's war against Yusuf's sons was accompanied by their mutual devastation, the breakup of their traditional nomadic routes and natural disasters. In the second half of the 1550s, a great famine ran rampant throughout the lands of the Nogais.

The catastrophe ensued from the dying out of the flocks and herds, and theft between owners. This left many Nogais without their main source of sustenance. Those nomads who managed to keep their cattle were in a plight, as well, because the civil strife led to closures of the traditional seasonal nomadic routes, or their occupation by other people. While such changes were taking place and steppe elds were running around the Volga territories trying to explore the new nomadic routes and watering places, winter shelters and summer pastures, the nomadic economic system that had been established over a century collapsed.

When the conquered Astrakhan in 1556, the main Volga passage fell under the control of the voivodes, which only added fuel to the fire. Accompanied by famine, plague, enemy raids, the situation made life on the steppes unbearable.

By the end of the 1550s, the economy had collapsed, and the dispirited, bewildered Nogais lost their own livelihood. According to Ismail, the Horde had to live on what tsar Ivan

gave them, and he sent them a miserly allotments of food.

Ismail also begged the tsar to defend the river crossings, so as to secure the Horde from Cossack raids and stop the flight to the West. In 1557–1558, the tsar ordered the erection of stations at the main crossings and sent the Streltsy (marksmen) to the bey's camp. But by 1559, the forces left Saraychyg and the crossings. First of all, the Kremlin thought that the bey had taken control of the situation and could rule on his own; second, Moscow had other cares, as in May 1558 the Livonian War was unleashed.

By the 1550–1560s, fighting had subsided. It was not just that the ruined Nogais were exhausted, and fed up with the raids. Over the last years of Ismail's rule, all of his opponents had left the Nogai Horde. This played into his hands, enabling him to stabilize the situation. But at first he tried to retrain as many people as possible in his territories. Russian stations at the crossings, including the main one in Astrakhan, did their best to cut off the Nogais from the Volga. Ambassador E. Maltsev, who studied the situation thoroughly, predicted, 'You will not be able to keep uluses from fleeing'. And he later sent messages from Ismail, 'The uluses prevent us from our business, they want to go to Crimea' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 10, sheet 20 reverse].

People started leaving the Horde immediately after the tsar and the Astrakhan voivodes removed the guards. Numerous murzas rushed to the right bank. What is absolutely clear is the bey's opponents were the ones who fled. Meanwhile, the minority tried to break through the uluses of Sheikh Mamai's sons to the Kazakh Khanate. All of them hated Ismail, and swore to someday overthrow the scheming usurper. He was completely surrounded by enemies, and tried to find support with the neighbouring sovereigns. He could have reached an understanding with the sultan, but according to the northern policy of the Ottomans, he had to reconcile with Bakhchysaray, the destination of the refugees. Ismail justifiably feared that those numerous and vicious emigrants were up to something ill and 'would bring Devlet Giray to us'.

The bey blamed the Russians for this concentration of enemies in the Crimean Khanate. Once the Streltsy left the crossings, 'many people fled to the Crimea', he fumed, blaming voivode Ivan Vyrodkov's negligence for opening up the crossings.

However by the early 1560s, Ismail had rid himself of his main opponents, and could start restoring normal life in his devastated empire. At the beginning of his rule, again a mysterious tsar and khan appeared on the scene, just like the one mentioned in Yusuf's times. 'Treat me just like you would treat tsar Ibishey', said Ismail to the Moscow tsar at the beginning of 1555 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheets 262 reverse–304]. There were no other references to Ibishey, and no one knows who he was. Just like the other khans before him, this appeared to be a figurehead, on whose behalf the Nogai bey exercised administrative powers.

His domestic power was limited to harmonizing relations with numerous murzas that were overwhelmed with turmoil. Those who accepted Ismail's authority were no longer as friendly and obedient as they had been to previous governors. By the 1560s, he had even fewer devoted, people of the uluses than Yusuf or Sheikh Mamai had once had. And those remained across the Volga did so not because they were attached to the bey, but because they needed to live and roam about their motherland as they were unable to secure available, safe pastures on the Crimean or Kazakh side. Furthermore, Ismail managed to importune the Moscow tsar for money, food and Streltsy, and that is why he still was seen as someone of some account by the unruly Mangit aristocracy.

The bey and his uluses roamed between the Yaik River (passing the winter on its western bank) and the Volga. Explaining his routes, he said he feared his subordinates would flee to the Crimean side over the winter ice of the Volga. However, he regarded the banks of the Volga and Yaik fit for living, because both rivers were the yurts of Ismail's ancestors. He tried every trick and used all his ingenuity to increase the numbers in his ulus. Many murzas were tired of the turmoil and went to live in the area between the Volga and the Yaik. The bey could soon say with good reason that murzas

and ordinary nomads 'gathered by my father from both the right and the left side came to live around my camp' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 40, sheet 376 reverse].

Ismail spent his last days completely alone, isolated by his foreign machinations. His only ally was the Moscow tsar. And any sign of disregard or coolness from Ivan IV towards him was ever more difficult for him to contend with. He repeatedly reminded the tsar about the costs he had paid for his alliance with Russia. 'I left all other peoples for your sake. The original children of our four tsars and our motherland (that is, Musa, V.T.), our brothers left me, because I stayed with you'; 'I left my nephews and my children, because I see the truth with you'; 'Senior prince Yusuf was my father and my brother, and I left him (that is, Yusuf, V.T.) for your sake. I left my tribe for you, and I left my sons for you. They told me: you are Russian! And they left me. They called me an infidel' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 5, sheets 89 reverse–90, 91].

The last quote on lays bare the reason for Ismail's isolation. It was his pro-Russian orientation and policy. When quarrelling with Ismail, his relatives threw accusations in his face that he had turned into an infidel of the Russian. It is interesting that Ismail's son and successor, bey Din Ahmed reported to the Crimean Khan (via his ambassador) in 1566 that 'Ismail was a friend of the Moscow tsar and wanted to be baptised' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123, inv. 1, file 12, sheet 343 reverse]. If Ismail ever thought of converting to Orthodoxy, it was perhaps when he was depressed in the time of the famine or after losses suffered from Yusuf's troops. The Nogai-Russian correspondence of the 1550s and early 1560s makes no reference to such an event.

It was around September 1563 that Ismail died. By that time he had managed to overcome the general crisis. Step by step, the nomad routes were restored, merchants started to send their caravans via Saraychyq again. Though shaken, the administrative system established in the 1530s survived. And the most essential thing was that the Nogais who had dispersed during this turmoil started to return

to their habitual territories and way of life. It seemed like the catastrophe was over and the nomad state was about to occupy a position of hegemony over Desht-i Qipchaq again.

The turmoil of the 1550s greatly upset the Nogai Horde. The murzas failed to agree about common economic and political strategies, which resulted into a lengthy internecine war, and the famine of the late 1550s aggravated the situation. Troops of the so called Nogai 'Cosacks' who had no wish to join any of the yurts were roaming the steppes. Later some of these found themselves in Russia and even in the Polish domain. The descendants of Sheikh Mamai tended to behave in a more and more independent manner. Another Nogai Horde (the Lessor one) was forming in the North-West Caucasus.

However, Ismail triumphed in a truly a Pyrrhic victory: many of the subjects of his elder brothers (the previous beys) left the Horde and joined the neighbouring yurts, scores of Nogais died in battle from hunger or the plague. That being said, by the end of Ismail's reign, the conflicts had quieted down a bit, and so although it was not a powerful nomadic empire that he left to his heir, he could pass on a reduced state, the Horde of the so-called Big Nogai.

Ismail's son, Din Ahmed, succeeded him. The first envoys he sent to Moscow communicated to Ivan the Terrible the deathbed will of his father, who instructed the future bey to observe the treaties (the *Pravda*) with Russia and allegedly asked the tsar to forgive the murzas 'make them yours (Ivan IV—V.T.) in servitude, assign them to whatever ulus you wish'. As far as the above matters are concerned, he ordered them (his sons—V.T.) 'to rely on you and to obey you in all things'; besides, at his deathbed, Ismail begged the Moscow tsar to shield the Nogais from all kinds of foes [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 6, sheets 207 and 207 reverse].

However, from the letters of the new bey and the words of his envoys, we cannot assume that he was so willing to accede to such complete servitude. Besides, not once has there been talk about the authority of the Moscow tsar to distribute the uluses, which was the main function of the nomad ruler. In reality, Din Ahmed acted rather independently from the very beginning.

Family ties also contributed to his self-confidence. Din Ahmed married Malhurub, the daughter of Prince Temryuk and sister of the tsaritsa, Maria (Kuchenei) Temryukovna, the second wife of Ivan the Terrible. To some extent, this marriage helped to bring the image of the distant, fierce (the oprichnina had already been formed) 'white padishah' down to earth in the eyes of the Nogais. Besides, Maria Temryukovna was the only wife of Ivan the Terrible, whereas Malhurub was one of four wives in the bey's harem.

Consequently, the head of the Horde did his best to enhance his status in the eyes of his Russian 'colleague'. The bey asked that they honour him 'more than my father' as 'I have many servants because the servants of my father chose to stay with me... and my (own—V.T.) servants also stay with me' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 7, sheet 35 reverse]. However, both in the Kremlin and in the Alexandrovskaya Sloboda (the 'capital' of the oprichnina) they saw no reason to accord any special privileges to the successor of Ismail, so the envoys were still sent to Saraychyq according to the standard of diplomatic relations of the time. Being thus ignored, the bey reacted strongly. By the summer of 1565, he requested the Tsar's ambassador, Michael Sunbulov, to 'dismount from his horse while being yet far', whereas he himself stayed on horseback while listening to the Tsar's words communicated to him by the ambassador. Moreover, a Tatar servant accompanying ambassador Sunbulov was beaten, and Din Ahmed took away the tent of the ambassador himself. By the order of the 'princess' Malhurub, they also took away the tent of V. Vysheslavitsev, another Russian envoy.

As we see, in fact, Din Ahmed was far removed from blind obedience to Moscow (and, consequently, from following the instructions verbatim, that were given to him by his deceased father). The bey firmly determined to become an independent suzerain in relations with other rulers, including his most powerful and menacing neighbour. Of course, he did not wish to confront the Russians, but neither did he wish to stay in the background of an Orthodox sovereign. He adhered to the idea of becoming equal to the Tsar before the end

of his reign, and in 1577 he proposed that he receive a huge remuneration in the amount of 15,000 altyn (that is, about 450 rubles). In fact, this was a demand for an ancient tribute of the horde, call the 'vykhod'.

Nuradin Urus was the right-hand man of the bey throughout almost all of the fifteen years of his rule. Time and again he repeated that he was loyal to his elder brother and ready to obey him ('we have one word and one soul'). Such a firm solidarity displayed by the bey and the nuradin was an additional instrument of unification of the aristocracy.

However, they failed to ensure absolute unity between the nobility and the 'people of the uluses'. The nomads of the uluses governed by Urus dared to make incursions into Russian lands without the knowledge of Urus. Moreover, Din Ahmed was rather jealous as he watched the influence of his brother grow; he reproached Ivan IV for 'peerage' (treating equally) both the Nogai rulers and for endowing the children of Urus more generously than endowments to the children of Din Ahmed.

One of the crowning internal diplomatic achievements of Ismail's successors was their reconciliation with the descendants of Sheikh Mamai. Facing the menace of the Kazakh and Kalmyk raids, they decided to return and become the subjects of ulubey once again. In 1577, the latter wrote that 'Fourteen sons (that is, descendants—V.T.) of Prince Sheikh Mamai came to my service... And they all... obey me'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 8, sheets 38, 39 reverse] Ak, who was the elder of Sheikh Mamai's sons then alive, asked the tsar to pay him as much remuneration as Din Ahmed and Urus received, and to accord his envoys the same honour. This murza was appointed kekovat (the ruler and warlord of the eastern wing, also known as the left wing).

The members of the Sheikh Mamai family accepted the honours, but did not enter into close contact with Din Ahmed, nor with Urus. The chiefs who had wandered far from the territories of the main Big Nogai, and the Moscow envoys in the late 1570s had no specific knowledge about the eastern Nogais.

Obviously, Din Ahmed did not have much talent as a politician or diplomat, so the murzas

obeyed him firstly by tradition (they respected him as bey and as a descendant of Ismail) and secondly due to the fact that he ruled the Elis with the greatest numbers of members. He continued the policy of bringing into the fold the uluses that had dispersed during the times of turmoil under the preceding reign. Din Ahmed believed that his task was to little by little gather around him the murzas that descended from Musa. 'The family of my father, my brethren shall I gather and we will become numerous', he shared his plans with Ivan IV asking him to send the murzas who had settled in Rus to the Nogai lands. 'Don't you believe that this is going to be good for you? My friends multiply, and it is good for you, as well'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 7, sheets 37–38] Another factor that attracted people to the bey was his ability to maintain peaceful relations with Russia and to shield those of his kin who dared to attack the borderlands or to dishonour the envoys.

The policy of reconciliation challenged the ambitions of certain noblemen. Even the sons of Ismail failed to unite. The solidarity achieved by the Big Nogais was rather precarious. Many of the murzas had settled in the neighbouring domains or they lead a Cossack-like life in the steppes with no desire to return across the Volga river. The situation inside the Horde contributed heavily to this. The members of Ismail's clan clung to power, striving to eliminate any claims to that power made by any of their numerous cousins.

Din Ahmed died in early May of 1578. Urus was named bey by the Council of murzas. He managed to ascend to the leadership of the Big Nogai, bypassing the other claimants. He greatly appreciated his good fortune, and took every opportunity to emphasize the significance of his position. Unlike, for example, Yusuf, Urus normally did not insist on being called by a pretentious title, but he firmly insisted on his status as an independent suzerain: just like during the reign of Din Ahmed, the written sources do not contain any allusions to a puppet khan in Saraychyq. In the very first letter Urus sent to Ivan IV as a bey he puts himself forward as the 'Mangit prince'. Urus believed himself to be the lord of all the Desht-i Qipchaq territory that was unified into the Mangit yurt by his an-

cestors: 'And the uluses unified by my father and my brother remain under my rule. And the yurts of Volga, Yaik and Em that were ruled by my father are also under my rule'.

There are only remnants remaining that might shed light on the internal history of the Big Nogai. Fearing that the tsar might take complete control over the Nogais, the bey and most of the murzas began to tighten their policy regarding relations with Russia.

Diplomatic formalities, such as the exchange of ambassadors, were aligned with this strategy. Uraz Muhammad, the elder son of the deceased Din Ahmed did not share this anti-Moscow sentiment. He was the only higher murza to agree to adhere to the previously sworn shert and to remain loyal to the tsar, who highly appreciated this act, and sent him a generous reward. The special benevolence of the Russian sovereign elevated Uraz Muhammad several levels in the hierarchy. In the lists of murzas included by Ivan IV in his letters addressed to Urus, as well as in the boyar's order on the allocation of 'awards', the name of Uraz Muhammad was placed directly after the name of Urus and before his uncle, nuradin Dinbay.

This sowed the seeds to a conflict. On the one hand, there was the powerful and highly respected Urus, and on the other hand the rich murza, supported by the Kremlin, who bypassed the nuradin and openly claimed a special status in the Horde. It was not the ambitions of Uraz Muhammad that endangered the united Nogai state, but the probability that the murzas would split into rivaling groups.

Such actions by Uraz Muhammad can be seen as a display of personal courage; after all, the murza found himself in opposition not only to the bey, who was the legal authority and ruler, but he also came up against the entire official structure of the Nogai Horde, meaning the entire Horde. Enraged by the fact that his envoys disappeared while in Rus, Urus wanted to launch a military campaign involving all the Big Nogais, and almost all the murzas were ready to obey. 'I... alone, how can I withstand the entire Horde?' asked Uraz Muhammad of the tsar.

But the risk he was taking proved to be worthwhile, and before long, his pro-Moscow policy started to take hold. Little by little, the

Nogais, attracted by a well-fed, calm lifestyle started to migrate towards the nomad territories of the Volga steppes. Thus, Uraz Muhammad was no longer alone in his opposition to the entire Horde. By autumn of 1580, he was powerful enough to promise to Ivan IV an end to the planned raid by the murzas into the Russian borderlands, or at least its postponement till winter. This was a decision that required courage and involved risk, as the decision to conduct a raid was taken jointly by the bey, the nuradin and the kekovat during a joint meeting (Uraz Muhammad was the only higher murza who did not take part in this meeting). Much to the irritation of the Nogai aristocracy, the murza and the Kremlin started a separate exchange of ambassadors. Taking advantage of the ripening conflict, Moscow encouraged the loyal aristocrat to include in his policy outside of Urus and Dinbay the act of swearing shert, sending military troops to aid the Russians in the Livonian War without authorization of the bey and the nuradin; and he was promised 'remuneration without depletion... beyond that of your brethren and uncles'.

It goes without saying that this turn of events outraged the bey. You "promised to send to my younger brother (strictly speaking, a nephew—V.T.) more than to me and now you say you are going to send [me even] less than that", he addressed the tsar. "And this is terribly vexing for me". [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 10, sheets 119 reverse, 144–144 reverse, 210, 210 reverse]

Considering the fact that Urus had ambitions of becoming a sovereign with absolute power, his resentment is quite understandable, as is his jealousy. Urus considered himself to be a successor of the great beys of the early 16th century, and this affected the way in which he conducted himself in the political arena. However, more and more murzas began to understand that after the ruinous mid-century turmoil, the Horde had lost much of its power and influence, so the vital task before them involved not the recovery of the political situation that existed 50 years before, but the search for a reliable patron and a new niche in a changed environment. This is why Uraz Muhammad gained more and more supporters,

and, consequently, more and more 'people of the uluses' under his rule, which greatly contributed to his personal power and influence.

Uraz Muhammad saw himself as the fully authorized ruler of his western territories, and even confiscated the gifts brought by the Russian envoys to his relatives and allies with the aim of offering these gifts on his own behalf as the suzerain to his subjects.

Considering the fact that more and more nomads came to Uraz Muhammad who was under the aegis of the tsar, the Nogai rulers first had to ensure his loyalty to the bey, and then appoint him to a formal administrative post. However, they could not make him *kekovat*, as this position was already held by Ak, the son of Sheikh Mamai, and displacing him meant conflicting with the numerous militant members of the Sheikh Mamai family who protected the eastern borders. But in the early 1580s, to the northeast of the Big Nogai lands something happened that enabled them to find a solution.

On 26 October 1582, Kuchum Khan of Siberia was defeated by Yermak, and the collapse of the Tatar state in Siberia quickly ensued. A part of its population (those who lived in the Taibugid yurt, the khan's domain) migrated to the Nogai steppes. Now, the Mangit leaders had to take care of their new subjects, assigning them territories and helping them settle. The *murzas* met and resolved to assign a governor to rule over these new subjects, and to collect the *yasak* tribute. This was a nice opportunity to fulfil the ambitions for power cherished by Uraz Muhammad.

In spring or summer of 1584, he wrote to Tsar Feodor I (the son of Ivan IV and his successor to the throne): 'They ... appointed us as the third ruler of the Mangit Yurt and allotted me the principality over the Taibugid lot' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1585, file 1, sheet 8]. The formal wording of 'They appointed us' seemed to demonstrate the novelty of the situation, when new subjects were integrated into the Nogai milieu.

The 'Taibugid lot' (that is, the heritage of Taibuga, the semi-legendary founder of a bey dynasty in Siberia) was located in the north-east reaches of the Big Nogai Horde (probably in the upper Tobol and Ishim rivers) since to the east roamed the Kalmyk nomads and the

nomads of Kuchum, to the south were the descendants of Sheikh Mamai, and to the north was the Siberian Khanate, conquered by the Cossacks.

Just as with *nuradin* and *kekovat*, the title of the new governor for the emigrants from Siberia was derived from the name of Taibuga, the first owner of their ulus. From that moment on, Uraz Muhammad had a group of supporters and their uluses; he had a position of his own and, in addition, he had his own forces, taken from among the multitude of Siberia migrants. The title of *taibuga* was especially suited to him, as he was married to the daughter of Kuchum.

The authority and power of the new *taibuga* grew immensely. He rightfully regarded himself as the most influential of the noblemen: 'I hold the bridle of the *murzas* of eight of my brothers, and seven of my sons, and all of my uluses, and two of my uncles, Prince Urus and Seit Akhmet (who became *nuradin* around 1584—V.T.)', he boasted writing to Tsar Feodor. 'I have the power to turn them towards war or towards peace; be sure to know they respond to my will!' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1586, file 9, sheet 15]

Having acquired befitting authority and power, Uraz Muhammad modified the tone of his communications with the Tsar (besides, the new Russian tsar was no match for his terrible father). Deliberating on a possible chill in ties between the Kremlin and the Nogais, he advised as if for reference only (that is, in an unthreatening manner) that he had at his service about 40 *tumens* of the 'Mangit people' and, if the Qazi people and the *Crimeans* are to be considered, they would count 100 *tumens*; 'Availing of such a numerous array we shall take to raiding. For whatever trophies God will send to us'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1586, file 9, sheet 18] At the same time, he had no thought of breaking ties with Russia, and he swore *shert* on his own behalf as well as on behalf of his younger brothers and sons who, as time went on, were more and more inclined to unite around their successful warlord.

For the Big Nogai, the most topical matter was their relations with the Muscovite state, which was increasingly powerful, and kept expanding eastwards. According to the stan-

dard rules formed and generally observed in the reign of Din Ahmed, the Nogai recipient of a tsar's letter was to stand up to listen to the tsar's questions about the health and resolutions on remuneration, and next, the recipient had to bow low to the tsar's ambassador as a sign of gratitude. However, at the negotiations in June of 1578 almost none of the Nogai dignitaries followed this protocol. Uraz Muhammad was the only one to punctiliously stand up and bow when meeting the envoys.

The bey himself demonstrated this new attitude towards Russia. When receiving ambassador Zubatov he was sitting 'in front of his house' and did not stand up 'in the face of the gracious tsar's words and bow' and 'did not bow' when receiving 'pominki'. When the surprised ambassador started to ask questions, the bey 'made no reply'. Soon the envoys were subjected to robbery, with the obvious acquiescence of Urus. Only when ambassador Zubatov was about to return home did the bey condescend to explain, saying between his teeth 'Once... you get back to your tsar, tell him that he should not send me his 'pominki' the same way as he did to Ismail, my father, or to Tinekhmat, my brother, and that your tsar should not send his envoys to me. Let this be the last word I address to him'. The murzas have also displayed their discontent with the amount of their 'remuneration' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 10, sheet 338]

The Russian authorities found themselves in a difficult situation. On the one hand, it was not wise to break relations with the Nogais, who possessed vast lands to the east of the Volga River and had a strong cavalry (at that time the tsar has designs to employ this cavalry in his war with the Lithuanians). On the other hand, it was unacceptable to submit to the monarchical ambitions and comply with the unexpected requests of Urus.

In 1579, the next envoy who appeared at the headquarters of Urus addressed him while sitting on horseback. The bey was indignant: 'That boyar's son wanted to fulfil his ambassador's duties while sitting on horseback!!! And by dishonouring me he has also dishonoured thyself (the tsar—V.T.)!' Speaking openheartedly, the Moscow envoy said that 'our tsar instructed me to come and speak to you sitting

on horseback'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, inv. 1, file 9, sheet 25; file 10, sheet 5] Naturally, Urus refused to negotiate with the envoy. The same situation occurred in 1581. The bey granted the Moscow ambassador Perepelitsyn an audience while he sat astride a horse. Ambassador Perepelitsyn also refused to dismount from his horse and was 'forced' to dismount; as a result he decided not to pass on the tsar's words and 'pominki'. Urus was furious and ordered his men to confiscate whatever the ambassador had with him; the Tatars who accompanied Ambassador Perepelitsyn were sold into slavery to Transoxiana. It happened twice that the Russian ambassadors were forced to stay in the Nogais headquarters, and were de facto taken hostage. For the first time, in winter of 1579/1580, the Russians were kept under the pretext of suspicions that the delegation sent by Urus had been kept in Moscow, and for the second time, in winter of 1585/1586, they were detained in revenge after the Cossacks destroyed Saraychyq and the Russians built fortresses along the Volga river and in Bashkiria.

Seeing that Ivan IV had no wish to treat him as an equal partner, Urus made up his mind to suspend relations with Russia and to stir up enmity. Urus did not dare take punitive actions against the pro-Moscow murzas (indeed, he was lacking in resources for this), but he tried to divide their alliance by enticing their subjects and allies. Uraz Muhammad immediately reported, 'the Urus prince and Tinbai murza wish to take my little brethren and my children... from me'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, inv. 1, file 9, sheet 166] In 1580, he also alleged that the bey and the nuradin had begun approaching Crimea about joint action against the Muscovite state. Already in summer of 1580, the Nogai and Crimean forces carried out several raids in the Russian borderlands. Urus also meddled in the Middle Volga region where in 1580 he tried to rouse the Cheremis against the tsar.

The Russians reacted strongly to such a sharp turn in policy, which also affected the way they treated the Nogai envoys. The Russians started to dishonour the Nogai envoys, and one 'was almost beaten to death'. Urus was enraged. The arguments in favour of an alliance

with the tsar promoted by some of the murzas were deafened by the supporters of Urus. However, 'the best of the ulus people' (the wealthy, though not noble, Nogais) trusted the diplomats, and shared their fear of danger if conflict with Ivan IV arose: 'And the tsar will order the Cossacks to take the Volga, and Samara, and Yaik from us, and the Cossacks... will exterminate us, our uluses, our wives and our children, everything will be taken away from us... where shall we go?' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, inv. 1, file 9, sheets 157–157 reverse].

The Russian authorities did not formally cut off relations with the Big Nogai, but dishonour and raids were not to be tolerated. In February 1581, the next envoy to Urus was instructed to request that the stolen goods be returned and the captured Tatar servicemen be liberated from slavery and otherwise 'the tsar's ambassador will never again return to Urus'. In the month of May, the news broke that a joint contingent of Nogai and Crimean troops had attacked the border areas. They waited in vain for explanations from Urus. The bey did not deign to provide explanations.

Under such circumstances, the Russian policy in the steppes covered three main areas,—that is, constructing fortresses in the east, using Murad Giray (an emigrant tsarevich of Crimea) and bringing in the military force of the Cossacks.

Back in the mid 1550s, Ismail had requested outposts and fortresses at the main crossings used by the Nogai to cross the Volga River (at Perevolok, as well as near the estuaries of the Samara and the Bolshoy Irgiz rivers) to prevent the outflow of people from the Horde and attacks by Yusuf's Cossacks. At the time, the Russian authorities preferred waiting. Ivan IV did not refuse to help his ally, but he was in no hurry to take practical steps. As mentioned above, the situation was rather complicated: Ismail had been expelled from Saraychyq several times, and he finally came to power only towards 1559, but by that time the tsar had other things to do, as the Livonian War had begun.

Russians returned to the idea of controlling the crossings only after the mid-1580s, when the Nogais started their raids. The subjects of Urus raided the Russian lands crossing the

Volga River exactly at those three crossings. Finally, a decision was made to erect towns there.

In autumn of 1585, Prince Grigoriy Zasekin was instructed to erect a fortress at the estuary of the Samara River. The city was founded in 1586. In 1589, the same voivode founded the city of Tsaritsyn near Perevolok, where the Nogai and the Crimean troops had the best opportunity to unite in incursions into the Russian lands. In 1590, near the estuary of the Bolshoy Irgiz River (or 'at the Uvek' as the Nogais sometimes called this place,—that is, in the ruins of Ukek, a city of the Golden Horde) the city of Saratov appeared.

The Nogai crossings were securely blocked. At first, Urus was beside himself with fury. Apart from the new cities in the Volga region, Urus was angered by the new fortresses near the Belaya Volzhka River (Ufa) and in the Lower Yaik area. It was the appearance of the new Russian and Cossack fortresses in ancestral Nogai lands (Yaik), in the lands controlled by the Bashkir governor and near the Volga boundary area that forced him to detain an ambassador from Moscow. The bey saw the wide-scale construction of the new fortresses as 'vexing' and asked Tsar Feodor I a reasonable question: 'Were these your fathers and grandfathers who owned these lands?!'

The Moscow authorities did not intend to step away from their plans of expanding the country eastwards; besides, the leader of the Big Nogais was no longer seen as a figure to defer to. At the same time, it was not wise to just to ignore the bey's indignation. In their correspondence with the Urus and the murzas, the diplomatic clerks explained that Samara, Ufa and other cities were established in the interests of the Nogais to protect them from the Cossack attacks; the Russian clerks alleged that the nomads would not be hindered by the proximity of these fortresses; moreover they would be free to roam the steppes with their cattle and engage in trading at these new fortresses.

Another means of exerting pressure on the Big Nogai was to send Murad Giray to Astrakhan. Being his uncle, Khan Islam Giray II, expelled Murad Giray and his brothers, Saadet Giray and Safa Giray, from Crimea and as a result, Murad Giray came under the aegis of the Moscow Tsar. The tsareviches were allowed to

settle in the Lower Volga area: Saadet and Safa were settled in the Nogai uluses near Astrakhan, and Murad settled in the city of Astrakhan. The reasons for sending the tsareviches southwards was the need to dampen the martial ambitions of Khan Islam Giray II and also to re-establish friendly relations between Russia and the Big Nogai. The latter, concerned about the unexpected proximity of the Tatar dynasties, started to make inquiries, and heard from Moscow that the Girays were to protect the nomadic lands beyond the Volga river from attacks by the Crimeans and the Ottomans.

The Crimean had to persuade the Big Nogais to 'abandon the Crimeans' and the Lesser Nogais if they choose to make war against Russia; instead they were to send their cavalry to help the Russians at their border with Poland; the Big Nogais were to remain within sight of Murad Giray and the Astrakhan authorities, and to this end 'not to roam too far from the Volga River'.

Murad Giray proved to be a talented intermediary as far as engaging Urus in negotiations was concerned. Later, he also contributed much to the shert sworn by Urus to the Russian tsar. On 2 November 1586, the bey's envoys arrived at Astrakhan. As usual, they brought letters stating that the fortresses in the steppes were not to be tolerated. And the voivodes gave their usual reply: 'The tsar... has erected these cities to protect Prince Urus and the murzas from Cossacks and their banditry' and 'that this matter about the cities shall not arise any more'.

The parties returned to this issue during a feast in honour of the Nogai mission. Suddenly, Murad Giray stated that the cities had been established by the tsar at his request and from that moment on these cities, the Volga, the Yaik and the Terek rivers would fall under the control of the Crimean Prince ('under his will'). The Prince alleged that he asked the tsar to found the cities for the sole purpose of shielding the Nogai nomad lands and uluses from Cossacks and their banditry. The Crimean Prince emphasized that he was well aware of the diplomatic ruses of the Nogai and of the true state of affairs in their domains. 'Being... a Muslim ruler myself, I am well aware of our customs and traditions', he told the envoys of the bey. 'He (Urus—V.T.) boasts that he controls Crimea

or the Turkish or the Bokharan people, but I... do know that Prince Urus is not spoken very highly of there' (that is, they do not appreciate him much). It would be much better for Urus, continued Murad Giray, to abandon his false pride and make peace with the Moscow ruler again. And to make the aspiration of Urus towards peace more obvious, let him send his son, Dzhan Arslan, to resign permanently in Astrakhan.

The envoys listened to this speech attentively and passed on these very words to Urus. By that time, he himself was also in search of a way out of this political stalemate. Facing an impending crisis and the collapse of his empire, he decided to make peace again with the most powerful of his neighbours. By the end of 1586, Khan and Dzhan Arslan, the sons of Urus, swore shert to the tsar's envoy, promising not to wage war against Russia and not to join its foes, and Dzhan Arslan was left as a hostage; soon the chief of the Horde and his murzas moved towards Astrakhan, announcing to the voivodes and to Prince Murad Giray that they intended 'to stay under your sovereign will... where you, as a ruler, shall give orders to the murzas and the Nogai people to wage war against our foes, and they shall obey'. To ensure that Russians believed them, the Nogais convoyed two Crimean envoys to Murad Giray and the voivodes and announced that the next summer they were ready to set out towards the Crimea and send troops against the 'King of Lithuania' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1586, file 1, sheets 25–26; 83:58, 59].

The tsar confirmed his full satisfaction with such a state of affairs and promised to pay the bey 'remuneration' in the same amount as was previously paid to Ismail. And in early 1587, voivode Lobanov-Rostovsky reported to the Posolsky Prikaz (that is, the diplomatic division) that the bey, together with his murzas, were leading a peaceful nomadic life near Astrakhan.

One of the many reasons for the Nogai Chief to adopt a more peaceful attitude was that the Cossacks in the Volga steppes had become quite active. Relations between the Big Nogais and the capricious Cossacks were deteriorating. More and more people joined the

Cossack communities and bands in the Volga region, and they were increasingly aggressive. The Cossacks stole horses from the uluses and robbed the population. The murzas addressed their complaints to Moscow, believing that the Cossacks were subjects of the tsar. The clerks of the Posolsky Prikaz (Department of Foreign Affairs) wrote to the Nogais about the repressive measures taken against the raiders, while acknowledging that the outlaws did not obey to anyone (including the tsar).

Soon, in the early 1580s, it became clear that the government had ways to influence the Cossacks. The Cossacks were charged with attending the crossings and helping the ambassadors and envoys from the east (firstly from the Nogai Horde) cross to the right bank of the river and back.

However, it would happen that the ferrymen themselves would rob the envoys or did nothing to protect them from robbers who came from the steppes. The Nogais were indignant. Russian authorities promised to sort things out and 'remove the guilty' from the Volga, but for the time being no mass repressive measures were taken: why banish Cossacks who had nothing to do with the robbery? Moreover, the Russians had their counterclaims. The Volga Cossacks helped the Nogais to cross the river because they were 'like family' and the Nogais, once on the Crimean side, would join the Azov and the Crimean troops in raiding the borderlands.

Whatever the case, the written sources say that the renegades agreed to obey the Tsar's instructions only when they could derive benefits or wealth from the situation. In 1580–1581, Yermak, who would later achieve great fame, also took part in attacks on the Nogais. Things were heating up, complicated by the anti-Russian policy adopted by the bey. The confrontation between the Cossacks and the Nogais culminated in the destruction of the Nogai capital of Saraychyq.

Historians attribute the attack on the capital city of the steppes that took place in 1581 to the freewheeling Cossacks who were forced out of the Volga region in 1577 by a dragoon headed by stolnik Ivan Murashkin. Ivan the Terrible ordered the removal of the outlaws from the Volga region, and so they headed to the outskirts of

the steppe or deeper inside it. Some of the migrating outlaws headed towards the Yaik River, to lands that traditionally were included in the domain of the Nogai nomads. Thus, it is possible that these newcomers destroyed Saraychyq.

On the one hand, the Moscow authorities were not very anxious to convince the steppe nomads of the Cossacks' loyalty to the tsar. But on the other hand, the Moscow authorities were reluctant to assume responsibility. In September 1581, the boyars issued the following statement: 'We have not sent anyone to the Volga or to Saraychyq; the Cossacks acted as outlaws on their own'. The same version was included in recommendations given to voivode Vladimir Bakhteyarov-Rostovsky, who was to provide the following answers to the questions that Urus might ask: 'Our Cossacks did not attack Saraychyq; those who attacked it were renegade Cossacks who escaped from us and now live near the Terek River, the sea, and the Yeik River'. Attempts were made to attribute this raid to the 'Lithuanian' Cossacks who came from the Dnieper River [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 10, sheets 29, 37 reverse, 120, 155, 247 reverse].

However hard the Kremlin authorities tried to use this new situation to appease the Nogais, the mere fact that they were so defiantly attacked by the Volga Cossacks acting on their own gave rise to such a dangerous exacerbation of relations with the steppe, that Ivan IV chose to punish the Cossacks. He ordered the army be sent from Kazan and Astrakhan to the Volga and the Don to find the outlaws and put them to death, liberate the captive Nogais and return the cattle stolen by the Cossacks to the uluses. The tsar expressed his disapproval of the Stroganov merchants from Perm who sheltered in their forest estates those of the Cossacks and their chieftains who 'caused our quarrels with the Nogai Horde, who fought the Nogai ambassadors near the Volga river and attacked and robbed the merchants from the Horde, and were also the cause of much detriment and losses to our people'.

They proposed that Urus send his troops to exterminate the outlaws in the Volga and Yaik regions. The bey readily agreed and the short wording prepared for him in 1581 contained mutual obligations of the Russian and the

Nogai parties on 'searching and executing such outlaws... and to act as one party... in regard to these outlaws'.

The repressions convinced the Volga outlaws to curb their martial spirit; however, they still robbed caravans and envoys. Those Cossacks who were forced out of the Volga region were replaced with the new refugees from Rus that were devastated by the oprichnina and the Livonian War, so new bands emerged, causing trouble in the steppes and at the crossings.

The rulers of the Nogai Horde still believed that they were Moscow subjects, and treated these acts as a deliberate policy sanctioned by their western neighbour. This is how the Nogai ambassadors complained to the Crimea Khan early in 1586: 'And the Moscow subjects... now make war against us and they put much pressure on us. Now many of the Moscow Cossacks are located in the Volga area and many a Nogai ulus was routed and all of these (uluses—V.T.) were forced away... And now the Cossacks make war against the Nogais crossing the Buzan River and the Yaik River and they fought for about three days around the Em River (Emba—V.T.). And they (the Nogai—V.T.) can hardly survive because of the Moscow people'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 2, sheet 404 reverse]. In Astrakhan, the captive nomads were sold into slavery to merchants coming from Central Asia who sent them to Bukhara.

For Moscow, the Cossacks proved to be a powerful tool to bring the Nogais to peace. First, the main uluses headed by the bey moved behind the Yaik River, as 'they are afraid to reside near the Volga because of the warlike Volga Cossacks'. As a result, the risk that the nomads would conduct raids into the Russian lands decreased significantly. Second, having discovered nearby a merciless and indefatigable enemy that obeyed only orders received from Moscow, the higher murzas tended to think that having restored their alliance with Moscow they would secure themselves against these rapacious invasions. In 1580, Russian ambassador T. Aristov heard from the 'ulus people' the following noteworthy words: 'And the tsar will order the Cossacks to take the Volga, and Samara, and Yaik from us, and the Cossacks... will exterminate us, our uluses,

our wives and our children, everything will be taken away from us... where should we go?' One year later, the same ulus people told V. Glebov, another Russian ambassador: 'In the Volga... and in the Yaik areas there are many Cossacks and they put much pressure upon us and upon our livestock. If... in future the Cossacks remain near the Volga and the Yaik, then we... will be very much oppressed by them' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 9, sheets 155–157 reverse; file 10, sheet 265 reverse]. As mentioned above, by the end of the 1580s, Urus and his closest allies decided to re-establish good neighbourly relations with Russia.

However, the Cossack problem persisted. In the late 16th century, the Cossack settlements near the Yaik river caused many headaches for the Big Nogai. The Cossack communities concentrated around the fortified settlements/towns. Such unruly neighbours generated concern among the bey and the murzas and gave rise to fears. Many requests were sent to Moscow for the removal of the newcomers from the Yaik River region. The tsar promised to resolve the situation, but there was nothing that he could do. The Ural steppes were too far away from Rus. Besides, formally, these steppes belonged to the Big Nogais. So the latter made up their minds to find a solution themselves.

The immediate catalyst for a showdown was the raid carried out by the Cossacks in 1586 into the uluses located around the Saraychyq ruins. This raid was accompanied by massive slaughter of the populace, accompanied by cattle theft. The bey called out the irregular nogai troops to attack the enemy with maximum force ("together we shall show the Cossacks what we are worth!"). Nuradin Said Akhmed obeyed immediately and brought the troops of his right wing from the west to the Kosh-Yaik area, where the Goluboy Gorodok of the Cossacks was located. The plan was for the army of the Urus to approach from the other side. Both of the Nogai leaders detained the Russian ambassadors until the end of the campaign. The Nogais intended to release the ambassadors having won the war and to carry on with their nomadic life heading towards Astrakhan under the supervision of local voivodes. Otherwise, the Nogais intended to sell ambassadors into slavery and migrate

towards the Syr Darya River. The campaign was aimed not only at defeating and exterminating the Cossacks, but also at destroying Goluboy Gorodok.

The Nogais surrounded the settlement, but the residents had no wish to give up (as 'they were replete water, and ships, and horses, and cattle', so they were not going to starve). The Cossacks fought successfully, firing from wooden, hastily made guns, using in them stones, bones and other weights as ammunition. The Cossack legends say that the Nogais tried to approach the island city by night using boats. When he realized that it was not possible to starve the fortress into surrender, Urus ordered firewood be brought in, to set the wooden walls on fire. But a heavy rain foiled this plan. The rain was such that both parties were reluctant to fight. The Nogais "became wet and started to dry themselves". At this moment the Cossacks made a sally 'divided into six groups', defeated the bey's army and drove their herds into the steppes [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1586, file 1, sheets 21, 22, 32; file 5, sheets 2, 3; Karpov, 1911, p. 42].

However, contrary to the initial plans, Urus did not move towards Syr Darya. The dishonourable and resounding defeat ruined his plans completely. He did not release the ambassadors and moved to Astrakhan to conclude a short.

Another important result of the defeat was that relations between the Nogai and the Cossacks warmed up. The Nogai realized that they did not have enough power to win back the Yaik River region, and the Cossacks were in need of economic cooperation with the nomads, who had long since inhabited these steppes. There was another objective driver for a peaceful co-existence,—that is, the economic order of both the nations had almost nothing in common, which created an environment free from the enmity caused by competition over land and favourable for mutually beneficial transactions.

In general, relations between the Nogais and the Cossacks varied between open hostility and forced neutrality. Whatever were the relations between certain communities, the nomads perceived the Cossacks as an alien force that had settled in their ancestral lands.

A period of relative stability during the Din Ahmed reign and the 'principality' of Urus

gave rise to hopes that the power and prestige of the 'Desht-i Qipchaq hakims' might be theirs once again. The beys gathered together many murzas and tried to carry out an independent policy. But they overestimated their forces. Unlike the late 15th and early 16th century, when the Mangit yurt had but enemies around it who fought the Nogais for dear life, now its residents had recourse to emigration in search of greater riches and safety. At first, they emigrated to the Lesser Nogai Horde and the Uzbek khanates, and then they started to move to Russia and to the Crimea. The people started to abandon the Trans-Volga steppes. By the end of the century, several beys fought to rule over a decreasing number of subjects. Another (and the last) Nogai turmoil started.

After the Lesser Nogais killed Urus in 1590, the descendants of Din Ahmed had the tightest alliance, and were quite fit to fight for the honour of becoming a 'grand principality'. Uraz Muhammad and Din Muhammad, the two elder sons of Urus, headed the Big Nogais in 1590s after the death of Urus.

We know nothing about the circumstances under which Uraz Muhammad was enthroned. Based on the one available phrase from the mandate (May 1590), A. Zvenigorodsky, concludes that it would not have come to be without Moscow's patronage: 'Our tsar... controls the enthroning of the princes of the Nogai Horde in its trans-Volga lands'. [Monuments, 1890, p. 267]. Since Russia had obviously nothing to do with proclaiming Urus as bey in 1578, the above phrase may refer only to Uraz Muhammad. It seems that the Moscow authorities did not forget that Uraz Muhammad supported Russia at the height of the tensions between Urus and the Tsar.

In about 1598, Uraz Muhammad was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother, nuradin Din Muhammad. This bey was also subsequently remembered as one who acted under the aegis of the Moscow Tsar: 'My father Prince Din Muhammad served your majesty faithfully and you did him an honour by granting him a principedom'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1644, file 2, sheet 4, 11] He ruled what remained of the Nogai Horde for no more than two years, and left no significant traces of his reign. Early in

the 17th century, when illustrating to the next bey his ancestry, the Astrakhan voivodes did not even mention this ruler who reigned at the very height of the civil strife.

This turmoil was caused by a diverse range of issues that had gained steam over the course of the preceding four decades. The immediate cause for the hostilities was the blood feud. Later, murza Kara Kel Muhammad explained it as follows: 'After his foes had k [illed] my father prince Urmamet I...avenged the blood of my f [ather]'. Years passed, but the mutual hatred persisted. This is what he wrote seven years later—'Still we do not share a word or a thought with the relatives of Tinbay or Urus, and there is discord between us. And my father Urmamet died at the hands of the children of Urus; as a result Prince Din Muhammad died, and murza Baiterek also died at the hands of the same foes'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1619, file 2, shee 295; 1626, file 2, sheet 183]. The Russian governors in Astrakhan who observed this strife were aware of the causes and also believed that it was all about avenging the deaths of kindred.

However, the documents cite another more significant cause,—that is, the family of Urus headed by his son Dzhan Arslan was fighting to become a 'grand principality'. Later, he explained that he was fighting for his right to (in his opinion) succession: 'In their Nog [ai Hord] e there is a tradition that first the son of the eld [er broth]er lives as (that is, becomes the—V.T.) Prince, and then the son of another brother, so according to their Nogai customs, now Yan Arslan is to become the prince. But before that they and prince Yshterek and his brethren shed much blood for the Nogai throne'. [Acts, 1918, p. 88].

However, there was one more element that was poorly reflected by the Nogai sources, but was explicitly mentioned in the documents created inside Russia, far away from the Big Nogai,—that is, that the discord was intentionally provoked by the Russian party. According to the chronicles, it was Tsar Boris Godunov who caused this turmoil. Knowing that the Nogais were numerous and relatively united under Urus, and partly united under Uraz Muhammad, Tsar Boris Godunov was worried that

'Astrakhan could suffer pressure from them and they could make war on the Moscow state as well'. This is why Tsar Boris Godunov ordered his voivodes to cause quarrels between the trans-Volga murzas [The New Chronicler, 1853, pp. 51, 52; Full Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, 1910, p. 52].

However, one may refer to an open conflict only after the death of Uraz Muhammad, since as a ruler, he managed to control the multitude of his close and distant kinsmen, at least formally. However, at the meetings of the murzas in 1594 and in 1595, he had to confess: 'We have no concord between all of us'. That being said, formally the Big Nogai Horde was still united, and murza Kanai wrote about this period: 'In those times we were all one with the Big Nogai in one place'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1619, file 2, sheets 100, 115]. The general public and the epic tales associate the collapse of the Nogai Horde with the period that followed the death of Uraz Muhammad.

The scarce sources reveal very little of the events that accompanied the turmoil. One of these events was the battle between the supporters and the opponents of Urus. It seems that this battle was the beginning of an open conflict. A Tatar genealogical legend tells us that Urmambet, who succeeded Urus Khan, entered into conflict with Yar Arslan, the son of Urus, and the Nogais split into two parts; one part supported the khan and the other part supported Yar Arslan. The latter initiated a war and by the Sakmara River bloodshed occurred, where 'Urmambet Khan was killed' [Ahmetzyanov, 1991, p. 84; Ahmetzyanov, 1995, p. 52]. After some time, the supporters of Urus and Tinbay killed Din Muhammad bey, as well, and devastated the uluses owned by his family, carrying the people away into captivity.

The Altyuls (this is how they started to call the descendants of Sheikh Mamai) who were the allies of Dzhan Arslan, came from the Yaik River to attack the lands of the Big Nogai near the Volga. The relatives of the late Din Muhammad took prompt action to approach Astrakhan and Moscow in search of help. The tsar ordered his voivodes to send an army equipped with firearms 'and commanded Ishterek and his people to bring them to peace'. The interfer-

ence of the Russian army changed the balance of power at once. The murzas and uluses who supported Urus hastily retreated eastwards. Taken captive by the Streltsy troops from Astrakhan, Dzhan Arslan was sent to Moscow.

All of a sudden, nuradin Ishterek found himself in the position of victor over the ruins of the Nogai state. However, he came into possession not of a steppe empire, but over a number of split nomadic uluses roaming over a relatively small territory between the Volga and the Yaik rivers. The Big Nogai entered the last stage of their existence as a political entity, which involved decay and collapse. During the last four decades of the 16th century, these trends continued. Different clans and groups of murzas tended to disobey the Supreme Bey and to lead an autonomous life.

The victors approached Tsar Boris Godunov wishing him to make Ishterek a bey and his brother Küchük a nuradin. Dzhan Arslan was a captive, and the subjects of Urus and Tinbay had no other choice but to accept the situation, as they had no other leaders. In 1600, the 'enthronement' ceremony took place in Astrakhan.

However, the historians are quite critical about Ishterek as the Nogai leader. According to the researchers, Ishterek was a smart and crafty person, but unable to prevent the collapse of the Nogai state. However, preventing this collapse was hardly possible, especially if we consider the irreversible collapse of the Horde and the Moscow policy dedicated to dividing the nomads. His contemporaries also noted that the bey was a resourceful person (in the negative sense of the word): 'He is a cunning and ready to switch camps, never acting in earnest with anyone'; 'Ishterek is an inconstant person attracted by many parties, but he remains under control of the good ulus people who do not pay much attention to his words' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1616, file 1, sheets 10, 57]. Throughout his 'reign' Ishterek manoeuvred between the powerful neighbouring rulers and his own compatriots (the murzas and the rich ulus people).

In the beginning, Russia's Time of Troubles spared the Big Nogai. At first, when the Godunov dynasty was overthrown, False Dmitry I (the Unfrocked) was enthroned and then killed, this did not affect the internal state of affairs of

the Horde or its relations with the Astrakhan authorities. This is why, in May of 1606, when Vasily Shuysky ascended to the throne, the Moscow government was sure that the steppe nomads had been loyal to it. Ishterek and the murzas congratulated Vasily Shuysky upon his enthronement and assured him of their loyalty.

However, the Big Nogai held back from engaging in Russia's internal affairs until Astrakhan decided whether it was loyal or neutral towards the tsar. In June of 1606, Ivan Khvorostinin, a voivode in Astrakhan, stirred up a revolt against Vasily Shuysky, and played the part of False Dmitry II. The supporters of Vasily Shuysky fled from the city. Ishterek did his best to find pretexts for avoiding participation in the conflict of the opposing parties in Russia. Explaining his reluctance to act, he referred to the 'poor ice' on the Volga, to the rumors alleging that the Moscow government had made peace with the 'outlaws' and even to his fear of being attacked by the rebels from Astrakhan. Ishterek did his best to avoid close contacts with the latter until the power contest in Russia was over. The tsar and the Tushino military leaders competed for the support of the Big Nogai, wishing to make an ally of them. However, on the other side of the Volga, a conflict between the murzas developed, so for them, the Russian turmoil receded into the background.

Though the murzas continued to assure the bey of their loyalty, in fact outside observers noticed that they 'do not listen to their leader as far as the affairs of state or any of their personal affairs are concerned'. The only thing Ishterek could threaten them with in case of their insubordination was that he would migrate from the Horde 'as a Cossack' and ask for Russian military help. However, by that time this intention was dubious rather than frightening. The tsar's army was unable to support the Nogai ruler from beyond the Volga river, as Russia itself was wracked with turmoil. Besides, the Big Nogais were located near Astrakhan, the residence of the rebellious prince Ivan Khvorostinin.

Those of the murzas who moved to the Crimean bank of the Volga river chose to establish relations with that voivode. The nuradin held a meeting and it was resolved to 'swear a shert to the rebel who calls himself Tsarevich Dmitry',—that is, to False Dmitry II, and after

that to migrate towards Astrakhan and lead a nomadic life there. At first, Ishterek kept the shert treaties sworn to Vasily Shuysky and declined the proposals by Ivan Khvorostinin to swear allegiance to 'Tsar Dmitry Ivanovich'. Having hesitated a great deal, he even brought the Khvorostinin's messengers to the voivode of Tsaritsyn. However, receiving no actual support from the Russians, he started to turn away from the idea of cooperation with Moscow. Being aware of the Polish Intervention, the bey was thinking about establishing contacts with the King of Poland. In July 1611, his noblemen supported Ishterek when he refused to stand up and bare his head when the tsar's address was read to him (alleging that 'his true attitude to the tsar is in his heart and not on his head'); after Vasily Shuysky was overthrown, Ishterek accepted an envoy from Poland and sent his envoy to Warsaw. The murzas further denounced Ishterek for his swearing shert to King Sigismund of Poland. Prince Wladyslaw of Poland, who was invited by the boyars to take the Moscow throne in August of 1610, also had some expectations in connection with the Big Nogai.

Under these circumstances, Ishterek saw (or rather had) no opportunity to deter the ulus people and his subject murzas from carrying out raids into the Russian lands. In 1611–1612, the Nogai cavalry troops attacked the borderlands of the Moscow State. The forces of the nomads of the steppes approached the cities of Tula and Samara, set Saratov on fire and nuradin Shayterek sent towards Ryazan city his army of 7,000 men (some sources refer to an army of 12,000 men) headed by Saryke-aga. And when the Russians asked for explanations, the Nogais justified themselves alleging that they were destroying only the 'rebellious' cities.

The end of the turmoil in Russia proved to be quite unexpected for the Trans-Volga steppe nomads. In March of 1613, on behalf of the Zemsky Sobor, the boyars announced to Ishterek that Michail Romanov had been elected to the throne. The bey sent his ambassadors to Moscow to congratulate the newly elected Tsar and to apologize for violating the shert; Ishterek also asserted he had nothing to do with the Nogai raids and promised to serve the tsar faithfully, as did the beys of the past.

The Russian diplomats who visited the nomad lands reported that the Nogais were split into opposing groups, though there were no large-scale conflicts between them. The murzas realized that discord weakened the steppe nomads and 'the Moscow people will be happy to know that we exterminate each other, whereas the survivors will be killed by the Moscow people'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1613, file 5, sheets 200, 243, 244] For some time, these machinations held back the final collapse of the Nogai Horde.

Neither voivodes, nor the government believed it was necessary for the Big Nogai to unite. A strong nomad state next to the southern borders of Russia could hinder the political plans that Moscow had regarding the Caucasus and Desht-i Qipchaq. Gradually, stirring up discord between the nomads became the dominant policy. Both the voivodes and the envoys did their best to cause the bey to quarrel with the people of Tinmamet, and the nuradin with the people of Urmamet. Commenting upon the requests of unsuspecting Ishterek to mediate in making peace between the enraged Mangits, they openly wrote to the Posolsky Prikaz (Department of Foreign Affairs) as follows: 'We do not believe that their peace with each other will contribute to your cause as tsar. What we believe is that once the Nogai put an end to their discord, the borderlands of your country will be exposed to war'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1619, file 7, sheets 2, 11, 12]

It was almost simultaneously that in the spring of 1619, bey Ishterek and nuradin Shayterek died; the first died of disease, and the latter fell off a horse. The two positions of power were vacant. For the disunited Nogai Horde, this meant the beginning of the end.

Having lost their formal leaders, the murzas tended to forgo convening meetings to redraw the boundaries of their pastures, resorting instead to military force. A period of mutual raids, killings and depredations began in the steppes. Both the Russian government and the Astrakhan authorities gloated over this extermination, and did what they could to stir up the enmity that the murzas felt towards each other. A. Khovansky and A. Lvov, voivodes in Astrakhan, reported openly about this to the tsar.

Having learned about the murder of Mamai murza, they asked the Moscow officials not to interfere and 'let the Nogais carry on with their dissension'. 'Seeing the thirst of the Nogais who for quarrels and dissension' both the voivodes 'did their best to defame the murzas in the eyes of each other... and to add to their dissension'. 'Seeing such dissension between them', they wrote to Moscow, 'we caused them to quarrel with each other by talking secretly and separately to each party so that our actions were not apparent. We contribute... to their dissension by referring to various traditions and bring... them to wreck and ruin through hostility and war'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1619, file 1, sheet 29; 1620, file 1, sheet 13].

To ignite more hostility, the Streltsy troops were sent to the warring parties, allegedly to help them fight their enemies. Believing that the tsar's governors supported it, each of the groups fought with extra zeal. However, the Streltsy troops themselves did not take part in the fighting, as they were to simply provide the semblance of a military presence 'manipulating both of the conflicting sides... so that they, seeing... the tsar's people and being inspired, would quarrel more and shed more blood (relying on the help of the Streltsy troops—V.T.)'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1619, file 1, sheet 13; 1620, file 1, sheets 13, 20] The ultimate aim of this plan was to weaken the nomads as much as possible, thereby bringing them under the full control of the tsar.

The Kremlin authorities fully supported the tactics of the voivodes, ordering them to pit the 'halves' against each other so as to eventually bring them 'under the protection' of Tsar Michail Fyodorovich. Besides, the voivodes were instructed to prevent the murzas from electing the bey and the nuradin without the tsar's authorization.

The nominees to the highest positions in the Big Nogai Horde were always discussed in the diplomatic correspondence and at negotiations. Different groups of murzas were ready to apply to the tsar to nominate their leaders to these positions. For the Astrakhan administration, Kanai seemed to be the most attractive candidate.

During the feud of 1619–1620, he settled near Astrakhan accompanied by 5,000 of the ulus people, and declared that he would remain loyal to the Tsar. He never hid his pro-Moscow attitude and he was never seen as one to scheme against Russia. Ghazi, Kanai's son, was baptized as Michail, and gained an excellent reputation while fighting against the Polish invaders. Back in 1620, the voivodes reported that Kanai would be the best bey for Moscow. First, considering his family lineage, he was the senior murza; second, he had friendly relations with Altyuls and, consequently, could potentially aid in bringing them under the Russian aegis; third, he had been consistently supporting the orientation towards Russia; fourth, his clan of Tinbay had no blood feud with any of the Big Nogai's conflicting parties, thus being relatively neutral and equidistant from them.

As for the nuradin, the Astrakhan authorities hesitated. But finally they agreed upon the name of Kara Kel Muhammad, the son of bey Uraz Muhammad.

On 10 November 1622, two hundred Nogai noblemen gathered together in the local Syezzhaya izba (the voivode's office). They heard the announcement of the tsar's appointment of Kanai as bey and Kara Kel Muhammad as nuradin. After namaz, Kanai (as Ishterek in 1600) was 'lifted on a polst' (a piece of compact cloth, thick felt or fur). The heads of the main groups took part in this ceremony.

The Big Nogais had hopes of regaining their unity and maybe restoring a state of their own. This was the first time in many years that the descendants of Ismail by different lines united and de facto acknowledged their subordination to one ruler. However, the untitled Nogais (the wealthier ulus people) did not feel any deference to the show of peace-making by the nobles. The ulus people of Kanai kept bullying the nomads who obeyed nuradin, stealing their cattle and robbing their camps. In response, the ulus people of the aggrieved party set out 'to avenge Prince Kanai for his previous unfriendly acts'. Hostilities broke out again with renewed vigor.

However, unlike in preceding years, this time the Moscow and Astrakhan politicians did their best to maintain peace between the murzas, who had them swear shert in order to pre-

vent them from migrating far and keep them within the reach and control of the voivodes. Now, they proposed sending the Streltsy troops to the murzas not to provoke conflicts, but to demonstrate actual Russian military support.

However, despite the sporadic attempts to reconcile certain Nogai noblemen and the growing pressure from the Kalmyks, it seemed that the Big Nogai could not come together. In 1629, the feeling was that the bey were confronting a final catastrophe, and the nuradin and the kekavat contacted the voivodes to approach the tsar to request that he take control over the Nogai Horde to 'enact by his kind the tsar's edicts and to punish the guilty in proportion to their faults as he does for the Russian people'; otherwise the murzas 'would bring each other to ruination and the ulus people would disperse'. However, the government maintained an indifferent silence, and did not respond to the appeals of the collapsing Horde. The Russian government had no plans for settling the complicated conflicts of the nomads [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1629, file 1, sheets 137, 138]. The conflicts continued, and proliferated.

In the meanwhile, the Kalmyks approached from beyond the Yaik River. They carried out several raids on the Volga region uluses and then returned home. Now, the Big Nogai had no choice but to rely on the voivodes' help and tended to keep as close to Astrakhan as possible, or even migrate to the right bank of the Volga River. The cruelty of the Kalmyks during their raids escalated. In September 1633, they launched a vicious attack on the lands of kekavat Dzhan Muhammed. He led his subjects across the river to the west bank. In January 1634, the remaining Nogais (subjects of Kanai) were attacked. Having barely defended themselves from the forces of the Kalmyk Taishas, they also migrated towards the Crimea. As a result, the Nogais lost their state territory. Most of them found themselves on the right bank of the river, and they started to call the left bank (that formerly belonged to the Nogais) the Kalmyk bank.

Later, some documents referred to the Kalmyk invasion as the sole impetus for the migration of the Nogais to the west. This is the reason provided by the murzas and the ulus



A Tatar (Nogai) German engraving. 17th century.

people ('because of the Kalmyk warriors', 'because of Kalmyks, who came often', 'because of the warlike Kalmyk people' etc.). The Nogai historical songs of the 19–20th centuries also link this exodus with the expansion of the Taishas. No wonder that the same reason was cited in the official state documents of the Posolsky Prikaz (Department of Foreign Affairs), as information about the Nogais came from the Astrakhan governors, who were interested in emphasizing Kalmyk pressure as the cause of the migration of the Nogais. This view on the Nogai exodus of 1634 became entrenched in the academic literature.

However, there was another important reason for the exodus, and that is the pressure exerted by Astrakhan. The Russians and the Nogais often quarreled over fishing areas; the Streltsy and the posad people (tradesmen) took horses away from the nomads, and also captives taken during raids into the Qazi ulus. The murzas complained to the voivodes, trying to draw their attention to these atrocities, as well as to the Posolsky Prikaz (Department of Foreign Affairs) ('The Astrakhan people fling insults and do much violence; they steal horses from them (the Nogais—V.T.) and forcibly

abduct their children, and wives, and maidens, whereas you neither conduct investigations nor render justice!'). However, these complaints proved to be futile. This was to a large extent due to the twenty years of humiliations perpetrated by the Russian neighbours, which was in large part why the Nogais migrated and then were adamant in their refusal to return to the left bank ('We... stepped away from insult, and from the injustice of the voivodes, we left, in tears').

They had claims against the Streltsy top officers, the boyar children and the service class... Some of these joined the Kalmyks in stealing horses, and slaughtering sheep and cows; others lashed the murzas with whips ('which was unseen before—some of them were even skinned'); there were also those who captured women and girls 'keeping them as their concubines'. A rumor was heard in the uluses that a tsar's edict was received in Astrakhan instructing that 150 of the most noble murzas be made chieftains and that the rest of the 'lowborn Tatars' be put on boats and taken northwards to Rus [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 1274, inv. 1, 1626, file 1, sheets 377–380; 1628, file 4, sheets 50–53; 1634, file 1, sheets 1–6; file 3, sheet 175; file 6, sheet 4; 1635, file 2, sheets 159, 160; file 4, sheets 41, 56 and seq.].

Much indignation was caused by the actions of the voivode Prince Alexey Trubetskoy, who colluded in bringing about the atrocities. As kekovat Dzhan Muhammed said to ambassador Zhelyabuzhsky, 'I... was born and grew old in the Volga region... and under no other voivode... were the murzas or the common people oppressed to such an extent as under voivode Prince Alexey Trubetskoy!' On top of encouraging the atrocities committed by his people, Prince Alexey Trubetskoy boasted, 'The Tatars of Kazan... till the soil and make bread and I will... make you, the murzas and the common people do as the Tatars of Kazan, you will also till the soil and make bread'. And indicating the Krovavy Ovrage ('the bloody gully') named after a bloody battle that took place there in the past, Prince Alexey Trubetskoy threatened the murzas saying: 'Yet again... will this [g]ully be full of your blood!' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1634, file 3, sheet 166].

By the end of 1633, the nomads had run out of patience. Getting no support in the face of the Kalmyk invasion, they led their uluses westwards. A scandal erupted. The outraged tsar punished the Streltsy officers (who were thrown into prison), the voivodes and the dyaks (clerks) who were dismissed and ordered to return Moscow to explain what happened. The investigators were instructed to 'make them answer for their actions in a strict way and update the Nogai on the progress of the investigation'. But it was already too late. Most of the steppe nomads were too angry and afraid; they had no trust in other assurances and guarantees of protection by the tsar, and they were reluctant to come back.

Kanai, who had stayed in the right bank territories with a paltry number of his men, was obviously completely crushed by these new circumstances. His subjects left, and instead of shielding him from the Kalmyks, the Russian authorities almost supported them, pressing the Nogais to migrate towards the Crimean bank. Trying to prevent his subjects from emigrating to Crimea for good, the bey approached Prince Alexey Trubetskoy to ensure protection from the Kalmyk Taishas and then to negotiate with the emigrants. But the voivode turned a deaf ear to his words. In the meanwhile, the Kalmyks kept raiding, and killed Khan murza, the brother of Kanai. Kanai made desperate attempts to negotiate with the Astrakhan authorities... but found himself thrown into the Astrakhan prison.

Official correspondence refers to Kanai's dealings with Kalmyks as the reason for his imprisonment. The bey himself sent the tsar a number of petitions saying he was at a loss about the reasons why he was imprisoned; Kanai insisted he was the innocent victim of calumny, stating that the traitors who 'took off to the Crimean bank have long since plotted to 'destroy Kanai'. In addition, he explained his imprisonment as resulting from the anger of voivode for what the bey said had happened: The Kalmyks attacked, and thirty murzas headed by kekovat retreated from the Volga uluses.

Whatever the case, in 1634 the Head of the Big Nogai Horde was under arrest 'in connection with the Kalmyk case, as he had dealings with them'. Moscow authorities were likely to

understand that such accusations lacked consistency, however, no one was in a hurry to release Kanai; moreover, an order was issued prescribing to 'keep a close eye' on him and not to exchange him for anyone else.

It goes without saying that Kanai had lost the respect of his fellow countrymen. After 1634, when swearing shert to the tsar, the Big Horde murzas didn't even mention their bey. For quite some time, the name of Kanai vanishes from the documents. In early 1639, the murzas informed the tsar that 'under the Divine law... Prince Konai is no longer in Astrakhan'. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1639, file 2, sheets 1, 6, 8]. It is likely

that the death overtook the final ruler of the Big Nogai in mid-1638.

The remaining Big and Lesser Nogais dispersed in the vast territories of the Eurasian steppe. Having no unified centre, the nomads organised themselves in ulus-like structures (Hordes). The largest and the most stable of these were the Yedisian Horde, Yedishkul Horde and a Bucak community (north-west of the Black Sea). After the mid-17th century, Russian, Ottoman, Polish and other governments had to deal with these isolated communities. In the east, the nomads of the Nogai Horde formed the Karakalpak nation. Many of the Nogais joined the Junior Zhuz of the Kazakhs.

CHAPTER 5 The Crimean Khanate

§ 1. The Crimean Khanate

Ilya Zaitsev

The Crimean Khanate from the middle of the 15th century until the end of Mengli Giray's reign

Hacı Giray's reign was interrupted for a short time in the summer of 1456, when Aidar (Haidar) b. Hacı Giray apparently assumed power over the peninsula. Hacı Giray. However, he failed to keep the throne: after November, he fled to Lithuania, and his father got back his power [Colley, 1913, pp. 132–135]¹. However,

as A. Nekrasov rightly noticed, we can only speculate that Aidar succeeded in attaining the 'royal' title due to the events of 1456 [Nekrasov, 1999, p. 50]. For example, Armenian sources indicate that the displacement of Hacı Giray in 1456 was associated with a certain Sultan Mahmudek, identified by T. Sargsyan with a

¹ Hayder was still alive in the early 80s of the 15th century. There is a surviving version of the Russian translation of his letter from March 1483, sent from Moscow to Crimea to his wife Barash Sultan, who was living there together with her son Daniyal. Hayder was calling his wife and son to come to him. In Ambassadorial books, Hayder is called a tsar, which means that he had indeed occupied a throne (most probably in Crimea) before that [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, P. 37]. In Russian documents this Khan was sometimes referred to as 'Hayder Gazy' (that is, his name had the affix 'Ghazi', 'a fighter for the faith').

Soon, Hayder passed away. Letters of Mengli Giray were delivered to Moscow in November 1491, and in one of them he requested Ivan III to send him Hayder's armour ('Hayder's panzer') [Ibid., P. 124]. Another wife of Hayder, Devlet Sultan, took Section in bringing up the future Kazan Khans Abdul Latyf and Muhammad Emin and their sister Gawharshad. Devlet Sultan apparently shared her husband's fate and moved to the Muscovite state (she outlived her husband and was still alive in 1498 when she was even making plans for a Hajj pilgrimage). In 1498 Nur Sultan wrote to Moscow to Ivan III: '...you know well yourself that Hayder Ghazi supported my son, and his wife Devlet Sultan breastfed my children, and now she has vowed to go to Makkah; with your agreement, we shall arrange for her to go to Makkah accompanied, and her prayers and supplications will be for you...' [Ibid., P. 273].

Golden Horde khan, Mahmud [Sargsyan, 2004, pp. 45, 251–253]¹.

According to the 'Tevarih-i Desht-i Qipchaq' by Abdullah b. Rizwan, 'Corrections of the History of the Tsars' by Hüseyin Hezarfenn and an anonymous collection by V. Smirnov, the Khan died in the 880 AH, [Collection, 1881, p. 12; Zajaczkowski, 1966, p. 32 (k.5v); Hezarfenn, 1.29],—that is, between 7 May 1475 and 25 April 1476. This date, provided by Ottoman sources, is undoubtedly incorrect. It was erroneously recorded in the 870 AH (24 August 1465—12 August 1466)². According to 'Al-Asseb Seyar' and subsequent editions, as well as the work of Khalim Giray, Hacı Giray died in 871 AH [Asseb 1832, p. 73; Kratkaya, 1.27; Halim Giray, 2013, p. 31]³. However, as M. Urekli noted, the same date is seen on a coin made in honour of the Khan [Urekli, 1989, p. 13]. News about the death of Hacı Giray reached Kaffa at the end of August 1466 [Colley, 1913, p. 137; Colley, 1918, p. 129]. This means that the Khan died shortly before, apparently (in the middle of the month or closer to its end,—that is, after 12 August, as they managed to mint a coin with the date 871 AH). The founder of the Crimean state was buried in Salachik near the Khan's capital city at the foot of Qırq Yer [Halim Giray, 2013, p. 31]⁴.

Ottoman and Crimean chronicles are united in the opinion that after the death of Hacı Giray, 12 of his sons claimed the right to succeed him, This is passed on to us from Mustafa Ali Effendi [Ali Efendi, 1.87]. According to Risvan's 'Tevarih-i Desht-i Qipchaq', Hacı Giray left 12 sons, 'prepared to run the khanate' [Zajaczkowski, 1966, p. 32 (fol.5v); Zajaczkowski, 1969, p. 17]. The anonymous

'History of Crimea' (a collection published by V. Smirnov) also mentions 12 sons, 'prepared to run the khanate' [Collection, 1881, p. 12]. And Hüseyin Hezarfenn, whose text is close to these sources, writes about 12 sons [Hezarfenn, 1.29].

'Tevarih-i guzida—Nusrat-name' mentions eight sons of Hacı Giray, while only naming seven of them: Davletyar, Naur Davlet Khan, Kutluk Khan, Keldish, Mengli Kirai, Yamgurchi, Uz Temür [Materials, 1969, p. 40]. Other sources contain the names of all eight sons (rulers are indicated in bold)⁵: **Mengli Giray**; **Aidar**⁶; Yamgurchi; **Nur Devlet**⁷; Ozdemir⁸; Davletyar; Qutlugh Zaman; **Kildish** (Kildibay).

However, certain details from a brief handwritten note on the history of the Crimean Khanate, published by N. Seityagyayev for a manuscript at the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (3780), stand out. It is stated there that Hacı Giray had eight sons, and five of the eight mentioned were called khans (Nurdevlet, Aidar, Mengli, and, oddly enough, Yamgurchi and Uz-Timur) and three (Davletyar, Keldish and 'Tokluk Zaman',—that is, probably Qutlugh Zaman) had no such prefix attached to their names [Seityagyayev, 2011, p. 344].

Obviously, Mengli Giray was not the eldest of the sons of Hacı Giray. So, in the sources he

⁵ For information about their sons, see: [Zaitsev, 2006, Pp. 342–353].

⁶ According to Sharafutdinov, he ruled in 873/1468/69 [Sharafutdinov, 1906].

⁷ According to Sharafutdinov, he ruled from 871 / 1466/67 through 873/1468/69. In 1478 Nur Devlet, together with his brother Hayder, arrived in Lithuania [Dumin, 1989, P. 108]. He left Lithuania for Moscow together with his brother Hayder and son Berdaulat in the autumn of 1479. The Lithuanian Ambassador to Crimea was to say to the Khan on behalf of the Polish King and the Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1479: 'Our Devlet and Hayder came to our King's land and our King accorded them all the hospitality, and as they had come of their own free will, so freely they left and now reside, where they please' [Collection of works, 1866, P. 25]. Soon Nur Devlet was assigned to Meshchera (Kasymov) [Belyakov, 2011, P. 57]. In spring 1480 Hayder was banished to Vologda.

⁸ Both Uz-Temur and his nephew Devlesh left Crimea and were married in Lithuania already in the early 1490s. According to the Ambassadorial books, they were given a manor there by the king [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, Pp. 151, 167; Dumin, 1989, P. 108].

¹ This is quite probable. Though a different supposition can also be made. Mahmud was a son of Ulugh Muhammad, who ruled in Kazan at that time.

² Despite the fact that in some texts (for example, by Hezarfenn) the date is written out in words rather than numbers.

³ According to S. Sharafutdinov, Hacı Giray ascended the throne in 841 / 1437/38 and died in 871 / 1466

⁶⁷ [Sharafutdinov, 1906].

⁴ The türbe (mausoleum) of Hacı Giray in Salaçiq, being the burial place for four generations of Khans and Sultans, has survived to our days [Bodaninsky, 1927, Pp. 198–199; Gavriluk, Ibrahimova, 2010].

called Nurdevlet 'big',—that is, older brother [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 278]. Mengli Giray was probably the fifth son of Haji [Smirnov, 1887, p. 330]. When he died (921 AH), Mengli Giray was 71 years old¹. Thus, he was born in the 850 AH (29 March 1446–18 March 1447). As A. Nekrasov wrote, Mengli was probably the fourth son of Hacı Giray. This would be the case if two of the three eldest sons died during their father's life. Then, the fact that Mengli received his father's clan name 'Giray' could be related to the ancient Mongolian tradition of inheritance of the 'indigenous yurt' by the fourth son and naming him 'edjen' in this regard [Nekrasov, 1999, pp. 50–51].

Hacı Giray had a daughter, as well. Mengli Giray makes reference to her marriage, but we do not know the name of her husband (Sultan Bayazid sent silverware to the Khan as a gift for his sister's wedding). In July 1494, Mengli Giray wrote to the Great Prince of Muscovy, 'We have another request: the wedding of your sister, the Tsarevna, so that if you are nearby, we could celebrate this fine event together. And given your request to the Sultan, we were glad to hear it, he sent together with his good ambassador money, silver dishes and fabrics with gold...' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 211].

Davletyar (father of Devlesh, who left for Lithuania) and Qutlugh Zaman most likely died in their father's lifetime [Colley, 1918, p. 130; Nekrasov, 1999, p. 50]. Kildish is found in Genoese sources of the 1470s in connection with Kaffa [Gayvoronsky, 2007, p. 103]. Kildish (Kildibay) [Asseb, 1832, p. 74], or Yani Qidi Khan (as he was called by the Marjani, assuming that he was Mengli's cousin (similarly to Nurdevlet) [Essays, 2003, p. 125], might have occupied the throne for a short time in

878 AH/1473/74 [Sharafutdinov, 1906]. Perhaps, as evidenced by the Chronicle of David Lekhno, Kildish was actually killed by the *Mansurs* [Harkavy, 1884, pp. 2–3],—that is, the Crimean Nogais. In the so-called 'Brief History', they differentiate Bai Geldi (that is, Keldysh-Keldibai) and Bai Devlet (Davletyar?). Bai Devlet was killed along with his sons by Nurdevlet as he ascended to the throne, but the latter was himself killed (?) by another brother—Bai Geldi, who ruled for just 15 days and fled shortly after that, while all his supporters were massacred and his camp near the Dnieper—conquered [Negri, 1844, p. 382; Brief History, l. 27].

According A. Grigoriyev, the chronology of reigns of the Crimean khans in the 50–70s of the 15th century was as follows. Hacı Giray, who defeated Ahmet in 1465, died in 1466. He was succeeded by Mengli Giray, but the latter lost his throne to his brother, Nurdevlet, who ruled between 1466 and 1468². In September 1467, he swore shert to the Polish king Casimir [Kolodziejczyk, 2011 pp. 536–537].

Mengli Giray overthrew Nurdevlet, and reigned until the spring of 1475, when he lost the throne to Nurdevlet and Aidar. At the end of 1475 or in early 1476, Mengli Giray himself was brought to Turkey, where he lived until the end of 1478. Nurdevlet and Aidar remained on the peninsula as co-rulers. By June 1476, a civil war broke out in the Khanate. One of the warring parties was supported and nominally headed by Chinggisid Jani Beg. In late June 1476, that group, with the head of this clan, Shirin Eminek, and his supporters, laid siege to the fortress of Eski Qirim (Solkhath),

¹ This age is indicated in the copies of the anonymous history of the Crimean Khans [Institute of Oriental Studies of Russian Academy of Science, manuscript C 861, P. 5; Institute of Manuscripts of the National Library of Ukraine named after V. Vernadsky, Kiev (Natsional'na biblioteka Ukraini imeni V.I. Vernadskogo, Kiiv), reserve V (Odessa Society of History and Antiquities), no. 3804, P. 3 reverse] See also the French translation of the BNF copy (Supplément Turc 515. The French copy, brought from Crimea in 1819 by A. Jaubert) [Précis, 1833, P. 359].

² The time of his reign can be more accurately established through coins. Silver akçe coins, minted in the town of Qirim in 871 / 1466/67, have survived from the times of Nur Devlet (<http://www.zeno.ru/search.php?searchid=214492>). These coins are encountered in treasures far away from Crimea. The 1930 treasure trove from the Moscow Kremlin (perhaps, related to the trade of 'Surozh' merchants in Moscow in the reign of Ivan III) contained coins of Hacı Giray, minted in Qirk Yer in 858 AH (1 January–21 December 1454), in the town of Qirim in 867 (26 September 1462–14 September 1463), as well as coins of Nur Devlet (town of Qirim, 871 AH–13 August 1466–1 August 1467) [Zverev, 2006, P. 208].

but failed to take the town by storm. Nurdevlet and Aidar were forced to flee, and in the autumn of 1476 Jani Beg took over power in the Crimea was [Grigoriyev, 1987a, pp. 77–78]. The brief period of his rule actually meant the unification of the Crimean Khanate and the Great Horde into a single political entity [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 69].

Who was Jani Beg, who briefly ruled in the Crimea in the mid-70s of the 15th century? We do not have a clear answer to this question. Most likely, he was a son of Mahmud b. Küchük Muhammad, and later ruled in the Astrakhan Khanate (from 1514). 'Tawarih-i guzida—Nusrat-name' refers to a khan named Jani Beg, a descendant of Temür Kutluk. According to this version, the latter had four sons: Pulad, Temür, Nasir and Yadgar. Muhammed Khan (that is, a well-known Küchük Muhammad) was Temür's son, and he also had four sons: Kasym Khan, Boz Tor-gai, Abd al-Karim and Keldybek. His sons—Ak Bobai, Mede Mamadj, Ak Budal and Muzaffar. Khan Jani Beg was a son of Muzaffar [Materials, 1969, p. 40]. But first, it is not clear from the text who Muzaffar's father was (Keldybek?); secondly, the genealogy of Khan Küchük Muhammad's descendants is a very messy affair.

The Ottoman conquest of the Crimea's southern coast shaped subsequent events on the peninsula, whereby the impact on the fate of the Khanate was monumental.

The history of Ottoman Crimea is outside the scope of the study. It has been successfully addressed by Yu. Öztürk [Öztürk, 2000]. However, despite the fact that the Ottoman conquest of the Crimea's southern coast has not been substantially researched (including in terms of sources [Veselovsky, 1889, p. 183; Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 93–95]), it is not the focus of this study. It should be noted that the lands on the southern coast of the peninsula were under the sultan's direct control¹. According to the Ottoman system of governance, these lands were divided into judicial administra-

tive districts—*kadylyks*² (Kaffa, Mangup, Sudak, Kerch, Taman, Azov), with three more added later (Tat Fortress, Balaclava, which originally belonged to the Mangup *kadylyk*, and Temryuk), as well as eight administrative units related to them. A *kasa* (*kada*), in turn, was divided into *nahies*—rural districts. It is worth noting that the Ottoman conquest of the southern coast was far from a devastating invasion, as it has at time been portrayed [Hartahai, 1866, p. 201]. It is unlikely that the seizure of Kaffa was accompanied by a massive drops in the population and massacres: no sources suggest this [Myts, 2009, p. 250]. In most cases, life in those fortresses and the surrounding areas continued as before, and there were no abrupt changes in the local population's daily life, except for Ottoman garrisons stationed in the local fortresses. For example, this is true for Sudak [Dzhanov, 2006, p. 328]. Some fortresses, which belonged to the principality of Theodoro (Mangup), were not destroyed during the invasion but simply abandoned by the defenders and then not used by the Ottomans [Bocharov, 2009]. According to information provided by a papal protonotary named Dominic at the court of a magistrate Stefan³, after the Turks conquered the town, their gain amounted to 1,011 leath-

² For example, Alushta was the westernmost village of the Sudak kadalyk. Next was the Mangup *kadylyk* [Korkunov, 1837, P. 135]. Property rights in this territory were established by acts-*hudjets*. Some of them are extant, for example, a hudjet of 1097 AH (1686) from the Mangup *kadylyk* to the village of Sectionit for its property rights for the land, including the mountain Qastel (that is Ayu-Dag) [Keppen, 1837, P. 167]. However, the border between the Khan's land proper and the Ottoman territories was rather relative. In the collection of decisions of *kazasker*: Mustafa, who served under Khan Jani Beg Giray (defters 1608/9–1613), we read: '...each of us has a certain number of sheep that roam pasturing...and sometimes enter the **Hüdavendigâr** land (marked in bold type by me—I.Z.), and no-one since the days of our forefathers has ever charged anything for this' [Lashkov, 1897, P. 28]. F. Lashkov suggested that this was the *mirie* land, that is, of the fiscus. In reality, it was, of course, Ottoman land (of the Persian *Hüdavendigâr*—the title of the Ottoman Padishahs). According to the Ambassadorial books, Mengli Giray himself used to spend long periods in Kaffa [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, P. 152].

³ Domenic was a member of the Hungarian King Matthias' embassy to Stefan.

¹ By the way, years later, Sahib Giray was suspected by the Ottomans of attempting to return this territory to the Khans again, for which he originally removed [Inalcik, 1980, P. 187].

er bags of money, in nothing else is counted (a bag could accommodate 600 ducats). All noblemen were taken to Istanbul, while only the common people were left in the town, together with a garrison of 10,000 soldiers, led by 'some Greek from Trebizond' [Yurgevich, 1894, pp. 1–2].

From 1475, the Crimean Khanate found itself in a difficult situation in relation to the Ottoman Empire: it cannot be seen as full-fledged vassalage, nor was it complete independence. The political practice suggests an affiliation of the Crimea's khans to the Ottoman Padişah, while the Islamic theory of state power suggests that these khans were independent and sovereign monarchs [Zaitsev, 2010, pp. 288–296; Zaitsev, 2010a, pp. 25–27]¹. Such a provision was recorded in some kind of agreement (*shert*), signed by the new Crimean Khan, Mengli Giray, and the conqueror of Kaffa, Ahmed Gedik Pasha (on behalf of Mehmed II). The text of this agreement has reached us in a form that is probably very close to the original [Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 142–157]².

In 1478, Nurdevlet again ascended to power in the Khanate, for some time. It was in this year when his ambassador arrived in Poland to Casimir, accompanying an Ottoman diplomat [Zaitsev, 2004a, p. 93]. However, as early as next year the throne was assumed by Mengli Giray. The *shert-name* list between the Muslim, Karaim and Armenian communities of Qirk-Yer and Mengli Giray, which was written between January and the end of March 1479, stipulated a condition whereby the residents of Qirk-yer pledged not to give refuge ('let in fortress') to the sons of Hacı Giray or Seyid Ahmed I. Vásáry believed that the first was Nurdevlet and the second —Jani Beg [Vásáry, 1982, pp. 294, 298–299; Zaitsev, 2004a, p. 93]. That being said, in addition to Mengli Giray, a son of

Hacı Giray could mean any of the Khan's sons living at the time.

It is important to note that until the end of the 15th century (and possibly later) representatives of a side branch of the descendants of Gıyas al-Din b. Tash Temür—the brothers and nephews of Hacı Giray through the male line, lived in Crimea³. As we know, Gıyas al-Din had a son, Mustafa, who (probably for a short period of time) had coins made under his name in Hajji Tarkhan: we have print copies of undated coins that were minted in Hajji Tarkhan by Mustafa, son of Gıyas al-Din, 2006a, p. 29; <http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=1189>; Maiko, 2007, pp. 143, 156, 164]. It is likely that his son was Prince 'Mamyshek', or 'Mamishkek' ('Mustofin, the tsar's son'), who fell into the hands of the Moscow Cossacks⁴. In 1489, at the request of Mengli Giray's, who sent a special letter about this to Moscow, he was most likely released to the Crimea [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 76, 79], but in 1492 he was still in Moscow. Also in 1492, his younger brother Muhammed was at Mengli Giray's place with his wife ('his little brother Tsarevich Maamed with his wife and the rest of them are at my place', Mengli Giray wrote) [Ibid., p. 151]. Mengli again requested the release of Mamyshek and that Muhammad be sent to Moscow. As for himself, he asked Ivan III to give him Kashira (previously it was owned by Nurdevlet), 'He does not make friends with enemies of yours and mine, such a good man'

³ According to 'Muizz al Ansab', Hacı Giray also had sisters, Sultan Nasab and Shah Nasab [The History of Kazakhstan, 2006, P. 45]. I have no information about their fate and possible descendants.

⁴ Ambassadorial books also mention a certain tsarevich 'Mustofar', not calling him either a brother or a son of Mengli Giray, but indicating him in the document of 1486 as 'his tsarevich' in relation to Mengli Giray [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, P. 47]. Apparently, Mustafa and Mustofar should not be viewed as one person (as I have already let myself do earlier). First, they have different status: Mustofar is a tsarevich (that is a Sultan), while Mustafa is a tsar (that is the Khan, who already has reigned somewhere). Secondly, their name forms are still different. Mustofar can be tentatively regarded as belonging to the descendants of Küçük Muhammad and identified with a certain Muzaffar from their number [Materials, 1969, P. 40]. How has he come to be in Crimea?

¹ See also [Nekrasov, 1999, Pp. 53–55].

² Since the time of V. Smirnov, though, Russian historians have been skeptical about the existence of such an agreement [Nekrasov, 1999, P. 53]. It is difficult to date the conclusion of this agreement. Perhaps, the treaty was concluded later, after the necessary conditions had been worked out. Thus, some Ottoman scholars (for example, Mustafa Ali Gelibolulu in 'Kühnhü'l-Ahbar') date 'the salvation of the Crimean dynasty' and the establishment of the Ottoman sovereignty over the Khans to 1478 [Schmidt, 1991, P. 149].

[Ibid.]¹. However, also in 1492, Loban Kolychev reported to Moscow the following: 'Sire, Tsarevich Mamyshek was sent by the Tsar to the Horde; and a man came to the Tsar with news that Mamyshek was with the Horde, waiting until he might take a ulus' [Ibid., p. 167]. In 1493, both Mamyshek and Muhammed were in Crimea (they are mentioned among those to whom 'pomniki' could not reach) [Ibid., p. 173]. Soon, Mamysh was taking part in hostilities again: this time, in Akkerman (Belgorod) against the Lithuanians [Ibid., p. 209]. An indirect mention of his (?) son ('Son of the Qirk Yer governor, Mamysh') [Ibid., p. 230] leads us to cautiously suggest that Mamysh was the governor of the Girays' family seat—Qirk Yer (currently, the fortress of Chufut-Kale near Bakhchysaray), in a valley alongside which Hacı Giray and Mengli Giray found their last refuge. In 1496, Mamysh's son robbed the people of the Great Prince of Muscovy, and soon authorities in Moscow received word from Mengli Giray, 'As for the matter relating to the governor of Qirk Yer and Murta Bakshy, the tsar responded: those Muscovites of Nahir came together with the Jews from Kiev, who were driven out, and with their wives and children, to submit complaints against them, they received 10 arrows and a cap with a saber each; now they want to leave' [Ibid., p. 255]².

If we are right in identifying Mustafa as the uncle of Mengli Giray, then Mamyshak and Muhamma were his cousins. Most likely, both of them were short-lived and left no offspring, because their names were not mentioned in any later sources³. By the way, the fact that Hacı Giray's brother owned Astrakhan (rather than

just the conquest of this city by Muhammad Giray in 1523) probably served as the legal basis for the Girays' future generations to assume that 'that yurt was of our ancestors from ancient times'⁴. In addition, this fact explains a lot in the legend about Hacı Giray's youth, in particular, the desire of Giyas al-Din's sons to make it to Astrakhan [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 186–187].

Both khans and their sons were related to the clan's Crimean tribal aristocracy and also that of the Great Horde via strong marriage and blood ties. Ulugh Muhammad's relationship to the Shirins (in particular, with Tegene Bey) was also strong. A nephew of Tegene was his 'postelnich', or chamberlain. Ulugh Muhammad's son-in-law was the Kunrat Prince Aidar [Zaitsev, 2004a, p. 58; Akchurin, 2013, pp. 6–7]. Marriages between the khans and the clan nobility served as the foundation of the dynasty, a vital line, connecting the Girays with the Kunrat, Manghit, Shirin, Sedjiut and other clans. In fact, members of the Giray family were not only Chinggisids, but also descendants of the Golden Horde Crimean clans [Zaitsev, 2006]. Nurdevlet's wife was a member of the *Kurat* (Kunrat) clan, daughter of Jumadyk (Yumadyk) [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 544]. Mengli Giray's senior wife initially was a daughter of the Prince of Sedjiut, Ediger [Ibid., p. 56]. However, in August–September 1486, Nursultan—a daughter of a Magnyt beg Temir b. Mansur b. Edigu—became the khan's senior wife, bypassing the Sedjiut. Previously, she was the wife of the Kazan khans Halil b. Mahmud (from 1466) and Ibrahim b. Mahmud (died in 1479)⁵.

Mengli Giray's sons and daughters also married into clans of the Khanate. For example,

¹ 'and whichever settlements you give to him'; 'he is quite a capable person for my cause and yours'.

² I think that instead of 'Nahir', the text should read 'to Qir [hor or qor]', that is, Qirk Yer. The whole affair, probably, looked as follows: Moscow merchants came to Qirk Yer together with Jews banished from Kiev with their families. The latter gave gifts (arrows, a saber and a kalpak) to the fortress vicegerent (apparently, for the right of settlement). Apparently, besides those gifts the Jews and Muscovites were obliged to also pay an exaction.

³ In 1501 Mamyshek ibn Mustafa was still alive. Together with him, a certain Abach Sultan 'Mamyshek brother son' (that is a nephew; most probably, the son of his brother Muhammad) is mentioned [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, P. 360].

⁴ Cf.: [Trepavlov, 2011, P. 376].

⁵ Nur Sultan had two sons from Ibrahim ibn Mahmud, also Kazan Khans, Abdul Latyf (reigned in 1497–1502, died in 1517) and Muhammad Emin (reigned in 1484–1485, 1487–1496 and 1502–1518; died in 1518), and a daughter Gawharshad (died not earlier than 1546). Nur Sultan was a rather prominent figure not only in the history of the Kazan and Crimean Khanates but generally in the history of Eastern Europe in that period. In 900 AH (summer–autumn 1495), together with her brother Hussein, she complied the *Haji*. In July 1510–11 together with her stepson (Sahib Giray, the son of Mengli Giray), she visited Moscow and Kazan. She died in 1519 or soon after that.

his second son, Ahmet Giray, was married to a daughter of Barash, a senior prince of Shirin (Bayrash, or Burash—son of the famous Eminek b. Tegene) [Ibid., pp. 274, 49, 68]¹. Mengli Giray's daughter married a Mangit, Hussein b. Temir (Nursultan's brother) [Ibid., p. 256].

In November 1491, Mengli Giray's *kalga* and his brother Yamgurchi married a daughter of a Manghit Yankivat (Temir's nephew); his son (Yapanchi) married a daughter of Kudaiyar, a son of Karach Murza [Ibid., p. 122]².

Khan Mengli Giray died 'on Holy Saturday',—that is, before Easter (8 April 1515)³. As rightly noted by A. Vinogradov, the 36 years of Mengli Giray's reign can be described as the period in which the Crimean state was established in a fashion that would remain intact throughout the 16th century. The foundation of Crimea's policy for most of this century was laid down during his reign [Vinogradov, 1999, p. 60].

Foreign relations of the Crimean Khanate in the second half of the 15th century

In the early years of the Khanate, the main rival of the Crimean khans was the Great Horde. In the 1490s, the war between the two states did not abate, ending in the defeat of the Horde in 1502 [Zaitsev, 2004a, pp. 82–113].

¹ He took this position after the death of Azika (Hajjike bin Tegene) in June–August 1486 [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, Pp. 54, 56].

² This is, no doubt, Tegene's grandson Shirin Kundayar [Akchurin, 2013, P. 7]. Yamgurchi had at least two wives, which stems not only from the number of his sons but also from the direct report of a source: 'tsar [Mengli Giray] wants to go from this bayram (celebration) to that new town; he has with him his brother Yamgurchi tsarevich with wives and children and his men' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, P. 166].

³ That was established by A. Malinovsky [Malinovsky, 1863, P. 198]. In any case, it was not in January 1515 that this happened, as A. Vinogradov had written [Vinogradov, 1999, P. 60]. According to Marjani, this occurred in Dhū al-Hijjah 919 AH [Essays, 2003, P. 124]. H. İnalçık dated the death of Mengli and Muhammad's ascent to the throne to early 1514, which, evidently, is not accurate [İnalçık, 1948a, P. 355, no. 20]. In the short hand-written note on the history of the Crimean Khanate, published by N. Seityag'yaev based on the manuscript from the National Library of Ukraine named after V. Vernadsky (manuscript 3780), the death of Mengli Giray is dated to 920 AH (7 March 1514–24 February 1515) [Seityag'yaev, 2011, P. 344].

As a result of this victory, the Crimean khans incorporated the title of the Great Horde khans and began to act as the successors of the former power of the Golden Horde. The consequence of this succession were the claims to the post-Golden Horde thrones of Astrakhan and Kazan (the impetus for such claims was not just in an abstract struggle for hegemony in this area, but the blood ties: as we have seen, one of the Crimean khans became the founder of the Kazan Khanate, and Hacı Giray's brother ruled the Astrakhan Khanate for some time). The era of Mengli Giray I revealed the important role played by Crimea in international relations in Eastern Europe. During Mengli Giray's reign, regular diplomatic exchanges between the Khanate and Moscow, Krakow, Vilnius and other European capitals⁴ were established, as well as the practice of concluding intergovernmental treaties of alliance (sherts).

Beginning in 1480 and extending into the early 1490s, Mengli Giray's foreign policy was determined by conflicts with the Great Horde, as well as by rapprochement with Moscow aimed at creating a coalition against the Great Horde and the Jagiellon forces. The ambassadorial books are the primary source for our reconstruction of Moscow-Crimea relations of the time. Actually, the Crimean Ambassadorial book starts with a description of a March 1474 ambassadorial mission led by Nikita Beklemishev to Mengli Giray. The ambassadors from Moscow responded with a reciprocal visit after the mission of Azi Baba (Haja Baba) with an offer of brotherhood, friendship and love. The text of the Ambassadorial Book indicates that such contacts were traditional by then. Beklemishev was instructed to tell the Crimean princes as follows: 'for a long time, rulers of ours and yours have upheld truth and friendship with each other' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 6]. The initiative to support Moscow-Crimea contacts, as evidenced by the ambassadorial mission of N. Beklemishev, was suggested by a prominent representative of the Kaffa merchant commu-

⁴ The politico-geographic horizon of the Khanate in the West apparently was not limited to Moldavia, Hungary and Czechia. See, for example: [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, P. 151].



The map of the Crimea.
Western Europe (16–17th centuries)

nity, Hoja Kokos (as he is called in Russian documents). It was he who, before the mission of Hajji-Baba, sent his brother-in-law Isup (Yusuf) to Moscow with a yarliq for the tsar's 'faithful', as well as with a letter from the Shirin Prince Mamak [Ibid., pp. 6–7].

Hoja Kokos is referred to as Gökgöz (that is, 'Blue-eyed'), whose son Hoja Bikes/Bikish was mentioned in the Customs Register of Kaffa of 1487–1490 [Inalcik, 1996, pp. 45, 74; Kizilov, 2005, p. 227]. Gökgöz was probably a very influential financier; Mengli Giray frequently resorted to his services [Collection of Studies, 1866, p. 38; Lithuanian metrics, 1910, p. 361]. In 1484, Great Prince Ivan ordered Vasily Ivanovich Nozdrovaty to Mengli Giray, '...to Kokos. ... to tell him from the Great Prince that he should buy rubies and sapphires, large pearls for the Great Prince and send them to him; the Great Prince will pay for and add some money above the price for this' [Collection of Russian Historical Society], 1884, p. 40].

Beklemishev returned on 13 November 6983 (1474). 'On the same day, the Ambassador of the Great Prince in the Crimea, Nikita Beklemishev, returned from Tsar Mengli Giray, son of Achi Giray of Crimea, with the tsar's ambassador Dovletek Murza and many gifts. On the 16th day of the same month, he dictated, 'To the Great Prince from the Tsar, in love and brotherhood. Thy friend, Great Prince, shall be my friend; thy enemy shall be my enemy. And our children and grandchildren shall live in love as brothers' [Iosaf's Chronicle, 1957, p. 89].

The next diplomatic mission, led by Alexei Starkov, took place in March 1475. Kokos

served as an intermediary again, this time assisting in matchmaking to arrange the marriage between the great prince's son and a daughter of Isaiah, a Mangup prince¹. Thus, intermediaries in the establishment of Moscow-Crimea relations were representatives of the Kaffa merchant community of the highest tier, involved in trade with Moscow. In the Customs Register of Kaffa (late 1480s), a son of Gokgoz (Kokos) is recorded as a Jew (*yahudi*) [Inalcik, 1996, pp. 45, 74]. Based on the fact that Kokos himself wrote to Moscow in the 'Jewish script', it can be concluded that he certainly was a Jew.

The next diplomatic mission from Moscow to Crimea was scheduled for September 1477, to Jani Beg. However, the Ottoman conquest and the civil war on the peninsula complicated matters. This diplomatic mission with a Tatar Temesh also was in response (to the mission of Yafar Berdey, who requested to render Janibek a favour and 'take him as a guest' in the case of his escape from Crimea).

In April 1479, when Mengli Giray had firmly established himself on the throne, a diplomatic mission of Ivancha Belay arrived in response to the khan's mission, led by Alach and Syrpyak.

At the beginning of the 16th century, after the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian-Horde Union and the defeat of the Great Horde, there was a slow increase in the Crimea's hostility towards Moscow. In the 1510s, the Khanate formed an alliance with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, marked by agreements in 1516 and 1518.

Egypt was an important partner of Crimea in terms of foreign policies. Crimea's ties with Egypt, of course, were based on Egypt's close relations with the Golden Horde [Zait-

¹ Another daughter of the Mangup Prince, Maria (according to the Bistritsa Chronicle), was married to the Moldavian Voivode Stephen the Great from September 1471. She died in December 1476 [Slavyansko-moldavskie letopisi (Moldavian-Slavic chronicle), 1976, Pp. 27, 29, 64]. The Moldavian-German chronicle of 1457–1499 calls her a princess from Mangup (furstyn auss Maugop) and, for some reason, a Circassian (ein Zerkassin) [Slavyansko-moldavskie letopisi (Moldavian-Slavic chronicle), 1976, Pp. 39, 49]. Section of the refugees who survived after the Ottoman conquest of Kaffa and Mangup settled down in the Moldavian capital Suceava [Ibid., Pp. 41, 51; Zaitsev, 2004a, P. 87].

sev, 2006a, pp. 49–51]. Given the absence of Crimean and Egyptian sources on the subject, the basic material used in reconstructing Crimean-Egyptian relations is found in the ambassadorial books on relations between the Moscow State and the Crimean Khanate.

At the end of April 1491, a certain molla Bagautdin arrived in Moscow with Mengli Giray's letter, in which the khan wrote to Ivan III, 'The Misyur Sultan sent his man to me, to your brother: I saw him at your father's, Azi Giray, and ate bread with him; God taught us such with the sultan in Misyur. Your father, the tsar, as the former sultan, sent his man with fine gifts; and we send fine horses and goods, sabers and gold to him all the time. I would that you send a good man of yours to me, to stay here. What gifts he is to bring, and what he wants to send us. Gifts, which my brother sent to me, I have given to Sultan Bayazyt with Yamgurchey and the Tsarevich. And now you, my brother, will not make me feel ashamed in front of the misyur sultan, this Bagavadyn, your devout person, you will send to the misyur sultan with fine gifts, such as sable fur, fish teeth, to prove your brotherhood; what you send with your devout person Bagavadyn, I would like to send in kind to the misyur sultan. You are my brother in that land, what you need, you tell me; God will let me know, you, my brother, as you say, so it will be done; that man of the miyur Sultan, is now in Kaffa' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 107]. It is clear that active diplomatic and commercial contacts between the Crimean Khanate and Mamluk's Egypt were established back during the reign of Hacı Giray. Something can be said about the nature of trade: Egypt exported horses and weapons to Crimea. Crimean merchants from the Horde's bazaar, as Mengli Giray wrote to Moscow, 'travel to Azem and Misyur, Sham and Rome [ie, Iran-Ajami, Egypt, Syria (Damascus), and Rome—European Turkey—I.Z.]' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 28, 74]. Egyptian envoys and merchants would come to the Ottoman Kaffa, hence, Crimean-Egyptian relations were well-known to the Ottomans. Some Crimeans purchased goods in Egypt at the order of Moscow, e.g., a Chabak bought a stallion of the Akhal Teke breed for the Great Prince Vasili for 100 gold coins [Ibid., p. 41].

Mengli Giray proposed that Ivan III order Molla Bagautdin to purchase something in Egypt in exchange for the gifts for the Egyptian Sultan (sable furs, fish teeth, walrus tusks). In May 1491, Mengli Giray asked that Bagautdin be sent from Moscow to Egypt quickly, because 'his companions are leaving soon' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 111].

In October 1493, Mengli Giray sent more letters to Moscow, written in September on the Dnieper. In one of them, he mentioned his relations with Egypt, 'I gave a yarliq to the molla's younger brother Tezik, send him to you, my brother, with Mynyur and Oyus, to keep in good health; your treasurers took it, but none of money, as I heard, that his friends gave to him, arrived; he could not leave Mynury and Oyus, please appease me, your brother. For you, my brother, I would mention gerfalcons, if you send gifts for Sultan Misyur, his ambassador came, who you will send without staying, let me know" [Ibid, pp. 193–194]. It is unclear, if the Khan referred to Bagautdin, mentioned above, or his brother, 'tezik' Mehmet.

Bagautdin's diplomatic mission resulted in Egypt's reciprocal mission to Crimea. On 5 October 1495, Mengli Giray wrote to Moscow the following, '...a man came from Sultan Misyur to ask for gerfalcons and fish teeth'. To purchase these goods, the khan sent his man Kasym to Moscow. In another letter (dated 8 October) the Khan said, '...Sultan Misyur sent a tent, embroidered wonderfully' [Ibid., p. 220]. Sending tents as gifts was an integral part of diplomatic etiquette, a tribute to the ruler. The khan held feasts and receptions in tents; in the summer, he almost always dwells in his tent.

These diplomatic missions were carried out against the background of a serious Ottoman-Egyptian conflict. In 1481, Egypt welcomed Sultan Jem, Bayazid's brother and a candidate for the Ottoman throne. In 1486, the first Ottoman-Mamluk war began: Egyptians inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ottomans. In 1487, the Mamluks defeated the Ottomans for the second time. Although formally, with the mediation of Tunisia, the two states concluded an extremely fragile peace in 1491, the relationship of the Ottomans and Mamluks was strained.

Contacts continued under the reign of the last Mamluk Sultan, al-Ashraf Kansuh al-Guri

(1501–1517). In 1508, Mengli Giray's brother Yamgurchi asked Vasily III to send lynx furs specially for a shipment to Egypt [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 31; Horoshkevich, 2001, p. 265]. Perhaps the latest mention of Egypt in the correspondence between Moscow and Crimea took place in August 1515, when Muhammad Giray reported, 'We welcomed the ambassadors of Sultan Salim-shah and Sultan Misyur, but we cannot find gerfalcons for them'. In his request for gerfalcons, the Khan wrote, 'From the Moors, Azyams, Misyurs, from Tsargrad—from everywhere we welcome good people, sent by their rulers to us' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 156; Horoshkevich, 2001, p. 265]. The Egyptian campaign of Selim Yavuz (1517) put an end to relations between the two states.

Mengli Giray established diplomatic relations with the State of Ak Koyunlu: there is evidence that Crimea sent its envoys (no later than 1490) to Tebriz to the Sultan Yakub b. Uzun Hasan (1478–1490) [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 106].

In addition to the Great Principality of Muscovy, the Crimean khans maintained diplomatic relations with other Russian principalities until their absorption by Moscow. First and foremost, such relations were with the Ryazan principality. In November 1491, Crimean messengers came to Russia with letters, in one of which Mengli Giray notified Ivan III of his ties with Ryazan, where he sent his man Shemerden [Ibid., pp. 125–126]. Materials of Moscow's diplomatic mission to Crimea in March 1492 (I. Loban-Kolychev) refer to a mission of

the Khan's man Shemerden to the great prince of Ryazan, like a 'brother' to the Great Prince of Moscow [Ibid., p. 139]¹. And so it seems that a mission took place in 1491. Most likely, it was not the first one. In some cases, the Great Princes of Moscow turned to their Ryazan peers to ask for assistance in sending envoys and messengers to Crimea through Ryazan's land [Ibid., pp. 365–366]².

However, a number of Russian lands, not yet fully annexed to Moscow (udels, or principalities), apparently were in a direct tributary (yasak) position during Mengli Giray's reign, depending on the Crimean Khanate, which was recognised by the Great Prince of Moscow. Thus, in 1498 Mengli Giray wrote to Ivan III, 'Towns near Odoyev, whose princes have paid us a yasak of one thousand altyns, since ancient times, and another thousand altyns to the Darags, send that tribute to Darag Bakhsheish; wrote to give us two thousand altyns as agreed, [and] if they do not wish to do so, you could take it from them and return it to us. .. As for the princes of Odoyev, under the rule of Ivan, his people will begin to punish them and you give your word, as it is written, order Bakhsheish to take what is required and give to your brother' [Ibid., p. 269]. Daruga Bekhsheish, who collected yasyk from people in the lands near Odoyev, was succeeded by his eldest son, Davletyar, and after the latter's death in 1518 by Bakhsheish's youngest son, Aldiyar, and Devletyar's son Ileman [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 638–639; Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 47]. It remains to be seen, what the nature of those payments was.

§ 2. The Cossacks in the Foreign and Internal Affairs of the Crimean Khanate.

Dmitry Sen

For centuries, the Cossacks played an important role in the foreign and internal affairs of Muslim states near the Black Sea—the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire. Among other Cossack communities that engaged in the most contact with Istanbul and Bakhchysaray, and which were of particular interest to these states, two groups stand out: the Zaporizhia Cossacks (Zaporizhia Army from the Lower Dnieper) and the Don Cossacks (Don Army).

¹ This relates to the nephew of Ivan III, Ivan Vasilievich (1467–1500), Grand Prince of Ryazan (1483–1500). He was the son of the Grand Prince of Ryazan Vasily Ivanovich from his marriage with Anna, the sister of the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III.

² For example, for this purpose, a letter was sent in 1501 from Moscow to Agrafena Vasilievna (the wife of the Ryazan Prince Ivan Vasilievich and the mother of the last Ryazan Prince Ivan; she was the daughter of Druck Prince Vasily Babich) and to the uncle of Ivan Ivanovich, Prince Fyodor Vasilievich.

However, the Cossacks from the Don River and Zaporizhia might not have been differentiated for a long time in the sources originating from the Ottoman Turks. It should be emphasized that relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Cossacks were multifaceted, as were relations between the Crimean Khanate and the Cossacks. That careful attention paid by the Crimean khans and Ottoman padishahs to the Cossacks, was constantly 'recharged' in connection with various aspects of frontier life, in which the parties engaged in active contact, fought and made up. According to V. Brekhunenko, the propensity toward conflict in Cossack-Muslim relations was the result of the nature of the steppe borders, as, in the end was the propensity toward avoiding confrontations. The idea of confrontation, rooted in the Cossack consciousness through their constant struggle with their Muslim neighbours during raids, acquired the attributes of an inclusive explanation of the existence of the Cossack world [Brekhunenko, 2011, p. 348]. There is no doubt that Crimea and the Ottoman Empire had a huge impact on the formation and development of Cossack communities, their value system, the military culture of the Cossack unions of men. The struggle against Crimea and the Ottoman Empire actively contributed to the formation of the Zaporizhia-Don military alliances, which generally have withstood the test of time. The Don and Zaporizhia Cossacks had a joint fleet (according to V. Korolyov), their plans for attacks on the Crimean Khanate or the possessions of the Ottoman Empire had a consistent nature, not always determined solely by "the interests of their Cossack Host". It is appropriate to note that the Cossacks in the Don region and in Zaporizhia did not always correlate their objectives when undertaking military actions (in a wider sense—their vision of relations with the Tatars and Turks in various spheres) with the interests of their Christian overlords,—that is, the Moscow State or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

When we speak of the influence exerted by the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire on the Cossacks, then, *on the one hand*, it is about the consolidation of the Cossacks, reflecting in large measure their confrontation with the Tatars and the Ottoman Turks. For about

40 years, starting from the second half of the 16th century, the Cossacks 'almost constantly raided, sometimes even undertook real campaigns against the Crimean Khanate, the Turkish possessions in Budjak., Moldova and Wallachia...and even against the coastal cities of Anatolia...Starting from 1574, the year of their first major campaign in Moldova...we find references to the Cossacks as the main enemy of the Ottoman Empire. These messages usually contained derogatory adjectives, such as "infidels", "damned", "vile", "damn" [Bennigsen, 1970, pp. 66–67]. In 1556, sailing to the Azov Sea via the Mius River, the Don Cossacks, led by their ataman M. Cherkashenin, reached Kerch 'behind the uluses of the princes of Shirin, crushing villages on the Crimean coast. The Crimean khans anxiously kept a watch on the activity of the Don Cossacks near Azov beginning in the second half of the 16th century. The sultans tried to involve the Crimean khans Sahib Giray I and Devlet Giray I in the protection of Azov and the marine resources of the Azov Sea (Azov Dalians) following the attacks of the Don Cossacks, which must have taken place at the end of 1540, and certainly in the early 1550s [Mustakimov, Sen, 2010, pp. 307–326]. A military action undertaken by the Don Cossacks against Azov is depicted in the correspondence between Istanbul, Bakhchysaray and Moscow [Sukhorukov, 2001 pp. 71–72]. In particular, according to a Russian source, Sultan Selim II rebuked Khan Devlet Giray I for the execution of D. Cherkashen, a son of the ataman, which in the first half of 1574 compelled the Don Cossacks to attack the Fortress of Azov. The Zaporizhia Cossacks were no less aggressive in relation to the Ottoman possessions in the Black Sea region, as well as in the lands of the Crimean khans. An attack by the Zaporizhia Cossacks on Kaffa (1616) caused a panic in Crimea. The Cossacks managed to overthrow the Kalga Sultan's attempt to prevent them from landing, and carried out successful raids on Crimean seaside villages, after which the Crimeans started to fear that one day the Cossacks would conquer Bakhchysaray, and brought their best forces for the protection of the town [Brekhunenko, 1998, p. 136]. The Don and Zaporizhia Cossacks committed numerous marine and land campaigns

wonder that at the end of the 1640s the news (not completely ungrounded) about an impending attack of the Crimean and Zaporizhia Cossack troops on Istanbul spread among the local residents. Trade relations between Crimea and Zaporizhia were intensively developing in the 17–18th centuries. Apart from the Zaporizhia army, active contacts with Bakhchysaray were supported by the hetmans of the Right Bank and Left Bank of Ukraine—B. Khmelnytsky, I. Vygovsky, P. Doroshenko. Even after the Pereyaslav Rada, which had a shocking impact on the Crimean Tatar noblemen, the Tatar and Ukrainian troops often shied away from direct confrontations with each other, trying to attack their main enemies: the Crimean army—Russian troops, Ukrainian—banners of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [Faizov, 2003, p. 8]. The friendship between B. Khmelnytsky and the Crimean Khan Islam Giray III is well-known. I. Vygovsky also sought to consolidate relations with the Crimea [Gorobets, 2008, pp. 88–105]. P. Doroshenko used the Crimean factor to pursue his interests on the Left Bank of the Ukraine, in his attempts to 'pacify' Moscow and Istanbul (to create an anti-Polish unit), also planning to become a subject of Sultan Muhammed IV, which happened in 1669 [Chuhlib, 2010, pp. 127, 130–131, 139, 145; Kołodziejczyk, 2008, pp. 67–80]. P. Doroshenko's opponent on the issue of cooperation with the Crimea was Ataman I. Sirko, famous for his campaigns in the Crimea, whose name terrified the Crimean Tatars. The Zaporizhia Cossacks, who became subjects of Russia on the terms of the 'Eternal Peace' (1686), took part in the Crimean campaigns in 1687 and 1689. At the same time, the Zaporizhia Cossacks continued to maintain peaceful relations with Crimea, being greatly interested in the economic benefits [Stanislavsky, 2006, pp. 573–574]. Truces (contracts), concluded between the Zaporizhia Army, the Crimea and chiefs of the Ottoman fortresses, often took place: the sources containing information about them date back to 1686–1695 [Ibid., p. 574].

In Ukraine, there had never been a situation when the Cossacks felt a threat to their existence in the face of the Tatars and Turks [Brekhunenko, 2011, p. 374], unlike the Don Cossacks, confronting the implacable attitude of

the Tatars and the Ottoman Turks towards them. By the way, the Don Cossacks did not favour the cooperation between the Zaporizhia Cossacks and Crimea. The last attempts to revive the traditions of Ukrainian-Crimean relations can be attributed to K. Gordiyenko and P. Orlik in the early 17th century. It was K. Gordienko, who defected to the side of Charles XII, who led the Zaporizhia Cossacks to the Crimean Khanate, where they established a new, Oleshki Sich [Milchev, 2006, pp. 588–589]. The fate of the Zaporizhia Cossacks, who became subjects of the Crimean khans only in 1711, was not easy. The Crimean authorities did not show much enthusiasm over the appearance of the Cossacks in the Khanate, nor did the authorities of Ottoman fortresses in the Western Black Sea region. The Crimean Khan Devlet Giray II even had a mind to attack the Sich in 1711. The Zaporizhia Cossacks took an active part in the Russian-Turkish war of 1710–1711, joining forces with Crimean Tatar troops in battles in Ukraine. Later, they were widely used by khans as a military force in other areas; the Zaporizhia army returned under Russia's sceptre only in 1734 [Milchev, 2006, pp. 597–603].

There were much more serious matters standing in the way of a reconciliation of Crimea, the Ottoman Empire and the Don Cossacks than that of the Zaporizhia Cossacks. N. Mininkov believes that primarily, reconciliation was prevented by a psychological mindset, reinforced by the long tradition of confrontational relations. It was a left to the second half of the 17th century to overcome the historical burden of ongoing conflict. A special role in this belonged to an uprising of the Don Cossacks, led by Stenka Razin, and the Schism on the Don in the 1680s. [Sen, 2009, pp. 100–138]. Khan Adil Giray sent a letter to the Ataman in 1670 [Kravets, 1991, pp. 21–25]. Later, Khan Selim Giray I even intended to unite with the Cossacks under Stenka Razin. During the Crimean campaigns, some Old Believers in the Don region started talking about the fact that '...we in the Crimea have it even worse... better go now with the Crimeans than to our tsars in Moscow'; 'if they ravage Crimea, their life will be impossible...' [Druzhinin, 1889, pp. 180, 182]. Fights between the Old Believers and supporters of Russia were fierce near the

Don River, it came down to mass destruction of the enemy: a bloody harvest was collected during the first 'fratricidal war' in the history of the Don region (according to N. Mininkov). The conflict came to a head in the second half of the 1680s. The last bastion of the Old Believers near the Medveditsa River fell on 4 April 1689. However, even before this event, hundreds of the Don Cossacks, often led by their religious leaders, rushed to the Caucasus (including the Kuban), to the Ottoman Azov, and some Cossacks fled to Crimea.

In late 1680–early 1690s, there was an exceptional event: *for the first time in the history of the Crimean Khanate the Giray dynasty found among its new subjects several hundred Cossacks, Old Believers, people from the Don region* [Archive of the RAS St. Petersburg Institute of History, f. 178, inv. 1, file 12366, 12449, 12450, 12348], who had been from the Don in the late 1680s and who then went on to the Kuban, Kuma and Agrakhan. In 1692, the Kuban united different groups of Don Cossacks and Old Believers, and the main event here was a retreat of the Cossacks, led by Ataman L. Manotsky, to the Kuban from the Agrakhan River. Most of the Cossacks who left for the Kuban do so with their families, which marked a qualitative change in the perception of the Crimean Khanate lands by the Cossack Old Believers as 'normal', not 'ungodly'. In February 1693, a Cossack deputation visited Bakhchysaray, after which the legal status of the 'fugitives' was changed. As a result of their petition for admission to 'servitude', 'Crimea's Khan received them (the Cossacks—D.S.)... with great love and told them to live...in the Kazyev ulus as Tatars (that is, among the Small Nogais—D.S.)' [Archive of the RAS St. Petersburg Institute of History, f. 178, inv. 1, file 12348, sheet 1]. Soon after the described events, the Khan ordered that Tatar Kubek-aga be sent from Azov to the Kuban to 'keep safe those Old Believers' and prevent the Nogais and other hordes from harming 'the Separatists' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 210, Columns of the Belgorod Table, clmn. 1406, sheet 178]. As a result, the number of the Kuban Cossacks increased dramatically at the expense of Agrakhan's residents, 'And now there are two hundred or more post-schism Old Believers in the

Kuban' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 210, Columns of the Belgorod Table, clmn. 1406, sheet 177].

By the autumn of 1693, the Cossacks had already settled in a fortified town, erected in the area between the Kuban and Laba rivers. They were paid a salary by the Khan and the Azov Bey, successfully getting their needs met through requests to the Khan [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 119, inv. 1, 1697, file 9, sheet], periodically sending their messengers to Bakhchysaray. It is noteworthy that the requests of those subjects of the Girays were quickly considered in the Crimean Divan. The first Kuban Cossacks left a considerable imprint on the military and political history of the North Caucasus [Usenko, 2000; Sen 2011, Sen, 2011a], laying down a *solid* foundation for relations with the ruling khans, which the Nekrasov Cossacks would later take advantage of. The Kuban Cossacks raided a vast area from the Don River to the Caspian region, and also made incursion within Russian territory. The Cossacks were actively engaged in the slave trade, selling their goods in the Kuban and Azov. According to sources from 1697, there was a 'white priest' among the Kuban Cossacks, who came from the Medveditsa River, 'as well as twenty monks, who live with the Cossacks in a separate kuren (unit), those monks say that they left to avoid being made to follow their faith in a new way, whether they wanted it or not' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 119, inv. 1, 1697, file 9, sheet 8]. In the early 17th century, most of the Cossacks resettled at the fortress of Kopyl. The Kuban Cossacks, fully supported by the Crimean Khans, became a powerful militarized community, whose traditions had formed on the Don and were then systemically developed on the Kuban. In 1702, the Cossacks, living in Kopyl, sent 'eight people of theirs to the Old Believer Avila to bring him back to their fortress, and asked the Khan to give them a paper to leave the Crimea' [Usenko, 2000, p. 74]. At the turn of the 17–18th centuries, the Kuban Cossacks began to play a prominent role in new transitions by the Don residents (including Old Believers) into the Caucasus, as well as raiding on the outskirts of the Russian state, and in the political affairs of Crimea, the Ottoman Em-

pire and Russia in relation to the Cossacks as an important player in the borderlands.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Kuban Cossack community grew dramatically due to similar events on the Don. Active participants of Bulavin's uprising, led by Ataman I. Nekrasov, retreated to the Kuban at the end of 1708. The Cossacks' retreat became an embodiment of a backup plan, developed by Kondraty Bulavin [Sen, 2009a]. For a time, the Crimean Khan Kaplan Giray was not aware of the appearance of a new group of Cossacks in his possessions, so the chance that they were in the Nogai Kuban was high for I. Nekrasov's troops. 1708–1778 was the key stage in the history of the Cossacks of the Crimean Khanate, better known as the Nekrasov Cossacks [Sen, 2002]. That Cossack community was able to form because, first of all, it had been fully supported by the rulers of the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire. The most important years in that period were 1708–1712 [Sen, 2008, pp. 78–83; Sen, 2012, pp. 10–18]. The Nekrasov Cossacks quickly chose the path of *loyalty* towards the ruling khans. Among other reasons, it determined their *massive* participation in the military campaigns of the Crimean Khanate instead of independent raids 'as thieves' on Russian territory. In this case, the Cossacks would have been either executed or extradited. In contrast, the audacity of the maneuver of the Nekrasov Cossacks, organizing their lives in 1708–1712, and embraced by them in subsequent years, was directly connected with their decision to voluntarily find new rulers in the Crimean khans, who they could serve faithfully. The Giray dynasty appreciated that approach in full. Just a minor number of Cossacks returned to the Don. Obviously, the Crimean khans reserved an exclusive position for the Nekrasov Cossacks, systematically supporting them for decades. Throughout the 18th century, no cases of treason or disobedience of the Cossacks in relation to their formidable patrons—the Crimean khans—were recorded.

It is indicative that in the 1730s, hundreds of Nekrasov Cossacks, led by A. Cherkes [Felitsyn, 1904, p. 147], were with Khan Mengli Giray, probably as his bodyguards. We agree with P. Korolenko that 'the Crimean khans *respected* (emphasis is mine—D.S.) the Nekrasov Cos-

sacks, loved and trusted them more than their own Tatars, which were supervised by the Cossacks in the Kuban and, in the case of any unrest among the Kuban residents, the Cossacks took measures to pacify the malcontents' [Korolenko, 1900, p. 18]. All Crimean khans (except, perhaps, Shahin Giray) saw the Cossacks not as dangerous 'kafirs', but as loyal defenders of the throne, of the ruling regime, which did not go unnoticed by the Cossacks. The policy of the ruling Girays in relation to the Nekrasov Cossacks resulted in several notable consequences: the creation of the Kuban (Khan) Cossack army and the transformation of the Kuban into one of the largest centres of the then 'Old Believers' world' [Sen, 2010a, Sen, 2010]. The Nekrasov Cossacks took part in all Russian-Turkish wars of the 18th century on the side of Crimea. Crimea's independence, gained by the Khanate in the last years of its existence, was not welcomed by the Nekrasov Cossacks, who refused to obey Khan Shahin Giray. The Russian military believed that Cossack towns were collecting points for Tatar troops, intending to oppose Shahin Giray and the Russian army [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, f. 89, inv. 8, 1777, file 1991, sheet 4]. In September 1777, a military campaign was carried out against the Nekrasov Cossacks, the punitive nature of which had been laid out in advance [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, f. 89, inv. 8, 1777, file 1991, sheet 6]. The Cossacks who managed to survive fled to the Trans-Kuban region, which they then left over 1777–1778, departing in several groups, for Anatolia and Rumelia. The further fate of fragments of the Kuban (khan) Cossack community was related to their status as Cossacks in the Ottoman Empire until the early 20th century.

For centuries, the Crimean Khanate had actively interacted with various Cossack communities, carefully building up a rich political, military and cultural milieu. It frequently happened that Bakhchysaray's relations with the Cossacks were determined by the unity (similarity) of Crimean-Ottoman interests and the adversarial relations between Crimea and Moscow. But it often happened that non-confrontational relations with the Cossacks were actively supported for other reasons, establishing a real tradition (as was the case with the Zaporizhia

army). Finally, the Crimean Khanate, which was changing its attitude towards its neighbors, was able to revise its views on possible cooperation with troops on the Don and the Don Cossacks. Without recourse to urgent issues reflecting the rich palette of Crimean-Cossack re-

lations, it would be hard to expect new results that could explain the parties' behaviour in a changing international environment, the evolution of various patterns, and, finally, changes in the composition of the participants in the historical process and their priorities.

§ 3. The Crimean Khanate in 1772–1783 and the Fate of the Crimean Tatar Statehood

Vladislav Gribovsky, Dmitriy Sen

A Russian document from the early 1770s on the independence of the Crimea stated the following: '...our demand is the Gordian knot'. Formulated exclusively in the context of Russia's foreign policy objectives, the demand was far from being consistent with the Crimean Tatars' interests and included contradictions from the start, both internal and external. One unravelling Gordian knot tied a lot of other ones, eventually forming the huge Crimean problem that was aggravated during all major wars that Russia waged from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries, surfacing even during the Second World War. It was not without good reason that V. Vozgrin wrote about the mistakes and even dead-end options employed to address the Crimean question by royal diplomacy [Vozgrin, 1992, p. 263]. The most important aspect of this question was an internal split of the Crimean Tatar community. Most of the Tatars strove to preserve their traditional way of life, rejecting changes of any kind, linking them to the world order implanted by Russia while not losing hope that the pre-1771 status quo would be reinstated. A smaller part of them, tired of the burden of remaining in the historical part of the Ottoman Empire, sought to modernise life with the help of Russia.

At the very beginning of the war with the Ottoman Empire, the government of Catherine II was not able to view the full perspective of the Crimean problem. On 15 March 1770, the Imperial Council identified the main goal of Russia in this war: the alienation of the Crimea from the Ottoman Empire and its transformation into an independent state, its voluntary donation of 'some of its fortresses' to host Russian garrisons, as well as the transfer of a maritime harbour to Russia to allow the passage of its

ships from the Azov Sea to the Black Sea, and securing the protection of the Crimean coast from Turkey. A proposal to annex the Crimea to Russia, voiced by some Russian generals even at that time, was rejected as such, since it could seriously complicate relations with the European powers and would require enormous efforts to keep the Crimean Tatars in subjection [Archive 1869, pp. 43–45]. Choosing a less radical solution to the problem—the creation of an independent state in the Crimea—Catherine's office stressed the 'instrumentalist' component inherent in it. This was clearly stated in December 1770 by the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry, N. Panin: '...the independence of the Crimea will ensure the protection of state borders in the future, making it virtually impossible for Porta to continue waging wars against Russia' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1896, p. 248]. It would have been surprising, if Russia, expending enormous human and material resources, had waged a war not in its own interests but in the interests of the Crimean Khanate.

The military and political situation in the Black Sea in 1770–1771 was conducive to the achievement of Catherine II's aims. Entering into an 'alliance' with the Yedisian and Budjak Nogai hordes in September 1770 was an important success for Russia [Kochekaev, 1988, pp. 167–171]. They now had the opportunity to form a separate administration under the protectorate of Russia, which, at the same time, would use the political traditions of the Crimean Khanate for its legitimization. And then, in the name of the administration, to intervene in the affairs of the Crimea and endeavour to change the existing order [Gribovsky, 2008, pp. 26–29]. Nevertheless, the Crimean Tatar

people proved to be capable of resisting the implementation of this plan for a long time. In the summer of 1770, when the Crimean Khan Kaplan Giray II was in Moldova, the organisation of the Crimea's defence was in the hands of Kalga Islam Giray. He conducted overall mobilisation—'all male residents of the Crimea who had come of age, however many there were in a family, were drafted'. The Crimean Tatars were determined to 'when the Russian army comes to Perekop, to use all their power to fight against them' [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, f. 229, inv. 1, file 257, sheets 32–32 reverse]. Kaplan Giray, defeated at the River Larga, succeeded in lulling the commander of the Second Russian Army, P. Panin, into negotiations with him on entering into an alliance [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 229, inv. 1, file 257, sheets 32–32 reverse], making his way to Ochakov, which had been blocked by the Russians, gathering his scattered forces and travelling to the Crimea [Notes, 2004, pp. 367–391]. The Khan's appearance in Bakhchysaray weakened the influence of those Crimean nobles who were leaning towards an alliance with Russia, following the example of the Yedisian and Bucak Tatars, and prevented the Yedichkul and Dzhembayluk Tatars from joining them for some time. Moreover, Kaplan Giray managed to win over the brothers of the chief of the Nogai hordes—allies of the Russians—Jan Mambet Bey, who migrated to the Crimea with his auls and began to reconnoitre the movements of the Russian troops [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, f. 229, inv. 1, file 252, sheets 18, 44 reverse]. Perhaps he also played a role in making the Kalmyks leave Russia, thereby depriving its army of a large part of its light cavalry [Halim Giray Sultan, 2008, p. 166].

The Russian government neutralized the temporary successes of Kaplan Giray through increased propaganda and widely-used bribery of the Nogai murzas [The Imperial Rescripts, 1872 pp. 26–27, 31, 36]. Unrest amongst the Nogais and the Crimean Tatars intensified. In January 1771, 'many Tatars, who have chosen the patronage of Russia, frequently visit the Crimea beyond Perekop. And the Crimean Tatars come between them' [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, f. 229, inv. 1, file 251,

sheets 65–65 reverse. The Crimeans were split into two parts, 'each one...no stronger than the other': some grouped around the Khan, faithful to the Ottomans, others, led by the Shirins, sought to conclude a separate peace with Russia [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, f. 229, inv. 1, file 252, sheet 27]. The Russian government instructed their allies, the Nogais, to summon their tribesmen back from the Crimea, enticing them with lavish gifts and a promise to 'create a special power out of the allied hordes. .. until the entire Crimea is forced to join the common union of the Tatars'. In the late autumn of 1770, the Yedichkul and Dzhembayluk Tatars attempted to cross the Strait of Kerch to reach the Kuban, cut off by Ottoman ships [Kidyrniyazov, 1988 pp. 106–109]. In the light of these developments, it becomes clear why Porta's refusal of Kaplan Giray's demand to send a large sum of money resulted in her disengagement from these affairs and her resignation, which she tendered on 23 November 1770 [Smirnov, 1889, pp. 273–274]. Since that time Bakhchysaray lost control over the bulk of the Nogai Horde; the influence of the Khan's government was practically confined to the Crimean peninsula. On 18 January 1771, Catherine II gave orders to relocate all the allied Nogais from the Perekop Steppe to the right bank of the Kuban, thus assuming that they would be removed from Crimean influence and replace the Kalmyks, who had left for Dzungaria, for the purpose of maintaining a counterbalance to the local population, who remained on the Turkish side [Imperial Rescripts, 1872, pp. 17, 38, 47]. But St. Petersburg did not fully achieve its aims, since it was unable to remove Bakhchysaray from the influence of Istanbul by diplomatic means and it, therefore, began to prepare for a military expedition.

The new Khan—Selim Giray III, delayed his arrival in the Crimea, entrusting his Kalga Muhammad Giray to govern it. In January 1771, a representative of the commander of the Second Army, N. Mavroyeni, arrived in Bakhchysaray with a proposal to form an alliance with Russia. The Kalga gave orders to execute the Russian envoy, but, at the request of the former Yedisian Serasker, Shahin Giray, he reversed his decision and dismissed the envoy with a response that did not contain any obligations [Lashkov,

1886a, pp. 40–41]. From that moment, officials in St. Petersburg realized that Shahin Giray was the first of the Crimean sultans to be favourably disposed towards Russia. As a former Serasker of the Yedisian Horde, he established communication with Jan Mambet Bey, taking advantage of the weaknesses in the Khan's administration. On 8 April, the Nogais expressed the desire to elect Shahin Giray as their Khan. Catherine II agreed at first but changed her decision on 13 May, believing that the election of the khan by the Nogais alone would be illegitimate. She hoped to implement it with the participation of the Crimean Tatars 'as our successes in Crimea progress' [Imperial Rescripts, 1872, pp. 48, 55]. The possibility of electing Shahin Giray by the Nogais was viewed in St. Petersburg as a back-up plan, in case of complications in the Crimea.

Khan Selim Giray arrived in the Crimea on the eve of the 2nd Army's attack under the command of V. Dolgorukov, without sufficient time to organise the defence of the peninsula. On 14–15 June, the resistance of the Crimean Tatars' main forces was broken near Perekop; within two weeks Russian troops had occupied the main strategic points of the peninsula, and on 29 June they took Kaffa, where all Ottoman troops stationed on the peninsula had been concentrated [Petrov, 1874, pp. 181–189]. This event determined the outcome of the campaign and forced the Crimean elite to start negotiations on concluding an alliance with Russia. As V. Dolgorukov wrote, 'The Crimeans are now serious about the matter, doing everything in accordance with all my directives' [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 271, inv. 1, file 19, sheet 1 reverse]. The defeated Khan asked to be placed under 'the highest patronage'. Catherine II did not object but demanded that he renounce Porta [Archive 1869, p. 98]. However, the Shirin beys, who headed an interim civilian administration of the Crimea, were categorically opposed to Selim Giray. Members of the council, convened by them in Karasu Bazaar on 27 July, signed a preliminary agreement to establish friendly relations with Russia and to break away from the Ottoman Empire. They also decided to dismiss the current khan from the peninsula and, according to ancient tradition, elect a new khan [Notes, 2004, pp. 408–413].

The relatively easy occupation of the Crimea strengthened Catherine II's intentions to leave the allied Nogais in the same state as the Crimean Tatars [Archive 1869, p. 97]. Since Shahin Giray was already regarded as an active supporter of Russia by that time, officials in St. Petersburg believed that it was too risky to impose his election to the Khan's throne on the Crimean Tatars. The candidacy of his brother, the former Or-Bey Sahib Giray, looked more attractive to them. Thus, the combination of Sahib Giray as the Khan and Shahin Giray as the Kalga were to provide a compromise. But the compromise proved to be asymmetrical from the start, as Catherine II immediately confirmed the status of the friendly Shahin Giray but postponed the recognition of Sahib Giray's powers until the time a conclusive agreement with the Crimea was signed. The Khan and his government were allowed to 'actually rule the Crimean peninsula in the...former manner', but only after the signing of an 'act of repudiation... by the Porta with a commitment never...to obey her'; a Russian representative, P. Veselitsky, was sent to the Crimea to 'facilitate' the Khan's independence. Provision was also made for the Khan's treasury to retain all previous revenue and, as an act of friendship, to gain Kaffa [Imperial Rescripts, 1872 pp. 66–69].

The actions undertaken by Catherine II in the Crimea were largely based on the experience of integrating the Hetman Ukraine and the Kalmyk Khanate into Russia. Of course, the intention of Catherine II 'to release the Tatars from the Turkish yoke' appeared quite attractive in light of the ideas of the Enlightenment. However, the Crimean Tatars thought differently. Not because they, as V. Izmaylov wrote, 'lived in the shadow of the luminaries of the Enlightenment' [Travels, 1802, p. 251] (statements of this kind are, unfortunately, still found in contemporary literature), but because of their strong historical ties to the Ottoman Empire. The Crimean Tatars compared what was happening to their homeland with the fate of the Kazan Khanate ('they foresee the lot of the Kazan Tatars' [From Affairs, Moscow Section, 1914, pp. 19–20]), and also the fate of their neighbours: the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772, the restriction of the autonomy of the Don Cossacks, the

liquidation of the Zaporozhye Cossacks. These examples were cited by the Crimean Tatar deputa- tion in August 1775 to persuade the Porta to continue the war of 'independence' imposed by Russia to complete destruction [Archive, 1869, pp. 317–318]. It is significant that soldiers who had been recruited from the Kazan Tatars fled from the Russian garrisons located in the Crimea [From Affairs, Moscow Section, 1914, p. 24]. At the very beginning of the occupation of the Crimea, V. Dolgorukov wrote that there was no hope of convincing the Crimeans of the use of the independence that had been won for them—'as malicious and treacherous as these people are, they have only one fear—that of weapons' [Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 271, inv. 1, file 19, sheet 1 reverse]. In May 1773, he proposed to Catherine II that she abandon the idea of creating an independent Crimean Tatar state under a Russian pro- tectorate and consider that 'the entire peninsula belongs to Your Majesty under military law' [Memoirs, 2004, p. 549].

Despite the signing of a written oath by the Crimean murzas, a significant part of the Crimean population went into a long period of hiding in the mountains, while the residents of coastal villages gathered their belongings and drifted in boats along the coast, hoping to ride out the Russian invasion. The Crimeans refused to sell anything to the Russians or let them into their houses, and tried to harm them in every way—they ruined all their boats in order to hinder communication by sea, blocked rivers in the mountains with dykes to ensure that lowland pastures had poor growth, which prevented the enemy's cavalry from feeding their horses, spoiled well water and streams, and so on and so forth. It was not only the Tatars who behaved in such a manner: they were assisted by the Greeks, who were 'subservient... to the Tatars, because without their permission they cannot do anything' [Ibid., pp. 415–420, 447]. The 'scorched-earth' tactics produced the desired effect by preventing the concentration of major Russian forces on the peninsula [Ibid., p. 423].

Of course, such sentiments among the pop- ulation of the Crimea did not inspire Catherine II or Sahib Giray II with any great hope for the independence of a khanate devoid of any so-



A sheet from manuscript document "Al-sukuk ash-shariyat va s-sijilyat al-mariyat" dating back to 1750–1751 V. 72 (the Crimean-Tatar Library named after Ismail Gasprinsky, department of manuscripts and archives)

cial base (it is noteworthy that wordings such as 'liberation of the Crimean Tatars from the Turkish yoke', which were in constant use after April 1770, have all but disappeared in internal documents of the Russian government since July 1771). And if the Empress could continue to rely on the power of Russian arms, the ruling Khan was able to keep his throne, constantly tottering beneath him, by balancing extremely deftly between Russia's increasing military presence, the never-diminishing anti-Russian sentiments among the Crimeans and the strenuous efforts of the Ottomans to restore their military and political potential.

The problems of legitimizing the independent Crimean Khanate and obtaining international recognition of Russia's patronage of the peninsula were Catherine II's top priorities. On 25 August 1771 the Crimean Tatar delegation, led by Kalga Shahin Giray, left for St. Petersburg to prepare a treaty of alliance between the Crimea and Russia [Lashkov, 1886a, p. 43]. In the Russian capital the Kalga Sultan behaved as a representative of a truly independent power and insisted on a ceremonial reception in the style of that of the ambassadors of the Ottoman Empire and Persia [Archive 1869, p. 125]. Perhaps this was the only achievement of Crimean diplomacy. Concerned about the Kalga's behaviour, the Russian government decided to detain him in St. Petersburg 'in order to discipline him' [Imperial Rescripts, 1872, p. 105]. This was done gently but consistently. However, his contacts were strictly limited, especially with the Nogai representatives, who were in the Russian capital at the same time [Ibid., 1872, p. 109]. Allowing the Crimean Khanate to display the outward features of independence, Catherine II meticulously thought up ways of 'participating directly in the internal affairs of these peoples' [Ibid., p. 100]. Her most important instruments for influencing the Crimea were the Nogais, whose relations with the Crimeans she deliberately exacerbated by repeated statements of her intentions to assign a separate khan to them and she tried to limit the power of Bakhchysaray over the steppe hordes by imposing 'certain precise rules' [Ibid., p. 73]. The Nogai ambassadors were received in St. Petersburg separately from their Crimean colleagues, not as representatives of an inde-

pendent power but almost as subjects of Russia [Archive 1869, p. 74]. The aims of separating the Crimean subjects were also served by the decision to 'be kind to all their chiefs'. Breaking the chain of command of the Nogais, Catherine II sent her messages not only to their chief Jan Mambet Bey but also to the head murzas of each separate horde [Imperial Rescripts, 1872 pp. 94–96, 102–104, 106, etc.].

On the eve of the Congress of Focșani, Russia and the Ottoman Empire increased their pressure on the Crimea. The Porta encouraged the Crimeans with the promise of an early landing, as a result of which detachments were assembled and beacons were installed on the Crimean coast for signalling to Ottoman ships [Notes, 2004 pp. 453–458]. On 27 May 1772, the Empress sent her plenipotentiary representative, Ye. Shcherbinin to Bakhchysaray, who, aware of the military training among the Crimeans, went there 'kicking and screaming' [Ibid., p. 446]. On 11 July, Sahib Giray met with Ye. Shcherbinin and, in the course of further discussions of his proposals, contested the wording that the Crimeans 'ask' Russia to take Kerch and Yenikale under its power for their own protection [Druzhinina, 1955, p. 170]. To find a way out of the impasse, Catherine II signed a letter on 12 August, in which she recognised the Khan as an 'independent ruler', without mentioning the fortresses [Imperial Rescripts, 1872, p. 124]. Nevertheless, the treaty with the Crimea was not signed before the Congress of Focșani broke up on 22 August. This strengthened the Crimeans' hope for the continuation of the war by the Turks, and prompted them to speed up their own preparations for the war. But, as the expected landing of the Turks did not materialise, the Crimean Tatars refrained from attacks. On 20 September, Russian troops forced the Khan to let his 20,000 troops go and, with the use of artillery, dispersed the detachments of the Crimean murzas [Notes, 2004, pp. 458–464]

Enlisting the Nogais' support, Ye. Shcherbinin forced the Crimean Tatar Assembly in Karasu Bazaar to sign a treaty of alliance between the Crimea and Russia on 1 November [Kochekaev, 1988, p. 183]. On 29 January 1773 Catherine II ratified the treaty, which contained the following conditions: an alliance

and friendship was to be declared between the Russian Empire and the 'Tatar Region', free from oppression of beliefs and laws'; neither Russia, Turkey nor a third state has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Crimea. All peoples who were previously under the dominion of the Crimean Khanate, including the Nogais, the Circassians, the 'Tamans' and the Nekrasovs, shall remain its subjects, except for the Kabardians. The pre-war borders between the two countries were recognised, and it was stipulated that the Crimean Tatar troops would not be required to take part in war on Russia's side, although they could not oppose it. The treaty also contained a number of other conditions: from the fate of Russian prisoners of war to territorial issues [Imperial Rescripts, 1872, pp. 143–149].

The following aspects of the treaty testify to its unequal nature: its unilateral ratification, the presence of a Russian resident agent in Bakhchysaray and the absence of a similar representative of the Crimea in St. Petersburg, the stationing of Russian troops in the Crimea without any regulation of their actions against the Crimean population, the declaration of free trade on the territory of the Khanate, which did not provide for its Government to apply the same protectionist measures and customs regulation that were in place on the territory of Russia. This shows that the Karasu Bazaar treaty was colonial, typologically similar to the ones concluded at that time by European states with the Eastern countries. The impact of this treaty on the economy of the Crimea has not yet been fully researched. However, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that in the spring of 1773 trade between Left-bank Ukraine and the Crimea became extremely vigorous [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, f. 229, inv. 1, file 321, sheet 143]. Judging from the killings of Ukrainian Chumaks in the Crimea the following year (and of other traders from the Russian Empire), the Crimean Tatars were not too fond of such trade. They were even more annoyed with the actions of the Russian military administration, which, in order to strengthen its border control, confiscated the fishing boats of the Crimeans and blocked communication between Kerch and Taman [Notes, 2004, pp. 481, 518].

Returning from St. Petersburg to Bakhchysaray in February 1773, Kalga Shahin Giray's reception was tense. On 13 March, he spoke at a meeting of the Divan, in which he cited the 11th article of the draft peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire, which provided for the independence of the Crimea. Shahin reproached his compatriots for the violation of the alliance with Russia. Failing to find support in the Divan, the Kalga left [Ibid., pp. 488–490, 503–506]. However, since the Ottoman troops had failed to appear, the Crimeans did not dare to dismiss Shahin Giray from his post of Kalga. He continued to carry out his duties, and, to his credit, acted as a strong supporter of the independence of the Crimea. In particular, much to the annoyance of the Russian authorities, he opposed the construction of a new church in the St. George Monastery in May 1773 [Ibid., pp. 543–544].

In June 1773 the Ottoman Turks stopped an attack by P. Rumyantsev in Silistra; relying on the confusion into which Russia had been plunged following Yemelyan Pugachyov's rebellion, the Porta ventured to take decisive actions in relation to the Crimea. In Istanbul it was decided to take action through the Kuban Nogais, who until then had been considered a stronghold of Russia's influence in the Crimea. Without informing the Crimean Khan Maksud Giray, appointed in 1771, the Porta sent Devlet Giray, a former khan (1769), together with Dzhanykly Ali Pasha to Taman, where they arrived in the autumn of 1773 [Ibid., p. 568; Archive 1869, p. 262]. In the spring of 1774, the Yedichkul Horde found itself under the authority of Devlet, which increased unrest in other hordes and gave the Crimean Tatars new hope [Archive 1869, pp. 274, 280]. However, the outcome of these events was predetermined not in the Crimea but in Bulgaria: On 20 June 1774, at the Battle of Kozludzha, the Ottoman Turks suffered their final defeat in this war. On 15 July, the Porta initiated the preparation of a peace treaty [Druzhinina, 1955, p. 268]. However, Dzhanykly Ali Pasha continued hostilities and landed his troops in Alushta on 18 July [Notes, 2004, pp. 573–580]. The balance of forces was in favour of the Turks—50,000 against 2,400 men at Dolgorukov's disposal [Affairs of the Moscow Section, 1914, p. 15].

This prompted Khan Sahib Giray to openly oppose the Russians, destroy P. Veselitsky's staff and transfer the resident agent to Ali Pasha [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 1261, inv. 1, file 2789, sheet 3]. The Crimean Tatar cavalry managed to partially disrupt their enemy's communication and break some of its positions, but the Crimeans failed to resist the volleys of grapeshot from Russian cannons. By 26 July the main part of the Crimean and Turkish army was defeated and peace was concluded in Küçük Kaynarca on the following day [Notes, 2004, pp. 587–608].

The text of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca reflected the principles laid down in the treaty of 1 November 1772. It contained a supplementary paragraph that all Muslims of the Crimean Khanate 'in the view of his Majesty the Sultan, like the supreme caliph of the Muhammedan law, must abide by the rules prescribed to them by law' [Druzhinin, 1955, p. 280]. The Russian authorities did not immediately grasp the possible consequences of continued religious authority over the Muslims of the Crimea, as in Islamic countries there was no 'distinction between religious and ceremonial life on the one hand and purely civic and legal life on the other' [Smirnov, 1889, p. 299]. In the next five years the Ottoman Empire tried not only to influence the religious life of the Crimeans but also to link the issues of the investiture of the Crimean khans to it. Yet a consideration of the influence the Ottomans exerted on the Crimea after 1774 should take account of the contradictions between the three centres of power in the Ottoman capital that had come into existence by that time—the Sultan's court, the Porta and the Ulems, which had interacted with the Janissary Corps [Meyer, 1991, pp. 133–154].

Russia emerged from the war of 1768–1774 as the victor, thus its interests were dictated to the Crimean Khanate, which was to be made a special buffer to ensure the safety of the southern borders of the Russian Empire [Sanin, 1999, p. 75]. The last Crimean Khan Shahin Giray attempted to transform the Khanate into a truly independent state. However, his path to the 'halva of power' was obstructed by another contender, backed by Istanbul—Devlet Giray, who occupied the throne in 1769–1770. The situation in which the Crimea found itself at

the end of 1774 could satisfy neither Russia nor the Ottoman Empire nor the Crimean Tatars themselves. Russia had, ostensibly, achieved its main goal in the war—the Ottomans' recognition of the independence of the Crimea. In addition, the fortresses of Kerch and Yenikale were transferred to Russia's possession, effectively allowing it to control the right-bank of the Kuban. But the appointment of Devlet Giray as the Crimean Khan, who was openly sympathetic towards the Ottomans and had established a regime of maximum disfavour towards the Russians, neutralised Russia's influence on the peninsula to a considerable degree. The Crimean Tatars fought for the return of their usual order of life, sanctified by their religion and consolidated in the whole complexity of political, economic, social and cultural relations between the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire. It was painful to them to see these ties broken and they felt an eschatological sense of the collapse of the world order familiar to them. Therefore, they could only perceive the independence imposed on them by the Russians and, ostensibly, presented in the most attractive form as a deception to cover up the real dependence of the Khanate on Russia.

After Sultan Abdul Hamid I ratified the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (January 1775) the situation around the Crimea remained as charged as ever. In the spring of 1775 Devlet Giray, unofficially supported by the Ottomans, seized the Crimean throne after the abdication of Khan Sahib Giray. In April 1775 the Tatars themselves offered the khan's throne to Devlet, subject to the condition of their independence. The highest charter and investiture were delivered to him from Istanbul [Smirnov, 2005a, p. 138]. The Khan appealed to the Porta, believing that she had 'deprived the Tatars of their liberty' and declaring that the Russian authorities would turn the Crimeans into 'a likeness of the Kazan Tatars' [Joining of the Crimea, 1885, p. 325]. In these circumstances, the Russians returned to the plan of appointing Shahin Giray as the Crimean Khan. They also considered a previously proposed back-up plan: in the case of failure in the Crimea, 'to make an independent area of the Nogais, which would serve as a counterbalance in the entire area of the Crimea' [Ibid., p. 129]. The Ottoman Turks

also believed that the North Caucasus and, presumably, the Kuban would play a well-known role in their plans to create a 'specific khanate' for Devlet Giray [Essays, 1996, p. 155].

Devlet Giray III was unable to consolidate the Crimean Tatar community, despite the growth of anti-Russian sentiments and the increasing hostility of the local community towards Shahin Giray [Affairs, Moscow Section, 1914, pp. 44–46; Smirnov, 2005a, pp. 152–153]. The Khan's intention 'to do something' about the Russian troops was not welcomed by the Crimean clergy, and his attempt to get rid of the Russians with the help of 'wizards' would, of course, be futile. After the Nogais elected Shahin Giray as their khan, the Russian military developed a plan to despatch him to the Crimea, proposing to use 'all methods other than cruelty and hostility, whether by means of the Tatars themselves or money, to oust Devlet Giray from the Crimea' [Joining of the Crimea, 1885, p. 252]. On 11 March 1777 Shahin Giray landed on the peninsula with the support of the Russian troops. After several attempts to stop the advance, Devlet Giray left Bakhchysaray on 29 March 1777 and sailed to Istanbul. On 30 March, the Crimean beys and murzas sent a delegation to Shahin Giray, 'asking him, as one single voice of all the people, to assume overall rule over all the tribes of the Tatars'. The official ceremony of the Crimeans' giving their oath to the new khan took place on 22 April [Ibid., pp. 482, 574].

The effectiveness of Shahin Giray's rule is often questioned in literature. V. Smirnov called the last khan a 'hapless Tatar', who combined the 'savage instincts of an Asian despot with the most frivolous methods and undertakings in the European manner'. The scholar made unflattering comments on the prospects of the Crimean Khanate in the 18th century, believing that 'the two tumultuous centuries endured by their ancestors did nothing to ensure the internal development or strengthen the international standing of their state' [Smirnov, 2005a, p. 8]. This kind of a colonial discourse, which to some or other extent advocates the inability of the Tatars to preserve their statehood under changed circumstances, makes it difficult to see the actual cause-and-effect relationships. The late history of the Crimea in

the teachings of Russia is, unfortunately, often viewed as *predetermined*, coloured in tones of 'just retribution' for centuries of Tatar raids over Russia. It is unproductive to judge from the predetermination of events, to form a conclusion of the non-viability of the Crimean Khanate on the basis of its liquidation in 1783. The claims of the apologists for the Crimean Tatar statehood, basing their assessment of the last period of its history on the thesis of 'betrayal' by the last Khan (V. Vozgrin referred to Shahin Giray as a 'minion' of Catherine II who 'betrayed the interests of the Crimea' [Vozgrin, 1992, p. 264]), are equally dubious. S. Oreshkova noted with reason that the ironic view of the independence of the Crimea, predominant among scholars, 'should not mask the problem of alternative opportunities for the further development of the Crimean Khanate'; in her opinion, Shahin Giray was the 'first to take up the European challenge the countries of the East were faced with at the time, and began to carry out essentially progressive reforms' [Marinova, 2008, p. 121, 126]. One such likely alternative is the assumption that, in order to prevent the Crimea from being returned to Ottoman rule, the decision was made in St. Petersburg to put a Russian appointee on the Khan's throne, who was 'able to reform the Crimea's economy and social sphere'; in this light, Shahin Giray's activities can be seen as the exercising of 'a whole host of serious reforms' [Kryuchkov, 2006 pp. 16–18]. The topic of the 'westernisation' (modernisation) project of Khan Shahin Giray [Sen, 2012a, p. 134] is far from being finalised, although a number of scholars have made serious advances in this direction.

A thorough analysis of Shahin Giray's reforms, was carried out by A. Fisher, who believed that the Russian Empire served as a model for reforms in Crimea' [Fisher, 1970, p. 83]. The oath, taken by the Crimean Tatar community in relation to Shahin Giray on 30 March 1777, fixed the abandoning of the principle to elect a khan, the right to determine a successor (Kalga) was secured solely for the Khan. This paragraph contradicted the terms of the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca, but Russian authorities accepted it, assuming it was not necessary to mention it in official correspondence with Porto [Joining the Crimea, 1885, pp. 493–500,

576–581]. Shahin Giray restored the divan, not convened during the rule of Khan Devlet, and introduced 12 representatives of the Shirins and Mansurs (supported him in the process of conquering of Crimea) into it; other families of Karachi-Beys were out of work [Fisher, 1970, pp. 84–85]. The entire territory of the Khanate was divided into 6 administrative territorial districts, headed by kaimakams, appointed by the Khan; kaimakam districts were divided into kadylyks (total number—44) [Lashkov, 1886a, p. 58]. The reform was aimed at breaking the old system of controlling the state, based on the clan principle. However, it was discovered soon that the system was not working, as officials, appointed by the Khan, had no power among locals [Zhilenkov, 1883, p. 12]. It forced Shahin Giray to resume the clan organization by assigning representatives of the Shirins and Mansurs to run territories, leaving Bakhchysaray and Kaffa under his own control [Fisher, 1970, p. 86].

The forced return to the clan principles in territorial administration led to disruptions in other reforms. The continuation of the power of beys and murzas over most of Crimea's territory limited revenues of the state treasury, and thus seriously paralyzed the reformer's actions. Shahin Giray tried to find a way out in the confiscation of possessions of beys and murzas, who fled from the peninsula, as well as in the seizure of endowment land from the jurisdiction of the Muslim clergy. He undertook measures to streamline taxation [Joining the Crimea, 1885, pp. 597]. However, he faced difficulties with the establishment of local governments, subject to the Khan; eventually, Shahin Giray had to return to the previously applied practice of transferring the Khan's possessions for procurement [Fisher, 1970, pp. 88–89]. The same fate befell on the rich port city of Kaffa and the entire southern coast of Crimea, where the last Crimean Khan was unable to establish the administration, equal in effectiveness to the former Ottoman one. The Khan's palace remained unfinished [Pallas, 1999, p. 157], which was to become the centre of a renewed Crimea administration. Financially, Shahin Giray remained dependent on Russia, as 'he had never been able to create a systematic taxation system' [Fisher, 1970, p. 117].

The defence reform, which Shahin Giray paid the greatest attention, had no prospects at all due to a failure of other reforms, designed to ensure the implementation of it materially and socially. A squad of the Beshleys from the Kuban, who accompanied Shahin, when he came to Crimea in 1777, was viewed by the Khan as a future nucleus of the army [Joining the Crimea, 1885, pp. 711–712]. He tried to bring the number of the army up to 20,000 people by introducing the recruitment of 1 person from 5 homeowners. However, in reality, just 800 Beshleys served the Khan, accompanied by a few thousand of the Crimean Tatar youth. Referring to the possibility of 'agitation' across 'the Tatar nation' and Russia's willingness to 'support and protect it', he tried to dissuade Shahin from mobilization experiments [Ibid., pp. 637]. Tatar recruits could not manage the drill, carried out by young murzas, they massively fled with the words: 'Even if the whole Crimea is empty, we will never agree to be recruits in a regular service, initiated by the Khan' [Ibid., s. 790]. The last Crimean Khan's reforms sparked protests within six months, which united the irritation of Karachi-beys, removed from the influence on state affairs, dissatisfaction of the clergy because of the secularization of endowment land and general resentment of Muslims of the Khan's intent to force them to pay taxes on an equal basis with Christians. The greatest contempt fell on Shahin's Beshleys, dressed in Russian army cloth, they became a 'tangible image' of the Russian order in Crimea. All the Khan's innovations were viewed by the Tatars as 'a scandalous deviation from their religion, and they were more confident in their religion than in Shahin' [Fisher, 1978, p. 65]. In October 1777, they demanded that the Russian command should release the Khan together 'with the highest murzas and officials', stating at the same time, that 'if they do not get them, they would be better dying to the last man in the abyss, rather than surrender to the Khan' [Joining the Crimea, 1885, p. 793].

The uprising against Shahin Giray revealed the lack of a significant social base for his reign, as well as shattered the traditional balance of relations between the Muslims and Christian population of Crimea. The Khan's intent to equate Christians with Muslims in their

rights sparked hostility on religious grounds. A. Prozorovsky proposed to take advantage of that new phenomenon for Crimea and Crimean Christians to make them fight the Tatars [Ibid., p. 811]. However, Russian troops that dealt with the uprising in Crimea received a different order—to immediately evacuate all Christians from the peninsula. A. Fisher views this event as an end to Shahin's dream of a 'strong westernized Crimean state'; together with the Christians, his state has lost the most productive part of its population, which determined the contents of the Khan's treasury [Fisher, 1970, pp. 100–101]. One should not exaggerate a 'widespread nature' of the struggle against Shahin Giray's reforms—that dissatisfaction was also associated with requirements for Russian troops to leave Crimea, 'after that they supposedly would go home and serve the Khan' [Dubrovin, 1885, p. 800]. Although the reforms were rejected almost all over the entire peninsula, it should be clarified that disgruntled outrage was also fed by intrigues of the Crimean nobles, partly due to usual resistance of the Tatars to any power of the Crimean Khans that they 'did not respect' [Ibid., p. 788]. Therefore, the population's indignation was not necessarily linked to a radical rejection of Shahin Giray's reforms. F. Lashkov believes that 'the decrepit Khanate was unable to be reborn' [Lashkov, 1886a, p. 63]. It is often forgotten that Shahin Giray, who was clearly lacking both management experience and patience, as well as associates, met constant obstructions to his power and was provoked to hastily implement his reforms.

In February 1778, Shahin Giray's power was restored, however, despite repressive actions against his enemies, from that moment it was based exclusively on Russian bayonets and Russian subsidies. Although his power was recognized by the Sultan of Turkey at the conclusion of the Aynaly-Kavak Convention in 1779, as soon as Russian troops were withdrawn from Crimea under this Convention, the situation began to gradually get out of control again. At the same time, as noted by a Russian observer I. Tsebrikov, Shahin had a change of heart regarding Russia, the cause of which was his dissatisfaction with the eviction of Christians from Crimea. In turn, Catherine II

changed her attitude towards him as well. She could not make him a conductor of her interests in Crimea, becoming more and more convinced that he was the main obstacle to implementing them. There was a 'strange' situation, when a governor, in fact dependent on Russia in the military, political, financial and economic terms, unable to establish a stable management within his possessions (which would satisfy Russia at that stage), was trying to behave independently from it. It was expressed not only in the Khan's antics against Russian residents, but also in mercantilist measures—he signed a decree that none of the coins should go beyond Crimea. In the end, it turned out that the Russian exports in Crimea amounted to 370,000 rubles in 1776 but already in 1780 the figure was reduced to 130,000 rubles. At the same time, the imports of Crimean goods increased over the period from 87,000 to 105,000 rubles [Fisher, 1970, p. 119]. It should be noted that Shahin Giray managed to achieve some success in the organization of his own mint, the net proceeds of which reached more than 17,000 rubles in 1780–1783 [Lashkov, 1886a, p. 64].

After another uprising against Shahin Giray in September–October 1782, Crimea faced a situation, the inevitability of which was predicted by Grigory Potemkin in his note 'On Crimea'. Catherine II recognized the cogency of his arguments that the maintenance of Crimea's independence cost Russia more than the immediate occupation of the peninsula. On 14 December 1782, she signed a secret rescript on the accession of Crimea to Russia 'at the first occasion' [Yeliseyev, 2005, p. 277]. After the preparations for this act, Potyomkin, through a medium—Yakub-aga (Rudzevich), a translator of the Russian resident to the Crimean Khan, got the consent of the Crimean elite to eliminate the Crimean Khanate [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 1261, inv. 1, file 2789, sheet 11]. On 8 April 1783, the imperial manifest 'On the adoption of the Crimean Peninsula, the Taman Island and the entire Kuban under the Russian power' was published [Complete Collection, 1830, pp. 897–898]. The annexation of Crimea to Russia in 1783 did not require any considerable military effort from Catherine II's government. There was no uprising of the Crimean Tatars, who rebelled during

the Crimean independence. This is largely explained by the behaviour of the Crimean elite, who received greater guarantees for their social status from Russian authorities than they could have ever had in their own state. For the sake of obtaining the rights of the Russian nobility, Crimean clans and servitors easily agreed to the liquidation of the Crimean Khanate [Zhilenkov, 1883, p. 10]. However, most of the Crimean population found themselves in a very different position. The new procedure turned their

familiar world upside down and made them strangers in their own homeland, leaving almost no protection for their property rights and causing them lose their former social status. That is why at the end of the 18th century there was mass emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, increasing during each of the subsequent Russian–Turkish wars. Thus in every major war, which Russia took part in, a significant part of the Crimean Tatars did not act on its side.

§ 4. Black Sea Nogais

Vladislav Gribovsky

The Northern Black Sea region was not involved in processes of the formation of the Nogai ethnos which took place in the country between the Jayıq, İlek and Emba Rivers in the 15th century. Nevertheless, the region spreading from the lower reaches of the Danube River to the right bank of the Kuban River in the 16th century and the first third of the 18th century was one of the major Nogai centres due to migration from their initial territory for a number of reasons, thus creating large potestarian unions beyond its borders.

The Black Sea Steppe was absolutely alien to the first Nogai migrants. The clan nobility of the Manghit Eli which played a major part in creating the Nogai Horde retained the title of beklyaribek in the Great Horde (Takht Eli) and controlled its right wing situated in the Lower Dnieper region in the second half of the 15th century [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 37]. After the Great Horde had been defeated in 1502, the Mangits became subordinated to Crimean khan Mengli Giray and by the middle of the 16th century they had lost control over the Dniester steppe. A memorial note addressed to the ruler of the Crimea in 1546 by the murzas of the Nogai Horde on the basis of their kinship with Black Sea Mangits provides evidence of that: 'You must know that the Dnieper River is our encampment place and your Tatars must not roam here' (quotation of [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 60]). However, the Mangits preserved their high status and became Crimean karachi-beys like Mansur Oğlu ('the children' of Mansur, Edigu's son). They occupied second po-

sition (after Shirin Beys) empowering them to 'marry the Giray princesses' [Payssonel, 2009, p. 28]. What is more they retained the prerogative of involving the Nogais from the Volga region in their beylyk.

The consolidation of the power of the Girays beyond the Crimean peninsula was achieved by the building of such fortresses as Ochakov, Tyaginya, Ferrakh-Kermen, Perekop (Or) and Arabat which began at the turn of the 15–16th centuries [Smirnov, 1887, pp. 334–341]. Although these fortresses were not a serious obstacle to the expansion of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and were conquered by detachments of frontier governors and then the Zaporozhian Cossacks, they were still an important condition which allowed the Girays to concentrate the nomadic population in their hands and played the role of a 'filter' which let in the migrants from the east and stooped them from moving backwards. The Taman and Temryuk Fortresses fulfilled the same functions covering the crossing over the Kerch Strait and being an advanced post of the Crimean khanate in the Northern-Western Khanate. By the late 16th century, most fortresses of the North Black Sea region were passed to the Turkish military administration, significantly increasing their military importance and the ability of the Crimea to muster the nomads under its authority. They could then [Davies, 2007, p. 8] be sent against neighbours—Russia and the Great Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who were growing in strength. Not only the safety of the Crimea but

also its ability to influence the distribution of forces in Eastern Europe by means of raids depended on this. Thus, territorial unities of nomads named after places of localization were formed around large fortresses: Perekop, Ochakov, Belgorod (Ak-Kermen) Hordes which were gradually filled by the Nogai migrants.

Thus the first mass influx of the Mangits who were relatives of the Nogais took place in 1502. Seven years later Mengli Giray led about 70 thousand¹ Nogai 'wives and children' away from the Volga Region, followed by the majority of the Nogais. .. to the khan of Perekop reinforcing him significantly [Gvanyini, 2009, p. 363]. The next mass resettlement of the Nogais took place in 1516 when 'the Perekop tsar subordinated the Nogai Tatars' [Bevzo, 1971, p. 125]. However, in general by the 16th century the Nogai population still did not constitute a significant importance for its contemporaries. For example, Michalon Lituanus mentions the Perekop (Crimean) Horde and the Belgorod and Dobruja Tatars together. As for the Nogais he refers them to the so-called 'Powerful Horde' hostile to Crimea [Litvin, 1994, pp. 62, 107].

The migrations of the Nogais to the territory of the Crimean Khanate became more active in the middle of the 16th century. Groups which had separated from the Nogai Horde formed Lesser Nogai led by Kazy Murza [Trepavlov, 2011a, pp. 43–44] The Kasyevs pursued by the Greater Nogais headed in the direction of the Turkish fortress Azov to look for defence there. Later they moved to the right bank of the Kuban River. In 1635, due to unrest among the Nogais, a significant part of them flee to the Perekop steppe. The next year, the khan's authorities managed to take about 12,000 Kasyevs to the Crimea. Many of them were settled separately, about five people in each village, all the rest soon found themselves in Bucak [Novoselsky, 1948, pp. 239–240, 254]. The Lesser Nogais still remained an independent branch of the Nogai ethnos for many years although their population decreased. Over the course of time their citizenship of the Crimean Khanate was consolidated. In the late 17th century, they were referred to under the title 'the Kuban Horde' as a part of the Khanate. During the next century the

Horde occupied 'all the lands situated between the Azov Sea and the Kuban River' [Payssonel, 2009, p. 39]. The presence of the Lesser Nogai Horde on the right bank of the Kuban River allowed the Girays to use this region as a transit corridors through which the Nogais reached the North Black Sea region heading to the Crimea through the Taman passage or heading to the Perekop steppe through the Don River.

The concentration of a nomadic population in the extreme western part of the Black Sea steppe—Bucak—was an important strategic mission for the Crimean khan who was obliged to send his cavalry regularly to take part in wars of the Ottoman empire in Central-Eastern Europe [Veszprémy, 2010, p. 96]. In the early 16th century, regions of the Great Horde led by the Mangits traditionally involving migrants in their regions [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 450] joined the local mixed population of Pecheneg-Qipchak origins associated with the 'Tatars from Belgorod and Dobruja' [Palamarchuk, 2008, p. 122]. After a military campaign in Astrakhan in 1569, the Crimean khan settled about thirty thousand 'Astrakhan-Nogai families' in Bucak [Tunmann, 1991, p. 55].

The settlement in North-west Black Sea region was more attractive to the Nogais in comparison with other districts of the Crimean Khanate, in view of opportunity to win expensive trophies in neighbouring overcrowded countries and the absence of permanent control of Bakhchysaray. As for the Crimea itself locked by the fortress of Perekop, the freedom of movement of the nomads was immediately restrained (to the extent of installing a sedentary way of life [Smirnov, 1887, p. 413]) and taxed while roaming in the Perekop steppe was dangerous because of attacks of the Zaporozhian Cossacks [Litvin, 1994, pp. 62, 107; Bronevsky, 1867, p. 338]. The Nogai population which had increased significantly by the early 17th century was the basis for the formation of a large potestarian state led by Kantemir Murza who originated from the Diveev clan of the Crimean Mangits.

The elevation of Kantemir was due to his participation in the Battle of Khotyn of 1621. The Sublime Porte which was discontent with the behaviour of Crimean authorities during this unsuccessful war passed the representation

¹ Apparently, their number is exaggerated.

of its power to Kantemir Murza appointing him the ruler of Silistra and Bessarabia [History of the Battle of Khotyn, 1896, p. 73]. Thus the headman of the Bucak Nogais was no longer subordinate to Bakhchysaray and became subordinate only to the Turkish sultan. It was a very tough blow for the power prerogatives of the Crimean Khanate which led not only to actual tearing away of its northern-western possessions but also the strengthening of the influence of Mangit clan in Bakhchysaray, the support for which was represented by the increasing number of Nogais. [Novoselsky, 1948, p. 185]. The dominance of Kantemir's agents of influence was the reason for anti-Ottoman rebellion initiated by Mahmed Giray and kalga Shagin Giray. In 1624, they invited the Polish king to occupy the fortresses of Akkermen, Tyaginya and Kiliya controlled by Kantemir and move the Nogais from the Bucak to the Crimea. Although the King rejected this plan, he did not prevent the Zaporozhian Cossacks from concluding with the Crimeans a treaty on cooperation against the Ottomans and Kantemir [Grushevsky, 1995, pp. 516–517]. Kantemir triumphed in this fight and assigned Janibek Giray to the khan's throne. This was approved by the Sublime Porte and his reign (1628–1635) was remarked by the further increase of influence in the Crimea.

The enthronement of Inaet Giray in 1635 caused a new conflict between the Crimean establishment and the grouping of Kantemir. As in 1624, the Crimeans escaped the control of the Ottomans and concluded a treaty with the Zaporozhian Cossacks. A new aspect was that Inaet engaged more Nogais in the fight against Kantemir. Driven away from their native steppes by the Kalmyks, by 1636 they were concentrated between the Volga River and the Don River exhausting their forces in the turmoil between their main clans—the Tinmamatevs and the Urmamatevs. A complicated reversal of fortune placed the regions of both clans on the right bank of the Don where they were subordinated to the Crimean khan who forced them to oppose Kantemir. Consolidating his power at the expense of the Lesser Nogais driven away from the Crimea, he failed to resist the troops mustered by Inaet Giray so he headed to Istanbul. The khan devastated Bucak but he could

not consolidate his success because of a sudden attack of the Nogais who killed his kalga.

Afraid of the defeat of the Crimea by the Nogais the Crimean nobility and the Sublime Porte arranged to organise the extradition of Inaet and agreed to accept the new khan. Meanwhile, the Don Cossacks took the advantage of the Crimean unrest and conquered Azov. They were deprived of the protection from the Crimea and Lesser Nogai Horde. Kantemir and Inaet were executed by order of Sultan Murad IV as guilty of the unstable power of the Ottoman Empire in the northern regions of the Black Sea [Novoselski, 1948, pp. 240–255].

The attempt of the Sublime Porte to consolidate its power in the region through promoting the Bucak Horde as distinct from the Crimea caused problems rather than advantages. The removal of Kantemir and the return of Bucak to the Girays could not restore the status quo due to a large concentration of the Nogais in the Black Sea steppes. This was a consequence of the events dating back to the 1620–1630s. From that moment the Crimean khans had to learn how to rule an enormous mass of nomads who were subordinated to them. In the second half of the 17th century, the Crimean authorities managed to instill a sedentary way of life amongst the Bucak Nogais and by 1663 they had created in Bucak a permanent administration headed by the khan's yaly-agasy ('the governor-general of the seacoast'). His residence was situated in Khankishla village [Evliya Chelebi, 1961, p. 264]. Except for Bucak, a significant number of the Nogais were concentrated in the Ochakov steppe and were mentioned by contemporaries as the 'Ochakov Horde' [Description, 1879, p. 485]. Known sources cast partial light on the contents of this 'Horde': for example, Evliya Chelebi notifies about the presence of more than three thousand communities of the so-called 'Karatayaks' [Evliya Chelebi, 1961, p. 114] without specifically defining its connection with the Nogais. One can suppose that it was a large group of Nogais which appeared in the Black Sea region in 1636 and roamed separately from the Bucak Horde.

As A. Fisher noted, an increasing number of nomads reinforced the Crimea and 'laid the basis for its internal weakness' simultaneously [Fisher, 1978, pp. 6–7]. Managing the nomads

was much more complicated than a sedentary population. That is why the khan's administration was striving to instill a sedentary way of life amongst the migratory Nogais. It was possible only inside the Crimean peninsula and required many efforts of Bucak. Instilling a sedentary way of life in nomads in other regions was absolutely impossible; the organisation of raids in northern provinces which had become more and more frequent by that time was likely to be the only way of restraining them. If in the past the Girays brought the nomads under their control, in order to wage wars against the strong neighbours, now they had to wage wars to be able to maintain their power over the nomads. The transformation of means into an end was stipulated by a combination of political and economical conditions. Although the pastures of the steppe Black Sea region were large in number, as well as those situated between the Volga and the Emba Rivers and the quality of their forages was even higher, a significant part of it was not used for agriculture because of the activities of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The shortage of pastures was an acute issue and it could be only be compensated by raids. The nomadic citizens of the khan always required these raids. Their rebellion was more terrible than the Anger of the Sublime Porte. This is evident from the words of one of Islam Giray III's courtiers (1644–1654) who stood up for the decision of his sovereign to support the rebellion initiated by B. Khmel'nitsky and gave the following answer to the representatives of the Sublime Porte in reply for their criticism: 'We have more than one hundred thousand Tatars who can neither trade nor work on the land. If they didn't wage war, where would they earn money to live?' [Turanli, 2010, p. 50].

Concentrated in the Crimean Khanate, the Nogais demonstrated active participation in the events in Ukraine which referred to the middle and the second half of the 17th century [Sanin, 1987, pp. 240–243; Chronicles, 1971, pp. 97–159]. The participation of the Crimean khans in the struggle for the Ukraine allowed them to organise systematic pillaging of vast agricultural territories until the early 18th century. As a result they succeeded in managing a big number of the Nogais. The conclusion of the peace treaty of Constantinople in 1700, became a decisive

moment for the system of ruling the Nogais in general and the Crimean Khanate itself. The treaty deprived the Girays from the right to carry out independent policy with regard to Russia, based on the broad use of raiding practices [Inaljik, 1995, pp. 128–129]. The prohibition of raids by Crimean subjects into lands of the Great Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia imposed by the Sublime Porte caused a wave of discontent and became the reason for rebellion among the Nogais [Sanin, 1993].

The counteraction by the Crimean and the Nogai elites could not interrupt the process of forming stable borders between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, although caused grave complications during the first three decades of the 18th century. One of them was the settlement of about 40 thousand families of Yedisian, Yedichkul and Dzhembayluk Nogais on the territory of the Crimean Khanate in 1724–1725 [Evarnitsky, 1903, pp. 1113–1114]. They were previously subordinated to the Kalmyks and for that reason were considered to be the Russian citizen. Most of them were brought to the Crimea from Kuban in autumn 1724 by Devlet Giray's son Bakhty Giray (1699–1702, 1708–1713) who had intended to take the Crimean throne with their help. Khan Mengli Giray II (1724–1730) after consolidating his power in Bakhchysaray removed Bakhty from the Crimea to the Caucasus and settled the Nogais. They represented his main force on the lands of the Zaporozhian Cossacks who were considered to be the Crimean citizens according to the peace treaty of Prut dating back to 1711. This was one of the reasons why the Zaporozhian Cossacks received Russian citizenship, and a reason for the escalation of their conflict with the Nogais. This became extremely obvious on the eve of the Russian-Turkish war of 1735–1739 [Gribovsky, 2001, pp. 63–65].

The treaty of Belgrade concluded between Russia and Turkey in 1739 created conditions for the realization of principles declared in the Treaty of Constantinople dating back to 1700. The main content of the treaty was to establish peaceful frontiers between two empires, defining the citizenship of borderline population (with the exception of free-spirited migrants) and the removal of conflicts at the border commissions led by representatives of Istanbul and

Petersburg. They would impose fines on culprits of plundering.

In 1739–1768, an efficient mechanism was established in the steppes, aimed at the elimination of raiding in region which had existed in Russia since ancient times. Under the pressure of the Sublime Porte the khan's authorities had to form standing offices on the territory of the Black Sea Nogais. Their aim was to prevent the nomadic raids on Moldavian, Ukrainian and Russian lands as well as the regulation of relation inside nomad groups. The basis for the creation of the khan's administration on the territory of the Nogais was an authority formed in the Bucak Horde in the second half of the 17th century—the first third of the 18th century headed by the khan's yaly-agasy or serasker Sultan belonging to the Giray dynasty during military actions. After 1739, the Bucak serasker, who used to be only a commanding officer, concentrated the functions of civil management in his hands [Khaidarly, 2003–2004, pp. 253–269]. Initially his power spread not only to Bucak but also to the Yedisian Horde whose nomadic encampments were situated between the Southern Buh River and the Dniester River. Although by 1653 the Yedisian had had their separate serasker, the Bucak serasker still continued interfering in their rule. The consolidation of the power of the khan's governor-general (as well as the abuse of it) became a reason for a significant rebellion of the Yedisian and Bucak Nogais in 1758, which led Crimea Giray to the khan's throne. During his first reign (1758–1764) he chose Căușeni for his summer residence and constantly moved between it and Bakhchysaray surveying the dependent Nogais in this way. In 1759, the Crimea Giray formed a separate Horde from the Yedichkuls who roamed in Bucak. They were led by their own serasker who chose the left bank of the Dnieper River. The Dzhembayluk Horde situated in the Perekop steppe did not have its own serasker and was governed by or Bey—the khan's governor of Perekop also assigned from amongst the Girays [Gribovsky, 2009, pp. 77–89].

The creation of a standing mission of the khan's power on the territory of the Nogais resulting in the spreading of systematic taxation and national service caused discontent amongst the nomads who were always striving to be on

a territory with minimal state interference. The numerous attempts of the Black Sea Nogais to receive Russian citizenship are mainly explained by these motives [Kochekaev, 1988, pp. 134–141, 158–162]. Although in Petersburg the authorities considered them as their old citizens who had gone to the Crimea as traitors, they still allowed the possibility of their return when the occasion arose. This occasion arose during the Russian-Turkish war of 1768–1774. In September 1770, the Yedisians and a part of the Bucaks concluded a treaty of union with Russia and by the beginning of 1772 about 80 thousand Nogai families (or about 400 thousand people) were moved from Northern Black Sea region to the territory between the Yeya and the Kuban Rivers. Under protectorate of Russia, the Nogai murzas became the supporters of independence of the Crimean Khanate and contributed to Shagin Giray's accession to the throne in 1777. Nevertheless, the reinforcement of administrative control over the Nogais settled at the Kuban River as well as the Russian military supervision led to a significant part of the Nogai murzas supporting Turkish proteges claim for the Crimean throne. While the Crimean Khanate was abolished on 28 June 1783, the Nogais swore an oath of Russian citizenship. However, the intention of the Russian government to move the Nogais from Kuban to the territory between the Volga and Ural rivers caused a rebellion. The suppression of the uprising led to the mass migration of the Nogai population to Turkish possessions and death of a significant number. [Gribovsky, 2008, pp. 26–36].

In 1790, three thousand Nogai families under Russian power were moved to the Molochnaya River in Northern Azov Sea region. Later the Nogais returning from Turkey joined them. In July 1801, this group of the Nogais received the status of Cossack troops. However, internal factions made the creation of irregular military unit impossible and led to the elimination of this status in autumn 1804 and the formation of *pristavstvo* [Gribovsky, 2002, pp. 156–159] existing until 1832. In 1860, almost all the Black Sea Nogais including those who previously were settled on the Crimean peninsula moved to Turkey. Dobruja, Bruss and Qöq vilayets in Asia Minor became regions of their local habitation [Sergeev, 1913, pp. 180, 216–222].

§ 5. Bucak and Dobruja Tatars

Tasin Jamil

Dobruja now situated in the south-east of Romania and Bucak situated in the south-west of Ukraine today can be considered as an extension of the broad plains which used to be called the Kipchak steppes. Probably for this very reason, the Turkic peoples and nations founded their settlements on Dobruja and Bucak lands and dominated there without division. Dobrudja and Bucak are inseparable from each other from both a geographic and historical point of view. The Tatars are successors to the ancient Turks or Kipchaks to be more precise and they possess a sense of ethnic belonging to these territories [Tahsin Gemil, 2010, pp. 9–22]. The Tatars continued dominating in eastern and southern parts of the territory including regions of Dobruja and Bucak until the 14th century. In the "History of Seldjuks", based on reliable sources and which was finished in 1424, Ali Yazıjizade wrote the following about Northern Dobruja, which had been subordinated to the Golden Horde since the second half of the 13th century. "*There were 2–3 Muslim towns and 30–40 Turk nomadic encampments in Dobruja for most of the time*" [Topkapı Sarayı, 1390/91, p. 234]. The same author provides interesting information about the period of Berke's reign (1257–1266) dealing with Bucak and territories situated in the east: "*Lands from the Crimea and Moldavia to the vilayet were for a long time the territory of Islam. There is a mosque of < Berke-khan > in Moldavia which was later turned into a pigsty by 'the unfaithful'*" [Ibid, p. 235]. The territory between the Prut River and the Dniester River, including Bucak, was separated from the Golden Horde by the Moldavian state in about 1370. The famous Arabic traveler Ibn Battuta, who visited Dobruja in 1330, referred to the Tatars of the Golden Horde as Turks and wrote the following words: "Finally, we reached a small town, which is known as Baba SalTuqay, where the land of Turks ends. .. There is completely empty steppe between Baba SalTuqay and the first Byzantine vilayet. It takes 18 days to cover it on foot" [Ibn Battuta, 2005, p. 331]. Baba SalTuqay Town is known today as Babadağ village situated in the north

of Dobruja. In the 13–14th century, in the epoch of the Golden Horde, Dobruja was by no means fallow land [Aurel Decei, 1978, p. 191; Inalçık, 1986a, p. 610]. In the late 13th century, prince Nogai who had founded the center of the independent state settled in Dobruja, in Isaccea Town [Ernest Oberlander-Târnoveanu, 1997, pp. 49–63]. In the middle of the 14th century, the center of another Tatar state was situated in Dobruja in Yeni Sala fortress¹. Different writing sources and archeological finds confirm the presence of the Tatars on lands of Dobruja and Bucak in the 14th century. Since the 1280s, "the Danube Skythians paristrion skydon" are mentioned in European sources. i.e. information starts emerging [Fontes, 1975, pp. 510–511; Alexandru Gonța, 1983, p. 98]. Apparently, these Tatars were not small in number. Their armed forces interfered in civil strifes and disorders with great success in the Bulgarian state and defended the borders of the Golden Horde from any invasions from the side of the Balkans [Spinei, 1982, s. 176–177]. In the middle of the 13th century, at the time of Berke-khan's reign, missionaries from Central Asia brought Islam to the territory of Dobruja. The names of some Muslim missionaries have been preserved to our time in the names of some towns of Dobryja: Baba-Dag (Baba Saltuk/ Muhammad al-Bukhari), Machin (Baba Machin), Isakcha (Baba Iskhak), Tulcha (Baba Tulchi/Kulchi). The spread of Islam in Dobruja was finally proved by Arabic geographer *Abu-l-Feda* (1273–1323) [Aurel Decei, 1945, s. 632–633].

In the late 14th century, when the Ottomans visited Dobruja for the first time, they found a Muslim community of Tatars here. After the destructive invasion of Amir Temür in the Volga Region in 1395, many Tatars fled to Dobru-

¹ On 22 June 1368, the King of Hungary Louis I provided a Tatar merchant with a document, which stated: 'dominus Demetrius princeps Tartarorum' [Documenta, 1977]. Romanian historian N. Iorga translated it as 'Tatar Khan Te<j>mur' [Iorga, 1937, P. 264]. Other Romanian historians placed this Tatar state in Budjak [Spinei, 1982, Pp. 274–278].

ja and Rumelia [Grecov, 1953, pp. 342–344]. Consequently, there is a rather tight bond between the Tatars of the Volga and the Danube River. One of the main Tokhtamysh Khan's emirs Aktau and his warriors took part in the battles serving the Ottoman Empire and Wallachia. Judging by the evidence of the Ottoman and Byzantine historians of the 15th century, their number was about 35,000 people. During the Battle of Nicopolis (1396), they reinforced the Ottoman front and had a significant influence on the outcome of the battle [Cronici, 1966, p. 40 (Enveri), 50 (Oruc); Laonic Chalcondil, 1958, p. 75]. In the 16th century, "The Tatars of Aktav" feature in official documents as warriors serving the Ottoman state [Tayyib Gökbulgin, 1957, p. 87]. During Sultan Mehmed I's reign (1413–1421), the Tatars from Anatolia were moved to Rumelia [Orudj bin Adil, 1925, s. 110]. It is plausible that a part of them settled in Dobruja.

In 1417, Dobruja entirely passed to the Ottomans for 460 years. There is still no significant evidence on the Tatars of Dobruja which refers to the 15th century. In the 15th century, the region known as Bucak was situated within the Moldavian state. Nevertheless, the number of Tatars living there was insignificant. In the 15th century, "Tatar slaves" belonged to the Moldavian state [Beldiceanu et I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 1986, pp. 7–14]. At the end of the same century, this expression started disappearing from official papers. In about 1370, Moldova supported by Poland and Lithuania put an end to the domination of the Golden Horde on the territory between the Prut and the Dniester. As a result of these wars, the city of Orgeev, in the modern Republic of Moldova, Costeshti village and two adjacent, prosperous Tatar cities were destroyed, and the inhabitants were killed or enslaved [Eugen Nicolae, 1995, pp. 197–200; Gheorghe Postică, 2006]. Apparently, the expression "Tatar slaves" has existed since then. However, in my opinion, these slaves were gypsies brought by Tatar-Mongolians. Anyway, these "Tatar slaves" who mainly lived in Moldova disappeared and assimilated with "Gypsy slaves".

At the end of the 15th century, the Tatars started coming to the territory of Bucak again knowing in advance that their countrymen

were living here. Although they were not large in number, they were mentioned in European sources as brave warriors serving the Polish king and Moldavian voivode [Iorga, 1899, p. 73]. As a result of political and military cooperation between Ottoman sultan Bayazid II and Crimean khan Mengli Giray, the southern-eastern part of Moldova, that is Bucak, was passed to the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean state. The Ottoman Sultan conquered Kiliya and Akkerman fortresses and the surrounding areas and the Crimean khan acquired Căușeni and Dubăsari and their outskirts [Inalçık, 1960, p. 1253; Tahsin Gemil, 1983, pp. 225–238]. The Tatars settled here. We learned from a source relating to this period that "many Tatars" lived on lands situated between Kiliya and Akkerman fortresses belonging to Murtaza-khan [Orudj bin Adil, 1925, p. 132.]. The Tatars who settled in Bucak were subordinate to the Crimean khan. Thus unlike Dobruja, Bucak became a common Ottoman-Crimean possession (condominium). According to a Polish source relating to 1502, the Ottoman sultan summoned the Volga Tatars to Bucak and promised taxes from the Akkerman fortress but also slave trade taxes to the Crimean khan. This fact may be regarded as an indicator of the increase of strategical significance of Bucak [HurmuZaky, p. 493]. Due to the weakening and then the complete disappearance of the Golden Horde, part of the Volga Tatars were drawn in into the migratory flows. Bucak and Dobruja became attractive territories for the Nogai Tatars who roamed between the Jayıq (the modern Ural River) and the Don River. These territories have been populated by the Tatars since ancient times. The permanent increase of Tatar population in Dobruja was referred to with concern in European sources since 1512–1524, primarily Polish sources [HurmuZaky, p. 170]. In 1521, troops of the Dobruja Tatars numbering twenty thousand warriors led by Hanzade Saadet and Himmeth Girays were sent to the Ottoman troops mustered not far from Edirne [Sroekovsky, 1979, p. 175].

In 1538, as a result of cooperation between the Ottoman Sultan and the Crimean khan the joint Ottoman-Crimean possessions in Bucak were extended (Bender fortress and its surroundings were conquered) and reinforced. At

that time, the name "Bucak" was becoming more and more famous. Apparently, it may refer to 1484 and the Crimean khan Mengli Giray. Bucak situated between mouths of the Danube and the Dniester and which took 70 hours to cover in length, on foot and 34 hours to cross on foot, resembled the shape of an angle [Ismaïl Haqqı, 1954, p. 41]. Judging by official Ottoman papers, Bucak and Dobruja, which were subordinated to the khan in the 16–18th centuries, and the Danube district were part of the Silistra sandzhak which was mentioned as Silistra-Ochakov since the late 16th century. For many years, there were the following regions in Bucak: Akkerman, Bender, Kilya, Izmail, Sarata/Tatarbunary; Tomarova or Temürabed (Reni), Dubăsari, Kartal district emerged in the 18th century, in the course of time, the names and borders of some districts were changed. Famous regions of Dobruja: Silistra, Dobrich, Hadjioglu Nazarjik) Balchik, Mangalia, Karasu/Sakarya, Baba-Dag, Khyrsovo, Mechin, Isakcha, Tulcha [Tahsin Gemil, 2004, p. 53; Tahsin Gemil, 1984; Valeriu Veliman, 1984; Aleksandr Sereda, 2009].

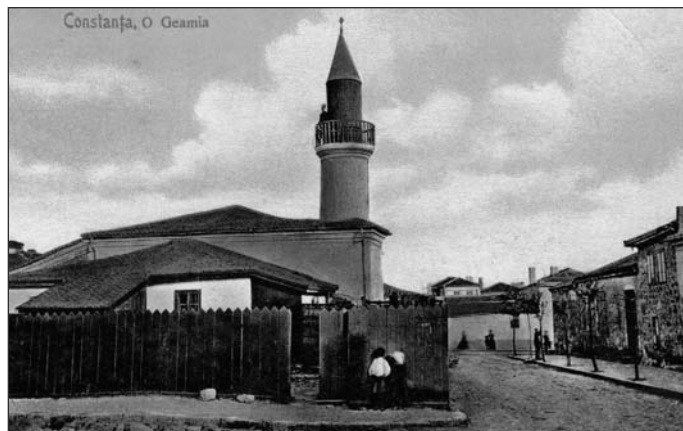
In the middle of the 16th century, many nomadic and semi-nomadic Tatar (Nogai) tribes were gathered in Bucak and Dobruja. In 1546, Crimean khan Sahib Giray (1532—1551) took severe measures against the Nogai tribes roaming in the steppes. He forced them to obey and moved to Budjak and partly to Dobruja [Tevarih-i Sahib Giray Han, 1973, p. 72]. At the same time, as Muscovy extended its borders, the Nogais were forced out from their former territories [Kurat, 1972, pp. 280–289] and their tribes had to travel constantly in the western direction, especially to the territories of Bucak and Dobruja, until the second half of the 18th century. The main tribes were the following ones: Mansur, Orak, Kassai, Mamai, Or-Mambet (Mehmet), Jemboylyk, Jedisan, Jetishkul, Kungrat, etc. [Inalçık, 1986a, p. 1287; Mamut Enver, 1964, pp. 326–327; Giusppe Cossuto, 2001, p. 71]. By moving the Tatar tribes to Bucak and Dobruja, the Ottoman government had its political and economical goals. Bucak and Dobruja were suburban territories and they had to grow stronger from the economical point of view in view of the fact the new nomads had settled there. At the same time, Tatars troops

displaced there could be used as political or military weapons against Romanian principalities, Poland and even the Crimean Khanate. The Crimean khan also found the moving of numerous Nogai tribes from the peninsula to more remote territories rather useful.

Prince and scientist Dimitrie Cantemir, with Moldavian origins, reports that in 1568 30,000 Tatars were living in Bucak [Dimitrie Cantemir, 1876, p. 326]. Sultan Ahmed I's decree dating back to 1608 stated: "Some years ago, the Crimean and Nogai Tatars crossing Ochakov and the Dniester River, five-ten thousand Tatars from Akkerman, Bender and Kilya found motherland in their steppes" [Tahsin Gemil, 2009, pp. 123–124]. A diplomatic report dating back to 1618 and sent from Istanbul to Paris states that 15,000 Tatars had been living on the western bank of the Dniester River [Iorga, 1899, p. 220]. Italian traveler Marco Bandini found 60 Tatar villages in the middle of the 17th century [Ibid., s. 260] and Ottoman traveler Evlia Chelebi who was in the same province at the same time reports about 200 flourishing Tatar villages [Inalçık, 1986a, s. 1287]. In 1691, famous engineer-general and spy L.F. Marsigli counted 300 Tatar villages in Bucak [HurmuZaky, s. 368]. In the middle of the 18th century, consul Ch. de Peyssonel sent to Bakhchysaray by the French king found 500 Tatar villages on the same territory [Ch.de Peyssonel, 1787, p. 258].

Judging by the ruzname written during Suleiman Kanuni's military campaign in Karabogdania in 1538, Turk-Tatar villages and town were almost filled with population in this period [Aurel Decei, 1945, p. 636]. Venitian Marco Venier in Dobruja in the late 16th century reported that Hanzade and 40,000 Tatars had settled recently in Dobruja [Călători, 1971, s. 392]. Halepli Paul wrote from Dobruja in the middle of the 17th century that "the local population completely consists of Tatar-Muslims" [HurmuZaky, p. 368]. In the 16–18th centuries, Dobruja and Bucak were called "Tataria", "Tatarian plain", "Tatarian land/area", etc. [Gabriel Andreescu, 2005, pp. 98–99; Tahsin Gemil, 2010, p. 21].

Since the 17th century, Bucak had become too crowded for new Tatars. So the Bucaks started grazing cattle on outlying territories



A Tatar mosque in Konstanz, Romania

especially on Moldavian lands. In this connection, there was a large number of complaints in the Ottoman Archive. Nevertheless, until the second half of the 17th century, both the Crimean khan and the Ottoman padishah neglected these complains. In this period, the Ottoman sultan used the Bucak Tatars as the opposition to the Zaporozhian Cossacks subordinate to Poland as political and military weapons. Even Mirza Kantemir, the headman of the Mansur tribe, was a sanjakbey of Silistra at first and then in 1620, he was appointed as the beilerbey of Ochakov. The army of Kantimir-pashah mainly consisting of Dobruja and Bucak Tatars was so strong that it managed to defeat the Crimean army in 1624 and won the respect of Poland, Wallachia and Moldova until he was executed in Istanbul in 1624 [Tahsin Gemil, 1979, s. 50–99]. In the second half of the 17th century, Bucak was utterly overpopulated. Crimean khan Mehmed Giray-Sofu IV (1641–1644; 1654–1666) decided to move a part of the Nogai Tatars from Bucak to the eastern bank of the Dniester River in reply to obstinate complaints from the beys of Moldavia and Wallachia. But the Nogais resisted and asked the Ottoman sultan for help. In September 1666, Al-Hadj Halil-aga, sent from Istanbul, officially offered the Bucak Tatars Ottoman citizenship and the chance to settle on the territory of Akkerman, Kiliya, Ismail, Bender, and Sarat. In other words, the Tatars of Bucak were no longer subordinate to the Crimean khan and became the citizens of the Ottoman Empire. To be more precise, the Bucak Tatars became subordinate to the beylerbey of Ochakov. The ob-

jection of the Crimean khan resulted in his removal from the throne. Moldavia and the Crimean Khanate were deeply concerned with the problem called "the motherland of Halil pashah". The Nogai Tatars had a very firm reason to go over to the patronage of the Ottomans due to the overpopulation of Bucak. The Bucak Tatars became one of the most topical questions for discussion in Karlovits. The sixth clause of the Ottoman-Polish treaty signed on November

24, 1698, required the return of the Tatars who had crossed the border of "the motherland of Halil Pashah" [Hurmuzaky, pp. 226, 494–495]. Taking advantage of the war of 1710–1711, the Nogais crossed the border of Bucak and officially settled in the new area on Moldavian lands. However, soon, this territory became insufficient. After the middle of the 18th century, some Nogais from Bucak under the influence of Russian propaganda migrated to the eastern bank of the Dniester River to Russia. Some of them migrated to the south of the Danube, to Dobruja [Iorga, 1899, p. 251]. However, Bucak was still overpopulated by Tatars. The way of life in the 18th century changed a lot in comparison with the 16th century. Although the Bucaks accepted the settled way of life and started working on the land they still could not give up cattle-breeding. Vast pastures with juicy grass were needed for a great number of herds of horses and flocks of sheep and horned cattle. Conflicts with neighbors and firstly Moldavians appeared for this reason [Tahsin Gemil, 1996, s. 149–152; Tahsin Gemil, 2009, s. 93–100]. Despite this, the Bucak Nogais established friendly relations with Romanians from Moldavia and Wallachia and even lent them grain in the lean season [Tahsin Gemil, 2008, s. 677–685; Iorga, 1899, s. 263]. Many European travelers and diplomats (Kleeman, Bruce, Peyssonel, Tott, Sestrencevicz, etc.) remarked upon such specific features of the Bucak Tatars as hospitality, friendliness and diligence [Iorga, 1899, s. 263].

Undoubtedly, migration started in 1783 after the annexation of the Crimea. And this was reflected on Bucak and Dobruja especially. As

there was no hope of avoiding Russian occupation after the Treaty of Jassy of 1792, the migration of the Tatars intensified. Judging by figures, 30,000–100,000 Crimean resettlers took refuge on the Ottoman empire that year [Fisher, 1987, s. 78]. It is still unknown how many people exactly came to Bucak and Dobruja. Nevertheless, there must be many since as these territories are attractive for their closeness to the Crimea, especially for those who hoped to come back home.

According to the seventh clause of the Ottoman-Russian treaty signed in Bucharest on May 28 1812, Bucak was passed to Russia and the Tatars settling there were acknowledged and authorized to move to the Ottoman lands. To be more precise, Tatars were given 18 months to leave Bucak and they had to be replaced by Christians who were citizens of the Ottoman empire [Mustafa A. Mehmet, 1986, pp. 363–364]. A significant part of the Bucak Tatars were moved to other territories of the Russian empire (to Ekaterinoslav and Chersonese, the Crimea and Northern Caucasia) [Kalmykov, etc., 1988]. However, the majority of the Tatars of Bucak moved to Dobruja from where some of them migrated to Turkey. After 1812, there were no Tatars left in Bucak.

The number of Tatars coming to Dobruja from Bucak and the Crimea was about 30 000 people. After the Crimean war (1853–1856), Dobruja once again became an area for settlement for the Tatars. According to the decree of Abdul-Medgid dated back to September 2, 1856, Medgidia was founded for the Crimean resettlers and in 1857–1860, the railroad "Danube—Black Sea" was built. As a result of the war of 1877–1878, Dobruja passed to Romania. In 1878, the Romanian authorities organized a census according to which 225,753 people lived only in the northern part of Dobruja in total; 71,146 people were Tatars, 48,784 people were Turks, 46,504 people were Romanians, 30,237 people were Bulgars, 6,994 people were Circassians, etc. [Karpát, 2003, pp. 209–230]¹. In total, the number of the Tatars was

likely to be much higher as a significant part of the Tatars (presumably 30%) was recorded as the Turks. In 1905, it was acknowledged with surprise in a brochure released for Romanian propaganda that one could still find more than 700 Tatar cemeteries in Dobruja and that their amount exceeded those of the Tatar villages [Pariado, 1905, p. 39].

* * *

In the period between 1417 and 1878, Dobruja was under control of the Ottoman empire. The Tatars living there as the Ottoman citizens had to obey the existing way of life and laws. A specific feature was that the Dobruja Tatars and the Nogais especially took part in wars headed by their commander. At the same time, there were many Tatars who took advantage of the Timar system established in Dobruja. This can be observed in the use of "Mirza" title and in the names of people and villages reminiscent of the Golden Horde and Crimea [Tahsin Gemil, 2004]. Although the Ottoman empire did not take any discriminatory measures, the Tatar villages of Dobruja were different from the Turk ones, in view of the fact that both the Tatars and the Turks of Dobruja preserved their way of life for centuries although they they treated each other very well. Differences in the way of life between the settled tatars (the Crimeans) and nomadic Tatars (the Nogais) were preserved for years. Moreover, the Nogai villages also had a place [Müstecib Ülküsal, 1966; Frederick De Jong, 1986, s. 164–189].

In 1484 and 1583, the Ottoman ruler organized a military campaign in Moldova with the participation of the Crimean khans and their troops. As a result of these campaigns, the southern-eastern region of Moldavian office of voivode passed to the Ottomans and the Crimea. The Ottoman padishah conquered five districts in this territory called Bucak and the Crimean khan owned some regions on the right bank of the Dniester River in his turn. Dubossary, Căușeni, and Khan were the most important. Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Tatars living in Bucak were subordinated to the Crimean khan becoming his citizens. The Crimean khan assigned his serasker in Bucak to rule efficiently. The most important representative of the khan, serasker, was chosen from the representatives

¹ According to the Russian census of 1877, the population of Medgidia totaled 21,200 inhabitants, including 12,000 Tatars, 4,100 Romanians, 2,800 Turks, 1,600 Slavs, 500 Circassians and 200 Germans [Karpát, 2003, Pp. 228–229].



A Tatar village
in Dobruja
Engraving print
1853 (J.Laurens
«Village tatar».
Paris, 1853)

of the Giray dynasty, it was usually the khan's son or brother. The serasker of Bucak was a member of the divan of the Crimean khan and he had incontestable authority. Being the headman of Bucak army, the serasker concentrated great forces in his hands. He ruled Bucak almost like the khan, his headquarters were situated in Căușeni town, not far from the Dniester River. The serasker had his own divan, vizier, paymaster, secretary, etc. The Bucak Tatars were subordinated to the serasker and kadiys beyond the Ottoman Iles. The divan of the serasker was the court of last resort for plaintiffs in Bucak, death sentences were also passed here. The divan of the khan had the function of the court of last resort for state cases. Bucak Tatars were obliged to give the serasker *kurush* from every house and a sheep from every village annually. When a serasker took office, it was necessary to give him 500 cattle. The serasker had to take counsel from the local major mirza in his turn. The Crimean khan controlled the Bucak Tatars thanks to an important official — Yaly-aga [the headman of coastal command]. Yaly-aga looked after the Dniester river, he lived in Khankyshlasy. A representative of the Moldavian voivode stood on equal terms with the Crimean khan, the serasker of Bucak, and Yaly-aga. At the same time, the representatives of the Tatar nobility were equal to the Moldavian voivode. They dealt with problems of the Moldavians living in the Crimea and Bucak and the Tatars living in Moldova [Peyssonel, 1787, I, pp. 301–303, II, pp. 240–241ö, 254, 262, 308 v.s. ; Iorga, 1899, p. 260; Iorga, 1904, pp. 237, 302, 342, 375, 408 v.s. ; İnalçık, 1986a, p. 1287].

Mengli Giray II (1724–1730; 1737–1740) wanted by force to implant the Crimean order, in order to eliminate independence that increased significantly among the Nogais of Bucak. He considered the Crimean way of life suitable for the Bucak Tatars as well. The khan wanted them to build houses instead of putting up tents and stop them following their herds, so he advised them to work on the land. The Bucak mirzas took the necessary measures to own the land in the form of *suylural*. Relations with voivode Grigory Gika were established in order to end conflicts with Moldova. It was also announced that all the territories conquered by the Nogais, apart from "Khalil Pashah Yurdu", would be returned to Moldova. The Nogais who withdrew from these territories received the lands of Akkerman and Izmail, while those who wanted to stay had to pay tributes to the owners of the land. The reason for an attempt to carry out these reforms in Bucak was a powerful uprising in 1727–1728. This Nogai rebellion was stifled by the joint forces of the Crimea, the Ottoman empire, Moldova and Wallachia. Although Mengli Giray II's plans were not always successful, the independence of Bucak was shaken after this rebellion and it lost its military and political significance. Nevertheless, these events led to the serious economic growth of Bucak [Cronici, 1966, pp. 249–250; Peyssonel, 1787, p. 339; Mihordea, 1979, p. 1087; Tahsin Gemil, 2009; Dan Ion Haidarlı, 2003, pp. 165–170].

The Tatars occupy an important place in the history of Southern-Eastern Europe but the majority of local historians underestimate their significance and this trend is topical today as

well. The fact that the Tatars were confused with the Mongolians. The Christian church carried on propaganda against the Tatars for many years due to mistaken perceptions. Unfortunately, at those times, many states including Russia blamed the Tatars deliberately in an attempt to conceal their state failures and expansionist strivings. In this connection it is reasonable to throw the light on the topic of style of presentation of information about the Tatars in Romanian historical tradition which is the least familiar to me. Romanian historians are also prejudiced against any subjects connected with the Tatars. It is nonetheless fair to point out that Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga, who was at one time well-known, and certain other Romanian historians attempted to stress the important part played by the Tatars in the history of Romania. The most important historical fact is that the Tatars and their predecessors Qipchaks (Cumans) had a special significance in the formation of Romanian national character, statehood and their further development. Indeed, in the 1320s, the Cumans became the major founders of Wallachia, the first Romanian state. Moreover, Toktemir-oglu Basaraba was the founder of Wallachia. The Basaraba dynasty ruled Wallachia until the 16th century. In 1330, Wallachia was saved from Hungarian dominance only due to the Qipchak-Tatars, that is the Golden Horde. The emergence of a new Romanian state—Moldova—in the historical arena was also related to the Tatars. In a letter sent from Crimea to the Pope on April 10, 1287, a catholic monk (bishop) praised Nogai in person "*Ymor filius Molday*". Although these important historical data have long been known, Romanian histo-

rians still do not take them into consideration. Otherwise, they will have to accept the fact that the Tatars were also the founders of the Moldavian state. Nevertheless, several Romanian historians acknowledge that these two states could exist on the strong foundations only with the help of the Golden Horde. Romanian medieval sources contain many personal names of Qipchak-Tatar origins. These names mainly belonged to representatives of the gentry and representatives of power. The Romanian language contains numerous Qipchak-Tatar borrowings including some terms referring to the organization of the state. Even now, toponyms of Turk descent (the names of rivers, lakes, and places) can be found in any region of Romania. Most of them refer to 300-year-old epoch of Qipchak-Tatar history. The ceaseless existence of the Romanian people and state was possible thanks to the Tatars and Ottomans. The Romanians organized attacks and caused damage during such long-lasting relations with the Tatars and the Ottomans. However, the Bucaks also hurt Moldova significantly. And this is true. It is also true that the Tatars and the Ottomans play the part of defenders in Romanian history. The Romanian national and political identity was defended from attacks by large catholic states (Hungary and Poland) at first and then from destructive invasions of Orthodox Russia due to the forces of the Tatars and Ottomans. The Tatars from Crimea, Dobruja, and Bucak performed their defensive duties many times. If one day all the positive and negative events and deeds between the Romanians and the Tatars are balanced, I am sure that positive deeds will definitely out-weigh the negative.¹

¹ For more detail see: [Tahsin Gemil,2012].

CHAPTER 6

Political History of the Kazan Khanate

Alexander Bakhtin, Bulat Khamidullin

Under khan Mahmutek, the Kazan Khanate was mainly concerned with domestic affairs. He made many efforts to unite Bulgarian emirates under his power and neutralize separatism. The khan planned to rely not on the local population but on the Tatars drawn from the steppes. The Kazan Chronicles state that "barbarians from different countries (the Golden Horde, and Astrakhan, and Azov, and the Crimea) began gathering and coming to the Tsar" [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 53; Lyzlov, 1990, p. 50]. In general, the khan managed to create a united state but it was not centralized. There was also no unity in the ranks of the Kazan nobility.

Domestic and foreign policies of the country were mostly defined by the struggle of clans and groups of nobility. The confrontation traces its roots back to the history of the Golden Horde. The slackening and collapse of the great steppe state was a destructive consequence of this rivalry. The consequences for the destiny of the Kazan Khanate were negative as well. N.A. Firsov and G.I. Peretyatkovich marked out the so-called "fractions" in Kazan [Firsov, 1866, p. 73; Peretyatkovich, 1877, pp. 151–176]. The definition was picked up by historians [Khudyakov, 1990, pp. 35–44]. Sometimes "fractions" are called groupings [Alishev, 1990, pp. 53–54; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005, p. 94]. They were struggling for the power and independence of the khanate. Initially, the struggle between representatives of Kazan nobility was closely related to foreign states whose support they were searching for and who interfered in the political life of the khanate. Newly arrived Nogai, Horde, Siberian, and Crimean feudals became the basis for the oriental group. Steppe natives maintained an idea of relations with settled peoples which was traditional for nomads. Raids, pillaging, and taking prisoners for sale in Eastern slave markets were an integral part of their economic mode of life. This

group of feudals was in favor of confrontation with Russia. They were supported by a part of Kazan feudals who were involved in the slave-trade with eastern countries. Their popularity was due to the fact that they stood up for patriotism under the banner of Islam, for the independence of the country, the union with Muslim yurts and sacred struggle against Christian Russia. It influenced the national consciousness of the Tatars, but it inescapably led to the worsening of relations with Russia. This was fatal for the khanate and dramatic for the peoples dwelling there. The oriental fraction was related to other Tatar states—the Nogai Horde, the Tyumen, the Siberian, the Astrakhan, and the Crimean khanates. Its followers received constant support and implemented a policy which was beneficial for them.

The *Moscow* fraction was formed simultaneously. The basis was formed by native Kazan nobility supported by trader and craftsmen interested in peaceful relations with Russia and economic cooperation. It expressed the interests of the majority of the population of the khanate without bias but it was weaker than the oriental one and it was less popular. Its leaders found it difficult to make a compromise with Russia, since Russia wanted to achieve greater dependency for the khanate' something which was inadmissible in Kazan. Moreover, the confessional differences between two countries played a significant part. From a psychological point of view, it was difficult for the Muslim to conclude a union with a Christian state even if it corresponded with the interests of the overwhelming majority of its citizens. It was the opposite with representatives of other beliefs even if they were only concerned with their mercenary interests. As for economic ties, they were rather feeble and could not influence the stability of peaceful relations with Russia [Smirnov, 1948, p. 19; Bazilevich, 1952, p. 200].

The history of the Kazan Khanate resembles a constant wavering between two types of political extremes: from a union with Christian Russia to searching for a contact with Muslim states—the Siberian Khanate, the Nogai Horde, the Crimea and Turkey at the last stage of its existence. It had an influence on the political struggle in Kazan, and made the position of fractions unstable.

I.I. Smirnov considers the internal political struggle in Kazan as a typical manifestation of feudal turmoils, as the struggle of feudal clans for power. This struggle became even more complicated because of the fact that internal political groupings were used by states siding with Kazan—the Russian state, the Crimea, Shynab khans—to facilitate their foreign policy plans. On the other hand, these groupings themselves were trying to reinforce their positions in a struggle for power by uniting with certain states supporting Kazan. Their aim was to guarantee accession to power with the help of external forces [Smirnov, 1948, p. 19].

To a certain extent, the efforts of the Russian Office of Ambassadors influenced the sentiments among the Tatars. This practice was implemented by Ivan Kalita, who initiated a process of the large-scale bribery of the Horde nobility in the form of giving presents. Russian diplomacy recruited followers from amongst the Tatar nobility by fair means or foul. Some of the feudals became accustomed to receiving "salaries". They earned them by carrying out policy favorable to Moscow and providing important information. Nevertheless, recruited feudals were never directly dependent on Moscow. The representatives of nobility who supported Moscow always emphasized that they would firstly serve their khan and then the great prince of Moscow and that they were guided in their actions by the desire to establish friendly and partner relations between the countries. The support of Moscow was firstly used by feudals for their own benefit. If their interests did not coincide with those of Moscow, they would not follow the lead of Russian policy, leading to "betrayals" which are so often mentioned by chroniclers.

The political fractions were not stable; feudals went over from one side to another depending on changes in the political situa-

tion. Political struggle often took place between fractions. It often turned into military confrontations. Its success mainly depended on the sentiments of the various strata of the Tatar population. The level of social consciousness in Kazan was organized in such a way that the masses believed thought that the victory of one or another fraction could bring about positive changes to their positions. The interference of foreign states in this struggle aggravated the dramatic consequences and sufferings of the population of the khanate.

As for foreign policy, the khanate had diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations, as well as military conflicts with both neighbors and more distant states. The Nogais traded in horses and sheep with Kazan without the payment of taxes. [Kochekaev, 1988a, p. 15]. Sometimes their encampments came to the Kama River and they would find themselves on the territory of the khanate. The families of khans often entered into marriages with the Nogais. The Nogai steppes were a place of emigration for the Kazan opposition. There was a "Manghit prince place" in Kazan. The Nogais received annual tributes in the form of honey, fur coats, fabrics, and money—10 barrels of honey and 60 roubles—from Kazan [Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1793a, pp. 168, 220, 241; Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1795, p. 27; Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1801, pp. 182, 233, 291]. There was no fixed form of paying tributes. There is reference to annual tributes from Kazan which equaled 100 barrels of honey and 9 fur coats [Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1793a, p. 241]. Another source refers to 100 barrels of honey and 100 roubles [Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1795, p. 27]. In 1577, Prince Urus wrote that the Nogai Horde received fur coats, fabrics and honey or 40,000 altyns from Kazan [Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1801, pp. 182, 233, 291]. The Nogais were often the allies of Kazan and waged war against the Russians together with them. Nevertheless their relations worsened from time to time and then they attacked the khanate.

Various contacts took place with the Tyumen (Siberian) Khanate. Siberian tsareviches and

khans tried to influence Kazan until the early 16th century and laid claims to political power.

The relations with the Astrakhan Khanate were mainly friendly. The inhabitants of Astrakhan provided the Kazan khans with military help although it was not large-scale.

Relations between the khanate and the Great Horde were hostile but there were no active military confrontations.

The partnership with the Crimean Khanate was very close. The representatives of the ruling dynasty were distant relatives of the Girays and the influence of the Crimean nobility was significant. The inhabitants of Kazan were trying to establish relations with Turkey through the Crimea. However, the help they relied on in Kazan was not forthcoming either from Crimea or Turkey.

There were diplomatic contacts with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but they were mainly related to the attempt to conclude an anti-Ottoman union.

Initially, separate Russian princedoms and lands were the major foreign policy partner of the Kazan Khanate, then it was Russia, or the Muscovite state.

The inherited Horde traditions of centuries-old domination over Russia and the ancient rivalry between North-East Russian and Volga Bulgaria for control in the Middle Volga River influenced relations between the Moscow princedom and the Kazan Khanate. In middle ages, there was no principle of peaceful coexistence and relations between neighbors were defined by power, so war was a common thing and peace was of short duration. Equitable relations could take place for a while only if military and economic potentials were approximately equal. If this parity was violated, the stronger neighbor usually tried to subordinate the feebler one in order to create a safety buffer and achieve economic preferences (getting tributes and creating favorable conditions for trade and economic activity). Various means including diplomatic, economic, and military ones were used for this purpose. The elite of the Kazan Khanate did not always perceive political changes adequately and recalling the former greatness of united and mighty Golden Horde, they tried to preserve their power over Russian lands.

Nevertheless, Russia, striving for integration and becoming stronger and stronger, was becoming a powerful state, which was able to defend its own independence. The incapacity of the Tatars to maintain the dependency of the Russian lands led to frequent international conflicts.

After the Russians had been defeated under Suzdal in 1445 and the great prince Basil II had been captured, the Moscow Princedom had to pay tributes to Kazan [Bakhtin, 2008, pp. 156–157]. However, the Russian prince did not start paying tributes at once. Numerous invasions of the Kazan Tatars on Russian lands in 1446 and 1447 can be explained by this fact¹.

In the 1450s, the question of the final integration of the Russian lands and release from foreign dependence arose. This led to a discrepancy between the fixed political relations and real correlation of forces. The Russian state, which was growing stronger and owned significant material and human resources and military potential, had to be subordinated to the feebler Kazan Khanate. This confrontation had to lead to a conflict inevitably. Apparently between 1450 and 1460, Moscow stopped paying tributes to the Kazan Khanate and the Great Horde.

Another reason for the deterioration of Russian-Kazan relations was the necessity of ceasing Kazan attacks and the release of many Russian captives. M.G. Khudyakov acknowledged that the Russian government was striving for the abolition of Russian slavery..." [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 42].

The clash of Russian-Kazan interests in Vyatka and Perm arose simultaneously. Starting the last stage of integration of the country, Moscow organized military campaigns against inhabitants of Vyatka and forced them to acknowledge their power [Varnivian antiquity, 1993, p. 16]². Kazan was not satisfied by the reinforcement of Moscow state at the borders of the khanate and especially by the fact that Vyatka became subordinated to Moscow. The Typographical and Vychegorodsko-Vym-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 37. Pp. 44, 87–88, 113.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 12. P. 112; Vol. 23. P. 156; Vol. 26. P. 217; Vol. 27. Pp. 120–121, 275, 349.

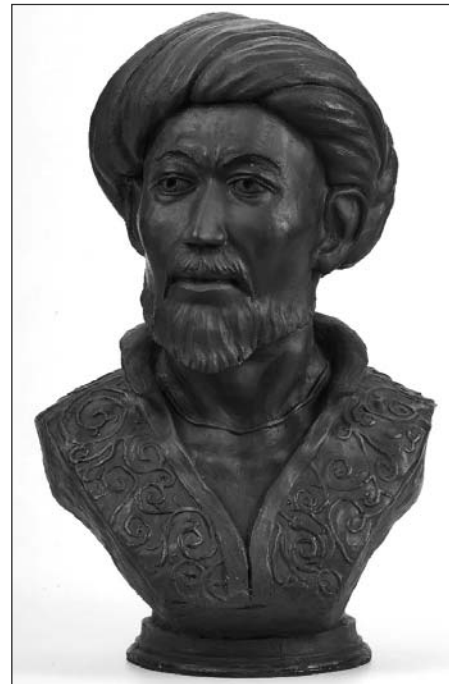
sky chronicles and letters from Safa Giray addressed to Polish-Lithuanian king Sigismund I provide evidence of the fact that the Kazan Khanate considered Vyatka as the sphere of its influence and got tributes from there. Kazan also had interests in Perm [Mustafina, 1997a, p. 32; Vychegodsko-Vymskaya, 1958, p. 262]¹.

K.V. Bazilevich stressed one more reason for the worsening of Russian-Kazan relations. He mentioned that the Russian government intended to prevent the Kazan Khanate from rapprochement with the Great Horde by establishing control over the Kazan Khanate and turning it into a strategic ally [Bazilevich, 1952, pp. 199–200].

The problem could be solved in the following ways: 1) establish friendly and partner relations through the conclusion of a beneficial treaty; 2) achieve the vassal dependence of the khanate; 3) eliminate it through conquering or peaceful integration [Kovin, 1995, p. 40].

The contradictions between the countries resulted in a conflict. In March 1461, Russian troops organized a military campaign in Kazan. Nevertheless, they managed temporarily to prevent a war. In Vladimir, Basil II was met by Kazan ambassadors who proposed peace, and the military campaign was canceled². Nevertheless, the attacks by the Cheremis, who were subordinated to the Kazan Tatars, did not stop. In 1462, a flotilla consisting of inhabitants of Ustyug, Vologda, and Galich was sent against them. After conquering, the Maris settlements along the Vyatka and the Kama rivers, they went to Great Perm. Meanwhile, "the army of the Cheremis and the Tatars came to Ustyug region, they were fighting there, took many prisoners. .. The inhabitants of Ustyug chased them, reached them, they defeated them and returned all the captives"³.

The next military conflict took place in 1467–1469 and it was related to the struggle for the khan's throne in Kazan.



Kazan khan Mahmutek.
Reconstruction by T.S. Balueva. 1994

At some time in the middle of the 1460s, khan Mahmutek died in Kazan. At this time, his brother Mustafa was living in the khanate. He was the Ulugh-Muhammed's fourth son and was mentioned in a Turk essay in 1504: "Tavarikh guzide nosrat-name" [Material, 1969, pp. 39–40] and indirectly in Russian manuscripts. It contains a story about his son, Murtaze, who was roaming through the steppes. In 1471, Ivan III invited the prince to serve. It is known that in 1472 he was in Serpukhov. On December 31, 1473 "tsarevich Murtoza, Kazan tsar Mustofa's son" was hosted by Ivan III in Moscow and and the Great Prince granted him with Novogorodok at the Oka river and many other provinces"⁴. D.M. Iskhakov assumed that Mustafa continued roaming the steppes after his father and brother had gone to Kazan [Tatars, 2001, p.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. P. 188.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 12. P. 114; Vol. 18. P. 214; Vol. 25. P. 277.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 37. Pp. 46, 90.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 3. Pp. 242–243; Vol. 4. Pp. 133, 151; Vol. 6. Pp. 9, 31–32; Vol. 8. Pp. 167–168, 178; Vol. 12. Pp. 141, 154; Vol. 18. Pp. 243, 247; Vol. 20. Section 1. Pp. 290, 298; Vol. 21. Pp. 54, 552; Vol. 22. Section 1. Pp. 483, 492; Vol. 25. Pp. 291, 301; Vol. 26. Pp. 241, 253; Vol. 27. Pp. 135, 279, 353; Vol. 31. P. 117; Vol. 33. P. 124; Vol. 37. P. 93; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 37, 44.

132; Iskhakov, 2002b, p. 65] but he does not explain why Murtaza is referred to as the Kazan tsar's son in Russian chronicles. Mazurinsky chronicles say that "the sons of the Kazan tsars came to serve the great prince Ivan Bazilievich: Mustofa's son Murtoza and Obreim's son Abdyletiv..."¹ It is plausible that Moscow authorities were planning to obtain a legal candidate for the Kazan throne; and take advantage of him later in the struggle for the spreading of Moscow political influence of the Kazan Khanate.

Mahmutek had two sons—Khalil and Ibrahim. Their uncle tsarevich Kasym who was Ibrahim's stepfather served in Russia². Both of them could claim the khan's throne. There was a fierce struggle between the candidates. Moscow decided to take advantage of the situation. Initially Mustafa could have become the khan but he seems to have been removed very soon. In an essay dating back to the late 18th century called "Tawarikh-i Bulgariya" by Khisam ad-Din Bulgarsky says that in 869 Aksak-Temür attended the cities of the Middle Volga Region and was a guest of Mustafa khan [Tatar legends, 2009, pp. 947–948]. 869 corresponds to a period between September 3, 1464, and August 23, 1465. The date coincides with the possible time of Mustafa ibn's reign. Ulugh Muhammad. His son Murtaza was forced to hide in the steppes until he was invited to serve in Russia³. Khalil who replaced Mustafa was not a khan for very long either. Certain representatives of the Kazan nobility were not satisfied by the fact that Ibrahim was on the throne. A delegation from the opposition headed by prince Abdula-Muemin (Avdul-Mavna) came to tsarevich Kasym and invited him to become a khan. As the eldest, he was entitled to the Kazan throne. Kasym himself did not have military forces for fighting against Ibrahim, he only had 500–700 warriors. The prince asked his overlord Ivan

III for help. The Moscow authorities wanted their vassal to ascend to the Kazan throne. He was given a cavalry and a flotilla. Nevertheless, the enterprise failed and brought about a bloody, two-year-long war for Moscow.

On September 14, the troop led by tsarevich Kasym and Princes Ivan Bazilievich Striga-Obolensky, Ivan Yurievich Patrikeev and young talented military leader Danila Dmitrievich Kholmsky set out for Kazan⁴. Ivan III himself was in Vladimir intending to rule from there. The campaign was not prepared thoroughly from either a military or political point of view. They did not have enough forces for successful military actions. The cold and rainy autumn did not benefit the campaign. The opposition which had invited Kasym to reign did not have the necessary support. They could not hinder the accession of Ibrahim to the throne and organizing the counteraction to the upcoming Russian-Kasym troop. The emergence of hostile troops on the territory of the khanate contributed to the cessation of the intestine strife, consolidation of Ibrahim's positions, and the unity of the Tatars around him. The Russians and the Kasymovs faced resistance. When they left the mountain side and tried to cross the Volga River, they were met by major Kazan troops led by khan Ibrahim. Kasym had to go back. Cold rains and famine exhausted the warriors on their way back (the local community was hiding in forests and did not give provisions), many of them lost horses, left their armor, some of them caught cold⁵. After these events, the name of Kasym disappeared from the chronicles forever. Apparently, the aged tsarevich caught a cold and died.

The chroniclers see the reason for the failure in the "seduction" of the Kazan Tatars who were initially going to deceive the tsarevich and the great prince⁶. However, if Kazan feu-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 31. P. 117.

² By the Tatar levirate custom, a widow could marry the oldest brother of the deceased husband. That is why the wife of the deceased Mahmutek, the mother of Ibrahim, went to Russia and married Kasym.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 27. Pp. 279, 353.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 39. P. 148.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 4. P. 132; Vol. 5. P. 274; Vol. 6. P. 187; Vol. 8. P. 152; Vol. 12. P. 118; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 533; Vol. 27. P. 124; Vol. 31. P. 110; Vol. 33. P. 120; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 25.

⁶ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 25. P. 279.

dals deceived tsarevich Kasym, this was due to the fact that they overestimated their abilities and wrongly appreciated the political situation in the khanate.

The death of Kasym turned internal conflict for the power in the khanate into a fierce war between two states. Khan Ibrahim did not forgive Moscow for helping Kasym. Soon the Kazan Tatars attacked Galich but they failed to conquer it. The besieged inhabitants of Galich defended themselves bravely from the Tatars "leaving the town and fighting against them fiercely..."¹.

The great prince was not satisfied with defensive measures. Maris detachments probably took an active part in the raid on Galich. For this reason, Ivan III headed the punitive troops headed by Semen Romanovich which left Galich on December 6, 1467. It was a severe winter and the Russian army managed to get from Galich to the territory populated by the Maris, despite the impassibility of roads. The appearance of the Russians was a complete surprise to the Maris and they failed to organize a thorough resistance. In accordance with medieval military practice, the lands of the Maris were devastated. "The army of the great prince caused much damage to that land, killed many people, captured some and burnt all the rest and killed horses and other animals they could not take and took what they could; they devastated all this land and burnt it down". The Russians could reach the Ileti River. The chronicles say they needed "one more day to reach Kazan"².

Another troop formed from representatives of Nizhny Novgorod and Murom significantly devastated the settlements of the Maris and Chuvashes along the Volga River³.

In March–April 1468, the Cheremis and the Tatars organized a reciprocal raid in Ustyug, burnt down Kichmengsky Gorodok, killed some of its inhabitants and captured the

remainder. A late attempt to reach attackers failed⁴. Another attack by the Kazan Tatars against two Kostroma provinces in the basin of Unzha River took place during the Holy week (March 27–April 2). They "took many prisoners and killed all the rest". Voivode I.V. Striga-Obolensky from Kostroma tried to reach the Tatars, but they managed to hide. The exalted Tatars devastated the suburbs of Murom on April 17, and took many prisoners. Once again, they managed to escape from the pursuers⁵. The biography of bishop John Velikopermsky says that the lands of Perm were damaged by raids by the Kazan Tatars [Biographies of Russian saints, 1993, pp. 333–334].

As soon as ice on the rivers melted, a flotilla led by Ivan Dmitrievich Runo, Gleb and Ivan Semenov and Basil Guba were sent to the lands of the Kazan Khanate. Leaving Moscow, the detachment passed through Galich, Vologda, Ustyug and reached Vyatka. "The voivodes of the Great prince fighting against the Cheremis along the Vyatka River" came to the Kama. The Kazan Tatars were informed late of the Russian flotilla troops did not have enough time to intercept it. Afterwards, the Tatars headed to Khlynov which had no protection. The Tatars managed to force the inhabitants of Vyatka to refuse to recognise loyalty to Moscow and declare their neutrality: "...do not help both the tsar and the great prince"⁶. The Typographic Chronicle contains interesting news that one of the conditions for peace between the people of Vyatka and Kazan was the agreement of Vyakto to give a tribute, i.e. pay a tribute to Kazan in the event of the renewed supply of grain from the Kazan khanate. Nevertheless the Kazan Tatars did not fulfill their promise, the inhabitants of Vyatka did not pay tributes either⁷. The neutrality of Vyatka corresponded to the interests of Kazan in a situation of war.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 187; Vol. 8. P. 152; Vol. 12. P. 118; Vol. 24. P. 187; Vol. 27. P. 124; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 25.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. Pp. 187–188; Vol. 8. P. 153; Vol. 12. Pp. 118–119; Vol. 18. Pp. 217–218; Vol. 24. P. 187; Vol. 27. P. 124; Vol. 31. P. 111; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 25.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. Pp. 187–188; Vol. 8. P. 153; Vol. 12. Pp. 118–119; Vol. 18. Pp. 217–218; Vol. 24. P. 187; Vol. 27. Pp. 124–125.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 153; Vol. 12. P. 119; Vol. 18. P. 218; Vol. 24. P. 187; Vol. 25. P. 280; Vol. 27. P. 125; Vol. 37. Pp. 12, 46, 91; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 26.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. P. 187.

⁶ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 153; Vol. 12. P. 119; Vol. 25. P. 280; Vol. 33. P. 120; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 26.

⁷ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. P. 188.

Meanwhile the Russian flotilla, which plundered the Kazan merchants and the coast of the Kama River, found itself in the Belaya River. Here, "they were fighting against the Cheremis, many people, horses and other animals were killed". They knew from the captivated Cheremis that a detachment numbering 200 Tatar warriors was sailing up the Kama River on their vessels. The Russians caught up with the Tatars. After a fierce battle, all the Tatar detachment was destroyed and captured. The leaders were also captured including Princes Tulazy Tarkhanov and Berdy-Ishik. The detachment reached Ustyug and then Moscow without hindrance, sailing up the Kama River and dragging over their vessels to one of the upper tributaries of the Vychegda River¹.

Military operations also took place at the Volga River. "The Kazan Tatars plundered the Russian guests"². A picket headed by Fedor Semenovich Khripunov-Ryapolovsky was sent to the Volga River immediately. On June 4, he managed to completely destroy a large Tatar detachment belonging to the khan's court at Zvenich Pine forest situated 40 versts from Kazan. There were several princes among the dead including the famous epic hero Prince Kolupai. The Ermolinsky Chronicles stated that "he was braver than all Horde and Kazan Tatars". Prince Khozum-Berdey was captured and taken to Moscow³.

The reply of the Kazan Tatars was quick to follow. In summer, they appeared "near Murom and took many prisoners". However, this time they failed to leave with impunity. Prince D.D. Kholmisky led the pursuit and reached the Tatars. He managed to release the captives and destroy a part of the detachment, other Tatars leaving their horses managed to hide in the dense forest⁴.

In 1469, a large-scale military campaign in Kazan took place. The troops were led by voivode Konstantin Alexandrovich Bezzubtsev. Geronty Philip blessed the army in its military campaign against "the godless Kazan Tatars. .. to defend god's churches and Orthodox Christianity..." [Russian, 1986, p. 180]. They intended to deliver a combined blow to the Volga, Vyatka and Kama Rivers with the help of two groups of troops. The operation was planned taking into account the results of previous raids along these rivers one year previously. The inhabitants of Vyatka refused to join the Moscow army explaining their decision by the treaty with the Kazan khan. The inhabitants of Vyatka told the Moscow voivodes, "The tsar released us and we promised that we would not help both the tsar and the great prince in their struggle against each other". The Northern grouping of the Russian troops did not have forces necessary for a successful result without the participation of Vyatka. As a result, the general attack in Kazan was delayed. The Kazan ambassador was in Khlynov and had time to notify Kazan authorities about the planned invasion. He reported, "A small flotilla of the great prince is approaching from Vyatka"⁵. The element of surprise was lost and the military operation against Kazan was under threat of failure.

Under these circumstances, Ivan III was careful and decided to organize a large-scale attack with the given forces. An order to cancel the military campaign was sent to the troops. Nevertheless, taking into account the high spirits of the troops, the great prince allowed volunteers to "fight for Kazan on both banks of the Volga River."

Almost all the Russian warriors who had practically nothing to do in Nizhny Novgorod volunteered to take part in the raid. They told the voivode, "We all want to attack the damned Tatars and have our revenge on them for our saintly churches and our Tsar, Great Prince Ivan, and for Orthodox Christianity." K.A. Bezzubtsev and some soldiers remained in Nizhny Novgorod by order of Ivan III. I.D.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 188; Vol. 8. Pp. 153–154; Vol. 12. P. 120; Vol. 25. Pp. 280–281; Vol. 26. P. 224; Vol. 27. P. 125; Vol. 33. P. 120; Vol. 37. P. 91; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 26

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 188; Vol. 20. Section 1. P. 279.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 154; Vol. 12. P. 120; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 533; Vol. 23. P. 158; Vol. 24. Pp. 187, 225; Vol. 25. P. 281; Vol. 27. Pp. 125, 277; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 26, 29.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. P. 187.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 25. P. 282.

Runo¹ who had proved his worth during the raid of 1468, was at the head of the troops.

The brave and decisive military leader chose Kazan as his major goal. Early in the morning on May 21, the Russians burst into the town posad and "started killing and plundering and taking prisoners". The inhabitants tried to hide in their houses and mosques but they died in the fire along with their property: "Many Tatars and Besermians who did not want to give up and share their properties with the Christians locked themselves and their wives and children and everything they had in cathedrals and burnt themselves down"². Many Russian captives were set free in the posad. It is interesting to list the places they came from: "...Moscow, Ryazan, Lithuania, Vyatka, Ustyug, Perm and other cities. ..." ³ When they came to Korovnich island the Russians were masters of the situation for a whole week. Only after that did the Kazan Tatars manage to rally their forces and repulse them. In addition to the Tatars, there were also the Maris, the Udmurts, the Bashkirs and other nations of the Vola and Ural regions in the troops. The Kazan Tatars wanted to launch a surprise attack but they failed. One of the Russian captives had time to warn of their intentions. Despite the superiority in numbers, the Kazan Tatars failed to achieve success. The Russians not only warned off the attack but also launched a counter-attack and chased the Tatars right up to the town walls⁴.

Meanwhile, everybody in Nizhny Novgorod knew about the success of the Russian army under Kazan. Voivode K.A. Bezzubtsev and his military detachment helped them and led the army. The inhabitants of Vyatka still did not agree to break the neutrality and prevented a successful military operation.

Wasting seven weeks near Kazan, without waiting for the northern army, the Russians started feeling the shortage of provisions: "...

they were running out of provisions, they supplies were almost over, they were suffering from starvation". They could not take provisions from local population because of endless sieges and attacks. The Russian felt confident only at the river where they remained dominant. So they had to be content with fish and very little that one could find on the islands. K.A. Bezzubtsev took the decision to withdraw. Sending the Kazan Tatars a proposal of peace, the troop sailed in the direction of Nizhny Novgorod. They met the widow of tsarevich Kasym and khan Ibrahim's mother going to Kazan on their way. She told them that the Great Prince wanted to stop the conflict and sent the old Tsarina to the khan to make him a proposal of peace. She told the voivodes, "The great prince let me go to my son with all my property and dignity, so that their relations will be friendly, not hostile." Nevertheless, the Kazan authorities considered the peace initiative of Ivan III and the retreat of the flotilla as a manifestation of weakness and chased the Russians. On July 23, the Russians were caught by the cavalry and the flotilla during a rest at Zvenich Pine Forest. "...the Kazan Tatars came to them, all their princes, cavalry and flotilla were at the river". However, the Russians were not distraught, they counter-attacked the Kazan navy bravely and forced it to retreat. The Russians managed to break away from adversaries and go to Nizhny Novgorod⁵.

Meanwhile, they managed to persuade the inhabitants of Vyatka to take part in the military campaign. A prolonged delay became fatal for the northern army. Sailing down the Vyatka River and the Kama River, the troops found themselves in the Volga River. The Kazan Tatars learned about the approaching of the Russians, misinformed them and had time to organize an ambush. The river battle near Kazan became the largest battle in the history of the Russian-Kazan conflicts. Both sides fought fiercely and had significant human losses, sometimes even boarding took place. "And a battle took place and both sides had significant human losses," a chronicler re-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 37. P. 46.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 27. P. 127.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 156; Vol. 12. P. 122; Vol. 25. P. 282; Vol. 27. P. 126; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 28.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 25. P. 282; Vol. 27. P. 126.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 27. Pp. 127–128; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 27–29.

ports¹. The Inhabitants of Ustyug demonstrated heroism. According to a chronicler, Prince Basil Ukhtomsky fought fiercely against the Tatars. At the same time, voivode "Grigory Perkhushkov merely ran without fighting". The Russians managed to cut their way through a crowd of attackers and join the major forces under Nizhny Novgorod although they had significant human losses: 430 people were killed and many warriors were captured².

Despite misfortune and great human losses, the warriors wanted to repeat the military campaign in Kazan immediately. Taking into consideration the sentiments of the troop and the refusal of the Kazan Tatars to conclude an armistice, Ivan III decided to continue military actions and he sent his troops to organize a new military campaign in Kazan.

Headed by the great prince's brothers Yuri and Andrey, cavalry and navy approached Kazan again on September 1 and attacked it. The Russians managed to burn down the *posad*, but they failed to break into the city. The Kazan Tatars made a sortie, threw back the Russians and "went back fighting for a while...". The Russians organized a siege and built a *burg*. Soon, they managed to cut off access to water for the inhabitants of Kazan. That aggravated the position of the defenders. During negotiations, khan Ibrahim agreed to conclude a peace treaty as the great prince wished³. Arkhangelsk chronicles define more precisely that all the prisoners captured within the previous 40 years were released⁴. The vagueness of the terms of the peace treaty is evidence of the modest success of Russians. There was no treaty to support vassal relations. The war finished without a clear victory for either side. A new confrontation was about to happen.

The peace between Moscow and Kazan was not violated within next eight years despite tension. In these years, Ivan III was busy with the struggle for submission of Novgorod and removal of the dependence on the Great Horde of khan Ahmat. Khan Ibrahim was not satisfied with with weakening of positions in the region. He was mostly discontent with the Viaticchi who had violated the oath and went over to Moscow again. In 1471, the Vyaticchi undertook a successful raid in Sarai, the capital of the Great Horde. The Kazan Tatars tried vainly to intercept inhabitants of Vyatka on their way home⁵. In 1475, forty Ustyug merchants were destroyed at the Kama River by the Tatars⁶. The war began in winter 1477–1478. During the military campaign against Novgorod initiated by Ivan III, Kazan received a false report about the defeat of the Moscow troops. Believing this, khan Ibrahim organized a military campaign against Vyatka. The Kazan tatars managed to capture many people but none of the towns were conquered. The month-long siege of Khlynov was not very successful for the Kazan Tatars and caused significant human losses. At the end of February 1478, Ibrahim decided to try his luck near Ustyug. Nevertheless, time had been wasted and the inhabitants of Ustyug had time to prepare in advance to encounter their adversaries. Also the early spring prevented the troops from moving forward. On reaching the overflowing Moloma river, the Tatars stopped. Here⁶ they found out about the victory of Ivan III over Novgorod. It impressed the Tatars so much that they left pans full of prepared food and rushed to defenseless Kazan⁷.

Vyatka was an integral part of Moscow sphere of interests and any encroachment upon Russian lands was considered as hostile manifestation. What is more, the khan did not content himself with Vyatka, he also tried to attack Ustyug which was subordinated to Moscow. In May 1478, two naval armies were sent to Kazan.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. P. 188.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 27. P. 277; Vol. 37. Pp. 46–47, 92; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 29.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 4. Pp. 132–133; Vol. 5. P. 275; Vol. 6. P. 188; Vol. 8. P. 158; Vol. 12. P. 123; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 533; Vol. 24. P. 188; Vol. 27. P. 277; Vol. 31. P. 111; Vol. 37. P. 47; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 29.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 37. P. 47.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 193; Vol. 12. P. 141; Vol. 22. Section 1. Pp. 460, 483–484.

⁶ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 12. P. 158; Vol. 29. P. 195.

⁷ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 221; Vol. 12. P. 189; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 469; Vol. 23. P. 178; Vol. 25. P. 323; Vol. 37. P. 48.

They were led by Basil Vedorovich Obrazets, Boris Slepoy, and Prince Semen Ivanovich. The blow was delivered to the Volga and the Vyatka and the Kama from the north. On May 26 the flotilla left Nizhni Novgorod and headed to Kazan devastating riverside settlements of the Maris and the Chuvashes. Acting the same way, the second army was moving through the Vyartka and the Kama River in the direction of Kazan. Nevertheless, the military campaign was not prepared thoroughly. When the troops approached Kazan, a powerful storm occurred which devastated vessels full of reserve ammunition and provisions and the Kazan Tatars had time to prepare for a siege. The Russians had to conclude a peace treaty with the Kazan Tatars "as the great prince wished"¹. Only V.N. Tatishchev mentions the clauses of the treaty writing that the voivodes took "many prisoners and trophies in Kazan..." [Tatishchev, 1966, p. 65]. The war of 1477–1478 led to the further exacerbation of tension between Moscow and Kazan.

The time of death of Ibrahim is not quite clear. Some researchers believe that he died in 1479 [Alishev, 1995, p. 37; Khudyakov, 1990, p. 43]. He had three sons born by Nogai princess Fatima: Ali (Alegam), Khudaikul and Melik-Tagir. Another wife, Nogai princess Nur-Saltan, gave birth to two more Ibrahim's sons—Muhammad Emin and Abdil Latif. Ali became the khan. Nursultan and her sons left for Moscow. Muhammad Emin began service there, while the widowed tsarina and underage Abdul Latif went to the Crimea where she married khan Mengli Giray. This event had a significant influence on relations between Kazan and Moscow. Moscow had a new legal candidate for the Kazan throne.

Khan Ali was supported by the Nogai Horde. On the contrary, Moscow and the Crimean authorities were planning to make Muhammad Emin the khan of Kazan. He was a son of Ivan III and the stepson of the Crimean khan. Both the Moscow prince and the Crimean khan wanted to spread their influence on Kazan, that is where their interests coincided provisionally.

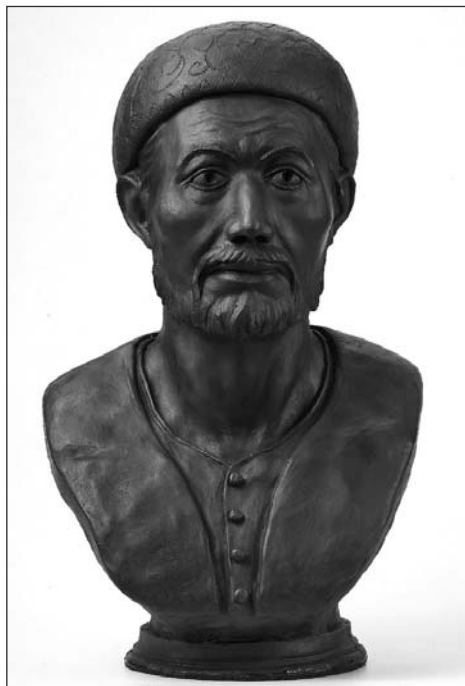
The end of the war dated back to 1477–1478. This was unsuccessful for both sides and caused tenseness between the states. Endless attacks at the borders provided favorable grounds for interference in Kazan affairs. According to Kazhirovsky and Vetluzhsky chronicles, in 1479, the Tatars and the Cheremis invaded Vetluga Region and devastated the Nikolo-Korelsky Monastery and churches, killing and capturing many inhabitants [Dementiev, 1892, p. 9; Dementiev, 1894, p. 41]. A scribe's book about Chukhlo-ma dating back to 1615 gives a description of arable land covered with forests which fell into neglect because of war lasting 130 years waged by the Kazan Tatars [Source study, 1981, p. 122]. In summer 1481, an army led by Andrey Mishnev was sent to defend Perm and Vyatka [Shishonko, 1881, p. 31]. These attacks and other incidents became reasons for a new war.

In 1482, Ivan III led his troops against the Kazan Tatars. The flotilla approached Kazan but there was no war and they managed to conclude peace again². Nevertheless, khan Ali did not observe the regulations imposed upon him. Later, in November 1489, the great prince ordered the inquiry of the Nogai ambassadors to be answered in the following way: "Alegam Tsar seemed to have good relations with us, we exchanged charters, his friend was our friend and his enemy was our enemy, but he did not fulfill anything that was stated in the charters" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 83, 95, 97].

The Moscow authorities took advantage of the internal war between the representatives of the Kazan nobility to interfere in Kazan affairs as usual. In 1485, the Kazan Tatars came to the Great Prince and said, "We let our Tsarevich (Muhammad Emin—A.B.) come to you on the assumption that he be temporarily replaced by Ali and the elder son started causing damage to us. You released our Tsarevich again: and the current Tsarevich, the elder son, invited us to the feast and wanted to lose us there but we ran away and headed to the field and he chased

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 221; Vol. 12. P. 189; Vol. 23. P. 178; Vol. 25. P. 323; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, P. 20.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 20. Section 1. Pp. 348–349; Vol. 24. P. 202; Vol. 37. P. 49; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, Pp. 24–25.



Kazan khan Muhammad Amin
Reconstruction by T.S. Balueva. 1995

us with supplementary forces"¹. Consequently, the interference of Moscow in internal affairs of the Kazan Khanate was stipulated not only by its interests but also some of the Kazan nobility who stood up for its privileged position in respect of the khan's power.

In 1485, Russian troops organized a military campaign in Kazan. Ali had time to flee to the Nogais in advance. Muhammad Emin ascended to the Kazan throne, and counselors and a military detachment were appointed to "look after him"².

The replacement of the khan increased the internecine war inside the khanate. Moreover, a confrontation of interests between Russia, the Nogai Horde and the Tyumen Khanate took place. Muhammad Emin tried to arrest and exile to Moscow his brothers Khudaikul and Melik Tagir as well as the opposition gathering around them. However, he failed to arrest them. The attempt caused discontent amongst the population of Kazan. It was so

great that only the presence of the Russian detachment saved the khan from their harsh treatment. He even had to leave the city. The Kazan Tatars went cap in hand to the khan "and he reconciled with them and came to the throne again"³.

The opposition rushed to take advantage of the mood of masses and sent its messenger to the Nogai Horde where Ali was hiding. Soon, he appeared before Kazan at the head of a large Nogai troop. Muhammad Emin, with Moscow counselors by his side, and a small Russian detachment, had to leave the country, Ali marched to Kazan.

The direct interference of the Nogai Horde led Ivan III to organize a large-scale military campaign to enable Muhammad Emin to come to the throne again. On April 11, 1487, the Russian troops headed to Kazan⁴.

Trying to prevent the invasion, khan Ali sent an ambassadorial mission led by Bakhtyar-uhlan, Mangush, and Tevekel to Moscow. Nevertheless, the diplomatic mission failed. Ivan III did not want to carry out the negotiations and arrested the ambassadors [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 64–65]. Meanwhile, the Kazan Tatars prepared for the siege. A stockaded town was erected around the posad, and significant forces were mustered there. The Nogai troops came to help. After a significant battle at the bank of the Sviyaga River, the Tatars retreated in the direction of Kazan [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 58]. On May 18, the Russian troops started besieging the city. It lasted 52 days. A great allied force led by Kazan prince Ali-gaza (Olgaza) acted in the rear. The besieged troops made fearless sorties from the city. The Russians managed to ward off all attacks and defeat the army of Ali-gaza. The remnants were forced out across the Kama River. After that, the situation of besieged Kazan became critical, and on July 9, the supporters of Moscow fraction forced Ali to capitulate. Arkhangelsk chronicles containing the most detailed story about these events say that "the tsar left

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 237.

² Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, P. 26; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1966, P. 20; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 5. P. 44.

³ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, Pp. 26–27.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 217; Vol. 24. P. 205; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, Pp. 27–28.

the city against his will and was passed to the voivodes of the great prince¹". Herberstein also writes that khan Ali was passed to the Russian voivodes by his confidants against his will [Herberstein, 1988, p. 170]. The de-throned khan was exiled to Vologda where he died and his mother, sister, and brothers were exiled to Beloozero.

Muhammad Emin ascended to the throne for the second time (1487–1496). Since then, the Russian protectorate was established over the khanate and the khan became a vassal of the great Moscow prince. The most important issues of domestic and foreign policy of the Khanate were subordinated to Russia. The Khanate was obliged to pay tributes. Counselors of the great prince always accompanied the Kazan khan, and a Russian military detachment stood near the city.

The establishment of protectorate over the Kazan Khanate allowed Moscow to start the final subordination of Vyatka which still remained independent. In summer 1489, a Moscow troop was sent to Vyatka. A Kazan troop numbering 700 warriors, led by Prince Urak, joined them under Kotelnich. Vyatka capitulated².

Trying to adjust relations with the Nogai Horde, the Moscow authorities granted approval to marriage between Muhammad Emin and Nogai prince's daughter Musa. Nevertheless, the Nogais who arrived as part of the bride's large entourage, gave strength to the weakening eastern party. Growing stronger, it started preparing a scoup d'etat in secret. In spring 1496, Siberian tsarevich Mamuk was invited by conspirators Kalimet, Urak, Sadyr and Agish. Moscow was informed in due time of the Siberian-Nogai troops, and the Russian regiments had time to arrive in Kazan. Mamuk retreated. Thinking that the danger was over, the Russian troops left the Khanate. Mamuk discovered this immediately. He came up to Kazan with the Nogai forces and Kazan princes. Muhammad Emin did not have reliable support among the Kazan Tatars, so hastily fled to Russia.

However, the accession to the throne of Mamuk (1496–1497) who had been brought up according to the steppe traditions, only worsened the situation of the Kazan Tatars. Desiring to reward his warriors, he devastated the treasury and even ransacked the Kazan Tatars. He did not acknowledge any limits to his despotic power and imprisoned everybody who stood up against him. Such deeds of the latter-day khan vrey quickly incited the population against him. The princes of Arsk were the first. Mamuk organized a punitive campaign with the participation of his troops and detachments of the Kazan feudals who had to be released from prison to stifle the rebellion. Nevertheless, they failed to conquer Arsk, and the Kazan princes withdrew their troops away. Returning to Kazan, Mamuk saw the gate closed and townfolk ready to fight. The khan stood near the walls for a while trying to conquer Kazan, until he knew that the Kazan Tatars had wisely sent a delegation to Moscow. The threat of emergence of the large Russian army in his rear made Mamuk retreat before the rivers surged. Deeply upset at his misfortune the outcast khan died on his way to Siberia³.

At the request of the Kazan Tatars in April 1497 Muhammed-Emin's brother Abdul-Latif who grew up in the Crimea and served in Russia at that time came to the throne⁴. Nevertheless, his Crimean education became apparent very soon. The self-willed khan was not subordinated to Moscow and incited many Kazan Tatars against himself: "He started telling lies and did not settle any issues and caused damage to lands of Kazan" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 461]. In January 1502, Abdul-Latif was removed and sent into exile at the instance of the Kazan Tatars. Muhammad Emin (1502–1518) came to the throne for the third time [Tatishchev, 1966, p. 65].

Nevertheless this time Muhammed-Emin was under influence of supporters of oriental fraction. According to an established tradi-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 37. Pp. 50, 96.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 33. P. 125; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 76.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 232; Vol. 12. P. 243.

⁴ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, P. 50; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 87.

tion, the widow of khan Ali, Nogai princess Urbet was released from her exile and married Muhammad Emin with the permission of the Great Prince of Moscow. The khan loved her and he was under her profound influence. With her help, the supporters of the oriental faction achieved the removal of evident Moscow followers. While still in the shadows, the opposition managed to cause discontent amongst the Kazan Tatars because of repressions. When Michail Klepik was sent from Moscow to settle the situation, the members of the divan were anxious about the interference in the domestic affairs of the Khanate. They offered to beat unmercifully all the Russians who were in the country at that moment. The conspirators offered to set off on June 24 explaining that "if they did it right now many guests who come to the fair on Ivan's day will go away". Nevertheless, there were still people loyal to the Russians in the ranks of the Kazan nobility. Prince Alachey even had time to warn Russian ambassador M. Klepik but they still failed to escape the tragedy. On June 24, 1505, during the opening of annual fair, "the Tatars started killing and plundering Russians unexpectedly." The Russians also suffered great human losses. According to the Yermolinsky chronicles, about 15,000 Russians died¹. Those who fled "were killed by the Cheremis on patrol, and the others were placed in a peasant's log hut and burnt down, they caused much damage to Russia²."

In August, Muhammad Emin heading the Kazan army numbering forty thousand people, joined by twenty thousand Nogais, started a military campaign against the Russians. Troops headed by I.I. Gorbатов, S.I. Vorontsov, and V.D. Kholmsky were sent to Murom with delay. Serving Tatar tsareviches Saltanak and Zenaley headed there as well³. On September 6, the Kazan-Nogai army besieged Nizhny Novgorod, and detachments dispersed in suburbs right up to Murom. The Kazan Tatars and the Nogais managed to get a lot of trophies but that is where their success

ended. It was impossible to go behind the Oka river, more than 60 thousand Russian warriors were concentrated there. Nevertheless, the voivodes did not rush to attack, indulging in hard drinking and enjoyment. At that time, the Tatars appeared on the bank of the Oka River and started insulting the Russians for their cowardice.

Ivan Bazilievich Khabar-Simsky, the Nizhny Novgorod voivode was a talented and decisive military leader who managed to organize defense thoroughly. Having an insufficient amount of military forces, he armed 300 captured Lithuanian jalonneurs in return for the promise of release. The Russians and Lithuanians made successful sorties and beat off numerous furious attacks.

The absence of success and great human losses led to discord into the ranks of allies. When the headman of the Nogai army and some mirzas died, there was a quarrel between the Nogais and the Kazan Tatars which turned into an armed skirmish. On October 6, the Nogais left their allies and went over to the Horde. Muhammad Emin also had to leave Russia [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 60, Tatishchev, 1966, pp. 99–100]. At Nizhny Novgorod alone, the allies lost more than 5,000 warriors, many of them were captured. The issue of the destiny of the captives was a subject of discussion for diplomats for a long time [Ambassadorial books, 1995, pp. 54–55, 58–59, 65–66, 75–76, 78–79, 81].

The death of Ivan III on October 27 and the approaching autumn interfered with organizing a military campaign against Kazan. Basil III (1505–1533) became the great prince. In April 1506, he sent a navy and cavalry. The voivodes' actions were extremely uncoordinated and did not correspond to instructions. The navy moored at Kazan but decided not to wait for the cavalry and attack the city at once on May 22. The Kazan Tatars set an ambush in advance, separated the Russians from their vessels, encircled them and defeated [Tatishchev, 1966, p. 101]. When Basil III discovered what had happened, he sent a reinforcement by the Volga River and prohibited his brother, Prince Dmitry Zhilka, to assault Kazan before all military forces met. Nevertheless, he did not listen to the great prince's

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 23. P. 197; Vol. 34. P. 8.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 30. P. 140.

³ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, P. 87.

commands and ordered a fresh attack as soon as the cavalry arrived. It began on June 25 and brought even more tragedies to the Russian troops. The Kazan Tatars applied military tactics and organized an ambush as thoroughly as they did the first time. Those days an annual fair was being near Kazan. Marquees were put up and the trade fair was held in the Arsk field. In fact, the fair was just a well-organized trap. It was only defended by a small troop. The main forces of the Kazan Tatars, including the Cheremis archers as noted by chroniclers, were ready to act in the city. They also lay in ambush in the nearest forest. The Russian command, which did not understand the enemy's plan, commanded an attack on the fair. The Tatars feigned panic. The Russians with no access to their warehouses had thus for a long time suffered from the shortage of provisions. When they came to the fair, they found there much food and wine and forgetting about the threat "started eating and drinking fearlessly. They laughed and played and slept until the noon" [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 62]. Waiting for the right moment, the Tatars and the Cheremis attacked the languishing and disorganized Russians from every quarter. The resistance was insufficient and soon the battle turned into a fierce carnage, the Russian troop was defeated in disgrace. The surviving remnants of the Russians managed with difficulty to beat off their persecutors on all sides and sailed away to Russia¹.

Desiring to continue the war, the khan tried to conclude an anti-Moscow alliance with the Crimea and Lithuania. Embassies were sent there for that [Lietuvos, 1995, pp. 51–57, 59–60; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 56, 71, 75, 77]. The Lithuanians were interested and sent Pan Soroka as an ambassador to Kazan. It was the opposite with the Crimea where political leaders were searching for the ways to become reconciled with opponents. Crimean ambassadors arrived in Kazan and Moscow and persuaded adversaries to stop the conflict. A coup d'etat in favor of Moscow party took place in

Kazan. Lithuanian ambassador Soroka and active supporters of the war died [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 389. Lithuanian metrics. Book of notes No. 7, pp. 578, 662; Lietuvos, 1995, p. 394; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 77–78]. Peace negotiations became possible after that. The Kazan peace delegation arrived in Moscow in March 1507, preventing a new Russian military campaign in Kazan. During the negotiations, both sides made a compromise: all Russian prisoners captured during the war were given back and Muhammad Emin formally acknowledged the vassal dependence of the khanate on Russia. Nevertheless, in fact, the Kazan Khanate restored its sovereignty. It could maintain an independent foreign policy. Interference in internal affairs of the khanate was eliminated, and neither Russian troops nor counselors were sent to the country.

During the next years, relations between the states were generally favorable, and mutually beneficial economic cooperation was recommenced. In 1510–1511, Crimean tsarina Nur-Sultan and tsarevich Sahib Giray visited Moscow and Kazan². The consolidation of friendly relations between the countries was the aim of the trip. In March 1512, Moscow and Kazan concluded "eternal peace"³. Nevertheless, aggravated conflict at the borders were common occurrences. The report of Gerbertstein about plunders of the Cherenis between Galich and Vyatka refer to these years [Herberstein, 1988, p. 162]. The Razrjadnaja Kniga contain notes according to which supplementary forces were sent to frontier cities in 1513 and 1517–1518, "for inhabitants of Kazan"⁴.

In the first quarter of the 16th century, significant shifts in global political powers of Eastern Europe took place. The Russian state was becoming more and more powerful, its foreign policy influence was quickly growing stronger. A significant reinforcement of the Crimean Khanate took place simultaneously.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 245; Vol. 8. P. 246; Vol. 13. P. 4; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 102.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. Pp. 251–252; Vol. 13. Pp. 13–14; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 107–108

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 252; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 108.

⁴ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977, Pp. 131, 156.

It has been a vassal of the Ottoman Empire since 1475. The Crimean feudals set themselves the object of spreading their power within all the territory which used to be subordinated to the Golden Horde, and reviving "the yurt of fathers". The Crimean Tatars started attacking the southern frontiers of Russia in 1507. The raids became especially frequent after the death of khan Mengli-Girey in 1515, who was an ally of Russia and the accession to the throne of its ardent enemy Mahmed Giray I (1515–1523) ¹.

The news about the fatal illness of childless Kazan khan Muhammad Emin gave an excuse to both Russia and the Crimea to interfere in the internal affairs of the Kazan Khanate. Muhammad Emin's brothers—Hudaykul and Melik Tagir—were converted to Orthodox Christianity long ago so they did not have the right to occupy the Kazan throne. The Kazan Tatars asked the great prince to allow disgraced Abdul-Latif to become their khan. However, his Crimean orientation was well known in Moscow. In November 1517, he died under mysterious circumstances before leaving for Kazan. He was probably poisoned. The candidature of Crimean tsarevich Sahib Giray nominated by Bakhchysarai was rejected by Moscow. Kasymov's tsarevich Shigaley (Shah Ali Shaykh-Auliyarovich) was sent by Moscow to occupy the place of the Kazan khan which had become free in December 1518. He was born in Russia in 1505. His father was Great Horde Ahmat khan's nephew. So Shah Ali was the deadly enemy of the Crimeans. Concentrating on this candidacy, the Boyar Duma wanted to insure itself against a new anti-Russian conspiracy.

In April 1519, 13-year-old Shah Ali (1519–1521) arrived in Kazan accompanied by the Russian ambassador F.I. Karpov and military troops. The positions of Russia in the Volga Region were temporarily consolidated.

The accession of the Russian protege to the throne did not satisfy many people, they made attempts to influence Shah Ali to engage in anti-Russian actions. The khan was told, "If

you own Kazan and our population alone and consolidate your power in the Horde, you will receive tributes from Russia like our grandparents and you will become richer by devastating Russian lands". Despite his young age, Shah Ali was a man of great intellect. Listening to the nobility of Kazan, he answered that the situation has changed significantly and the weakened Kazan Khanate was not able to subordinate the more powerful Russia. Aware of contacts between the Kazan nobility and the Crimeans, he warned, "We cannot rely on the Crimeans, they want to conquer everything" [Tatishchev, 1966, p. 122]. Nevertheless, the contacts between the followers of the oriental party and the Crimeans and Nogais did not stop. Shah Ali started putting representatives of opposition into prison and executing them. Repressions initiated by the Russian protege antagonized the Kazan Tatars who were preparing the ground for the coup d'etat.

In spring 1521, the Crimean and Nogai troops invaded Russia. Tsarevich Sahib Giray and 300 warriors had been sent to Kazan before that [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 678]. When the Crimeans came to Kazan, a revolt was raised, and all the Russians, Kasymov Tatars, and obvious supporters of Shah Ali were arrested and killed. A Kazan chronicler indicates that 5,000 Tatars and 1,000 Russians were killed [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 65]. Shah Ali himself, his wife, Russian ambassador and 300 Kasymov Tatars managed to leave the country. A representative of the Crimean dynasty, Sahib Giray (1521–1524) was confirmed in the Kazan throne.

A war against Russia began after a coup d'etat. The Kazan Tatars passed through Nizhny Novgorod, Murom, Meshchera and Vladimir. On August 1, they joined the Nogais and the Crimeans in Kolomna and Moscow. After laying waste to the Moscow Region, the allies went back with great trophies and captives². The invasions of the Kazan troops also took place in other directions. Galich chronicles say that on May 26 "the Kazan Ta-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 5, 15; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 103, 108–109, 115, 117.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 518; Herberstein, 1988, Pp. 173, 175; Kuntsevich, 1905, P. 602; Drevnyaya Rossiyskaya Vivliofika (Ancient Russian Vivliofika), 1791a, P. 84.

tars and the Cheremis came to the provinces near the Unzha River and caused much damage, capturing many people and killing all the rest". The Russians pursued them and "had a struggle against the Tatars and the Cheremis and defeated most of them and captured the rest". However, on June 4, a troop which was much larger in number invaded these places. The Kazan Tatars besieged Unzha for a long time and devastated surrounding provinces. The chronicles report that "the Tatars came to Zhegovo, and Naida, and Shartanovo, and Tolshma". The invasion spread to the Sukhona River. 6,500 people were captured from Tolshma province alone [Kuntsevich, 1905, pp. 601–602]. The Vyatka lands were also attacked [Documents on the history of Udmurtia, 1958, pp. 349–350]. Afterwards, the Russians captured by the Kazan Tatars were sold at a huge profit in the bazaars of Astrakhan and Caffa.

Next year, the attacks of the Kazan Tatars continued. On September 1522, many Tatars and Cheremis came to Galich Region and captured many people, and drove their prince from Parfeny and killed voivodes and took many prisoners", and on September 28, "the Tatars attacked the monastery and burnt the church named after St. Nicholas the Wonderworker and killed all the rest," says a chronicler [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 602].

In winter 1522–1523, Sahib Giray started peace negotiations with Moscow. Nevertheless, when in spring Crimean khan Mahmed Giray and Nogai prince Mamai occupied Astrakhan and drove out the Russian ally, khan Husein, Sahib Giray suspended the negotiations and ordered the execution of the Russian ambassador V.Y. Podzhogin. His entourage was killed as well as Russian merchants daring to recommence trade operations with Kazan. According to a chronicler, "Sahib Giray hurt Christianity and spilled blood like water"¹.

Meanwhile, important events changing the political situation in Eastern Europe were taking place. The Nogai princes Mamai and

Agysh were worried about the reinforcement of Mahmed Giray's influence in the Volga River after they had defeated Astrakhan khan Husein. They attacked the Crimeans, killed the khan himself, and his son Batyr, and many warriors. Then they organized a military campaign in the Crimea [Herberstein, 1988, p. 176]. The military forces and economy of the Crimean Khanate were undermined. The hope of establishing Crimean hegemony over the Lower and Middle Volga Region collapsed overnight.

The new Crimean khan, Saadet Giray (1524–1532), did not treat Russia badly and was unable to wage war against Russia. Sending his messenger Kudoyar, the khan wrote, "And he sent his messenger to Kazan to his brother tsar Saip-Girey who is my friend. If you made friends with him, there would be no troubles. You should reconcile with Kazan, not send your armies there any more, and it will be a sign of brotherhood" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123. Russian-Crimean Relations. Book 6, 8–9 reverse, 11–11 reverse]. Nevertheless, the political leaders of Moscow rushed to take advantage of this opportune moment. In September 1523, the Russian troops came up to the mountain side, the navy reached Kazan [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 201. Manuscript Collection of M.A. Obolensky, no. 42, sheet 20, Tikhomirov, 1930, p. 110]. Vasilsursk Fortress was built on the right Kazan bank of the Sura River at its mouth. "Neighboring population, the Mordovians, the Cheremis were forced to make an oath to the Russian tsar"². Vasilsursk was built as a frontier fortress and as a base for attacking Kazan simultaneously. Even contemporaries regarded the building of Vasilsursk ambiguously. Herberstein assumed that the goal of military campaigns of the Russian was to conquer the Kazan Khanate and he emphasized that the erection of Vasilsursk was the source of much distress" [Herberstein, 1988, pp. 134, 176]. The fortress stood on the right Kazan bank and it perplexed even the Russian nobility. A boyar's son I.N. Bersen-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 264; Vol. 8. P. 270; Vol. 31. P. 127; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 124; Schmidt, 1951, P. 281.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. Pp. 264, 281; Vol. 8. P. 270; Vol. 13. Pp. 43–44; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 538; Herberstein, 1988, P. 176.

Beklemishev told Fedka Zhareny in September 1523, "It is not quite clear why the Great Prince was going to Novgorod¹, probably he was trying to reconcile with them?...and founded a city on his side to prevent war". Other representatives of the nobility on the contrary approved the building of Vasilsursk. Geronty Daniel praised Basil III for "the erection of the city" and said that "this city will help him to conquer all Kazan lands" [Acts, 1836, p. 144]. Italian Pavel Iovy wrote that "at the confluence of the Sura River, Basil reigning now founded Surtsik city in order to establish in this desert place a reliable and safe shelter with taverns and shops for merchants and travelers who notify the nearest border officials about Tatar affairs and the movements of this disturbing tribe" [Russia, 1997, p. 273].

On October 17, a reciprocal raid of the Kazan Tatars took place. The Tatars came up to Galich, burnt down the posad, but they failed to conquer the city and retreated².

Sahib Giray asked the Crimea for help but they only sent a small troop headed by Sahib Giray's 13-year-old nephew Safa Giray. It was intercepted by the Kasymov Tatars and had significant human losses although the tsarevich managed to reach Kazan [Tikhomirov, 1930, p. 109]. Without waiting for the help of the Crimea, in spring 1524, Sahib Giray sent his ambassador directly to the Turkish sultan asking him for help and expressing his readiness to acknowledge the Turkish vassalage. Nevertheless, at that time, political leaders were not especially concerned with affairs in the Middle Volga River. Kazan did not get sufficient support. Turkey only restricted itself to diplomatic measures. In summer 1524, Turkish ambassador of Greek descent, Iskander Saka, arrived in Moscow. His status was inferior. He was a merchant and fulfilled ambassadorial functions incidentally. He also dealt with the Kazan problem, in addition to issues of friendship and trade. The ambassador claimed that "tsar Saip Giray sent him to the tsar to make a bow this spring and said that this was our tsar's yurt and

he cannot send his armies to Kazan". Ambassadorial dean Shygonya replied imperturbably, "Saip Giray sent his messenger to the sultan because he knows where his yurt originated" [Documents, 1916, pp. 76–77]. After that, the issue of Turkish vassalage did not arise.

Statements about the spreading of the Turkish vassalage on the Kazan Khanate thus appeared in historical literature. Sahib Giray khan was even called the Turkish protege [Schmidt, 1954, pp. 187–257; Burdey, 1954, pp. 27–36; Ayplatov, 1967, p. 19; Kotlyarov, 1999, sheet 202; Zorin, 2001, p. 9]. Certainly, there were no even formal manifestations of the vassalage, everything was only restricted by a declaration. The fact of Turkish vassalage was definitely disproved by S.K. Alishev [Alishev, 1990, p. 15]. Meanwhile, an attempt to establish vassal relations between the Kazan Khanate and Turkey marked a shift in the Russian-Turkish relations of the 16th century. If under Selim I, they were friendly, now they became hostile.

When Iskander Saka arrived in Moscow, the Russian troops had already gone to arrange a military campaign in Kazan. The government of Basil III wanted to strike a decisive blow to the Kazan Khanate. Significant forces were mustered³. The navy sailed off on May 14. It was nominally headed by Shah Ali. According to Kazan chronicles, the troops numbered 150,000 warriors [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 67], Herberstein writes that the number of Russian vessels was so large that the Volga seemed to be covered with loads of ships although it was very broad [Herberstein, 1988, pp. 176–177, 179].

The inhabitants of Kazan were panic-stricken, Sahib Giray left Kazan passing the throne to his nephew. Russian sources state unanimously that Sahib Giray left the khans' throne and Kazan, since he was afraid of the Russian army⁴. Oriental sources fail to mention

¹ Bersen-Beklemishev used to call the new Vasilsursk fortress a basket or punnet because of its small size.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 4. P. 541; Vol. 6. Pp. 281–282.

³ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 189–190; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 124.

⁴ Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 201. Manuscripts collection of M. Obolensky. No. 42, P. 20 reverse; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 270; Vol. 13. P. 44; Vol. 21. P. 127; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a; Schmidt, 1951, P. 282; Documents, 1916, P. 58.

the true reason for flight of Sahib Giray from Kazan. For example, Sayyid Muhammad Riza said that Sahib Giray, who had been seated on the khan's throne for 5 years during eternal rebellions and turmoils, was happy to pass his place to his nephew Saffa Giray, Muhammad Giray's son. As for him, under the pretext of a trip to holy places, he headed to possessions of sultan Suleiman where he was met with hospitality [Smirnov, 2005, p. 399]. Personal doctor and biographer of Sahib Giray Badr ad-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammed Kaisuni-zade Nidai-efendi known as Remmal Hodja wrote the composition under the title "Tarikh-i Sahib-Giray-khan" in 1553. As for circumstances of the khan's departure from Kazan, he writes that Sahib Giray was the khan in Kazan but he left it voluntarily...arrived here to go to saint Kaaba¹. Herberstein reports that Sahib Giray left the throne on a temporary basis to ask the Turkish sultan for help [Herberstein, 1988, p. 176]. Nevertheless, the assumptions of Herberstein were not confirmed. Arriving in the Crimea, Sahib Giray did not go to Istanbul and did not show any initiative in regulating Kazan affairs. On the contrary, he took part in the struggle for the Crimean throne and in the course of time he became the khan there. In 1538, Sahib Giray as Crimean khan denied the fact that he had been driven away from Kazan and ascribed his departure to a desire to come back to the Crimea. "As long as I was in Kazan, I was thinking of my yurt all the time," he wrote. And we intended to go to the Crimea. And the Kazan people both the kind ones and the wicked ones told us to stay but we did not. We left them ourselves, not because they insisted on that. This is God's will, he provided us with new lands and led us away from that yurt" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123. Russian-Crimean Relations. Book 8, sheets 534–534]. It is evident that Sahib Giray was not concerned with Kazan standing distant from the Muslim world, with a severe northern climate and extremely dangerous Russian

neighbor. However, most likely Sahib Giray was holding something back from everybody and his departure was not only his own initiative but also a consequence of contradictions with the Kazan nobility. According to Pafnuty chronicles, the Kazan princes removed Sahib Giray from the throne because he had incited Ukraine against the great prince without their knowledge" [Tikhomirov, 1930, p. 109].

New Kazan khan Safa Giray (1524–1532) was an energetic and courageous, stubborn and rough, decisive and persistent person inclined to adventures. He had an undoubted talent for military leadership and organization. He was a crafty political figure and diplomat. Turkish chronicler of the 16th century Mustafa al-Jennabi calls him "one of the greatest and the most powerful state leaders" [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 113]. His contemporary and Astrakhan poet, Hodji Tarkhani, echoes him calling Safa Giray the possessor of a sabre and a feather, the source of nobility and generosity. In other words, he indicates that he was not only militant but also well-educated [Sherifi, 1995, p. 87]. The report of the oriental historian was completely proved by the words of a Kazan chronicler who said that he often had conversations about the Tatar history with the khan serving him and that the things he told him became part of his composition [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 44]. Such a person came to power in the Kazan state at a very crucial moment when enumerable hostile forces were approaching the capital.

Safa Giray proved his outstanding abilities and repulsed the offensive of the Russians making a stand for the independence of the khanate. Only on July 7, did the Russians appear near Kazan. The Tatars started making sorties at once, and the Maris prepared a real guerrilla warfare against them. They blocked all the roads and did not allow Russians to replenish their food stock and also deprived them of any communications. The Kazan Tatars were aware of all actions of the Russian troops due to their spies.

Basil III worrying about the absence of news from Kazan sent vessels full of provisions, arms, ammunition, and money by the Volga River. Boyar Ivan Paletsky was assigned to be the commander of the flotilla. A

¹ Orientalists' Archive. The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, reserve 50 (Vasily Dmitriyevich Smirnov), list 1, item 114. Povestvovanie o sobyitiyakh tsarstvovaniya Sakhib-Gireya, khana krymskogo (Tarikh-i Sahib Giray Han). The work by Remmal Khodja Nidai Kaysuni, P. 2.

troop numbering 500 horsemen was sent to reinforce it. Nevertheless, neither this troop nor flotilla were destined to join the major forces. The horsemen were encircled on the mountain side and defeated. Only ten warriors managed to survive and reach their lands.

A flotilla sailing down the Volga River had to go through a more awful tragedy. A part of its vessels pulled in to the left bank to stop for the night on the territory of the khanate. Before the sun had risen, the Maris covered by dense fog sneaked up unnoticed to the Russians being on the bank and attacked them. About 90 vessels and 2,700 people were either killed or captured. Voivode I. Paletsky himself managed to reach the boat and sail off the bank. After such a bold attack, the remaining ships of the flotilla started approaching to the opposite right bank. That is what the Maris and the Chuvashes had hoped for. In a narrow area of the river where the islands divided the river-bed into several channels, they built dams from tree trunks. The majority of historians connect this event with the so-called Vazhnanger (Malo-Soondarsk) settlements also known as Alamner [Nikitina, Mikheeva, 2006]. Facing an unexpected obstacle, the Russian ships mustered at a tall rocky bank. Waiting for an opportunity, the Cheremis started throwing huge stones and oak-trees cut down in advance, and which they had lashed with ropes on purpose. The enormous trees and stones falling off the steep slope struck the crowded vessels and sank them: "...one tree sank five and more vessels full of people, provisions." Panic-stricken, the ships crashed, people found themselves in water and drowned. The Russians were covered with clouds of arrows sent by the Cheremis archers off the bank of the river. It was an unconditional defeat of the flotilla. The Russians lost almost all the ships and 25–30 thousand people. Only a small group of ships managed to force their way to Kazan. Voivode I. Paletsky was on board ship. The Cheremis acquired great trophies. They collected cannons, gun powder, silver, gold, pearls and other precious possessions off the bottom of the river for several days [Herberstein, 1988, p. 177–178; Tatishchev, 1966, p. 124; Kazan History, 1954, pp. 67–68].

A cavalry led by I.V. Khabarov-Simsky was much more successful. Surmounting the

resistance of mountain people, they came up to Ityakovo at the Sviyaga River on July 24th. Here it was met by a large Kazan troop reinforced by the Chuvash-Mari irregulars. Princes Otuch (Otun) and atalyk Talysh commanded the Kazan Tatars. The latter was a famous Kazan voivode. He was characterized vividly in Kazan chronicles. He was called a brave and decisive warrior who could attack a great regiment of warriors with a small troops fearlessly. He defeated the Russians and always remained invulnerable. Talysh resembled a Turk epic hero. He was stately and broad-shouldered. He was incredibly strong and was able to cut up an adversary into halves with a sword. Neither helmet nor armor could protect from his striking sword. He could shoot an arrow incredibly far. He always hit the mark whatever it was—a bird, an animal or a man. Russian warriors were afraid of him and ran away. The bravest Russian warriors did not dare to fight against him. Even voivode Ivan Belsky was not confident enough and did not accept the challenge [Kazan History, 1954, p. 70].

According to Pafnutiy chronicles, the Kazan Tatars attacked first, they "came to the voivodes unnoticed". Volokolamsk chronicles state that 2,000 selected Tatars took part in the attack, they were supported by the Tatar irregulars, the Maris, the Chuvashes and the Mordovians. The battle became especially intense and continued for three days with varying success. In the end, the Russians gained a victory: "...during that battle many Princes, Mirzas, Tatars, Cheremis, and Chuvashes were killed and many princes and mirzas were captured". Those who survived were chased and killed, some of them drowned in the Sviyaga River and the Volga River. Only some of them managed to hide on boats and hide in the forest. According to the voivodes, the Kazan Tatars lost 42,000 people. The losses of the Russians were also significant¹.

¹ Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 201. Manuscripts collection of M. Obolensky. No. 42, P. 20 reverse; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 264; Vol. 8. P. 270; Vol. 13. P. 44; Vol. 20. Section 1. P. 403; Vol. 22. Section 1. Pp. 520, 538; Vol. 23. P. 203; Vol. 24. P. 222; Vol. 31. P. 127; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 189–191; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 124; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 68; Schmidt, 1951, P. 282; Herberstein, 1988, P. 179; Tikhomirov, 1930, P. 111; Zimin, 1972, Pp. 262–263.

The Khabar-Simsky soldiers took revenge on the mountain people fiercely for destroying the cavalry and fleet of I. Paletsky. They attacked defenseless settlements of the Mountain side like an avalanche fighting against the Kazan Tatars and the Cheremis [Kazan History, 1954, p. 68; Gerbertsein, 1988, p. 179; Tatishchev, 1966, pp. 124–125].

Both sides had significant human losses so they agreed to conclude a peace treaty really fast. In general, the outcome of the war was favorable to the Kazan Khanate. It managed to defend its independence and Safa Giray stayed in the khan's throne. The key to the success of Kazan lay in actions of the Cheremis troops, i.e. the Maris and the Chuvashes. Nevertheless, this war showed that Kazan was not able to defend its citizens on the mountain side. Later on, this circumstance played an important part in the political re-orientation of the mountain Maris, the Chuvashes and the Mordovians.

Not only significant human losses and exhaustion from aging war but also complications with the Nogai Horde made the Kazan Tatars conclude a peace treaty with the Russians. The Nogai troops appeared at the borders of Kazan. Sahib Giray fled from Kazan to the Crimea where he faced the people of Prince Agish and was nearly killed [Documents, 1916, p. 58]. Soon after, the Russian army had left Kazan, at the end of August, the Nogais invaded the lands of the khanate and devastated them [Tikhomirov, 1930, p. 111].

Peace negotiations between Moscow and Kazan started in 1525 were dragged out and ultimately unsuccessful. The Russian government would not accept the renewed full sovereignty of the Kazan Khanate and they wanted at least the formal recognition of the dependence of the khanate. They exerted economical pressure. The fair was moved from Kazan to Makariev Monastery at Nizhny Novgorod¹. A trade war between Kazan and Moscow began. Both sides suffered. Russian-Kazan trade relations were violated. Herberstein writes that Basil III threatened to inflict

a penalty on every citizen who would trade in Kazan. It goes without saying that Safa Giray did the same. As a result "prices went up and the shortage of goods appeared...." The Kazan Tatars did not acquire Russian goods, first of all, salt. The Russians lost "many goods which were imported from the Caspian Sea, Astrakhan by the Volga River as well as from Persia and Armenia. First of all—refined fish including beluga, or white sturgeon caught near Kazan" [Herberstein, 1988, p. 179]. There were many Kazan Tatars who wanted to continue attacking Russian settlements. There were incidents at the borders. There were provocations against the Russian diplomats. That hindered the conclusion of peace. Herberstein wrote that during his second trip to Moscow in 1526–1527 "the Kazan ambassadors were in Moscow but there was no hope of concluding a peace treaty in the future" [Herberstein, 1988, p. 179]. The negotiations were at a deadlock so many times that the sides were close to renewing military actions. The situation worsened in 1529 when the khan insulted ambassador A.F. Pilyemov and denied giving the oath charter².

The government of Basil III tried to find a military solution to this problem. In April 1530, a navy led by I.F. Belsky and M.V. Gorbaty and a cavalry led by M.L. Glinsky and V.A. Sheremetev were sent to Kazan. This time, the Russians had learnt the lesson they were given six years ago and managed to lead their ships to Kazan without obstruction. On the contrary, the cavalry as it passed through the mountain side had to overcome the fierce resistance of the Maris, the Chuvashes and the Tatars. Only on July 10, the cavalry army left Kazan.

However, the Kazan Tatars had time to prepare for the siege. Safa Giray ordered "to collect all princes and mirzas from different provinces in Kazan". The Mari troops formed a large part of the soldiers who had come to defend the city. The Maris erected wooden walls around the Kazan posad which they were told to defend. 30,000 Nogai warriors led by Prince Shih-Mamai's elder son mirza Kasai and his brother Yaglyz (Agish) came to

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 520; Tikhomirov, 1930, Pp. 111–112; Schmidt, 1951, P. 282.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 272; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 126.

help the Kazan Tatars. The army of Astrakhan arrived.

Opposing parties were significant and events developed rapidly. The Russians started concentrating fire on the city and the Kazans made numerous sorties. Violent clashes took place near the town walls from morning to night. Only once during a short summer night opponents went away to their encampments to recuperate. On July 15, at night, ten Russian men of great audacity sneaked up to the walls of the stockaded town unnoticed and taking advantage of the fact that tired warders fell into a light sleep, killed them, and set the wooden walls on fire. Before they had sounded the alert, the fire enveloped a significant part of the stockaded town and the Russians managed to break into the *posad*. Being panic-stricken, the defenders of the *posad* died having no time to dress and take a weapon. Famous Kazan voivode *atalyk Talysh* was killed at the same time. He was caught defenseless, undressed, barefooted, and thrust with spears. Only the reckless self-sacrificing resistance of the group of warriors allowed some of them to hide beyond the town walls. More than 15,000 defenders of the *posad*, mainly the *Maris* and the *Nogais*, died during this battle.

After the *posad* had been lost, the situation of defenders became critical. The Russians put up a *Gulyay-gorod* near the town walls and started uninterrupted cannon and hand-cannon firing. Round shots and bullets found their victims easily.

One day, a storm, hurricane wind, and cloudburst began. The Russian warriors rushed to shelter from the unfavorable weather leaving their positions. *Safa Giray* took advantage and immediately decided to use the convenient moment to escape. Taking all available horses, they decided to make the breakthrough. Damp gun powder did not allow the Russians to use fire-arms, *Safa Giray* and his people managed to break the siege at the cost of significant human losses. The Kazan Tatars abandoned by their khan and betrayed by allies felt downcast. Although there were 12,000 more warriors left in the city, there was no more desire to resist. Even the fortress gate was open for three hours. Only a local argument between *I.F. Belsky* and *M.L.*

Glinsky prevented the Russians from conquering Kazan. Each of them wanted to enter the city the first.

Only the *Maris* did not lose the presence of mind in Kazan. Taking advantage of the confusion and strange behavior of the Russians, they made a sortie and captured 80 shields from the *Gulyay-Gorod*, 7 cannons, hand cannons, and a string of carts full of ammunition. The *Maris* managed to take it all to the town without hindrance and closed the gates. Observing the great deed of the *Mari* warriors from the walls, the Kazan Tatars recovered their spirit and prepared to defend. The Russians came to their senses and continued to fire on the city for many days but they lost the victory. On July 30, the voivodes agreed to conclude an armistice and being satisfied with the 3-year tribute ordered the troops to go back to Russia¹.

After the Russian troops had gone away, *Safa Giray* returned to Kazan. The Kazan Tatars did not show their true attitude towards the khan but the mood of the townsfolk changed in favor of peace with Russia. They were discontent with treacherous escape of the khan and his allies. They were tired of the ten-year-long conflict, the consequences of which had a disastrous effect on the economy of the country and hindered the trade with Russia.

In autumn of the same year, peace negotiations were renewed in Moscow. The Kazan delegation was headed by Princes *Tabai*, *Tevekel*, and *bakshei Ibrahim*. This time, the Kazan Tatars and the Russians managed to strike a bargain. They decided in favor of the wording which acknowledged the Kazan khan "a brother and a son of the great prince" which almost made *Safa Giray* equal to the tsar of Moscow. The Kazan Tatars were obliged to return artillery conquered by the *Maris* and exchange captives. Nevertheless, the agreement was not confirmed by *Safa Giray*. He put forward the return of the delegation, the delivery of all Kazan captives and Kazan artillery as a preliminary condition for concluding

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 3. P. 199; Vol. 4. P. 16; Vol. 8. P. 273; Vol. 13. P. 47; Vol. 21. P. 605; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 538; Vol. 26. P. 314; *Razrjadnaja kniga*, 1977a, Pp. 197–199, 215; *Tatishchev*, 1966, Pp. 127–128.

a peace treaty. The rejection of peace agreements was an unpleasant surprise not only for the Russians but also for the Kazan delegation. "And now the Tsar had broken his promise, the Kazan Tatars said. He forgot us and didn't like what we had done" They explained the inconsistency of the khan by the fact that "he interacted with the Crimeans and the Nogais and local wicked people". The breakdown of peace negotiations definitely led to the recommencement of military actions which contradicted the desires of the majority of the Kazan Tatars. Expressing their mood, the ambassador claimed that Safa Giray was not supported by people, "...people are definitely not with him..." and they do not want to serve the khan who betrayed them. They claimed, "We do not want to serve the king. If he does not need us, we do not need him either." Afterwards, the ambassadors claimed unexpectedly that they wanted to organize a coup d'etat in Kazan and asked Basil III for military support¹.

Meanwhile, Safa Giray renewed military actions. In January-February 1532, the Tatars and the Cheremis carried out a large-scale invasion of such northern Russian provinces as Tolmsa, Tikсна, Syanzhema, Tovto, Gorodishnaya, Unzha, etc. The invasions caused much distress to the Russian people. A great number of people were killed and captured, many villages and churches were burnt down. A story about the long siege by 14-thousand Tatar-Cheremis troop of Soligalich has been preserved. The invasion was so significant that the inhabitants of Totma, Ustyug, and Vologda became panic-stricken. Only troops sent from Chukhloma made the Kazan Tatars retreat².

The Russian delegation carrying out peace negotiations was arrested simultaneously with the recommencement of the war in Kazan on the orders of the khan. Trying to make reconciliation with Russia impossible, Safa Giray intended to execute many negotiators despite the protest of many Kazan princes and

Mirzas. The discontent with the khan reached its peak and in spring 1532, a coup d'etat took place in Kazan. Many Crimeans and Nogais surrounding the khan were killed. Siberian prince Rastov and his children, prince Ali Shakurov, and others died. All the rest and the khan were thrown out of the city. The new government was headed by prince Bulat Shirin and khan Ibrahim's daughter, tsarevna Kovgorshad (Gaukharshad). At their request on June 29, 1532, Shah Ali's brother, 15-year-old Kasymov's prince Jan-Ali (1532–1535) was assigned to the throne³. Shah Ali was dissatisfied with being disregarded and even started carrying out negotiations with the Kazan Tatars and other countries. Soon, the great prince knew about it. An attempt to play an independent political game was nipped in the bud. The serving khan and his confidants were arrested and sent into exile to Beloozero⁴.

The Russian protectorate over the Kazan Khanate was restored although it had a softer form now. Russian counselors always accompanied Jan-Ali, a troop of Russian warriors was based in the city. The foreign policy of the country was placed under control. The khan had to ask Nogai mirza Yusuf Syuumbike for his daughter's hand [Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1791, p. 267]. The military forces of the khanate were obliged to take part in military campaigns initiated by Russia. In winter 1534, the Kazan troop took part in the war against Lithuania supporting Russia [Zimin, 1950, p. 13]. The Khanate paid tributes to Russia under him, it was called a quitrent in an Ambassadorial book [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123 Russian-Crimean Relations. Book No. 8, sheet 475].

At the same time, Basil III decided to carry out a more flexible half-way policy and made concessions concerning some issues. The Kazan khan was acknowledged "a brother and son" of the great prince, that is almost equal to him. The Kazan captives were released and sent back to their motherland. When in Febru-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 53–56; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 128–130.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 28. P. 162; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, P. 230; Letopis' (Chronicle), 1913, P. 303; Apushkin, 1901, Pp. 502–505.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 56–57; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 71; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 130–131.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 67.

ary 1533, the Kazan tatars asked if they might keep the Russian trophy cannons and hand cannons to defend themselves from enemies, Basil III agreed again¹.

Jan-Ali was an unexperienced and weak ruler and real power was concentrated in the hands of prince Bulat Shirin and tsarevna Kovgorshad who were strong supporters of peace with Russia. However, they advocated independence of the country and restrictions of the Russian influence. The political situation in Eastern Europe had also changed significantly. Marriage between Jan-Ali and Sujumbike reinforced the Nogai influence in Kazan. In 1532, khan Saadet Giray who treated Moscow well was replaced by his ardent adversary Sahib Giray (1533–1550) who thought that Kazan was his yurt and was ready to help his nephew Safa Giray who had returned to the Crimea to get back the khan's throne. Safa Giray wrote to Basil III, "I will never stop fighting against you. If you have an enemy, I will always cooperate with him." [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123. Russian-Crimean Relations. Book 7, sheets 69, 70].

On December 3, 1533, Basil III passed away. Ivan IV, who was later called Ivan the Terrible, (1533–1584) became the great prince. The Boyars took the advantage of the minority of the great prince and started a struggle for power between each other. Russia weakened and lost many foreign policy positions under the reign of Boyars. Moreover, the beginning of a new Russian-Lithuanian war drew the attention of the government and military forces to the west. The followers of the eastern faction took advantage of that. In summer 1534, the Kazan Tatars began attacking Vyatka. A chronicler from Galich provides a report about the raid of the Tatars and the Cheremis in autumn 1534 [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 603]. A Razrjadnaja kniga says that in 1534, voivodes Y.I. Temkin-Rostovsky and D.I. Kurlyatev were located in Galich. "Then they dealt with the Tatar people at the Unzha River²." A chronicler wrote, "In winter 1534–1535, many Kazan people came to areas of Nizhny Novgorod

and emptied them, they took a great number of captives among Boyars' wives and children and many common people and their wives and children." [Schmidt, 1951, p. 286]

Having no real power, Jan-Ali could not stop unauthorized raids or, more probably, he did not want to. Secret negotiations with Safa Giray were carried out behind his back. Nevertheless, the Crimean domination did not satisfy the Kazan government, so apparently the invitation of Safa Giray to come to the throne of the khanate was connected with certain conditions. The weakening of the Russian state gave the Kazan aristocracy the hope that it might one day release itself from vassalage dependency.

On September 15, 1535, in Iska-Kazan Jan-Ali was stabbed while he was asleep. "His voivode, a representative of the Moscow tsar, and all their warriors were killed as well³." Soon, Safa Giray came back to the capital of the khanate (1535–1546). Sujumbike became his youngest wife. Apparently, it was one of conditions for his accession to the throne, otherwise, there might be complications with the Nogai Horde.

Not everybody liked this coup d'etat in Kazan. In October 1535, Princes Shabaz and Shabalat Yapanchins, brothers Karamysh and Evlush Hasrullovs, and "60 more people represented by princes, mirzas, and Cossacks" started negotiations with the Kasymov Tatars defending the border. The Kazan Tatars asked them to notify the Russian tsar about their request to make Shah Ali their khan and promised to assist with his accession to the throne. They assured that "more than 500 people took part in the conspiracy"⁴. Nevertheless, the Boyars concerned with internal struggle did not respond to the request of the oppositional Kazan feudals. A new war against Lithuania also hindered that [Tatishchev, 1966, p. 140].

After Safa Giray had become a khan again, he had no intention of restricting his power.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 57; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 131, 135.

² Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, P. 264.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 88, 100, 106; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 436; Vol. 28. P. 62; Vol. 29. P. 23; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 72; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, P. 40; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 144.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 100–101, 425; Vol. 29. P. 20.

He mobilized the Kazan Tatars at once to wage war against Russia. On October 8, 1535, the Tatars and the Cheremis came up to the Unzha River, and to Shishkilevo, and to the Great Desert, and to Glazunovo, and to Galich and its provinces. They burnt down half a posad in Galich and grabbed all the rest. The forces divided and headed to villages of the diocese where they fought in Kurga, and Chermagsma, and Romantsy, and Zalesye, and Chudsa, and Zhilino, and Beresovtsy, and Shareev's hill, and Sluda, and Losevo Rame-nie, and Zhokhovo, and Turdevo, and provinces near Galich."¹

In December, a troop led by voivodes Semen Gundorov and Basil Zamytsky was sent to Kazan. The voivodes came up to the border Sura River and found the footprints left by the fleeing Kazan troop. It was evident that the Tatars were heading to Nizhny Novgorod. "The voivode behaved in a cowardly fashion: they did not struggle against the Tatars and Kazan regions and did not send a message to the great prince but went back to Meshchera". On December 24, at night, the Tatars appeared under Nizhny Novgorod unexpectedly and attacked the sleeping people. They burnt down the posad and plundered neighboring provinces and killed many fugitive runaways at the Volga River". The Kazan Tatars started retreating only after they had destroyed 50 Tatar persecutors. The voivodes started chasing the retreating Tatars and their captives. By the evening, they had managed to reach the Kazan Tatars near the Lyskov Island at the Volga River. Nevertheless, the Tatars managed to escape in the dark².

On January 1536, the Kazan Tatars suddenly attacked Balakhna. According to a Razrjadnaja kniga, the forces of the Tatars were significant, they were led by the khan. On the contrary, there was only a small garrison in Balakhna. Nevertheless, boyar I.V. Khabar-Simsky was a voivode there. He managed

to organize the townsfolk and they went to meet the Tatars. However, this time the famous military leader was out of military luck. Bravery and talent for soldiering were not enough to win. The Kazan Tatars who were larger in number and proficient in military science scored a victory. The Razrjadnaja kniga states that "there was a battle against the Kazan tsar and Ivan Khobar was defeated and he fled to Bolokhona with rest of his forces". Chasing the retreated, the Tatars broke into the posad, burnt it down and "beat many Christians". The Kazan Tatars failed to conquer the fortress. As soon as it was evident that the Russian troops were approaching from Nizhny Novgorod, the Tatars retreated with their captives³.

That winter the Kazan Tatars, the Cheremis, and many other people came to Koryakovo. This time, voivodes S.D. Saburov and I.S. Karpov "defeated many Tatars and Cheremis and caught up many survivors and sent them to the great prince to Moscow; the great prince ordered their execution in Moscow"⁴.

On July 30, a large troop of the Kazan Tatars invaded lands of Kostroma and Galich. The Russian voivodes went to meet them without waiting for reinforcements. The Battle took place at the Kus River and resulted in the defeat of the Russians. The Kazan Tatars "killed princes P. V. Zasekin-Pestry and Menshuk Polev and pummeled many of the Boyars' children". Only the approach of significant Russian forces made the Tatars retreat⁵.

The Russian government was trying to conceal the real scope of the Kazan invasions. Ambassador Jacob Snozin in Lithuania in February 1536 was ordered to give the following answer to the question on the war against the Kazan Tatars: "The lands of our lord and the Kazan

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 28. P. 62.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. P. 291; Vol. 13. Pp. 88–89; 105–106; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 435–436; Vol. 29. P. 23; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 144; the Tsar Book. P. 59; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 259–260.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 106–107; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 436; Vol. 29. P. 24; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, P. 260.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. Pp. 7, 291; Vol. 13. Pp. 89, 106–107; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 436; Vol. 29. P. 24; the Tsar Book. P. 59.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 8. Pp. 7, 291–292; Vol. 13. P. 90; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 440; Vol. 29. P. 27; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, P. 270; Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1791, P. 114; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 144.

Tatars, the Mordovians, and the Cheremis are fighting now; there are quarrels between the Cheremis and the Mordovians about frontiers, they curse all the time and plunder each other, and there were no more wars, our lord had never sent his voivodes to Kazan, and the Kazan Tatars have never attended the great prince." [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1988, p. 26] Ambassador Ivan Tarasov had to explain that khan Jan-Ali had been killed by malevolent people and they had invited Safa Giray to Kazan. The ambassadors had to persuade the Lithuanians that Safa Giray had sent him to the tsar to be held in Kazan in his estate. The princes and all the Kazan people also sent ambassador to the Tsar to start negotiations and prevent wars. The Kazan Tatars behave in this way; in winter, they wage wars, and in spring, they bow down: and the tsar executes the wicked ones and forgives the kind" [Ibid, p. 40]. Afterwards and until 1542, the same instructions were given to all diplomats sent to Lithuania and the Crimea. [Ibid, pp. 54, 116–117; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123 Russian-Crimean Relations. Book No. 8, sheets 267–268, 298–298]. After 1538, when it became impossible to hide the real scales of the conflict, a more precise definition appeared in the instructions according to which "the Kazan Tatar were prohibited to come to Russian lands" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, pp. 136–137, 179–180].

In winter 1536–1538, Safa-Girey came to Murom like a wicked serpent, burnt down the posad and started taking the town by storm. The inhabitants of Murom defended themselves bravely firing cannons at the target and making successful sorties. Within three days, the khan knew that the Russians were approaching. He suspended the siege and retreated¹.

In the same winter, the Kazan Tatars performed raids on the northern Russian provinces, on the lands of Kostroma and Galich, "many of them were fighting and had many captives, and lands of Galich were emptied².

In 1537, the Kazan khan returned to Murom again, burnt down posads near the town, and then, he headed to Nizhny Novgorod. He remained there for three days. The inhabitants of Nizhny Novgorod and the Tatars fought ferociously for six hours, so the Tatar burnt down the upper posad, and 200 yards were destroyed [Ancient Russian Vivliofike, 1791a, p. 85]. The Mazurinsky chronicler adds that the Tatars had significant human losses and after that the tsar went past Nizhny Novgorod with great shame³.

In winter 1537–1538, "the Tatars came to Moscow towns, the lands of Kostroma, Murom, Galich, and Vologda and sacked and burnt down many monasteries and took away many Boyars' wives, daughters, adults, and children and converted them to their religion."⁴ Nizhny Novgorod also underwent attacks. The main part of the Tatar army even reached the remote Komela River in the Vologda Region [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 603]. Agographical literature contains evidence of the devastation of Vologda provinces by the Tatars and the Cheremis. Many monasteries were devastated and monks had to flee to remote forests [Veryuzhsky, 1993, pp. 256–259; Schmidt, 1954, pp. 230–231; Loparev, 1892, p. 16; Kuntsevich, 1905, pp. 308–309; Hagiographies of Russian Saints, 1993, pp. 210, 387; Minei-Chetyi, 1875, s. 152–152]. Devastating the Russian provinces, the Kazan Tatars almost reached Vologda (there were only 6 versts left). They retreated with a great number of captives. The Kazan Tatars succeeded everywhere. The Russians managed to defeat the Tatars only near Kostroma releasing all the captives of the great prince⁵.

The Russian state concentrated its troops on its eastern borders⁶. On September 9, 1537, there was a new session the Boyar Duma. They decided to send cavalry and navy to Kazan in spring. However, the planned

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 116; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 441–442; Vol. 26. Pp. 317, 322; Vol. 29. P. 28.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 524; Schmidt, 1951, P. 288.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 31. P. 129.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 4. P. 302.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 24. Pp. 318, 324.

⁶ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 268–270, 284, 291–293, 295.

military campaign did not take place. A *Razrjadnaja kniga* contained the following note, "That military campaign did not take place because the Kazan tsar sent his person Usein to the great prince to conclude a peace treaty."¹ It is plausible that Kazan received a report that a military campaign was being prepared.

The position of the Crimean khan played an important part in preventing a Russian invasion. On November 24, he passed a charter to Moscow, through his messenger Derbysh-Aleya, in which he wrote that "the great prince should reconcile with tsarevich Safa Giray who was in Kazan"². "The lands of Kazan are my yurt and Safa Giray is my brother," wrote Sahib Giray. If he did not wage war on Kazan lands and unleashed hostility and send his army there as it was in recent times, he would send his ambassadors and guests. You would live in peace. And when you receive my *yarliq* and you wage war against him, do not reconcile with him after that and look at me like merciful God. Do not think I will be only with the Tatars. I am not alone, cannon and hand-cannon detachments, enormous cavalry and villeins are going with me as well as the Tatar armies in our fields are with me. Afterwards, you will understand: whatever you do, you will not reconcile with Kazan. It is the same thing with the Kazan yurt. If you are their friend, you are my friend as well. If you are their enemy, you are my enemy, too...Kazan is my state and my land. Would you still be my friend if you start waging war? You can not have loving peace with him, you may be sure, look at us like merciful God....And if you do not accept clauses fixed in the *yarliq*, you will find an enemy. Do not suspect us, we do not have any malicious intent. Do you really want to sail down the Oka River? And do not rely on water. I will not show you the Oka River. You had better think about your internal problem, not about the fact that Mahmet Giray can come. Moreover, I will have supplementary armies and forces. There will be one

hundred thousand Turkish warriors and five thousand janissaries [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123 Russian-Crimean Relations. Book No. 8, sheets 419–421] Thus, Sahib Giray urged Moscow to acknowledge the legality of his accession to the khan's throne in Kazan and threatened to invade if they rejected his requirements. The deacons of the *Prikaz* answered Derbysh-Aley with dignity: "The Tsar himself knows that when Safa Giray arrived in Kazan, he caused much damage to our lord. Our Lord does not need to send ambassadors to Kazan. If Safa Giray sends an ambassador to our Lord because he wants to have friendly relations with him, we do not mind." [Ibid, 423–424] Thus, the Russian government claimed that Safa Giray was guilty of the war. Thus, he had to send his ambassador first putting forward a proposal to conclude a peace treaty. Moscow was ready to take part in these negotiations.

On March 10, 1538, the Russian-Kazan peace negotiations began. The Crimea played the part of an intermediary. The Crimean diplomats exerted pressure on the Russian side. Sahib Giray wrote to the great prince, "Kazan land is ours as well. And if you start causing damage in that land you will not have peace relations with us, we will spend all year round in your lands with additional forces not like Mahmed-Girey but much more dreadful. You are young and do not know how often the Kazan Tatars have been there and what they have done to local places. There is no use in it. Their people will get tired, there will be many human losses. The yurt you inherited from your father is already yours. And do not make friends with the Besermians. You would rather accept our words, because there is no damage to that yurt and better reconcile with it....And if you start fighting against Kazan, you will anger me and no gifts will help you. You know, the riches of the whole wide world will not be enough then [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123 Russian-Crimean Relations. Book No. 8, sheets 535–536]. As may be obvious from the nature of the khan's requirements, Sahib Giray wanted the Great Prince to refute his claims to vassalage over the Kazan Khanate. This is what the Russian side insisted on. Apparently,

¹ Ibid., Pp. 271–272.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 121; Vol. 29. P. 31.

the Kazan Tatars were not going to accept the conditionalities either. "The Kazan tsar does not want to conclude the treaty which would be appropriate for both states," claimed Deacon Fedor Karpov to Crimean Ambassador Mirza Sulesh [Ibid, sheet 600]. The negotiations were dragging on. It became evident that the Crimea and Moscow were struggling for the prevailing influence in the Kazan Khanate [Ermushev, 1997, p. 24].

On April 3, the mother of Ivan IV died under mysterious conditions. Contemporaries thought, not without good reason, that the young princess had been poisoned. The analysis of her remains which has been carried out recently shows an increased mercury presence in her hair and consequently proves this. [Panova, Pezhemsky, 2004, pp. 26–31; Panova, Samoylova, 2004, p. 35]. The death of the regent led to a new spiral in the struggle between boyar groupings which led to the paralysis of state power.

Kazan diplomats were careful and keenly observed developments. Not desirous of a peace treaty, Safa Giray put forward unacceptable requirements. According to them, Moscow had to send gifts and pay tributes to the Kazan Tatars. Russian diplomats replied indignantly, "Great princes have never sent gifts to the Kazan tsar" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123. Russian-Crimean Relations. Book 8, Sheet 643]. It should be emphasized that the Kazan Tatars continued attacking Russian borders even during peace negotiations. Deacon Fedor Karpov told Crimean ambassador Mirza Sulesh that "after negotiations had begun, the people of the great prince did not damage the lands of the Kazan khan. As for him, it was the opposite. The people of the khan continued devastating Russian lands." [Ibid, 594–594 reverse, 616–617]

In autumn 1539, Safa Giray interrupted peace negotiations and renewed invasions into Russia. The troops of the Kazan Tatars headed by Chura Narykov conquered Zhilino on September 20 [Kuntsevich, 1905, pp. 311, 326, 603]. In November, the Kazan troops and the khan were approaching Murom, devastating the lands of Nizhny Novgorod¹.

¹ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 281–282.

In February–March 1540, Chura Narykov and his troop numbering eight thousand warriors and consisting of the Tatars, the Ceremis, and the Chuvashes devastated the lands of Kostroma. The Russian voivodes managed to reach the Kazan Tatars who not only defended themselves but also defeated Russians. Princes B. Siseev and V.F. Kozhin-Zamytsky were killed during the battle².

In December, the troops led by Safa Giray came up to Murom again but this time the Kazan Tatars failed. Two days after, the siege had been begun, the Russian made a sortie and caused significant human losses to the Tatars. Meanwhile, the Kasymov Tatars defeated the Nogais who made a living by pillaging. They set free many captives. Learning that the troops of the Russians and the Kasymov Tatars were approaching, Safa Giray countermanded the siege of Murom and rushed back Kazan taking a large number of captives³.

In the same year, "the army of the Kazan Tatars who came to Perm devastated the estate of the Great Prince, burnt it, and killed many inhabitants of Perm." [Vychehorodsko-Vymskaya, 1958, p. 265]

A chronicle says that "in 1541, the Kazan Tatars reached Nizhny Novgorod and killed there 26 inhabitants of the city and they took prisoners and came back to Kazan"⁴.

In winter 1541–1542, an army of 30,000 soldiers invaded. In addition to Kazan Tatars, the Crimeans and the Nogais also formed part of this army. This time, Safa Giray devastated the Murom provinces, estates of the Pozharsky princes, half of the Vladimir provinces and attacked Starodub and Ryapolov. He left

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 524; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, P. 284; Schmidt, 1951, P. 288.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 14. P. 135; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 455–456; Vol. 22. Section 1. Pp. 38–39; Drevnyaya Rossijskaya Vivliofika (Ancient Russian Vivliofika), 1791, Pp. 126–127; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, P. 290; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 281. Gramoty' Kollegii E'konomii (Economy Collegium Charters). No. 7738.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 27. P. 142; Vol. 29. P. 130; the Russian State Library. Manuscripts Department (hereinafter: RSL MD). Reserve 236. Popova A. (Museum), no. 6 (2399), Chronograph of the 17th century. P. 387.

the Russian lands with a great number of captives without obstruction¹.

In 1542, 4,000 Tatars and Cheremis attacked Vyatka. They came up to Ustyug and "conquered all Ustyug provinces and towns". They burnt down 73 smallholdings and 2 churches in Dymkov. They amassed so much plunder that it could not be taken away on horses. They decided to return by river with rafts. After loading all their trophies and captives, the Tatars and the Maris set sail for home. Nevertheless, they ran into an ambush set by the Vyatichi near Kotelnich. The Tatars were completely routed. The Maris managed to break into the forest and the Pizhma River [Titov, 1903, p. 5; Spitzyn, 1883, p. 35].

In 1543, there was another military campaign by Safa Giray against Murom. The perseverance of the Kazan khan was beyond all doubt. The fall of Murom cleared the way for the Kazan Tatars to the central regions of Russia. However, they had to be content only with the devastation of the provinces and enslaving local population². In 1544, the Kazan Tatars attacked the lands of Nizhny Novgorod [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 311; Collection of the Russian Historical Science, 1887, p. 239].

In winter 1544–1545, "the Kazan prince and Chura Narykov came to Vladimir provinces and there was a battle here and many people were captured". The pursuit reached the Tatars but they managed to escape. An unexpected misfortune befell the Tatars at Gorokhovets: "...the inhabitants of Gorokhovets fought against the Kazan Tatars at the stockaded town, and took the head of Prince Amanak from the Kazan Tatars."³

In the struggle against the Russian state, Safa Giray skillfully used not only military potential but also diplomacy. He attempted to win the support of the Nogai Horde, Astrakhan, the Crimea, and Lithuania and to coordinate his actions against Russia with them. When it was favorable to him, he initiated "peace" negotiations, thus undermining the counter

actions of Russian troops in Kazan. When the threat of invasion disappeared, he suspended negotiations and sent numerous detachments to devastate Russian lands. Notably, the khan offered to start peace negotiations at the beginning of spring when the Russians were preparing their flotilla to sail in the flood-water. Arabic poet Hadji Tarkhani Sherifi addressed a letter to Turkish sultan Suleiman II, containing precise details of the policy carried out by Safa Giray towards Russia. He wrote, "In accordance with the needs of the epoch, for the purpose of ensuring wealth and well-being of the country, calmness and security of the people, for the purpose of ensuring peace in the world, rulers of the beautiful city of Kazan pretended to be friends and exchanged ambassadors and government officials. "The tranquility of the world is based on the understanding of these words: being faithful to friends and falsely cordial to enemies [Sherifi, 1995, p. 87].

The letters of the Kazan khan Safa Giray addressed to Polish-Lithuanian King, Sigismund I the Elder, are very interesting [Mustafina, 1997a, pp. 26–38]. The contents allows us to date it back to a period between November 1542 and December 1545. The letters are evidence of an irreconcilable attitude of the khan towards Russia. Safa Giray notifies his addressee about the devastation caused by him to the Russian lands. The khan writes, "He conquered Moscow lands and devastated them himself: he was there with his troop and conquered castles and burnt down settlements and crossed the Oka River and was on the lands of enemies. " He indicates that 10, 40, and even 70 thousand warriors took part in military campaigns. In some cases, he led the troops himself, in other cases, they were led by Kozuchak-Ulan, Yamurch-atalyk, and Akhmagma-uhlan. The khan writes that the Nogai mirza Aley and 10,000 warriors and 1,000 inhabitants of Astrakhan sent by khan Abdul-Rahman took part in military campaigns with him. It is evident from letters that the Kazan Tatars and their allies burnt Borsuma (apparently, Murom) many times, devastated and burnt down Balakhna, Kasymov, and Kostroma, and then came up to Vladimir. The khan emphasizes that his army penetrated

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 521; Schmidt, 1951, P. 289.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 525; Schmidt, 1951, P. 289.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 525; Schmidt, 1951, P. 290.

more than once beyond the borders of the Oka River. With no clear notion about the northern territories devastated by the Kazan Tatars, Safa Giray wrote, "And now this land is empty...Up to the Frigid Sea." Apparently, by the Frigid Sea, the khan means the White Sea, but the Kazan Tatars did not reach it. Nevertheless, it is possible that the Tatar-Cheremis detachments could have penetrated much further than stated in Russian sources. One of the khan's letters referring to Vyatka contains fundamentally new evidence. "If he subordinated a land, he obliged its inhabitants to pay him tributes as it was in the past," the khan writes. The khan writes that "messengers were sent to him asking to accept their tributes as their forefathers did". The Viaticchi were clearly unable to withstand the invasion of Kazan with no support from the center. They tried to conclude a separate treaty with Kazan agreeing to pay tributes and accepting some other khan's requests.

Successful in the devastation of Russia, Safa Giray did not rest on his laurels or accept peace initiatives from the Russians. He wrote to the King, "Князь великий московский sent his ambassadors and messengers to me asking to put an end to the war and conclude peace. However, I did not want it and I did not accept his offer of peace."

The Maris took part in almost all military campaigns in Russia. They were brave warriors and excellent guides and spies. Sources do not always refer to their involvement but the notion "*Kazan people*" refers not only to the Kazan Tatars but also representatives of other nations of the khanate and above all the Maris. The Solovetsky paterikon contains an interesting story about the raids of the Kazan Tatars 16th century. After describing distress caused by the Tatars, the author continues, "...they sailed down the Sukhona River and reached Ustyug, the Cheremis accompanied them everywhere" (our Italic type A.B.) [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 310]. There are many reports about the participation of the Maris in the so-called Petty warfare at the borders in diplomatic documents of the Office of Ambassadors [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, pp. 26, 39–40, 54, 116–117, 136–137, 239]. Kazan chronicles report that the "Cheremis live in for-

est deserts, they do not work on land, but they are engaged in fishing, hunting and plundering." [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 86] Describing Kazan Ukraine, Herberstein writes that the "Cheremis are roaming and plundering everywhere" which created problems with communication between Galich and Vyatka [Herberstein, 1988, p. 162]. Adam Olearius [Olearius, 1906, p. 364], Petr Petrey [Petrey, 1865, p. 44.], and etc. report about frequent attacks of the Cheremis. Russian sources contain many similar reports¹. Confrontations with the Maris were typical for Vyatka. The story about Nikolai Velikoretsky says that "the Kazan Cheremis often waged war in Vyatka" [Vereshchagin, 1905, p. 40]. In 1556, Dema and Patrikey Chelishchevs told the governor-general of Vyatka, Semen Sukin, that their family had acquired a house to the south of Kotelnich in 1511, and since then, they did not catch fish there and did not pay tributes (quotation by [Kashtanov, 1970, p. 183].

Contemporaries directly associated activation of the Kazan raids with the unrest amongst the Boyars. The Solovetsky Paterik says that at the time when Vasily III died and a "young boy" became the great prince, "grandeers who didst pick up the time of autocracy, much evil had been done among them: many of many people perished meaninglessly. The godless Tatar Kazan people watched like a serpent from the mire, many countries hurt the Russian kingdom." [Kuntsevich, 1905, p. 310] The Kazan chroni-

¹ Dokumenty' po istorii Udmurtii (Documents on the history of Udmurtia), 1958, P. 350; Kuntsevich, 1905, Pp. 308–309, 311, 326, 603; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 221, 232, 246, 259–260, 270, 281–282, 284, 290–291; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 144; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 4. P. 302; Vol. 8. Pp. 7, 291–292; Vol. 13. Pp. 88–90, 105–107, 116; Vol. 14. P. 135; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 435–436, 440–442, 455–456; Vol. 22. Section 1. Pp. 38–39, 521, 524, 525; Vol. 24. Pp. 318, 324; Vol. 26. Pp. 317, 322; Vol. 27. P. 142; Vol. 28. P. 62; Vol. 29. Pp. 23–24, 27–28, 38–39; Vol. 31. Pp. 129–130; Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1791, Pp. 114–115, 126–127; Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1791a, P. 85; Schmidt, 1951, Pp. 288–290; Veryuzhsky, 1880, Pp. 83, 256–259, 386, 454, 466; Loparev, 1892, P. 16; Zhitiya russkikh svyaty'kh (The Lives of Russian Saints), 1993, Pp. 210, 387; Minei-Chet'yi (Menaion Reader), 1875, Pp. 152, 152 reverse; Vy'chegodsko-Vy'mskaya (Vy'chegda-Vymsky), 1958, P. 265. RSL MD). Reserve 236 Popova A (Museum), no. 6 (2399). Chronograph of the 17th century, P. 387; Titov, 1903, P. 5; Spitsyn, 1883, P. 35.

cler also wrote about that, "Then, for all the prince and boyars, and grandees and judges living by the city autocracy, not judging for justice, but for a bribe, and violating people, breaking all the rules—he was the great prince—for godless scum, not protecting their Russian lands from scoundrels: everywhere the filthy peasants maraud and devastate, and the grandees of peasants destroy by the great sale." [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 72–73] Although the Kazan chronicler speaks explicitly as an apologist of Ivan the Terrible, his characterization of the situation, formed during the childhood of the great prince, is reliable. The chronicler bitterly exclaimed, "...Having seen the disorganization in Moscow for our sins, and Kazan people were carrying war in those years in the remote area of our sovereign, and many churches of Christianity and castles were devastated. And Kazan fought and castles were devastated: Nizhny Novgorod, Murom, Meschera, Gorokhovets, Balakhna, Zavolzhye, Galic, Vologda, Totma, Ustyug, Perm, Vyatka, by many campaigns in many years. ..."¹ Other sources add to the listed cities and areas Vladimir, Shua, Yuryevets, Kostroma, Kineshma, Unzha, Kasymov, Temnikov, and etc. [Ancient Russian Vivliofike, 1791, p. 123–124]. Later, recalling those troubled years, Ivan the Terrible wrote, "Almost half of the lands of Crimea and Kazan were empty." [Messages, 1951, pp. 47, 316] Prince A. Kurbsky, in his famous essay "The History of the Great Prince of Moscow", wrote that everything was devastated by the Kazan Tatars, even 18 miles from Moscow, while all the territories behind the Oka River were ravaged by the Crimeans and Nogais [Legends, 1833, p. 8].

In the tale of the life of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich, it is stated that the Kazans "played many dirty tricks on the Orthodox Christians, unceasingly committing evil; they struggled against them endlessly, and shed Orthodox Christianity's blood, like a river flowing rapidly which is shed lavishly after the blows of the impious, while others were captured and tortured."²

The most complete and vivid picture of the consequences of Kazan invasions was left by an immediate witness of the events he described. He was an anonymous Kazan chronicler who noted that the frequent incursions of Kazan were much more destructive than the invasion of Batu. "And a lot of blood was shed due to the Kazan deeds, deeds against Russians. Sometimes, our little powers defeated the Kazans, but we ourselves were defeated much more times, we were harmless for the Turkics, the grandsons of Ishmael, and were much more disgraced returning from such campaigns," he wrote [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 75–77].

On the other hand, those years were the most successful for the Kazan Khanate in the war with the Russian State. Kazan troops attacked the Russian lands and almost freely devastated and looted the settlements and the villages. They enslaved the Russians and sold them at a profit on the eastern slave markets. It brought considerable income to the Crimean grandees and their supporters from Kazan. Many of the Tatars and meadow Mari, who took an active part in raids, succumbed to the impunity and seductive easy enrichment. Invasions into the Russian lands were declared in Kazan and in the whole Muslim world as a sacred struggle against the infidels—gazavat. The name of Safa Giray was exalted, he was called "AlGhazi", i.e. the great warrior, the fighter for the faith [Alishev, 1990, pp. 53–54]. Contemporaries—the Astrakhan poet, Khoja Tarkhani Sherifi, and the Turkish chronicler, Jennabi,—wrote with rapture about the successes of Safa Giray in the fight against the infidels [Sherifi, 1995, p. 87–89]. The Kazan poet, Muhammadyar (1497–1549), in his poem "Nur-i-sodur" ("The Light of Heart") praises gazavat [Amirkhanov, 1993, p. 91]. Safa Giray was a protector of Islam and the country's independence. For the time being, this ensured his popularity and support among the population of Kazan. Foreign policy successes eased the internal contradictions.

In 1545, the mature great Prince Ivan IV took over the reins of government. Having executed several boyars, he demonstrated his temper, and established a barrier to the boyar arbitrariness which was weakening the

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 129; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 74.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 14. P. 3.

country. One of the first independent actions of the 14-year-old Russian ruler was the organization of a campaign against Kazan. On April 2, 1545, a naval army was sent along the Volga, Kama, and Vyatka Rivers to Kazan¹. A decade of Kazan invasions into the Russian lands provided the basis for the counteraction. In the capital of the Khanate everyone had already forgotten about the time when Russian troops had approached the town, so the attack from the river was a surprise. The Russians "had smitten many people of Kazan and burnt the taverns of the tsar"². A Kazan chronicler writes that voivodes "did many campaigns in the Kazan regions, having filled the Cheremis fields with blood and barbarian lands with beaten corpses, but did not approach Kazan, just demonstrating their power to the city of Kazan, which was located not far". According to him, "It easy to occupy Kazan at that time; voivodes would come to the Kazan land and find only few civilians: all the grand people were away and tsar was not there as well. They would find him haunting with his hounds and small retinue." Many Kazans were also beaten near the town and the Volga, Sviyaga, Vyatka, and Kama Rivers. According to the Kazan chronicler, the attack left 3,000 Kazans dead [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 84]. Overall, however, the success of the campaign was minor, and, considering the fact that the Tatars managed to beat a late detachment of Permiches, even doubtful. Nevertheless, it was to have dramatic consequences for the fate of the Khanate. The suspicious Khan considered the sudden attack as a result of betrayal of the Kazans who formerly were in opposition to him. The contradictions between the Kazans and the Crimeans deteriorated. Safa Giray did not trust the Kazans and tried to rely on his Crimean entourage. The Chronicle reports about that in this way, "As a result, there was discord in Kazan: the tsar started keeping princes closer; and many of them went from

Kazan to the great prince, and other ones roamed around different lands."³

Even in 1536, members of the opposition began to escape from Kazan. In October, a charter was sent to the Nogai Horde on behalf of Ivan IV, to Prince Cherkes, in which he and other princes left Kazan. Mirzas and the Cossacks were invited to serve the great prince [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 189]. Departing to Lithuania in June, 1536, the ambassador Ivan Tarasov was given a mandate to say that many Kazan "princes and mirzas are going to our sovereign; before my trip Shabaz, Prince Yapanchin, and his brother Shabaat, the son of Kazimov, his brother mirza Czekaj, Kuchyuen Karachev, Ivashka Sharvarhozin, Evlush Chingildeev, and many other princes and mirzas arrived in Moscow" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 40]⁴. In May 1541, "Prince Bulat and all the land of Kazan" secretly brought their ambassadors to Moscow. They asked that troops be sent to Kazan and pledged to kill or arrest the Khan as soon as the Russian army would appear at the walls of the city. The envoys complained to the boyars, "...and now, due to the tsar's policy, the Kazan people were suffering strongly, because he bereaved many princes of yasaks in favor of the Crimeans; and for the land people, here was a great sale; he is saving a treasury to send to Crimea"⁵. It was already known that revenue was being sent from Kazan to Crimea, for instance, in 1521 [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 89. Russian-Crimean Relations. Book No. 8, p. 194 reverse]. It shows that the Crimeans did not intend to settle permanently in the Kazan Khanate and used their stay there in order to gain wealth through the exploitation of the population of Kazan and devastation of the Russian lands.

¹ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 316–317; the History of Kazan, 1954, Pp. 83–84.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 146–147, 445–446; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 464–465; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 525; Vol. 29. P. 46; the Tsar Book. Pp. 117–118; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 158.

³ The History of Kazan, 1954, Pp. 147, 445–446; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 29. P. 46; the Tsar Book. Pp. 117–118.

⁴ About prince Shabaz' switchover to the Russian service, see also: [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 123. Russia-Crimea Relations. Book No. 8, Pp. 609–610, 621–622, 659 reverse].

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 99; Vol. 29. P. 135; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 148; the Tsar Book. P. 78.

Some historians depict Safa Giray as a real patriot who sought to "follow a policy which was independent both of Moscow and Crimea", and claim that he supposedly, together with Sujumbike, strove to establish the Kazan Party in contrast to Moscow and Crimea [Tagirov, 2000, p. 117; History of Tatarstan, 2001, p. 100]. However, there is some evidence indicating that Safa Giray and his Crimean entourage pursued only mercantile interests. The Kazan Chronicler writes about Safa Giray in this way, "That he received the Crimean Saracen, in Kazan, as they were grand people, and made them comfortable, thereby insulting the power of the Kazans. " [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 78] In 1549, the Nogai prince Yusuf wrote about Safa Giray in Moscow, that he "led many naked and hungry Crimeans. And began to offend the Kazan people" [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 293]. That fact was also reported to the Russian tsar by the Nogai mirzas in July 1551: Safa Giray "decided to violate the Kazans. Who had already lost his father, he had no father's income. And who had already lost his big brother, he had no income as a younger brother either. And he has been living against you for a long time. And nobody of the Kazan civilians and princes could bear his arbitrariness. .." [CCRC, 1793, p. 271] Poet Muham-madyar, who was extremely concerned about the growing population of the Crimeans in the country and deterioration of the position of Kazans through the unrest in Kazan, wrote:

A lack of faith will not destroy the State

But a country could collapse due to the yoke,

Unbelief and an unbeliever harm just themselves,

But the yoke makes country conditions unbearable [Abilov, 1979, p. 60].

It is hardly possible to speak about financial or tax reforms allegedly carried out by Safa Giray, since the extant sources report on the transfer of yasaks to the Crimeans, but not on the centralization of tax collection. One may agree with S. Alishev that the Khan "was not actually interested in Kazan and the living conditions of civilians" [Alishev, 1995, p. 80].

The unwillingness to tolerate further the opportunistic regime of the Crimean government of Safa Giray pushed the Kazan feudal

lords to realize the necessity of negotiations with Russia. On July 29, 1545, the influential Kazan princes, Kadysh and Chura Narykov, appealed to Moscow with a request to support the oncoming coup with the troops. The Russians promised to support the conspirators¹.

The coup occurred at the beginning of January 1546, and turned into a truly nationwide anti-Crimean uprising. The author of "History of Kazan" described the event in this way, "There was the rebellion among the grandees and entire population in Kazan; the riot consolidated the great with the ordinary and dethroned their tsar of Sekirei, having expelled him from Kazan with his tsarinas, nearly killing him." [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 78] During the coup, many Crimeans were killed².

After leaving Kazan, Safa Giray met with the Astrakhan Ambassador of Mansir Seyyid, who was going to him in Kazan, and they went to Astrakhan together. Having turned to the Astrakhan Khan for assistance, Safa Giray soon received it and with the Astrakhan troops approached Kazan. Safa Giray expected that "princes and their retinues would side with him", but "nobody among the Kazan princes and their retinues wanted to side with him". The outcast Khan attempted to occupy the city for two months, but without siege equipment, just arrows alone, he could do nothing. "After several raids", Safa Giray went to the Nogai Horde to his father-in-law, prince Yusuf [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127. Russian-Crimean Relations. Book No. 9, sheet 27 reverse; CCRC, 1793, pp. 271–272].

However, the unity of the Kazans immediately came to an end as soon as the issue of the nomination of a new Khan came under discussion. According to the Kazan Chronicler, "someone wants to enthrone the Crimean tsar-evitch, others want to crown the Turkic khan; others want to deal with the Moscow tsar, but are afraid of his revenge for a former crime; someone wants to deal with the former tsar who was dethroned, and bring him back from the Nogai Horde—but even in that case, they

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 446.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 148, 447; Vol. 29. P. 47; the Tsar Book. P. 120.

are afraid of his revenge as well" [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 78]. We observe a rather clear division of the Kazans into two Parties—the Moscow one and the eastern, predominantly Crimean one. In fact, the Turkish Party did not exist, but there were pro-Turkish sentiments. There was an opinion in favor of re-inviting Shah Ali to the Khanate. It clearly demonstrates that the Kazans recognized the need to normalize the relations with Russia. The population had grown tired of the endless war and desired peace with its principal neighbor: "And the Kazan people were exhausted by frequent wars which occurred in their lands. .." [Ibid] However, considering their previous experience, the Kazans decided to limit his power and Russian influence in general. On 13th June, 1546, after Shah Ali accompanied by the Kasymov Tatars and a Russian thousand-man detachment led by Prince D. Belsky came to Kazan, he was allowed to leave only a hundred confidants with him. Belsky, together with the Russian and Kasymov soldiers, were placed in the trading quarter, and prevented from communicating with the Khan.

The Kazan Chronicler compares the second "khanship" of Shah Ali with capture, emphasizing that he was in Kazan "not as a tsar, but as a captive under strong protection". Shah Ali possessed no real power, could not rely on the troops, and had no authority over the Kazan people. During his rule, the contradictions between the various groups of the Kazans were not stopped, but became stronger. The Kazans did not conceal their contempt for the Khan, and even tried to kill him several times. Only the intercession of Emir Chura Narykov saved Shah Ali from imminent violence. Having ruled for just a month and under the threat of conspiracy, Shah Ali with the help of Chura Narykov fled to Russia, having killed 20 of the most hated Kazan grandees and having captured 20 more. The Kazan Chronicler explains the actions of Chura Narykov as reluctance due to the murder of the Moscow protege to plunge the country into a bloody maelstrom of war with Russia. The insidious massacre perpetrated by Shah Ali, and his secret flight so outraged Kazan society that all explicit or supposed supporters of the Moscow Party were persecuted and

executed. "And they punished many people among themselves," the Kazan Chronicler says on this occasion. It came even to armed conflicts. A detachment of Chura Narykov was caught and destroyed attempting to flee to Russia, and Narykov himself was executed [Ibid, p. 80–82].

When he heard of the ensuing unrest, Safa Giray applied to the Nogai prince and mirzas to support him with an army. The Nogais treated Safa Giray ambiguously and even thought of murdering him. However, he was a true opportunist and did not skimp on promises. "And in Kazan, there are many people who want to cooperate with us," Safa Giray said to the Nogai mirzas, "but I will go there with the Manghit¹ power, and they will receive me there. I am going to occupy Kazan and give the Mountain and Arsk sides to Prince Yusuf and you as well." The Nogai mirzas considered his promise, and Safa Giray generously pledged them great pecuniary recompense. He also promised to make mirza Yunus, the eldest son of the ruler of the Nogai Horde, Prince Yusuf, the Prince of Kazan "on the Manghit position". To achieve his goal, he even expressed his willingness to accept vassalage from the Nogai Horde. "I will occupy Kazan just by your order. I will make it at your will," he assured Prince Yusuf. Finally, he had persuaded the prince and mirzas to give him an army. Previously, the Khan had sworn an oath of allegiance of his words. Notably, Safa Giray promised not to repress the Kazan nobility, "And I will kill just one or two people, and no more people will be killed. And I will not damage anything or anyone." [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 293; CCRC, 1793, pp. 272–274]

However, the return of the Khan ousted six months previously did not suit everyone.. Only after eight days of fighting, Safa Giray was able to enter the city [CCRC, 1793, pp. 143, 271–271]. However, even after that, it took some time to put down the resistance. Prince Khosrov even managed to gather a troop and break into Kazan, but the correlation of forces was not equal. The Nogais dispelled his troops [Ibid, p. 163]. Having become the Khan for the third time, Safa Giray (1546–1549) decided

¹ That is, the Nogais.

to be done forever with any opposition to his government. Anyone who did not overtly support him was physically liquidated. Among the dead, were Princes Baubek and Kadysh, and even the head of the Muslims, Seyyid, who had dared to condemn Safa Giray. Such mass repressions provoked censure even in the Nogai Horde, allied with him Prince Yusuf indignantly wrote to Ivan IV that Safa Giray "killed all the best people in Kazan" [Ibid, p. 144]. The survivors quickly emigrated to Russia and the Nogai Horde. The chronicles record the arrival of the 76 Kazan people in Moscow in September 1546, among whom were the Princes Kulush, Tereul, Burnash, and the brothers of Chura Narykov¹. The Kazan immigrants were recruited to the Russian service, and used in the future in the struggle against Kazan. Safa Giray managed to crush the opposition, but on the eve of the resumption of hostilities with the Russians, it considerably weakened the Kazan Khanate. At the same time, it provided the Government of Ivan IV with the additional grounds for interfering in the internal affairs of the country with the support of hundreds of experienced Tatar warriors.

Having achieved the return to the throne of Khan with the help of Nogai swords, Safa Giray did not fulfill any promise given to the Nogai feudal lords. The deceived Nogai allies became enemies and began to attack the Kazan outskirts. Mirza Yunus was able to approach Kazan in the spring of 1548. Having suffered heavy casualties, he had to retreat [Ambassadorial books, 1995, pp. 294, 304, 318; CCRC, 1793, pp. 274–275]. Safa Giray's opportunism set the Kazan Khanate on the brink of a two-front war: in the West—against Russia, and in the South-East—against the Nogai Horde.

The events which took place in Kazan had the most serious consequences for non-Tatar population of the Khanate. Particular attention to the events was paid by the residents of Mountain side. The return of Safa Giray and the defeat of the opposition should have inevitably caused the resumption of the war with Russia and a new destruction of Mountain

side, which was always between a rock and a hard place in Russian-Kazan conflicts. V.D. Dimitriev admits that Safa Giray's intention to transfer the Mountain side to the Nogais could have become known to the inhabitants of the Mountain side, and that did not bode well for them. [Dimitriev, 1986, p. 34]. In this situation, the peoples of the Mountain side could no longer remain indifferent observers and obedient executors of the imprudent orders of the Kazan governor. They had to do something as soon as possible. Their search for the right solution is described in the unique Mountain Mari legend about Akpars written in the 19th century.

The elders and diviners—"muzhans" gathered at "the great assembly". They realised that the resumed war would not bypass their villages and that their houses would be burned, their property ransacked, their crops trampled, and all those who would not find shelter would be taken as prisoners or killed. After long reflection and disputes, the "great assembly" decided to send scouts to Kazan and Moscow, who were called "eyes and ears" in the legend. They were instructed to collect as much information on each of the parties as possible and then to report to the elders. The "eyes and ears" managed to fulfill the task. Upon their return, the "great assembly" was convened again. Those who had come from Moscow were the first to report. They reported as follows, "The Tsar of Moscow firmly sits on the throne; he has many servants and troops, and all of them honor him as a God of the Earth; the treasury is rich; there is a single law, and the law is observed." The scouts who had come from Kazan reported as follows, "The Tsar of Kazan is weak on his throne; tsars are changed very often in Kazan, there are riots, and the law is not observed...it is bad there...And the main thing is that they will not resist Moscow. Soon, there will be a new war between Moscow and Kazan." The "great assembly" decided to seek Russian protection and sent a special Embassy to Moscow for this purpose [Ayplatov, 1967, [pp. 88–90]. The decision of the Mountain Mari was influenced by the mass escape of Kazan feudal lords opposing Safa Giray's regime.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 148, 449–450; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 467–468; Vol. 29. P. 49.

The information about the mission of the Mountain side people to Moscow is recorded in several written sources. There is such information in the Nikon's and Lviv Chronicles, the "Chronicle of the Beginning of the Reign", the "Continuation of the Chronograph, edition 1512", the Tsar Book and the Razrjadnaja kniga. They state that on December 6 and 7, 1546, "The Mountain Mari sent two people to make obeisance to the Grand Prince and to ask him to send an array against Kazan, and they would serve for the Tsar"¹. The Razrjadnaja kniga adds that the Embassy was sent by the Mountain Mari and centurion Atachik "with their comrades-at-arms". The next record in the Razrjadnaja kniga reveals the goal of the Embassy of the Mountain Mari people, "...they wanted to serve the Tsar and the Grand Prince and to meet voivodes of the Grand Prince behind the town of Vasil and to go to Kazan with them."². More detailed information on the nature of appeal of the Mari people is given in the "Continuation of the Chronograph, edition 1512", which states that the "Mountain Mari people asked Shahghali Tsar and wanted to go against Kazan and to remove the Tsar of Kazan"³.

The Mountain Mari people could negotiate only with Prikaz clerks and boyars, because Ivan IV was visiting monasteries and was absent in Moscow at that time. The Postnikov's Chronicle of the 1560s states that Ivan IV "came on December 10, at 3 a.m., in the night from Saturday, for a week. He left Prechistye and Tikhvinskiye and came to Moscow, because they wanted to see the Crimean Tsar or Tsareviches in Moscow. And because Prince Kadysh and the entire Kazan land sent three Tatar men to the Grand Prince, because they had laid siege to the Kazan tsar, Safa Giray in Kazan, but Kadysh had only 70 people left. They asked the Grand Prince to send them his people. And if the Grand Prince says he will send the captured tsar to him, they will do it.

And if the Grand Prince says to kill him in Kazan, they will kill him"⁴.

The arrival of the Mountain Mari and Chuvash Embassy in Moscow coincided with the mass influx of Kazan refugees. The Kazan immigrants and the Mountain Mari people had similar interests. They both wanted to overthrow Safa Giray and to seat the Moscow protégé Shah Ali on the throne, with the support of Russian troops. The successful implementation of the plan would lead to a resumption of the Russian protectorate over the Kazan Khanate, inevitably remove the tension between the two countries, create favorable conditions for a long-term peace and mutually beneficial economic cooperation, i.e., would give the peoples of the Mountain side what they wanted most of all.

Obviously, the Russian government did not want to trust the Mountain Mari people and the Chuvashs, who had previously fought against Russia. This explains why the offer of the Mountain Mari people was not fully accepted by the Russian Government, despite its evident benefits.

In February 1547, the Russian troops crossed the Sura river. However, the troops were not large and had a limited reconnaissance mission: "...to fight at the meadow side of Kazan, but not to go to the city...". The Russian army only approached the Sviyaga River, when there were only 30 versts left before Kazan. According to the instructions, the voivodes did not ravage the villages of the Mountain Mari, but attacked the Meadow side. As was promised, the Russians did not face opposition anywhere on the Mountain side. Moreover, some groups of the Mountain Mari wanted to join the Russians in accordance with the agreement, "Many people of the Mountain Mari came to the voivodes," but "having learned that there was no Shahghali Tsar with the voivodes, they returned back, but the voivodes left some of the Mari people and brought them to Moscow."⁵

Thus, we can conclude that the Mountain Mari sincerely wanted to join the Russian ar-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 150, 450; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 468; Vol. 29. P. 49; the Tsar Book. P. 126.

² Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, P. 330.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 526.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 34. P. 28.

⁵ Ibid.

my, but having realized that they were not going to take any serious action against Kazan, they immediately lost any interest and did not participate in the campaign. This was because Moscow did not fulfill the conditions of the agreement, and the open support of the Russian army would cause severe repression on the part of Kazan immediately upon departure of the Russian army. At the same time, the Russians did not face any resistance.

The final determination of the political orientation of Mountain side peoples was affected by the successful turn of the war in favor of Russia. In September 1548, the Russians stopped the Tatars' attempt to ravage the Kostroma territories; in March of the next year 1549, they repelled the last raid of the Kazan Tatars against Murom, whereupon the initiative was fully transferred to Russia. This was favored by Safa Giray's unexpected death due to an accident in early March¹.

Upon Safa Giray's death, there was a dynastic crisis in Kazan. The adult sons of the deceased Khan's, Mubarek and Bulyuk, were in Crimea, and in Kazan. There was also a 2-year-old son, Sujumbike Utemish Giray, and a 12-year-old son born by a Russian captive. None were suitable for the role of a Kazan Khan. One of them was too small, the second was considered defective due to his Russian origin, which was really unjust, as later he died in the defense of the city on a rampart. A special embassy was sent to invite one of the tsareviches to the Crimea, but it was attacked by the Kasymov Tatars on its way. They had to proclaim the baby Utemish Giray a Khan (1549–1551), subject to Sujumbike's regency.

For Kazan, Safa Giray's death meant the end of the unity achieved through cruel executions. The Kazan Chronicles report that "upon the Tsar's death, there occurred great unrest in Kazan; there were riots and evil among the noblemen: lesser Kazan residents did not want to listen to their superiors who were ordered to secure the country; and all of them thought that they were powerful and wanted

to rule Kazan, and killed each other for this" [Kazan history, 1954, p. 83]. All people understood the harm of continuing the war with the Russian state, but saw the way out in different ways. Some hoped for the help of the Muslim countries and allowed the possibility of peace talks with Russia only for the tactical purpose to avoid a Russian attack. Essentially, this was a way to continue the war. Others saw the way out in making peace with Russia and were ready to reach a compromise and accept Moscow's protege as a khan. Discussing the situation, they said, "We cannot do without Moscow, and Moscow cannot do without Kazan. The Crimeans would leave and go away." [Ambassadorial books, 1995, pp. 301–302, 321, 323] The pro-Eastern ideas turned to be stronger. The supporters of the opposition were forced to flee from Kazan to Russia and the Nogai Horde. The Kazan Chronicles state that many Tatars "fled from Kazan to Moscow to submit to the Tsar and to serve him" [Kazan History, 1954, p. 83]. The Tsar gladly accepted the emigrants, appointed them to service and gave a good salary. This stimulated further emigration. The Russian government was interested in engaging the Kazan nobility in its service. They sent letters to the Nogai Horde to invite the representatives of the Kazan nobility living there to serve the Tsar. For example, in February 1549, such letters were sent with the ambassador I.B. Fedtsov to Beyurgan Sayyid, Ileman Prince and Abdullah Bakshey. "You wrote in you letter that you do not like to live in the Nogai Horde, so go to Russia with our ambassador Ivan. When you arrive, we will give you a good salary and home, so that you will be able to live here until there is Kazan yurt," Ivan IV wrote to the refugees [Ambassadorial Books, 1995, p. 276, 297, 301–303]. The results were immediate: in 1551, there were more than 500 Kazan princes, mirzas, and cossacks in Moscow². In 1552, the number of Kazan refugees in Russia, taking into account their families and servants, amounted to 10,000 [Kazan History, 1954, p. 83]. In 1549, they wrote a petition to the Tsar to send Shah Ali to the position of a

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 459; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 529; Schmidt, 1951, P. 296.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 163, 465; Vol. 34. P. 398; the Tsar Book. P. 164.

Kazan khan. Ivan IV watched over the events happening in Kazan and knew that upon Safa Giray's death "all his noblemen and all the Kazan residents were devoured by great outrage, abuse, and willfulness. ..." [Ibid, p. 85]. He decided to immediately take advantage of the weakened and rioting Khanate to attack Kazan with a view to placing Shah Ali on the throne and restoring the protectorate. According to the Tsar, the large number of emigrants were to support the Moscow protege [Ambassadorial Books, 1995, pp. 301–302]. In July, a meeting of the Council of boyars took place, which was attended by Macarius, the Metropolitan of Moscow. They discussed the issue of continuing the war with Kazan. It was decided that Ivan IV himself should go "as soon as winter starts"¹.

On January 23, 1550, a 60-thousand Russian army moved to Kazan. On their way, they "were fighting in many places on the Mountain side, the Arsk and the Meadow sides, and took many prisoners"². However, the winter campaign of 1549/50 did not bring victory. The Kazan Government was headed by a Crimean uhlan Koschak, who managed to organize the defense of the city. Russian sources differently explain the reasons for withdrawal of Russian troops from Kazan. Some chronicles state that this was due to warming [Tatishchev, 1966, p. 169]. Ivan IV in his letter to Yusuf, the Prince of Nogai, wrote as follows, "In winter, we were fighting in Kazan, and killed many people in the city of Kazan, and took others as prisoners. And we went from the city, because it got warmer, and the Kazan river burst its banks. And it was impossible to stay in Kazan because of the warmth." [Ambassadorial Books, 1995, p. 327] There really was a sharp warming, and it is confirmed by many chronicles³. However, it was not only the bad weather that made the Russian troops retreat from Kazan. Several chronicles and A.M.

Kurbsky briefly state that during an unsuccessful attack, the Russians "did not seize the city, but a lot of people from both sides were killed"⁴. A resident of Astrakhan Hoja, Tarhani Sherifi, who took part in the defense of Kazan, indicates that there were considerable losses among Kazan men, especially those who suffered from the Russian artillery, as well as incalculable losses among the Russians. According to him, the "two troops having drowned in iron were equally fighting and struggling against each other...This battle was like the Judgment Day, the world was filled with the sounds of daggers, and blood was flowing like a river in the city of Kazan". Kazan won. "The sinful infidels, having thus died, were lying on the two plains of the fortress and were food for dogs, wolves and hyenas. There was no place to put a foot," Sherifi writes [Sherifi, 1995, p. 92].

The failure of the campaign showed the following: 1) the success of the Russian army in winter largely depends on the natural elements; 2) isolation from the bases had a negative impact; 3) the Russians were shown once again that Kazan residents, despite internal disorders and weakness of the Khan's power, had a sufficient and military and material potential and a will to resist. All the above circumstances prevented Russia from achieving a decisive victory. At the same time, Kazan suffered such significant losses that it became apparent that the city would inevitably collapse under less favorable conditions. This was also proved by the purely defensive tactics of Kazan. They were unable to fight on a field or chase a retreating enemy.

Ivan IV began to prepare for a new campaign against Kazan already on his way to Moscow. It was clear that the Russians needed a base near Kazan. The Tsar decided to construct one in the Mountain side. According to Ivan IV, construction of a fortress in the immediate vicinity of Kazan would "cramp

¹ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 363–364; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 168.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 531; Schmidt, 1951, P. 299.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 159, 461; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 477; Vol. 29. P. 58; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 85.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 4. P. 621; Vol. 13. Pp. 158, 461; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 477; Vol. 22. Section 1. P. 531; Vol. 29. P. 58; the Tsar Book. P. 158; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 85; Tales, 1833, P. 14; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 377–378; Schmidt, 1951, P. 299.

the Kazan territories"¹. The Tsar discussed the issue with the voivodes, Shah Ali, and Kazan immigrant princes. The idea of building a fortress was approved by all of them. The Kazan princes and Shah Ali even showed Ivan IV a place in the mouth of the Sviyaga river on the Round mountain that was convenient for building a fortress².

During the winter of 1550/51, the materials needed to construct a fortress were prepared in Uglich forests under the guidance of a talented engineer and a prince's scribe I.G. Vyrodkov. The plan was to disassemble fortress walls that had been previously built, to transfer them down the Volga up to the right place and to build a fortress under the enemy's nose.

By April 1551, everything had been ready to carry out a new campaign against Kazan. Not a siege of Kazan but construction of a fortress on the Sviyaga was to be the key moment in the campaign. To cover the construction works, several military groups were formed. The navy under the command of P. S. Serebryany was to act the first and occupy the place of the future construction, and then to attack Kazan and thereby restrict the Khanate's forces. After that, ships with the disassembled buildings were to move in. The protection of the ships and construction of the fortress was entrusted to regiments under the formal command of Shah Ali and Yu.M. Bulgakov. A detachment of 500 Kazan immigrants was a part of the army. The Chronicles state that "the Tsar had many people". In the South, the construction works were protected against possible attacks of the Crimeans or Nogais by an army of D.I. Hilkov that moved in the steppe. The Vyatka and the Kama rivers were taken under control by the Vyatka residents headed by Bakhteyar Zyuzin. The crossings in the Volga river were to be controlled by Cossacks, to prevent "military men from going to Kazan"³. The troops were ordered to

"seize the Kazan territory and to spare neither women nor children, nor old or young, but to bend everybody under the sword" [Kazan History, 1954, pp. 86–87]. Therefore, the plan was to carry out diverting attacks and blockade the Khanate's center to demoralize the enemy, simultaneously with the construction of the fortress.

The attack began on May 16, 1551, and was going successfully. By the evening of the following day, the Russians had approached the Round Mountain on the Sviyaga River, and in the morning on May 18, they quietly approached Kazan and successfully attacked the posad under the cover of heavy fog. The appearance of P.S. Serebryany near the city was a great surprise for the Tatars. "He came to the suburb in secret and killed many people; they captured many people and took them as prisoners, and killed more than a hundred princes and mirzas, as well as numerous ordinary people, their wives and children," the Chronicle states.⁴

Uluses of the Khanate were also attacked. The Kazan Chronicle reports that Russian voivodes "began to fight in Kazan uluses and captured many Mountain Mari and Meadow Mari people [Kazan History, 1954, p. 87]. This allowed the builders, who arrived on May 24, to freely perform their work. In four weeks after the commencement of the works, the fortress walls had been already erected, and by July 30, a city had been already constructed that was called Ivangorod-on-Sviyaga. However, the name did not last for long, and the city was then called after the river—Sviyazhsk.

Such an unexpected and rapid construction of a Russian fortress near the center of the Kazan Khanate greatly impressed the contemporaries. In Kazan, they could not believe this fact and thought that the Russians erected just a "Gulyay-gorod" (a mobile fortification). "When Kazan residents understood that a true city had been erected, they became sad and upset," the Kazan Chronicle states [Kazan Histo-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 159, 461; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 477; Vol. 29. P. 59; the Tsar Book. Pp. 158–159.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 29. P. 59, Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 169–170; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 85.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 163–164, 464–465; the Tsar Book. P. 165; Raz-

radnaja kniga, 1977a, Pp. 397–399; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 172–173.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 164, 465.

ry, 1954, p. 92]. There were serious reasons to worry, since Kazan residents understood what benefits in war the Russians would have with a base near Kazan. The Tatar Chronicles say that "the Russian infidels built a fortress in the mouth of the Sviyaga river, where they stored their guns, money and reserves" [Catalanov, Pokrovsky, 1905, pp. 7, 11, 16, 21].

The construction of the fortress boosted the morale of the Russian army: "And the Russian army became happy and enthusiastic about fighting against Kazan and all its people." [Kazan History, 1954, p. 88]

Of course, the political situation in the Mountain side was taken into account while developing a campaign plan for the summer 1551. On the whole, it was favorable for Russia. Since 1547, the population of the Mountain side had faced a choice and adopted a waiting, neutral position. It formally retained submission to the Kazan Khan, and at the same time, refrained from participation in the war against the Russians. The final determination of the political orientation of Mountain side peoples was affected by the successful turn of the war in favor of Russia. The construction of the fortress on the Sviyaga river with numerous garrisons and the beginning of new devastation in Mountain Side by the Russian troops finally persuaded most of the local population to defect to the Russian side. This was favored by the fact that Tatar feudal lords, who lived on the Mountain side, had fled to Kazan and could not influence the doubting population. "Mountain people, having seen that a city of an orthodox tsar had been erected in their land, began to come to the tsar¹ and the voivodes and to make obeisance to the tsar to make him pity them, and he would order them to move to Sviyazhsk and not order them to fight in war."² The Kazan Chronicles add that "the elders and the sotniks of the Mountain Mari people" came to make obeisance to the tsar on

the third day after the commencement of the construction, i.e., on May 26 [Kazan History, 1954, p. 88]. The Book of Degrees states that the Mountain people who lived near the city under construction "began to swear to the tsar and to help in the city construction, to bring bread, honey, cattle, and other products"³.

A message on successful actions of the Russian forces, the construction of a new fortress and obeisance of the Mountain people ("the Mountain people want to serve the Tsar") was sent to Moscow by a Prince of Kasymov Shabas Shamov and a boyar I. Shishkin. Soon, the Mountain people "representing the entire Mountain Side again petitioned the boyars and Shah Ali asking for permission for their delegation to visit Moscow. It was apparent that Mountain Side would inevitably be included in Russia, so local elders deemed it necessary to negotiate the conditions of this act with the Russian tsar. The permission was granted, and a delegation led by Magmet Bozubov and Akhkubek Togaev left for Moscow. In Moscow, "Magmet and his fellows made obeisance in the name of the entire Mountain Side, princes and mirzas, sotniks and desyatniks, the Chuvashes, Cheremises and Cosacks, and asked the tsar to spare them and to let them live near Sviyazhsk, and swore to the Tsar that neither they nor their children would leave the Tsar or defect to the side of Kazan, and asked the Tsar to reduce the tribute to be paid and give them a letter of grant and instructions as to what they should do". "The Tsar spared them, and ordered they not be fought and that they might live in Sviyazhsk, and gave them a letter of grant under a gold seal; and revealed them from paying the tribute for three years; and provided a good salary, furs and money to Magmet and his comrades. " However, in his turn, Ivan IV demanded that the Mountain people should "serve the Tsar and the Grand Prince and want only good for him, and not leave the city of Sviyazhsk, and pay the tribute and quitrent as ordered by the Tsar and as they paid it to the previous tsars, and not maintain Russian captives, and free all of them". On these conditions, in June

¹ This refers to Shah Ali, who was a formal leader of the military contingent, building Sviyazhsk. Apparently, the presence of Shah Ali among the troops was not insignificant in influencing the decision of the Hill Mari to become Russian subjects.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 164, 466; Vol. 29. Pp. 61–62; the Tsar Book. P. 170.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 21. P. 641.

1551, "the voivodes administered the oath of the Mountain people, princes and mirzas, sotniks and desyatniks, the Chuvashes, Mordvins, Mozhars and Tarkhans"¹. Thus, in June 1551, the Mountain Side peacefully joined Russia.

According to the Chronicles, it was the initiatives of the Mountain Mari and Chuvashes to make obeisance to the Tsar, but the oath was also taken by the Mordvins and the local Tatars. The latter included many of those who opposed to the current regime in Kazan. One of Chuvash legends tells that in December 1546, during Moscow negotiations, a sotnik Anchik assured Russian boyars that the "Tatars would be glad to see the Russians, because many of them were disappointed with the Khan, because his servants, warriors were robbing in the country" [Dimitriev, 1983, p. 62]. This legend really reflects the anti-Crimean sentiment that existed among the Tatars.

However, Moscow had had a rich and diverse experience of relationships with the peoples of the Middle Volga and were afraid of a possible insidious betrayal. It was necessary to take measures to strengthen the position of the new followers of the Russian Tsar. They decided to test their faithfulness. They were told as follows, "If you promise to be faithful to the Tsar, prove your faithfulness, fight against the enemy." The Mountain Mari and the Chuvash armed themselves and attacked Kazan. From a military point of view, the operation was unsuccessful. When the group came to the city, "all the Kazan residents and the Crimeans went out to them, and were fighting hard against them, and many people from both sides died. Kazan residents brought guns from the city and cried and shot them; and the Mountain people and the Chuvashes got afraid and ran; and Kazan residents killed around a hundred, and captured around fifty people"². However, the campaign demonstrated the sincerity of the peoples of the Mountain Side in their wish to become Russian citizens.

Gifting or subornation of local noblemen was another measure aimed at enticing

Mountain Side people to Russia. This was one of the traditional means used by the Russian government in the relations with Tatar states. The Chronicles tell about this as follows, "Around five or six hundred Mountain people came to the Tsar in summer, and the Tsar gave them gifts and fed and drank them at his table. Prince, mirzas, and sotny Cossacks were presented coats and furs; and other Chuvashes and Mari people were presented with damask and atlas; and young people were gifted accordions, and cloth, and squirrel coats; and all of them were presented armor, horses and money by the Tsar." This unprecedented generosity of the Tsar caused general surprise of Moscow people. Even in the Chronicles, there is such an exclamation, "The Tsar's gifts to the Mountain people does not become poor, and the Tsar gifts them more and more. He has already gifted many items of value, and gifts them more things than to his warriors. In previous Chronicles, there is no information on similar expenses as the Tsar now spends on his new residents. The measures of the Russian government soon brought positive results. The Mountain people "began to act faithfully and to serve the Tsar, and to fight on the Meadow side and to get informers there"³.

The joining of the Mountain Side to Russia was a difficult and a controversial event. Long-term relationships with Russia and weakening of contacts with Kazan created social, economic, and political prerequisites for peaceful entry of this part of the Khanate in Russia. However, tearing off a part of the single State's territory could not go smoothly. The population perceived the events in different ways; there were proponents and opponents of such joining; but the majority of the population were clearly unsure. In the conditions of a long war, the Mountain people most of all suffered from its consequences and did not get effective protection from Kazan. Once the preponderance of Russia's power became evident, the majority of the population favoured Russia. Although the Mountain

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 164–165, 466.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 165, 466; Vol. 29. P. 62; the Tsar Book. P. 174

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 165–166, 466–467; Vol. 29. P. 63; the Tsar Book. Pp. 174–175.

Side joined Russia peacefully, it was a forced rather than voluntarily movement, under the influence of external circumstances. The Mountain people petitioned for their acceptance only after Russia had brought its considerable troops to the Mountain Side and had begun to build the Sviyazhsk fortress. The peaceful and, at the same time, complex nature of the joining of the Mountain Side was also noted by A. Kurbsky, who stressed that the Mountain people "had to submit to the Russian Tsar, irrespective of whether they wanted to do it or not" [Legends, 1833, p. 19]. The words of Russian diplomats told at peace negotiations that soon started in Kazan can be interpreted in a similar way; they claimed that the Mountain Side was seized by the Tsar with "the Mercy of God and his sword before they petitioned to accept them"¹. Nevertheless, there was no armed conquering of the Mountain Side; the active actions of the Russians only accelerated the process of peaceful entry of the indigenous peoples in Russia that had already started earlier. Ignaty Zaitsev's *Chronicles* drawn up in 1555–1556 state that the "Mountain Mari people peacefully submitted to the Grand Prince in summer 7059 (1551), in June, when the city on the Sviyaga river was built" [Zimin, 1950, p. 18]. The joining of the Mountain Side to Russia predetermined the further fate of the Kazan Khanate and marked the beginning of the entry of the entire Volga and Ural regions into Russia.

The successful actions of the Russian troops within the campaign of 1551 clearly demonstrated that the government of the Crimean under uhlán Koschak and Tsarina Sujumbike was unable to ensure the security of the country which led to a deterioration in the relations between the Kazan natives and the Crimeans, "the Kazan natives and the Crimeans began to argue". This led to a situation, when "the Chuvashes" came "to fight against the Crimeans, because they do not submit to the Tsar". They managed to prevent the rebellion, but the Kazan natives did not want to be subordinate to them any longer. There began unrest among them; many princes and mirzas left to serve

the Russian Tsar². Having lost their hope of remaining in Kazan and fearing a revolution, 300 Crimeans led by uhlán Koschak left their families and servants and attempted to leave the country. However, they were captured by a Russian outpost while crossing the Vyatka River, were partially killed and partially imprisoned and sent to Moscow, where they were executed when they refused to get christened³.

The Crimeans' flight from Kazan created conditions for peace negotiations. To avoid a complete defeat in the war, Kazan was forced to make significant concessions. Russian diplomats insisted that the 5-year-old Khan Utemish Giray and his mother, a regent Sujumbike, should be removed and deported to Russia. The Russian protégé Shah Ali was declared Khan for the third time (1551–1552). According to the agreement, Kazan was obliged to deliver up all the Crimeans remaining in the Khanate and release Russian prisoners. The announcement that the Mountain Side had become a Russian territory was very unexpected for Kazan and caused particular displeasure. The conditions of the peace agreement dictated by Russia were very strict. The Kazan noblemen and Shah Ali Khan under their pressure began to strongly demand the return of the territory which had been torn away, "And all of them began to talk about the Mountain Side that it was not appropriate to split the territory." In response, the boyars "following the Tsar's instructions, said that nothing could be changed; what is given by the God to the Tsar, cannot be disposed of"⁴. Having achieved no concessions, Kazan had to reluctantly approve the terms of the peace agreement. The *Chronicles* state that "all Kazan residents swore to be faithful to the Tsar. They did it in groups of one, two or three hundred people, not just a few of them"⁵. In September 1551, the Kazan nobility touched upon the issue once again, trying to persuade the

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 167, 468.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 166; Vol. 29. P. 63; the Tsar Book. P. 175; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 175.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 166, 468; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 94.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 167, 468–469.

⁵ Ibid. P. 169.

Russian government to settle for a compromise. Agreeing to accept the transition of the Mountain Side to Russia, they asked him to at least "give them the tribute paid by people in the Mountain Side"¹. However, a categorical denial followed again. Ivan IV planned not only to retain this important bastion for Russia, which controlled the entire Volga Region, but also to weaken the Kazan Khanate economically depriving it of the main source of the tribute. This would inevitably increase the Khanate's dependence on Russia. Kazan ambassadors were categorically told that "no funds received from the Mountain Side would be given to Kazan"².

The tenacity of the Russian Government significantly worsened the interstate relationships. The puppet ruler Shah Ali could not defend the interests of Kazan and therefore quickly lost the authority that had already been very low. His orders were sabotaged; Kazan was not going to release Russian prisoners. Even the Kasymov Tatars from the Khan's entourage began to acquire Russian slaves. Because of his fear of a revolt, he was unable to fulfill all the requirements of Russia, which caused irritation in Moscow. The followers of the Eastern party, who had begun to work actively to eliminate the Russian presence and remove the unwanted Khan, took advantage of Shah Ali's unstable position. Many Kazan princes, mirzas, and uhlans went to the Nogai Horde where they incited the Nogai to attack Russia. In Kazan, they were preparing for a rebellion. Trying to forestall his enemies, Shah Ali started to apply repressions acting as usual in accordance with an insidious scenario. Having invited his opponents for a feast, he ordered that they be killed, "...The tsar's princes killed those who were indoors, and the Grand Prince's Streltsy (riflemen) killed those who were in the yard, and Streltsy were ordered to kill others in the courtyard..." In total, 70 princes, mirzas, and uhlans were killed. However, the murder of the noblemen just exacerbated the atmosphere and subsequently the collapse of Shah Ali's regime became inevitable. In December 1551, he desperately

told the Russian boyars, "I cannot live in Kazan any longer, I have undermined their faithfulness."³ The Khan was offered the help of Russian people to strengthen his power. Shah Ali objected, "I do not want to convert the Muslim into my faith and do not want to betray my Tsar, the Grand Prince..."⁴

In January 1552, the pro-Moscow part of the Kazan nobility, namely the princes Nur Ali Shirin, Khorsov, and Alemerdin Azey offered to remove Shah Ali Khan and to accept that the Kazan Khanate become part of Russia, with assignment of a Russian boyar to the position of their governor. At the same time, Kazan should retain certain autonomy⁵. It is not excluded that the appeal of the Kazan nobility to Ivan IV was inspired by the ruling elite of Russia. This opinion is expressed by some historians [Fakhrutdinov, 1995, p. 229; Florya, 1999, p. 39]. S. Alishev admits that the initiative of such a decision belonged to the Kazan Tatars who wished to save Kazan from conquest "with the help of a voluntary but tolerable subornation" [Alishev, 1995, pp. 108–109].

Russia's policy towards the Kazan Khanate was being built gradually in accordance with the current circumstances. There was no well thought-out plan as to the conquest of Kazan. All the attempts of some historians to reconstruct such a plan on the basis of the events are only a doubtful retrospection. The results achieved within the campaign of 1551, i.e., the appointment of a vassal ruler Shah Ali on the throne, the release of prisoners and submission of the Mountain Side were considered a final solution of the task, and contemporaries perceived this success as a "bright victory achieved without blood"⁶. According to the Russian government, "the Kazan question" had been solved. Until January 1552, the Russian government had tried to turn the Kazan Khanate into a formally independent vassal state headed by an "obedient" Khan and similar to the Kasym Khanate in its nature. Already by September 1551, Shah Ali was advised to

¹ Ibid. P. 171.

² Ibid. Pp. 172, 472.

³ Ibid. Pp. 167–173, 472.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 173.

⁵ Ibid. Pp. 173–174, 473; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 181.

⁶ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 193.

"strengthen Kazan for the Tsar and for himself and make it like the town of Kasymov, to make it stable during his reign and afterwards, and to prevent wars for many years to come"¹. We should note the anticipated long existence of the Khanate. The Russian boyars supposed that the Khanate would remain independent not only during Shah Ali's reign, but also when led by his successors. In November, an order was issued "for the khan to firmly strengthen Kazan as a Town for the sovereign, to prevent the flow of Christian blood"². However, it was undesirable to accept the Khanate as a part of Russia, because it led to considerable material costs. It would have moved the Russian borders towards nomads' camps of restless eastern hordes and inevitably cause a deterioration of the relations with Muslim countries. Only in January 1552, when it became clear that Shah Ali could not control the deteriorating situation, and there was a threat of a rebellion, the Russian government decided to peacefully include the Khanate in Russia under a contract with the Kazan residents. This also envisaged the provision of autonomy and a replacement of the Khan by a Russian governor.

Prince S. Mikulinsky was assigned to the position of the Kazan governor. Following an order received from Moscow, Shah Ali left Kazan under the pretext of going fishing on March 6, 1552. At the same time, he managed to take away other 84 representatives of the opposing Kazan nobility and bring them to Sviyazhsk by deception, to spoil gunpowder and guns³.

The news about removal of the hated Shah Ali and joining Russia was approved by a significant part of Kazan residents. They reported from Kazan, "that the entire Kazan state was glad to join the Russian Tsar, that they swore to be faithful to him, and that envoys were going to the boyars". At the same time, the event was so uncommon that caused a controversial reaction. While agreeing to submit to Russia, Kazan residents were waiting for the coming changes with a troubled anxiety. The opposi-

tion immediately took advantage of this. When the Russian governor approached Kazan on March 9, 1552, Tatar princes Islam, Kebyak, and mirza Aleksey Narykov left his entourage. They rode to the city, closed the gates, and declared that the Russians were allegedly going to kill all the Tatars. They referred to the words of the Kasymov Tatars and even Shah Ali. It is possible that the Kasymov Tatars might have spoken in such away against the people of Kazan but it had nothing to do with the plans of the Russian government. The massacres committed by Shah Ali were remembered by the Tatars, as well as participation of Russian strelets. The defectors' words lit a fire in Kazan like sparks falling on a dry straw. The defectors themselves may have been victims of a fraud on the part of the Kasymov Tatars and involuntarily doomed the Kazan population to death. The Kazan Tatars took up weapons wishing to defend the freedom and independence of their state⁴. S. Mikulinsky was told that "Kazan was a free state that wished to have a tsar whom they wanted and who would secure his people and exile or kill evil ones" [Kazan History, 1954, p. 111]. Sources indicate that the Russians had no plans for repressions against the Kazan population, and the governor's forces were not enough for this purpose. They tried to settle the misunderstanding and therefore did not perform any military actions in relation to Kazan. On the contrary, the supporters of the war among Kazan residents acted resolutely out of fear of a possible reconciliation. They "sent an envoy to the Nagai Horde to ask its tsar for help, and started to perform military actions in the Mountain Side to force its people leave the Russian Tsar. The Mountain people killed two of their envoys, namely Shahchura prince and Shamay mirza. And having seized them, they brought them to voivodes, and the voivodes spared the Mountain people and executed the betrayers"⁵. However, the Kazan Tatars continued their attacks, and the Russians performed no counteractions. There began an outbreak of a disease among the soldiers of the Sviyazhsk garrison,

¹ Ibid. Pp. 171, 472; the Tsar Book. Pp. 188–189.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 172, 473.

³ Ibid. Pp. 174, 474; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 109.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 173–176, 473–476.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 177; Vol. 29. P. 73; the Tsar Book. Pp. 201–202.

"A great outbreak of scurvy happened among the tsar's people, many of them died because of sores, and others were dying, and both, boyars, Streltsy, and Cossacks fell ill."¹ The failure of the peaceful joining of the Kazan Khanate was mainly due to the lack of relevant prerequisites.

The population of the Mountain Side submitted to Russia peacefully, but forcedly, and therefore perceived this new position ambiguously. When the Russian military presence in the Mountain Side had weakened, a part of the population rose in a rebellion under the influence of Kazan propaganda. The rebels approached Sviyazhsk and seized herds of cattle and took boyars' children as prisoners. They managed to defeat two groups of Cossacks, and killed 101 people². According to the academician M.Tikhomirov, "The main role in this rebellion of the Mountain people belonged to the Tatars." [Tikhomirov, 1973, p. 113] It should be noted that some Chuvashes living in accordance with Tsivili also took part in the rebellion. However, only some of them participated in it. When the spring came, the epidemic in Sviyazhsk ended, and troops arrived from Nizhny Novgorod. The rebels, having no reliable support among the local population and no support from Kazan, were quickly defeated³.

The Kazan embassy arrived in the Nogai Horde requesting military support and that they send a tsarevich to the Khanate. The Astrakhan tsarevich Edigur Magmed Kasaevich was near at the hand of Prince Yusuf. He was sent to Kazan accompanied by Zeinesh (Dznesh) and Toruy mirzas as a detachment of soldiers [Continuation of the Ancient Russian Vivliotics, 1793a, p. 30]. Another message states that Edigur Magmed allegedly went to Kazan without the knowledge of Prince Yusuf, and a detachment of only 200 soldiers accompanied him. They returned back from Kama, and only 30 people went to Kazan with the Tsarevich

[Ibid, pp. 32–33]. However, the first message is to be relied upon. The anti-Russian position of Prince Yusuf is well known, and a report of a serving Tatar Syuyunduk Tulusupov states that Prince Yusuf's trustee, Jan-Magmet, went to Kazan together with the Tsarevich [Ibid, p. 53]. Upon the arrival of Edigur Magmet in Kazan and his proclamation as a Khan, the renewal of the war became inevitable.

In April, Moscow hosted a meeting of Tsar Ivan IV and boyars "about his raid to Kazan", where it was decided to undertake a campaign immediately without waiting for winter. On June 16, a large Russian army led by the Tsar began its campaign against Kazan. The Crimean Khan Devlet Giray did his best to ruin the campaign. The Tatar horse cavalry reinforced by Turkish janissaries and artillery appeared near Tula. However, the Crimeans were in haste, the Russian troops had not gone far away and easily managed to repel the attack and force the enemies to leave the Russian territory⁴. After that, the troops continued to move towards Kazan in several groups. On August 4, they approached Sura, where the Tsar was met by Sviyazhsk voivodes with the news that the rebellion in Mountain Side had been suppressed with the help of the reinforcement. Those meeting the Tsar included the "Mountain people, Yantuda mirza and Buzkey and Kudaberdey with their comrades". "The Tsar called the Mountain people and pleased them with his speech. He forgave them their guilt and let them go to Sviyazhsk, and told them to build bridges across the rivers bridges Bridges and clear the narrow places on the road." Several days later, the Tsar was met by those who had participated in the rebellion. They "swore that they were retreating" and justified themselves that they "had betrayed the Tsar because they were afraid of being killed by Kazan warriors". These envoys were also "forgiven by the Tsar" and invited at his table. Letting them go, the Tsar told them "to be ready to go against Kazan with him". The Mountain people expressed their wish to serve the Russian Tsar⁵.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 178, 477; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 494; Vol. 29. Pp. 73–74; the Tsar Book. Pp. 205–206.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 179; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 494; Vol. 29. P. 74; the Tsar Book. Pp. 206–207.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 198; Vol. 29. P. 91; the Tsar Book. Pp. 250–251; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, Pp. 417–418.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 187–191.

⁵ Ibid. Pp. 200, 496.

The Russian troops going through the Mountain Side were friendly and welcomed everywhere. The local population cleared and expanded roads and "built bridges across all the rivers". A participant of the campaign, Prince A. Kurbsky later recalled that the Chuvash and Mari people meeting them were "glad to see the Tsar" and sold them bread and cattle. "The Mari bread is the tastiest, better than the best kalatches," the Prince admired it even many years later [Legends, 1833, pp. 18–19]. However, the support was not limited to food delivery and repairs of roads and bridges; 4,000 Mountain Mari and Chuvash soldiers merged into one of the regiments of Ivan IV¹.

Having joined near Sviyazhsk, the Russian hosts crossed the Volga. A small Tatar detachment tried to prevent the crossing, but was forced to retreat. On August 23, the Russian troops started the siege of Kazan. They were great in number; most historians indicate 150,000 [Alishev, 1995, p. 127]. These figures are probably overstated. I. Izmaylov stated that the Russian army amounted to 50–60 thousand people, including 3 thousand of Shah Ali's Tatars [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005, p. 96–97]. The Russian army included the Temnikov Mordvinians led by Prince Enikey, the Kasym Tatars with Shahghali Khan, and Gorodets Tatar servicemen under the supervision of Ak-Seit Cherevseev, as well as the Chuvashes and the Mountain Mari people².

The Kazan troops were divided into three groups. The largest was protecting the Khanate's capital. According to Kurbsky, it amounted to 30,000 soldiers [Legends, 1833, p. 24]. The Kazan Chronicles contain data about 40,000 soldiers and add that a total mobilization of the entire male population had been carried out in the city, including sick and infirm ones; even some women were armed, and about 5,000 eastern merchants who were in Kazan at that time were also mobilized against their will. This ensured another 10,000 defenders [Kazan History, 1954, pp. 133, 135]. The Kazan flotilla stood on the Volga.

The second group of 15–30 thousand warriors headed by Prince Yapanchey, Shunak mirza, and Arsk Prince Evush was protecting the road leading to Arsk and, being in close proximity to Kazan, had to attack the sieging troops from the side of the Arsk Field. In addition to the Tartars, Udmurts and Mari people, the troops included 2,700 Nogai people, who had come to help the Khanate³. The Mari militia was acting independently from the side of the Galitskaya road. Their flotilla stood upon the Volga. I. Izmaylov writes that Kazan could possess more than 20 thousand people (3 thousand Nogais, 10 thousand Tatars, the 5-thousand Yapanchi's army and Mari people) [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005, pp. 96–97].

There is no doubt that the Russians exceeded their opponents in number by 2–2.5 times.

Ivan IV sent the Kazan Khan an offer of surrender promising to save the lives and property of Kazan citizens, but received a resolute refusal.

The advanced and the large regiments attacked from the Arsk Field; the right-hand Cossacks regiment occupied the right bank of the Kazanka River; the guard regiment was located in the mouth of the Bulak river; the left-hand regiment was located along the Bulak river. The Volga corps with Shah Ali Khan were also located here. Behind them, the Tsar's regiment was in the reserve, where the headquarters of Ivan IV was also located. Kazan was surrounded by a solid circle of trenches, paling and gabions (baskets filled with earth). They were constantly bombarding the city from guns and arquebuses from the rampart and the 13-meter-high siege tower with 50 guns, causing heavy losses to the besieged people.

Interacting with each other, all the three Kazan groups began to cause considerable losses to the Russian troops from the first day of the battle for Kazan. On a signal from the minaret of the city mosque, Kazan warriors would make sorties, and the Mari and the Tatars would attack simultaneously from the forests. The first such sortie of 15 thousand people was carried out on August 23. Kazan warriors managed to defeat the Russian "ertaul" (mounted

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 200.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 199–200; Tales, 1833, P. 19.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 307; the History of Kazan, 1954, Pp. 131–133.

reconnaissance detachment), but the Streltsy's counterattack forced them to retreat. Attacks from the rear were particularly bothering; they were undermining the morale and physical strength of Russian soldiers. The transport and the rear of the Russian troops suffered most of all "from frequent attacks of the Mari people". Even many years later, A. Kurbsky exclaimed, "The attacks of the Meadow Mari caused the worst damage to those Christian regiments in the Arsk Field, as well as to us, who were on the Galitskaya road." [Legends, 1833, pp. 24, 27] The Kazan Chronicles describe the partisan attacks of the Mari in a similar way, "But the Mari people were the most evil, they attacked Russian troops from the forest at nights and days, killed or took soldiers as prisoners, and took away herds of horses. " [Kazan History, 1954, p. 131] The most significant attack occurred on August 28, "...Many Kazan people came from the forest to the Arsk Field and suddenly attacked the front-line regiment..."¹

The Russian voivodes knew out of their bitter experience how catastrophic regular attacks on the rear of the besieging troops can be for the whole campaign. "And the Tsar, the Grand Prince, and his voivodes were very upset because of this. " [Kazan History, 1954, p. 131] At a meeting of voivodes, it was decided to carry out a campaign against the enemy attacking from the rear. On August 30, the voivodes A. Gorbaty and P. Serebryany lured Kazan warriors from the forest with the help of a pretended retreat, then cut them off from the forest edge and having surrounded, defeated them. The fleeing enemies were pursued 15 versts up to the Kiliri river. V. Tatischev writes that 140 people were captured as a result of the battle. Chronicles and lists of noble families state 340, 440, and 740 people, and Kurbsky indicates the maximum number of about 1,000 prisoners².

However, the surviving Kazan warriors gathered on the fortified Vysokaya Gora mountain located non far from Kazan, re-



A battle under the walls of Kazan.
1552 Sketch. Illuminated compiled chronicle.
The end of the 16th century.

grouped and renewed attacks on the Russians. Another campaign against them was required. On September 6, an army headed by voivodes A. Gorbaty, A. Kurbsky, S. Mikulinsky, etc. started an attack on the Vysokaya Gora. The Russian troops were reinforced by Tatar servicemen, the Mordvinians and some groups of the Mountain people. The fortifications on the Vysokaya Gora were defeated after a fierce, but a short battle. On the third day of the attack, the Russians took Arsk without any fight. "And they defeated the Arsk territory, killed many people, and captured their wives and children as prisoners, and released many Christian prisoners. "³ The Kazan Chronicles describe the victorious march of the Russian troops across the Kazan territory as follows, "And they filled the entire Kazan territory with their warriors, cavalries, and infantrymen, and all the fields, mountains, and meadows were covered by soldiers, and they spread around the entire territory like birds, and were fighting,

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 207, 504.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 307; Vol. 13. Pp. 208–209, 505; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, P. 425; Tatischev, 1966, P. 210; Tales, 1833, Pp. 28–30.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 211, 507; Vol. 29. P. 187; Tatischev, 1966, P. 211.



A battle under the walls of Kazan.
1552 Sketch. Illuminated compiled chronicle.
The end of the 16th century.

and capturing Kazan and its territory, wishing to conquer all the territories near Kazan. And many people were killed, and the barbarian land was covered with blood, and all the forests, lakes, and rivers were filled with the bones of the Mari people." [Kazan History, 1954, p. 127] The Russians burned several Mari stockaded towns "and captured 5 voivodes alive, and 500 other Mari people with them, and also captured their wives and children." [Ibid, p. 132] Over 10 days, the troops took 30 large and small stockaded towns, and the total number of prisoners reached 5,000 people; many resources were captured, "...they took numerous items and cattle..." [ibid] A. Kurbsky also writes about large amounts of captured grain, cattle, and furs [Legends, 1833, pp. 31–32].

The victorious campaign should have put an end to the partisan actions in the Russian rear, however, just four days after the campaign, according to Kurbsky, "Many Meadow Mari people gathered and attacked our rear from the side of the Galitskaya road, and destroyed many of our herds of horses. " The pursuers sent after them caught the Mari peo-

ple "and killed some of them, and captured others" [Ibid, p. 32]. Only then did "the Mari people stop attacking the Russian from forests" [Kazan History, 1954, p. 132].

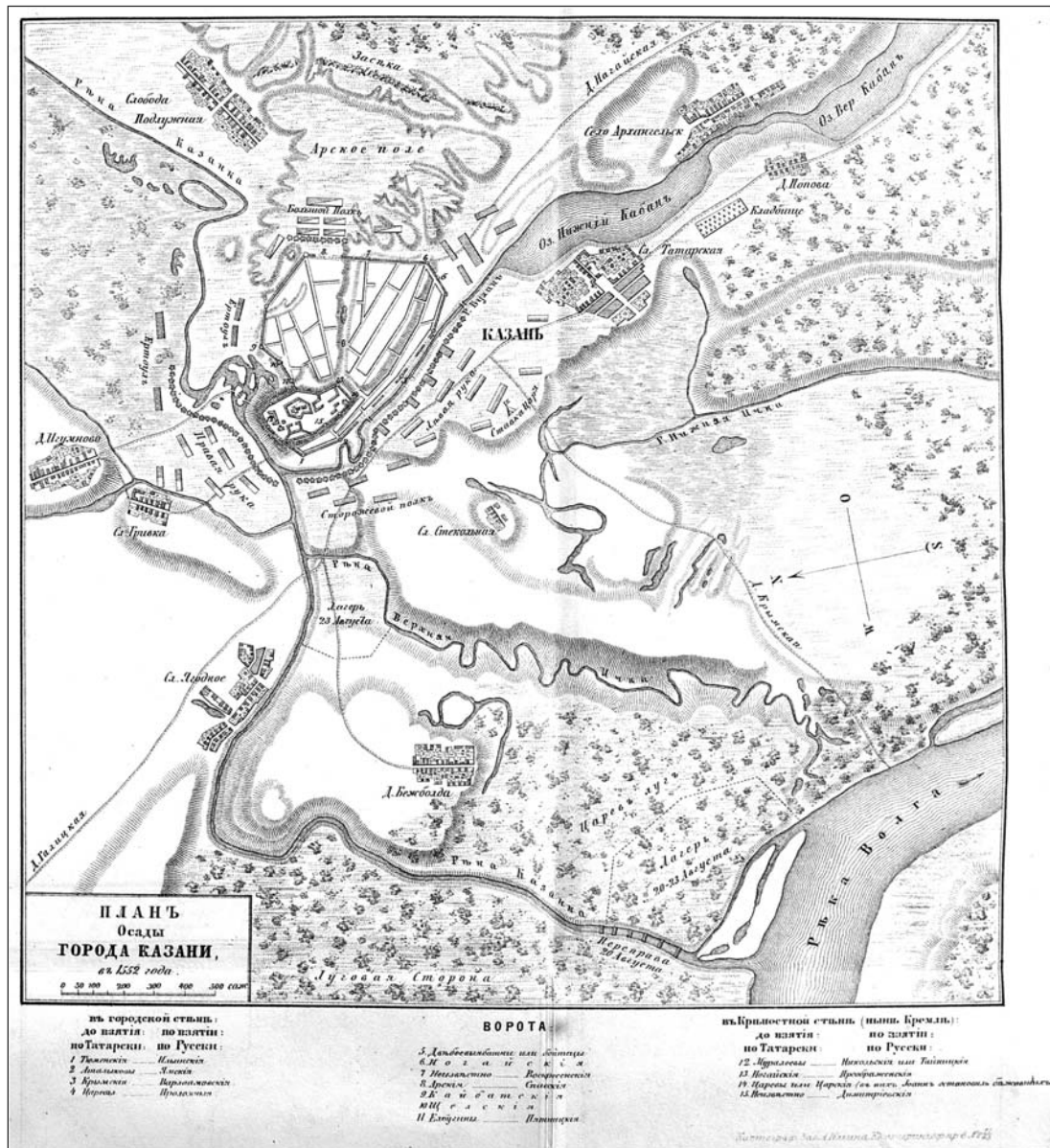
The success of the Russian troops in defeating the Arsk group and Mari detachments significantly worsened the situation of the besieged people, and they were forced to abandon their attacks.

The innovations of the European military industry were used in the siege. Mines were dug under the walls by Italian, German, Lithuanian, and Russian experts. The Kazan Chronicles report that a Kaluga serviceman, Yuri Bulgakov, involved in the protection of the work tried to inform Kazan citizens of the direction of the mines by sending arrows with letters to the city. The Kazan warriors did not know how to deal with it and could not prevent it. After the capture of the city, Bulgakov's betrayal was brought to light, and he was executed [Ibid, pp. 141, 159]. On September 4, 11 barrels of gunpowder were used to blow up by the city's main well, making it difficult to supply water to the besieged people and resulting in increased morbidity and mortality. Water was not of good quality in other wells of the city.

The situation further deteriorated upon receiving the news that neither Nogais nor Bashkirs were going to help them. Some Kazan residents began thinking about surrender, some of them defected to the Russian camp, including Kamay mirza [Ibid, p. 134; Bashkir Shezhere, 1960, p. 217].

Ivan IV decided that this was a convenient moment for negotiations and tried to incline the Tatars to surrender the city. For the purpose of negotiations, Kamay mirza defected to the Russian side and the Mountain people came to the fortress walls seven times. Even the Tsar participated in the negotiations wearing the armor of an ordinary simple soldier in order not to be recognized¹. The captured prisoners, whose number had already approached 7,000 by that time, were repeatedly brought to the fortress walls, to persuade Kazan rulers to surrender their arms. Ivan Tsar offered the

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 214, 509, Tatishchev, 1966, P. 214; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 145.



The siege of Kazan by the troops of Ivan the Terrible
[Golitsin, 1877–1878].

citizens tolerable conditions of surrender of the city [Kazan History, 1954, p. 133; O'Leary, 2003, p. 321]. However, the persuasion was in vain, and the majority of Kazan citizens were ready to fight up to the end.

Angered with the stubbornness of the Kazan protectors, Ivan Tsar ordered the execution of the prisoners before the eyes of the besieged people. According to the Kazan Chronicles, he ordered that "some be impaled near the city, and others hanged by one foot, and others

hanged by their necks, while other be killed with weapons to frighten Kazan citizens, and watching such bitter death of their citizens, they would be frightened and would surrender the city and submit to the Tsar". Some prisoners were tied before the Russian fortifications to beg the city's defenders to surrender. They were shot by Kazan warriors from bows to stop their torment. In accordance with the Kazan Chronicles, the dying Mari prisoners were begging Kazan citizens: "We wish you were

killed in the same cruel way, as well as your wives and children" [Kazan History, 1954, p. 135; Legends, 1833, p. 30]. However, the demonstrative savage reprisals with the prisoners had the opposite effect—Kazan warriors resolutely decided to fight up to the end.

On September 30, the walls at the Arsk and the Tsar gates were blew up. The Russians broke into the city and occupied its walls and towers. The With their desperate counterattack, Kazan warriors forced the enemy to retreat, but the Arsk Tower was retained by Streltsy. New walls were hastily built at the site of the destroyed ones. On October 1, Ivan IV issued an ultimatum offering mercy. Kazan rejected it saying, "We will either die or win."¹

By this time, the Kazan defenders had been deprived of their shelters, their fortification had been severely damaged, the lack of good water had led to outbreaks of diseases, and only despair provided enthusiasm to fight up to the end. A decisive attack was scheduled for October 2, to follow the explosion of the mines. Considerable forces were allocated for reserves and to provide cover for the troops from the side of the forest. Shah Ali with the Tatars and the Mountain people were placed on the Arsk and the Chuvash roads with the voivode I. Mstislavsky².

In the morning on October 2(12), the walls of the Atalykovy and the Nogai gates were blew up. The soldiers stormed into the city through the breaches in 6 columns under the cover of artillery, Streltsy's and archers' fire. The besieged citizens responded with guns, arquebuses and bows, poured boiling tar on the attackers, threw logs and rocks on them, but the Tatars were knocked down from the walls, and the battle continued in the city. Having took advantage of the fact that many Russians began looting, the defenders carried out a counterattack and threw the attackers to the walls, whereupon the Tatars' victory was very close. Only the introduction of fresh forces of the Tsar's regiment to the battle changed the situation. Slowly retreating, Kazan warriors

concentrated at the Khan's palace. Groups of the clergy headed by Kul Sherif and women took part in the last battle. Seeing the hopelessness of the situation, Edigur Magmed Khan and Zaynash mirza surrendered. 6 thousand Kazan residents managed to break through the Russian barriers near the Elbuginy Gates and cross the Kazanka River, but only a few hundred of them managed to hide in the forest. The city's defenders were killed, and property looted. Only women and children were left alive on the order of Ivan IV. However, the warriors, who had become enraged in the battle and intoxicated with blood, killed indiscriminately, and many women and children died. According to Nazar Glebov, about 20 thousand Kazan citizens were killed on the day of the assault. The Pskov I Chronicles report that "Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich, the Grand Prince of all Rus, took the city of Kazan on October 2 with the help of mines and numerous attacks; and he killed all the Tatars in the city, whose number approached 20,000 thousand, and captured others, and the entire city burned..."³ The same number of killed Kazan citizens is indicated in the Kazan Chronicles, which was increased by 10 times for the emphasis. Those killed included "children and adults, young and old, males and females. ... " [Kazan History, 1954, p. 159] According to G. Staden, the dead Kazan citizens were tied to horses, dragged to the Volga, and thrown into the river [Staden, 1925, pp. 113–114]. Some Kazan citizens died during the siege. The surviving women and children, who were greater in number than dead ones, were captured: some of them were sold "to other countries", others were turned into kholops (villeins), and many young women were Christianized and married⁴.

The Russians also incurred considerable losses amounting to 15,355 people according to Nazar Glebov [Kazan History, 1954, p. 159]. The "Synodicon for those killed in war" contains 185 names of princes and military men

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 214, 509.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 214–215, 510; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 214.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 4. Pp. 308–309.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 19. P. 160; Vol. 21. P. 627; the History of Kazan, 1954, Pp. 155–156; Zimin, 1950, P. 17; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, Pp. 372, 375.

killed during the siege of Kazan [Synodicon, 1986, pp. 175–178]. The dead were buried on the Zilantova Mountain near the city. The dead Tatars, Mordovians, Chuvashes, and Mountain Mari people, who were fighting on the side of Ivan IV, were to be buried separately.

It was believed that all Kazan men were killed. However, the Moscow Chronicles mention, for example, "princes, mirzas, and other Tatar officials" were captured in Kazan. According to it, the tsar invited them "to serve faithfully as their brothers served, who had been given appointments in Moscow towns"¹. The deportation to Russia of many "uhlans, mirzas, and Kazan princes with their wives and children" is confirmed by the Kazan Chronicles² and the Tatar Chronicles [History of Tatarstan, 1937, p. 123].

In the first days after the siesure of Kazan, possibly on October 3, a "council" was held to organize the system of government in the conquered territory and establish policy with regard to the indigenous population. It was attended by the Tsar, voivodes, and churchmen. While the first issue was decided unanimously, the issue of policy in relation to the peoples of the Volga Region caused fundamental divergence of opinions. According to A. Kurbsky, most of the voivodes, "all the wise and reasonable", and the prince himself recommended that the Tsar stay in Kazan until spring in order for him to "finally eliminate Moslem warriors and conquer and suppress this territory for many years to come" [Tales, 1833, p. 47]. The method of cruel terror in relation to the conquered peoples was aimed at suppressing the will to resist and was traditional for the medieval Asia and Europe. The victors normally destroyed the defeated peoples or destroyed only the feudal government and occupied their places themselves. The victors would develop caste barriers between themselves and the conquered people [Nesterov, 1987, p. 89]. Extreme radical sentiments were characteristic of a significant part of the Russian army. The proponents of this posi-

tion supported a purely military solution to the problem. Yet in 1549, in his petitions, a nobleman I. Peresvetov advised the Tsar to Christianize all the population after the conquer of Kazan by force, and if anyone did not obey, "to send good warriors to Kazan uluses and order them to burn them, to whip and capture people" [Works, 1956, pp. 182, 208, 245].

The opposite point of view was expressed by Anastasia Tsarina's brothers Danila and Nikita Romanoviches Zakharins, several voivodes, and priests. They suggested the Tsar refrain from military actions in respect to the local population, that he withdraw the main Russian troops from the conquered Khanate and resolve all the issues peacefully at negotiations with the local population.

The moderate approach oriented the government towards a combination of peaceful and punitive measures for the purpose of integrating the conquered peoples in the Russian state. This approach was based on the traditional Russian policy of attracting representatives of neighboring peoples to their side.

Contrary to the opinion of the majority, the Tsar accepted the second viewpoint, which was a logical continuation of Russia's policy in relation to the Kazan Khanate. Previously, they had tried to negotiate with the independent Kazan, and now they wanted to negotiate with the defeated state. The peaceful submission of the territory avoided a difficult, costly, and bloody war and met the fiscal interests of the state. The history of the relations with the Khanate allowed hope for peaceful submission. In 1487–1505 and 1508–1521, Kazan was dependent on Russia as a vassal to a certain degree. Among the Tartars, there were many supporters of concluding an agreement with Moscow. Some non-Tatars were also ready to submit to the Russian Tsar (the inhabitants of the Mountain Side and some Udmurts).

All the people in uluses were sent "charters of grant asking them to submit to the tsar and not to be afraid of anything; and telling that the god would take revenge on those who caused unrest; and that the Tsar would spare them". "And the Arsk people sent Shemay and Kubish Cossacks to make obeisance to the Tsar and present a petition to spare their

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 34. P. 224.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 19. P. 175; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 165.

people and order a tribute as former rulers did, and to send a boyar's son to them to inform them of the Tsar's mercy, and gather them, since they had run in fear, and they would go to the Tsar and serve him faithfully." Soon, "the Mari people from the Meadow side came to the Tsar to make obeisance to him, and the Tsar spared them". By the Tsar's order, the boyar's son Nikita Kazarinov and the serving Tatar mirza Kamay were sent to uluses. On October 10, they returned to Kazan with many Arsk people. Simultaneously, "the Meadow people from Yak and many other places came to the Tsar". Negotiations took place where the representatives of the local population asked, "that the Tsar should show them his mercy, and their entire land would make obeisance to him and pay the tribute"¹. Ivan IV ordered a tribute in the amount that was applicable in late 15–early 16th centuries during the reign the Moscow vassal Muhammed Emin Khan, i.e., the amount of the required tribute was reduced. Moreover, the *suýugralnoye* (military) law was canceled, and the population had to pay "direct tributes" to the feudal state², which also had to improve the situation of the people.

The issue of land ownership was also resolved in accordance with the tradition established in the Khanate—the Tsar became the supreme owner of the entire land. Direct ownership of land was retained by peasant communities and local feudal lords, subject to their loyalty to the new regime. After the fall of Kazan, there was neither distribution of land among the Russians, nor enslavement of the indigenous people by Russian feudal lords. Local peasants later explained in their own way why they had not been enslaved by Russian boyars and noblemen. One Chuvash legend tells that riding across the Mountain Side, Ivan the Terrible admired the good field management, the lack of weeds on them, and the rich crops. Eagerly looking at ripening fields, the boyars allegedly asked the Tsar to give them Chuvash peasants, but Tsar Ivan answered them as fol-

lows, "No, no! Let the Tsar's people do this work." [Dimitriev, 1983, p. 90]

To mark the peace, a feast was arranged attended by Russian soldiers and their allies from among the Volga residents, and the representatives of the Meadow Mari, Tatars and Udmurts, who had come to the negotiations. After the feast, the Tsar ordered to "give them seeds, horses, and oxes to till the land, and to give clothes and money to others", and "to let them go to their places to live without fear and to order the voivodes not to offend them in any way and to instruct their people to do the same"³.

Thus, on October 10 (20), the entire territory legally surrendered to the Russian Tsar. It should be noted that during a few days, many representatives of certain families could not come to Kazan because of their fear and distance from the city. It should also be taken into account that the population resorted to submission for fear of a possible attack of troops freed after the conquer of Kazan. Therefore, the petition filed on October 10 did not fully reflect the mood of the population. Moreover, the Tsar's gifts hardly impressed the Udmurts, Tatars, and Mari people. They merely received back their stolen property.

Within a few days after the seizure of Kazan, much work was done to establish the system of controlling the territory. Without violating the traditional control principles applied in the Middle Volga Region, Ivan IV decided to create a system of voivodes' control, with abandonment of the *fief-office* principles that had already become useless in the country's center. It was intended to manage the territory using the loyal national elite, but under the strict control of the Russian officials. The local noblemen, who had recognized the new regime, retained some powers in their positions; they could work in courts, perform some administrative functions, serve in the police or army [Yermolaev, 1982, pp. 11–28]. Alexander Borisovich Gorbaty, Vasily Semenovitch Serebryany, and the *okolnichy* Alexey Danilovich Basmanov were left in Kazan to serve as voivodes. They were to play an important role

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 221, 515–516; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 532; Vol. 29. P. 110; the Tsar Book. P. 315.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 222, 516.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 19. P. 169; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 161.

to maintain order in the region—"to be on the watch". The okolnichy Ivan Bezsonov was to manage the city's affairs. 7,050 boyars' children, Streletsy, and Cossacks were left with them. The Sviyazhsk garrison was smaller in number because of the loyalty of the Mountain people. Princes Peter Ivanovich Shuysky, Boris Saltykov-Morozov and Gregory Petrovich Zvenigorodsky were "to be on the watch". The city was controlled by the boyar Semen Konstantinovich Zabolotsky and Prince Dmitry Michailovich Zhizhensky¹.

On October 11, Ivan IV sailed down the Volga from Kazan to Sviyazhsk and to Moscow on the next day, where he triumphantly entered on October 29. The entire army with their loot and prisoners followed him. The autumn slush had ruined the roads, and the way back was long and difficult. The troops reached Nizhny Novgorod Only in early November, where they were dismissed to their homes. Several weeks later, an uprising for liberation of the Kazan state started in the Middle Volga Region.

Soviet historiography offers three viewpoints regarding the nature of the rebellion in 1552–1557. The proponents of the first one believe that the uprising was a separatist campaign by Kazan feudal lords. At first, the peasantry allegedly followed their leaders blindly, and only later separated from them, having realized the reactionary nature of the uprising [Tikhomirov, 1973, pp. 91–115; Nayakshin, 1951, pp. 108–111; Korobov, 1957, pp. 11–14; Ayplatov, 1967, pp. 69–84; Dimitriev, 1959, p. 129; Dubrovina, 1980, pp. 11–14; Makarov, 1959, pp. 61–72; Ermolaev, 1982, pp. 16–37]. Some other authors state that the uprising was stirred up by peasants and was directed against the established feudal system [Burdely, 1954, pp. 27–36; History of the USSR, 1966, p. 175; History of the Tatar ASSR 1968, pp. 107–110]. There is an opinion that the uprising was developed as a peasant's revolt against feudal lords and at the same time as a separatist rebellion of feudal nobility [Essays, 1955, pp. 364–365, 668–669; Schmidt, 1977, p. 56; Alishev, 1990, p. 237].

Recent studies suggest that the uprising of 1552–1557 was of the people's liberation nature driven by broad layers of the Mari, Tatar, and Udmurt population, organized and led by Tatar feudal lords and the Mari and Udmurt foreman. At the same time, the left-bank Mari people were the main striking force there. Subsequently, their role in the rebellion was steadily growing. For this reason contemporaries called the uprising "Mari wars". In fact, it was not even an uprising, but a continuation of the Kazan war. The events of 1552–1557 can be called an uprising only on the basis of the formal inclusion of the Middle Volga region in the Russian state.

In the context of the struggle against the invaders, the existing contradictions receded into the background before the common goal of national liberation. This allowed the representatives of various social and ethnic groups to unite their efforts and act in a cohesive way.

Tatar feudal lords, the Mari and Udmurt tribal noblemen, as well as the Muslim and heathen clergy became the catalyzing and the organizing force in the rebellion. Tatar feudal lords and the Mari and Udmurt tribal elite were dissatisfied with subordination to the Russian Tsar. Their positions in the Kazan Khanate and Russia differed greatly. In the conditions of feudal anarchy that prevailed in the Kazan Khanate, they felt more independent, while the Tsar's administration required absolute submission. Not wishing to obey the Russian Tsar, Kazan feudal lords said: "We do not want to be helpless pawns of the Moscow ruler and his princes and the voivodes, who have always feared us! We should control them and charge tributes; because earlier they submitted to our tsars and paid tributes, and we originally were their rulers, and they were our slaves; and how dare they, our slaves, go against us, their rulers, who have repeatedly defeated them? Because we have never had a ruler except for our tsar, but even serving our tsar, we do what we want: we go where we want and live where we want, and serve only as we want; and we do not want to live in great slavery, because in Moscow, there live people who suffer much grief from him..." [Kazan History, 1954, pp. 89–90] Although they had suffered great losses as a result of

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 6. P. 314; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, P. 443.

the war, there were thousands of princes, mirzas, oglans, and cossacks left in the Middle Volga Region, for whom war was a common practice. Tatar feudal lords and the Mari and Udmurt noblemen "were closer to people in their blood and clearer in their language and faith than the Russian nobility, who had come to their native land with arms in their hands" [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 17].

The development of the uprising was also influenced by Muslim and pagan clergy. Although Ivan IV had declared non-interference with the religion of the local population, the destruction of mosques, erection of Orthodox churches in their place and the extermination of the Muslim clergy could not but cause serious concerns regarding the future of Islam and paganism. Deprived of their privileged position, the Muslim clergy called for a holy war —jihad against the infidels. A militant Islamic sentiment became the national political driving force. The Holy Quran inspired the Muslims to fight with the infidels. Struggling against them was one of the fundamental precepts of a Muslim [Tsvetkov, 1912, pp. 14–21; Islam, 1986, p. 50]. Following mullahs, the heathen Maris and Udmurts also called for the war.

The development of the uprising in the Middle Volga Region was to some extent influenced by Tatar states. Yusuf, the Nogai Prince, did not hide his dissatisfaction with the Russian progress. The remains of the defeated Nogai regiment had to survive under Kazan. With support of the Turkish Sultan, the Crimean khan tried to influence the Volga Region and counteract Russia even before the fall of Kazan. Of course, this influence should be exaggerated, and most probably, no organized actions were carried out. It was unlikely that there were foreign agents in the region. It will be more correct to suggest that the rebels were waiting for political and military support from these countries. It was easier to undertake an uprising with such hope.

The view that the social, national, and cultural oppression was the main cause of the uprising, widespread in the Soviet historiography, was not confirmed after academic analysis. None of the sources contain evidence of this. The trite repetitions of allegations of al-

leged oppression are based on two passages from the *Tsarstvennaya Kniga* (Tsar Book). The first says that Ivan IV leaving for the Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius in December 1552 ordered the boyars "to continue controlling the Kazan affairs and charge tributes from their fiefs as long as he was absent, but they, having got tired of such work and not wishing to finish the job and striving for wealth, began charging tributes from fiefs and put aside construction works in Kazan"¹. The Chronicles also state as follows, "And because of the difference and misunderstandings, the following words were told: since the God showed his mercy to Kazan, and we started to speak high-sounding words and strive for money, and not thank the God for this, and thought that we were wise and courageous and forgot to arrange the construction works in Kazan, but only boasted of our pride."² The mistake was in an incorrect interpretation of the expression "to charge tributes from their fiefs". The cited fragments of the *Tsar Book* do not prove the shameless pursuit of tributes from the population of the Middle Volga region. First, the residents of the Left Bank had to pay "direct yasaks (tributes)" directly to the feudal state, but not to fief officers. The population of the Right Bank was released from the obligation of paying the tribute for three years. Secondly, the voivodes' government system introduced in the Middle Volga Region provided for the full abandonment of the fief-office system that had already become obsolete [Ermolaev, 1982, p. 11]. Thirdly, the above extracts from the Chronicles show only that the Tsar on leaving Moscow ordered the Boyar Duma to establish a special control body in the Kazan territory (the future prikaz of the Kazan Palace) and assist the garrisons left in the Middle Volga region. However, according to the Chronicles, the boyars were engaged in a more important business—distribution of fief tributes that were still preserved in the center of the country. This is the accumulation of wealth mentioned in the Chronicles. One should also note that the reproaches in the *Tsar Book* directed

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 523.

² Ibid. P. 528.

at boyars were made in the form of additions written in the fields personally by Ivan the Terrible or on his direct order. Thus, the Tsar tried to shift blame for his numerous mistakes to boyars¹. Fourthly, no land was distributed among Russian servicemen for manor and patrimonial ownership after the seizure of Kazan. Nor were any conditions provided for the administration to harass the local population. Moreover, there was no need to carry out requisitions of food or fodder for the needs of the garrisons, because, according to A. Kurbsky, "there were many resources brought from Russia" to Kazan. According to the prince, even the whole army that had participated in the campaign against Kazan could feed these supplies until spring [Tales, 1833, p. 47]. Moreover, according to the Kazan Chronicles, the Russians "took numerous goods and cattle" to Tatar, Udmurt and Mari villages during the campaign on the Arsk side [Kazan History, 1954, p. 132]. So much cattle was captured that it was sold at giveaway prices and even presented to the Maris, Tatars and Udmurts during the peace talks [Tales, 1833, p. 32; Kazan History, 1954, p. 161].

The collection of tributes was not a reason for the uprising, but a pretext. As mentioned above, the rate of the tribute was even somewhat reduced. Paying the tribute was usual for the population and symbolized submission to the new government. First of all, those who wished to preserve independence had to refuse to pay it. The left-bank Maris were first to do so.

The very date on which the uprising began disproves its anti-feudal nature. The uprising broke out in November 1552, shortly after the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Middle Volga region. During the few weeks of Russian rule, no feudal oppression could have developed, especially in the national and cultural spheres. Social unrest always develops gradually and slowly and never emerges unexpectedly or quickly. Consequently, the uprising of 1552–1557, also known as the First Cheremis War, was a people's liberation movement.

The first message about an uprising in the Middle Volga region was received in Moscow on December 20, 1552, from a Vasilsursk voivode. It stated that "the Meadow Mari defeated messengers, guests and boyar people, and caught resources on the Volga, and the Mountain Mari participated as well"². It is remarkable that the Tsar had to issue a special decree on punitive action against the rebels, and the voivodes were bound by instructions and did not dare perform repressive actions. Undoubtedly, it was determined by the peaceful nature of the Mountain side's joining to Russia, and the fear of spoiling relations with the local population. By the Tsar's order, the Sviazhsk voivode B. Saltykov-Morozov investigated the incident. The local population that had remained loyal helped to arrest those compatriots who had taken part in the attacks. There were 74 such people. Some of them were immediately hanged; others were executed in a similar way near Sviyazhsk. The property of those executed was seized and handed over to "istsy" (the plaintiffs)³.

Some historical works provide an erroneous interpretation of this term and make the wrong conclusions. According to them, the "istsy" mean those people who helped to find and arrest attack participants. Allegedly, it is they, who were given the confiscated property as a remuneration for their service. Such an assumption is usually followed by a conclusion about the Tsar's special policy of stirring up one part of the population of the Volga region against the other according to the "divide et impera" principle [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 154; Ermolayev, 1982, p. 16; Alishev, 1995, p. 146, etc.]. However, the term "istets" (plaintiff) has remained unchanged since the 16th century and means a person bringing a lawsuit in connection with the incurred damage. Armed assaults of the Meadow Maris and the Mountain people who had joined them, were qualified by the Tsar's administration not as a political but as a criminal act. The punishment

¹ About the additions, see: [Schmidt, 1984, Pp. 190–216; Alshits, 1947, Pp. 251–289].

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 228, 526; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 538–539; the Tsar Book. P. 331.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 228–229, 526–527; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 538–539; the Tsar Book. Pp. 331–332.

was commensurate to the deeds and fully corresponded to the norms of the medieval criminal law. Those who were guilty were executed, and their property was transferred to the victims, i.e., the plaintiffs. However, taking into account subsequent events, the attacks on the Volga should be considered as the beginning of a people's liberation revolt that initially developed as ordinary robbery.

Nikita Kazarinov, who had arrived in Moscow from Kazan, reported on the second outbreak of the uprising. He reported that "Tugay's children with their comrades" had gathered a group of like-minded people on the Arsk side and "wanted to rebel", but a detachment directed against them under the command of Kamay mirza and him, Nikita Kazarinov, defeated the rebels, and 38 prisoners were hanged near Kazan¹. This uprising resembles a rebellion of oppositional Tatar feudal lords that was not supported by the masses, and therefore, the Tsar's administration easily managed to suppress it.

Kazarinov also reported that immediately after restoring order, they began collecting tributes from the population of the Arsk and the Bank sides, and completed his report with the news that "boyars had collected all the tributes and brought them to voivodes, and sent collectors to the Meadow side"². This news allows the date of the beginning of the uprising to be calculated. If we add the time spent for the journey from Kazan to Moscow (approximately two weeks) to the time required to suppress the rebellion of "Tugay's children" and collect the tribute, the uprising must have begun in late November or even earlier.

Nikita Kazarinov left for Moscow before the return of yasak collectors ("yasak" is a tax paid off in furs), thus he did not know the situation in the region had changed dramatically for the worse. The Meadow Maris refused to pay yasak and killed collectors Misyura Likhorev and Ivan Skuratov. The massacre of the servitors became a signal for the rebellion and

put an end to the existing doubts and controversies among the Mari.

Taking up arms, the Mari went into action by invading the Arsk and Coastal territories. The local Tatar and Udmurt population immediately joined the rebellion.

The nature and the driving forces of the rebel movement changed. The uprising, which began as a demonstration of a small group of Tatar feudal lords and continued with plunder by Cheremison the roads (the latter was not connected to the former)—quickly turned into a nationwide liberation movement, in which all the social layers of the Mari, Udmurt and Tatar societies took part.

Russian commanders initially underestimated the extent of the danger which threatened the Russian presence in the region. From the very beginning, the Tsar's voivodes committed several mistakes. The abatis fortification on the High Mountain was not occupied, though it was a great position to observe Kazan and guard the Arsk road. An attempt to defeat the rebels was not properly organized. The voivodes did not have any information on the adversary, nor did they understand the scale of the revolt. Thus, they underestimated the numerical strength of the enemy. Only two troops of riflemen and the cossacks numbering 1,000 people were sent to fight them. Moreover, the troops acted inconsistently. The poorly organized campaign ended in disaster. The Russian troops on different roads were surrounded by the rebels and destroyed one by one. 350 riflemen and 450 cossacks were lost³. The success inspired the rebels, and the initiative entirely passed to their hands. Having established control over the whole left bank, they blocked Kazan and forced the Russians to hunker down in siege. A Kazan chronicler wrote down that the revolts "in a desire to conquer their city, did not allow the Russian citizens to leave it for their own needs"⁴. The situation was aggravated by an epidemic outbreak in Kazan which caused

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 229, 526–527; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 539; the Tsar Book. Pp. 331–332.

² Ibid.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 230, 528; Vol. 19. P. 186; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 540; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 174; the Tsar Book. P. 335.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 19. P. 186; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 174.

several fatal outcomes. However, the insurgents had neither special skills, nor proper weapons and equipment to be able to occupy a well-fortified city. The opposition promised to drag on.

Having gained success, the rebels in February 1553 transferred their military actions to the Mountain Side. The rebel army led by Tatar feudals, Usein Sayyid (Zen-Zayid, Zayzet) and Saryi-bogaty ("bogaty" is an ancient Russian notion of "a mighty hero") appeared in the surroundings of Sviyazhsk. An "under strength" battalion under the command of B.I. Saltykov-Morozov was sent to fight them. The troop consisted of boyar children and the mountain people. However, they were not properly prepared for the operation; nor did they take into account. The weather was not beneficial to the voivode, and the fallen snow hampered the movement greatly. Exhausted and bogged down in the snow, the warriors were suddenly surrounded by the rebels who could easily move around on skis. The tsar's troop suffered an overwhelming defeat. During the battle, 36 knights, 50 Russian, and 170 mountain people were killed; 200 people were captured. Voivode B.I. Saltykov-Morozov fell into the hands of the insurgents, who kept him as an important prisoner and sent him to "Bashkir uluses in remote Cheremisa, 700 versts away from Kazan". This defeat paralysed the actions of the Russians on the Mountain Side and allowed the rebels to block Sviyazhsk, Vasilsursk and initiate attacks against the lands of Murom, Nizhny Novgorod, and Vyatka. It even led to attacks against several Russian cities¹. There was a real prospect of the revival of the Kazan khanate.

However, the restoration never happened. It was prevented by the resistance of the Russian garrisons of Kazan and Sviyazhsk which survived a month-long blockade. Moreover the inhabitants of the Mountain Side remained loyal to the government. The mountain people even resisted those rebels who penetrated the Mountain side. The restoration of the khanate

of Kazan could give nothing to the mountain people. It could only revive the conditions which had existed earlier, and the population of the Mountain Side could again find themselves "between a rock and a hard place". They did not like the Russians either. However, the life under the rule of the Russian tsar seemed more appealing to them, rather than existing as part of the Kazan khanate. The population was given a three-year exemption from yasak and the prospect of political stability, safety, and legality. The negative sides of the tsarism were yet to be demonstrated, while the mountain people had already known what the khan decentralized system was. They knew about Tatar feudals' limitless despotism and the consequences of the devastating wars between Kazan and Moscow. The mountain people did not want to return to the old way. The fact that there were no uprisings on the Mountain side is also confirmed by the absence of punitive actions by tsar's troops. In the meantime, sources contain much evidence of the participation of the mountain people in fighting the rebels. Similar narratives are also contained in the folklore [Dimitriev, 1983, pp. 85, 89]. This happened despite the fact that after the defeat of B.I. Saltykov-Morozov's troop in February-April the rebels were in control of the situation. The Russians were hiding in the cities, while help from the center was on its way. The retreat of Usein-Sayyid and Saryi-bogaty, who had discovered that a cossack army was approaching, was also caused by the resistance of the Mountain side inhabitants.

From the very beginning, the insurgents were striving to achieve unity and self-organization, systematic strategic and tactical operations. Tatar feudals become the leaders of the movement. The rebels, despite taking an oath to the Russian tsar, did not consider themselves subjects of the Russian state and sought restoration of the Kazan khanate. They wanted to recreate the attributes characteristic of it. Unable to conquer Kazan, they built a new capital 70 versts away from it, on the Myosha river. It was fortified with a ditch and earth wall and became the rebels' political center. The rebels' strategy was badly affected by a poor leadership. While a part of the rebels besieged the city and tried to raise the

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 230, 528; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 540; Vol. 19. P. 186; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 174; the Tsar Book. Pp. 335–336; Tales, 1833, P. 59.

Mountain Side to fight—the only key to the victory,—others went to plunder the Russian territories. This simply dissipated the combat powers and was not a military necessity. The Russian leadership understood more clearly that the hotbed of tension in the East had to be eliminated.

Seeking help from the outside was further proof of the existence of organization inside the rebels camp. In Spring and Summer 1553, delegations of the insurgents headed to Bashkiria and the Nogai Horde. While the Eastern Mari living in Bashkiria joined the rebels, those Bashkirs interested in the Russian patronage and support against the Nogais, rejected the mirzas [Firsov, 1866, p. 119]. In Summer, three rebel messengers led by Shiban arrived in the Nogai Horde. Ismail was considered the most influential mirza, and he was therefore the first whom the messengers visited. They "asked his permission to send his son Magmet-mirza to reign". As a gift, and in order to demonstrate their military successes, they presented the armor of captured B.I. Saltykov-Morozov to Ismail. Ismail, being a loyal ally of Moscow, refused them and "sent them back to Kazan with nothing" [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793a, pp. 106–107; Ambassadorial books, 2006, p. 131]. Tatar official, Karamysh Mustoyapov, when informing Ivan IV about the results of these negotiations, stated, "...When Kazan men visited him, he robbed those men and separated wives and children from them," he also menaced "war against the Arsk people" [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793a, p. 103; Ambassadorial books, 2006, p. 130].

The beginning of the uprising alarmed the government. The rushed baptizing of the captured Kazan khans was clearly related to the uprising. The baptizing of Utemish Giray who was named Alexander, took place on 8 January, while Edigur Magmet—christened Semion—was baptized on February 26, 1553¹.

Moscow failed to react immediately to the message of the rebellion. The capital was suffering a dynastic crisis during that time. In ear-

ly March, Tsar Ivan fell ill with "grave fever disease"². The patient's condition was so bad that his death was expected daily. There arose the question of succession. A part of court nobility stood for his son Dmitry, born on October 26, 1552, and swore allegiance to him by kissing the holy cross ("kresnoe tselovanie"). Others were against the "suckling infant" and wanted to support the tsar's cousin, Vladimir Staritsky [Skrynnikov, 1983, pp. 48–51]. Given this difficult environment in the domestic policy-making, the government could not take measures to support the garrison in the Volga Region blocked by the revolts.

The successful development of the uprising created a real threat of losing all the Russian acquisitions in the Middle Volga Region. The rebels simply had to force the Russians out of the cities. The ruling circles of Russia were discussing whether it was viable to leave troops in Kazan and Sviyazhsk. The dominating disbelief was that the Middle Volga area could be retained. Prince Semen Rostovsky during secret negotiations with a Lithuanian ambassador assured him, "...The grand prince will not keep Kazan, from now on, it is impossible to hold it." [Russian chronicler, 1895, p. 14] A.M. Kurbsky wrote that many advised the tsar that he had..."...better leave the place and the city of Kazan, and extract the Christian troops from there" [Tales, 1833, pp. 66–67]. A number of reasons speak in favor of this. The war with the Kazan people had already caused a decline in economic activity, since serving people were isolated from their estates. Epidemics became frequent in the Kazan region, and the development of new territories required significant human and material resources [Shcherbatov, 1789, p. 12]. We should also add that involvement in Kazan campaigns was treated without enthusiasm, as they were usually difficult and ended ingloriously. In a letter to A.M. Kurbsky the Tsar exclaimed bitterly, "Have there ever been any campaigns against the Kazan land when you would go voluntarily? You would always go as if a heavy path lay ahead!" [Correspondence, 1979, p. 146].

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 229; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 539–540: the Tsar Book. P. 332, 334.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 237.

Proponents of drastic actions and draconian measures, and first of all—prince A.M. Kurbsky,—indignantly rejected the possibility of returning the gains. Even the thought of leaving Kazan seemed criminal, as so much Russian blood had been spilt by the walls of this fortress. In "The History of the Grand Prince of Moscow" A.M. Kurbsky writes, "Those deserve good who not only give birth to a child, but also feed the child, guard the child and bring him up—those who tried hard; only those have the right to suffer and to give advice." [Tales, 1833, p. 67]

But the Tsar himself did not want to leave the Middle Volga Region, even if there was a prospect of a severe war. The annexation of the Middle Volga Region was an important step in the series of measures taken by Ivan IV. The defeat would have taken a toll on the prestige of the Tsar's power and the government.

In Spring 1553, the naval army of courtier Danila Fedorovich Adashev who also led knights and the cossacks was sent to the Vyatka, Kama, and Volga rivers. They were to occupy the ferriages and localize the uprising. This paralysed the rebels' actions and hampered communications with the Nogai Horde. The blockade of Vasilsursk, Sviyazhsk, and Kazan was lifted. During the summer, the outposts destroyed "many Kazan and Nogai people, and throughout the whole summer sent only 240 men alive back to voivodes of Kazan"¹.

At the same time, the administrative and military power was strengthening in the region. The number of voivodes and garrisons was increased [Razrjadnaja Kniga, 1978, p. 445—448].

The government took steps to maintain calm on the borders and neutralise possible allies of the rebels. The situation proved difficult on the Southern borders where Turkey, the Kirim and Astrakhan khanates, as well as the Nogai Horde were preparing to support the rebels. Another Crimean delegation was sent to the Astrakhan khanate and the Nogai Horde. Devlet Giray ordered that "they all join and fight and fought the Tsar and the Grand Prince". Nogai Prince Yusuf responded

to the khan's invitation and started to persuade the mirzas to take part in the joint campaign [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793a, pp. 90–91; Ambassadorial books, 2006, p. 125]. The accord was almost reached. Serving Tatars who visited the Horde reported to the Tsar that Prince Yusuf had gathered 120,000 warriors. Astrakhan khan Yamgurchi volunteered to smuggle them across the Volga and add a troop of 500 people. The information had already been sent to the Rivers Khyor and Don. "And Yusuf ordered him to go along the Kirim road towards the Don. And from the Don he had to come to the Ryazan land as soon as the Oka was reached". Horses, camels, and sheep were prepared for the campaign. Yusuf interrogated the arrested Russian ambassadors, "...Could he survive near Moscow after he crossed the Oka?" However, the conflicts which arose between the mirzas as well as Russia's diplomatic efforts destroyed the Crimean khan's plans. The intentions of Ismail and other mirzas did not coincide with the interests of Yusuf. Ismail told the prince, "...Your servants go to trade in Bukhara, and mine go to Moscow. Once I start the battle, I will remain naked, without anything. For those who will start to die, not a shroud will be left." [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793a, pp. 101–103; Ambassadorial books, 2006, p. 129–130] Ismail's nomad camps were usually situated near the Volga and Kama. Thus, he had strained relationships with the Kazan people. It was easier for his people to go to Moscow and Kazan for trading. However, for the inhabitants of the nomadic ulus near the Yaik, belonging to Yusuf, it was more convenient to develop trading relations with Central Asia.

Yusuf attempted to enter into an alliance with the Crimea—the Nogais' old rival. Ismail told Yusuf that a captive ran to him to inform that "the Crimean Tsar was marching against them and thus he had better not go. And if you march against the Tsar, you shall not stand against the Crimean tsar, you had better go across the Yaik". Ismail's claim did not reflect the reality, as he represented the Crimean khan as a friend of the Tsar and Grand Prince". Ismail's influence in the Horde was quite weighty, while distrust of the Crimeans was so

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 231; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 540–541.

great that it was enough to him to cancel the campaign [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793a, pp. 105–106]. One should not ignore the great ambassadorial work conducted by the Bureau of Ambassadors, as well as the many gifts which the Russian government generously presented to its allies. There was the pro-Moscow party in the Nogai Horde.

After learning about the cancellation of the Nogai-Astrakhan offensive and concentration of Russian troops at the border, the Crimean Khan did not dare to attack Russia alone¹. The breakdown of Nogai-Astrakhan-Crimean offensive was a major victory of Russian diplomacy which managed to keep those countries neutralized for a long time, crack down their alliance, and significantly reduce aid to the rebels.

From the beginning of the summer, a vast campaign against the revolts was under preparation. On December 6, 1553, the army advanced from Nizhny Novgorod. The army was joined by troops of the loyal mountain Maris, Chuvash, Mordvins, and Tatars². The degree of participation of the Mountain people and serving Tatars in the subsequent campaigns was constantly increasing. N.P. Zagoskin wrote, "That campaign represented somewhat of a new conquest." [Zagoskin, 1891, p. 2] The army was led by the best Russian commanders. A.M. Kurbsky characterizes I.V. Sheremetev as a man of extreme wit and wisdom, "skillful in bogatyr matters since his youth". He depicts other voivodes as bright, brave men of noble birth [Tales, 1833, p. 60]. They had already participated in the conquest of Kazan and were acquainted with the conditions of the forthcoming campaign.

The offensive against the rebels began in January 1554 from Kazan. The army was divided into three corps, each of which was divided into three regiments—the large regiment, forward and rear guard. The main voivodes advanced towards the High Mountain, Arsk and further, to the Vyatka. The second squad was sent to the Meadow side. The third troop headed to the Coastal side towards

Myosha and to the Kama river³. The 30,000 Russian army was opposed by 15,000 rebels, who were organized and armed much worse. According to A.M. Kurbsky, the squads had to survive about twenty fierce battles in which the rebels "resisted us savagely". The Tsar's troops were favoured by a frosty winter with little snow which made it easier to move through forests, marshes and rivers [Tales, 1833, p. 60]. The insurgents lost in all the battles. During the 10-day offensive, the Russians occupied the High Mountain, Arsk and proceeded to the rivers Nurma and Urzhumka. Chronicles note that they "fought and fired in every single place". Having suffered significant losses, the rebels began to surrender on all routes. When the troops sent to the Coastal side approached the rebels' capital—Myosha townlet—there was almost no one resisting, and almost all the warriors were gone. The Russians "burnt down the town on the Myosha, beat the people who stayed there and plundered the place to its foundations; all fortifications were razed to the ground. "The surrounding villages, the chronicler continues dispassionately, were all burnt down and the inhabitants—beaten." Further on, the troop proceeded along the Kama for the distance of 250 versts from Kazan "up till the place where the Bashkir language is spoken, as it lies up the Kama river in the direction of Siberia"⁴.

The troop targeted at the Meadow side successfully acted on the rivers Ashit and Ilet. They crossed the Uzhumka and proceeded far along the Vyatka" the Vyatsk volosts" 200 versts away from Kazan⁵.

As a result of a month-long punitive operation, over "ten thousand unorthodox warriors" were destroyed. The leader of the rebels Yanchura the Jew, Mari leader Aleka Cheremisyanin were among the killed. Six commanders were captured. Moreover, "eight thousand Tatar wives and children were taken prisoners"⁶.

³ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, Pp. 462–463.

⁴ Tales, 1833, P. 60; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 239; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 547.

⁵ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 239; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 547; Vol. 29. P. 227.

⁶ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 29. P. 227; Tales, 1833, P. 61. Some sources mention

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 29. P. 226.

² Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, Pp. 461–462.

The military failures split the rebels. The Tatars and Udmurt people decided to cease further resistance. Their leaders Usein-Sayyid, Taokmysh Shihzyada and Saryi-bogatyr came to the voivodes and "on behalf of the Arsk and Coastal sides they made obeisance that they shall pay tribute to the Tsar and shall never turn away from Kazan till their death; and on this they said the truth to the voivodes". Acting in accordance with the Tsar's orders, the voivodes greeted the rebel leaders in a friendly manner. The others were inspired by that, and "many people visited the voivodes and took the oath—the Arsk people, and the Coastal people—everyone without distinction"¹. On March 25, 1554, the Russian troops returned "to their motherland holding the brightest victory and many gains" [Tales, 1833, p. 61]. The surrendering Tatar feudal lords were expelled from the region and moved to the Pskov, Novgorod, Ryazan, and Meshchovra lands. As a consequence, the majority faithfully served the Tsar and the most reputable ones managed to return to their motherland.

Tsar Ivan highly praised the results of the campaign, and sent rewards to the troops even before the campaign was over. Everyone—from voivodes to knights—were generously granted gold money².

Despite the apparent success of the punitive operation, they failed to completely suppress the uprising. The Mari did not give up their arms. Their forces were not undermined, as their inhabited territories had been hardly invaded. When reporting on the actions of the troops, the voivodes pointed that "there was no war up the Volga along the Kokshaga and on the Rutka rivers"³. The Mari Region remained unconquered. Meanwhile, the Tsar was dissatisfied with excessive cruelty allowed by the voivodes in the course of the rebellion suppression. Moscow initiated an investigation of the circumstances and results of the campaign.

The Tsar himself took part in the interrogation of prisoners. It turned out there had been a deviation from the Tsar's instructions "ordering mercy upon the righteous, and punishment of the evil ones". There was a continuation of the struggle between the two lines regarding the Volga Region population—repressive and moderate. The campaign against the rebels was led by the supporters of the most drastic measures, and as a result of cruel devastation, not only the rebels but also civilians were hurt. The tsar's orientation towards a combination of military and moderate methods in pacifying the region was not fulfilled. What is curious is that Ivan the Terrible, who can never be suspected of excessive sensitivity and philanthropy, later reproached A.M. Kurbsky in a famous polemical correspondence, "What bright victories have you ever achieved and have you ever defeated our enemy with glory? When we sent you to our dominion, to Kazan, to bring the disobedient to obedience, you brought the innocent to us accusing them of betrayal, and those against whom you were sent stayed harmless." However, the reproaches of the cruel Tsar are not completely fair. During the winter campaign 1553/54, the troops were unable to defeat the revolting Mari. Firstly, the offensive deep into the Mari lands became possible only after the defeat of the rebels on the Coastal and Arsk sides, after the removal of the threat to Kazan and after the rear was secured. These took a while. In the course of the month-long offensive, the troops suffered losses and were exhausted, while the Mari squads retreated back to their forests, kept strength. Secondly, the offensive against the rebels was carried out in three different directions, making the interoperability difficult. Thirdly, as the spring was approaching and the thaw was inevitable, acting in unknown Mari forests would be problematic. Thus the combat ability, as well as maneuverability of the troops were significantly reduced. The voivodes wisely decided not to take the risk.

Although the rebellion was not completely ceased, its decline was noticeable. A.M. Kurbsky noted that "from there the Kazan land started to calm down and bend" [Tales, 1833, p. 61]. The defeat of the rebels during the fighting in January–February 1554,

15,000 captives. Cf.: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 239; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 547; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, P. 463.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 239; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 547.

² Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, Pp. 463–466.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 239; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 547.

ended the second stage of the First Cheremis war, which was characterized by the highest degree of activity, greatest number of participants and the widest territorial coverage. Hereafter, even at its peak the rebellion did not reach the scale of 1553–1554. The third stage of the uprising represented a dramatic story of desperate and bitter struggle, which illuminated the approaching defeat in bloody conflict.

The rebellion continued, and its center was finally shifted to the Meadow side. The Maris became the driving force of the rebellion, and their chiefs led the resistance. Centurion Mamishberde became a renowned leader of the rebels and proved himself to be a talented organiser, politician and commander. He managed to unite all the Left Bank Maris into an alliance which constituted, according to A.M. Kurbsky, 20,000 "extremely brutal warriors" [ibid, p. 67].

In the spring of 1554, the administration took advantage of the calm and attempted to start negotiations once more, trying to incline the rebels to cease the resistance and exchange prisoners. Particular attention was paid to the release of voivode B.I. Saltykov-Morozov. However, the insurgents neither accepted a huge ransom, nor did they allow a beneficial exchange of prisoners. They resolutely refused to lay down arms. Failure of the negotiations demonstrated to the Tsarist government that the Left Bank Maris were determined to continue the uprising. Another campaign was needed.

The situation on the international arena was shifting towards Russia. Owing to internal conflicts, Crimean khan Devlet Giray had no capability of acting against Russia¹. In the Nogai Horde, the opposition between those mirzas who supported Moscow and those belonging to the Eastern orientation—resulted in a long murderous internecine war. This created conditions for a strike at the weakest participant of the anti-Russian alliance—the Astrakhan khanate which occupied an important geopolitical position. Controlling Astra-

khan would allow for the significant limitation of communication between the Nogais and the Crimeans. Not only was the campaign against Astrakhan explained by the interests of the Russian government; but also Nogai mirza Ismail—who competed with Astrakhan khan Yamgurchi—since 1553 was prompting Ivan IV to attack Astrakhan. He desired to enthrone Dervish Ali—former Astrakhan khan and Ismail's nephew who was in the Russian service. Ismail expressed readiness to take a most active part in the campaign against Astrakhan [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793, pp. 283, 288, 318–219, 332; Continuation, 1793a, pp. 110–111, 122]. In Autumn 1553, Ivan IV and the mirza reached an accord: "The Tsar and Grand Prince shall send the Tsar of Derbysh into Astorokhan, and his commanders will be sent by navy down the Volga, and Ismail will go through the fields and he will send his children and nephews to Astorokhan." That time, they also agreed that Ismail would march against Prince Yusuf "because of his disobedience to the Tsar and Grand Prince"².

Taking advantage of the fact that the most powerful rivals were neutralized, the Tsar sent a 30,000 troop led by Yury Ivanovich Shemyakin-Pronsky down the Volga. On June 29, it reached the borders of the khanate near Perevoloka village. The navy was to join the cavalry led by mirza Ismail, but the Nogais were not at the appointed place. Contradictions within the Horde brought the brothers to the brink of war. Thus Ismail wrote to the Tsar that "he could not march against Astorokhan, because he was at war with his brother..."³ He told ambassador Mikula Brovtsin that "he had no time for Astrakhan, he needed to solve his own troubles" and advised to cancel the campaign. Crimean ambassador Togonash tried to stop the imminent civil war at all costs [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, pp. 150–151]. The hope of creating an

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 31. P. 228; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, P. 435.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 235; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 544; Vol. 29. P. 225; Ancient Russian Vivliofika. Continuation, 1793a, Pp. 122–126.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 241; Vol. 20. Section—P. 545; Vol. 29. Pp. 228–229; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 234.

anti-Russian coalition of Muslim states was being ruined right in front of his eyes. With great effort, the conflict was prevented temporarily, but Yusuf failed to stop the Russians from occupying Astrakhan. On July 2, the city was taken without striking a blow, as the Astrakhanians ran away once they saw the Russians. The Russians laid hands on rich booty, including cannons and arquebuses. Khan Yamgurchi escaped to Azov. Moscow protégé Dervish Ali (1554–1556) was enthroned in Astrakhan¹.

The khan and the returning Astrakhanians swore an oath of allegiance to the Russian Tsar. The Astrakhan khanate recognized the protectorate of Moscow and pledged to pay tribute. Pyotr Turgenev was left as a counselor to the khan and a troop of the Cossacks was left at his disposal [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 449–450; Tatishchev, 1966, p. 234, 236–237; Valishevsky, 1989, p. 190].

Crimean influence in the region diminished, while the Nogais' dependence on Russia was increased. This fact largely contributed to intensified contradictions within the Nogai Horde. In January 1555, Ismail wrote to Moscow, "My elder brother was angry with me because of my agreement with you." [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793a, p. 167] A quite interesting explanation of why the Nogais deserted to the side of the Russian Tsar is contained in the order to the Russian Ambassador to Lithuania Fedor Vasilievich Voksherin. He had to explain to the Lithuanians that after occupying Astrakhan, the Nogais could not spend the winter near that city without "owing allegiance to our ruler...", the Nogais always roam independently, and it will take only one week for service men to subdue them all in case of their disobedience [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 450]. Ismail and his supporters, feeling the support from the side of Russia, were firm in marching against prince Yusuf. The internecine war was cruel and pro-

tracted. Yusuf died, but his sons continued the struggle, which brought infinite sufferings to the Nogais. Serving Tatar Suyunduk Tulusupov reported that "many Nogai people from the both sides were beaten: the Nogai Horde has never been defeated so strongly since its very creation"².

In the summer of 1554, there was an attempt to inflict a defeat on the Left Bank Maris. Just sworn Tatars and Udmurts led by Prince Kebenyak and Mirza Kulai were sent to fight them. They were also joined by the troops of the mountain Mari and Chuvash. Nikita Kushelev was sent to control them all. However, the experiment failed, the attempt to suppress the rebellion solely by the efforts of the local people was not successful, "the Kazanians deceived, betrayed the tsar, did not stand against the traitors and entered into an agreement with them". It is noteworthy that the side of the rebels was only taken by Tatar feudal lords and the Cossacks, while the peasants refused to participate in the rebellion. For that, the rebels "beat many of those Arsk commoners, who were loyal to the tsar"³. The interests of the feudal lords and the peasantry began to disperse. In fact, a rebellion of the Tatar feudal lords occurred, which was not supported by the peasants. This predetermined the defeat.

Glinski's unsuccessful attempt to do away with the rebels caused destabilisation in the region. The troops of the rebels approached Kazan and "started to enter the hayfields", moved through the Arsk and Coastal sides, and beat Russian fishermen on the Kama⁴.

Soon, the information about a fresh rebellion outbreak reached abroad. Russian Ambassador F. Voksherin, who stayed in Poland in September, was asked, "Has Kazan again detached from your ruler?" The ambassador had to hide the real course of the events, thus he responded, "You seem to be cunning-tongued; those who were beaten, were de-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 241–244; Vol. 29. P. 229; Vol. 31. P. 132; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 234–237; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, Pp. 467–469.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 247; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 560; Vol. 29. P. 232; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 240.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 243; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 552.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 245; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 552.

tached, and they will never return; those who were not beaten,—I know it for sure,—keep paying tribute to the tsar. We are surprised at your words, who will get detached? Only commoners and the Cossacks are left, and no noble man lives there any more—everyone was beaten." [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 449]

The ambassador feigned and anticipated the events, but he was right at the end of the day. In October, a message was received from Kazan informing of an improvement in the region. A troop consisting primarily of the Tatars loyal to the government was sent to fight the rebels. They were led by princes Yenalei Chigasov and Yenalei Momatov (Monatov). This time, however, they were joined by large detachments of archers led by Afanasy Bortnev and Ivan Mokhnev, as well as "Kazan inhabitants" and the newly baptized. The Russian administration was striving to pacify the region, first of all by the efforts of the Kazanians themselves. Without the support of the population, the rebels were quick to fail: "they beat the daylight out of the traitors". Princes Kebenyak, Kurman-Ali, mirza Kulai Danin and Chebak Baztargaev (Batargaev), as well as many other rebellious princes, mirzas, oglans, Cossacks, and centurions were captured and "the voivodes ordered to beat them all". The very "Arsk and Coastal people caught many Tatars, who did not obey the tsar, and beat them, and even brought some of them to voivodes and killed and beat them in front of the voivodes". During the autumn of 1554, 1,560 princes, mirzas, centurions, and best Cossacks were destroyed. After this, "everyone settled for the ruler and started paying *yasak* in full"¹. This massacre caused irreparable damage to the class of the Tatar feudal lords, from which it was unable to recover.

The Soviet historians interpreted the above described events as a class struggle and argued that the common people rose up to fight not only the feudal system of the Russian state, but also their local feudal lords [Ayplatov, 1967, p. 75; Korobkov, 1957, p. 13; History of USSR, 1966, p. 175]. Surely, there

was no anti-feudal rebellion. The motives of Tatar and Udmurt peasants had nothing to do with classes. They had suffered a lot during the winter campaign and did not want it to be repeated. Their territories were situated near Kazan and thus, were vulnerable. In comparison with princes and mirzas, the peasantry lost the least, if they obeyed. They had no power or fortune, while the desired independence cost a lot. The Muslim states did not support the rebels, and the Maris could always turn back to their forests and swamps, then the Tatar peasants would have to deal with the castigators. The influence of Moscow moods was increased in the region, while the terror of the rebellious princes against the "Arsk commoners" who did not want to join them, strained the relations between the locals and the rebels. The internal cohesion was gone. The rebellious princes, mirzas and oglans were only supported by the Cossacks—not everyone, but "the best", and the top of the Udmurt nobility—the "centurion princes". The rebellion in the Arsk and Coastal sides in the summer and autumn of 1554, is considered a feudal revolt. What is noticeable is that the peasants were not against the feudal class as such, but they fought against those who "did not obey the tsar". The division among the Middle Volga population occurred not because of class or ethnic opposition, but due to differences in political views. Representatives of the nobility and peasantry were present both in the camps of the rebels and among the tsar supporters. In the autumn of 1554, the civil war in the Middle Volga Region acquired a complete form. The tsar encouraged those, who stayed loyal to him, "those Tatars who faithfully serve the ruler" were granted gold coins².

In the autumn of 1554, the Russian government fostered its efforts to eliminate the opposition feudal and tribal elite of the Volga Region peoples, as the most active and organizing force of the rebellion. An interesting fact allowing us to better understand the tsar policy was expressed by Hans Staden, a German oprichnik ("oprichnik" means a life-guardsmen during the reign of Ivan the Ter-

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 247; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 554.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 247; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 554.

rible). In his essay, he wrote, that "Russian voivodes made friends with some Tatars, invited them on a visit, gave them gold stuff and silver cups, as if those Tatars were of noble origin, and released them back to their lands, so that they would show those presents of the grand prince to those who did not wish to obey, not to say, to serve the grand prince. However, when the latter saw, that people of lower origin, than they, had received such great honor and gifts from the voivodes and higher people, the noble Tatars thought they would be granted even more. This is what the "higher people" in Kazan were hoping for... They invited the most eminent mirzas and princes. .. so that they came and got mercy and presents from the grand prince. The most noble mirzas arrived in Kazan and were met in a polite way. They hoped for a similar reception, just as what their predecessors had, and thought that after receiving presents, they would be able to return home. But, after drinking too much wine and honey—something they were not used to, in comparison with the Russians, they got drunk, and several hundreds of archers came and killed all the Tatar guests, who were the most eminent back in their lands." [Staden, 1925, pp. 114–115] The tsarist government's policy-making was not only tough, but also artful—all's fair in war with enemies.

However, the operations against the rebels did not touch the Maris this time as well. There were messages from Kazan saying that "Mameshbirde and his fellows did not enter the city, but they, just as before, are robbing people on Volga, arriving on boats"¹. The rebellion went on.

In September, Moscow issued the directive of a new winter campaign "to fight the Cheremis in the Kazan lands, on the Meadow side, on the Kokshaga". Serving Tatars and Mordvins took part in the campaign. The urban Tatars were led by Fedor Vasilievich Sisev and mirza Ak-Sayyid. The Kasymov Tatars were under command of prince Aray, the Mordvins from the Temnikov principality were headed by prince Yenikei Tenishchev

and the serving Tatars were led by Temka (Artyom) Fedorovich Ignatyev. On December 6, 1554—Saint Nicolas' Day—the army moved from Vladimir to Kazan².

In January 1555, the tsar troops entered the Mari lands via frozen rivers and marshes. Having reached the "volost on the river Oshla", the voivodes sent three troops to different directions. Each group was also divided into three regiments. Undoubtedly, Moscow had great expectations of this campaign. The scribe even listed all the Mari volosts (districts) which were raided and ruined. Thus, he wrote that "the war came to the volosts in Shumursh, in Khozyakov, on the Oshla, to the two volosts in both Orshas—the Big and Small ones, to Bishta and Kukshul, to Forty Kunshas and Vasilukov Belak, to the volosts belonging to Mameshbirde, Kileyev and Kikin, Kukhtuyal Kokshag—the Big and Small ones, to the volosts Syzal, Dmashi, Monam, Kemerchi and Ulyyazi. There was war in all these volosts, and many people were caught and beaten. Voivode I. Khiron-Yakovlev "was released to Vetluga and Rutky upon the order of the tsar". In Vetluga, taking advantage of the fact that the guard regiment of V. Tokmakov-Nozdrevaty was isolated from the main forces, the rebels committed an attack, but the voivodes managed to repel it and even defeat them³.

For two weeks, the Russian troops were foraging the Mari lands, ruining 22 volosts. However, the expedition did not bring the desired result: using guerrilla tactics, the Maris evaded collision with superior forces and escaped to the Vetluga forests.

In general, the Maris managed to save their forces this time as well. In February of the same year, they launched a counter attack on the Arsk side, intending to prompt the Tatars and Udmurts to take part in the rebellion, however the latter together with the Russian archers took refuge in pits and "hurled back". Accurate arquebus shooting disabled many people in the ranks of the Maris. Embittered by the failure and, to a greater extent, by the fact that the Tatars not only did not join them,

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 247; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 553–554.

² Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, Pp. 475–478.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 246; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 553; Vol. 29. P. 232.

but helped the Russians "to fight the Meadow Tatar villages and attacked the Meadow". A successful raid conducted by Fedor Baskakov also made them retreat. Leading a troop of 700 skiers, he suddenly penetrated deep inside the rebels' rear from the side of Sviyazhsk. "They fought, beat people and captured them; took the animals and that was that"¹. Enraged by the failure, the rebels wiped out the prisoners. B. Saltykov-Morozov, who had been languishing in captivity during two years, was also killed [Karamzin, 1989, p. 124].

In spring and summer of 1555, no active hostilities were conducted, however, the Mari kept on attacking the communications. Russian ambassador to Lithuania Sovluk Turpeyev admitted that "the forest people went to fight on the roads, and Kazan voivodes would execute them when they found them" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 479].

Taking advantage of the relative calm in the region, the tsar government implemented a range of activities to consolidate their power. At first, they began with strengthening the positions of the church. In January of the year 1555, the captured Kazan Tatars were baptized. Those who did not want to adopt Christianity "were dropped in the water"². In the meantime, the Holy Convocation was held in Moscow. Senior hierarchs of the church, as well as the tsar himself attended it. At the convocation, they ordered to found a new diocese in Kazan. On February 3, Gury, the abbot of Selikar monastery, was chosen as its archbishop³. When sending Gury to Kazan, the tsar significantly reduced the power of the voivodes, especially over the non-Russian population. The tsar's instruction given to Gury when he was departing is of peculiar interest: A part of the mandative charter was devoted to the relationship with the locals. Gury was ordered to turn the non-Russian population into Orthodox Christians, "always teach the newly baptized the fear of the Lord, keep them by your

side, feed and give them drinks, be gracious to them and take care of them in everything" so that when "the other unchristened see such devotion and grace towards the new Christians, they will get jealous of the Christian law and also enlighten themselves with adoption of Christianity". It was permitted to baptize only those Tatars "who did it voluntarily, not forcedly", Gury was also told, "Let the best stay by your side, and the others send to monasteries to get baptized" The archbishop was to "invite..." the newly baptized Christians "...to visit him often, and treat them to kvass (traditional Slavic and Baltic bread beer), and after the visit—send them honey". The petitioners (or "chelobitchiks") from the Tatars were also to be met with love and treated with food "in a gentle and mild way, without cruelty". The goal was the same: "Bring them to the Christian law". The tsar gave Gury the right of exemption from punishment in case of adoption of Christianity, "...and this Tatar man who was supposed to be punished and who comes to you to escape the punishment and would like to be baptized, you do not give him back to the voivodes, but baptize him." In case the newly baptized were unreliable, they were to be sent back to the tsar, i.e., expel from the region. The Archbishop also had to "ask to leave in peace" those Tatars whom the voivodes sentenced to death. The voivodes had to inform about the Tatars "whose disgrace was not too heavy", but whom they wanted "to execute, but would not be allowed to do so". The Archbishop was advised to "keep them away from punishment, though he would not receive any petition ("chelobitie") from them". The task given to Gury was formulated as follows, "Use all customs, if possible, so that the Tatars get attached to the Archbishop voluntarily, and bring them to baptism with love, never use fear to make them adopt Christianity." [Acts, 1836, pp. 256–261]

The new cathedra was granted vast land areas in Kazan, Sviyazhsk and the surroundings [Acts, 1841, No. 162; Kashtanov, 1970, p. 171]. S. Kashtanov concludes that "the church and monastic estates were implemented in places, where it was most convenient to attack Kazan", in order to eliminate any possibility

¹ Ibid.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 3. P. 157.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 249–250, 259; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 555–556, 562; Vol. 21. Pp. 650–651.

of "finding here support, when attempting to occupy Kazan" [Kashtanov, 1970, p. 174].

Then, a new town was founded on the Mountain side, on the Volga coast between Sviyazhsk and Vasilsursk, on the site of a Chuvash settlement. It was the city of Cheboksary. The construction of a new fortress was necessitated due to the fact, that the rebels were acting successfully on the Volga—the essential communication channel connecting the conquered region with Moscow—and did not stop attempting to penetrate the Taw yağı and provoke a rebellion there. On his way to Kazan, Archbishop Gury hallowed the new town under construction [Acts, 1836, p. 258].

In 1555, the Western Bashkirs recognized the authority of the tsar [Essays, 1955, pp. 676–679; Essays, 1956, pp. 61–63; Bashkir shejeres, 1960, pp. 67, 78–80, 101, 108, 117, 127, 150, 165; Usmanov, 1982, pp. 94–97]. They were interested in the Russian patronage and protection against the Nogais and Siberians. Up until the 1580s, Bashkiria was only nominally dependent on Russia. Yasak, which was transferred there, was not a form of taxation, but a legal recognition of allegiance [Essays, 2010, p. 47].

That same year, counting on the Russian support against numerous enemies, Siberian prince Edigur recognized his vassal dependence. That time, he was at the head of the Siberian khanate¹.

The situation in the South was getting more and more difficult. Over there, the sons of dead prince Yusuf were marching against Ismail's Russian ally, while Astrakhan khan Dervish Ali colluded with the Crimeans². The Russians were attacked in Astrakhan and were forced to leave the city.

Mameshbirde was persistent in searching for allies in the Volga Region and outside of it. He clearly understood that without help from the outside, he would not manage to expel the Russian occupants. He managed to prompt the Nogais to send prince Akhpol-bey with his 100 Nogai warriors to support the rebels.

As a result, this squad grew to 300 people³. By this invitation of the prince, Mameshbirde apparently hoped to induce the Tatars to join the rebellion, and also to obtain support from the Muslim states. He was thinking to proclaim the prince the khan of the freed Kazan.

In autumn and winter, Devlet Giray, Dervish Ali, Nogai mirza Yunus, his brothers, and representatives of the Middle Volga rebels participated in the negotiations for the beginning of a joint campaign against Russia⁴. Moscow received the news of the impending Crimean invasion⁵.

The insurgents were also inspired by the futility of the Russian actions against the Volga rebels. On September 8, the order "to fight the Meadow Cheremis" was compiled. A. Kurbsky and F. Troekurov, who were experienced in conducting war against the Cheremis, were sent to fight the rebels⁶. The campaign did not bring the victory. Mameshbirde managed to evade a battle with the tsar's troops.

Measures were taken to isolate the expelled unreliable Tatars from communications with the revolts. In February 1556, Novgorod monasteries were instructed to "strictly guard the Kazan Tatars and newly baptized Christians", so that "they could commit no robbery"⁷.

The offensive, which the rebels initiated in February 1556, had been preceded by substantial preparatory work. Thus, once the Mari units appeared in Arsk and on the Coastal sides, the Tatar and Udmurt people killed archers in the garrisons and joined the rebellion⁸. Unfortunately, the extant sources do not provide explanations on why the inhabitants of Arsk and the Coastal sides joined the rebellion. The actions of the Tatars and Udmurts are especially confusing, considering the fact, that for two years before that, they had been loyal to the government and had even participated in

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 554; Vol. 29. P. 233.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 255; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 560; Tatishchev, 1966, P. 245.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 255; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 568–569; Tales, 1833, P. 67.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 262; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, Pp. 190, 195–197; Solovyov, 1989, P. 471.

⁵ Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, P. 501.

⁶ Ibid. Pp. 500–501.

⁷ Additions, 1846, Pp. 148, 149.

⁸ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 265; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 568.

battles against the Meadow Maris. Undoubtedly, the Mari, Nogai, and Crimean intelligence had a finger in the pie. They might have used persuasion, bribery, provocation, and threats. However, the main reason for joining of the Tatars and Udmurts to the rebellion is seen in a different thing. During those two years of subordination to the tsar administration, the peasants had experienced the despotism of the bureaucratic and military men over and above. Their tyranny spread so widely across Russia that it even caused a threat to the success of the government course. Those serving people who stayed in the region were mostly supporters of tough punitive measures in respect of the local population, and were far from understanding the principles of national state policy-making. They were taking care of their own interests in the first place. Because of the long-lasting service, irregular and incomplete salary payments, many serving people found themselves in a difficult economic condition [Andreev, 1997, pp. 37–43]. During the military actions, the nobles could piece out the shortage through trophies or by selling captives. However, it was not allowed to rob openly during the peaceful times, so the serving people resorted to different kinds of extortion and tyranny towards the locals. Due to lack of discipline, the administration was not always able, and sometimes did not want to prevent arbitrariness, the local population was looked upon as enemies. The discontent festered and finally resulted in a rebellion, the motives of which can be described as anti-feudal.

After gaining control over the Left Bank and blocking Kazan, in March 1556, Mameshbirde with his army of 2,000 warriors arrived in the Mountain side, besieged one of the settlements and started prompting the Maris and Chuvash to join the rebellion. Centurion Altysh pretended he gave his consent. However, when Mameshbirde, surrounded by his 200 fellows, lost vigilance and arrived to the feast, they were made drunk and massacred. Mameshbirde was captured and on March 21 the Mountain people themselves brought him to Moscow. The capture of the rebel leader spurred a surge of enthusiasm in the Russian capital. Many nobles, including A. Kurbsky and tsar Ivan IV were present during the inter-

rogation of the renowned Mari leader. Nothing is known about Mameshbirde's further destiny. This extraordinary person might have been executed or tortured by executioners in dungeons. There is a likelihood that he could be baptized, could have taken another name and served on the Western borders. The Russian government used such practice towards captured enemies. As for Altysh and his fellows, Ivan IV duly appreciated their service. The scribe reports that "the tsar and sovereign granted the Mountain people with great allowance and eased their burden of tribute"¹.

During Mamishberde's interrogations, a story was revealed of the relations between the Mari and tsarevitch Akhpol-bey invited from the Nogai Horde. He had quite an ordinary personality and did nothing special. Although the chronicle recorded the name "*Akhpol-bey*", historians started to call this tsarevitch *Ali Akram*, the brother of Kazan tsarina Sujumbike and the son of Nogai Prince Yusuf. It seems that M. Khudyakov was the first to commit an error, as he wrongly identified this person in his famous book "Essays on the History of the Kazan Khanate" [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 156]. As a result, this mistake became widely spread in historical literature due to multiple repetitions [Zhirmunsky, 1974, pp. 433, 463]. Moreover, no one paid attention to the fact that mirza Ali did not belong to the Chinggis dynasty, that is why he under no circumstances could become a tsarevitch or khan. The rulers of the Nogai Horde were descended from Prince Edigu and always bore the title of Prince. They would never lay claims to the Kazan or Astrakhan thrones. The error of M. Khudyakov was possibly connected to the existing evidence that mirza Ali ibn Yusuf had left to help the Kazan rebels. On December 26, 1553, serving Tatar Devletkhozya Rezanov came back to Ivan IV from the Nogai Horde. In a report to the Bureau of Ambassadors, he said that "Kulai Prince from Kazan visited Yusuf. He asked the Prince for his permission to enthrone his son Ali mirza. Yusuf seemed to let him go, but then got him back. And it is now known why he got him

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 266; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 569.

back" [Ambassadorial books, 2006, p. 135]. V. Trepavlov reasonably suggests, that Yusuf at first succumbed to entreaties of the Kazanians, but then changed his mind, as he did not want to send his son to sure death. Nuradin Ismail also could have something to do with this, as he would always spoil anti-Russian campaigns organized by his brother.

Moreover, tsarevitch Akhpol-bey, invited by the Mari, died at the very beginning of 1556, while mirza Ali kept being in good health later. In 1556–1557, he actively participated in the Horde's political life and even wrote letters to Ivan IV¹. After 1557, the name of Ali ibn Yusuf is not mentioned anymore. He is buried on the site of traditional entombment of the Nogai nobility in Saraychyq townlet [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 590].

The destiny of tsarevitch Akhpol-bey, as we have mentioned above, was tragic. Steppe riders did not delve in the situation and were not aware of what status the Mari possessed in the Kazan khanate, that is why they treated them as subdued people, terrorized and robbed them. However, the Mari were mostly resented by the Nogais' evasion from participation in military actions. When in winter 1555/56, the Russian launched another campaign against the rebels, they did not manage to successfully resist the castigators². That was the last straw for the Mari, which triggered the rebellion. They slaughtered all the unsavvy allies and beheaded prince Akhpol-bey. When ordering to hoist it on a pike, Mameshierde told, "We had recognized you and your court so that you could protect us; and you did not help us as much as you stole our cows and oxes; and now your head will reign on this pike."³

A complete success was reached by the Russians on the Lower Volga. The Astrakhanians and Crimeans left the city, and As-

trakhan was again occupied without a fight. Scattered across the steppes and isles, the Astrakhanians gradually returned to the city and recognised the authority of the Russian tsar. The Astrakhan khanate ceased to exist⁴.

1556 marks the maximum participation of the Middle Volga Region peoples on the side of Moscow. The Chuvash, Mordvins, Mountain Maris, and Tatars significantly contributed to the region's subordination to the Muscovite state. According to the cadastral book of the city of Kazan of 1565–1568, it is known that the Tatar Quarter contained 150 yards which were inhabited by nearly 6,000 Tatars and Chuvash people. Those were adherents of the administration, and the tsarist government relied upon them in the struggle with the rebels. During the military actions, the Tatars and Chuvash were hiding in the Tatar Quarter. Hayfields near the city were assigned to them. They told scribes that "they were allowed to mow there to get prepared in case the Kokshai or Meadow Cheremis came there with war"⁵. The newly baptized, mostly Tatars, constituted a special group. After changing the confession, the baptized Tatars found themselves in the camp of Moscow. The emergence of voluntary or involuntary supporters of the Russian government was a logical consequence of the policy Moscow conducted to attract the Volga Region population to its side. It is known that the newly baptized and serving Tatars had difficult relations with the opponents of the new government. The Book of Degrees narrates about a baptized Tatar from Arsk named Stefan. His fellow country-men "much reproached him and prohibited him and convinced him to drop the Christian religion". Then they "attacked him severely, with weapons, and cut his body and crushed his bones and robbed his house"⁶.

In April, Kazan voivode P. Morozov at the head of knights, Cossacks, archers, serving Tatars and the newly baptized waged a campaign against the Coastal side and occupied Chalym townlet, which was the center of the rebels,

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 276; Vol. 31. P. 134; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, Pp. 238, 246, 248, 261, 278; Ambassadorial books, 2003; Ambassadorial books, 2006, Pp. 214, 217, 219, 234, 236, 237, 239–242, 245, 247, 248, 250; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 261–262, 268.

² Razrjadnaja kniga, 1978, Pp. 500–501.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 265–266; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 568; Tales, 1833, P. 67.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 274–275, 277; Tatishchev, 1966, Pp. 259, 261–262.

⁵ Correspondence, 1979, Pp. 48, 52.

⁶ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 21. Pp. 649–650.

killed its defenders and burnt it down. In May, that same voivode completed a campaign on the Arsk side. On the Myosha river, he met the rebels under command of mirza Devlyak Danin, the brother of mirza Kulai Danin, who had died in 1554. P. Zasekin, R. Pivov, knights, archers and the newly baptized joined a battle with them. Yenalei Chigasov and Yenalei Momatov led the serving Tatars, as they had already proved themselves as loyal allies of the tsar. The revolts suffered an overwhelming defeat. Many of them, including their leader mirza Devlyak, were captured. "And after this, Pyotr was fighting for ten days across all Arsk places and beat many people and captured an abysmal number of people"¹.

In June, voivodes P. Morozov and F. Saltykov waged another campaign on the Arsk side. This time, military actions went beyond Arsk and the rivers Ashit and Uzhumka. Besides, the troops advanced so far, that they were just 50 versts away from the river Vyatka and "fought heavily and captured many people, and took their wives and children, and beat all men". The rebels suffered defeat after defeat, but fought desperately. Another strike at the Arsk and Coastal sides was needed to break the resistance. Russian warriors and their Volga Region allies "fought in many places and beat many people, and the Arsk side and the Coast were suppressed totally"².

Systematic campaigns of the government troops, accompanied by a total ruin, led to the fact that by the fall the rebellious Tatars and Udmurts laid down their arms and the fighting was transferred to the Mari land. The Maris were again left without allies, had suffered significant losses by that time and had lost their authoritative leader Mameshbirde. However, pressed all around, they kept desperately resisting the united forces of the powerful state and its allies coming from the Volga Region population, and even made impudent raids deep in the Russian lands. Thus, in winter 1556/57, one Mari troop attempted to conquer Soligalich. They failed to take it, however,

the Voskresensk monastery was burnt down, and all its monks were killed [Acts, 1836a, p. 177]. The Nizny Novgorod lands were also frequently invaded. In the Unzhesk district, the Maris killed all Russian peasants [Acts, 1848a, No. 5, pp. 19–20; No. 15, p. 59; 1838, p. 192]³.

In April 1557, they made the last desperate attempt to seize the initiative. Their troops started invading the Arsk and Mountain side, however, they were repelled with huge losses. In Mountain side, Iosif Kovrov, who led the troop of knights, archers and the Mountain people, defeated warriors of bogatyr Akhmatek (Akhmachek) who took up the leadership of the Mari rebels after Mameshbirde had been captured. He was captured. Retaliations by the government troops and their allies led to a complete loss of opportunities for the rebels to resist further. After exhausting their material and human resources, the Maris had to cease resistance in May 1557 and sent their envoys to the Russian voivodes. Centurions Abyz, Yebenyak, sons of Mameshbirde and other commanders made obeisance to the tsar and "admitted their guilts, so that the sovereign could forgive them, withdraw accusations and make them his bondmen, just as the Mountain people, and ordered them to pay him yasak, as the previous tsars had done". Ivan IV readily agreed to the Maris' proposals. Solicitor Semen Stepanovich Yartsev was sent from Moscow to administer the oath to them. Abyz "with fellows" arrived in Sviyazhsk to take the oath, while "Yebenyak and fellows" went to Kazan "to take off their hats". Mameshbirde's sons and centurion Kaka kissed the Book in Cheboksary. Danila Chulkov and Obrazets Rogatov were sent to swear the "black people" or commoners, so that "all black people presented the truth". Leaders Kazimir, Kaka, and Yantemir "with fellows" went to Moscow to go cap in hand to Ivan IV himself. "The tsar and Grand Prince forgave their guilt, conferred them a Deed of Gift, so that they could serve the tsar ever since"⁴.

³ The majority of historians mistakenly refer the latter event to 1587, following the date when this charter was written.

⁴ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. Pp. 281–283; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 582–583; Vol. 29. P. 256.

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 269; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 571–572.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 270; Vol. 20. Section 2. Pp. 571–572.

The suppression of the rebellion of 1552–1557 gone down in history as the First Cheremis War allowed Russia to finally include the whole Volga Region in its membership. It was a hard win. A. Kurbsky noted in his memoirs, "...So many Christian warriors laid down their lives, killed by those who had a different faith, who constantly beat them and fought them." [Tales, 1833, p. 59] The rebellion had the nature of a people's liberation struggle, and all Russians were treated as enemies. For this reason, many peasants, monks, and other Russians who had nothing to do with the war suffered. Peoples of the Middle Volga Region were caused an incomparably greater damage. The escalation came to the point, when castigators burnt villages in the rebel areas, destroyed households and killed the entire adult male population there, captured women and children, and made them slaves. After the hostilities were ceased, a census was carried out. Only the Kazan chronicler writes about its results, "And the Kazanians who were left alive, and the Cheremis who survived and settled in Kazan before the occupation and after it counted themselves: in the very city and near the lakes, and those who were captured and died of hunger and diseases, and those beaten everywhere, and those who were known and not known, except for those who were neither known nor noted anywhere—there were gone 757,270"¹. However, the given figure is clearly overstated. It is quite likely that the author of "The History of Kazan" increased it tenfold, which was an ordinary matter in the Medieval times, in order to strike readers' imagination. If our guess is right, the losses of the Maris, Tatars and Udmurts, who were killed, captured, and missing during the time of the Kazan and First Cheremis War, amount to 75,727. This number should also include the losses among the Volga Region inhabitants, who fought for the government troops. We should also keep in mind several thousands of the "not known and not noted".

The reasons for the defeat of the rebellion of 1552–1557, or the First Cheremis War, are as follows. Since the winter of 1553/54, the reb-

els had to deal with the government troops exceeding them in strength by 2–4 times and led by the best Russian commanders. The revolts were worse armed and could not resist cannons and arquebuses. They successfully applied the tactics of guerrilla warfare and ambushes, but they suffered defeats in open field battles with the tsar troops. Archers managed to shoot down the rebels from arquebuses, before they could start close-in fighting. The rebels did not know how to occupy the cities, which became strongholds of the tsarist administration. Neither could they hold their own townlets, thus their fortifications were easily broken down by cannonry. The spread and success of the rebellion were seriously affected by the rebels' inability to control the major rivers, the masters of which were the Russian naval forces, which blocked the rebellion areas and hampered communications with their allies.

The elimination of the opposition feudal lords and influential tribal leaders also contributed to the defeat of the rebellion. The authorities said, that "Kazan people were the best, their princes and mirzas and Cossacks, who were so skillful, are all gone now, while black people all turned into slaves"². The Kazan chronicler counting the losses among the rebels says: "Such a small number of them escaped death in the Kazan land, only simple people, and washy and sickish people, and farmers survived."³ Undoubtedly, the author could not help using traditional narrative techniques of exaggeration and hyperbole. However, the fact that the major part of the nobility was liquidated is manifestly obvious. Russian diplomats in Poland would say: "Only commoners were left alive, while princes and mirzas and different serving people were beaten. Others were brought to Moscow and Novgorod to take an oath to the tsar, so that no further disturbances could happen. And how could commoners live on by themselves now?" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 615; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1892, p. 8].

¹ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 19. P. 186; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 174.

² Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 13. P. 282; Vol. 20. Section 2. P. 583; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, P. 526.

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. 19. P. 186; the History of Kazan, 1954, P. 174.

The Russian diplomacy successfully worked to secure international isolation of the rebels and disorder their plans to create an anti-Russian Union of Muslim States and provide to the rebels. As a result, the Astrakhan khanate was eliminated, the Nogai Horde, Siberian khanate and the Bashkirs recognized vassalage to Russia. Turkey did not find it possible to independently intervene in what was going on, while the Crimean khan did not manage to efficiently influence the events in the Volga Region.

The most important reason for the defeat of the rebellion was the fact, that the tsarist government not only managed to interdict the Mountain side inhabitants from participation in the rebellion, but also created support in the face of Tatar serving people and newly baptized Tatars, who were prompted to actively suppress the rebellion.

The First Cheremis War had a greater impact on the Russian policy-making, than it is considered in the national historiography. Russia's entire foreign policy-making during that period was tightly connected with the situation in the Kazan Region. The relations with the Nogai Horde, Astrakhan, Crimea, and Turkey were directed to disrupt attempts of creating an anti-Russian alliance and preventing other countries from aiding the rebels. Only after suppressing the rebellion in the Volga Region, the Russian state began to fulfill their plans in the Baltics. In 1558, they started the Livonian War and once again came back to the question of recognition of the Imperial title of the Russian state by European monarchs.

The victory of Muscovite state over the Kazan khanate is explained by economic, military, and political reasons. Muscovite state was superior to the khanate in the military-economic potential. The forces of the Russian state were 3–4 times stronger. Moreover, Russia used more contemporary tactics and arms.

Melee weapons the both parties used were in line with the time, but the Russians had a

clear advantage in firearms. There were not enough firearms in Kazan, and their usage was not on a proper level. They were only used when defending Kazan. No other cases are recorded. The Tatars underestimated shotguns. At first, the usual bow largely surpassed imperfect cannons and arquebuses. It took too long to load them and they did not fire in wet weather. Bows could also compete with arquebuses in accuracy. However, firearms possessed incomparable carry and destructive power. In engineering terms, the Russians used European and national achievements (*gulyai-gorods*—mobile fortifications, *saps*, *tarasys*, access towers or *turas*, etc.).

Tatar warriors were better trained, than average Russian fighters. When defending Kazan, they fought bravely and desperately. In the Russian army, those comparable with the Tatars in military skills were knights, archers and contract fighters. However, the Russian army was better organized and had a better system of communications. In addition, for the Russian people, defeating Kazan became a common goal as a continuation of the war with the Golden Horde and securing the country from the troubled neighborhood. All layers of the Russian society were interested in destroying Kazan.

Russian diplomats outplayed the Tatars on all fronts, spoiled alliances and recruited supporters from the enemy camp. The Russians managed to split and win over a part of the khanate population. During the battles for Kazan, the Tatars were only supported by some Nogais, Meadow Maris and a part of the Udmurt people, while thousands of Tatars, Mordvins, Chuvash and Mountain Maris were fighting on the Russian side. The absence of unity and contradictions weakened the country. The inability of the Turkic-Tatars to come to an agreement in the face of strengthening Russia became the basic reason for their defeat this time, in Kazan, and some time later.

CHAPTER 7

Political Development of the Kasym Khanate

Bulat Rakhimzyanov

Speaking of the more than two-century existence of the ethnic political unit which received the name of "the Kasym Tsardom" in historiography, should we believe that it was preserved intact? Or did it evolve in any direction? Was this "tsardom" a khanate or a principality? Or should we consider it as an ordinary administrative unit of the Russian state called "Meshchera"?

Two periods are clearly distinguished in the historical development of the Kasym Khanate. The first one, beginning with its foundation in 1445 and ending when the Kazan "yurt" falls in 1552, is distinguished by the fact, that the Kasym Khanate was attached much importance as a dynastic counterweight of Kazan and the Crimea. That is why the Moscow government was extremely interested in the existence of this "nursery of khans", and especially for the Kazan throne. The second period lasts from the fall of Kazan till the actual elimination of the Kasym "Tsardom" in the middle of the 17th century. It is characterized by the fact that its political entity gradually turns into an anachronism, and the Russian administration takes systematic steps to "dissolve" the Kasymov "appanage" in Russia. The first period is of special scientific interest. At this stage of its existence, the Kasym Khanate possesses greater autonomy in its internal affairs. A shift in the geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe caused by the Muscovite state conquest of the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates leads to a sudden change in the conditions of the Kasym Khanate. It approaches to the state of an appanage principality and quickly loses its territory and the remains of the sovereignty. After the Smuta (or the Times of Troubles), Kasymov irrecoverably turned into a provincial backwater and was almost never found on the pages of chronicles and razryads (i.e. books of noble families).

The Kazan dynasty in Meshchera townlet.

At the very beginning of the last stage of the civil war in the Moscow grand principality, in 1445–1446, sultans Kasym and Jakub served in Muscovy as proponents of Ulugh Muhammad's policy. According to this policy, one of them, Kasym, had been granted Meshchera townlet on the Oka River, which had led to the creation of the Kasym Khanate. Since Ulugh Muhammad concluded the accord with Vasily II and he was the tributary and vassal of the Horde tsar, the tsarevitches supported him. However, in 1447, the political environment changed and new Kazan Khan Mahmud decided to rely on Dmitry Shemyaka, as he was weaker. Meanwhile, the tsarevitches stayed loyal to Vasily II, because during the two-year partnership with him, they found it more prosperous to support the strengthened Grand Prince and tightly connect their political destinies with his destiny. Their calculation was correct. The battle was won by Vasily II and apparently he did not forget about the tsarevitches' loyalty. It is possible that the land possessions of the princes increased even more.

The polarity of the positions of the siblings Kazan Khan Mahmud and sultans Kasym and Jakub is partly explained by their different political fates: Mahmud was at the head of the hostile to Moscow Kazan Khanate, while the tsarevitches, by a twist of historical fate, found themselves among the partners of Vasily II and stayed in the Moscow principality. Thus, for objective reasons, they could not be Moscow's enemies. With the death of Ulugh Muhammad, Vasily II was given a free hand. The absence of support from the side of Kazan, or, possibly, reluctance to accept it from the hands of a patricide, put Kasym and Jakub in an ambiguous situation. Rulers of Kasymov turn from messengers-supervisors into political figures, dependent on Ivan III and the following Russian

tsars. They gradually lost some of the rights they possessed at the first stages of the khanate existence. However, they kept using the considerable degree of independence, especially in the khanate domestic affairs.

The first owner of Meshchera townlet (the future city of Kasymov) sultan Kasym (1445–1469, the years of the rule over the Kasym Khanate) is mentioned in sources only once after 1462, namely in 1467 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1901, p. 118; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853; Complete Collection, 8, 1859, p. 152; Complete Collection, 4, 1848, pp. 132, 149; Complete Collection, 5, 1851, p. 274]. That year Khan Khalil died in Kazan, and confusion in the matters of the throne succession in the Kazan Khanate prompted some nobles to nominate tsarevitch Kasym for the throne. He lived in Meshchera during that time. Ivan III decided to use this offer and provided a strong military support to Kasym. The Grand Prince hoped to be able to influence the affairs of the neighbouring state through the Kasymov's tsarevitch loyal to him. However, the campaign finished unsuccessfully and Kasym had to return back to Meshchera, where he spent the last years of his life.

There is little information regarding the internal political life of the Kasym Khanate during the reign of its first khan. Only the contractual letter between Ivan III and Grand Prince of Ryazan Ivan Fedorovich gives us information about two statesmen, who worked during Kasym's rule, princes Kobyaka (Haydar's son) and Isak (Ahmad's son) [Spiritual, 1950, pp. 284, 287–288]. Grand Prince of Moscow Vasily II agreed with them about cash payments that were transferred from Ryazan both to Kasymov's tsarevich and to his officials, princes, daragas (tax collectors) and treasurers. Thus, the tsarevitch's top political circles (those "princes" were apparently karacha-beys Kobyak and Isak in this case) played significant role in communications with Moscow.

In the memory of the Kasymov Tatars, Kasym had a reputation of a person, who built the mosque and the first palace in Meshchera townlet. Later on, this town was named after its first owner Kasymov. According to some sources, Meshchera townlet (or gorodok) was

renamed as Kasymov in 1471 [Shishkin, 1891, p. 9], but the broad use of this name began only in the 17th century.

Kasym's son sultan Daniyar (1469–1486) was also actively used by Moscow, but now, in military operations: together with the Grand Prince, he participated in the campaign against Novgorod in 1471 and actively proved his loyalty [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853, p. 192; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 162; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1901, p. 130], together with other Russian troops, he defended the border along the Oka River from attacks of the Great Horde khan Ahmad in 1472 [Complete Collection, 4, 1848, p. 151; Complete Collection, 6, 1853, pp. 31–32, 195; Complete Collection, 8, 1859, pp. 174–175; Complete Collection, 12, 1901, pp. 149–150], in 1477 he took part in the irreversible fall of the Novgorod republic [Razrjadnaja kniga, 1966, pp. 18–19; Milyukov, 1901, p. 13; Complete Collection, 4, 1848, pp. 259–260; Complete Collection, 6, 1853, p. 207, 213; Complete Collection, 8, 1859, pp. 185, 191; Complete Collection, 12, 1901, pp. 172, 179]. Moscow limited his help by Kasymov Tatars' military service. It is possible that Daniyar died in 1486 [Spiritual, 1950, pp. 318, 321, 325, 328].

The status of the Kasym Khanate within the emerging Russian state during the reign of Daniyar is clarified in charters of treaty (for more details see: [Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 115–116]). The following conclusions can be made based on the texts in the charters. Firstly, again, they tell about the "vykhod" or tribute which was paid from the Treasury of the Ryazan grand principality. The money for the "vykhod" was therefore collected from the Treasury of the Grand Principality of Moscow, appanage principalities of the Grand Principality of Moscow, as well as from the Treasury of the Grand Principality of Ryazan, on the territory of which the Kasym Khanate was located. Secondly, besides the "vykhod", sultan and his beys also collected duties, or yasak, both from the local pagan population (the Mordvins, Meschera) and the Tatars ("becermenin" or Muslim). Thirdly, the Ryazan Grand Prince also collected duties from the same population along with the tsarevitch. The Kasym Khanate

was therefore a real financial burden both for Moscow and for Ryazan.

Venetian traveler Ambrogio Contarini, who visited Russia in 1476 during the reign of Ivan III, wrote that the grand prince had been wont to annually visit different areas of his possessions, and, in particular, he had been used to visiting one Tatarian with 500 horsemen whom he had hired to stay on the border with the Tatars in order to protect their state from their attacks. It is possible that by that Tatar, Contarini meant Kasymov's tsarevich Daniyar.

Important information about the status of the ruler of Kasymov and the Meshchera Yurt at the time of its first rulers can be found in diplomatic correspondence. When in 1474 there was litigation over an ordinary case for the middle ages—the "robbery" of Russian tradesmen on the territory of Kaffa, the Kaffians filed counterclaims about a similar "robbery" on the territory of Ruthenia—"that they were robbed by the tsar's Cossacks (Kasymov Tatars. —B.R.)". Grand prince Ivan III responded, "I have already told you that it is the *Tsarevich* (he meant Daniyar here.—B.R.) *who commands the Tokhtamysh dynasty* (our emphasis—B.R.). He has a lot of uhlans, princes, and Cossacks in his service; many people come to serve him and many people leave him; and how can we know who robbed your tradesmen? This robbery never occurred in our lands" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 8].

Firstly, we can conclude that Meshchera was somewhat independent—the grand prince makes it clear to the Kaffians that he bears no responsibility for what is going on in the Yurt—its territory is somehow autonomous. It is hard to believe that the Moscow ruler could say the same about developments in any Russian apanage principality. This could simply have been his cunning, but that message could also reflect the medieval reality. Secondly, the underscored lines explicitly show that within the legal norms which were in effect on the territories of the later Horde *Pax Mongolica*, the formal status of the ruler of Kasymov as a Chinggisiid was significantly higher than that of the dynasty of Riurikids subdued by Batu. The historiographical discourse about the decided "puppetness" of Kasymov rulers is nothing but

a transfer of later reality onto the 15th and even 16th centuries.

Kasym and his son Daniyar—the first rulers of the Kasym Khanate—were descendants of Ulugh Muhammad. After the death of Daniyar in 1486, this dynasty ceased its reign in the khanate. The next ruler of Kasymov, Nur Devlet, had a kinship with them (all of them were Jochids and descended from the same branch of that dynasty—from Tuqay Temür), but was not a direct descendant. The Moscow government appointed the rulers of Kasymov arbitrarily, at their own discretion, without worrying about maintaining a single unified dynasty of the khans and sultans of Kasymov. Only occasionally (quite rarely) were the rulers close relatives (usually the father and the son, or sometimes brothers). It is likely that this happened when the deceased ruler had direct heirs. In all the other cases (there are many more of them), the rulers of Kasymov were appointed in accordance with the plans of the Moscow government. It is impossible, even tentatively, to talk of a single Kasymov dynasty. It simply did not exist.

The Crimean dynasty in the Kasym Khanate. The Crimean dynasty, that is, the descendants of the first Crimean khan Hajji Giray, was represented in Kasymov by Nur Devlet (1486–1490) and his sons the sultans Satilgan (1490–1506 with a break) and Janay (1506–1512) (for more details on the rule of the Girays in Kasymov see: [Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 118–138]).

Nur Devlet and Ulugh Muhammad, the ancestor of the Kasymov sultans, were according to the Turkic tradition quite close relatives, not only because both of them were Jochids, but also because they represented the same branch within this dynasty. Ulugh Muhammad was a first cousin once removed of Hacı Giray—Nur Devlet's father. The Crimean and Kazan branches of the Jochids had a similar political fate: both Hacı Giray (the first Crimean khan) and Ulugh Muhammad (de facto the first Kazan ruler) were exiles from Sarai. Therefore, they did not hold in very high esteem the representatives of the Great Horde and of the Astrakhan dynasties. Perhaps that is why the sources do not contain any information on dissatisfaction amongst the highest Kasymov nobility related to the change of Ulugh Muhammad's descendants for those of the Girays. The same cannot

be said about the subsequent change of the dynasty for that of the Great Horde.

By the middle of the 1480s, the foreign policy situation had somehow altered. On the territory of Desht-i Qipchaq a well functioning alliance was created between the Grand Principality of All-Ruthenia (Moscow), the Crimean Khanate, and Kazan. The main goal of this alliance was to restore stability to Eastern Europe and control over the union of nomads known as "the Great Horde" [Keenan, 1967, p. 554]. After the "Battle of the Ugra River", tribute ceased to be transferred there. This significantly strengthened the position of the developing Russian state in the international arena. In 1487, Kazan was taken, and Moscow's protege Muhammad-Amin ascended to the Kazan throne. He ruled in the city until 1495. The khanate was turned into a de facto Russian protectorate. Ivan III was able to enhance his status de jure, not solely de facto. Payments of tribute to Kazan were ceased; the Moscow tsar added the formula "Prince of the Bolgars" to his title, and in the correspondence, the Kazan khan, Chinggisid, started to be called his brother, i.e. an equal monarch. "The Kazan issue" temporarily receded into the background.

The time had come to focus more closely on cooperation with the Crimean Khanate. Despite the Moscow-Crimean union that had been created in 1480, Mengli Giray was still walking a careful line between Moscow and Lithuania. The aim of Moscow's foreign policy was to win over the Crimean khan.

Thus, Moscow used the rule of the Crimean descendants for two purposes: political and military. Nur Devlet—the son of Hacı Giray and the brother of Mengli Giray, who at that time ruled in the Crimea—was a powerful weapon of Moscow's foreign policy-making with respect to the Crimean Khanate. He could lay dynastic claims to the khanate's throne, and this allowed pressure to be placed on the policies of the Crimean Khanate, making Mengli Giray correct his actions in accordance with the line of the Moscow grand prince. Because of this, it was absolutely unnecessary to attempt to enthrone Nur Devlet in the Crimean Khanate.

The Kasym Khanate's military significance for the Russian state during the reign of the

Crimean dynasty is also hard to underestimate. Located on the border, the marvelous military cavalry of the Kasymov Tatars served as a shock force in the struggle against both the Great Horde and the Kazan Khanate. Between 1486–1512, the main forces of the Kasym Khanate were directed to helping Mengli Giray to defeat the Great Horde. It was destroyed in 1502, and the Kasym Khanate played a significant role in its fall. Often, Kasymov's rulers together with the top governing layer of the state did not stay on the territory of the subordinate "apanage", but instead spent much time at the border of the Horde of "Ahmad's Children" and the Kazan Khanate.

Following the shift in the foreign policy environment, the ways in which the Kasymov rulers and their Tatars were used also changed. Campaigns against the Kazan Khanate and the choice of claimants to the Kazan throne came to the foreground. The Kasymov people were also used in military operations against the Nogais as well as in local conflicts.

A few facts tell us about the certain degree of independence of the Crimean descendants in Kasymov and about the ambiguous status Meshchera had in the system of the late Horde states. Apparently, the khans and sultans received one-time payments for each military campaign and action in which they took part [Khoroshkevich, 2001, p. 300]. This is possible how we should interpret the "message" written, most likely, by Fedor Karpov in 1492: "So many times the grand prince sent Tsar Nurdoulat to the tsar Field in order to solve the issue of Mengli Giray, and so many times he sent Tsarevich Satalgan—the son of Nurdoulat—together with the Russian army, and *so many Tatars are rewarded by Ruthenia which pays them a share* (our emphasis—B.R.), otherwise it shall end badly" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 370]. The important mission of compensating expenses and losses related to the campaign in the Field in August 1492 was not given to specially appointed people, but the grand prince instead delegated it to the ambassador to the Crimea (which in itself is quite illustrative) who, at the same time as his diplomatic functions, had to perform the duties of a financial agent of the sovereign within the country.

The diplomatic correspondence contains interesting data on the status of the Meshchera yurt. Third-party Turkic rulers (those who never reigned in Meshchera or Kazan) of the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries Meshchera (the Khanate of Kasymov) and Kazan (the Kazan Khanate) were often treated as equivalent "places", which tells us about similarities in the status of these formations. Thus, the Nogai prince Ah-Kurt wrote to Vasily III in 1508, "If you would grant *one of those two yurts* (our emphasis—B.R.) to me, and you would..." [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 11–15] It is vivid from the context that Ah-Kurt asks him to be "granted" either Kazan, or Meshchera ("two yurts"). Meshchera was called a "yurt" which in the Turkic tradition is a synonym of "state". Consequently, Turkic contemporaries treated the Kasym Khanate as a state entity. Russian appanages, of which the Kasym Khanate was usually considered one, were not similar and so were not treated in similar ways. During the indicated period, Kazan stayed under the Russian protectorate, while Meshchera was under suzerainty of the Moscow grand prince throughout the entire period of its existence.

The Moscow administration also attempted to represent Kazan and Kasymov as "places" that were their equals. In 1517, when communicating with Sigismund Kazimirovich, the Polish king and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vasily III explained the environment around Kazan thus: "...you see, Zhigimonte [Sigismund—B.R.], you say this without knowing for sure that our father, the great ruler [Ivan III—B.R.], granted the Kazan land to unbelievers. It is done like this: this lasted during the time of our ancestors and forefathers, and during the time of our father, and during my time, *in our states*. By that place, tsars and tsareviches live *on our sponsorship*, and to many tsars and tsareviches who serve us we grant them a place *in our states* their reward" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1882, p. 530].

Now compare this to what is said about Meshchera: "...And the Meshcherya land is *in our state*, and we grant that place to tsars and tsareviches, and they live in those places *on our sponsorship*, and they serve us" [ibid, p. 531]. Both those from Kazan and those from

Kasymov "live" by Moscow's "sponsorship" and "serve" Moscow. Both Kazan and Kasymov are Moscow's property ("our states"): this picture can be seen from the diplomatic correspondence between Moscow and Lithuania.

The Girays' rule left a significant mark on the history of the Meshchera yurt. Even five years after this dynasty ceased to reign in Meshchera, in 1517, the Crimean khan Mehmed Giray treated it as his own "yurt"—"Throughout the ages this yurt has belonged to us" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 377]. This is what he said to the scribe Mitya Ivanov who took the place of the ambassador (the Girays treated Kazan in the same way [ibid, pp. 679, 696]). The Crimean nobility also looked upon the Kasym Khanate like this (in 1516, the Crimean mirza Bakhtiyar wrote to Ivan III, "...you know very well yourself that the *Meshchera yurt belongs to my tsar* (our emphasis—B.R.)" [ibid, p. 251] When in 1512, Vasily III enthroned in Kasymov a representative of the Great Horde dynasty which was hostile to Crimea, it spurred widespread discontent in "the yurt of tsar Takhtamysh"—"Does it befit you to invite to our yurt and hold there Shah Vliyar as a ruler over the servants of Bur Devlet and Kasymov?" [ibid, p. 520].

The clan of the Shirins occupied the highest position among the other four clans in Meshchera, and had a special, "jealous" attitude towards it. According to legend, it was the Shirins who conquered Meshchera a long time ago. In the lineage of the Meshchera princes, there is information that "Bahmet Useinov, the prince of the Shirins, came from the Great Horde to Meshchera and conquered Meshchera and settled in it" [Vremennik, 1851, p. 75]. With the change of dynasty, the Shirins initiated a real local war against Moscow and marched towards Meshchera [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 377, 520].

Mehmed Giray wrote to Vasily III in 1517, "...Although our people previously and now fought for Meshchera, I have had nothing to do with it. And although I am the brother and friend of the grand prince, I have no claims to Meshchera. And although I can contain my children, I cannot prevent my people from fighting: they all came to me saying that they would not listen to me in this matter. The Shirins wanted

to recruit me to fight for Meshchera, because right now our enemy is ruling there, but *historically this yurt is ours* (outlined by us.—B.R.). And right now my brother, the grand prince, asks me to send my son or my brother to Meshchera; ...otherwise this shall not be in accordance with tradition, as Meshchera has to be conquered. Still we are aware that right now Meshchera is ruled by no man, and there are no Besermen (Muslim.—B.R.) there, as there is no place to live, and I hope my brother has understood my words. I am not writing in a bad way about this tsarevitch to the grand prince, and he shall not do this about me. But who ever heard that a Beserman brought a Beserman captive to another Beserman? The thing is that our people captured a lot of Besermen, though in our Testament it is not written that we can sell a Beserman. But our people made Meshchera Besermen captive and sold them, explaining *that Meshchera is not ruled by our dynasty*... And the princes of Gorodets ordered me, and not alone, that *we should make our kin rule in this place*" [ibid, pp. 377–378].

There is a great likelihood that after the change of dynasty in Kasymov, a considerable part of the nobility of Crimean origin departed back to Crimea—"there are no Besermen people in Meshchera, as there is no place to live". During the Shirins' campaign against Meshchera, not only the Russian population was taken into captivity, but also the Muslims, which the Crimean khan lamented as the least-evil solution. It seems that a section of the population (the upper strata)—"the servants of Nur Devlet and Kasym"—"gorodets princes" who were already used to the Crimeans and found common ground with them, was dissatisfied with the change of the dynasty in Kasymov and wanted the Girays back.

In 1517, the divan (the council of the Karachi beys) rejected the formation of an alliance with Moscow. One of the conditions of the possible coalition was the removal of the "enemy" Shah Ali from Meshchera and his replacement by one of Mengli Giray's sons. Muhammad Giray wrote about this refusal to Vasily III, "...The Shirins, and the Arghyn, and the Kipchak Karachi beys—all our heads, and all the uhlans and all the company commanders did not perpetrate the truth." [ibid, p. 388]

That same year, due to the long lasting feuds between khan Muhammad Giray and his brother sultan Ahmad Giray the issue of "opochiv" or "rest" was raised for Ahmad in Russia. Back in 1515, Vasily III had pledged to accept Ahmad with his children and all his servants, promising him departure without hindrance if he so wished [ibid, pp. 211–212]. In December 1517, this issue became more pointed: Ahmad was promised Meshchera [ibid, pp. 419–420]. However, Vasily III was ready to accept Ahmad only as a last resort, "if there is great need for the tsarevitch, and he will not be able to stay there any longer", only in this case will the ambassador have to speak with Ahmad about the "opochiv" in a more emphatic way. Given the generally hostile relations with Crimea during that period, Moscow did not even trust the khan's enemies (they could remain enemies for just a short period of time, while not trusting "unbelievers" was the norm in the Medieval times). By doing this, Vasily III intended to grant a "place" in his land to the opposition khan, and also to satisfy the demands of Muhammad Giray who wanted Meshchera to be given to one of his sons [ibid, p. 419].

The mood which dominated in Crimea towards the Kasym Khanate in the first quarter of the 16th century was described by Muhammad Giray as follows, "...*We cannot make peace* with the fact that Meshchera will be ruled by some kin besides us." [ibid, p. 380] Given all this, the indisputable fact was that Meshchera belonged to Moscow as a "patrimony" of the Moscow grand prince (in the agreement between the grand prince of Moscow Ivan Vasilievich (Ivan III) and grand duke of Lithuania Alexander Kazimirovich dated 1494, the latter admitted that Meshchera was the patrimony of Ivan Vasilievich [Spiritual, 1950, p. 330]; see also [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1882, p. 127, 130]).

The Great Horde Dynasty in Meshchera and Kazan. Despite the fact that the emergence of the Kasym Khanate was clearly not planned by the Muscovite government, after a certain point, its historical destiny was such that it became a dependent entity, a vassal of Muscovy used for different purposes of Muscovite foreign policy. The Kasym Khanate reached its "apotheosis," the highest level of importance

for the Russian state, in the 1520–1550s, when the "Eastern Question," i.e. the subordination of the Kazan Khanate, became the main goal of Muscovite foreign policy. One of the tools it used to gain control over politics in the Khanate was the nomination of protégés to the Kazan throne.

The defeat of the Great Horde in 1502 by the Crimean khan Mengli Giray led to a "vacuum" in the steppe, which triggered a conflict between two former allies, Muscovy and Crimea [Keenan, 1967, p. 554]. The alliance between Muscovy, Crimea, and Kazan collapsed. As the weakest link in this triangle, the Kazan Khanate became a hotbed of intrigue and struggle between the pro-Muscovy and pro-Crimea factions of the local aristocracy.

After the death of Janai Sultan, the last representative of the Crimean dynasty in the Kasym Khanate, the choice of Muscovy for the Kasymov throne fell to Shaykh Allahyar, the son of the Bakhtiyar Sultan from the Great Horde's Jochi dynasty. He was the nephew of Ahmad, a Great Horde Khan, and therefore a descendant of Chinggis Khan [State Archives, 1978, p. 39] (for more details on the origins of Shaykh Allahyar, see: [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 224–244]). Crimea viewed the appointment of Ahmad's descendant to the Kasymov throne with hostility: "...The children of tsars Ahmat and Mahmut are our enemies, and you, our brother (Vasily III—B.R.), call them your enemies and so write to us about them, and yet you gave the Meshchera yurt to tsarevitch Shaykh Allahyar, one of the children of our enemy, and bestowed upon him too much honor." [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 296]

As a Kasymov Sultan, Shaykh Allahyar participated in the campaign of Vasily III on the outskirts of Smolensk (1512); Shaykh Allahyar joined him in Mozhaysk together with the Kasymov Tatars [Milyukov, 1901, p. 49].

Shaykh Allahyar probably died in 1516 [Karamzin, 1994, p. 42]. He ruled the Kasym Khanate from 1512–1516. Shaykh Allahyar was mostly remembered both by his contemporaries and historians for the fact that he was the father of two khans who left a big imprint on the history of Meshchera and the Kazan Khanate. These khans were Shah Ali and Cangali.

Shah Ali, the son of Shaykh Allahyar, was born in 1505. In 1516, the family had a second son, who was named Cangali. In the same year, Shaykh Allahyar died and his eldest son Shah Ali became the ruler of the Kasym Khanate.

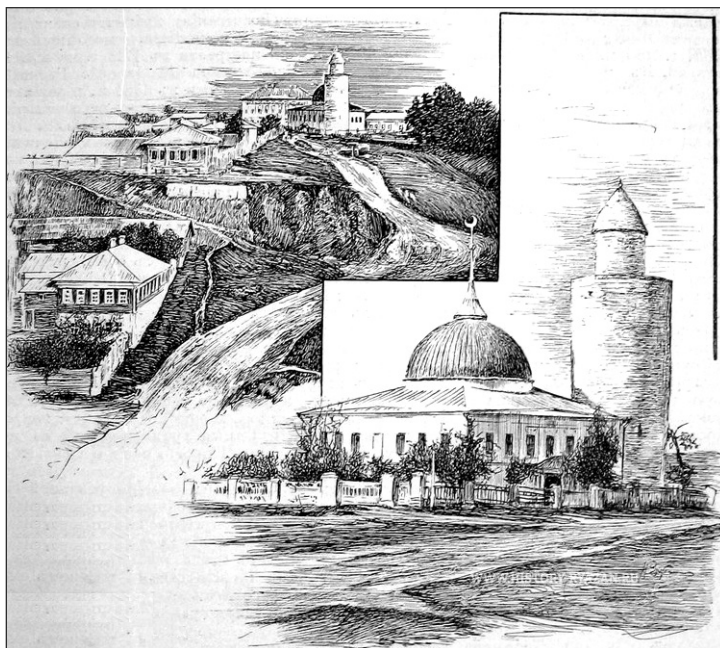
The Crimean khans could not reconcile their hatred of the relatives of khan Ahmad, who had been expelled from Sarai and found refuge in the Muscovite state (as was the case of Shaykh Allahyar). In 1516, the Crimean government protested against the appointment of Shah Ali as the reigning tsarevich of Kasymov and petitioned for the Kasym Khanate to be given to Sahib Sultan, but the Muscovite government did not accept this petition [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 247, 250].

The change of dynasty in the Kasym Khanate was an important and very sensitive factor for international relations in Eastern Europe in the 16th century. American researcher O. Pritsak considers that "only now the Chinggisids of Kasymov have become the puppets of the Muscovite rulers, while handing them the charisma of the dynasty that was required to establish a new state organism" [Pritsak, 1967, p. 580]. In essence, this was an open challenge to the Crimean Khanate, which after the defeat of the Great Horde viewed itself as "tsar Takhtamysh's yurt," i.e. the direct successor to the former power of the Golden Horde state. Within the legal rules that prevailed in the post-Golden Horde Desht-i Qipchaq, this seemed quite legitimate. However, in the 16th century, Muscovy, with its economic and military potential, was also nearing the status of the most powerful member within that system. But, at the same time, its actual position contrasted sharply with its formal status under the post-Golden Horde "legal rules," since the Muscovite monarch did not belong to the dynasty of Chinggis Khan.

The khan on Kazan Muhammad Amin died in December 1518 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853, p. 263; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 266]. This event had many implications. The death of Muhammad Amin ended the dynasty of Ulugh-Muhammad on the Kazan throne, a dynasty that held that throne by right of conquest.

Neither Muhammad Amin nor Abdul-Latif (under a special agreement Abdul-Latif was

A mosque in the town of Kasymov
[Russia: A Complete Geographical
Description, 1902]



supposed to receive the Kazan throne after the death of Muhammad Amin, but Abdul-Latif died even earlier than him, on November 19, 1517, [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853, p. 260]) and did not leave behind any sons. At that time, princess Gauharshad (known in Russian sources as Kovgarshad) lived in Kazan, but the issue of her candidacy was not even raised. Tsarevich Hüdai

Kul, the last representative of the khan family who lived for more than 30 years in the Russian state, had long since become Russified. Like the sons of tsarevich Malik Tagir, he was baptized, married a Russian and lost his rights to the Kazan throne. As a result, the dynasty of the Ulugh Muhammad came to an end, and once again, the issue of the succession to the throne became particularly important for the Kazan Khanate.

The closest relatives of the extinct dynasty were stepbrothers of the last two khans, the Crimean tsarevichs, the sons of Mengli Giray Khan, who married the tsarina Nur-Sultan. The Crimean government has long viewed them as legitimate heirs of the Kazan Khanate and proposed the nomination of tsarevich Sahib Giray.

The position of the Crimean government was reflected in the statement made to Vasily III on behalf of Muhammad Giray by prince Apağ through I. Chelishchev, the Russian envoy to Crimea (before the death of Muhammad Amin): "Kazan tsar Muhammad Amin is said to be ill, and I equipped and prepared my brother Sahib Giray for that yurt; and if something happens to tsar Muhammad Ami, we will see that Sahib Giray becomes the tsar of that yurt, as we decided after discussing this matter; but if someone comes from another yurt to become the tsar, then you too, my brother, great prince, will be tormented,

and we will be insulted." [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 520] Muhammad Giray openly stated his claims to decide the fate of Kazan and predetermine who would become the next Khan by "equipping" and "preparing" his own candidate, and only notified the Muscovite state of his decision, while emphasizing that any attempt to put any other person on the throne of the Kazan Khanate except Sahib Giray would be viewed by Crimea as a hostile act.

However, the period of 1487–1521 was the time of the Russian protectorate. It is quite clear that the nomination of tsarevich Sahib supported by the Crimean government was rejected because Muscovy had no interest in the dynastic union of two Muslim states ruled by the hostile Girays. At that time, Muscovy appointed the khans in Kazan, at its own discretion, based on its political benefits and interests. The commitments undertaken by Kazan in 1516 ("no tsar or tsarevich can be taken to rule Kazan without the knowledge of the great prince") gave the government of Vasily III "legal" grounds for interfering in the affairs of Kazan. This was the reason behind the nomination of Kasymov tsarevich Shah Ali, who actually had no rights to the throne of Kazan (except for the fact that Shah Ali was a member of the Jochi-Chinggisid family, which, in that situation, was a formality).

Shah Ali was only 13 years old, he was born and raised in Muscovite Rus. Of course, at such a young age, a person cannot rule a state on his own. The Muscovite government hoped to use him in order to exert influence on the internal politics of the Kazan Khanate and subdue it. Janet Martin believes that "by supporting a candidate who represented the Astrakhan dynasty for the throne of Kazan, Vasily III created a new coalition to dominate the steppe. This coalition included Muscovy, the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates, and, of course, Kasymov" [Martin, 1995, p. 324].

Crimea strongly protested against this appointment. Prince Apağ, the Crimean envoy to Moscow, stated the position of the Crimean Khanate when he was received by Vasily III: "Since the old times, the tsars of the Horde have been the enemies of our monarch, and now you sent a tsar from that yurt to Kazan" [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 661].

The relations between the great prince and Shahghali during his first reign in Kazan were governed by the *šart* (an oath of allegiance) charter [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, 66; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–1, 1904, p. 32]. The main commitment on his part and on the part of the Kazan government was to protect the interests of Muscovite subjects living in Kazan. A separate commitment on the part of the Kazan government was the waiver of the right to independently choose their khan.

In this time, the Kasymov Tatars were as usual engaged in protecting the eastern borders of the Muscovite state. To explain why his son Bahadur Sultan (Bagatyr-Sultan) fought the Ryazan "Borderland" in 1517, the Crimean khan Muhammad Giray said to the envoys of the great prince Vasily Shadrin and Mitya Ivanov, "...I sent my son Bagatyr to Nogai, but he went to the borderland of the great prince, and I scolded him, but he told me that he wanted to go to Nogai. However, the people that he had sent to instigate the situation on the Volga river told him that on the riverside and on the ships in the river there were Meshchera cossacks, and it was impossible to cross the Volga. So, my son decided that the great prince would order Meshchera cossacks to provide such protection, and he

went to Ryazan." [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 376, 379]

The correspondence of Muscovy with Crimea provides some interesting details about the rank held by Kasymov in the system of Russian territories in the 16th century. It includes the following phrase, "...the Meshchersky Gorodok that that lives *for the tsars and for the tsarevichs* (emphasis added—B.R.).» (1518) [Ibid, p. 571] This emphasizes that, unlike other Tatar "destinies" in the Rus, Kasymov was granted only to Chinggisids (specifically, to the branch of Tuğay-Temür in the Jochi dynasty).

In addition to pro-Moscow feudals, Kazan had a Crimean group that was dissatisfied with the presence of the Russians. The pro-Crimea group established contacts with the Crimean court and conspired against Shah Ali. In the spring of 1521, Sahib Giray went to Kazan with his detachment of 300 men [Ibid, p. 678]. The city surrendered without resistance.

From 1524 to 1530, there were no armed clashes between the Muscovite state and Kazan Khanate. However, Safa Giray Khan, the representative of Crimea, pursued a policy that clearly did not satisfy the great prince and, in 1530, a large army was sent against Kazan, including "up to 30 voivodes." On July 10, 1530, Muscovite troops, including infantry, cavalry, fleet, and artillery, came together and besieged Kazan from all sides. The battle was won by the Russian troops. Following agitation by Muscovite ambassadors in Kazan, protests erupted against Safa Giray, who eventually fled.

The Khan's throne in Kazan was free. The charters written by the new Kazan government clearly demonstrate that it was ready to obey the will of the great prince, provided that he would not appoint Shah Ali as their ruler but his younger brother, Cangali [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 277; The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–1, 1904, p. 57]. This meant that the Kazan Khanate effectively became the protectorate of the Russian state again. The advisers sent by the great prince were always in the khan's retinue. Apparently, a portion of the revenue was directed to the benefit of the Muscovite treasury. The Kazan Khanate had no right to pursue an independent foreign poli-

cy without the knowledge of Vasily III. During the reign of Cangali, it had the obligation to send its army against the external enemies of the Russian state. This practice always existed at the time of the protectorate.

On September 25, 1536, an internal coup took place in Kazan. "Princess Kovgarshad and prince Bulat and the entire Kazan land betrayed the Great Prince Ivan Vasilyevich and murdered tsar Cangali whom great Prince Vasily Ivanovich had given them as the tsar of Kazan" [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 291; The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–1, 1904, p. 88]—this is how the coup was briefly described in the Voskresensk and Nikon chronicles. Pro-Moscow people who did not accept this abrupt political turn were discontented by the events and emigrated from Kazan.

And so the reign of Cangali ended tragically. Cangali ruled Kazan from June 29, 1532, to September 25, 1535. Prior to that, he had ruled in Kasymov from 1519 to June 1532.

From June 1532 to early 1536, the Kasym Khanate was left without a khan. The details about this time are quite standard: "...And from Astrakhan came Kazan envoys, who were in Crimea, and some others from Crimea visited the king; and the Gorodok cossacks of our monarch ambushed those people and beat them, and about 50 of them were captured alive and brought to our monarch." (1536) [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 54, 117] Most of all, during this time the Kasymov Tatars aggravated the Nogais by capturing their cattle, intercepting Nogai envoys to Kazan, and taking Nogai subjects prisoner who then were often held in Kasymov [CCRC 1791, p. 240, 249, 250, 320, 321, 308, 314, 229, 340, 341]. Some Kasymov people were themselves captured by the Nogais and kept in prison for a long time [Ibid, p. 243]. In addition to military action, the Kasymov Tatars also took part in Russian diplomacy: they were sent as guides to the envoys visiting the Eastern countries, and sometimes sent alone to the same destinations with charters and to conduct negotiations [Ibid, s. 233, 279, 290, 291, 298, 254, 307, 257, 259].

This situation clearly demonstrates that the Kasym Khanate had the status of a vassal—the khanate itself was left without a governor,

which did not prevent the Muscovite government from using the people of the khanate for its own purposes. However, a khanate without a khan makes no sense. In fact, the Russian rulers had no need for the Kasymov Khanate, but they needed the title of the Kasymov Khan (Sultan) to nominate him for the Kazan throne. As in other post-Golden Horde yurts, the issue of throne succession in Kazan was not clearly defined. So any Muslim ruler and Chinggisid could, in principle, claim it. It is very likely that, even in the 16th century, the top layer of the ruling elite in the successor states of the Golden Horde continued to view itself as a some kind of single entity and, therefore, considered all these yurts as common property bequeathed to all of them by Chinggis Khan. In view of this, the claims, for example, of the Crimean rulers to Kazan and Meshchera, look quite reasonable and fairly legitimate in view of the circumstances in the 16th century. This is why Muscovy needed the title of the Kasymov monarch. At the same time, Muscovy could, in principle, use the Kasymov Tatars for its own purposes even without the Khanate, simply as the people of Meshchera (which we can see in the example of other Tatars who lived in Kashi- ra, Zvenigorod, Yuryev-Polsky and some other Russian cities).

According to most historians, since the 1530s, the great princes of Muscovy gradually begin to interfere in the internal affairs of the Kasym Khanate by introducing elements of Moscow-subordinated administration. A permanent representative with the rank of *okolnichy* was known in Kasymov from November 1542.

In 1545, Safa Giray Khan, a Crimean protégé, again began to face growing opposition in Kazan. This led to a palace coup in early January 1546. Safa Giray Khan was deposed from the throne for the second time. The coup was followed by violent riots in Kazan directed against the Crimeans: "...the Kazan people expelled tsar Safa Kiray from Kazan, and many Crimean people were beaten." [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, 1965, p. 49] An interim government was again formed in Kazan. In March 1546, Shah Ali khan was elected to the throne [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–1, 1904, p. 148].

A Kazan chronicler provided some interesting details on the terms of the agreement made by the Kazan government with Shahghali at his accession to the throne in 1546—the khan should not have brought a Muscovite garrison to Kazan, and he pledged neither to take revenge nor prosecute for former transgressions, while the Kazan ruling circles guaranteed his personal safety. Overall, these terms could be summarized as mutual guarantees of personal safety.

Shahghali was on the throne for only a month [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–2, 1906, p. 149]. Safa Giray managed to enter into an agreement with Nogais, was provided with an important military detachment and made an attempt to regain the throne of Kazan. The impotent government was unable to put up any resistance, and the pro-Russian party probably regretted the fact that the 4,000 strong guard of Shahghali was not allowed earlier into the city. The defenseless khan had to flee from Kazan. He settled in Kasymov. Shahghali ruled in Kazan from June 13 to July 13, 1546. The Moscow protégé turned out to be completely useless for the great prince and tsar without a military detachment from Muscovy and the usual Russian entourage, including the voivode and the envoy.

A major campaign was launched against Kazan in May 1551. On May 24, the fortress of Sviyazhsk was founded at the Sviyaga river mouth on the territory of the Kazan Khanate. It became, in fact, an outpost of the Russian advance to the East. Later, the Muscovite government blocked the waterways around Kazan and virtually paralyzed life in the city. Following a political coup in Kazan, power was transferred to proponents of peace with Russia. A delegation was sent to Sviyazhsk to invite Shahghali to the throne. Again (for the third time), he became the Kazan khan.

Under the terms of a scheme of the Muscovite government, the Kazan Khanate had to be split into two parts—the Mountain Country had to be governed by a fully Russian government, while the Meadow Country and Arsk Land had to be governed by Shahghali Khan. So, Shahghali did not have to govern the entire Kazan Khanate, but only half of it. On August 14, 1551, the so-called "Kurultai" faced with

the formidable sight of the Muscovite troops decided that the people of Kazan should "not enter the Mountain Country, and the Volga had to be split in two, and the catchers should fish in their respective halves" [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–1, 1904, p. 169], i.e., it was forbidden to cross the Volga river, and the Volga itself was divided in half. The second important clause of the agreement was the release of all Russian prisoners in the entire territory of the Kazan Khanate [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–1, 1904, p. 169; The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–2, 1906, p. 470].

On March 6, 1552, Shahghali withdrew the Muscovite garrison from Kazan and went together with it to Sviyazhsk [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–1, 1904, p. 174; The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–2, 1906, p. 474]. Under a false pretext, he was able to bring with him from Kazan 84 princes and mirzas; he handed them over to the Muscovite authorities as hostages. Thus ended the third and last reign of Shahghali as the Kazan Khan. Later, Shahghali participated in the conquest of Kazan in the ranks of the great prince's army (for more details, see [Khudyakov, 1991 p. 143–173; Alishev, 1995, p. 112–142]). He fought together with his Kasymov Tatars. After the fall of the Kazan Khanate, Shah Ali settled in Kasymov.

So, the brothers Shah Ali and Cangali, the representatives of the Golden Horde dynasty in Kasymov, sat in Kazan as khans on a number of occasions. Cangali ruled in Kazan in 1532–1535, while Shahghali on three occasions (1519–1521, 1546, 1551) sat on Kazan's throne by the "will of the monarch," as indicated by the Russian chronicles. The extent of the influence exercised by Moscow on Kazan during these four reigns varied, and as a result the policy of the Muscovite protégés also varied—in some cases, they acted fairly harshly, while in others, they had to find a balance between various political factions. Overall, both khans were obedient puppets of Muscovy, and there was not a single "act of disobedience" to the great prince during any of their reigns.

For the khans, the Kazan throne was considerably more prestigious than the ruling Kasym Khanate, and they sought to take it over, despite

the fact that this was often associated with mortal danger. However, it was impossible with their help to bring Kazan to the level of dependence sought by Moscow "as a town"—Cangali was murdered in Kazan, and Shahghali was expelled from it three times. The Muscovite government failed to subdue Kazan by peaceful means. The Kazan Khanate was conquered with Russian arms, and the Kasym Khanate made its contribution to Kazan's fall.

After the fall of Kazan and Astrakhan.

Following the conquest of Kazan, the Kasym Khanate, while existing *de jure*, had in fact become a regular administrative part of the Russian state that consisted of several uyezds. Its specific character rapidly disappeared. In fact, it was no longer a khanate, and it would be incorrect to study it during this time period (mid 16th century—mid 17th century) (for more details on the dates, see [Belyakov, 2011, p. 274, 277–278, 396–398]) as the Kasym Khanate. The real political status of this entity evolved over time. At that point, this ethno-political organism more likely resembled an appanage principality which, in addition, was rapidly losing its territory and remaining sovereignty [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 198].

Following the conquest by the Russian state of the Tatar Khanates, the successors of the Golden Horde, the geopolitical situation in the post-Golden Horde territory of Desht-i Qipchaq and, in general, in Eastern Europe changed dramatically (for more details on the geopolitical situation in Desht-i Qipchaq in the 13–16th centuries, see [Rakhimzyanov, 2005]). The Russian authorities gained possession the former khan's domains, the ruins of Sarai—the "tsar's place." After the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan, Ivan IV began to use the title of the "tsar of Kazan" and "tsar of Astrakhan" and refer to this fact in order to be recognized as the tsar during diplomatic negotiations. The ruler of Muscovy stood on a par with the Girays, the sovereign Crimean khans.

In that complex international situation, the Kasym Khanate became a trump card in Muscovite foreign policy as its existence was used in the diplomatic game with Crimea and, especially, with Turkey. Apparently, the Kasym Khanate filled the vacuum left by all the Mus-



The Shahghali Mausoleum in the town of Kasymov

lim states conquered by Russia. To all the accusations made by its foreign opponents about the oppression of Muslims, the destruction of their principles, customs, and faith, Muscovy could boldly point to the existence of a Muslim "state" whose inhabitants were free to practice their faith and maintain their traditional ways right in the middle of orthodox Russia. Moreover, after capturing Kazan and Astrakhan, Muscovy was faced with new problems, including the issue of conquering the Urals, Siberia and, further away, maintaining relations with the Kazakh khanates. This is evidenced by the fact that, later, the sultans and khans from the Siberian and Kazakh steppes "reigned" in Kasymov.

Shah Ali was the khan of Kasymov until the end of his days. From the fall of 1553 to the end of 1557, he lived continuously in Kasymov [Khudyakov, 1991, p. 170; Shishkin, 1891, p. 22]. The Kasymov Tatars were used to quell the uprisings in the former Kazan Khanate (1553, 1554) [Razrjadnaja Kniga, 1966, p. 148]. At the end of 1557, Shah Ali was appointed the chief commander of the Muscovite army sent against the Livonian Order [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, 1848, p. 309]; this army also include the Kasymov Tatars [Razrjadnaja Kniga, 1966, p. 176]. He proved to be a very active participant in the Livonian War [Ibid p. 196–197, 208–209]. In the summer of 1558, the khan was summoned to Moscow, where he was given an honorable reception as the hero of a victorious war, and later he returned to Kasymov.

Shahghali died on April 20, 1567. As stated in the "Tsar Book," "That same month of April,

on the 22nd day, ended the life of tsar Shahghali, the son of Shaykh Allahyar, who by the will of the monarch ruled the city of Kasymov, and by the will of the monarch sat for three times on the throne of the Kazan yurt." [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13–2, 1906, p. 401] He was buried in his residence, in Kasymov, and at the beginning of the 20th century his tombstone was still intact. A building constructed during the reign of Shah Ali in Kasymov served as the burial place for Kasymov governors; Kasymov Tatars also called this place "Tekie Shah Ali" [Shishkin, 1891, p. 25].

The death of Shah Ali left the Muscovite government again faced with the problem of who could be appointed the governor of Kasymov (Shah Ali died childless at the age of 61). The decision was made to appoint Sain Bulat Sultan, a relative of Shahghali. Unfortunately, it is not clear when exactly Sain Bulat was appointed the governor of Kasymov. Apparently, this happened either immediately after the death of Shahghali (i.e. in 1567) or somewhat later (but before 1570).

Ivan IV made an exception for the young Sain Bulat, who had never occupied a throne, and used his personal power to make him a tsar (khan); after which number of proper Kasymov tsars or khans came to the throne. The change in the designation of the Kasymov ruler from the 1570s (previously called "sultan" ("tsarevich")), and then—"khan" ("tsar")) does not point to an expanding power of these "tsars" in Kasym Khanate but, on the contrary, the growing influence of Moscow in Kasymov. After the conquest of the Volga Region khanates, Ivan IV, "as the tsar of Muscovy and khan of Kazan and Astrakhan, was able to legitimately exercise his right to appoint a dependent khan within his state" [Kennedy, 1994, p. 150].

In 1570, Sain Bulat was already the Kasymov khan. After the fall of the Kazan Khanate, Moscow began to use the existence of a Muslim state within an Orthodox (Muscovite) state as a sign of the religious tolerance of the Muscovite tsar by pointing this out to foreigners on every occasion. Russian envoy I.P. Novosiltsev sent to the Ottoman Empire in 1577 said in his speech to a Turkish Pasha, "...Overall, our monarch has in its state tsar Sain Bulat,

tsarevich Kaibulla, tsarevich Ibak and many Nogai mirzas, and Sain Bulat rules in the town of Kasymov and many other towns, and tsarevich Kaibulla rules in the town of Yuryev, and tsarevich Ibak rules in the great place Surazhek, and the Nogai mirzas rule in the town of Romanov, and in all these towns people traditionally practice their Muslim faith and visit their mosques and cemeteries, and the monarch does not force them to abandon their faith and does not disturb their prayers—every outsider can practice his faith." [Travels, 1954, p. 77] Given that the medieval mentality was based on religion, this fact had considerable importance for the success of Muscovite diplomacy.

At the end of 1571, the Russian government was preparing for war with Sweden. Ivan the Terrible went to Novgorod, where on January 5, 1572, the "tsar" of Kasymov Sain Bulat also arrived, who was staying with his court in the guard regiment [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3, 1841, p. 168]. At the end of 1572, Ivan IV went personally with his army to Novgorod, and from there, to the territory of present-day Estonia. All this time, the tsar of Kasymov was with Ivan the Terrible in his grand regiment. After the departure of the Muscovite tsar, Sain Bulat stayed with Duke Magnus to continue the military operations; each of them had been "assigned" with his own detachment; and the principal detachment was the one of the "tsar" of Kasymov [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 15]. As we can see, the Russian government was using the Kasymov rules in its military operations as actively as in the first period of the existence of the Kasym Khanate.

In the summer of 1573, Sain Bulat converted to Christianity and was given the name of Simeon. After that event, Sain Bulat was stripped of the town of Kasymov and the Kasymov "tsardom" because, both before and after him, they were given to be ruled exclusively by Muslims. The life of Sain Bulat after converting to Christianity deserves special attention, as in this period of his life many controversial issues arose. He was an instrument for the policy of Ivan the Terrible, he held the title of Great Prince of All Russia, Great Prince of Tver, his name was mentioned in the political struggle for power during the Time of Troubles.

He died in 1616 as a simple monk under the monastic name of Stefan [Sorina, 1978, p. 47]. Sain Bulat reigned in Kasymov until the summer of 1573.

He had a brother (or a cousin, or second cousin) Mustafa Ali, the son of Abdullah Sultan. And Mustafa Ali became the next governor of Kasymov. It is difficult to determine when the change of reign happened. It either happened immediately in 1573 or, as suggested by Velyaminov-Zernov, in 1577 [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 27], or in 1584, the year when Boris Blagov, Moscow's envoy to Constantinople, was to declare to Sultan Murad that, in Kasymov, "the mosques are owned by a Muslim called Mustafaley" [Solovyov, 1989a, p. 274]. He was the governor of Kasymov approximately until 1590 [Belyakov, 2011, p. 274]. In the mid 1570s, representatives with the rank of *okolnichy* were replaced in Kasymov by people with the rank of *osadny golova*, which indicated the declining importance of the town.

After the death of Mustafa Ali, the Muscovite government appointed as the "tsar" of Kasymov Uraz Muhammad, the son of Kyrghyz-Kaisak (Kazakh) sultan Ondan and nephew of Kyrghyz-Kaisak khan Tevkal. Uraz Muhammed arrived in Russia under Fyodor Ivanovich and entered his service in 1588 [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, pp. 97–102]. Boris Godunov granted Kasymov to Uraz Muhammad on March 20, 1600 [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, 1910, p. 28]. The newly appointed "tsar" of Kasymov was only 28 years old [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 451]. He "reigned" until December 1610.

The Time of Troubles and the Kasymov "Tsardom". In the summer of 1606, Ivan Bolotnikov, a service class serf, declared himself to be the voivode of the "tsar Dmitry Ivanovich," became the head of a popular movement and moved towards Moscow. Uraz Muhammad, the Kasymov ruler, and service class Tatars of Kasymov established links with one of the centers of the rebellion and, at some point, joined it. In November 1606, Uraz Muhammad received a charter from the "tsar Dmitry Ivanovich" ordering him to "unite with the Kadoma and Arzamas noblemen to fight those towns that had not kissed the cross for the sovereign

tsar and great prince Dmitry Ivanovich of All Russia" [Rebellion, 1959, pp. 207–208]. Kasymov was designated as the assembly point for "fighting men" (it was headed by Uraz Muhammad), from which they apparently were to be sent to join the main rebel forces near Moscow.

After the emergence of False Dmitry II, the second impostor, the "tsar" of Kasymov took his side along with the inhabitants of the town of Kasymov [Palitsyn 1955, pp. 120–121]. The tsar of Kasymov began to play the role of the center around which gathered Muslims dissatisfied with Vasily Shuysky or his policies [Belyakov, 2011, p. 224]. In the summer of 1608, False Dmitry II set up a fortified camp in the village of Tushino, near Moscow. Soon after, Uraz Muhammad moved there too [Żółkiewski, 1871, p. 111]. However, not all the people of Kasymov were unanimous in their support of the impostor [Khilkov 1879, pp. 29–31].

What was the reason that inspired Uraz Muhammad to switch sides from the Muscovite government, that granted him the title of the "tsar of Kasymov," to the camp of the impostor? Some details for further reflection on this issue can be found in a deed sent by the Kasymov ruler to Jan Sapieha, a voivode of False Dmitry II. Both the tsar of Kasymov and his numerous relatives significantly improved their financial situation in the Time of Troubles through generous land "gifts" made by False Dmitry II [Ibid, pp. 47–48; Acts 1841a, pp. 195–196]. It is possible that this guided the political orientation of Uraz Muhammad. Probably, this Chinggisid was not free to act as he pleased. It is possible that he was taking into account the sentiments shared by the Kasymov Tatars, the Tatars of the entire Meshchera and, perhaps, from other regions [Belyakov, 2011, p. 225]. At the same time, the position of this Chinggisid was not constant. At some point, he had to make peace with Vasily Shuysky. For comparison, it should be noted that, unlike Uraz Muhammad, the Siberian Shaybanids (descendants and relatives of Kuchum Khan) were always on the side of Vasily Shuysky and, later, the volunteer armies. Perhaps, this "prudent" behavior of Shaybanids was associated with the fact that most of them had left only recently and many were of rather young age. Most likely, they were just "drifting along" by

giving their lives to chance and letting destiny take its course [Belyakov, 2011, p. 232].

Apparently, like their ruler, the people of the Kasym Khanate supported the "Tushino Thief" [Ustryalov 1859, p. 82; Acts, 1836a, p. 217]. However, False Dmitry II wasn't universally supported by the people of Kasymov, as evidenced by the fact that the impostor sent the cossack ataman Ivan Fedorov with 100 cossacks against his opponents in Kasymov [Khilkov 1879, pp. 59–60]. For its support of False Dmitry, Kasymov was also repeatedly besieged by troops loyal to Vasily Shuysky. Furthermore, like many other Russian cities at that time, in 1609–1610, the town apparently did periodically change hands between the supporters of Shuysky and the "Tushino Thief" [Acts 1841a, s. 210, 263; Acts, 1836a, p. 250].

On December 27, 1609, fearing treason, False Dmitry II fled from Tushino to Kaluga. The flight of the impostor caused concern in Tushino among those who remained there, and some of them sided with the Polish King Sigismund who, at that time, was besieging Smolensk. One of these people was Uraz Muhammad. The Chinggisid, along with the top leaders of those who stayed in Tushino, swore an oath of allegiance to Prince Władysław [Belyakov, 2011, p. 228]. On January 25, 1610, the tsar of Kasymov attended a meeting held by the Poles. On April 8 and 18, Uraz Muhammad took part in military action on the side of the king. However, according to Zolkiewski, soon, Uraz-Muhammed, "missing his wife and son," sided again with False Dmitry and went to Kaluga.

But unexpectedly for their leader Uraz Muhammad, the Kasymov Tatars left for Kaluga to join False Dmitry II as early as late January—early February 1610. This showed how difficult the relations had become between the tsar and his detachments, as it turned out that they had different interests. The reasons for the constant "re-defections" of Uraz Muhammad were apparently as follows—on one hand, he wanted to maintain his position at any cost and, on the other, he couldn't forget his formerly high status as Chinggis Khan's descendant [Ibid, p. 229]. And this is where the reason lies for the tsar of Kasymov leaving King Sigismund III. Unlike the Muscovite Rus, the Polish-Lithua-

nian Commonwealth had long passed the time when it had been interested in the Chinggisids, and was prepared to grant them a high social and financial status.

The exact date of Uraz Muhammad's death is unclear. Some sources date this event as December 1, 1610 [Acts, 1841a, pp. 364–365]; the tombstone of Uraz Muhammad, preserved in Kasymov in the ancient Stary Posad cemetery, indicates the day of November 22, 1610.

The Kasymov Tatars and their tsar Uraz Muhammad was actively involved in the strife during the Time of Troubles by switching from one camp to the other; and their stance was not particularly stable. The town of Kasymov suffered heavily in the Time of Troubles. It was probably completely burnt to the ground. A significant part of the population of the town fled or was killed [Belyakov, 2011, p. 228]. Perhaps some clue as to what happened in Kasymov during the Time of Troubles (or, on the contrary, new mysteries?) can be found in the fact that after these events, the position of voivode in Kasymov was held by Isiney Karamyshev, a Muslim (mentioned as the voivode in 1613). It is possible that for some time Karamyshev governed the entire territory of Meshchera. Perhaps this fact can be regarded as a sign of reconciliation with the local Tatar population on the part of Moscow?

Political decline. The death of Uraz Muhammad was followed by a period of interregnum in the Kasymov "Tsardom," which lasted from 1611 to 1614. Probably, the Muscovite government had more important things to think about other than appointing a "tsar" to Kasymov. At that time, it had very different problems.

Uraz Muhammad was the only representative of the "Kazakh" dynasty, who sat on the throne of Kasymov. The next Siberian dynasty was the last in the history of the Kasymov political entity. Its first representative was Arslan, the son of Ali, a Siberian khan, and the grandson of Kuchum Khan. Arslan became the governor of Kasymov on July 6, 1614. He ruled until April 2, 1626 [Ibid, p. 274].

As for the internal organisation and the governance of the town under "tsar" Arslan, there is an important document that helps to shed light on the everyday life and the position of

Kasymov in the early 17th century. This is the decree of October 16, 1621, on court proceedings and the procedure for collecting duties in Kasymov [Collection, 1822, pp. 234–235; see also, Belyakov, 2011 pp. 276–277]. The difference between the court proceedings in Kasymov and those found generally in Russia was caused by the fact that, since the 1530s, the power in Kasymov was held both by the "tsar" of Kasymov and the voivode appointed by Moscow. The document makes it quite clear that the power of the "tsar" (khan) in Kasymov under Arslan was far from complete and extended, with great restrictions, only to Kasymov Tatars and townspeople. Under Arslan, the right to consider, together with the voivode, all mutual claims made by princes, mirzas and Tatars of the Tsar's Court and Seit Regiment, which first belonged to Prikaz clerks of Uraz Muhammad and, later, was provided in the same way by charter granted to Arslan, was revoked by the decree of 1621. From then on, only the voivode considered all these claims, without the presence of the Kasymov ruler.

This was a fact of great importance. On that basis, we gain a clear idea of the system used by the Muscovite government with regard to the governors of Kasymov, in which Moscow was increasingly seeking to narrow the scope of their authority. According to the decree of 1621, the top institution used to implement this system in the early 17th century was the Ambassadorial Prikaz in Moscow; as well as the voivode in Kasymov. Given the provisions of the decree, the voivode had to monitor the activities of the "tsars" of Kasymov and report on all important events back to Moscow.

The 17th century documents make it clear that the townspeople of Kasymov felt quite at ease under the "tsar" Arslan, as they primarily feared their voivode and not the Kasymov ruler.

The Muscovite government carefully ensured that neither the governor of Kasymov, nor the Kasymov Tatars had any contact with foreign Muslims without its authorization. This can be evidenced by the case of November 12, 1621 [Shishkin, 1891, pp. 61–63] when, according to the Kasymov voivode, Baibek Tanchurin, a Kasymov Tatar, was brought to Moscow to ascertain if the "tsar" of Kasymov had any correspondence with the Nogai mirzas

and what the purpose was of his (Baibek Tanchurin) trip to Astrakhan.

Arslan was married to Fatima, the daughter of Sayyid Agha Muhammad, the grandson of Sayyid Bulyak. She lived much longer than her husband. Arslan Khan died in 1626 [Belyakov, 2011, p. 274]. After the death of Arslan bin Ali brought about the final liquidation of the "tsardom" although, in fact, it had long ago ceased to exist as a Tatar "yurt." From that moment, most Tatar tsars and tsarevichs were supported by tributes levied from the local population under the "kormlenie" system or by their manors; and, those relying on the "kormlenie" system were clearly in the majority [Ibid, p. 396]. Sayyid Borhan, the son of Arslan, was only the tsarevich of Kasymov, but he was not proclaimed the "tsar." As for the "tsarevichs" without possessions, they were quite a few in Muscovite Rus at that time, one has only to think about the Siberian Shaybanids.

Along with the decision to formally "liquidate" the title of the tsar of Kasymov, the Muscovite authorities also decided to reduce the income of the juvenile tsarevich [Ibid, p. 277]. In the opinion of A. Belyakov, this was the time that can be viewed as the "liquidation" of the Kasymov "Tsardom." However, large manors in Kasymov and Elatma uyezds were left to Sayyid Borhan. In 1636, the revenues of Sayyid Borhan were partially restored (from the trading quarters, taverns and customs; in 1654, all the taverns were signed over to the Russian Tsar). At the same time, the legal Tatar duties were not returned to Sayyid Borhan. The status of the Kasymov tsarevich became equal to that of other service class Chinggisids, and he lost his position of absolute seniority among other the service class tsars and tsarevichs.

As under the "tsar" Arslan, the Muscovite government was careful to make sure that neither the tsarevich, nor his subjects could meet and talk with foreign Muslims. It was believed that they could even kidnap the tsarevich.

Soon, Sayyid Borhan bin Arslan "adopted the Orthodox faith, was baptized and christened as Vasily following the holy baptism during his first stay in Moscow in the second half of 1653" [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 207]. We can assume that this was entirely initiated by Moscow. A quote from a Muslim source

confirms this. This was the charter of Sefer Ghazi Agha, a Crimean Vizier, written during the reign of Mehmed Giray Khan to the court of Alexey Michailovich. It was first published in a collection of works by Velyaminov-Zernov, "Materials for the History of the Crimean Khanate" [St. Petersburg, 1864]. The charter was dated 1660–1661: "If you want to know why your troops were defeated, here' why. For as much as a hundred years, from the time of your fathers and grandfathers, Kazan and Astrakhan have been in your hands; until then, the Muslims living there were not subject to any oppression; but your current tsar believes that he is more clever than the former tsars, his fathers and grandfathers, and you have destroyed the mosques and madrasas, given fire to the word of the Lord Almighty. This is why your troops were defeated. Moreover, every year, for a ransom, we gave you from sixty to seventy of your prisoners; and when you capture a prisoner, you do not return him for ransom, but forcibly make him a Christian; this is why there are many Christians under your authority, but we do not forcibly make them Christians; it is not good to forcibly baptize against their will or convert to Muslim faith. This is why your prisoners have been killed. In general, in our country, everyone regrets that you hold prisoners and convert them to Christianity; they also reproach you for forcibly baptizing the Sultan of Khan Kerman (Khan Kerman was the Tatar name of Kasymov—B.R.)" (quoted after [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 218]).

After adopting the Christian Orthodox faith, Sayyid Borhan became Vasily Arslanovich. Nevertheless, the Muscovite government left him as the tsarevich of Kasymov. This was a very important step for understanding the processes that took place in the "tsardom" in the 17th century. Before that, all tsars and tsarevichs (khans and sultans), who owned the Kasym Khanate were Muslims. Sain Bulat, who converted to Christianity in 1573, was immediately stripped of Kasymov. These processes were logical. For a long time, there had no longer been any practical need for a Muslim "island" at the very center of Orthodox Russia, and the "tsardom" looked anachronistic. The Russian government understood this well, and as early as in the first thirty years of the 17th

century, it tried to cut the rights of Kasymov governors. In 1627, Sayyid Borhan had even fewer benefits and revenues than his father Arslan bin Ali. During his rule, the Muscovite government pursued an active policy of settling ethnic Russians in the territory of the Kasym Khanate (they were present in the khanate before this period, but became significantly more numerous in the 17th century). More active construction of Christian churches was undertaken and the Kazan Nunnery was established in the town of Kasymov [Shishkin, 1891, p. 104].

During the "reign" of Vasily Arslanovich, the main concern of Muscovy with regard to the population of the Kasymov "Tsardom" was the conversion of Muslims to Christianity [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 425]. Baptizing the "adherents of a different faith" was a very important phenomenon in the history of Kasymov. This was the final step towards the "dissolution" of the Kasymov "Tsardom" into Russia, which the Russian government could undertake only with a baptized "governor" of Kasymov. The Tatars who adopted Christianity were rewarded by money and food.

Vasily Arslanovich died in Moscow in 1679. After his death, the manors of tsarevich and the revenues from Kasymov went to his sons Semyon and Ivan. In 1681, they were left only with manors, which marked the end of the Kasymov "Tsardom."

A sharp drop in the significance of the Kasymov "governor" was felt during the reign of Vasily Arslanovich. Vasily spent years in Moscow, while visiting Kasymov only for a short time. Vasily and his sons, while bearing the title of tsarevichs, were often designated in official documents as simply "princes"; previously, such a disregard for the titles of the Kasymov governors would have been impossible. While gradually depriving Vasily of his importance and power, the Muscovite government was, at the same time, bestowing him with land possessions. In addition to the hereditary villages of Erakhtura, Myshtsy, Belyakovo, and Yermolovo, along with the villages and heathlands that Vasily Arslanovich owned in the Kasymov and Elatma counties, he also had other manors. In 1677–1678, 25 homesteads were registered to Vasily Arslanovich in Kerensk county, and

3 homesteads in Kasymov county [Additions, 1862a, p. 130].

After the death of Fatimu Sultan, the widow of "tsar" Arslan bin Ali in 1681 [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 491], there was no longer any mention of the Kasymov "tsardom."

To sum up, during the 17th century, the Russian state significantly strengthened its foreign policy position. Amid the rise of Muscovy, the role played by the Kasymov "tsardom" as a trump card in the diplomatic struggle with the Ottoman Empire became less important. The very existence of the "tsardom" became an anachronism, and its final abolition was only a matter of time. The scope of authority of the Kasymov "tsars" was gradually narrowed, with a Moscow-appointed voivode becoming the main power broker. The voivode fully controlled the activities of the Kasymov governor, who was not allowed any contact with foreign Muslims. In the middle of the century, the Kasymov tsarevich was baptized, while retaining the title of the sovereign "ruler" of Kasymov. All this was part of a systematic policy pursued by Muscovy to completely eliminate the last signs of autonomy in the Kasymov "tsardom" (for more details on the second stage of the development of the Kasym Khanate, see [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863–1866; Shishkin, 1891; Rakhimzyanov, 2000; Belyakov, 2011]).

A particular feature of Kasymov "statehood" in the 17th century was the fact that the documents regularly referred to Kasymov tsars and tsarevichs, but never to the tsardom (khanate). At that time, it was already an ephemeral entity that existed in parallel with the nationwide administrative and territorial division. The territory of the "tsardom" was restricted exclusively to the possessions of the tsar or tsarevich. And even there, he was forced to constantly act with regard to the local voivode, who was instructed to watch every step of the Chinggisid. These findings are fully consistent with the circumstances of the 17th century. However, they can

hardly be extrapolated to the 15–16th centuries. [Belyakov, 2011, p. 278].

There is no doubt that the Kasym Khanate was a product that emerged from the collapse of the Golden Horde. Established as a Horde Ulus within the emerging Muscovite Rus, it quickly became a vassal entity of the Great Prince of Moscow. Its governors were de facto vassals of the Great Prince of Moscow and Muscovite tsar and played virtually no independent political role.

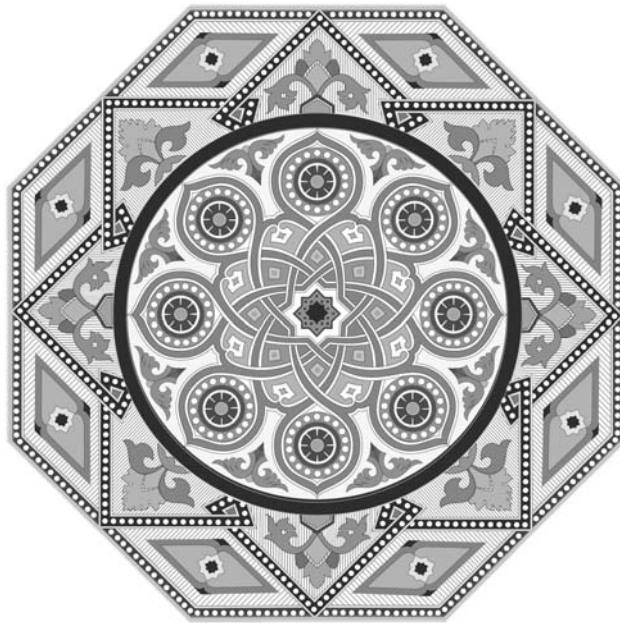
However, we should not exaggerate the dependence of this khanate on the Russian state. In the 15–early 16th century, the Russian principalities, the successor states of the Golden Horde, as well as Muscovite Rus that emerged on their basis, were characterized by a complex system of relationships dominated by interdependence. That is why, even in 1517, the Kasym Khanate, while being part of the "fiefdoms" of the Great Prince of Moscow, could be regarded at the same time by the Crimean khan Muhammad Giray as his own "yurt". Moreover, the Turkic population of Meshchera, represented primarily by large Muslim feudal clans and their men, had the right of free departure until the liquidation of the Tatar khanates and the strengthening of the Russian state borders.

Some information indicates that the Kasym and Kazan Khanates had equal status. At the same time, no one questions the important role played by Kazan in the system of post-Golden Horde states. Also, we should not forget the fact that, within the legal rules that dominated the areas of the East European Plain in the 15–first half of 16th century, the Moscow monarch formally had a lower status than the ruler of Kasymov because, unlike the latter, the former was not a Chinggisid.

Overall, the Meshchera yurt could be regarded as one of the state entities of the Volga-Ural Tatars, in which ethnic communities such as the Kasymov Tatars and Mishar Tatars that exist to this day were formed.

Section III

The Tatar World in the 15–18th Centuries



CHAPTER 1 Settlements

§ 1. Settlements of the Kazan Khanate

Ayrat Sitdikov

The settlement structure of the Kazan Khanate is historically continuous and in many respects similar to the arrangement of the Bulgarian and Golden Horde periods. Its stability can be explained by the state management structure based on the existing trade and economic links.

Few studies of these settlements have been completed in the Middle Volga Region so far, and those that have been completed are isolated [Fakhrutdinov, 2004; Kokorina, 2006; Ochertin, 1994; Gribov, 2007; Valiulina, 2009; Sitdikov, Akhmetgalin, 2009]. Recent studies conducted in the areas of Kasimov, Kurmysh, Narovchat, Murzits, Bilyarsk, etc. [Ochertin, 1994; Gribov, 2007; Valiulina, 2009; Sitdikov, Akhmetgalin, 2009] as well as data collated in prior years paint a picture of a structure of settlements in the Kazan Khanate Period that was fairly developed. Generally speaking, there was a decrease in their number as compared to the Bulgarian and Golden Horde periods.

This can be seen in the materials of the archaeological studies conducted on the Voronezh, Tula, and Lipetsk Regions, etc. [Tsybin, 2004, pp. 317–319]. In the heyday of the Golden Horde cities in the Volga Region, there was an increase in the population of the forest steppe and forest zones [Gribov, 2008; Tropin, 2006; Nedashkovsky, 2010]. The Volga and Perm Finnish people moved to the forest steppe frontier and steppe regions, which is reflected in the materials of the Golden Horde cities (Bulgar, Narovchat, Kurmysh, Juketau, Bilyar-Toretskoye, Samara, Uvek, etc.). Trade connections and penetration of tradition became steady. One indicator of this process was the Islamisation and Christianisation of the Finnish population of the region.

The booming large Golden-Horde cities in the Middle Volga and Sura Regions were in decline in the first half of the 16th century, and

some of them even ceased to exist as urban settlements (Narovchat, Bulgar, Bilyar, Juketau, Kurmysh, Murzitsy, Iske-Kazan, etc.) [Ochertin, 1994; Gribov, 2007; Valiulina, 2009; Sitdikov, 2009; Fedulov, 2009; Fakhrutdinov, 1975; Nikitina, 2009]. In the second half of the 14th century–early 15th century, after the period of great troubles, there was an exodus of the population to the forest area in the North. The settled life in the steppe and forest steppe areas was dying out. Probably the settled population of the region, including the Turkic people, left the previously claimed territories of the steppe zone in search of safer locations. This is evidenced by Russian chronicles, which describe the desolation of the steppe and forest steppe, the engagement of Tatar warriors by the Russian princes, and their settlement in non-traditional forest area. The circumstances were probably aggravated by the deterioration of the conditions for the region's people due to changes in natural climactic conditions and epidemics in the southern urbanised areas.

The preconditions for the emergence of independent Turkic-Tatar states in the areas bordering the Russian princedoms are also attributed to the period. The new states represented by the Kazan and Kasimov Khanates occupy an important place in the forest steppe zone of the region.

Since a significant part of the Turkic population had moved into the area since the Bulgarian period, independent feudal Tatar princedoms were emerging there—that is, the Beylyaks, who were politically and tribally integrated into the structure of the Kasimov and Kazan Khanates. The subsequent formation of Tatar settlements in the Meshchera Region, Moksha and Sura areas is largely linked to this very population. The territory, where these formations were located, created a continuous

strip of neighboring princedoms located in the forest steppe and forest belt between the Kasimov and Kazan Khanates. Their administrative centres were Temnikov, Kadom, Kuznetsk, etc.

The studies conducted in the past decade on the Volga-Kama Region have made it possible to obtain new materials from the cultural strata of the following settlements of the Kazan Khanate: Kazan, Arsk, Alabuga, Laishevo, Tetyushi, Sviyazhsk, etc. It has been established that the successive nature of development of these settlements starting from the pre-Mongol period. These observations enable us to discuss the formation of the urban culture of the Khanate period based on the Bulgarian and Golden Horde traditions and the significant influence of the material culture of the Volga-Finnish and Russian population on its composition.

In the end of the Golden Horde period Kazan turned from a marginal city into one of the most remarkable economic and political centres of the Central Volga Region. It began to play an even greater role in the political and economic life of the Bulgarian Ulus of the Golden Horde.

In the middle of the 15th century Kazan became the administrative and political centre of the Kazan Khanate. Kazan was a large trading and craft city that held an international fair on Gostiny Island and played a significant role in the international transit trade. Trading districts (on the square near the Southern/Khan's Gate of the fortress, on Tashayak Street) and slobodas (the Armyanskaya, Kuraisheva, Bish-Balta Slobodas, etc.) were located within it, and all sorts of domestic crafts were concentrated there. After becoming economically and politically stronger by the mid-15th century, Kazan had become an independent regional centre. These were the objective reasons which to a large extent determined the choice of the first Kazan Khans who made the city their capital, and the fortified stronghold on the hill, the place of their permanent residence.

The city's territorial development in the second half of the 15–first half of the 16th century was characterised by the expansion of not only the Khan's fortress but also by the trading quarters and its further growth beyond the fortified city. The exploration of the territories mostly

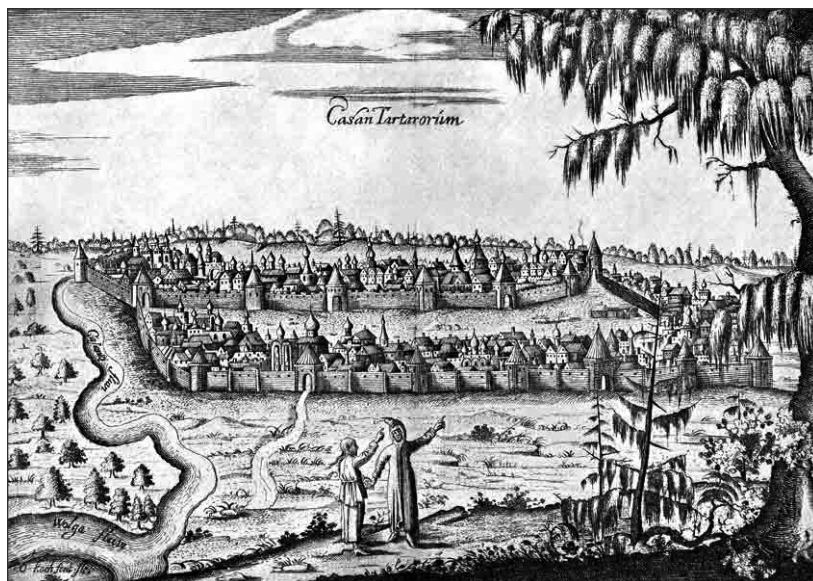
covered the elevated portion of the Kremlin Hill and the adjoining lowlands. The areas beyond Black Lake Channel and River were included in the borders of the fortified trading quarter. The fortified portion of the city covered almost the entire upper area of the Kremlin Hill, up to modern-day Lobachevsky Street.

As before, the Kremlin was an important part of the city's fortification system, and its area almost doubled and reached 10 hectares. The southern fortification line comprised a moat located near the Church of Saints Cypryan and Justina. The layout of that part of the city remained mostly unchanged since the period of the late Golden Horde. The streets built earlier continued to be used. The natural hollows of ravines were smoothed in the newly-built on and previously developed territories. The moat of the pre-Mongol fortress in the centre of the Kremlin was filled in. The construction of stone buildings in the Old Town commenced.

Khan's Court became the centre of power for the entire state. Stone mosques were mentioned in the Scribe's Book for 1565–1568. Information from the document coincides with the archaeological materials obtained in the last few years during excavations in the area. Remnants of two large stone buildings were discovered on the territory of the Khan's residence. One of them supposedly was the Khan's mosque. Another large-scale building was comparable to the Khan's palace that was known in the Scribe's Book as the Great Chamber. During archaeological studies conducted on the territory of the former Eparch's Court, ruins of a building identified as the Kul-Sharif Mosque based on historical sources were discovered.

By the mid-16th century new territories had been developed and previously settled areas had been densely built-up. The territory up to the modern-day Astronomicheskaya Street, bounded in the east by the Black Lake Channel and in the west by River Bulak, were included in the borders of the fortified trading quarter.

Kuraisheva Sloboda with the stone Otucheva Mosque in its centre was located within the borders of modern-day T. Gizzat Street and Tatarstan Street, bounding it from the north and the south, and Sh. Kamal Street



Kazan. Print from 'Description of my travel to Muscovy...' by A. Olearius, 1630–1640.

and Levobulachnaya Street, from the west and the east. Unfortunately, the location of the mosque has not yet been established. Possibly it was located in the vicinity of the former Varlaam Church that was located where the Central Market currently is. Bish-Balta, which was mentioned in sources describing the storming of the city, is now linked to Admiralty Sloboda founded in this location in the early 18th century.

By the mid-16th century Kazan had become one of the major eastern European cities. By the mid-16th century Kazan's total area had reached 70 hectares, and its population, 10–12 thousand people. By medieval standards it could be considered a major eastern European city.

Domestic handicrafts played an important role in the city's economic life. It is worth mentioning that the status of the early Kazan as a military fortress and trading centre on the Volga had also left an imprint on the character of its domestic crafts. The city housed metallurgists, blacksmiths, potters, jewellers, carpenters, stone masons, leather makers, cobblers, and other such craftsmen.

Kazan's location on one of the most profitable transit trade routes on the Volga had undoubtedly been a major factor in its devel-

opmental progress. During the Golden Horde it turned from a minor Bulgar border fortress, which fulfilled mostly military and trading functions, into a major regional centre, and in the mid-15th century, into the capital of the Khanate.

According to a western European merchant and traveler G. Barbaro, during the Khanate period Kazan 'is a trading city; enormous quantities of furs are taken from there to Moscow, to Poland, Persia, and Flanders.'

Furs are received from the North and North-East, from Chaghataid regions and from Moravia.' The scale of the trading is evidenced not only by the numerous products and coins of western European, Chinese, Russian, Central Asian, and other craftsmen on the territory of Kazan. Camel bones are found in the cultural strata, indicating the presence of the animals in the city.

An international fair was an annual event in Kazan; it was held on the Gostiny Island in the mouth of River Kazanka. Merchants from many places and countries flocked there. Regional trade with the Upper Kama Region and the Southern Urals as well as the Muscovite state, Astrakhan, Crimean, Bukhara and Siberian Khanates, Nogai Horde, Persia, Ottoman Empire, etc., also grew fast. Exports of the Kazan Khanate were mostly comprised of leather goods, cattle, fish, bread, and prisoners; and imports, of luxury goods, expensive weapons, fabrics, spices, cattle, etc. The Kazan Khanate purchased salt, linens (from Muscovite Rus), western European woolens, silk and cotton fabrics, jewelry, books, domestic items (from the Bukhara Khanate, Persia), fruit, wines, steel (from the Transcaucasian Region).

Part of the population of Kazan was involved in agriculture, cattle breeding, and

crafts. There are finds related to the agricultural and handicraft work of the people. Grain bread and cattle for slaughter were brought in large amounts from nearby villages and even from more remote areas of the Khanate since a significant portion of the arriving products was designated for the external market, apart from the day-to-day needs of the city.

It has been established that the formation of the urban culture of the Kazan Khanate was based on the traditions of the previous cultures of the Volga Bulgaria and Golden Horde. We have expanded our traditional ideas about the population of Kazan thanks to new data from anthropological genetic studies based on materials of the city's medieval necropoleis. They confirm minor changes in the anthropological image of the Kazan population during the period of the Middle Ages being considered. The domination of Muslim traditions in the urban culture of medieval Kazan, a fact which is well-known based on historical data, can also be observed through the material culture or revealed using archaeologically.

All in all, the material culture of city dwellers corresponded to the level of major eastern European cities of that time period. The needs of the economically well-to-do were satisfied by the high-quality craft product and varied agricultural and industrial products. Handicraft centres within the city and the agricultural surrounding areas led to the creation of stable economic ties for the dynamic growth of the city. One signs of this was Kazan's involvement in international economic relations. The city was well known in Europe and Asia as one of the major international trading centres.

The town of Arsk holds a special place in the medieval history of the Volga-Kama Region. The town located in the area of cultural ties of the Finno-Ugric and Turkic people played an important role in the ethnogenesis of the people of the Volga Region. Its study helps us to understand the complex socio-economic and political processes in the area during the Middle Ages.

Arsk is located 60 km from Kazan, on the right bank of River Kazanka. Site of medieval town is located in the centre of the modern town, to which the history of the emergence of

the urban centre is linked. Scientific reference books devoted to the medieval history of Arsk pay significant attention to the ethnocultural identification of the initial settlement, the substantiation of the time and place of its emergence, and the origin of its name. The fragmentary and controversial written sources serve as the basis for historical reconstructions; the subsequent folklore data, the results of linguistic studies, as well as materials from archaeological excavations are used.

Controversy around the early history of Arsk started as early as in the 19th century. The modern interpretations of the settlement's origin are more focused on its ethnocultural identification with the local Turkic, Slavic, Volga, or Kama population. The theory that ascribes the foundation of Arsk to the Udmurts is the most widespread. These ideas are based on the presence of the ethnicon 'ar' in the name of the town, interpreted as a sign of the Udmurt origin of the settlement that had existed as the centre of an independent Udmurt principedom from the 12th century to the time of the Kazan Khanate. According to another hypothesis the founding of Arsk in the 12th century is ascribed to the Chuvash tribes that appeared in the basins of the Kazanka, Vyatka, and Cheptsä Rivers during the pre-Mongol time and were later assimilated by the Tatars.

The theories substantiating the Turkic-Tatar origin of Arsk link the founding of the town with the arrival of the Bulgarian people in the 12–13th centuries. The appearance of the fortress was explained by the process of the political and economic inclusion of the region into the structure of Volga Bulgaria. The subsequent growth of the town is linked to the ethnogenesis of the Turkic Tatars of the Volga-Vyatka Region.

The existence of the Ars is known from the works of eastern authors of the pre-Mongol period who described the territories located to the north of Volga Bulgaria. In the pages of Russian chronicles the Arsk Land was first mentioned in 1379 in the description of the campaign of the Vyatka warriors, and later in 1489 it was mentioned in the notes on the campaign of the Russian princes to the Vyatka Land and their victory over the local Arsk leaders.

As a town, Arsk was first mentioned in the description of the attempt to seize the Kazan throne by the Siberian Khan Mamuk in November 1496. The next mention of the town in the Russian chronicles is attributed to the mid-16th century, the period of active participation of the Arsk princes in the confrontation between Moscow and Kazan. The Arsk princes were likely polyethnic and belonged to both the Turkic and Volga-Finnish clan elite that had possibly come under the influence of Islam.

Archaeological data constitutes an important element in the reconstruction of the region's history of development. Medieval Bulgarian written monuments from the pre-Mongol period are concentrated in the basins of the rivers Kazanka and Mesha. Over 150 settlements from the Bulgarian-Tatar time are attributed to the region, while over 50 written monuments are related to the pre-Mongol time, including the Russky Urmat and Buzhinskoye Settlements, Arskoye, Kamayevskoye, Chalymskoye sites of ancient towns, the city of Kazan, etc. It should be mentioned that most gravestones of the Kazan Khanate period are concentrated on the territory of Arsk proper and in its vicinity. Once again, this clearly indicates the presence of a vast Muslim Tatar population in the region, which is also supported by written sources.

Bulgarian colonisation of the basin of River Kazanka began not later than in the 11th century. The earliest Bulgarian settlement there was the city of Kazan. Later the region was settled along the valley of River Kazanka, which was a favourable area for agricultural development and also an attractive trading artery.

The material finds originating from the excavations of medieval written monuments in the basin of River Kazanka. The biggest finds are traditional Bulgarian ceramics from the late 12–13th centuries. Similar finds have also been made in the excavation of the Arsk archaeological site.

The cultural strata from the pre-Russian period on the territory of archaeological site contain almost no materials from the Kama Region and Volga-Finnish cultures. The occurrence of such ceramics and Russian pottery has been found in the strata going back to not earlier than the mid to late 16th century. Such

a pattern has also been found in other written monuments from the valley of River Kazanka.

Archaeological materials point towards complex ethnocultural processes taking place in the area in the 11–16th centuries. Probably the proximity of peoples living there led to intense socio-economic and political relations. The arrival of the Bulgarians probably was a catalyst for the development of social relations that set in motion the separation of clan nobility and the rise of large trading administrative centres.

In the system of Bulgarian settlements on River Kazanka, Arsk was the farthest fortified settlement to the north-west, and it remained as such until the territory was assimilated by the Muscovite state. The Buzhinskoye settlement that probably gave rise to the Arsk area is located 3 km west of the town.

The story of the Arsk charge of 6 September 1552 holds a special place in the description of the Kazan campaign. In the pages of the chronicle the town is described as 'an old fortress, called Aresk, built as a fortified town with towers and battlements, and a lot of people reside in it, and they are very careful, and their army has not yet been defeated, and it is found 60 miles from Kazan, in a very difficult, impassable area, in the wilderness and swamp, and there is only one road leading to it.'

The medieval history of Arsk that emerged during the pre-Mongol era, not later than the early 13th century, is characteristic of the development process of a settlement founded by the Bulgarians in close cooperation with the people of the Kama Region who joined together as a part of the state traditions of Volga Bulgaria, the Kazan Khanate, and Russia. The historical and cultural heritage of Arsk and its area is the heritage of all the peoples living there, created by the efforts of numerous generations of their ancestors and requiring thorough study and careful preservation.

Alabuga is another large town well known from written sources. It also emerged during the Bulgarian period, before the Mongol invasion. It was also mentioned in the Kazan chronicles as one of the important centres. The existence of a settlement in the Kazan Khanate period has also been confirmed by archaeological ma-

terials in the Chertovo Hill Fort, near the 12th century mosque. Important spiritual centres appeared as places of pilgrimage that would later hold an important place in the history of the Tatars. Bulgar and Bilyar would be the most significant and revered places. Their significance would play an important role in the formation of the cultural affinity of the Tatars.

Despite the significant political, economic, and social turmoil, many settlements that had

appeared during the pre-Golden Horde period continued to exist. This points to the stable political, socio-economic structure of the resettlement system that was established back in the pre-Mongol period. The cities were the centres of the military, administrative and economic power of the state, and the successive nature of their location points to the preservation of traditional forms of economic life and governance.

§ 2. Settlements of the Northern Caspian Sea Region of the 15–early 17th Centuries

Dmitry Vasilyev

The economic and political status of the Northern Caspian Sea Region steppes in the 15–17th centuries changed dramatically from the Golden Horde period. The political influence in the area was shared by the Nogai Horde and the Astrakhan Khanate.

After the Temür's campaigns and the destruction of towns, the caravan trade that had been the foundation for stability of Jochid Ulus deteriorated. A significant portion of the population was captured and taken to Central Asia; some of them moved to Lithuania, Turkey, or Russia [SafargAliyeva, 1960, p. 172]. After his visit to the Golden Horde Ahmad ibn Arabshah wrote: 'The Desht tribes were distressed and under strain, and due to the scarcity of shelters and fortresses they were disjointed and suffered from discord... For these reasons the residents of Desht who had prospered are now impoverished and devastated, devastated and deserted, destitute, and suffer from unbearable perversions' [Tiesenhausen, 1884, p. 470]. This was the epoch when the trading routes moved to the south of the Caspian Sea [SafargAliyeva, 1960, p. 173]. Giosafat Barbaro wrote: 'Before the destruction of Tsitrakhan (Astrakhan) by Tamerlane, the spicy roots and silks that are now carried through Syria had been first delivered to Tsitrakhan and then taken to Italy on six or seven Venetian galleys, for at the time neither the Venetians nor other coastal dwellers traded with Syria' [Semenov, 1836, p. 56]. Nevertheless, the Volga Trading Route was still functioning.

After 1396 the towns of the Northern Caspian Sea Region, especially the central Golden Horde towns located on the left bank of River Akhtuba, were in a pitiful state. The city of Sarai, though it was restored to an extent, lost its importance as a major economic and political centre. For example, starting from the 15th century there is no more data on the eparchy in Sarai, which probably never recovered after Temür's campaigns [Malyshev, 2000, p. 214]. The number of coins minted in Sarai after 1396 was much smaller than, for example, in Hajji-Tarkhan. This implies that Hajji-Tarkhan, restored after its destruction, was playing an incomparably greater role than the country's capital. While previously the khans had been fighting for Sarai, now the struggle moved towards the periphery. This can be explained by the fact that Sarai and its surrounding areas had suffered greater devastation than the fringes of the state [SafargAliyeva, 1960, p. 173].

Coin mintage of the 15th century affords us the opportunity to determine which towns retained their importance. Coins were minted in Sarai, Hajji Tarkhan, as well as in 'Ordu al-Muazzam' and 'Il Uy Muazzam' [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 59]. Mostly silver coins were minted; the number of copper ones was smaller. In the second half of the 15th century copper coins were no longer minted in the Lower Volga Region, which in itself indicates a regression of the economy and deterioration of the internal market.

Information on the Shiraz merchant, Shams al-Din Muhammad, who visited Sarai with a trade caravan from Khwarezm and sold his wares with an average profit of 50% while purchasing numerous Russian, European, and Chinese goods, is attributed to 1438 [Zakhoder, 1967, pp. 166–172]. This is evidence of the existence of a town and trading in it in the first half of the 15th century.

The seizure of Sarai by the Vyatka people, the capture of many prisoners and goods, was mentioned in 1471 [Tatishchev, 2003, p. 12]. Next Sarai was mentioned in 1480 (the seizure of the city by a Russian detachment) [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 62], in 1502 (in connection with the campaign of Megli Giray Khan) [Le khanat, 1978, p. 323], and in 1520 when an expedition to the Akhtuba of the 'low people' of the Grand Prince of Moscow was arranged at the request of the Khan of Crimea. The 'low people,' '...after reaching the Akhtuba and engaging in many fights failed to capture Sarai and returned with an abundant loot' [Tatishchev, 2003, p. 84]. Based on the archaeological data, in the 16th century the city was still partially functional: Turkish ceramic tiles based on the Damask pattern dated to the 16th century have been found in the Selitrennoye archaeological site [Voskresensky, 1967, p. 89].

Currently a significant number of researchers are inclined to place the city of Sarai of the 14–15th centuries in the Selitrennoye archaeological site in the Astrakhan Region. This theory has been confirmed by both archaeological finds and the numismatic data of the site dating back to the 15th century; however, the city's area greatly reduced, and the site was covered by necropoleis [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 62]. G. A. Fedorov-Davydov believed that in the early 15th century only a district in the Kuchugur Region remained populated [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 26].

The economic and political degradation of Sarai took place in the second half of the 15th century in connection with the rise of Hajji-Tarkhan. According to the Russian chronicles, '...and those Horde Tsars started living in Astorakhan, and the Great Horde was deserted, and it was located close to Astorakhan, two

days' trip up the river, and it was called the Great Sarai' [Tatishchev, 2003, p. 175].

It is possible that life moved from Sarai to the Kamenny Bugor archaeological site (5 km to the south-east of the Selitrennoye site). Numerous 15th century coins have been found there [Lebedev, Klovov, 2001, pp. 22–52].—In the opinions of V. Lebedev and V. Klovov, this was where the Il Uy Muazzam ('The Home of the Higher Country') coin minting facility was located, the 15th century mint of the Jochids [Ibid., pp. 43–44]. The coining die of the Il Uy Muazzam mint was discovered by A. G. Muhamadiev who attributed it to the camp of Dawlat Berdi Khan [Muhamadiev, 1966; Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 132]. However, there is the opinion that Il Uy Muazzam is an erroneous reading of the name Ordu Muazzam Court [Petrov, 2005, p. 6]. Currently A. G. Muhamadiev and a number of Astrakhan archaeologists believe that Orda al-Muazzam is a town that was once located near the settlement of Komsomolsky in the Artrakhan Region (the Komsomolsky or Aksarayское archaeological site) [Muhamadiev, 1995, p. 167; Grechkina, Shnaidshtein, 2001, p. 1; Pavlenko, 2001, p. 75; Pigarev, 1998, pp. 45–46]. The site and its monetary circulation have not been sufficiently studied yet. Coins were minted in Orda al-Muazzam both in the late 14th and in the early 15th century.

The existence of a town such as Ak-Sarai in the 15th century cannot be ruled out. For example, it is known that it was mentioned in the list of Franciscan monasteries located on the territory of the Golden Horde (Aquilonian Vicariate) among the localities of the custody — the Sarai Episcopate, where the members of the order were present in 1400 [Pachkalov, 2007, p. 139].

As far as the city of Hajji-Tarkhan during the post-Golden Horde period is concerned, it underwent a period of recovery and certain growth. For the most part, in the 15th century copper and silver coins were minted there. Moreover, rare silver coins minted in Hajji-Tarkhan al-Jadid are known of [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 64]. It is still unclear what kind of minting facility it was and how it is related to Hajji-Tarkhan. Possibly this is the root cause of the dispute about the locations and number

of Tatar Astrakhans in the 15–early 16th centuries. The predominant opinion is that the city was located at the Shareny Bugor archaeological site until 1556 (i.e., until it was moved to the left bank by the Russians) [Malinovsky, 1892, p. 8; Vasilyev, 2012, p. 230].

The popular opinion among the Astrakhan regional ethnographers is that As Tarkhan and Hajji-Tarkhan are the names of two different towns—that is, the old and the new town (it is likelier that As Tarkhan and Hajji-Tarkhan are different pronunciations of the name of the same town) [Ibid., p. 232]. Allegedly, As Tarkhan was located on the right bank on the Shareny Bugor, and the second town Hajji Tarkhan appeared on the left bank after Temür's invasion. According to this version of events, the troops of Ivan the Terrible seized the latter town. The supporters of the latter version R. Dzhumanov and C. Nizametdinova wrote that after 1395 the town was rebuilt on the left bank, namely on the Shaban-tyube and in its vicinity—to be more precise, where the Astrakhan Kremlin is currently located [Fortress, 2009, p. 20]. Right there in the place of the old Tatar town, allegedly the Russian Astrakhan was later founded.

Another one of the precursors of the present-day Astrakhan is the oldest settlement on the left bank, near the village of Moshaiik. P. Nebolsin and before him Samuel George Gmelin mentioned the existence of the small town Chungur near the village of Moshaiik, 7 miles from Astrakhan, beyond the Kazachy Bugor [Nebolsin, 1952, p. 59].

The regional Astrakhan ethnographer M. Kononenko attempted to place the third Astrakhan somewhere on the left bank of the Volga, to the north of Astrakhan, beyond the Krivaya Bolda channel [Vasilyev, 2012, p. 233]. Yu. Makarenko has also mentioned that the town of Hajji-Tarkhan had a different location to that of As Tarkhan. It was moved by the Tatars to the left bank in the 14th century, and both towns co-existed for a time [Fortress, 2009, p. 20].

These versions were developed a while ago. V. Bartold also believed that the town, damaged during Temür's campaign, was rebuilt not in its old location (the Shareny Bugor) but in

the place of the modern-day Astrakhan (on the left bank of the Volga) [Bartold, 1963, p. 740]. M. SafargAliyeva was of the same opinion [SafargAliyeva, 1952, pp. 29, 32]. He believed that Temür Kutlug Khan was the founder of New Astrakhan. In the 19th century A. Arkhipov and S. Lane-Pool were supporters of the version of the abandonment of the Shareny Bugor area after Temür's campaign [Arkhipov, 1866, p. 2; Lane-Pool, 1881]. One of the reasons for this opinion was the silver coins of Shadibek Khan minted in 805 A.H. (1402–1403) in Hajji-Tarkhan al-Jadid [Markov, 1896, p. 594].

According to I. V. Zaitsev, in 1554–1555 two adobe-and-reed fortresses were probably functioning at the same time: Dervish Ali Khan occupied one of them, and the Moscow regent Leonty Mansurov the other; the two of them clashed after the departure of the majority of the Muscovite forces after the first Astrakhan campaign. Both fortresses were located on the right bank, one in the area of the modern-day Streletskoye Village, and the other one, near Karantinnoye Village [Zaitsev, 2004, pp. 166–168]. However, there is no direct historical evidence to support this hypothesis. P. Nebolsin offers information on a small town on the right bank of the Volga, 'at the 7th mile mark upstream of the settlement Solyanki'; this town was known as Kuyuk-Kala, the Burnt-Out Town [Nebolsin, 1852, p. 58]. This could have been the residence of Yamgurchey. (However, the popular name of one of the districts of the modern-day city—Yamgurchev—is a sign of the location of the headquarters of Yamgurchey Khan on the low left bank.)

The Astrakhan ethnographer A. I. Bogatyrev has expressed an interesting opinion regarding the name 'Kuyuk-Kala,' or 'Burnt-Out Town' (this is where the Russian place name of Zhareny Bugor—Fried Knoll—comes from) [Fortress, 2009, p. 20]. He believes that they are the remnants of a destroyed Tatar town on the Shareny Bugor or Cossack fortifications burnt down by the Tatars. Members of the Peter's Society of Researchers of the Astrakhan Region have on numerous occasions remarked upon the strata of a raging fire discovered in the ravine of the Shareny Bugor. It does not seem possible to reliably link this fire with either the

period of the Russian conquest or the period of Tamerlane's invasion when the town was indeed set on fire.

P. Nebolsin retells the Astrakhan legends of the Turkic origin, according to which a Nogai fortress as well as mazarkas—that is, burials, were located at some point on the territory of the Astrakhan Kremlin. The mazarkas have also been found in the historical part of the White City—the Astrakhan trading quarter; on Rozhdestvenskaya Square the unpaved ground was eroded by wind, and ancient burials were revealed [Nebolsin, 1852, p. 60].

All of the above versions indicate the presence of some additional settlements in the area of the Tatar Hajji-Tarkhan during the pre-Russian conquest period. Possibly the settlements on the left-bank in fact existed since the town on the right bank was open to attacks from the west, from the Crimean Khanate. The left bank was safer since it was protected by the river. It is highly likely that a settlement on the Kutum, a branch of the Volga, existed in the area of the modern-day city district of Yamgurchev (unfortunately, no archaeological studies have been conducted there yet). It has been proven beyond doubt that the settlement of Moshik appeared during the pre-Mongol period and existed during the Golden Horde times; it is supported by materials from excavations conducted at this monument at different times [Shnaidshtein, 1978; Shnaidshtein, 1992, p. 3; Ryabichkin, 1999; Pantelenev, 2010, pp. 92–106; Vasilyev, 2001, p. 48].

Still, was there actually a Tatar settlement on the knoll selected as the location of the Russian Astrakhan in 1556? Archaeological studies on the territory of the Astrakhan Kremlin and the White City shed light on this. The first serious excavations were performed in the Astrakhan Kremlin in 1959–1974, when preparing for and undertaking its fundamental restoration. The next large-scale excavations on the territory of the Kremlin were conducted in 2006–2013 when preparing for the reconstruction of the Kremlin territory to celebrate the 450th anniversary of Astrakhan. The results of these studies have not yet been fully published; however, even now we can state that deep (some of them over 5 m) trenches

and excavations on the territory of the Kremlin have failed to disclose any significant cultural deposits from the pre-Russian period on the Kremlin hill. Items that clearly belonged to the Golden Horde and Khanate periods were of course discovered during the excavations, such as scattered pottery fragments, a number of bone artefacts, and coins. A large amount of Golden Horde brickwork and glazed tiles in the cultural deposits of the Kremlin indicates that bricks taken from the Golden Horde town ruins were indeed used to build it. In one of the holes, remnants of a structure with a layout reminiscent of the heating system in a Golden Horde house were found; it comprised a tandoor oven and kans—smoke extracting ducts. Researches tentatively dated the structure back to the Astrakhan Khanate period [Vasilyev, 2012, pp. 233, 234]. A small amount of intact and ruined Muslim burials were discovered; they can be attributed to both the Golden Horde epoch and the Khanate period.

Furthermore, the excavations in the historical centre of Astrakhan, outside of the Kremlin territory, led to the discovery of scattered fragments of pottery, glazed tiles, and coins from the Golden Horde era. Therefore, it is clear that the Dolgy (Zayachy, Shaban) Bugor had been partially settled even before 1556–1558—that is, before the establishment of Russian power in the Lower Volga Region and the transfer of Astrakhan to the left bank.

However, if one compares the quality and quantity of archaeological materials found there and, say, at the Sharenny Bugor archaeological site, it is clear that there are no grounds for declaring the existence of a Tatar town on the Shaban Bugor after 1395. No cultural stratum characteristic of a town has been found there.

The principal difficulty faced when determining the quantity and location of the antecedent settlements of present-day Astrakhan is the low level of exploration of the Sharenny Bugor archaeological site (its territory is in the built up area of the modern day city of Astrakhan). In 1893 A. Spitsyn found traces of a Golden Horde town on the Sharenny Bugor that stretched along the banks of the Volga 'as a strip up to 70 fathoms wide' and discovered

items and coins characteristic of the Golden Horde [Report, 1895, pp. 76–97].

In 1966, before the construction of the Astrakhan Cellulose and Paper Combine, the first serious large-scale archaeological excavation supervised by A. Mandelshtam was conducted. A whole block of residences (mud huts), production facilities (pottery kilns), and a cemetery were found at the border of the Golden Horde town [Guzeyrov, 2004, p. 14]. In 1984, 3 km east of the central part of archaeological site, the Astrakhan archaeologist V. V. Plakhov dug out a manor complex comprising a central multiroom house and four mud huts that existed in the 14–15th centuries. Archaeological explorations that were performed for preservation purposes in the 1990s revealed a large number of satellite settlements of Hajji-Tarkhan, country manors, and village settlements located within its immediate area [Ibid., pp. 14, 15]. Despite the fact that the vicinity of Hajji-Tarkhan and its territory have been studied relatively well, archaeological data on the later strata of the town is minimal.

According to contemporary testimonies, in the 15–16th centuries the town was partially in ruins. For example, this is what A. Contarini wrote after visiting Astrakhan in 1476: 'The town is small, located on the bank of the Volga; the dwellings are few in number and made of clay, but the town is protected by a low stone wall; it is evident that until very recently it had decent buildings' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 220]. The Venetian Giosafat Barbaro purposely mentions that the importance of Astrakhan waned after Temür's campaign [Ibid., p. 157]. However, the town remained an important centre on the route from Khwarezm to Tana and Crimea. Barbaro noted the general decay, the decline in trade but, nevertheless, remarked that 'the people from Moscow sail to Astrakhan for salt every year' [Ibid.]. Frequently even the Khan authorities attempted to make a profit not from ensuring the safety of trade but from robbing the trading caravans and taking slaves. In the 15th century Astrakhan still remained an important slave trade centre. For example, there is a story by a Mount Athos monk by the name of Gerasim, who was captured by the Tatars and sold in Astrakhan

in the late 15th century [Acts, 1841, p. 146]. The Venetian Ambrogio Contarini was nearly enslaved in Hajji-Tarkhan in the late 15th century [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 65]. In 1466 the boat caravan that the Tver merchant Afanasy Nikitin had joined to travel to Persia was drawn into an ambush and robbed by the people of the Astrakhan ruler [The Journey, 1948, p. 53].

It should be noted that in the 15th century due to the fall of Sarai the religious importance of Hajji-Tarkhan also increased. In his book 'Data Collated on the History of Kazan and Bulgar,' Sh. Marjani provided information on the outstanding Muslim theologians and scientists who lived in Hajji-Tarkhan in the 15th century [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 65]. The town was probably the place where the Catholic Franciscan mission, the centre of the Sarmat Eparchy, was located [Malyshev, 2000, p. 214].

The decline of the economic importance of Astrakhan was expressed by its transformation into a seasonal settlement. According to Ambrogio Contarini, the three brothers, the rulers of the town, only spent a few winter months in the town and in the remainder of the year acted 'as the other Tatars did' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 220]. At the same time, it is known that Contarini was able to buy flavoured croutons from good-quality wheat in the town to take with him on his journey [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 241], which led A. Pachkalov to suggesting that part of the population around Astrakhan could have been involved in agriculture [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 66].

A number of other 15–16th century settlements in the Lower Volga Region are known of. They are mentioned in historical sources but have not yet been located. For example, Afanasy Nikitin mentions Uslan, Sarai, Berekazany [The Journey, 1948, pp. 8–9]. While Sarai represents the remnants of the Golden Horde capital in the place of the Selitrennoye archaeological site, there are doubts regarding the other settlements, in particular, if they were in fact towns [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 67]. The data of Fra Mauro's map regarding settlements of the Lower Volga Region in the 15th century are equally inaccurate since the map drawn in 1459 reflects earlier information. In one of the map's legends Fra Mauro says: 'Let it be noted that Cumania

was once a very large province and covered a vast space within its borders. But these days the lands are deserted and of little interest. Their population is smaller than that of Hungary' [Fomenko, 2007, p. 143].

Nevertheless, apart from Hajji-Tarkhan, there were a few smaller settlements in the lower reaches of the Volga since the people of the Khanate were involved not only in nomadic cattle raising. A significant number of the people were engaged in agriculture and fishing. This idea is supported by the fact that, after the Khanate joined Russia, the Astrakhan voivodes 'distributed islands and pastures as in the days of old and ordered that taxes should be paid as in the days of old as they had done to the former tsars, and the Princes requested that they should not be surrendered to Crimea and the Nogais and not be made servants by the Tsar' [Tatishchev, 2003, p. 204]. The word 'pasture' is important—it is a sign of the agricultural activities before the arrival of Russian settlers. It demonstrates the existence of a settled lifestyle among the Astrakhan Tatars, a tradition found in the Volga delta since the Khazar times [Shnidshtein, 1998, pp. 17–22].

After the Russian voivodes moved the city to the left bank due to its vulnerability to possible attacks from Crimea, Tatar settlements continued to exist in the vicinity, and some of those had been there since the Khanate period (at present it is difficult to judge before any archaeological studies have been completed). For example, the layout of Astrakhan attributed to Adam Olearius shows a Tatar town to the south west of the city—an adobe walled fortification with square towers, with portable dwellings built inside. Currently, Tatar Bazar, a historic district of Astrakhan, is located there. Astrakhan ethnographer G. Gibshman suggested that this layout was created by a Dutch engineer in Moscow at the request of the authorities and issued to the Astrakhan voivodes during the rule of Fyodor I Ivanovich of Russia [Gibshman, 2011, pp. 467–470]. The ban on Tatars from settling in the Russian city had become irrelevant by 1636, since the Tatars, one of the major population groups of the territory, by then needed protection from the Kalmyks who arrived to the lower reaches of the Volga

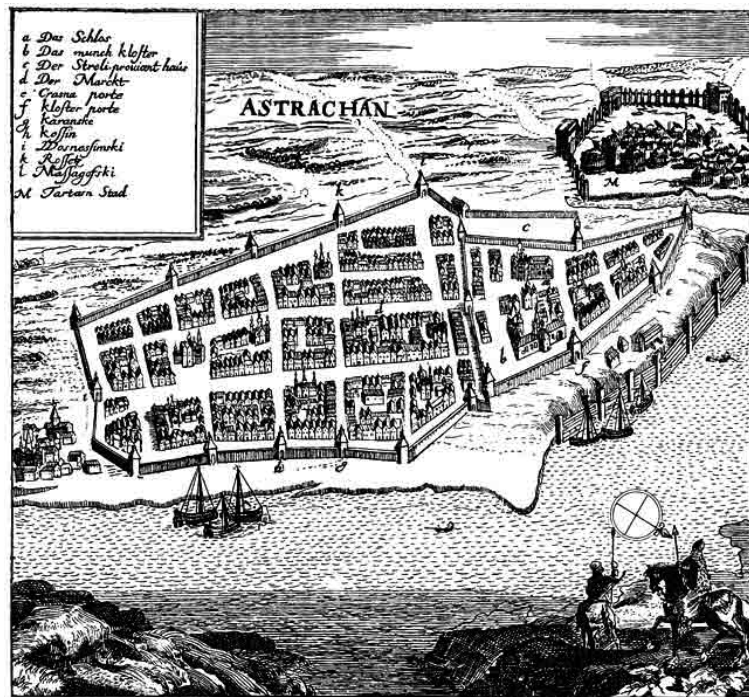
several years prior. Moreover, Olearius himself writes of the Tatars freely selling their produce in Astrakhan [Ibid., p. 469].

Nevertheless, the fact of the existence of a Tatar settlement near Astrakhan must be acknowledged. The so-called Plan of Olearius is not the only reference to it. Here is how a merchant called Fedot Kotov, who visited the town on his way to Persia in 1623, describes the immediate vicinity of Astrakhan: '...And below the city and near the city there are Tatar yurts, and all the Tatars live in dugouts surrounded by a wicker fence covered with clay. And the Nogais travel in the steppes around the city, but they subject themselves to the Tsar. And they trade in the city after dinner, and before dinner the Tatars and the Nogais trade outside, and there are no residential or military households outside of the city, only a monastery on the hill above it. And below it gardens stretch towards Kutumovka' [The Journey, 1958, p. 31]. Here we see the same description of a Tatar town some distance downstream from Astrakhan, in the place of the modern-day Tatar Bazar. The separation of trade is mentioned here: within the city before dinner, and after dinner the trade outside of the city walls, with the Tatars and Nogais. And almost the entire Russian population, with the exception of the monks, is also isolated—it is concentrated within the city walls. Next F. Kotov says: '...And there are vegetables in the gardens, apples, melons, watermelons, pumpkins, cucumbers, grapes, wild peppers, cabbages. ...And then there are yurts and gardens. On the side of the pasture, where Astrokhan stands, three miles downstream from Astrokhan, is the Tsar's Channel—it leaves the Volga and flows to the sea. And the Tatar yurts are on both sides of the channel, like our Russian villages. On the same side of the Tsar's Channel the Astrokhan monks fish for kakarauzik, known in Russian as tonya, and called ilym in Astrokhan, for four miles along the channel' [Ibid.]. In this testimony, the mention of the Tatar villages—yurts—along River Tsarev is of interest to us, as well as the descriptions of the affairs of the suburban Astrakhan Tatars: vegetable growing, fishing, not to mention the Turkic names of the fishing terms of the Lower Volga Region.

Unfortunately, the archaeological remains of the non-urban settlements of the 15–17th centuries in the lower reaches of the Volga have not been studied or even identified. The territory of Astrakhan itself Astrakhan. Further development of archaeological studies in these areas might bring about interesting results with regard to the material culture of the population of the Astrakhan Khanate and the delta of the Volga in the early Russian period.

V. Trepavlov offers the most detailed description of the history of the town of Saray-Jük, the capital of the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 583–598]. The town was located on the right bank of River Yaik, 48 km from the modern-day town of Atyrau (Guryev), close to the village of Saray-Jük. The town was one of the most significant regional centres that maintained the crossing over River Yaik on the route from Urgench to Sarai [Utemish-Haji, 1992]. Quite possibly the town was not destroyed by Temür's army during his march against the Golden Horde since it belonged to Temür's ally—Emir Edigu [Yegorov, 1985, p. 124]. The coins of Dervish Khan supported by Edigu were minted there [SafargAliyeva, 1960, p. 231; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 192]. Also, in 1419, in the vicinity of Saray-Jük, Edigu suffered his final defeat. Despite its virtual subordination to the Nogais, the Kazakh Khans later attempted to exert their influence over the town. The camp of the khans Jani Beg, Burunduk, and Kasimov were also located there [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 585].

The vicinity of Saray-Jük was included in the personal domain of the ruler of the Horde, his personal yurt. Historians generally believe that Saray-Jük used to house the winter headquarters of the Nogai bey. Urban life was characterised by a low level of organisation and



Astrakhan. Print from 'Description of my travel to Muscovy...' by A. Olearius, 1630–1640.

came down to the provision of minimal trade volumes, the functioning of administrative establishments, a prison, and a huge cemetery [Zhirmunsky, 1974, p. 415; Margulan, 1950, p. 86; Peretyatkovich, 1877, pp. 137–139]. G. Fedorov-Davydov and M. SafargAliyeva believed that Saray-Jük was destroyed by Temür and lay in ruins [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 167; SafargAliyeva, 1960, p. 231]. In the opinion of V. Trepavlov, Saray-Jük might have been not so much the winter but the summer camp of the Nogai beys, while the bey himself could have visited it if and when necessary. Ismail Bey, for example, at the end of his days spent the whole year in Saray-Jük, having moved there on a permanent basis [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 586–587]. In Saray-Jük administrative bodies functioned—the garrison commander resided there, so did the daruga (town administrator and regent of the entire area). Also, the spiritual leaders of the Nogai Horde lived there.

There is little data about the internal buildings. It is known that Ismail Bey intended to erect Khan's palace in the town; also there was a prison in Saray-Jük. Furthermore, the results

of archaeological studies indicate that Saray-Jük had fortifications. The remnants of the outer walls could be seen until 1860s. In 1824 the main entrance to the fortress with two triangular ramparts was still visible. All in all, the archaeological site had an almost regular rectangular shape, with the exception of the curved side neighboring the bank of River Sarachinka [Ibid., p. 594; Levshin, 1824, p. 188; Margulan, 1950, p. 87]. The territory of archaeological site was covered with brick rubble, a sign of the importance of brick buildings, pieces of marble, glazed tiles, and isinglass. In the central part of the fortress, towards the west, there were remains of the citadel hill (the 'ark,' typical of Central Asian towns) [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 594]. Muslim cemeteries and mausoleums, believed to be holy ('aulie') by the local residents, were present both within the fortress and throughout the town [On the Ruins, 1867, pp. 3–6].

The permanently settled population of Saray-Jük involved in trade, crafts, and agriculture was sparse [Margulan, 1950, p. 88]. These people were the bey's *yasak* payers and this was their function and designation in the Nogai Horde. It is not wholly clear how the settled population formed. It is likely that some of them had been permanent residents of the town since the Golden Horde times, while the others came from impoverished nomads. However, the presence of a permanent population ensured the continuity of trade. Even during periods of unrest, guests from Saray-Jük visited Astrakhan and traded there with the merchants from Shamakhi, Derbent, and Urgench [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 588].

The town was gradually deteriorating, losing its importance due to the crisis in the Nogai Horde. The 1570s was a critical period for the capital of the Manghit Yurt. On several occasions the town was laid to waste by the Cossacks. And it was completely destroyed in 1581 [Ibid., p. 589; Margulan, 1950, pp. 86, 87].

Saray-Jük's most important function was memorial—it maintained the dynastic burials. Gradually, the town turned into a giant necropolis. It is known that khan burial vaults had been placed in the town since the Golden Horde times. If Abu al-Ghazi is to be believed,

the Golden Horde Khans Tokhta and Jani Beg were buried there. In the early 16th century, the burial vaults of the Kazakh Khans Jani Beg and Kasimov were erected there [The History of Kazakhstan, 1993, p. 164]. It is possible that the marks denoting vaults and burials on the maps of the Pizzigani brothers, on the 1375 Catalan atlas and the 1459 map of Fra Mauro, where the right bank of River Yaik is decorated with the images of mausoleums and the words 'Sepulchura Imperial,' (Imperial tomb) are related to the Saraychiq necropolis [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 589; Bagrov, 1912, fig. 16; Varvarovsky, Evstigneev, 1998, p. 175; Chekalin, 1890, p. 249].

V. Trepavlov believes that Saray-Jük and its vicinity used to be the *kuruk*—that is, the khan's family cemetery of the Jochids; hence the name, Saray-Jük, meaning the Small Palace, is reminiscent of a palatial structure over the ruler's grave. The sacral importance of the city was immense. This is where Jani Beg, Berdi Beg, and possibly Uzbek ascended the throne. The town maintained its importance as a traditional burial ground during the Nogai period. The Nogai worshiped the Khan's mausoleums [Osmanov, 1883, p. 47]. There are numerous testimonies of the use of Saray-Jük's cemeteries to bury members of the Nogai aristocracy [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 590].

Were there any other towns in the Nogai Horde? The conclusive answer of the experts is no. V. Trepavlov points to the references in dastans—oral histories—of the towns of Kumli Kala and Syrli Kala, where the heroes of the Nogai epoch operated, and compares them with the towns of Kumkent (in the Shymkent District in Kazakhstan) and Syrli Tam (close to Kzyl-Orda), respectively [Ibid., pp. 595–596]. At present it does not seem possible to correlate the archaeological remains of several towns and settlements in the vicinity of Saray-Jük and along the Yaik (for example, the unfortified settlement on River Solyanka, the Temirovo archaeological site, the settlement near Lake Karabau, the Tendyk archaeological site, Kyryk Arba) with the post-Golden Horde period without their systematic study and excavation [Ibid., p. 596; On the Ruins, 1867, p. 6].

§ 3. The Cities and Small Towns of the Siberian Khanate

Alexey Matveev, Sergey Tataurov

The various twists and turns of history have left us without even a single surviving description of a city or town in the Siberian Khanate. As V. N. Pignatti once said, 'not one of the Siberian Chronicles, even when studied with the utmost care, has yielded a description of Isker in the time of Kuchum Khan, or an account of what became of it after his downfall; was it merely a military fortress inhabited by soldiers, or was it a regular town—a human settlement? The chronicles do not contain even an external description of the settlement, to say nothing of its internal contents, its residents, or their way of life' [Pignatti, 2010, p. 186]. Perhaps archaeological investigation alone might somewhat compensate us for the lack of such data, but—as will be seen below—fate would have it that even archeology is frequently powerless to resurrect for us a picture of the cities and towns of Siberia.

Nevertheless, various details in chronicles, travel diaries, memoirs, and other written sources by medieval and early modern authors as well as modern scientific studies do provide us with some indications about the urban settlements of the Siberian Khanate [Plano Carpini, 1957; Remezov, 1989; Castrén, 1999, etc.].

V. Sobolev observed that the authors of Siberian Chronicles made a rigid division of the fortified settlement complexes into *grady*/*goroda* and *gorodki*—that is, 'cities' and 'towns.' For example, Yesipov's Chronicle states that Yermak's cossacks 'captured the town of Nazimnoy' on the Ob or '...captured the small town of Ata murza'; while the Rumyantsev Chronicle says '... (he) came to the city (*grad*) and took a little of its treasures and ran off with them. And left the city of Sibir empty' [Sobolev, 2008, p. 232]. It is interesting to note that in the chronicles Siberian 'cities' and 'towns' (*grady* and *goroda*) named in this way are thus put on an equal footing with the 'Tsar's city (*grad*) of Moscow.' Yet the authors of the chronicles could hardly have wished to compare some insignificant settlement to the capital of the Muscovite state [Ibid.].

At different times the following three cities performed the role of capital of the Turkic-Tatar state formations in the Western Siberia: Ki-

zyl Tura, Chimgi Tura (Tyumen), Sibir (Qashliq, Isker).

The city of Kizyl Tura was located close to the source of the river Ishim and had a varying status at different stages of its history. According to Remezov's Chronicle, Kizyl Tura was Siberia's first capital and was ruled in antiquity by Tsar Irtyshak. G. L. Fayzrahmanov regards Kizyl Tura as the capital of the legendary Ishim Khanate [Fayzrahmanov, 2002, pp. 117–120]. G. F. Miller describes the history of the foundation of Kizyl Tura along the Middle Irtysh as follows: 'On Som Khan was first to rule on the Ishim; his residence was near the river's mouth, where it joins the Irtysh, on a steep red bank (*kizyl yar*, in the Tatar language), in a fortified town surrounded by three earthwork ramparts. The town took the name of Kizyl Tura from that place. The name of the successor of On Som was Irtyshak, from whom the river Irtysh takes its name. Chinggis, the Khan of Tyumen, attacked Irtyshak and defeated him. The next ruler on the Ishim was Sargachik, and some Ishim Tatars call themselves Sargachiks in his honour' [Miller, 1999, p. 186].

R. G. Skrynnikov believed that in the 1420s Kizyl Turamay have been the site of the headquarters of the Shaybanid ruler, Muhammed [Skrynnikov, 1986, p. 82]. V. I. Sobolev remarked that according to Abu al-Ghazi in the middle of the 15th century the Uzbeks of Abu'l-Khayr Khan invaded the lands of the Western Siberian Tatars and seized Kizyl Tura, making it their headquarters for a time [Sobolev, 2008, p. 227]. The Taibuga dynasty of Tyumen was subordinate to the Shaybanids, and *yasak* was regularly sent from Chimgi Tura (Tyumen) to Kizyl Tura. In 1480 the Shaybanid Khan Ibrahim suddenly arrived in Tyumen with his troops and killed Mar Taibugin, his vassal and son-in-law. After uniting the two thrones, he moved his headquarters from Kizyl Tura to Tyumen. L. R. Kyzlasov wrote that in the late 14–15th centuries, in the Shaybanid state centred on the city of Chimgi Tura, Kizyl Tura was a town of regional significance and one of the military administrative centres of the Siberian Yurt [Kyzlasov,

1992, p. 47].

The story of the final fate of the city of Kizyl Tura remains a mystery. This large-scale military administrative centre is likely to have lost its significance during the internecine wars between the Shaybanids and the Taibuga dynasty, even before Yermak's troops set foot in Siberia. In the account of Yermak's last raid up the Irtysh, there are no direct references to Kizyl Tura among the Tatar towns mentioned (Tashetkan, Tebendya, Kullary), though it is stated that 'at the mouth of the Ishim the cossacks once again faced strong opposition' [Miller, 1999, p. 255].

I. Falk visited the ruins of the Kizyl Tura fortress in the second half of the 18th century, observing a destroyed mosque tower and the remnants of a stone building. By that time the territory of the former settlement had been abandoned.

Kizyl Tura is the only capital to have been depicted in the earlier pictorial sources, being drawn in the late 17th century by S. Remezov to accompany his chronicle. The picture shows three rows of fortifications with a complex system of passages, above-ground dwellings, and possibly the house of the ruler or a mosque (Fig. 1).

Today the ruins of Kizyl Tura have been identified with the archaeological monument known as Krasnoyarka II site discovered in 1961 by V. A. Mogilnikov in the Ust-Ishim District of Omsk Region (Fig. 2). The former settlement is fortified by three rows of earthworks and ditches and covers an area of about 1500 m². The height of the embankments measured from the bottom of the ditches reaches 2 m, and 0.75 m from the inside. In 1966 V. A. Mogilnikov examined the site excavating a 100 m² section, after which he was convinced that Kizyl Tura had probably been located at another site—that of Novonikolskoye I (Golaya Sopka or 'Bald Peak'), whose layout is reminiscent of Isker [Mogilnikov, 2001, pp. 258–261].

Since the second half of the 1990s the Krasnoyarsk site has been excavated by the archaeological team of Omsk State Pedagogic University under the supervision of Ye. M. Danchenko who believes that it can confidently be identified as Kizyl Tura. One of the arguments in favour of this version is the drawing made by S. Remezov

where 'the city of Tsar Irtyshak' is placed on the right bank of the Irtysh, above the mouth of the Ishim, between the place denoted as Krasny Yar—the 'Red Bank'—and the confluence of a small stream. The above geography corresponds to the position of the Krasnoyarsk site located below the modern village of Krasnoyarka and above the mouth of the river Utuskun flowing at the bottom of the cape. The coincidence between the toponyms Kizyl Tura and Krasny Yar ('Red Bank'), in the opinion of Ye. M. Danchenko, can hardly be accidental [Danchenko, Grachev, 2003, pp. 277–278]. In the numerous cultural strata of the Krasnoyarsk archaeological site attributed to various periods, Ye. M. Danchenko and his colleagues have managed to reveal a complex of objects belonging to the period of the Siberian Khanate. The collection of medieval finds comprises clay and metal tableware, iron knives and arrow tips, imported bronze rings, glass beads, bronze buckles and hoops, bronze figurines, spindle whorls, and goods made of bone. All these materials persuaded the author to insist that 'therefore, the location of Kizyl Tura can be quite reliably established based on various historical sources, which, nevertheless, still leaves other questions raised by the study of the monument unanswered' [Danchenko, 2008, pp. 221–224].

Sibir/Isker/Qashliq (Fig. 3). In the 'Collection of Chronicles' by Rashid al-Din, a town 'Ibir-Sibir' is mentioned, which was allegedly granted to Jochi, the elder son of Chinggis Khan [Rashid-ad-Din, 1952, pp. 73, 150]. In 1405–1406 the Bavarian Johann Schiltberger, serving with the troops of Edigu, found his way to Siberia, where he happened to stay in a town of the same name (Sibir) [SafargAliyeva, 1960, p. 218]. In the Russian texts describing a 1483 raid of Moscow troops 'against the Vogulich and Ugra,' D. Iskhakov regards Sibir as a separate city from Tyumen (Chimgi Tura) [Iskhakov, 2010a, p. 18]. On a map made in 1542 by the Lithuanian boyar Antonius Wied, based on the information provided by the Russian emigré I. Lyatsky and published in 1555, the following major cities are shown: Sibir (Sybir), Ierom the Great (Wilky Ierom), and Tyumen the Great (Tumen Wilky). The Rumyantsev Chronicle has this to say about the city of Sibir: '[Kuchum]...



Fig. 1 Kizyl Tura in a drawing by S. Remezov

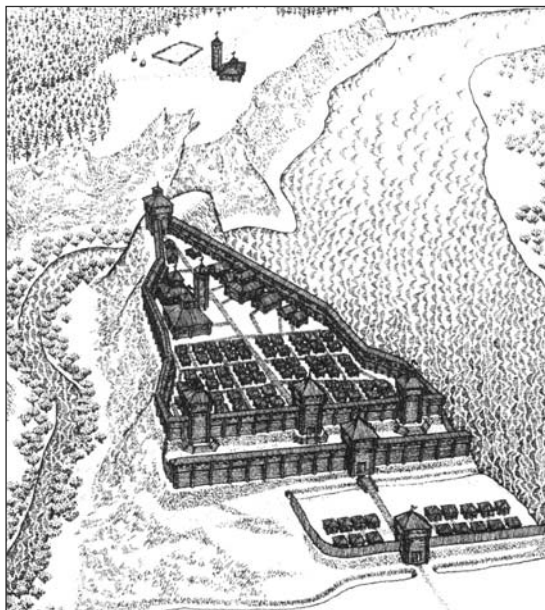


Fig. 3. Isker

Fig. 2. Kizyl Tura.
The fort of Krasnoyarsk II

came to the city and took a little of its treasures, and ran off with them. And left the city of Sibir empty' [Sobolev, 2008, p. 232].

The city of Sibir simultaneously had two other names: 'Isker' and 'Qashliq.' Kh. Alishina believes that the name 'Sibir' was introduced by the Russians. Isker, another name of the city, is found in Tatar archival documents written in the Arabic script and translated into Russian. In the researcher's opinion, this toponym comes from the ethnonym 'eskel,' which is of Bulgar-Tatar origin. Its other name, 'Qashliq,' is of Turkic origin and associated with the Uzbek words kishlak (a settlement), 'kyshlak (winter quarters), and 'Qash-

liq' (uplands) [Alishina, 2010, pp. 159–166]. According to a number of sources, the city of Isker (in the Tatar language 'Isker' comes from Iske + or, meaning 'old fortress') was founded in 1480–1490 by a Siberian khan Makhmet (Makhmut, Mamet) Taibugid, who wanted to move his headquarters northwards, away from the Shaybanid territories [Sobolev, 2008, p. 232; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, p. 227]. In 1563 Isker became the capital of Kuchum's Siberian Khanate and later, in the early 1580s, the centre of Ataman Yermak's cossack domain. After the foundation of the Russian city Tobolsk in 1587 near the mouth of the river Tobol, Isker was abandoned.



Fig. 4. A drawing of 'Kuchumovo archaeological site' by S. Remezov (cit. ex. [Belich, 2009, p. 93])

In terms of intensive archaeological studies Isker has been more 'favoured' than other Turkic-Tatar state capitals. Well-known scholars, travelers, and local history specialists have repeatedly explored and described it, making archaeological excavations, including N. Spafariy, G. Miller, I. Falk, P. Slovtsov, M. Znamensky, I. Butakov, S. Mameev, V. Pignatti, A. Palashenkov, B. Ovchinnikova, I. Belich, A. Adamov, A. Zykov, and others. But no summary of these results has been made so far due to the dispersion of scientific collections and materials, and we are hardly likely to see such a publication in the near future.

The first drawing of the capital of the Siberian Khanate, titled 'site of ancient Kuchum town and Old Sibir,' was made by S. Remezov in 1703 [Belich, 2010, pp. 122–158] (Fig. 4). Of all published descriptions of the site [Belich, 2010, pp. 72–93] one most worthy of quoting here is that of G. Miller, who had examined a number of Tatar and Ostyak towns and was thus in a good position to compare them. 'The ruins of this former capital city, if one can describe such a place as this was in those terms, can still be observed. The high eastern bank of the river Irtysh is even higher there than elsewhere. As so often usually happens in places where a flowing river undermines the bank, so it is the case here: part of the slope has collapsed, and

the bank appears almost vertical from the river side. On the top of the hill, if one looks downstream, there is a ravine with a small river, which is called the Sibirka in Russian, after the city. Due to the steepness, an ascent from this side is quite impossible. On the third side of the hill, facing the steppe, there is a valley which descends along the ravine to the Sibirka; from here one could perhaps reach the site where the city was located, but as it is also quite steep here the ascent requires considerable effort.

Only the fourth side has a gentle incline down to the riverbank, and it is from here that there must have been access to the city. It takes the form of a small round hill, fortified along the terraces with a triple embankment interspersed with ditches, each bank being higher than the next. These ramparts surround the city only on the valley side and that which affords access. The other sides, along the Irtysh and the gully of the Sibirka, required no fortifications. In some places the ramparts and ditches have become so overgrown that they can scarcely be seen. The internal area is about 50 sazhen (one sazhen or fathom measures 2.13 metres) in diameter. From this we can conclude that apart from the khan, his family, and his servants, only a few noble Tatars could have lived there, unless we assume that the place was much more extensive at that time. It is said that some area on the side of the river—no one knows how large it was—was undercut by the water and collapsed. There are no remains of houses or permanent dwellings there, except for a certain surface unevenness in various spots, from which it may be concluded that dwellings once stood there' [Miller, 1999, pp. 227–228].

G. Spassky, who visited the site of Isker much later, described its fortifications in more detail. 'Isker was located on the bank of the river Irtysh at its confluence with the small river Sibirka... The steep bank of Irtysh does not per-

mit of any ascent, nor even the slightest human foothold... There is a rampart of 15 fathoms in length, with a ditch behind it not wider than 2 arshins; from these, the rampart, and the ditch to the highest point of Isker it measures up to 5 fathoms. Remains of ditches are visible in the ravine, and towards the Sibirka and along the ravine almost to the water's edge there seems to have been a ramp down to a well, still traceable as a pathway. The site in general is not level here, but pitted: three very deep holes seem to have been cellars and, according to Tatar legends, were used as dungeons for the condemned' [Spassky, 1818, pp. 28–30].

Once more we note with regret that a summarising work, which would bring together all the materials accumulated over one and a half centuries of archaeological studies at Isker, remains unwritten. Nevertheless, even the partial publication by the Tobolsk researchers A. Adamov and I. Balyunov of items found in the course of various explorations made at the site of the Siberian Khanate capital, demonstrates that Isker could and should be a base archaeological complex for the study of Siberian state entities. The determining factor here is that of the Isker site's single-layer occupation. Research carried out by A. Zykov in 1988 and 1993 provided valuable observations of the cultural layer stratigraphy¹, which the author connected with well-known historical events [Zykov, 2010, pp. 112–122]. An important result of the work is the conclusion that Isker was built at the end of the 15th century, before which there had been no other forts on the site [Zykov, 1998, pp. 22–24].

At last, in 2010 a collection of works titled 'Isker, the capital of the Siberian Khanate' was published [Isker, 2010], in which D. Iskhakov and Z. Tychinskikh gathered together the works of almost all contemporary researchers who had concerned themselves in one way or another with the history of this city. The book presented the historical, archaeological, linguistic, and ethnographic data on Isker, producing a publication that has made a great contribution to our knowledge of the Siberian capital.

Tyumen/Chingi Tura (Fig. 5). The appearance of Chingi Tura on the lower reaches of

the river Tura, later to become the capital of the Tyumen Khanate, was connected by G. Miller with semi-legendary events. Thus, according to Russian chronicles, Taibuga (the founder of the Taibugid princely dynasty) received the Tobol Region as a gift from Khan Chingi (Chinggis Khan) [Miller, 1999, pp. 186–189]. 'And Prince Taibuga came with all his household to the Tura river, and built a city there, and named it Chingiden, and now the city of Tyumen stands there,' states the Yesipov's Chronicle [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, 1987, pp. 46, 236]. G. Fayzrahmanov believes that these events took place in the 1220s [Fayzrahmanov, 2002, pp. 64–69].

We are credibly informed that Chingi Tura was first depicted on a map in 1367 by the Italian merchants Francesco and Dominico Pizzigano [Kyzlasov, 1992, pp. 130–131]. According to other sources the city first appeared on the map in a Catalan atlas of 1375 as 'Singui,' the centre of Tyumen vilayet. It is referred to in the Ustyug Chronicles as the place where in 1406 Khan Tokhtamysh is supposed to have been killed [Sobolev, 2008, p. 232; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, p. 227]. In 1428–1429 the Shaybanid Abu'l Khayr Khan, the founder of the nomadic Uzbeks' state, captured Chingi Tura, killed the Taibugid Haji Muhammed, and made the city his base of operations. Simultaneously the city was the centre of an eponymous vilayet in the



Fig. 5. Chingi Tura fortifications layout from the Tyumen town plan of 1766 (cit. ex. [Matveeva et al., 1994, p. 168])

¹ Below we provide a detailed description of A. Zykov's research.

large state of the nomadic Uzbeks [Ibid., p. 220]. Chinggi Tura remained the capital until 1446, when the khan moved his headquarters far to the south, to the city of Sygnak. According to 'Tarikh-i guzide, Nusrat-Name' (circa 1505) the inhabitants of Zhangji Tura (i.e., Chinggi Tura) and Bulgar paid the yasak tribute to the khan's treasury throughout this period [Iskhakov, 2010a, p. 20]. In 1481–1495 (with intervals) the city was the capital of the Great Horde, under the reign of the Shaybanid khan Ibak. It was to Tyumen that, according to the 'Arkhangelogorodsky chronicle,' he brought the Orda bazar from the Great Horde [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, p. 95; Iskhakov, 2010a, p. 21]. In 1489–1491 a group of Kazan noblemen, who had fled from the pro-Moscow khan Muhammed-Amin, found shelter in Tyumen. In 1493 (or 1495) Ibak was killed by Muhamed, a representative of the Taibugid dynasty, who moved the capital of the khanate to his headquarters in Qashliq (Isker). Notwithstanding the version given in the 'Siberian Chronicles,' whereby Prince Muhamed Taibugud destroyed Chingiden (Chinggi Tura), the city apparently survived. Under the name of Tyumen the Great (Tumen Wilky) it was featured on a map created by Antonius Wied in 1542 [Rybakov, 1974, p. 11, maps No. 2, 3]. It is thought that Chinggi Tura was ransacked and burned in the early 1580s by Yermak's host. On its site the Russian town of Tyumen was built in 1586.

Contemporary Tyumen and Tobolsk researchers—I. Belich, T. Izmer, A. Matveev, N. Matveeva, Ye. Molyavina—based on map materials of the 17–20th centuries and descriptions of remains of legendary Chinggi Tura published by I. Lepekhin, G. Miller, N. Abramov and other researchers of the 18–19th centuries, write about the considerable size of Chinggi Tura [Belich, 2009, pp. 142–164; Izmer, Molyavina, 2005, pp. 152–154; Matveeva et al., 1994]. In their opinion, the most fortified part of the city was Chinggi Tura's citadel, located in the historical part of present-day Tyumen, on the wedge-shaped promontory bounded by the Engels Street and Communa Street. This spur of land is surrounded on three sides by ravines (the Vishnyovy Ravine, the river Tyumenka, and one of its tributaries), and on the landward side, according

to Lepekhin, it was '...encircled with a double earthwork, which has decayed due to its age and is now almost level with the ground' [Lepekhin, 1814, p. 2]. G. Miller wrote: '...Between the ravines, but not on the Tura bank, stood the old Tatar small town, which can still be traced by the bank and ditch stretching from ravine to ravine...' [Miller, 1750, p. 213]. On the Tyumen map of the 17–18th centuries included by P. Golovachov in the book 'Tyumen in the 17th century,' only the ditch is shown in this place [Tyumen, 1903]. Unfortunately, the dimensions of the earthwork are unknown to us. According to the key to a 1766 plan, the ditch was 'three fathoms deep and fifteen fathoms wide.' Such considerable measurements were most likely the result of soil erosion.

N. Abramov also described the remains of the former capital. 'The city's fortifications... consisted of banks and ditches... The first ditch, up to one fathom deep, with an earthen rampart, starts from the Lyamin Lake... (Lyamin-Kul) near Spasskaya Street, and stretches to the bank of the Tura, about 600 fathoms in length. The second ditch, opposite the wooden so-called 'big site of ancient town,' is up to 2.5 arshins deep with a rampart over 2 arshins high, for a space of 760 fathoms. Apart from this, the city was surrounded by ravines on almost all sides: the first almost reaching right down to the river Tura is called the Tyumenka and was formerly filled with water; the second, lying parallel to the first, is called Vishnyovy by the Russians... the third is named the Delilov. Their depth reaches down to the level of the water surface in the Tura, whose bed lies over three fathoms below the bank. Between the Tyumenka and Vishnyovy ravines is located the city of Chinggi Tura, and this spot is called the Tsarev site of ancient town' [Abramov, 1998, p. 576]. I. Belich wrote that N. Abramov had made a mistake when describing the external fortification line. The extent of the external line of defences could not be 600 fathoms as this does not correspond with the geographic realities. Locating the internal defensive lines is difficult. To judge from its length, 70 fathoms, this could only have been the fortifications of the Tsarev site of ancient town (the Chinggi Tura citadel). Other measurements, specifically the ditch depth of 2.5 arshins and the bank height

of 'over 2 arshins,' contradict the data in the key to the Tyumen plan of 1766 [Belich, 2009, pp. 142–164].

To the west and south-west of the Tsarev site of ancient town was the Big site, and further to the south, on the next promontory, the Small site. According to the 1766 plan the fortifications of the Big site of ancient town consisted of three defensive lines. The first two bank-and-ditch lines, each around 270 metres long and separated by a passageway in the middle, consisted of ramparts about 1.5 metres wide ('two arshins') and ditches up to 2 metres ('one fathom') wide and up to 2.5 metres (1.5 fathoms) deep. The last bank-and-ditch line completely defended the Big site of ancient town. The bank width was 3.5 metres ('2 fathoms'), its height was 1.5 metres ('2 arshins'), the moat width was 2.5 metres ('1.5 fathoms'), and the depth was 1 metre ('1.5 arshins'). According to the plan, the Small site of ancient town was not fortified, though the possibility cannot be excluded that its defences may have been destroyed by the time the map of the city was compiled [Rafikov, 2011, p. 12].

Archaeological investigation of Chingi Tura started in 2005, when A. Matveev performed the zoning of the territory of the earliest development of Tyumen's historical core with the purpose of assessing the degree of preservation, historical and cultural value of its cultural layers. The research resulted in the redefinition of the Tsarev archaeological site as a zone of special attention and the elaboration of guidelines for the constant archaeological supervision the site required and for systematic examination of areas free of buildings [Matveev, 2005]. Recovery operations were began in 2006 by T. Izmer, and investigation was continued in 2007–2009 by T. Rafikova [Rafikova, 2010, pp. 95–99; Rafikova, 2011, pp. 11–15]. In the course of the study she ascertained that archaeological site of Siberian Tatars had been preceded on the cape by a developed medieval settlement or site of ancient town (of the Bakalskaya archaeological culture). Serious disturbance of the upper layers of the monument prevents the stratigraphical division of these periods. Moreover, the buildings are dated to within rather broad parameters. Thus, dwelling 1a was in use during the 13–16th centuries A.D., while building 3 was occupied between

the 14th to 17th centuries A.D. Building 24 in the central part of the monument has been reliably dated by the coal from an adjacent midden (COAH-7981) to the 16th to 17th centuries with a probability of 68.2% and has been associated with the Siberian Tatar development phase.

The Tatar dwellings discovered by T. Rafikova are above-ground or slightly sunken (up to 10–15 cm) frame-pillared rectangular buildings. The floor in two of the buildings was strewn with white sand. The finds from the monument include bone arrow points and numerous working implements (piercing tools, knives, spindle whorls, etc.) and cannot aid in refining the date of the structures. The sole iron arrowhead, flat with a rest, dates from the later Middle Ages. Radiocarbon dating of the monument has provided a series of 14 dates testifying to its constant functioning from the 9th to 17th centuries A.D. [Rafikova, 2010, pp. 95–96]. According to A. Matveev and S. Tataurova, the ceramic complexes found by T. Rafikova in the uppermost cultural layers of Chingi Tura have clear analogues on sites of the Middle Irtysh, Baraba, and Tom Regions.

Apart from the three 'capitals,' there were many other settlements in Kuchum's Siberian Khanate. Thus, in two districts alone—those of Tobolsk and Beryozov—G. Miller counted more than 100 *gorodki* or 'small towns' inhabited by an Ugro-Samoyed and Turkic population of the 14th to 16th centuries [Miller, 1937, p. 335].

In describing the epic of Ataman Yermak, R. Skrytnikov mentions the following Tatar and Khanty small towns (*gorodki*): Qashliq, a strong Tatar small town on the River Aremzyanka, Narymsky small town, Kolpukhov small town, the fortified settlement of Prince Samar, twelve Koda towns, the Karachino archaeological site on the River Tobol, Chandyr archaeological site on the River Tavda, archaeological sites of Begishevo and Tebendya, and the fortress of Kulary [Skrytnikov, 1982, pp. 160–199].

Khadi Atlasi and Z. Tychinskikh listed the following small towns for the Siberian Khanate:

- on the river Tura: the small town of Yapanchin, Chinki Tura (Chimgi Tura), and Kinyr in the upper reaches of the Tura;
- on the river Tobol: Tarkhan Kala, Yaulu Tura (Yavlu Tura), and Karachin;

- on the river Tavda: Tabura and Atyk Murzy;

- on the river Nitsa: the ancient city of Chubar Tura;

- on the river Irtysh: the small town on Cape Chuash (Chuvash), Isker, Kyzym Tura, Bichek Tura (Bitsik Tura), Susgan (Suzgun Tura), Yabalak (Abalak), Bayesh (Bikesh), Tibende, Kollar, Kizyl Tura, Tash Atkan, Yalym, Kara Atau, Kechkene, the 'strong Tatar small town' at the mouth of the Arimzyanka, small town of Turtas, the Ostyak small towns of Rachu and Narym, and two towns of Prince Samar;

- on the shores of Lake Kunda: several towns;

- on the river Tayda: the Mansi towns of Loboto;

- on the river Tara: the small town of Tunus;

- and in Baraba: Liuba and Mirzagali [Atlasi, 2005, pp. 40–87].

In addition, according to the data of Z. Tychinskikh, the following towns were located in the Siberian Khanate: Zubar Tura, the small town of Yesaul Alyshai, the town of murza Changula, Tsytyrly, Aktsybar Kala, the small towns of murza Attik, Aty murza, 'the prince's town,' 'the frontier town on Yatman Hill,' the small town of Makhmetkulov, Ilensky, Chernoyarsky, Katargulov, Maly town, and the small town of Obukhov [Tychinskikh, 2010a, p. 54]. This list should be completed with the small town of Chyorny on the river Irtysh, and Ton Turu in Baraba where Buyan Bey, Kuchum's viceroy, once dwelt. G. Miller wrote that 'in the Tom County there were fortified sites inhabited by Tatars, or so-called small towns, whose function was to provide for defence against the Kalmyks... not far from the town of Tomsk, on the island in the Tom river, there was the small town of Toyanov' [Miller, 2000, p. 106].

So, the territory of the Siberian Khanate in the 1580s held over fifty towns, large and small. Z. Tychinskikh believes that the majority of these smaller townships were residences of local ulus nobility. Located along the strategically important boundaries of the Khanate, they were provided with strong defensive fortifications [Tychinskikh, 2010a, p. 55].

In the long list of large and small towns we can distinguish those which are referred to in

Russian as towns (*gorody*) in the sources, and those which have the Turkic word *tura* ('town') in their names: Tarkhan Kala, Yaulu Tura (Yavlu Tura), Tabura town, the ancient town of Chubar Tura, Kyzym Tura, Bichek Tura (Bitsik-Tura), Susgan (Suzgun Tura), the two towns of Prince Samar, Zubar Tura, the town of murza Changula, 'the frontier town on Yatman hill,' and Maly town. Thus, in addition to the three capitals, there were about 13 major towns in the Siberian Khanate.

At the present date science is still lacking in summaries of the research materials on the results of archaeological investigation of the capitals of Siberian Turkic-Tatar state entities. The situation is little better with regard to the publication of archaeological studies of other large and small towns of Siberian states of the 15–16th centuries known from chronicle sources.

The town of **Yavlu Turawas** first described in 1861 by N. Abramov in the Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society: 'The area of the city was 70 fathoms long and 50 fathoms wide. It was surrounded by water on two sides, on the third there was Lake Chat, and on the fourth, two ditches three fathoms deep with an earthen rampart in between extending to the river Tobol. To enter this fortification there was only one way—through the ditches and the rampart, and by water along the moat from the Tobol' [Abramov, 1861, p. 222]. At the end of the 19th century the monument was visited and described by V. Florinsky [Florinsky, 1894, p. 234]. This is all we know about this complex. The monograph 'Archaeological Heritage of the Tyumen Region' states that the degree of preservation of the Yavlu Tura fortification and of its cultural layer is unknown [Archaeological Heritage, 1995, p. 58].

The remains of **Ton Tura** town in the Baraba wooded steppe were described in the second half of the 18th century by I. Falk. Ton Tura was located on a cape and had three lines of fortifications consisting of banks and ditches, which defended a dwelling area measuring 150 fathoms in length [Falk, 1824, p. 336]. In 1925 Ye. Clodt and A. Zhikharev made a preliminary survey of the Voznesensk archaeological site, and systematic excavation began in

1926, yielding materials from the later Middle Ages. The investigations were carried out by P. Dmitriev and V. Levasheva. Several dwellings and general service structures were studied at the archaeological site (Fig. 6, 7) [Levasheva, 1928, pp. 87–97]. Throughout 1974–1976 the remains of this Tatar town were studied by the Vengerovsky group of the Novosibirsk State Pedagogical Institute's archaeological team headed by V. Sobolev. These made a detailed description of the site. At the time the research was conducted, the surviving part of the monument was 500 metres in length. The fort was divided into four parts by three lines of ditches and banks. Between the first and the second sections there was a strong fortification system consisting of two banks up to 1.5 m high and up to 3 m wide, and a ditch up to 4 m deep and up to 19 m wide. Along the western slope of the first section, the entrance to the fort could

be discerned. The length of this section reached 145 m. Between the second and the third sections was a second fortification line, consisting of a 0.77 m high bank and a 0.5 m deep ditch. The third fortification system was at a distance of 110 m from the second; it consisted of a 0.4 m deep ditch and a 0.3 m high bank. The fourth section was 138 m long and had several depressions [Sobolev, 2008, p. 234]. The finds from the digs at the Voskresensk archaeological site formed the basis for a collective monograph by the Novosibirsk researchers titled 'Baraba in the Period of the Later Middle Ages' [Molodin et al., 1990]. At the present time Voskresensk archaeological site is the best-studied and described settlement in the Siberian Khanate, for which much credit must go to V. Sobolev.

The excavation of the small **town of Toyan-ov** has been underway intermittently since 1887, carried out by such researchers as S. Kuznetsov,

Fig. 6 Ton Tura.
Voznesensk
archaeological
site (cit. ex.
[Levasheva,
1928, p. 40])

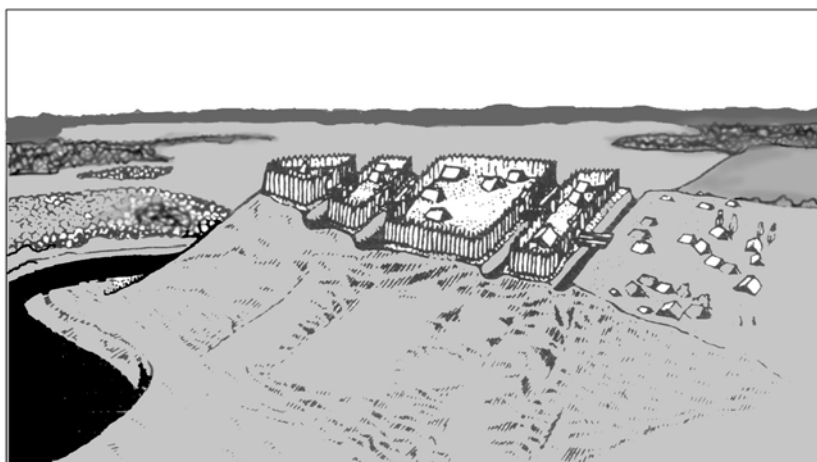
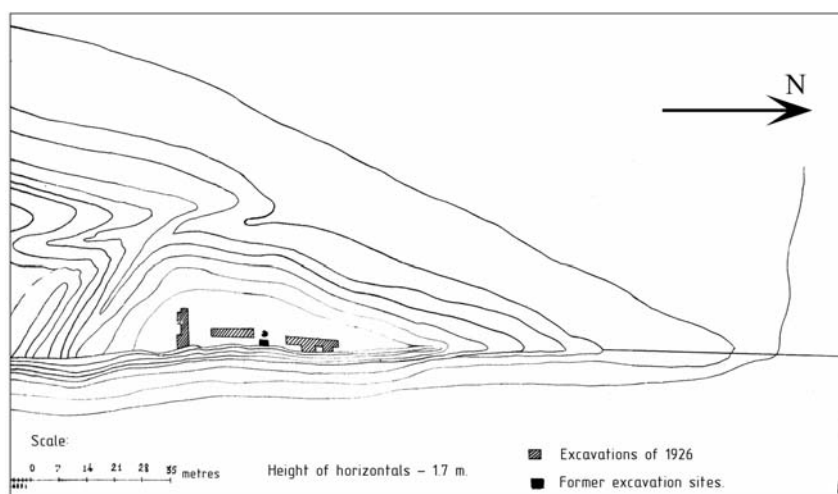


Fig. 7 Ton Tura
Hill Fort.
Reconstruction
(cit. ex. [Troitskaya,
Sobolev 1996,
p. 101])

F. Martin [Yakovlev, 2009], J. de Baye, S. Chugunov, and M. Gryaznov. The finds from the dig of M. Gryaznov were partially published in 1976 by L. Pletnyova [Pletnyova, 1976, pp. 65–89], but it should be noted that in this publication 'small town of Toyanov' does not refer to a fortification but to a burial mound near the children's sanatorium in the village of Timiryazovo. A. Dulson believed that the small town of Toyanov dated back to the 17th century and had been left by the Chulyim-Tom' Turks. He also found analogues for the artefacts discovered in the small town's cultural layer among the materials from other archaeological monuments of the West Siberian wooded steppe [Dulson, 1953, p. 162]. Thorough consideration of the materials from all small town of Toyanov excavations would help to determine the place of Chulyim-Tomsk Turks on the political map of the Siberian Khanate. It is worth mentioning that file No. 26 of M. Gryaznov's archive, kept at Fund III of Omsk State University's Archaeology and Ethnography Museum, contains a selection of materials on the excavations of the small town of Toyanov, Basandayka, Arkhiyereyskaya Zaimka, and other monuments of the Tom and Ob basins in the context of their parallels with materials from the Middle Irtysh Region monuments of the later Middle Ages. M. Gryaznov himself never managed to summarise the collected materials.

In 2010 an expedition of the Arkhaika research and development centre headed by O. Zaitsev collected materials at the supposed location of the small town of Toyanov. The materials obtained indicate that, despite considerable construction activity, the cultural layer of this monument has been preserved and merits investigation.

As such, the capitals and administrative centres of Siberian Turkic-Tatar state entities have been studied by archaeologists to varying degrees. In spite of the great number of archaeological studies conducted on them, the materials on Isker and the small town of Toyanov have never been collated or adequately interpreted. Ton Tura (Voskresensk archaeological site) has received the most impressive publication of materials found in the excavations carried out by V. Levasheva and V. Sobolev.

Kizyl Tura has been thoroughly examined by the expeditions of Omsk State Pedagogical University headed by Ye. Danchenko and will be presented to the research community in a monograph in the nearest future. Chimgi Tura and Yavlu Tura have so far evaded archaeological study.

All the above-mentioned 'capitals' and towns of the Siberian Khanate correlate well with the late 16th century distribution of Siberian Tatar ethnic groups as proposed by N. Tomilov [Tomilov, 1981]. In line with this it appears that the towns occupied central locations in the settlement areas of the known ethnic groups. As such, Isker was the administrative centre of those Siberian Tatar groups later referred to by scholars as 'Tobol Tatars'; Chimgi Tura was the main city of the Tyumen-Tura Tatars; the small town of Toyanov, of the Tom Tatars; Ton Tura, of the Baraba Tatars; and Kizyl Tura, of the Kurdak-Sargat Tatars. The question about the administrative centre of the Tara Tatars' ancestors remains open. No large archaeological sites comparable with Kizyl Tura or Ton Tura, filled with 16th century artefacts, have so far been discovered here.

Interpretation of other 16th century Siberian Tatar military and administrative centres is complicated by two circumstances. On the one hand, we cannot determine their exact number and location judging from the texts of Russian chronicles alone. This is why many of them have not yet been discovered by archaeologists (e.g., the small town of Chyorny, the last settlement founded by Khan Kuchum in the Omsk Irtysh Region). Only a few of the small towns mentioned in the chronicles have been studied by archaeologists, such as the small town of Tunus—the Nadezhdinka VII archaeological site in the Muromtsevo District of the Omsk Region, excavated by S. Tataurov (Fig. 8). On the other hand, for many of the later-medieval fortified sites studied by archaeologists there are insufficient written or ethnographic materials to enable identification with the legendary great and small towns of the Siberian Khanate. By way of example, Kipo-Kulary (Kip IV) archaeological site (Fig. 9) in the Tevriz District of the Omsk Region (excavated by B. Konikov) cannot yet be directly identified with the

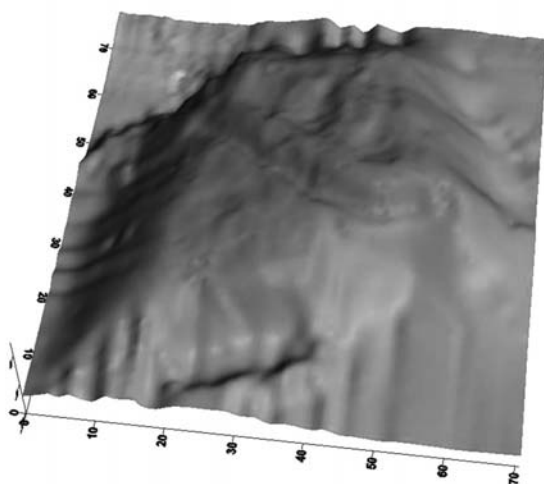


Fig. 8. Nadezhdinka VII archaeological site
(the small town of Tunus)

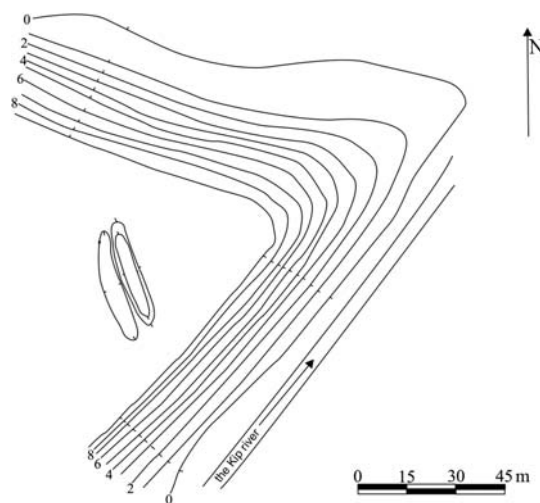


Fig. 9. Kipo Kulary (Kip IV) archaeological site

Fig. 11. Kuchum Gora
archaeological site

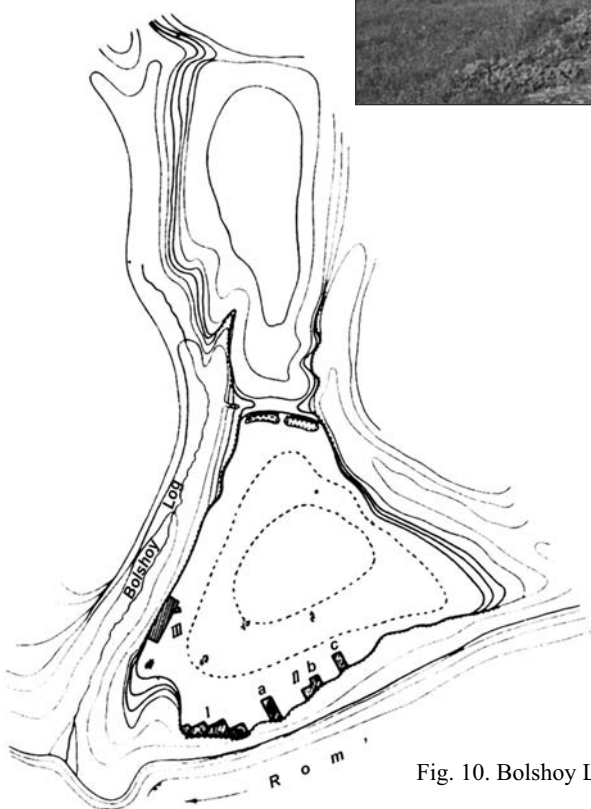


Fig. 10. Bolshoy Log archaeological site

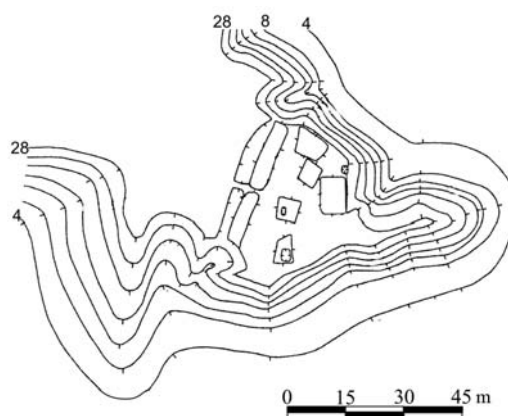


Fig. 12. Koshkul IV archaeological site

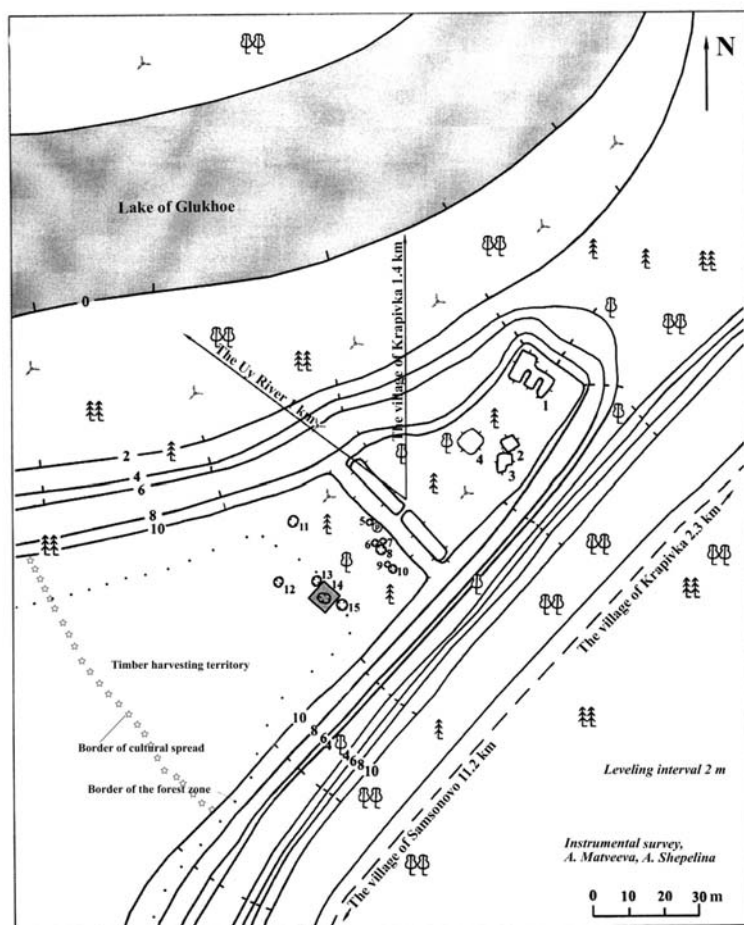


Fig. 13. Krapivka II archaeological site

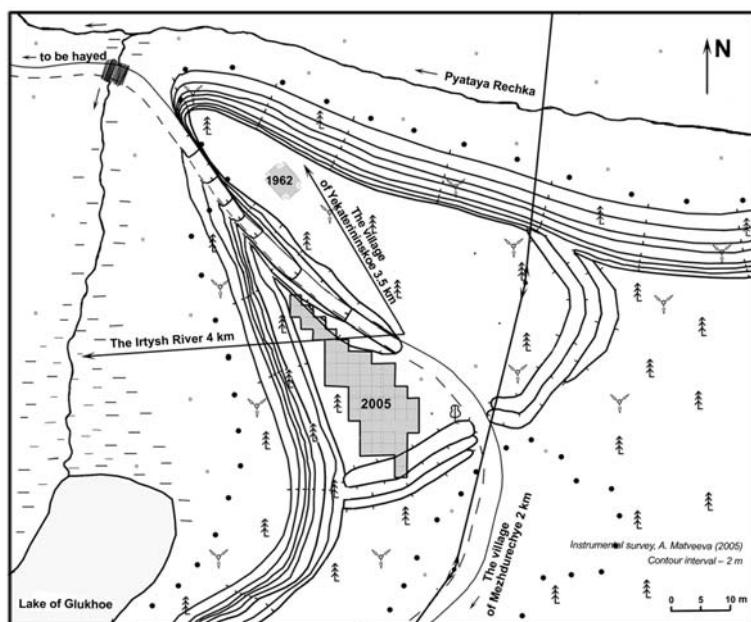


Fig. 14. Yekaterinskoye V (Ananinskoye) archaeological site

famous military township of Kullary, which Yermak never succeeded in capturing. The Bolshoy Log archaeological site (Fig. 10) on the river Om (excavated by V. Chernetsov, V. Gening, and B. Konikov), Kuchumovo archaeological site (Fig. 11) on the river Ishim (excavated by R. Goldina), the archaeological sites of Koshkul IV (Fig. 12), Krapivka II archaeological site on the river Uy (Fig. 13), and Yekaterinskoye V (Fig. 14) on the river Tara (excavated by A. Matveev) cannot yet be identified with the Siberian Khanate settlements known from the chronicles [Matveev, Tataurov 2008, pp. 149–152]. Alongside this, even tentative localisation of the legendary towns and their mapping out in combination with the 14–16th century Siberian Tatar archaeological monuments known to the scholars would help to make possible the reconstruct of the settlement structure and administrative arrangement of Kuchum's state [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012].

Based on results of archaeological studies, a number of works on the fortifications of this period have been published; graphic reconstructions have been made for some of them [Zykov, 2010, p. 113; Troitskaya, Sobolev, 1996, p. 121]; and some efforts towards typological classification of sites have been made, of which the

classification system elaborated by V. Sobolev seems the most relevant [Sobolev, 2008, p. 226]. He chose as criteria the location and planigraphy of sites—that is, peculiarities of terrain permitting the defence of the population, availability of water resources, convenience of agricultural lands, etc. Based on this, he distinguished three types of the site of ancient towns: headland sites (82.5%) built on a spur formed by natural river banks and ravines; plain sites (12.5%) built in level areas or on a ridge without dominating over the surroundings; and island sites (5%) concentrated on the islands in Lake Chanovskoye.

V. Sobolev's classification and statistical data make possible a consideration of the engineering and fortification models used at the sites of the Siberian Khanate's ancient towns. In addition to this, we propose to analyse the fortified sites of the Siberian Khanate in a broader historical context, taking into account the location of each monument within the borders of a certain territory and population, as well as its military, political, and social roles. In this manner, the diversity of fortified settlements can be divided into four categories:

1. Cities: the centres of the 'provinces' making up the Siberian Khanate ('capitals'): Isker, Chingi Tura, Kizyl Tura, and Ton Tura.

2. Military and administrative centres and ordinary fortified settlements in the 'provinces' (centres of clan subdivisions). For example, in the Middle Irtysh Region: Bolshaya Pristan I (Fig. 15), Krapivka II, Yekaterininskoye V (Ananinskoye), Aytkulovo XI, Bezymyannoye II, and others.

3. Small frontier towns. In the taiga of the Middle Irtysh Region: Nadezhdinka VII, Bergamak XV, Koshkul IV, Yamsysa XIV. In the Baraba steppe: Malkovo, Novorozino I, Tyumenka, Chinyaikha, Bolshoy Chulankul I.

4. Fortified military camps, such as the small town of Chyorny from the chronicles.

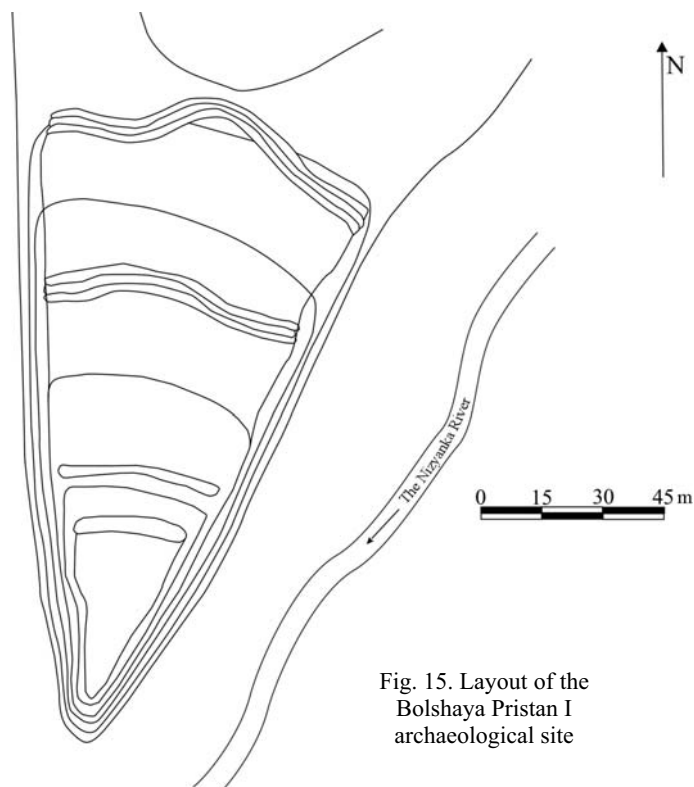


Fig. 15. Layout of the Bolshaya Pristan I archaeological site

We consider this approach the most relevant as in the 15th to 16th centuries period under consideration the location of a particular fortified complex and the degree of its fortification were primarily determined by certain political circumstances.

The capital and the 'provincial centres' — Isker, Chingi Tura, Kizyl Tura, and Ton Tura (Voznesensk archaeological site)—were essentially different from the other fortified settlements of the khanate. They were all of considerable size and had four areas divided by three powerful defensive lines. One of the ditches of the Voznesensk archaeological site, for instance, was about 19 m wide and more than 6 m deep [Sobolev, 2008, p. 77]. According to the investigation by Zykov, the ditch at the bottom of the eastern ravine of Isker reached its maximum dimensions after 1563: up to 12–13 m wide and up to 2.5 m deep.

Military and administrative centres and ordinary fortified settlements in the 'provinces' (centres of clan subdivisions) of the Siberian Khanate had smaller dimensions. Most often their defences were limited to a single line

consisting of a ditch and a bank with a stake palisade. Such less effective defences had to be enhanced by building additional fortification complexes which could consist of free-standing towers (Bezimyannoye I) or bastions standing in front of the ramparts (Bergamak V, Aytkulovo XI, Yekaterinskoye V). The number of bastions depended on the length of the defensive line; there could be two flank ramparts, as at Bergamak V, or four front ramparts, as at Aytkulovo XI. The only bastion in the northern part of the ditch and bank line of the Yekaterinskoye V (Ananinskoye) archaeological site protected access down to the water.

The frontier towns in the south of the Siberian Khanate were usually located on small eminences and in open country. In terms of shape they are distinguished by strict geometry: all are rectangular in plan occasionally divided into two parts (Chernoozerye XII, Aleksandrovka VI, Chinyaikha, Tyumenka, and Tentis II). One part housed horses intended for war and for food or was given over to economic activities, while the other served as accommodation for the garrison. All forts had a standard defence system consisting of a ditch of about 5 m width and about 2.5 m deep, with a bank about 5 m wide and about 2.5 m high. Unfortunately, many of these sites have not been studied by archaeologists, so we cannot say if there were palisades or other wooden constructions on the banks. In size the southern sites range from 7 to 10 thousand m², but there are some larger ones with areas of up to 30 thousand m², as at Tyumenka, which is explained by the strategic importance of this complex.

The northern frontier towns of the Siberian Khanate also had specific features. They were rarely built on the site of earlier military fortifications. At the small towns of Koshkul IV and Nadezhdinka VII a small number of dwellings was revealed, six and four, respectively. The garrisons of such small towns amounted to 30–40 people. The ground level of some small towns (e.g., Koshkul IV) has been deliberately raised by 1–1.5 m over that of the surrounding area, enhancing their security. Up to 80–90% of the perimeter of the northern frontier small towns was made up of terrace slopes, which were escarped and almost impossible to climb.

The most vivid example is the small town of Tunus (Nadezhdinka VII), which was positioned on a residual hill by the river Nizhnyaya Tunuska, the slopes of which were escarped along almost the entirety of the perimeter.

Temporary fortified military camps. This type of Siberian Khanate fortification was distinguished in his work by L. Kyzlasov. Based on G. Miller's description of the small town of Chyorny, built by Alei, a son of Kuchum, in the Irtysh Region in 1594, he spoke of the existence of circular wooden fortresses, whose defensive lines consisted of several dozen log-built houses built close to one other. According to Kyzlasov, 4–5 soldiers lived in every such 'izba' [Kyzlasov, 1999, p. 122].

During the construction of defensive lines in Siberian Khanate ancient towns, special attention was paid to their entrance points, typically the most vulnerable spot of the defensive complex. At smaller forts, especially the narrow headland ones, there often were no such entrances at all because there was no need to bring large quantities of goods into the enclosed territory. In the Middle Irtysh Region a great number of ancient towns have no visual signs of gaps in the defensive line: Aleksandrovka VII, Ashevany III (Listvenny Uval), Aytkulovo XI, Aytkulovo XIV, Bolshaya Pristan I, and others. The ditch was most likely crossed with the help of a hanging bridge or light pile bridge.

However, a passage was vital for larger fortified settlements, for deliveries of food supplies, for people and livestock. And for Tatar towns this would have had to be a driveway.

The defensive system for the entrance ways at Bezimyannoye I is particularly interesting. Here, opposite the passages in the first line, were bastions in the second line, so that having taken the gateway by storm the enemy would then find itself under cross-fire of archers. At the Nadezhdinka VII (Tunus) archaeological site, a small redoubt was positioned by a roadway ascending the residual hill. At present the height of its walls reaches 2 m, and their internal surface is covered with sun-dried earthen bricks.

Gateways in the steppe frontier towns were not fortified at all. These were probably frontier posts in the truest sense of the word—that

is, fortified camps for cavalry units. The garrisons of the small towns were not intended for passive defence purposes either, consisting of mounted hosts that would emerge to fight in the open. The complex of Bolshoy Chulankul I is an exception, whose entrance was provided with a kind of rampart structure.

The art of fortification in the Siberian Khanate rested on 'three pillars.' First, the Siberian rulers adopted certain fortification skills from the peoples who had preceded them in this territory. This especially concerned the siting of fortification complexes and using the specifics of terrain in the construction of fortifications. Second, the builders employed fortification-building skills brought from Central Asia. The frontier small towns in Baraba were clearly built on this basis. Finally, one further addition to the art of fortification in the Siberian Khanate was knowledge obtained through commerce with the fortified towns and small towns of the Kazan Khanate. These 'pillars' are most vividly exemplified in the defensive system of Isker reconstructed by Zykov, who distinguished six construction horizons corresponding to the six periods of the fortress's existence from the end of the 15th century to 1586. The fortification systems of other large towns—Kizyl Tura and Ton Tura (Voznesensk archaeological site)—are likely to have been very similar to that of the second horizon at Isker.

At present it is hard to assess the effectiveness of the Siberian Khanate's fortification constructions. However, the fact that Yermak faced serious difficulties attacking even very small towns, failing to take some at all, such as Kullary, demonstrates that the level of the fortification art in 16th century Siberia was rather high. At the same time, analysing the fortifications

of Siberian Khanate hill forts and small towns alongside descriptions of military clashes between Russian and Tatar forces and the weapons complex of a Khanate soldier, we come to the conclusion that fortifications played a secondary role in this state. By its tactics and strategy the army of Khan Kuchum most resembled that of nomadic state formations, where almost 100% of military operations were performed by cavalry. In this respect, the frontier small towns are exemplary, serving more as a base for the deployment of small cavalry detachments than fortified strongholds.

A considerable part of fortified settlements was meant to protect from sudden attacks so that the occupants might hold out until aid came from the military and administrative centres. Except for the larger towns and four or five major centres of provinces (uluses), no fortified settlements were capable of withstanding a long siege. Due to their location, some sites of ancient towns were actually hiding-places, where people could take refuge in case of military threat. On the whole, the study of fortified complexes in the Siberian Khanate allows us to conclude that this state's fortification practices developed in the general context of the development of the military art in Northern Eurasia. Despite all the classifications of Siberian sites of ancient towns available to science, a number of challenging issues have yet to be settled. The absence of an absolute chronology for these complexes makes it impossible to solve the problem of the cultural and/or ethnic attribution of the sites' inhabitants and thus build a general scheme of fortified settlement development for this historical period and the area in question [Tataurov, 2010, pp. 30–31].

CHAPTER 2

The Economy in the Tatar States

Rafael Valeev

The economic history of the Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries has not yet been sufficiently studied. This is due to a whole array of factors, of which we believe the following to be most significant.

1. The intensely political nature of interactions between the Muscovite state and the Kazan Khanate as well as other Tatar state formations and the ideological basis prepared during the reign of Ivan IV for the 'Taking of Kazan' and subsequent conquest of other Tatar territories. This also concerns the official historiography based on the Russian chronicles, the 'History of the Kazan Tsardom' and the accounts of these events by contemporaries [Alishev, 1995, pp. 3–6].

2. The varied natural and geographic conditions in this part of Eurasia, from the Crimea and the Lower Volga region to Siberia and the Caspian Sea region, as well as the mountain systems that stretch across the continent: The Ural Mountains, the offshoots of the Southern Urals, the western ranges of the Tien Shan, and the Altai. The steppe zone between the Black and the Caspian seas is cut off from the south by the Caucasus Mountains. This lent specific traits to the way of life of the population and dictated the various different styles of subsistence and economic development models of the Tatar states.

3. The lack of documents relating to the peculiarities and general patterns of economic development in the Tatar states. 'The written sources in oriental languages concerning the history of the Kazan Khanate were almost totally destroyed during the Siege of Kazan in 1552,' wrote S. Schmidt, a leading Russian source-study expert, in the mid 20th century [Schmidt, 1954, p. 189]. Since then the situation has little changed. The documents dealing with the history of the Kazan Khanate number barely a dozen. There are slightly more written sources on the Crimean Khanate associated

with the fact of its continued existence until the 18th century.

Research into the economy of the Tatar states requires more than a general analysis of the sources, involving the study of specific economic and legal documents, edicts and instructions issued by the Khanate authorities (only preserved in a handful of *yarliqs*), city books, and other materials that can help us to elucidate the relationship between such various branches of production as farming and cattle breeding, the arts and craft industries of the cities and rural communities, fishing and hunting, and the presence of their respective goods on the market; and to find out the relations between economic types (natural, mixed, or commodity economies) and different types of economic activity (peasant or trade) of the thirteen categories of officials listed in the *yarliq* of the Kazan Khan Sahib-Giray and, of course, their personal households, as well as the different market subjects—professional merchants, craftsmen, peasants and other urban, rural, or nomadic groups belonging to the tribute-paying population.

Unfortunately, the lack of historical sources, above all of written documents, does not make it possible to answer the questions that need to be asked to gain a fuller understanding of the economic history of the Tatar states and thus shed additional light on other issues of the period under study.

In solving such problems as the description of crafts or listing goods for domestic and foreign trade, archaeological research takes on great significance; numismatics and metrological materials are priceless for the description of trade relations, means of exchange and trading techniques, domestic, inter-regional, and interstate trade routes, and fairs and markets both in the cities and beyond.

However, it should be noted that archaeological research of the monuments of the Ta-

tar states requires large-scale excavations and analysis of materials. Unfortunately, only the Kazan Kremlin, the former settlement of Rusky Urmat, Arsk, and a small number of other sites have been excavated.

4. The combination of quality and quantity analyses is an important factor that makes the economic research even more complicated. It is well known that the aim of replenishing the Khanate treasury caused the authorities to cover the whole country with a network of tax-gathering institutions that were in charge of collecting revenues in a given place, region, or daruga. Scribes, charter-holders, tax collectors, customs officers, weighmen, and other officials put great efforts into collecting and recording taxes. The country was filled with customs houses and tollgates, with river crossings attended by officials collecting dues for transporting the goods over water. Customs officers collected duties from merchants transporting their goods along turnpikes. Both public and private lives were strictly regulated, and business relationships between individuals were framed in the form of contracts and agreements sealed with tamgas and stamps or even, in particularly important cases, with sworn oaths [Khudyakov, 1990, pp. 206–207]. However, there are no materials on such matters, especially on customs duties. Such sources could have revealed the volume, range, and dynamics of the economy, particularly for trade in the Tatar cities. There is no statistical data on the relations between commercial and natural production for individual estates, households, industries, market turnover, the situation and development of prices, the interplay of supply and demand, or the scale of merchants' profits. Materials on these subjects cannot be subjected to quantitative analysis because they date to the 18th and 19th centuries and are characteristic of the modern era. We can only therefore make a comparative historical analysis.

The economy of the Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries largely inherited the levels achieved in the first half of the second millennium AD by the sovereign states and formations then existing—Volga Bulgaria, Desht-i Kipchak, and Crimea—and due to the suc-

cesses of the various different peoples inhabiting this part of the Eurasian landmass. The symbiosis of the settled agrarian and nomadic components of the Golden Horde was a powerful factor in its economic development and determined the economic welfare of the Jochid Ulus [Yegorov, 1974, p. 37].

But even in the period when a single centralised state was in existence, the economic development of the Jochid Ulus was determined by the peculiarities of the geographic regions forming it, the dominance of either farming or cattle breeding, of settled urban, nomadic, or other types of population, by the differentiation of the internal structures, means of economic management, and the way in which social and cultural traditions and relations were organised [Valeev, 2012, pp. 68–80]. The disintegration of the Golden Horde and the emerging new khanates, notwithstanding their varying degrees of sovereignty, emphasised the economic peculiarities of each of these states all the more, as well as the general pattern of economic development characteristic of the Eurasian area of the Jochid Ulus.

The economy of the Tatar states was diversified and included farming, cattle breeding, handicraft industries such as metallurgical production, pottery, jewellery production, tanning, bone carving, and building, as well as commerce and trade. There was a public division of labour that led to the active development of commodity output, existing parallel to natural production.

The following factors contributed to the economic development of the Tatar states:

1. Their territory was rich in natural resources. The natural environment of the Middle Volga and Ural regions, for instance, boasted great timber resources in the north and forest-steppe zone, while the steppes in the south had vast meadows and chernozem soils and a multitude of rivers and lakes. The wide floodplains were rich in fodder, game, and other natural resources. The territories of the Astrakhan Khanate, the Great and the Nogai Hordes, and parts of the Crimean and Siberian Khanates had access to the Black and Caspian seas and were based in a steppe zone rich in grazing and pastures, lakes, rivers, game, and wildfowl.

2. A high capacity of handicraft industries and technologies, especially in urban areas, had been achieved in the 10–15th centuries in Volga Bulgaria, Khwarezm, the Crimea, and the Golden Horde, distinct from the production of other medieval states. There was active development of handicraft industries, particularly in the working of precious metals, cast ironwork, jewellery, glazed ceramics production, construction in brick, stone carving and glass making, which were strictly urban crafts. Such crafts as blacksmithing, pottery, tanning, and stone carving were also developed in the cities, though they could also be found in rural settlements.

3. The favourable geographic location of the Tatar states at the junction of the international and inter-regional trade routes of Eurasia, connecting West and East, North and South. This resulted in domestic and interstate trade combining with international movement of goods. The Volga, Kama, Vyatka, Irtysh, and other major riverine routes, as well as caravan paths determined the significance of these medieval states in the history of Eurasia. A prototype of a common economic space began to form, even as early as under the Golden Horde. In the 13–15th centuries international trade began to fulfill new functions, such as inter-regional goods exchange, based more on territorial economic differentiation than on natural and geographic differences between regions. Common market mechanisms existed across such broad expanses as between Italy and Constantinople, the Crimea, Syria, North Africa, and Spain [Karpov, 1990, pp. 4–5]. As exchange spheres expanded, a rel-

atively unified commercial system began to form, and the interrelations emerged between the trade centres of the southern and northern (Baltic and North Sea) zones [Svanidze, 1987, pp. 29–51].

The Khans of the Golden Horde ensured the safety of the trade routes from Western Europe to China, thus contributing to the economic welfare of the state. When Temür sacked the Volga cities of the Golden Horde, the trade routes leading to the East shifted. Spices and silk were then transported to the Mediterranean by the southern route through the countries of the Middle and Near East [Fyodorov-Davydov, 2001, pp. 213–220], as described by Giosafat Barbaro: 'Before it was destroyed by Tamerlane, the spices and silk were transported to Astrakhan, and from there to Tana (now they are transported to Syria). Six to seven large galleys were sent from Venice alone to collect the spices and silk from Tana. And in those times, neither Venetians nor any other foreigners traded in Syria' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 157].

In the 15–18th centuries the political conditions that had secured the safety of the international trade routes were no longer present. But the favourable geographic factors still remained in force, if dissipated somewhat in the vast expanse of Eurasia. Indeed, the decline of the strong centralised power of the Golden Horde khans and the subsequent decline of the cities were conditioned by this shifting of the main routes of the Silk Road to the South and the old routes passing through Central Asia, Iran, and the Levant [Fyodorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 224].

§ 1. Farming, Stock Raising, Handicrafts, and Trades

In a number of Tatar states, like Kazan, Crimean, Kasimov, and, to some extent, Astrakhan, farming had a solid foundation and long traditions going back to the beginning of the 1st millennium A.D. But farming existed even in such states as the Great and Nogai Hordes and the Crimean Khanate, whose territories are in the steppes and whose economy was based on nomadic stock raising. But it was insignificant and undeveloped. For instance, Giosafat Barbaro notes that the nomads of the Azov Sea region had grain stores, and that the khans supported the population in order to get a good yield of wheat and millet [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 150]. A message of the Crimean khan Mengli Giray is also known regarding the fact that in 1501 a large number of Tatars of the Great Horde, due to the crisis situation, 'had to leave their previous camping grounds without having prepared any grain' [Malinovsky, reserve 36, p. 93]. Farming in the Nogai Horde was practiced in the area of Saraychiq, and later in the Northern Caucasus [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 507–544].

The most developed farming was in the Kazan, Crimean, and other Tatar states. Even before the Bulgars came to the Middle Volga and Kama regions, the local population, first and foremost the Imenkovo tribes, in the 3rd–7th centuries was agrarian. They plowed using draft animals and animal-driven plows. Bulgarian farming was partly based on their traditions obtained during the time when they were part of Great Bulgaria, the Khazar Empire, and the more ancient Turkic states [Valeev, 2007, pp. 12–17].

Within the Golden Horde, farming was of great significance in Khwarezm, the Bulgar region, the Northern Caucasus, and the Crimea [Yakubovsky, 1931, p. 11]. On the basis of a comparison of different sources, B. Grekov and A. Yakubovsky note that Bulgaria and its environs were the most important agricultural region in the Golden Horde [Grekov & Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 104]. Ibn Rustah, Ibn Fadlan, the Russian chronicles, and other authors mention various crops—

wheat, barley, millet, and all kinds of grain [Khvolson, 1870, p. 224; Kovalevsky, p. 136; Valeev, 2012, pp. 49–50].

Agriculture, above all farming, played a major part in the history of the Kazan Khanate, as attested to by both written sources and archaeological materials. The author of 'The History of the Kazan Tsardom,' who is known to have lived in Kazan for a long time, noted that the territory of the Kazan state 'is rich in cattle, and bees, and all sorts of seeds, and vegetables, and animals, and fish, and all kinds of land' [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 2000, p. 20]. Prince A. Kurbsky, who played an active part in the conquest of Kazan and saw many regions of the Khanate while he was there, especially the lands around Arça, wrote: 'In that land are great fields, very fertile and abundant with all kinds of fruit;...and the settlements are dense, and there is a multitude of all kinds of grain...as well as countless herds of various livestock.' One of the ideologists of the conquest of Kazan, I. Peresvetov, called Kazan 'a land close to paradise' [Works, 1956, p. 182].

The information contained in written sources regarding the development of farming in the Kazan Khanate is confirmed by archaeological materials. Tillage and harvesting tools, crop processing tools, and paleobotanic remnants of the seeds of cultivated plants and weeds found there allow us to see into the farming system and the crops used back then.

The main types of plow were the sokha and the saban. They belonged to the same types throughout the territory of the Tatar states. Iron shares from double-pointed sokhas with a lever shovel are found quite frequently. The sokha was used to plow relatively light, previously cultivated soils or recently deforested land. The sokha is thought to have appeared as a special type of plow among the East Slavs not earlier than the 1st millennium AD, and the Volga Bulgars began using it only in the 12th century. However, ethnographer N. Khalikov, an expert on Bulgar and Tatar farming, does not rule out

the possibility that this implement was developed independently by the Bulgars from their local ard [Khalikov, 1981, p. 50].

However, the Tatars' main implement for tilling sod was a single-shared saban with a colter device to adjust the plowing depth. As N. Khalikov justly noted, 'the nearly complete similarity of the metal parts of the Bulgar plow and the later Tatar saban points to their kinship' [Ibid., p. 59]. The iron plowshare of a saban looks like a massive plate with an oval open tube with a triangular symmetrical or asymmetrical blade. It should be noted that the improvement of the shape of the share from a symmetrical isosceles triangle to an asymmetrical scalene triangle testifies to the plow's development. Asymmetrical shares appeared during the Golden Horde period and were more advanced and better suited for working with a one-sided moldboard [Krasnov, 1987, pp. 207–211]. Colters attached to the shaft on the left side right before the plowshare were an indispensable part of a saban; they were used to cut the upper layer of the soil—the sod. Such sabans, driven by a pair of horses or oxen, were usually used to plow virgin lands and were able to cultivate the heavy, thickly matted soils of the steppes and forest steppes.

Sickles (*urak*) and a scythe (*chalgy*) were used to harvest crops. They were used by the Bulgars back then, and their Tatar names are common to all groups of Tatars in an enormous territory, as well as to the Turkic-speaking peoples of the Central Asia. Judging by their form, proportions, and size, they come from the North Caucasian and Central Asian traditions, and they have remained almost unchanged to this day [Khalikov, 2006, p. 238].

Such plowing and harvesting tools were typical of the population of the Kasimov, Siberian, and Crimean Khanates and the Nogai Horde and had a wider territorial distribution. However, farming productivity depends not only on agricultural tools but on the natural fertility of the soil as well. That is why crop rotation was one of the most important agricultural methods for restoring soil fertility. Methods differed depending on the ro-

tation of crops and the periods of rest and cultivation.

Tatars used fallow farming based on a three-field system (winter crops—spring crops—fallow), but depending on the climate and the geographic location they could also use shifting cultivation and slash-and-burn farming, or a combination thereof. In the shifting cultivation system, land, which had been used for several years and had become barren, was abandoned and several years later was brought back into use for farming. The slash-and-burn system was used for forested regions in the Kazan and Kasimov Khanates, and especially in the Siberian Khanate. Traces of slash-and-burn farming could be found up to the early 20th century near Tobolsk, among both the Tatars and the Russian peasants in the same area [Tatars, 2001, p. 165]. Even in the early 17th century cleared land and forest fallow were widely used in the Kazan region [Scribe's Book, 1978].

Paleobotanic findings and carpological analysis show what crops were farmed by the Tatars. The seed materials include about 20 different crop species. The Tatars used to sow rye, wheat, barley, millet, oats, peas, and other crops. Many rye seeds were found during excavations on the territory of the Kazan Kremlin in the stratum of the Kazan Khanate. The low impurity of the seed material is an indicator of the dominance of rye; this is due to the fact that rye is better able to inhibit weed growth than other crops and to the specifics of sowing it after a complete fallow. Seeds of southern Turan wheat were found in one of the samples.

The sources mention mills when describing Kazan, and during some excavations a large quantity of charred grain was found in many buildings, which suggests developed commercial grain production and the existence of artisans in the cities who milled grain and baked bread.

In the Siberian Khanate plow farming was widespread in Tobol, Pyshma, Tura, Tomi, Vagay and Ishim, and on the Irtysh and the Ob. The Baraba Tatars practiced hoe farming. Each 'peasant family, each feudal household, and even Kuchum himself had

their own cropland where they grew grain' [Faizrakhmanov, 2002, p. 155]. In 1598 Tara voivode A. Voyeykov sent a message to Moscow that 'Kuchum has left the black waters to go to the Ob with his children and servants to where his grain is planted... Kuchum has plantings of grain between the Irtysh and the Upper Ob' [Response, 1842]. The Remezov's Chronicle mentions the grain stores of the Tatars during Yermak's campaign. There is mention of the arable land in possession of Tatar mirza Epanchi [Shunkov, 1956, p. 13; The Siberian Chronicles, 1907, pp. 321–333].

Iron sickles, remnants of hand-held millstones, and a Tatar iron plow were found during the archaeological excavations in the settlement of Isker near Tobolsk [Valeev, 1993, pp. 64–65].

Liman farming was practiced in the As-trakhan Khanate: grain was grown on the embanked and drained territories of *ilmens*, which are shallow, marshy lakes at the mouths of rivers. In the warm climate cropland fertilised with silt produced abundant crops, mainly millet, but preparation and maintenance took much effort. That is why farming was not as important there [Tatars, 2001, p. 166].

On the territory of the Crimean Khanate farming traditions were crucial in the South Crimea and in the Kerch Region [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, pp. 10–11]. However, Tatars in the other regions of the peninsula and beyond Perekop, where for a long time nomadic stock raising dominated, were reported to have grain fields on the territories of the traditional winter trails [Iskhakov, 2009v, p. 65; Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 12].

Giosafat Barbaro, who lived in Tana from 1436 to 1452 and visited many lands, left an interesting report on how the nomadic Tatars sowed their grain: 'Anyone who wants to sow should prepare everything necessary because the sowing will take place at the new moon in March in such-and-such a place, and everyone will set out on such-and-such a day. Afterwards those who plan to sow... load their carts with seeds, take the animals they need, and together with their wives and chil-

dren set out for the appointed place, which is, as a rule, a two days' journey from where the Horde was camped at the moment the call to sow went out. There they plow, sow, and live until they have done everything they planned to... The Khan tours the fields...so it continues until the crops are ripe... only those who sowed and those who want to buy wheat go there. They move together with their carts, oxen, camels, and their belongings, just as if they were moving to their lands' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 150]. This description of the process of sowing and harvesting grain and farming in the steppes applies not only to the Great and the Nogai Hordes but also to the Crimean and Siberian Khanates.

In the mid-16th century the Crimean Khan Sahib Giray made the nomads settle down. In the 1570s, M. Bronevsky, a contemporary, writes, 'The part of the peninsula where the Khan and his Tatars live, from Perekop towards the lake and up to Krym, are cultivated, flat, and fertile,' and in Krym 'sedentary people' predominate [Iskhakov, 2009v, p. 65; Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 12]. They sowed wheat, barley, emmer, and flax. Gardening was widespread, but nomadic communities remained, especially beyond Perekop. After the Tatars of the Nogai and the Great Horde had been subordinated by the Crimean Khanate, such communities became even stronger [Iskhakov, 2009v, p. 65; Syroechkovskiy, 1940, pp. 13–14].

The results of the farming are interesting. G. Barbaro writes about the southern geographic region: 'The lands there are fertile and produce a fiftyfold yield of wheat, which is as high as Paduan wheat, and a hundred-fold yield of millet. Sometimes the harvest is so abundant that it is left in the steppes' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 150]. G. Barbaro's evidence is confirmed by E. Çelebi (17th century), who wrote about the population of the Lower Volga Region and the steppes of the North Caucasus: 'They also practice farming—that is, they are sowers and country-folk. They mostly sow millet because one kile of millet yields a hundred or a hundred and ten kiles in those lands' [Evliya Çelebi, 2007].

Some researchers think that the yield of grain crops in the northern forests or forest steppes was 1:3 to 1:5 in the middle of the 15th century, which is comparable to the average figures in Europe [Nefedov, 2007]. Obviously, the yield in the Kasimov and Kazan Khanates could only have been something applicable to this zone, not 1:50 or 1:100.

Stock raising was the other important branch of agriculture in the Tatar states. It provided people with a stable supply of meat and dairy products. In the 14th century mutually beneficial cooperation took shape between nomadic stock raisers and farmers, including, as we read in G. Barbaro's notes, 'nomadic farmers.' Turkic-Tatar nomads who lived in the steppes of the Trans-Volga Region, the South Urals and Siberia in the 15–17th century kept roaming seasonally. They used the Bugulma Plateau and the South Urals as their summer pastures, and for winter they roamed with their flocks in the lower reaches of the Syrdarya and the Volga and in the Aral Sea region. This type of migration was used by the stock raising population of the Trans-Volga and South Ural steppes up to the 18th century [History of the Tatars, 2009, p. 264]. But the traditional system of migration was changed after a part of the Nogai Horde came to the right bank of the Volga, as a result of which new migration routes arose [Iskhakov, 2009v, p. 78].

The economy of the Great and Nogai Hordes and the Crimean, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates was based on nomadic stock raising, although—as we saw earlier—they also practiced farming and other economic activities. The prevalence of stock raising was connected with the landscape of the steppe zone they inhabited. They raised sheep, horses, camels, cows, asses, and other livestock. G. Barbaro was surprised at the huge number of animals he saw: 'What shall I say about the enormous, even countless multitude of animals in that Horde? Will anyone believe me?' The author reports in detail on trading: 'There are horse traders among those people; they take horses from the Horde and drive them to various places... I used to meet merchants on the road who were driving so

many horses that they covered the entire steppes... The second type of animal that this people has is marvelous big bulls, and so many of them as to be sufficient even for Italian slaughterhouses. They are driven to Poland, and some of them are driven through Wallachia to Transylvania or Germany, and from there to Italy... The third type of animals this people keeps is tall, shaggy, two-humped camels. They are driven to Persia and sold there for 25 ducats each' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 149]. There is also a report of 3,200 merchants from the Astrakhan Khanate who drove 40,000 horses to Moscow [Nazarov, 1983, p. 33]. Among goods delivered from Desht to Syngak, Fazlallakh ibn Ruzbikhan mentioned in the early 16th century 'fat sheep, horses, and camels' [Fazlallakh ibn Ruzbikhan Isfakhani, 1976, p. 11]. Rams and horses from the Astrakhan Khanate were also named in Osman documents from Azak [Zaitsev, 2006, p. 208]. Significant numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats were delivered to the Middle Volga Region [Petrenko, 1988, pp. 258, 260, 271] and to Russia [Tsalkin, 1967, p. 120].

To a great extent, an economic crisis due to the insufficiency of pastures and drought led to the disintegration of the Great Horde. In the early 16th century ambassadors of the Muscovite state and the Crimean Khanate noted that people of the Great Horde were 'in a very bad state, and on foot, and unclothed or without horses... and they are in a bad state and roaming on their own' [Zaitsev, 2006, p. 109].

Transhumant stock raising was practiced in the Kasimov, Kazan, and Siberian Khanates. A. Kurbsky mentions 'countless herds of various livestock' in the Kazan Khanate. The taiga forests and swamps in the Siberian Khanate hampered the development of nomadic stock raising on a broad scale. But the steppes along the middle reaches of the Tobol and Irtysh and on the left bank of the Ob and Baraba were suitable for rearing livestock. Baraba Tatars reared horses and sheep. The Irtysh and Tobol Tatars practiced sedentary and semi-sedentary stock raising and reared horses, cattle, and in smaller numbers

sheep. Horse breeding was one of the main activities of the Siberian Tatars. Horses were used for riding, in harness, and—with the development of farming—as working animals. Horse breeding was a source of meat and mare's milk for kumis [Fayzrahmanov, 2002, pp. 153–154]. In the south-east steppes of the Kazan Khanate and the southern edge of the Kasimov Khanate, where the Nogai communities lived, nomadic stock raising could also be practiced [Iskhakov, 2009v, pp. 57, 63].

In Tatar states, especially those with a settled population, people reared domestic fowl—chickens, ducks, and geese. Among osteologic materials from many settlements were found large quantities of their bones and eggshells.

Hunting, fishing, and honey hunting were also an important part of the economy of the Tatar states but not a major one. Hunting and fishing were most widespread in the Siberian Khanate. Hunting in the forest and taiga, especially among the Yaskolba Tatars and in the northern part of Baraba, was one of the main economic activities and a source of sustenance along with fishing. Hunting for big game and fowl provided families with meat. Hunting for fur-bearing animals provided people with clothes and could be exchanged or sold. The Tura, Tumen, and Tobolsk Tatars hunted big game in groups, or occasionally alone. They hunted on foot or on skis in winter. They also hunted with gyrfalcons. They used snares to catch hares, ducks, partridges, and black grouse. They set traps to catch ermine [Fayzrahmanov, 2002, p. 156].

The population of the forested parts of the Kazan, Crimean, and Kasimov Khanates and the Transurals practiced hunting too. During excavations in the strata of this period, the bones of wild animals—foxes, wolves, bears, hares, etc.—and birds—geese, grouse, European partridges, etc.—were found. The reports of travelers and eastern and western sources of the 9–15th century are filled with accounts of supplies of pelts. The territories of the Tatar states during the period under study were active suppliers of fur. They hunted martens, beavers, sables, squirrels,

ermine, foxes, hares, and their fur was actively exported. Hunting was a favourite amusement of the Khan and his circle. For instance, during excavations on the territory of the Kazan Kremlin, a large number of hunted species—moose, roe deer, boar, bear, hare—were found near the Khan's palace.

Fishing, like honey hunting, played a subordinate role in the economy of the Tatars. At the same time, it was important for the population living near the banks of Volga, Kama, Vyatka, Irtysh, Tobol, and other large and small rivers as well as for the Tatars of the Crimean Khanate on the Black Sea coast. Fishing was especially widespread in the Astrakhan Khanate, where khan and the Tatar nobility owned some of the fishing areas. They caught sturgeon, beluga, and sevruga. Caviar was an important item in local and foreign trade. In 1554, after Russians conquered the Khanate, they imposed a tribute in the amount of 30,000 (3,000 in other sources) belugas and sturgeon [Iskhakov, 2009v, p. 71; Zaitsev, 2006, p. 224].

During excavations of settlements on riverbanks, sturgeon and sterlet scales and bones, harpoons (for catfish, pike perch, carp, and other fish), iron fishhooks, spoon baits for catching big fish, and stone and clay weights for nets and seines are found in great numbers. Fish consumption noticeably affected the diet of the population of these settlements, as evidenced by the large share of fish bones found during the excavations of a number of sites.

Describing the Volga and the Caspian sea, G. Barbaro writes that 'there are countless fish both in the river and in the sea.' Dried fish and caviar were exported in large quantities by Italian merchants [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 50–52; 57–58, 157]. Fishing on the Volga was practiced not only by locals but also by foreign, namely Russian, fishermen. The famous edict of the Russian government of 1523 caused a leap in prices and a shortage of primarily of good fish, including beluga, which is caught in the Volga on both sides of Kazan. The dependence of the Russian market on the Volga fishing industry was all the more noticeable

because in those days the Russians assiduously observed fasts [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 220]. The compiler of 'The Kazan Chronicle' says the following about Russian fishermen: 'The fishermen caught fish in the Volga at the foot of the hill and all along to the Serpent's stone and Uvek, 1000 versts from Kazan. They went there and spent the whole summer there fishing, and in autumn they went back to Russia, having caught many fish and got rich' [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 2000, p. 33]. He estimates that 10,000 Russian fishermen were fishing in the Kazan Khanate in 1521 [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 223].

The Tatars' special interest in beekeeping and honey hunting should also be noted. Honey is still part of the wedding ritual 'balmay.' N. Bazhenov noted: 'the Tatars practice beekeeping more than others' [Bazhenov, 1847, p. 11]. Initially beekeeping was practiced as collecting honey from wild bees, but later on in the period under discussion the Tatars started making hives in tree hollows. Only in the 19th century did bee-farming emerge [Works, 1956, p. 178]. Honey and wax were not only used as food but were also an important trade item.

Crafts played an important part in the economy of the Tatar states. The level and technologies of production achieved in Volga Bulgaria, Crimea, Khwarezm, and the Golden Horde laid the foundation for developing and improving crafts and setting up various kinds of production in the 15–18th centuries. Artefacts of production facilities (metallurgic and pottery kilns, smithies, jeweller's workshops, bone carving workshops, tanning workshops, etc.), craftsmen's tools, various types of finished and unfinished products, and production waste give us an idea of the state of the main crafts, and for the Crimean Khanate of the 17–18th centuries, of developing industries.

The state and development of many economic sectors and social relations, such as farming, stock raising, various trades and crafts, armament, military arts, and defence capacity, depended on the level of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and forging. Iron

working in Volga Bulgaria and the Golden Horde was highly developed. Metallurgic work with iron and alloy consisted of a number of independent steps:

- Finding and extracting ore
- Preparing fuel, chopping and charring wood for charcoal
- Making a metallurgical furnace, drying and firing it
- Lighting and heating the furnace, loading it with coal and ore
- Throttling the flotation of air and watching the bloomery process
- Taking out the bloom and hammering it to consolidate the iron and drive out the slag [Semykin, 2006, p. 249].

Production of cast iron started in the 14th century in the Golden Horde, one of the first countries in Europe, and laid the foundation for its further development in the Tatar states. For instance, during excavations of the Kazan Kremlin, about 50 pieces of cast iron boilers were found in the strata from the 15–18th centuries.

Metallurgical furnaces and other facilities used for working iron and alloys were known not only in cities but in country settlements as well. There were specialised workshops in the cities consisting of several metallurgic furnaces and a forge. Those multipurpose workshops had all the necessary equipment and tools. They used various technological processes that enabled them to make iron from bloom, raw and whole steel, and packet martensite; cementation, hardening and brazing; and other methods.

Forging became significantly more important; the range of products expanded, promoting the development of the economy of the Tatar states and providing the population with necessary items made of ferrous metals. The range was wide and consisted of shares, plows, hoes, sickles, scythes, axes, knives, branding irons, bar bits, stirrups, arrowheads, pikes, sabers, etc. They cast kettles, bowls, and other products from cast iron.

Forging existed independently of metallurgic production. It was practiced among master blacksmiths as a narrow specialisation, which was to a great extent related to market demand

for a given type of product, and by all-purpose blacksmiths in villages.

Improved techniques for working with non-ferrous metals made it possible to produce all kinds of products from copper, bronze, alloys, silver, and gold: weapon components, everyday items and cult objects, cookware, reed pens (sticks used for writing), locks, keys, and various kinds of adornments—earrings, rings, beads, etc. Non-ferrous metalwork was very important in the economic life of the Tatar states. Artefacts of metallurgic production from the period of the Kazan Khanate were found during the excavations of the Kazan Kremlin near its North-East Tower. These were wooden buildings with brick ovens and a kiln. A large quantity of brick fragments, copper slag, and copper bars were found in the contents of the kiln, showing that it used to be a copper-smelting workshop.

When making items of non-ferrous metals, craftsmen used such methods as embossing, stamping, and drawing, which made it possible to create products of various quantity and quality. One area was the production of metal vessels—pitchers, basins, cups, lamps, and all types of containers. A copper pitcher, which is now in the collection of the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, is of great interest. It is a highly artistic piece. Art experts describe it as follows: 'The delicacy of its form—with a high and narrow neck separated from its body with a relief stopper ring, a smoothly arched handle, a drop-shaped silhouette that becomes wider towards the bottom of the body, and a round base—is complemented by a generous and masterly ornament made by stamping, inlaying, and engraving a floral and calligraphic inscription that fills an elongated drop-shaped border with a flowing drawing of Arabic symbols on both sides of a slightly flattened border' [Chervonnaya, 1987, p. 1954]. This example demonstrates the technological capacities of the Tatar jewellers.

Non-ferrous metalwork is closely related to the jeweller's craft, which—on the foundation of the achievements of the pre-Mongo-

lian and the Golden Horde periods—attained a high degree of sophistication. Jewellery workshops were usually located in the centre of the cities, closer to their customers and potential purchasers. No dedicated workshops have been found during excavations yet, but there are many signs of production, like crucibles and molds, craftsmen's tools, and marvelous examples of end products. Metal matrices can often be found which were used to make embossed, pressed, and stamped jewellery. These were large cast plates with ornaments. They placed a thin copper, silver, or gold sheet on them and hit them carefully with a wooden hammer, thus creating a clear relief impression on the metal. Jewellers worked with stamping hammers, anvils, files, puncheons, pincers, small punches, and chisels.

Tatar jewellers knew all the techniques for artistic work with precious metals and stones. Gold and silver items created using the techniques of granulation and various kinds of filigree were marked by their virtuosity. Jewellers lovingly encrusted their works with amethysts, blue turquoise, green malachite, carnelian, pearls, jasper, and other stones and faceted coloured glass, giving Tatar jewellery an exceptional beauty based on rich colours and festive brilliance. Jewellers also mastered the technique of niello on silver, which previously had not been developed in Bulgarian jewellery but became very popular in later folk art [Ibid., p. 152]. Jewellers used engraving, deep and flat stamping, pressing, inlaying with precious metals, engraving on gems and faceting stones, casting, etc. [Valeeva-Suleymanova, Shageeva, 1990, p. 77].

Consequently, Tatar jewellers made items of various quality. There were craftsmen of different professional qualification, and the articles produced were meant for different customers. Highly professional jewellers knew the most complex techniques for working with precious metals. The advanced level of the jewellers' art is confirmed by the 'Kazan Cap' (part of the collection of the State Armoury Chamber), Ivan the Terrible's crown made of stamped gold with gems and

fur trim; massive gold clasps for decorating a belt encrusted with precious and semiprecious stones (part of the collection of the State Anthropology Museum); and ornamental silver buttons made using filigree and stamping techniques [Chervonnaya, 1987, p. 153; Valeeva-Suleymanova, Shageeva, 1990, p. 77]. That is why the area of working precious and semi-precious stones is close to jewellery, not in techniques but in the function of the end products.

Pottery was one of the main industries in the Tatar states with a settled population and advanced urbanism. This became evident during excavations when kilns used to harden crockery, whole vessels, and pieces of them were found—the most frequent findings in the cities and settlements.

Tatar craftsmen carry on the traditions of the Bulgarian, Khwarezm, Crimean, and the Golden Horde phases of the craft's development. Their products were notable for their variety, practicality of form, delicacy of ornament, good firing, and pleasing appearance. The wide range of ceramic ware and their standard forms show that craftsmen made both custom products and products for the market. Jugs, pots, bowls, dishes, plates, and other ceramics are just a few of the goods which were sold both on the territory of the khanate and beyond it.

The materials of the excavations of the Kazan Kremlin, which took place in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century, give the best description of the ceramics of the Khanate period of the 15–16th centuries. They are systematised in the reports and works of N. Kalinin, A. Khalikov, T. Khlebnikova, L. Shavokhin and in the doctoral dissertation of A. Sidtikov.

T. Khlebnikova distinguishes six historic and cultural groups of ceramics out of over 200,000 fragments of unglazed ceramics and 2,000 graphic reconstructions of them. Over 20% of Bulgar ceramics were found in the stratum of the Kazan Khanate era. Ceramics produced in accordance with Bulgar traditions, which account for the most finds, make up from 6.1% to 34% of the the ceramics found in that stratum.

Kazan ceramics are of particular interest. They are sandy in colour with a rough surface, produced using oxidation firing, thoroughly fired, and with no polishing. The forms of jugs and mug-shaped vessels, pots, bowl-like vessels and cups, caps, and a water pipe have been reconstructed. Technologically, they can be compared to late Bulgar ceramics, but the production techniques are closer to those of Golden Horde artefacts of the Lower Volga Region. They appear in the stratum of the Golden Horde period, while in the stratum of the Khanate period this group of ceramics makes up over half of the total ceramics.

Ceramics related to the Russian population of the city was found in the Kazan Kremlin. They are represented by imported white clay ceramics (80%) and ceramics from clay tempered with sand and crushed stone (20%): pots, fragments of large jars, jugs, dishes, and lids. This group makes up 10% to 41% of all the ceramics in the stratum of the Khanate period and the turn of the 16–17th centuries.

In the 15–16th centuries production of 'Tatar-Russian' ceramics began. They make up 10.8% to 42% in the stratum of the Khanate period and gradually increased in number after the conquest of Kazan in the strata of the second half of the 16–18th centuries. These ceramics were made of the local ferruginous clay tempered with fine sand. Five groups may be distinguished in the development of forms of white clay and sand-tempered Russian ceramics by firing and working methods, with consideration for shape: from gray polished and unpolished ceramics (60%), black (2.8–9.6%), red (15–16%), brown-grey or brown, and to red clay with glazing. Local pottery traditions introduced by Russians and developed in close interaction with them can often be found in this group. These ceramics were widespread both among the Tatar and Russian populations.

Workshops also produced glazed ceramics, which achieved a high point in the period of the Jochid Ulus; these products are the most typical of the Golden Horde civilisation and their urban culture. Glazed ceram-

ics were regarded as an elite but at the same time widespread artistic product. They were quite richly ornamented. Two types of glazed ceramics were found during the excavations of the Kazan Kremlin. The first of them is redware with white underglaze engobe and monochromatic glaze, and the second is a decorated monochromatic semi-maiolica with green and brown glaze and cut-in ornament on the white clay or red clay base with engobe. It was made in accordance with a Central Asian or possibly Crimean recipe. Most glazed crockery in the Kremlin was found near the Khan's palace, and this suggests that it was mostly used by the khan's officials. It should be noted that at the Kamaevsk and Arsk archaeological sites glazed ceramics make up 10.5% to 11% of all the ceramics, which means it was widely used there. Similar ceramics were found in the strata of Moscow and Tver from the same period as the Kazan Kremlin.

Leatherwork—preparing leather and making all kinds of items out of it—was also a traditional Tatar industry, typical for both the nomadic and settled populations. As compared to other economic activities and crafts of the Tatar states, which have been studied relatively little, tanning and shoemaking, as a craft typical of former nomads, has been fairly well researched. Starting with the works of A. Smirnov [Smirnov, 1951, pp. 129–130], O. Khovanskaya [Khovanskaya, 1958, pp. 123–126], and T. Khlebnikova [Khlebnikova, 1988, pp. 244–253], containing parts dealing with leatherwork in Volga Bulgaria and the Golden Horde, as well as the doctoral dissertation of R. VALiyeva [VALiyeva, 2010], who studied the development level of leatherwork and shoemaking among the population of the Kazan Khanate in the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, it has become possible to study the continuity of this craft over the course of 800 years among the pre-Mongol Bulgars, the Golden Horde, and the Kazan Tatars.

Many eastern and western countries highly valued the fine leather (yuft) called 'bulgari.' Premium leather was exported not only

in the 10–14th centuries but in the period under discussion, as well as much later in the 18–20th century. Technologies for leather preparation and shoemaking were borrowed by neighbours.

The Tatar states made a wide range of leather products: shoes for children and adults of various shapes and sizes, hats, clothes, jackets, sheepskin coats, belts, bags, purses, horse trappings, armament accessories, quivers, saadaks, etc. During the excavations of the Kazan Khanate a lot of leather waste, such scraps, shoe parts and forms, armaments, and tools (lasts, knives, scrapers, etc.), were found in the 'wet' cultural stratum, where organic artefacts are preserved fairly well. In the north-east part of the Kremlin, near a channel of the river Kazanka, tanning and shoemaking workshops were excavated. At the excavation site, besides leather and a large quantity of oak bark and other types of bark and acorns, shoemaking tools, lasts, and hammers were found, which confirms the existence of workshops for tanning making leather products. In 1988 A. Khalikov found two workshops at the intersection of Bauman and Kremlin Streets.

Craftsmen used the skins of cattle, sheep, goats, as well as horses. Soft and elastic yuft leather was made from the skins of young cattle. Sheepskin was used to make winter clothes—sheepskin coats and hats. The pelts of fur-bearing animals—martens, sables, squirrels, etc.—were also used to make clothes. There were a number of traditional methods of leather preparation—tanning, colouring, fat-liquoring, etc. Composite shoes were divided into five types according to an analysis of archaeological leather: boots with rigid structure (itek), non-rigid boots (ichetygs), ankle boots (chebots), low shoes or galoshes (clogs), and specialised high boots (overshoes). Household goods—purses, bags, covers, boxes, and cases for combs; armament accessories—knife cases, sheaths, quivers, and saadaks; and other articles—horse trappings, ties, and bindings; as well as scraps and waste, point to the specialisation of the leather-working craft. Articles of metal, felt, and other materials, which are the

constituents of the above products—heelp-lates, nails, insoles, onlays, etc.,—were also found there [Ibid., pp. 12–22].

Consequently, tanning and shoemaking as an independent industry reached high levels of development, and their products were important articles for export.

Construction and urban planning were an essential part of the economy of some Tatar states, such as the Kazan and the Crimean Khanates, in the cities and places where urbanisation was highly developed. They included a number of industries—making construction bricks, stone working and carving, carpentry and woodwork, and decorated ceramic tiles, which added an eastern touch to cities and impressed travelers. The architectural and archaeological artefacts of fortresses, brick and stone buildings, mausoleums (*durbes*), mosques, log houses and household buildings, and construction tools found in excavations speak of the advanced level of construction in Tatar cities. Their architecture was a result of advanced urbanism and of cultural traditions and their continuity.

Through contacts with Central Asia, the Near East, and the Ottoman and Muscovite states, the architecture borrowed progressive features of monumental architecture of the 15–18th centuries typical of those regions. This laid a foundation for the specific architectural style of the Kazan, Kasimov, Crimean, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates. The juxtaposition of log buildings, brick and stone residential buildings, and Ottoman-style mosques in the cities with nomadic yurts in the steppes of the Nogai and Great Hordes and the Crimean Khanate; the use of domes and tiers, sloped and multi-sloped roofs, and the preservation of a specific type of minaret show that the Tatars adjusted cutting edge creative concepts to the traditions of their regional schools. Some historic records mention the possible participation of Italian architects in the erection of the Khan's palace in the Kazan Kremlin and its fortifications in the late 15th century [Khali-tov, 2001, p. 379].

The advanced level of city planning is demonstrated by the centralised water supply

and drainage system, which created water reserves. The drainage system carried the water away from the buildings that consumed a large amount of water (e.g., from the ham-mam-type public baths).

The work of builders is reflected not only in large monuments but also in carved decorations for buildings, gravestones, ornaments, plaster decorations, and interiors styled with ornamental and Arabic scripts and floral and geometric ornaments. For instance, the decoration of the sarcophagus of one Kazan khan found during the excavations of the Kremlin can be regarded a work of art. The wooden coffin was covered with leather using silver plates and nails with raised floral ornaments.

Besides large and medium-sized cities, many trade centres were formed in villages. Pottery, iron, leather, and other needed products were made on the spot. The population's wealth showed itself in their ability to commission the expensive services of stonecutters, who made gravestones for commemoration of the dead. Those stones are shining examples not only of the epigraphy but also of the literature of that time. Among archaeological findings are a lot of everyday stone items—spindle weights, grindstones, etc.

Bone carving was developed as well. Craftsmen made a wide range of products necessary in everyday life. These included armaments and hunting supplies (pikes, whip handles, quiver loops, etc.), everyday items and decorations (knife handles, piercers, needles, combs, buttons, clasps, etc.), toys, chess pieces, and other articles made of the bones of domestic and wild animals.

The economy of the Great and Nogai Hordes and the nomadic groups of the Astrakhan, Crimean, and Siberian Khanates was characterised by household industries that were an essential part of the natural economy. Indispensable products that could be easily made were manufactured by people on their own. G. Barbaro reports that nomads practiced the following handicrafts—fulling, forging, and gunsmithing. Craftsmen were engaged to work for the Khan's court and spent all their time at court [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 471].

Thus, the economy of the Tatar states was diversified and combined various components depending on the territorial location and geographical factors. The main industries were farming, stock raising, and various kinds of crafts and trades. While the primary industry in the economy of the Great and Nogai Hordes and the Crimean and Astrakhan Khanates was nomadic stock raising,

farming was what defined the high level of the economy in the Kasimov and Kazan Khanates, as well as in the Crimean, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates once the population started settling down. Notwithstanding the fact that many of the handicraft industries discussed here were developed in the cities and were urban by nature, some of them also developed in villages and in the steppes.

§ 2. Trade in the Tatar States

Trade and the monetary and weight system were an integral part of the economy and social relations of Tatar states that exerted an active influence over social and political life. Trade united the post-Golden Horde formations, which were politically fragmented but existed within a single state in the 13–early 15th centuries. Foreign trade to a large extent contributed to the preservation—albeit with significant problems and shortcomings—of the single economic space that had existed before. The historiography of the 9–16th centuries emphasises the importance of trade and the role of Volga Bulgaria and the Golden Horde [Valeev, 1995, p. 21, pp. 289–334; Valeev, 2007; *Istoriya Tatar*, 2009, pp. 277–309; Valeev, 2012]. During the period of the existence of the Tatar states and later, in the 18–20th centuries, the Tatars were known in Eurasia as a 'trading' people. It is common knowledge that in the second half of the 18–beginning of the 20th centuries a large number of Tatar merchants and entrepreneurs contributed to the establishment of trade relations between the Russian Empire and the countries of Central Asia, Iran, China, and Caucasus, and, considering the large number of extant sources, this matter has been examined fairly thoroughly in the historical literature. But unfortunately, we have no monographic works on the history of trade even in the Kazan Khanate, to say nothing of the other Tatar states. But the origins of such an important economic and socio-cultural phenomena as the appearance of a large number of Tatar merchants and the vast scale of trade in the 18–19th

centuries were to a large extent related to the period of the Middle Ages.

The history of trade as an integral part of the economy and social structure, its ups and downs in various periods, and the orientation of the trade relations reflect both the internal needs of society and the historical situation in which the given society functioned and developed. This was most pronounced during times of change in the socio-economic and political order of the society—that is, during the transition period from the early-Bulgar stage to the pre-Mongolian stage, then to the Golden Horde stage, during the time of conquests and raids, and later to the post-Golden Horde Tatar states. Not only does each of them have its own specific characteristics; there are also significant peculiarities in the character, orientations, and trends in the development of trade, the monetary and weight system, and monetary circulation.

The rise of crafts and cities in the 10th century in the Bulgar state, Crimea, and seaside regions, which had been urban centres from the time of antiquity, led to the rise of simple commodity production, which was an integral part of feudal relationships in the Middle Ages. The tenet of economic theory on the integration of a predominant natural economy and a non-predominant commodity economy rules out the absolutisation of the natural economy and the automatic opposition of such an economy to commodity-monetary relationships in the Middle Ages, and, consequently, overestimation of the scale of their development and the role of trade. Looking at the stages of trade development, it can be asserted that exchange was limit-

ed to minor penetration of commodity production in comparison with the subsistence economy. The products of one's household were the main element in earning one's living. Even urban craftsmen who crafted commodities for sale would use part of their products in-house.

But despite the predominance of the subsistence economy, trade and commodity-monetary relationships had significantly developed in Tatar states. Trade, which was the foundation for the development of the Bulgar and Golden Horde civilisations, maintained its position even in the succeeding periods. Adoption of a settled lifestyle, urban development, establishment of a system of settlements and yams (messenger relay stations)—especially along international and domestic trade routes inside and outside the state—creation of large scale trade and commodity exchange systems, involving new ethnic and social groups of people, and a high level of monetary circulation are all characteristic features of the Bulgar and Tatar trade in the Middle Ages. The combination of a period of intense monetary circulation in the 10th century and the second half of the 13–beginning of the 15th centuries with a 'non-monetary' period in the 11–12th centuries, the reduction of Tatar monetary circulation in the second half of the 15th century and the transition to circulation of coins from Russian princedoms in Kazan in the second half of the 15–16th centuries, the continuation of active circulation of Tatar coins and the commencement of circulation of Turkish coins in the Crimea in the 15–18th centuries, use of silver ingots, or *soms*, as a form of payment in wholesale trade and the reduction of the circulation of these ingots in the second half of the 15th century are highly important indicators and components of expanding and sometimes declining trade.

Consistency and changes in the monetary and weight systems and norms, which were used to organise trade, the forms of their development, and the role and policy of states are very important and require analysis and identification of their characteristics with regard to their impact on the economies of

the Tatar states and the development of their productive power.

Despite the obvious shortage of written, and especially narrative, sources reflecting the economic history of the period under discussion, the materials help to identify both the generic features and patterns and the characteristic features of the Tatar states. Available data shows that the trade did not exist independently but rather served to satisfy the society's needs for raw materials, commodities, and manpower. The internal capacity of the states and involvement in the system of international trade routes to a great extent determined the progress of handicraft technologies in the Kazan, Crimean, Astrakhan, and—partially—Siberian Khanates and in the Nogai and Great Hordes and shaped socio-economic relations based on combined agricultural and handicraft production and trade.

Natural and geographical, political, and migration factors had a great impact on trade: the convenient geographical location of the Tatar states in the middle of trade routes, connecting the North and South, West and East; the flourishing of the slave trade in Eurasia in the 15–16th centuries; the migration of various peoples; the khans' policies in support of trade; and a number of others. The main international trade relations that existed in Volga Bulgaria and the Golden Horde continued in the 15–16th centuries as well, but in comparison to the Golden Horde period, when trade was organised within a huge empire and was mainly safe, trade in the Tatar states was on a reduced scale, and the number of customs posts and, thus, trade duties increased. Taking into consideration the dependence of trade development on agricultural and handicraft production, it must be emphasised that it, in turn, contributed to their development.

Both local and foreign merchants contributed considerably to the development of trade. When Kazan was besieged by Russian troops in 1552, merchants from other countries remained in the city: 'The people of Kazan... shut five thousand foreign merchants in with themselves—Bukharians and Shamakhins,

Turks and Armenians, and others' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 2000, p. 130]. Indeed, growing domestic trade, established commodity production, and extensive foreign trade, of which left much clear evidence remains—all of these features of the Tatar states' economies were reflected in the social sphere as well and shaped the merchant class as a special social group.

The organisation of the merchant class into merchant associations (*urtachestvos*), preserved from the Golden Horde period, was actively developed in the Tatar states. Despite the scarcity of written sources, they have preserved information in which references to trading activities in the Tatar states as a very common activity is quite telling. This phenomenon was perfectly suited to the relations that were developing at that period of time in the vast territory of Eurasia. Differences in national, cultural, geographical, and economic conditions did not stop the population of Eastern Europe and Eastern countries from integrating into a unique trade and economic association united by international maritime trade interests. The level achieved in one place would spread to neighboring territories, sometimes quite distant ones. In such centres, production of goods in worldwide demand, such as accessories, furs, toilet articles, weapons, and several others, was evolving on a technically advanced level. Merchants, who often combined a soldier, sailor, and master all in one, formed consolidated associations bound by oath, hired oarsmen, and started out on a journey on several ships. They were familiar with the route and, considering the distance of the trip, could pass the winter somewhere along the way [Kirpichnikov, 2001, p. 15]. Obviously, during the trip they would use both cash and exchanges in kind.

The states themselves were interested in the development of trade—not only did it provide essential goods and luxuries, but also brings significant economic benefits to the state treasury. For instance, in the Nogai Horde, trade was performed in accordance with the ruler's *yarliq*, and duties were imposed on merchants: foreign merchants paid

1/3 of 9 parts to the bey, and 1 part to the karachi; the Nogai merchants, who took herds of sheep to Bukhara, paid 500 sheep; and Bukharan merchants who came would pay one thousand 'azyam kaftans' [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 507–544; Iskhakov, 2009c, pp. 78–79]. The process of trade in the Tatar states was tracked and organised by officials called weighters, *tutkaguls*, and *tamghaches*. Along with trade tax (*kharadzh kharadzhat*) there were several sales taxes [Khudyakov, 1990, pp. 209–212]. The rulers were aware of the importance of trade. For instance, in response to a proposal to start a war against Russians, the Nogai Bey Ismail wrote that: 'If I start a war, I will have to go naked myself, and when people die, there will be no shrouds for them' [Peretyatkovich, 1877, pp. 209–210]. This was to a large extent related to the supply of linen fabrics and cloth from the Muscovite state.

The trade of the Kazan Khanate with the Muscovite state was controlled by government, and export taxes were introduced. Goods were imported to the Muscovite state through two border control points: Nizhny Novgorod on the Volga route and Murom on the 'cross-country' route. Customs posts were set up, and duties were collected. The Muscovite state organised a special fair for the Eastern merchants in Kholopy Gorodok on the estuary of the river Mologa, located near Rybinsk [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 221]. S. Herberstein reports that: 'A fair is arranged here; it is the most visited fair in the entire domain of the Muscovite ruler; not only Swedes, Livonians, and Muscovites gather there, but also Tatars and many people from the Eastern and Northern countries. They engage only in fur trading because these people rarely or almost never use gold and silver. They exchange clothing, needles, knives, pans, axes, etc., for fur, mainly' [Herberstein, 1866, p. 119].

The establishment of Makaryevskaya fair and Vasily III's 1525 ban on Russian merchants visiting the Kazan fair to a great extent was driven by a wish to undermine the economic strength of the Kazan Khanate. But not only the states were interested in

enhancement of trade. Tatar and alien merchants also needed strong states, preferably free of wars and shocks, which would ensure the safety of trade and trade routes and the development of commodity-monetary relations through the provision of certain *tarkhans*. The states directly benefited from the development of trade in the form of sales taxes, and naturally they regulated the organisation of trade and the import and export of silver—which at that time was the main precious metal for the minting of coins—as well as coinage, which was first done in the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates in the 15th century, and in the Crimean Khanate, during the entire existence of the state. Merchants, who had certain powers, were becoming *Tarkhans*. They were useful to the state for various reasons: they could be partners in trading companies (*urtakhs*), they could be spies, diplomats, etc.

From the perspective of Tatar states' policy, it was important to regulate the time, place, and organisation of trade. This issue is scantily covered in written sources and archaeological materials related to the early 10–beginning of the 15th centuries. A number of factors continued to influence the development of the forms of trade in the Tatar states in the 15–16th centuries: the character of feudal production (dominance of a subsistence economy over simple commodity production and, thus, dominance of trade over industry); some tightness of domestic markets and market outlets; and strict regulation of trade. There were some other factors complicating the development of trade. First, this includes the development level of small commodity production and interstate, intra-state, and trans-regional commodity and staple trade; the rate of involvement of the urban, rural, and nomadic population into commodity-monetary relations; the organisation of the monetary economy; and, of course, political stability in Tatar states and the absence of wars and other interstate conflicts in Eurasia.

One of the most important organisational forms of trade was fairs, an integral part of foreign, interstate, and domestic trades. The most famous fair was the one that in

the 15th century was moved from Aga-Bazar in the city of Bulgar to Gostiny Island on the Volga River near Kazan and gained worldwide recognition. It revealed the continuity of intermediary pre-Mongolian and Golden Horde trade between the North and South, West and East, Europe and Asia. On a yearly basis, the fair would start on the 24th of June and, according to the 'Kazan chronicler,' 'rich merchants from Russian lands and many alien merchants would come to Kazan and trade great expensive goods with Russia. The Russians know no trouble; they live in Kazan without fear, relying on their tsar and not fearing him' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 2000, p. 23]. S. Herberstein wrote that the fair took place on the Gostiny Island, 'which is called the island of merchants located on the Volga near the Kazan fortress' [Herberstein, 1866, pp. 146, 150]. A colourful description of the fair has been preserved: 'All the townspeople, men with their wives, walking around, drinking in the tsar's inns, buying commodities, and cooling off. Many people come to the fair; Cheremisses come to the festival from distant uluses with their goods and trade with the townspeople, selling, buying, and exchanging' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 9, 1965, p. 26].

Fairs were held both in the city and nearby. There is a report of the 'Kazan chronicler' about deployment of 'up to one thousand tents and camps of great lords... with royal golden goods... expensive clothing and bedding' in 1508 on the Arsk field during the celebration [Ibid., pp. 27, 30].

Fairs took place in other Tatar states as well. For instance, bread, honey, wax, furs, leather goods, including *yuft*, cloth, soap, salt, etc., were traded in the city of Kasimov [Rakhimzyanov, 2001, p. 60; Iskhakov, 2009c, p. 62]; spices, furs, slaves, silk, brocade, satin, cloth, precious gems and jewels, fish, etc., were traded in Astrakhan [Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 210–226]; grain, leather goods, furs, etc., were traded in Bakhchisaray, Karasu-Bazar, Akmechet, and Gozley [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, pp. 17–18]. Fairs took place in Saraychiq, Isker, Tyumen, Arsk, and oth-

er large and mid-sized cities and centres of princedoms (*darugas*) of Tatar state formations. They differed from each other in size, in representation of merchants from other Tatar states, from the Muscovite state, countries of Central Asia, Iran, and the Caucasus, and in the intensity of the domestic market, which to a great extent depended on proximity to river, sea, and land trade routes, first of all, the Volga, Kama, Irtysh, and Tobol Rivers and the Black and Caspian Seas.

The available information shows that fairs were a very important form of enhancement of domestic and foreign trade; they contributed to the growing intensity of trade operations and were an integral part of existing trade routes. Fairs were a permanent sales area approved by the state and subject to market law—that is, the rules on paying a certain amount of tax, measures of weight, and means of payment. Because of proximity to rivers or seas and big cities, mainly the capitals of the khanates, fairs were visited by Russian, Muslim, Armenian, Indian, and European merchants, who would stay for a long time until the end of the fair or the complete sale of their goods. Moreover, this was convenient for merchants because there was no need to perform any major reloading operations. The network of fairs was continuously growing, and they were gravitating towards the waterways and administrative centres. Fairs for the sale of livestock, fish, and some other high-demand goods were widespread.

Another form of trade in the states that still preserved the traditions of the nomadic lifestyle—in the Great and Nogai Hordes and the Crimean, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates—were so called *Ordobazars*, markets in nomadic *uluses* that were centres of trade. There was even a special group of merchants, the *Ordobazartsy*, who served the khan and the nobility (*murzas*, *beys*, etc.) [Iskhakov, 2009c, p. 78]. Everything necessary for living; cattle, sheep, and goats; products of livestock farming; grain; military equipment; fabrics and other goods that came from other Tatar states, the Muscovite state, Bukhara, Urganj, and other centres were sold here.

'Coming back to our subject—that is, the Tatar troops, I would add that they always have merchants by them; they always go by way of the horde to go further to other countries' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 148]. There is also the report of John (Iann) Sultaniysky: '...everything necessary is provided to them and bought and sold' [Khukhem, 1995, p. 63], referring to the Horde of Sakhbkeran, one of Temür's emirs, which proves the general consistency in trade organisation typical of nomadic communities.

To a great extent, trade was concentrated in cities in a monetary-commodity form, which is typical of urbanisation and the general consistency of the development of trade. Tatar cities in the Kazan and Crimean Khanates and other state formations were centres of crafts and domestic and foreign trade development. Urban crafts were developing as a small-scale industry and were different from the households of semi-free peasants: they were based on the property of the production worker and were commodity-based. At the same time, trade itself was acting as a catalyst for the arrangement of cities, crafts, communication lines and transport routes, international markets and the development of the Tatar states's economies in general.

In the Great Horde, where cities still existed in the 15th century, the report of Shams ad-Din Muhammad, a merchant from Shiraz, about how he sold his commodities and bought Chinese raw silk, silk damask, satin, European cloth and Russian linen in Saray in 1438 is well known [Zakhoder, 1955, pp. 14–19].

A significant amount of imported ceremonial pottery was found during the archaeological excavations in the Kazan Kremlin. The main bulk came from Iran and Central Asia; *semimaiolika*, from the Black Sea Region; *semifaience*, from Turkey; celadon, from China. G. Barbaro wrote that Kazan is a city of trade, that an enormous amount of furs is exported from Kazan to Moscow, Poland, Persia, and Flanders. Furs come from the north and north-east, from the Chagatai Region and Mordovia [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971].

Furs (sable, squirrel) were sold in Astrakhan and exported to Derbent and Sygnak. Silk, brocade, satin, silk threads, carpets, jewels, paint, chain mail, bows, swords, and walnuts were imported from Iran and Turkey; pearls, turquoise, and leather were imported from Armenia; spices were imported from Arabia; morocco leather, sheepskin, wooden-ware, paper, bridles, saddles, and knives were imported from Russian lands; and woolen, cotton, and silk fabrics were imported from other Tatar Khanates [Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 210–226; Iskhakov, 2009c, p. 72].

We could continue to enumerate Tatar cities, especially capitals, and other big and small towns. The analysis of sources of information about the economic and social structure of Tatar states highlights the leading role of the city in commodity circulation, commodity production, and the level of commodity-monetary relations. This was typical of both medieval Russia and Europe. In his description of the European crisis related to the plague epidemic, which struck literally all countries of Europe, S. Karpov reports that from 30% to 50% of the population of Italy's cities had died. This crisis undermined the traditional trade routes and triggered a trade crisis in Black Sea Region, and trade started to change its orientation. 'Trade started to drop drastically. It even stopped altogether for a while after the crisis. But then it revived as trade in local products, and a change in the very structure of trade took place. While trade had been bringing hundreds of per cent profit, now it was bringing not hundreds, but tens of per cent... But at the same time, companies were establishing permanent commercial offices. Italian entrepreneurial capital was becoming more deeply integrated into the city infrastructure. Trade lost its large scale but became more stable' [Karpov, 2011].

Analysis of the dynamics of city development in Bulgaria, the Golden Horde, and the Tatar Khanates of the 15–16th centuries shows that in the 10th century the Bulgar cities, by becoming involved in the system of Transeurasian trade by waterways, first of all, by the Great Volga, Kama, and other

river and land routes, became a centre of international intermediary trade with the East, Russia, the Northern and Western Europe. In the 13–14th centuries, as the Jochid state was ensuring the safety of trade routes, these areas of foreign trade were significantly extended and achieved imperial scope, but Eurasian international trade re-oriented towards Italian cities on the coast of the Black Sea, founded by Genoa and Venice. Starting from the 11th and up to the 16th centuries cities in Bulgaria, the Golden Horde and Tatar states—which were at the intersection point of intercontinental Eurasian trade routes and remained centres of foreign trade—took on a new character, and local and regional forms of trade were developed more intensely. Trade in the cities transitioned from acting as an intermediary to selling high-demand and consumer goods, and not only luxury items and elite products, while specialisation of commodity production in the Tatar states deepened. The local and regional forms of trade are reflected in exchange between regions with settled and nomadic populations, for instance, between the Nogai Horde and the Kazan Khanate, and after its fall, with the Muscovite state and the Bukhara and Khiva Khanates. Commodity relations expanded between the city and the village, and between the Finno-Ugric people of the Volga, Kama, and Ural Regions and Siberia, and other ethnic groups of the population.

Unfortunately, a lack of sources prevents us from drawing an image of an urban market. But the markets preserved in the cities of the Crimean Khanate allow one to assume that they had a fairly marked oriental image. Craft producers were located near markets because the incomplete separation of trade functions from craft functions was typical of the period under discussion as well—that is, the craftsman would usually sell his own products. Apparently, depending on the specialisation of workshops, they had points of sale both in the city streets and at the markets.

The market combined the product range of foreign and domestic trade. But each of them had its own characteristic features.

There were two forms—local and regional—differing from each other by the range of traded commodities and the length of the roads. For instance, staple consumer goods, like agricultural products and handicraft goods, were more widely represented in local trade. Local trade was developing not only at town markets but also between the town and the village, and it was of everyday domestic importance as handicraft goods—such as tools, jewellery, bread, and other agricultural products—were sold. The exchange between the city and villages also was one of the components of regional trade. It connected distant cities with villages, various ethnic groups and stratas within states, settled regions with the urban population, with nomadic regions, and with neighbors.

One more aspect related to forms of trade organisation in the Great Nogai Horde, the Astrakhan and Siberian Khanates, and partially in the Crimean Khanate is quite interesting. N. Kradin mentioned one more feature of 'urban' life: the Horde as 'city on wheels.' The moving Horde had a structure as stable as the structure of a settled inhabited locality [Kradin, 2006, pp. 430–442]. The following was written by G. Barbaro: 'As soon as the ruler stops, **they immediately set up a bazaar** (our emphasis.—*R. V.*), leaving the broad roads... As soon as the bazaars are set up, they kindle their fires, fry and boil meat, and prepare meals from milk, oil, and cheese. They always have game, especially venison... the troops have craftsmen—weavers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, and others—and in general they have all the necessary crafts... If you were to ask me: 'Do you mean that they wander like gypsies?' I would give a negative answer because, except that fact that their camps are not surrounded by walls, they seem to be **the biggest and the most beautiful cities** (our emphasis.—*R. V.*).

The barter trade, widely known in sources dating from the 10th century, retained its importance [Valeev, 1995, pp. 38–39; Valeev, 2012, p. 110]. Because of the insufficiency of commodity-monetary relations, it had maintained its positions in the Nogai Horde and the Siberian Khanate. To some extent,

barter trade existed in trade operations in all the Khanates and, as we saw above, in the Muscovite state as well.

Rapid growth was shown by domestic trade in the Tatar states—that is, trade within a city or village, among nomadic groups of the population, and exchange between them and different regions of these states. The development of agriculture, stock raising, and handicraft industries laid the foundation for the rapid growth of domestic trade. In general, it should be noted that domestic trade reflected the economic growth of each of these states, which were united at one time by a single economic space and political order. Social division of labour and specialisation of handicraft production impacted the active growth of domestic trade and led to a significant increase in urban commodity turnover, but significantly less in the village, where staple and, first and foremost, handicraft goods were sold. The market demand for different types of handicraft goods determined the standardisation and cheapening of goods aimed at a fairly wide range of customers and, thus, led to the further development of production technologies, which, in turn, encouraged the growth of the craft and the volume of trade operations.

Cities were becoming an important market for agricultural products—grain, meat, etc.,—because there was high demand for these products among the urban population. For example, Kazan could not satisfy its demand for agricultural products from nearby rural areas and villages; for this reason, trade was serving commodity turnover between the cities of the Kazan Khanate and thus enabled the provision of agricultural products to Kazan—the biggest city in the country [Muhamedyarov, 2012, pp. 178–179].

The Nogai Horde, with a predominantly nomadic livestock-based economy, represents another trend in domestic trade. It vitally needed to obtain products of agriculture and handicrafts from its settled neighbors, the Kazan Khanate, the Muscovite state, and the Central Asian khanates. It procured these products mainly by means of exchange and not military campaigns. Commercial cara-

vans of Nogais would go to all the surrounding countries, and the settlement of uluses along the old caravan routes to a large extent contributed to the enhancement of trade. They were used by the Nogais not only for their own trade but also for collecting taxes from transit merchants. There were regions within the Horde with various economic orientations, and, accordingly, with various ranges of imported and exported commodities [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 522–523].

The accumulated database of written and archaeological sources, which has been introduced into scientific use, enables us to name the main product range of the domestic market. Besides everyday goods related to agricultural products, pottery—storage vessels and tableware—was actively traded: large jars, jugs, pots, and mugs. Production of urban products required high professional skills and appropriate technical equipment. The following items were found during the excavations in the khanate stratum of the Kazan Kremlin: Bulgar ceramics (from 6.1% to 34% of total amount of ceramics found in the stratum); Kazan ceramics that, technology-wise, are comparable with late Bulgar ceramics but, technique-wise, are closer to the ceramics of the Golden Horde cities of the Lower Volga Region (from 24% to 55% of the total amount of ceramics found in the layer); Russian ceramics represented by imported white clay ceramics or made of imported raw material (up to 10% of ceramics found in the layer), and Finnish ceramics. In terms of vessels, the following were found: jars and pitchers, turkic jars, mug-shaped vessels, pots, large jars, cups, plates, tuvaks, and sphericonical vessels. Glazed vessels were also found—white clay and red clay with green and brown enamel of local production. Similar items, dated from the 15th century, were also found at both the Kama-yevo and Arsk archaeological sites. This type of ceramics makes up 10.5–11% of the entire number of ceramic items found at the Kama-yevo archaeological site. The same kind of ceramics was found in the layers of Moscow and Tver from the same period as the Kazan Kremlin. Discoveries of glazed ceramics in

the city and village show the large production volumes of such vessels and the processes related to the enhancement of commodity-monetary relations in the village.

Minor trade between villages and sales of village potters' products were prospering as well. The pottery produced in one village could be sold in the nearest villages and, through small markets, could serve fairly remote villages.

Iron products for agriculture, stock raising, honey hunting, fishing and hunting; weapons; raw materials; and semi-finished products were becoming an important part of domestic trade. But while the products of the potter's craft were comparable to household production, forging—because of its complexity—became the main occupation and source of income for craftsmen. Exchange of commodities or purchase and sale transactions were likely performed in-kind—that is, a blacksmith would exchange his products for agricultural products such as grain, meat, fish, etc. Blacksmiths lived and manufactured goods both in cities and villages, in the Kazan, Crimean, and Astrakhan Khanates, and at the khan's court or Bey Orda in the Siberian Khanate and the Nogai Horde. The range of products also included boilers, including cast-iron ones, small bronze and copper items, and weaponry. With regard to the latter, the Muscovite state introduced a list of commodities prohibited for export to the Tatar states. These included weapons, armour, metal handicraft goods in general, and substances for making gunpowder [Ibid., p. 534, note 15].

Considering the high level of the leather industry in the domestic market of all the Tatar states, the population was sufficiently provided with leather goods—shoes, sheepskin coats, fur coats, gloves, belts, and hats. These goods were actively exported to other countries. For instance, sheepskin coats were exported to the Turkish city of Azov and the cities on the Syr Darya river bank, and to Moscow [Novoselsky, 1948, p. 214]. Fazlullah Isfahani writes about the 'kish and tip'—that is, sable and squirrel fur coats that were imported to the city of Sygnak 'from the

Desht' in the early 16th century [Fazlullah b. Ruzbihan Isfahani, 1976, pp. 116, 117, 273].

But what was traded most on the market was jewellery. This could be fairly simple, cheap items, or expensive complex pieces. Both items made by Tatar craftsmen and pieces from Iran, Crimea, Turkey, Central Asia, etc., were sold. The movement of commodities, in this case the movement of jewellery and cast products, copper, silver and gold, was typically intense. This means reproduction of commodities, which best describes the economic condition in the Tatar states, the dynamics of commodity production development, and the main trends in the development of trade and commodity-monetary relations not only in these states but in the Eurasian region as well.

Commodities imported as a result of trans-regional and foreign trade from neighbouring and distant countries were becoming an article of domestic trade as well. M. Fekhner names an entire range of commodities that were sent to the Nogai Horde: harness, shoes, wooden boxes, 'chests, Russian and Western European fabrics, paper, saddles, stirrups, washbasins, glass, mercury, paint, hunting birds, walrus ivory and bread products' [Fekhner, 1956, pp. 53–56, 64–66, 83–84, 97].

Domestic trade was connecting large and small city centres, villages and regional settlement agglomerations, ordobazars, and other organisational forms of trade in Tatar states into a single structure, which is confirmed by findings of goods of the same type manufactured in one centre or another, findings of typical vessel forms or parts, and other items. Even though domestic trade is to a large extent dependent on the economic capacity of the society and directly results from foreign trade, they still complement each other.

The foreign trade of the Tatar states covered several territorial zones, differing in the distance of trade routes and communication means, the organisational activities of merchants, *urtachestvos* (unions), and states. The first (small circle) is the immediate contact zone in the area near the border with

neighbouring states which at one time were a part of the Golden Horde and continued its heritage: the Kazan Khanate and the Nogai Horde, the Kazan Khanate and the Astrakhan Khanate, etc. The second (middle circle) zone is made up of the more distant regions of neighbouring states united by the sphere of trading interests, for example, Russian princedoms before creation of a single Muscovite state or 'open trade' territory ('country of Darkness'). The third, transit, zone (distant circle) is made up of remote countries and regions which are not in direct border contact and have great spaces in between: Iran, Central Asia, Northern and Western Europe, India, China, Egypt.

The Tatar states were located at the junction of international trade routes, which had been known since the antiquity, and that had defined the role and the importance of their foreign trade. Considering the fact that these states covered a fairly large part of Eurasia and their proximity to any given trade partner, their foreign trade had its unique features. But one thing is unquestionable—international trade and foreign markets were of great importance for the states and their political and administrative power. Even though international trade had lost its amplitude, power, and splendor—which was typical of the second half of the 13—the first half of the 14th centuries in the heyday of the Golden Horde and was to a great extent related to the safety of trade routes in Eurasia—it continued to exist and was in demand. Various factors contributed to the strengthening of this trade: a far-reaching system of land, river, and sea communications, the commodity-based character of agricultural and especially handicraft production, and the availability in the cities of opportunities and tools for maintaining international trade. However, there were also some adverse circumstances: military competition between the Great Horde and the Crimean Khanate, Kazan, the Crimea and the Siberian Khanate and Moscow; insecurity of caravan routes to Central Asia; tightness of the domestic market, regions located away from the cities, and land, river, and sea

trade routes; and various feudal taxes and customs posts.

International trade was growing in several areas of foreign trade and to a large extent was continuing the same consistent patterns and trends typical of earlier periods. One important area of trade was the exchange of commodities and valuables between the Tatar states themselves, which at one time were a part of the unified Jochid Ulus. There is plenty of information about the close co-operation between the Kazan Khanate, the Nogai Horde, and the Siberian, Astrakhan, and Crimean Khanates.

The second important area was trade with Russian princedoms and the unified Muscovite state, and through it with Central, Western, and Northern Europe.

The third area of foreign trade was contacts with eastern countries—Iran, Central Asia, the Caucasus, China, etc.

An interesting part of the analysis of the trade of the Tatar states is the characteristics of the major items of export and import which allow showing the system of Tatar trade, its commodity turnover structure, the ratio of local and imported commodities, and the evolution of commodity exchange. Analysis of the commodity mix also helps us to understand the nature of trade, its areas, and its social orientation.

The characteristics of goods imported from Eastern Bulgaria to the East were defined by al-Muqaddasi in the 10th century: 'As for merchant wares, from Khwarezm they export sable, squirrel, ermine, marten, fox and beaver furs, goatskin, wax, arrows, large fish, hats, isinglass, fish bones, castoreum, yuft, honey, nuts, leopards (or hounds), swords, chain mail, birch timber, Slavic slaves, sheep and cattle' [Garkavy, 1870, p. 282]. It had changed only slightly in the period under discussion. Like before, the interests of eastern and western merchants trying to get access to 'soft gold' were overlapping in this region. It was furs, just as in the 10–14th centuries, that were the commodity best known to eastern authors. For example, the Nogai Horde, which didn't have much of a forest but was more of a steppe region, was

described by J. Deluc as follows: '...there are many... wild horses, wolves, bears, foxes, deer... and elk. The Nogais hunt them and sell the skin, which is... their most common commodity [Deluc, 1879, p. 487]. For the Siberian Khanate covered mainly by forests, except for the steppe regions, furs were the main commodity. The Kazan Khanate, continuing the traditions of the Bulgar State, became a transportation gateway and managed to organise a large-scale fur trade, making a great profit on it. For this reason, the fur trade to a great extent determined the character of trade contacts.

Continuing the tradition started in the Jochid Ulus, horses, sheep, and cattle were actively exported from the Great Horde, the Crimean Khanate, and the Nogai Horde to the Kazan Khanate, Turkey, and Russia. The scale of the export of horses from the Nogai Horde in the 15–16th centuries was so great that one got the impression that the word 'horse' meant only the Nogai breed of horses [Denisova, 1946, pp. 40; 75; 528]. V. Trepavlov asserted that the cavalry of the nobility was made up mainly of them, and according to western historians it was Nogai horses that were instrumental in transforming Moscow's former feudal army of foot soldiers into a modern army which meets the needs of the firearms age... and without cavalry, Russia would never have been able to conquer the Muslim territories [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 528]. In the 16th century, the prices of horses and cattle increased by 2–2.5 times in the Russian state alone [Ibid., p. 529].

An important item of export was leather goods, especially premium-quality yuft and morocco; they were exported in large quantities to eastern countries, where they were called 'bulgari,' and to Russia.

The slave trade in Eurasia, which took on massive proportions in the 9–11th centuries and gained significant momentum in the 13–14th centuries, was still going on in the period under discussion; slaves were a very profitable export item. In the Nogai Horde in the 16–early 17th centuries ruined nomads used to sell their relatives. 'They sell one another... and at a very low price, at that. When

we were in Astrakhan, because of the famine one could buy a Tatar for 4–5 florins, or even cheaper,' reported Kakash and Tektander. Children were sold as well; the price of a boy was 8 roubles, a girl cost 1.5 roubles, and a young woman cost 3 roubles [*Ibid.*, p. 536, note 19; Kakash & Tektander, 1896, pp. 26–27].

However, more often the objects of the slave trade were captives. Russian chronicles noted that: 'And the men of Kazan went to war against cities and devastated Nizhny Novgorod, Murom, Volodimir, Shuya, Yur'yev, Volsky, Kostroma, Trans-Volga Galich with everything, Vologda, Totma, Ustyug, Perm, and Vyatka. They came many times for many years; for the time being, God has delivered us from them through our sovereign' [*Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, 13, 1965, p. 129]. In the Middle Ages military campaigns provided an opportunity to obtain not only material wealth but also a significant number of captives, who were subsequently sold at the markets in Astrakhan, Kazan, Crimea, Turkey, and eastern countries. In 1545 Pavel Iovy wrote that after a campaign of the Crimean khan Muhammad Giray against Moscow in summer 1521 captive Muscovites were sold 'both in Tauria to the Turks, and in Tsitrakh to various inhabitants of the Caspian shores' [Iovy Pavel, 1997, pp. 354–355]. The cities of Azak, Kafa, Istanbul, and Bukhara were major centres of the slave trade. Central Asia also was an important destination for the sale of slaves. It is there that Russian ambassadors, messengers, dragomen, and servicemen who were captured on the way to the Nogai Horde were taken. The number of slaves captured during the raids was especially high in 1608–1612, when Ishteryak Bey started a war against the chaos-torn Muscovite state. It was a lot more difficult for Russians to get from Maverannahr and Karakum to their native land than to get home from the Crimea or Anatolia [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 538; Novoselsky, 1948, pp. 65, 79, 80]. If a raid was successful, the prisoners were sold 'at a cheap price: a man would be sold for ten or fifteen gold pieces, while a strong young man would be sold

for 20 gold pieces.' And if the spoils were too many, then 'for a young man they wanted a cup of millet' [Trepavlov, 2002, pp. 536–537]. There also was a reverse exchange of slaves. In the 1560–1570s the Moscow government sold 'Lithuanian' or 'nemetskie' captives—European warriors captured by voivodes on the battlefronts of the Livonian war—to Ordobazar merchants.

The export of fish, which, as we saw earlier, was caught in abundance, from the Kazan, Astrakhan and Crimean Khanates was of great importance for foreign trade. Beluga, common sturgeon, starry sturgeon, and others were traded in especially large quantities.

A great amount of imported and re-exported goods passed through the Tatar states—silk and cotton fabric, textiles from Central Asia, richly decorated glazed eastern ceramics, jewellery, celadon from China, fruit, raisins, and luxury goods. S. Herberstein wrote the following about eastern goods imported to Moscow: 'The goods are mainly silver ingots, woolen cloth, silk, silk and gold fabric, pearls, jewels, and gold ingots' [Herberstein, 1866, p. 90]. Other goods, which were imported and re-exported, were Yemeni carnelian from Iran, and from more southern countries—mountain crystal from Madagascar, Sogdian crystal and Central Asian turquoise from Maverannahr, mountain crystal from India, and lazurite from Badakhshan (Northern Afghanistan).

The Tatar states imported essential goods, luxury items, and spices. The import trade was to a great extent dependent on the level of economic development and, most of all, on the level of development of handicraft production technologies. V. Trepavlov mentions that it was typical of trade between Russia and the Nogai Horde for the amount of goods exported to the steppe to be greater than the amount imported and, citing A. Bennigsen and J. Veinstein, divides imports into everyday goods, 'objects of civilisation' (handicraft products) and luxury items [Trepavlov, 2002, p. 535]. S. Herberstein reports that: 'Saddles, bridles, garments, leathers, and weapons are imported to Tataria, but weapons and iron are exported to other

north-eastern countries only in secret by special permission from regional officers. But they (the Russians) export woolen and linen garments, knives, axes, needles, mirrors, etc., to the Tatars' [Herberstein, 1866, p. 90].

They imported salt, West European fabrics, and manufactured goods. Salt and fish from the Astrakhan Khanate was exported not only to the other Tatar states but also to Russian princedoms, the Muscovite state, and countries of the Caspian Region. G. Barbaro reports: 'Every year people from Moscow sail on their ships to Astrakhan to get salt' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 157]. I. Zaitsev cites other reports about the salt trade at a later time. In 1599 Orudj-beg Bayat noted that merchants from Moscow, Armenia, Persia, and Turkey mainly bought salt in Astrakhan, and then he gives data about the volume of the fish and salt trade. For instance, while in the second half of the 16th century several hundred poods of salt were produced, in the 17th century this figure came to 1–1.5 million poods [Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 216–217].

Considering that the Tatar states were located at the junction of international trade routes, the transit trade played an important role in their economies and was one of main sources of profit and wealth in these states. There is plenty of evidence to support this. In the 16th century. P. Iovy wrote that at the marketplace in Tsitrakh (Astrakhan), 'Indian, Persian, and Armenian merchants organise an excellent fair' [Iovy Pavel, p. 273]. I. Zaitsev cites the report of I. Massa, a man from the Netherlands who lived in the late 16–early 17th centuries, that Astrakhan 'was always a big and populous city of trade, to which numerous merchants would come to trade from Persia, Arabia, India, Shamakhi, and Turkey;

they would bring pearls, turquoise, and expensive leather goods from Armenia; satin, expensive carpets, and various types of silk and jewelry from Shamakhi, Persia, and Turkey; and a lot of spices from Arabia. From the Muscovites, in turn, they would obtain leather, broadcloth, woolen fabric, paper and other similar raw materials, as well as caviar, which was bought in bulk by the Turks and sent to Constantinople; this caviar obtained from sturgeon, which is caught in unbelievably large amounts in the Volga river, is very much liked by the Turks as well as by the Italians these days' [Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 225–226, Isaac Massa, 1937, p. 23]. As we see, not only finished goods were imported but also raw materials, which were not available in one Tatar state or region or another (precious and semi-precious stones, amber, tin, silver, gold, etc.), semi-finished products, and handicraft technologies and techniques—everything that shapes material culture.

Therefore, one might say that foreign and domestic trade in the Tatar states was characterised by significant movement of domestic and foreign goods, items of export and import, and forms for their organisation, and, in general, intensive development of commodity relations was taking place. In line with economic theory and practice, a product was both a benefit—because it was needed by the customer—and a cost—because resources and relevant technologies were required to produce it. But a product not only satisfies human needs but also can enter into relations with other products and can be exchanged for other products. This ability of a product to be exchanged in a defined quantitative proportion is its exchange value [Ekonomicheskaya teoriya, 1997, pp. 68–71].

§ 3. Monetary Circulation and Monetary and Weight System

Rapid growth of economic relations, combined with growth in external and internal trade, required convenient means for making payment settlements. As a historically developed form and practice of monetary circulation organisation, the monetary and weight system was established in the early Middle Ages [Valeev, 1995; Valeev, 2012; Mukhamadiyev, 1990; Muhamadiev, 2005]. It was based on a monetary commodity that was a universal equivalent, its fixed weight being equal to the metal content of the monetary unit. For this reason, monetary circulation is viewed as an exchange process on the market by states, supporting all kinds of payments. Payment tokens, being primarily coins and silver ingots, played an important role in the economies of Tatar states, and especially in such an important field as trade. These were used not only for the internal exchange but also played an intermediary role in international trade. However, at the moment of transition from one economic environment to another, they started acquiring the features of a commodity, and in the new environment they were used either in the role of money (commodity goods) or were used a type of raw material.

Thanks to three centuries of research on Bulgar and Jochid coins by many generations of numismatists, archaeologists, and historians, the money business and monetary circulation in the Jochid Ulus has been studied relatively well. Information exists about four periods of monetary circulation, distribution of silver coins, copper puls and regions of their circulation, monetary reforms, typology of coins, generic and local features of the monetary business, 'numismatic regions,' cities of mintage, metrological data, and other important problems [Fedorov-Davidov, 2003; Muhamadiev, 1983; Valeev, 2012; Singatullina, 2009]. As a result, a serious scientific study of numismatic material was carried out, which became a basis for generating serious ideas about the history of monetary circulation in the Golden Horde, and formed a comprehensive source for reconstruction of the economic history of that state. In recent years the growing attention to the issue

of monetary circulation in the Jochid Ulus has been observed due to new discoveries of hoards of Golden Horde coins on the former territory of that empire. Numismatologists and collectors have started to work in close coordination, private collections are being used for scientific analysis purposes, and opportunities offered by the Internet are used to further the studies. New studies of medieval eastern numismatics are being traced not only on the regional and Russian levels but also on the international level. Researchers from various branches and interdisciplinary approaches in Jochid and Mongolian numismatics are combining their efforts. These are focusing at describing the dynamics of monetary circulation, problems of the economy and solving issues of genealogy, law, historical geography, art history, and other very complex issues in the history of the Jochid Ulus and uluses of the Mongol Empire.

Unfortunately, the history of monetary circulation and money-weight systems in Tatar states has not seen as much monographic studies, as has been done for the Jochid Ulus. The monetary business in the Golden Horde had followed the consistent general laws; nevertheless, every region had its own characteristic features, which were related mainly to its role and place in pre-Mongol Eurasia. The Tatar states to a great extent had inherited the coinage minting traditions of the Golden Horde, but they were not able to organise coinage minting in the volumes it had existed before and, mainly, that was largely due to certain economical and political factors. The coinage minting was, in insignificant amounts, performed in the Golden Horde, Bulgar al-Jadid (Kazan), in the Astrakhan and Siberian Khanates, and to a large extent in the Crimean Khanate in the 15–18th centuries. Coinage minting was not performed in the Nogai Horde because the khans did not rule there.

The issue of coinage minting on behalf of the rulers in these states is rather interesting because coinage minting is a symbol of political and economical sovereignty. Furthermore, as these were Islamic states, and 'in the Muslim world, coinage had two roles because it served not only as a means of monetary circulation

but also a tool of political propaganda' [Yanina, 1962, p. 158].

The Crimean coinage minting continued in the style of the Golden Horde coins. Their characteristic feature is a tamga, originating from the old tamga of Batu dynasty, and it also appears on the Golden Horde coins, struck at the Crimean mints already during Shadibek Khan's rule (1399–1407). Coins of the first Crimean khan Haji Giray and the succeeding khans were of the same style. At the turn of the 16–17th centuries, because of the increasing influence of the Ottoman Empire, the coinage underwent certain changes. The Crimean coins became more and more similar to Turkish coins, and this became particularly obvious in the 18th century [Islamskiye monety, 2006, pp. 146–149].

The coinage minting in Bulgar (Kazan) is associated with the name of Ghiyas ud-Din and Ulugh Muhammad [Muhamadiev, 2005, pp. 185–190]. According to some researchers, coinage minting had stopped soon after these khans died, even though blanks for coinage minting were found during excavation works in the Kazan Kremlin. V. Zaitsev had proposed another explanation, according to which the so called 'mordovkas,' the Volga Region imitation of the Muscovite Rus coins, were coined in Kazan in the 15–16th centuries. This is confirmed by the fact that the 'mordovkas' were regularly found in treasure hoards along with Russian coins and dirhams of the late Jochid Period and by the presence of large number of not punch-marked 'mordovkas'—that is, not prepared for the use in jewellery. It is difficult to date the 'mordovkas' because of the variety of types and various manufacturing technologies: coinage minting was replaced by casting. The quality of metal varied as well—from good quality silver to poor quality bullion, and there were also significant variations in weight [Islamskiye monety, 2006, pp. 144–145].

It seems that the coinage minting was also carried out in the Siberian khanate, but we know only about the coinage minting by the Tyumen khan Sayyid-Ibrahim. Place of coinage minting was called the 'Ordu Bazar,' and this was connected to its conquest of a trade centre of the Great Horde—the 'Ordu Bazar' in 1481 [Nesterov, 2001, p. 276]. There is no information

about other monetary tokens being used in Siberian political entities; however, V. Sobolev wrote about Russian coins and European calculation tokens being found in burial grounds, having been brought to Western Siberia in the 14–17th centuries and being used as jewellery, and he also wrote about the use, as a means of payment, coins from Central Asian countries. However, the main exchange equivalent used here were furs—the currency of that time [Sobolev, 2008, p. 218].

Coins, which were struck in Astrakhan in the first quarter of the 15th century on behalf of continuously changing Golden Horde khans, are well represented in catalogs and research studies. The city kept changing from the hands of one khan to another. The coins of Küchük Muhammad and his son Mahmud contain tamga in the form of a bi-dent with two dots. According to A. Nesterov, in the first half of the 15th century the tamgas on the Jochid coins started to acquire not so much generic as local characters, and 'the fact of ruling over Haji Tarkhan and Ordu Bazar gave the rulers the right to show the bi-dent with two dots on the coins' [Zaitsev, 2006, p. 29; Nesterov, 2001, pp. 275–276]. The analysis of the treasure hoards of Jochid coins allowed G. Fedorov-Davidov to come up with a conclusion that in the second quarter of the 15th century in the lower Volga Region monetary circulation had stopped completely, and Haji Tarkhan was the only place in the region when coinage minting was being carried out. However, the absence of economical conditions for its circulation led to the fact that all coins from the Haji Tarkhan mint mainly ended up in the territory of the Middle Volga Region [Fedorov-Davidov, 1960, p. 119; Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 24–25]. A great amount of Haji Tarkhan coins and in general coins of the southern weight standards were found in treasure hoards of the second half of the 15th century in the territory of the Kazan Khanate. Haji Tarkhan coins comprised about 60–62% of the coins found in the treasure hoards in the village of Bolshoy Shiksha-Oluyaz, no. 189; in Kazan, no. 195; in Imenkovo, no. 202d [Fedorov-Davidov, 1960, p. 122, Table 9; Fedorov-Davidov, 2003, p. 55].

In the 15th century the monetary circulation continued developing in the Kazan Khanate,

where the late Jochid coins were used for trade transactions. If we analyze the number of treasure hoards on the territory of the Middle and Lower Volga Regions dating from the 15th century, we get an interesting picture. Twenty-six treasure hoards were found in the Middle Volga and Kama Regions, but if we consider the Mordovian lands along the rivers Sura, Tsna, and Moksha, this number increases to 34 treasure hoards. Ten treasure hoards, dating back to the 15th century, were found in the Lower Volga Region, 6 of them were found on the territory of Selitrennoye archaeological site (Saray al-Makhrusa). As for the Kazan Khanate, the coins were found in different parts of the khanate [Ibid., pp. 150–151]. As we can see, the volume of monetary circulation clearly prevailed on the territory of the Kazan Khanate, and by formal indications, in comparison to the Lower Volga Region, it was 2.5–3.5 times larger. If we compare these figures with information from the 13–14th centuries, we can see the following dynamics: Thirteen treasure hoards and separate findings of coins, dating back to the 13–beginning of the 14th centuries, were found just on the territory of Volga Bulgaria; and only 4 treasure hoards, dating back to the end of the 13–beginning of the 14th centuries, in the Lower Volga Region; 78 treasure hoards, dating back to the 1310–1380s, were found in the Middle Volga Region together with the Cis-Urals; and 71, in the Lower Volga Region. The ratio of treasures, dating back to 1380–1400, is as follows: 18 treasures in the Middle Volga Region (no treasures found in the Cis-Urals), 12 treasures in the Lower Volga Region [Ibid., pp. 139–149]. These figures indicate active economic and trade activities in the Middle Volga Region during the period under study. While in the second half of the 13th century there was an intensive growth in trade mainly in the Middle Volga Region, the 14th century saw a burst in economic growth in the Lower Volga Region, and in the meantime, the Middle Volga Region did not lose its role. The monetary circulation strengthened once again in the 15th century on the territory of the Kazan Khanate. Of course it is difficult to compare the 14th and 15th centuries in terms of volume of silver coinage. However, circulation of Jochid and other coins on the territory of the

Kazan Khanate was quite intense. It is important to note that treasure hoards of coins are still being discovered, with such coin hoards recently being found in the Tuqayy, Rybno-Slobodskoy, Apastovsky and some other regions of Tatarstan, which allows assuming that the circulation of the Jochid coins in the Kazan Khanate continued in the 15th century as well.

However, in the first quarter of the 15th century, with a commencement of coinage minting in Bulgar (Kazan), the uniform monetary circulation of the Jochid Ulus split in two, resulting in the separation of coinage minting in the Middle Volga Region. In the treasure hoard, dating back to the 15th century, which was discovered in 2003 in the village of Rybnaya Sloboda, can be seen the changes in monetary circulation and main trends in coinage minting in the 15th century. Out of 6,000 coins that were found and available for analysis, more than 4,000 are Bulgar Yarmak coins, dating back to the 15th century, with around 2,000 coins from the end of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries, being produced in the Golden Horde's southern mints: Hajji-Tarkhan, Saray, Saray al-Jadid, Il Uy Mu Azzam, Khwarezm, Azak, Saray-Jük, Crimea, Kafa, Orda, Orda Mu'azzam, and 61 other coins were minted in Russian lands, mainly in the Suzdalsko-Nizhegorodsky Princedom. Weighing of this treasure hoard of coins and information about other treasure hoards show that weight standards of a coinage minting were reduced from 0.62 to 0.57 grams, which made the weights of the Kazan coins equal to those of Suzdal-Nizhny Novgorod, and this contributed to their penetration into the Kazan Khanate market [Muhamadiev, 2005, pp. 183–187; Trostyansky, pp. 157–158].

A shortage of Jochid coins, including from the Bulgar coinage mints, and a desire to provide coins necessary for trading activities led to increased penetration of coins from the Russian princedoms in the second half of the 15th century, a process which started at the end of 14–the beginning of the 15th centuries. An analysis of treasure hoards with Russian coins shows that initially they appeared in the lands of Mordva and Mari, and subsequently they gradually penetrated the border-zone with the Nizhny Novgorod Princedom, and later inside the Kazan Khanate.

Thus, for instance, a treasure hoard found in the village of Svetino in the Mari El Republic was buried at the beginning of the 15th century. Russian coins minted in the Moscow, Dmitrov, Serpukhov, Mozhaysk, Galich-Zvenigorod, Nizhny Novgorod, Rostov, and Tver Princedoms were found along with Jochid coins. The treasure hoard in the village of Sosnovka, the Kazan district, contained the Jochid (Bulgar mint) and Russian coins (0.3%) minted in the Moscow and Nizhny Novgorod Princedoms. In the treasure hoard with Jochid and Russian (15 items) coins, buried at the beginning of the 15th century and found in Tetyushi, the Russian coins were minted in the Novgorod and Ryazan Princedoms. In the village of Karaulnaya Gora in the Nurlat-Octyabrsky District of Tatarstan, a treasure hoard contained Jochid (mainly Bulgar mint) and Russian (16 items) coins, which were buried in the 1420s. The Russian coins were minted in the Moscow and Nizhny Novgorod Princedoms [Poluboyarinova, 1993, p. 92].

In the second half of the 15th century coins of Russian princedoms and the emerging centralised Muscovite state became the main means of payment. A. Ilyin created a valuable summary of treasure hoards of Russian coins in the so called appanage period, found on the territory of the Kazan District. [Ilyin, 1924, pp. 31–38]. He analysed 12 hoards. Time-wise, the first treasure hoard, described by P. Savelyev, was found in 1854 near the city of Kazan. The treasure hoard included a large number of coins of the Grand Prince Vasily II Vasilyevich the Blind, Ivan III, and some appanage princes and according to Savelyev was buried between 1487 and 1505. On the territory of the city of Kazan three additional treasure hoards were found: 1) in 1861 near a cathedral church, a treasure hoard with coins of Ivan III and some of Vasily II Vasilyevich the Blind; 2) in 1878 on the territory of the Kremlin, a treasure hoard with coins from Nizhny Novgorod, Vasily II Vasilyevich the Blind and Ivan III; 3) in 1909 again on the territory of the Kremlin, a hoard with 284 coins of Ivan III and Ivan IV. Significant Russian treasure hoards of coins were also found in districts of the Kazan Governorate. P. Savelyev described 154 coins from the period of Vasily II Vasilyevich the Blind until Ivan IV, which were found in a hoard

in Laishevsky District, opposite to the village of Krasnovidovo, in the village of Kartashikha.

It is important to note that all Russian coins in treasure hoards, found on the territory of the Kazan Khanate, were minted during the period of the Kazan Khanate. For instance, the treasure hoards from the village of Kibyachi in Laishevsky District (found in 1903, 1700 Russian coins), from the village of Srednaya Kulanga in Sviyazhsk District (found in 1900, 2869 Russian coins from the 15–16th centuries), from the village of Azbaba in Sviyazhsky District (found in 1899, a kubyshka (treasure container) made of birch bark and covered with wax contained about six pounds of Russian silver coins dating back to the 15–the beginning of the 16th centuries). The wide distribution of Russian coins on the territory of the Kazan Khanate was connected with, first, the widespread trading between Russians and Tatars during that period and, second, due to the insufficiency of own coinage minting in the khanate [Muhamedyarov, 2012, pp. 191–192].

An analysis of monetary circulation in Kazan vividly shows 5 treasure hoards unearthed during excavation works in the Kazan Kremlin in the 1990–beginning of the 21st century. Treasure hoard of silver coins No. 1 was found under the north-eastern cornerstone of a building from the Kazan Khanate period. Pieces of a birch bark tussock were found in the immediate proximity of the treasure hoard (some with coins stuck to them). The treasure hoard contained 556 cheshyka coins (coins from Pre-Petrine Russia) in a pretty good condition. Treasure hoard No. 2 was discovered under the north-western corner of the same building and contained 1,449 cheshyka coins. Apparently, the coins were inside a leather bag, of which just a few small pieces were preserved.

The big treasure hoard (No. 2) contained one coin each from the Yaroslavl and Mozhaysk Princedoms, 16 coins that were minted in Ryazan. The cities of Tver and Novgorod were represented by 32 and 42 coins, respectively, Pskov, by 181 coins. The rest of coins were minted in Moscow. According to D. Mukhametshin, the coins of Ivan Dmitrievich, Fedor Vasilyevich, and Aleksandr Fedorovich (before the year 1450) as well as coins of Novgorod and Pskov

from the independence period should be considered as the earliest and oldest coins. About 90% of the coins in the treasure hoard were minted during the reign of the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III (1462–1505). The coins of the Grand Prince Vasily III (1505–1533) are considered as being less old.

The small treasure hoard (No. 1), content-wise, is no significantly different from the big hoard. This shows that they were accumulated during the same time period. But the small hoard does not contain signature coins of Vasily III (they are considered as later); however, it contains coins of appanage principalities. This means that the small treasure hoard was formed a bit earlier than the big hoard. It is important to note that neither of the treasure hoards contain coins of Ivan IV or clipped coins of Novgorod and Pskov, which appeared in the beginning of the 16th century. The coins of both hoards are chronologically synchronous, date back to end of the 15–the first third of the 16th centuries, and belong to the Grand Duchy period.

There was a separate treasure hoard in the third layer, which contained hidden in a leather bag, two baptismal crosses, two carnelian beads, and 68 silver cheshyka, the youngest of which dates back to 1505. The treasure hoard contained 2 coins minted in Novgorod. The rest of coins were minted in Moscow. The earliest and oldest 13% of the coins are coins of the Novgorod Republic, dating back to 1420–1456 (2 coins), and of Vasily II Vasilyevich (the Blind), dating back to 1446–1462 (6 coins); 85% of the coins in the treasure hoard were minted between 1462 and 1505, during the reign of the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III Vasilyevich, and these coins are considered as younger. Two whole and four fragmented coins could not be identified.

The Novgorod coins are of two types. The face side of the first type of coin has a dressed figure, sitting in an armchair, there is another figure in front of it bending at the knees and extending its arm towards the sitting figure, the Russian letter 'II' is located between the two figures. The second type of coin has a Russian letter 'C' between two figures.

The coins of Vasily II Vasilyevich (the Blind), minted in Moscow, are also of two

types. The first type has a man's head and a vertical line in front of it inside a ring made of dots on the front side and a three-line inscription in a frame on the reverse side; 6 coins from the end of Vasily II the Blind's reign, 1450–1462, with two stars and rosette inside a ring made of dots and a circular inscription on the face side, and a flower with 5 petals and a circular inscription on the reverse side. The coins of Ivan III Vasilyevich, minted in Moscow, are represented by thirteen types dated 1462–1505. The treasure hoard contained two coins minted in Novgorod and two coins minted in Ryazan. The rest of coins were minted in Moscow. The earliest and oldest 16% of the coins are coins of the Novgorod Republic, dating back to 1420–1456, and coins of the Grand Prince of Ryazan during the reign of Prince Vasily Ivanovich after 1456. The Moscow coins—48% of the treasure hoard—were minted during the reign of the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III Vasilyevich, dating back to 1462–1505. Four coins are from the reign of Vasily III Ivanovich, dating back to 1505–1533, which are considered as younger coins. Five coins could not be identified.

The next treasure hoard with Russian coins, minted during the Kazan Khanate period, was unearthed on the excavation site No. XXXIV in the year 2000 on the territory of a former Khan's court. The treasure hoard mainly consists of Moscow, Tver, and Novgorod coins from the beginning of the 1540's. 16th century. This is a Novgorod kopeck with the Russian letters 'ΦC' under a javelin, minted after 1542, the Tver coin with the Russian letter 'Д' and a javelin, and Moscow coins with the inscription: 'Grand Prince Ivan.' Three Pskov kopecks with the Russian letter 'A' under a javelin date back to the initial period of reforms, the years 1534–1535. In 1547 Ivan IV received the title of tsar, and as a result, the inscription on the coins was shown in the following way: 'Tsar and the Grand Prince Ivan.' The treasure hoard contains 6 such coins minted in Novgorod and Moscow. The head-dress of the horseman was changed due to new title of tsar, and now it had the shape of a tsar's crown. Moscow started to mint new types of coins in the year 1547, with Russian letters 'ДЕ,' but none of these were

found in the treasure hoard. These are also not present on the coins of the Novgorod and Pskov treasure hoards, going beyond the year 1547. Thus, one can say that these sets of coins were formed in the year 1547, mainly consisting of Moscow coins, and in the same year such coins started penetrating into the Kazan Kremlin.

The Kazan treasure hoard, including the undetermined coins and fragments, makes up a sum of approximately 2 rubles. Taking into consideration that the treasure hoard does not seem to be intentionally hidden, and that broken boxes of different sizes were found on the site, we can assume that, in this case, these are merely the remnants of a large sum of money, being kept in one of the buildings of the Khan's court. During an attempt to remove the accumulated money, a part of money stored in *kubyshkas* was apparently dropped and buried under the burned sections of the building, which fact was discovered during the excavations.

The treasure hoards, which were unearthed during the Kazan archaeological expedition in the years 1994–2006, vividly show the period of formation of the centralised monetary system. At the beginning of the 15th century Pskov, Veliky Novgorod, the Grand Duchies of Tver, Ryazan, Yaroslavl, and Moscow and its appanages (Mozhaysk) were minting their own coins. The number of minting centres was reduced at the end of the 15th century due to the strengthening of Moscow's power, and by the end of the first third of the 16th century coinage minting was permitted only at state mints. The entire coinage minting was concentrated in three mints—in Moscow, Novgorod, and Pskov. All of these coins can be found in the discovered treasure hoards. Based upon the materials about the treasure hoards, we need to add that by the end of the 15th century coins minted in Moscow and its subordinated territories were predominant in the Kazan Khanate [Sitdikov and others, 2010, pp. 309–313].

The economies of the Nogai Horde, steppe regions of the Great Horde, Astrakhan and Siberian Khanates were oriented to non-monetary operations. Medieval travelers explained the absence of monetary circulation in the Nogai Horde mainly by its irrelevance in the nomadic environment, by the needs of steppe people for

making exchanges in kind, and even unwillingness of the Nogais to sell their products and slaves for gold and silver. Evliya Çelebi explained the underdevelopment of the financial system by the absence of silver mines in *Desh-i Kipchak* [Trepavlov, 2002, 539]. However, V. Trepavlov and some other researchers have noted the periodic use of foreign currency by nomads in order to buy commodities in Russian cities for Russian money; they also mention many notations from sources about the interest of ruling echelons in establishing monetary relations with the Muscovite state. Money was required to buy products at the markets in Astrakhan, Kazan, and the Muscovite state during periods of cattle losses and times of turmoil, to remunerate *Maverannahr* builders of mausoleums, builders that were renewing Saray-Jük, and to make mutual payment with travelling merchants. One additional circumstance with monetary equivalent is pretty interesting. The Nogais and other nomadic groups of Tatars did not have any difficulties in converting a price from one system into another, and V. Trepavlov confirms this with concrete examples [Ibid., pp. 539–542].

In Kazan, continuing the Golden Horde traditions, the people in the 15th century used to use the Jochid coins, Genoese-Tatar coins, and coins of Giray dynasty of Crimea of the 15–16th centuries. The first treasure hoard was found in 1837, it contained 400 coins, most of which were an imitation of the Jochid coins. Unfortunately, the entire content of the treasure hoard is not known. Another hoard, dating back to the 15th century, consisted of 595 coins, including mainly Jochid coins of the 15th century, part of which was minted in Bulgar, and the majority, in Haji-Tarkhan and Ordu Bazar on behalf of Davlet-Birdi, Muhammad, Mahmud, Mahmud b. Muhammad, Mustafa, Sayid Ahmad, Ahmad, Muhammad b. Sayid Ahmad [Fyodorov-Davidov, 2003; Pachkalov, 2005]. A. Pachkalov thinks that the treasure hoard was hidden at the turn of the 15–16th centuries [Pachkalov, 2005, p. 39].

The Jochid coins, minted on behalf of Muhammad in Bulgar in 1421–1445, the Tver pul of the 1420s, were present in individual findings during excavations in the Kremlin, the silver

coins of Muhammad Borak, minted in Bulgar in 1420s, were found on the territory of Arkhiyereyskaya dacha [Ibid., pp. 39–40]. As a result of R. Fakhrutdinov's archaeological research of the Kamayev archaeological site and R. Urmat village, found were many coins, dating back to the 15th century, and blanks for silver coinage [Fakhrutdinov, 1975]. As a result of S. Valiullina's excavations on the territory of the Toretsky settlement near Bilyarsk, 400 coins were found, including four treasure hoards and five comprehensive findings of coins, most of which consisted of the Jochid coins, dating back to the end of 14–first third of the 15th centuries, and 6 Russian coins. It is interesting that the treasure hoards contain blanks, and the majority of coins are very worn out. D. Mukhametshin assumes the possibility of coinage minting on behalf of Ulugh-Muhammad and Giyas ad-Din, these coins relating to group VI, and 'specially marked' coins related to the Toretsky settlement [Mukhametshin, 2011, pp. 65–71].

Coin treasure hoards, dating back to the 15th century, were found in 1962 in Izmeriya, in 1957 in the Karaulnaya Gora, in 2003 in Voykino, Burakovo, Rybnaya Sloboda, and in total 12 treasure hoards with Bulgar-minted coins were found. Coins, dating back to the 15th century, clearly show not only a continuous reduction of weight but also reduction in the silver content of the metal used for coins. Silver plated copper coins and copper coins were used in monetary circulation together with silver coins [Ibid., pp. 70–71].

The coinage of Nizhny Novgorod principality of Daniil Borisovich (1423–1429), coins of the Muscovite state of Vasily II the Blind (1425–1446) can be mentioned among the coins of Russian princes that were separated into group VII on the territory of Toretsky settlement. A coin was also found with Arabic writing (as-sultan) on the obverse and with a counter-mark on the reverse—the picture of a four-legged animal [Ibid., p. 69].

Coins minted in 1462–1533 in the reigns of Ivan III and Vasily III, which were found in two treasure hoards during recent excavations in the Kazan Kremlin, represent an interesting group of Russian coins. There are groups of coins, which had the following Arabic inscriptions

on the reverse: 'this coin is a Moscow akcha' (4 versions of impressions), 'Iban' (=Ivan), and in Russian 'Ruler of All Russia' (3 versions of impressions) and written in Arabic script: 'Ruler of All Russia' (3 versions of impressions). D. Mukhametshin assumes that the coins with Arabic inscriptions like 'Moscow coin' and 'Iban' bear evidence of the involvement of Tatar craftsmen in the coinage minting in Moscow and Novgorod after 1487. Many researchers think that Russian coins, which in the second half of the 15th century started to actively penetrate into the Middle and Lower Volga Regions and the use of Arabic inscriptions on these groups of coins, contributed to their recognition among Tatars and facilitated their circulation, promoting trust in them as a currency [Zaitsev, 2006c, Shakirov, 2011, p. 83]. Thus, it is possible to say that due to the absence of own coinage mints in Kazan and Astrakhan at the end of the 15th century the impossibility for the further use of the Jochid coins, because of their deterioration, the inclusion of Tatar states into a centralised economic space and sphere of political interests of the Muscovite state, deficit of silver coins—all these factors became important reasons that determined the spread of Russian coins and their active inclusion into the monetary circulation in Tatar states.

In the first half of the 15th century, there was active coinage minting in the Lower Volga Region, and then in the second half of the century the coinage minting of silver coins continued until the reign of Ahmad, but copper coins were no longer minted [Pachkalov, 2008, p. 59]. In the remaining cities, even though reduced in their territorial extent, the circulation of the Jochid and Russian coins continued in the 15th century. On the results of analysis of monetary treasure hoards and findings on the territory of the Lower Volga Region, A. Pachkalov made up a list of cities and settlements that were mentioned in written sources and where treasure hoards and money sets were found. The most famous among them is Saray al-Makhrusa (not less than 5 pools, 0.3% copper coins, 6.5% silver coins from excavations, 2.17% copper coins, 12.6% silver coins, according to V. Klovov and V. Lebedev, from the findings of the upper layer) [Ibid., pp. 61–63; Klovov, Lebedev, 2002].

A very important and rare settlement on the territory of the Lower Volga Region in the 15th century was the ancient town of Kamenny Bugor located 5 km south-east from the village of Selitrennoye (Saray al-Makhrusa). Four coin treasure hoards, dating back to the 15th century, and a series of separate coins were found here. 407 coins were found in 1998–1999 on the territory of the settlement [Lebedev, Klovov, 2001, pp. 22–52]. It is interesting that only silver coins, dating back to the 15th century, were found on the territory of the settlement, but copper coins are seen as well, and this is explained by the fact that the copper of the 14th century was still circulating in the 15th century. According to the results of findings in the Kamenny Bugor, the copper coins, dating back to the 15th century, account for 15.3%, while the silver coins, dating back to the 15th century, numbered only 150 pieces [Pachkalov, 2008, pp. 63–64]. The Temürid coins, dating back to the 15th century, the Genoese-Tatar and Haji-Giray (1466–1467) coins, and the Russian coins were also found at the Selitrennoye and Kamenny Bugor archaeological sites.

In the 15th century there was intense coinage minting in the Haji Tarkhan, and the copper coins were minted in the first half of the century, while the silver coins were minted in the second half of the 15th century; according to A. Pachkalov's assumption, the latest coins were minted during the reign of Ahmad Khan. There are also some coins that were minted in the Haji Tarkhan al-Jadid. The location of Haji Tarkhan in the 15–the first half of the 16th centuries is a debated question. The majority of researchers assume that the city was located at the Sharenny Bugor archaeological site up to 1556. However, there is a point of view, supported by V. Bartold and M. SafargAliyeva, that as a result of Temür's campaign the city was revived on the place of the contemporary city of Astrakhan (on the left bank of the Volga River). The main difficulty of this issue is that Sharenny Bugor archaeological site, where the coins and a significant treasure hoard, dating back to the 15th century, was found, has been poorly studied [Pachkalov, 2008, pp. 64–66].

Silver coins, dating back to the 15th century, and copper coins, dating back to the 14–

15th, were found during excavations in archaeological monuments of the 15th century near the village of Tinaky located close to Astrakhan [52, p. 66]. Thus, it is possible to say that on the territory of preserved cities of the Great Horde and the Astrakhan Khanate the monetary circulation was still in existence, but the volume and economic conditions for monetary trade had changed.

In the 15th century on the territory of the Crimean Khanate circulated the Jochid coins, dating back to the 15th century, Kaffa silver coins (the Genoese-Tatar), dating back to 1419–1442, including aspers with the name of Haji Giray and copper coins of the Genoese-Tatar Follero, dating back to 1428–1442, and later, coins of the last years of the reign of Ulugh-Muhammad and the first years of the reign of Haji Giray [Khromov, 2005, pp. 6–8]. The coinage of the Crimean coins itself, started by Haji Giray, determined their wide circulation on the territory of the Crimean Khanate, and in small volume, penetration into Astrakhan, Kazan Khanates, and the Nogai Horde. Analysis of the treasure hoards and discoveries of coins of the Crimean Khanate shows that coins circulated in cities, at the intersection points of trade routes, passages, and forts. For instance, a big quantity of the Crimean Khanate coins was found near a fortress, on the place of shopping lanes on Perekop Isthmus or on the Turkish rampart. The most found coins are the coins of Mengli Giray I (1466–1514), Davlet Giray (1550–1577), and Arslan Giray (1748–1756). The coins of other khans are found less often. From the village of Lyubimovka, the Chersonese Region, near the fortress of Arslan Kerman, where the passage over the Dnieper River and a quay were located, grouped discoveries, related to Mengli Giray I, Muhammad Giray (1515–1523), Sahib Giray (1532–1551), were made, some silver plated brass circles, which were apparently the monetary blanks of counterfeit coins, as well as a part of a casting mold for casting the counterfeit coins of Megli Giray I and Arslan Giray, as well as silver Russian coins of Ivan IV and Petr I were found. Located here was a fortress and a quay to convey salt from the left bank to the right one, where trade routes to Russia and Poland passed through.

Crimean and the Russian coins were found in large quantities on the territory of other villages and fortresses. However, on the territories of the majority of settlements and nomad camps Crimean coins were found individually, and these were used there more rarely, while a subsistence economy and commodity exchange satisfied the needs of the rural and nomadic populations of the Crimean Khanate. A developed commodity exchange, when coins were not of particular need, and the poverty of the majority of the population also point to the main trends in economic life back then. Turkish coins also circulated on the territory of the Crimean Khanate [Pivorovich, 2008, p. 5; Piperidi, 2008, pp. 70–72].

Silver ingots-soms were still used in the 15th century as a means of payment in Tatar states: these ingots had a long history of existence starting from the 10–11th centuries, and if we take the brass ingots of the Volga and Kama Regions, then starting from the 5th century AD [Valeev, 2012, pp. 322–330], as we saw above. S. Herberstein mentions the silver ingots on the list of products imported from the Muscovite state from eastern countries. Being big monetary units, ingot-soms circulated slowly and to a large extent were used in large wholesale operations in the 15–16th centuries in Tatar states. They also point to the increasing need of the economy for metal means of payment.

Furs played an important role in the monetary circulation of such Tatar states as the Siberian, Kazan Khanates, the Nogai Horde, on the passage over the Black Sea; they were used not only as an item of trade but as a circulation medium. Furs were used for this purpose by Finno-Ugric and Slavic peoples. The Kazan Khanate was a big terminal for furs exported to the eastern countries. The important role of furs is stressed by Tatar proverbs as well: '*Akcha kun yagi belen kile, ilek yagi belen kite*' (Money comes from the fur side and goes away through the sieve), '*Tien agachtan agachka, tien (akche) kuldán kulgan sikere*' (A squirrel jumps from one tree to another, and money goes from one hand to another) [Isen-

bet, 1967, 157 b.]. As we see, the abundance of furs, including the squirrel furs, as an equivalent to monetary units and small exchange (tien) coins have been preserved in the contemporary Tatar language).

In the steppe regions and, actually, in all Tatar states cattle (*mal*) was still used as a payment medium, the word also had the meaning of 'asset, property, wealth.' Tatar proverbs read as follows: '*Mal bashy—ber akcha*' (Each cattle head costs one coin), '*Akcha sezneke—mal bezneke*' (The money is yours, the cattle is ours), '*Akchaga eylenderep bulgan herbe nerse—mal*' (Everything that can be converted into money is property), '*Akcha alam, malin al*' (Do not take the money, take the cattle) [Ibid., pp. 141–151]. These and a lot of other proverbs underline the role of cattle farming products in the economy and as a payment medium in trade.

In the Nogai Horde the late Jochid period coins circulated in the city of Saray-Jük. For instance, the silver coins, dating aback to the 1420s, and a big group of copper pulis of Orda Bazar coinage were found there. At the turn of the 15–16th centuries the Crimean coins of Haji and Mengli Giray, minted in Crimea and Kyrk-Yere, Turkish copper coins, and Middle Asian coins of the late Temürid and Sheybanid period were circulated in the populated part of the city [Goncharov, 2005, p. 12].

Thus, consistency, dynamics, and evolution of the monetary circulation in Tatar states was reflecting the condition and main trends in Eurasian space, needs of the populations of those states, scale of commodity-monetary relations in each of these countries, wholesale and retail trade, and, in general, new aspects of economic growth. Monetary and non-monetary payment mediums point to the level and volume of trade in Tatar states, dynamics of external, interstate, internal, interregional trade growth, and characteristic features of the monetary circulation in these. Advanced level of trade had a corresponding monetary and weight system, which was an important indicator of economic processes.

CHAPTER 3

Islam in the Post–Horde Space

§ 1. Islamic Institutions in Tatar States

Damir Iskhakov

The Islamic character of ethnopolitical institutions of the Late Golden Horde raises no doubts. [Velidi Togan, 1966, s.179–204; De Veese, 1994; Iskhakov, 1997a; Iskhakov, 2009b]). Islam was the state religion of all Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries, and as evident from sources, the political elite of these possessions had its own clear notion about their belonging to the Muslim world. For example, the message of the ruler of the Tyumen Khanate Saiid-Ibrahim sent to Moscow Grand Prince Ivan III in 1489 from the Nogai Horde says: 'I (that is, khan Saiid-Ibrahim- D.I.) am the ruler of Besermyans, you are the ruler of Christians' [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 19]. Ruler of the Nogai Horde Prince Yusuf wrote the same things in his message dated back to 1551 and addressed to Ivan IV: '... we are Muslims and you are a Christian' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika 1793, p. 302]. Such an authentic source as 'Zafer-nama-i vilayati Kazan' (1550), composed by the high sayyid of the Kazan Khanate Kul-Sharif, contains the phrases that Kazan was 'a Muslim city from ancient times,' which was situated 'far from Muslim provinces siding with the region of Kafirs [Kul-Sharif, 1997, p. 77]. There is a clear notion of religious differences between the Kazan Tatars and the populations of neighboring Russian lands. Crimean khan Mengli-Giray perfectly understood what the integration of his state with the Muslim world meant. In particular, his message to an unknown Turkish dignitary sent in July 1475 (after the conquest of Caffa by the Turks) contains the following phrases: 'Caffa became an Islamic state' (our emphasis.—*D. I.*). We are grateful to God for releasing us from the dungeon [Nekrasov, 1990, p. 43].

Although the state of current sources does not allow us to shed light on the issue of Islam in the Tatar states in the 15–16th centuries to

the full extent—especially when it comes to theological aspects of the religious situation of that time—nevertheless, many institutional aspects of Islam functioning as a state religion in them can be rebuild.

Kazan Khanate. The Kazan Khanate inheriting cultural traditions of the Bulgarian vilayet of the Jochid Ulus was a Muslim state, beginning at the very moment of its foundation. This is also emphasised in Tatar legends reflected in the so-called 'chronicles.' In particular, one of them contains a story about the foundation of Kazan (New Bulgar) and states: 'They stayed at this place under the banner of Islam... They always turned to the rules of Sharia in all their doings and events of life... disputes and legal cases were regulated according to Sharia' [Fragments of Tatar Chronicles, 1937, pp. 122–123]. The mentioned 'chronicles' also characterise the population of the khanate as being Muslims: '...when the dynasty of Muslim khans ceased to exist, and there was no Khan in Kazan, the Muslims took him (Khan Shah-Ali.—D.I.) and made him their khan' [Katanov, Pokrovsky, 1905, p. 318]. The Russian chronicles also emphasise (meaning the Kazan Tatars) in messages referring to the 15th century that they were 'Besermyans,' which means they confessed the Islam religion [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 28, 1963, p. 98]. For example, the Chronicle Svod of 1497 states that the military campaign of the Tatars in Galich took place in the year 1429, and the Russians chased the Tatars... so the Tatars and Besermyans were defeated [Ibid]. Describing the storm of the city of Kazan by the Russian troops in 1469, the chronicles write about 'loads of Besermyans and Tatars' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 13, 1965, p. 122]. Such a relatively late source as 'History of Kazan' in which it comes to the period

of formation of the Kazan Khanate also indicates that 'Muslims started gathering in Kazan' [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 53]. The author of the composition also called them 'Srachins' because for him Islam was a 'Saracen' or Arabic confession [Ibid., p. 58]. It is also stated in the Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle summing up the conquest of the Kazan Khanate: '...God passed him (Ivan IV—*D. I.*) the godless Kazan Tatars and their Muslim belief' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 251].

It should be emphasised that numerous pagan populations (the Chuvashes, the Maris, the Udmurts, and partly the Mordovians) were an integral part of the state. There is no aim to consider the religious lives of these nations here. However, one group of the populations, which settled in the 15–16th centuries near the Ural Mountains in the basin of Sylva, Iren, and Tulva Rivers and being a part of the Kazan Khanate, cannot be ignored because it later turned into a group of the Perm Tatars (partly the Bashkirs). Meanwhile, according to the preserved sources, this population (being called the Tatars and the Ostyaks) had not been definitively islamised by the middle of the 16th century. [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 114–140; Iskhakov, 2004a, pp. 223–233.] The late Islamisation of Turkic-Tatar population of the Perm part of the Ural Region can be explained by two factors: first, in there ethnic composition were Turkicised Ugri peoples, whose Islamisation in more western regions took place only in the 14th century; second, in the late 15th century the Islamised population, which was large in number, penetrated into the Middle Ural Region from Western Siberia, where the religious situation was characterised by the relatively late Islamisation in the Siberian Khanate [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 78–93; Iskhakov, 2004a, pp. 223–233].

In the Khanate there was a multi-branch class of Muslim clergy headed by a Supreme Sayyid. In addition to the Supreme Sayyid and other sayyid of his clan (all of them were considered as sayyid) there were the following groups of clergy in the state: sheikhs, sheikhzades, mullahs, mullah-zades, kazis, mavalis or danishmends, hajis, hafizes, dervishes [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 1859, p.

266; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 25, 33, 333, 148, 167, 169, 202, 218, 239; Vakhidov, 1925a, p. 33, Vakhidov, 1925, p. 85]. It is plausible that sufis, who were mentioned in 'Zafer-nama-i i vilayati Kazan' along with dervishes can be also added to this list («яшь дәрвишләрне һәм суфыйларны туплап») [Kol Sherif, 1997, 80 b.] This list requires a short comment. The term 'kazi' (in the form of kady) is found only once in Russian chronicles. Nevertheless, this concept is found in the yarliq of Sahib-Giray (1523) in the expression 'kuzate-kazati-Islam' [Boryngy, 1963, 354 b.; Vakhidov, 1925a, p. 33; Vakhidov, 1925, p. 85]. It is evident that the presence of the kazi on the list of clergy of the Khanate bears evidence of the existence of their judicial branch. The word 'danishmends' written as 'dolyshmans' is found in sources only once. S. Vakhidov suggested that the expression 'va mavali-zavil ikhtiram' featuring in the yarliq of Sahib-Giray and looking like 'maly' or 'mamy' in Russian chronicles concerning priesthood meant 'honourable hosts.' Apparently, both these notions—'danishmends' and 'mavalis'—meant the same group—teachers (tutors).

Let us concentrate on the head of the clergy of the Kazan Khanate who was one of the representatives of the sayyid' clan. The person who headed the Muslim clergy of the khanate was described by the sources with special epithets. For example, S. Herberstein, describing the events of the spring of 1524, called the person holding this post of sayyid as the 'high priest of the Tatars' [Herberstein, 1988, p. 176]. In 1552 A. Kurbsky defined the head of the Muslim priesthood of the khanate as the 'great bishop' [Kurbsky, 1914, p. 198]. Apparently, there were Muslim terms that were analogous to the above-mentioned concepts. Indeed, Sh. Marjani characterised the senior sayyid with the help of the epithet '*nākūbel āşraf*' [Märcani, 1989, 200 b.] meaning the 'ruler of the great.' Although the source of Sh. Marjani in this case remains unknown, his information is worth noting. The thing is that the Russian equivalent for the similar concept is well-known due to the Crimean 'deft'er,' dating back to 1524, where the Crimean sayyids are characterised in the following way: 'this is the head of the

great teachers' [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 45]. Moreover, the charter of Kazan Khan Sahib-Giray, dating back to 1523, contains the concept of '*sudat gyzam*' '*sadatigozam*' meaning the '*great sayyid*' [Ibid., p. 40]. Taking into account this data, the report of Sh. Marjani about the title of the high sayyid of the Kazan Khanate does not look unique, although his sources remain unknown. The terms 'nakib' and 'sherif' originating at least in the epoch of the Jochid Ulus are definitely concealed in this concept [Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 73–77]. When A. Kurbsky talked about the 'great bishop' of the Kazan Khanate, he indicated that, according to Tatar rules and traditions, a person taking up this post is called the 'great anary, or Amir' [Kurbsky, 1914, p. 198]—he definitely meant these epithets. Most likely, 'anary' is a word of Latin origin similar to 'honour' (meaning 'honour,' 'esteem,' 'respect') or 'honourous' (meaning 'honourable,' 'respected'), while Amir means 'headman' and 'ruler' in the Arabic language. These colourful epithets were related to relative ties between the clan of Kazan sayyids and the prophet Muhammed. '*Zafer-mana-i vilayati Kazan*' contains rather valuable evidence on this. Sayyid Kul-Muhammed becoming the high sayyid is represented there in the following way: 'Kutbi-l-aktab's grandson Sayyid Ata from the clan of the Prophet' [Hajitarkhani, 1995, p. 90; Kol Sherif, 1997, 80 b.].

Let us provide the names of Kazan sayyids preserved in sources [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 75–77]). The first mentioning of the names of both sayyids (Tevekkel and Kasim) was back in 1487. It is possible that Tevekkel was the high sayyid until 1487. Then the name of sayyid Borash (1491) appears in sources, who definitely was the high sayyid until 1524. Another representatives of the clan of Kazan sayyids—Shausein (Shah-Husain)—mentioned in 1512–1523 most likely was not a high sayyid. After high sayyid Borash, who was executed in 1524 by Khan Safa-Giray because of his pro-Moscow orientation, his place was most likely occupied by Buyurfan-sayyid. True, his name appears in sources only in 1546. After he had fled to the Nogai Horde for political reasons (he was there until 1549, then he moved to Bukhara), Sayyid Mansur's son Kul-Muhammed became the high

sayyid of the khanate. There is information that in 1549 he arrived in Kazan 'from Astrakhan,' where he moved to in the same year with Khan Safa-Giray. Kul-Muhammed-sayyid held this post until 1551, when by all appearance he was executed by Khan Shah-Ali for 'exile to Nogai,' which means he became a member of the Nogai Horde, and for the fact that he was one of those who wanted 'to kill the tsar' (khan—D.I.). After him, the post of the head of the priesthood of the Kazan Khanate was passed to Sayyid Kul-Sharif who was probably the son of Sayyid Mansur mentioned above, which means he was the brother of the killed High Sayyid Kul-Myhammed. As we have already noted, Kul-Sharif was killed during the conquest of Kazan by the Russians in 1552 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 218; History of Kazan, 1954, p. 160]. A person taking up the title of 'sayyid' was noted on the territory of the Kazan Khanate for the last time in 1554, when after the persistent resistance shown to Russian conquerers for all Arsk country and Coastal area, they came to the voivodes and started to complain asking for support... Usein-sayyid and Taokmysh shikhzade and Sary Bogatyr...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 183]. It is not known whether Usein, mentioned in the sources, was a high sayyid or not. This chronicle report only shows that the religious figures who managed to survive after the storm of Kazan took active part in the resistance movement.

Despite expectations, we failed to find out any evidence on the appointment of the high sayyid by election in the Kazan Khanate in the sources, although it is known that in this state there were several personalities simultaneously who originated from the Prophet. So this question remains open.

The Muslim clergy played an important part in state affairs, especially the sayyids. Moreover, the sources do contain more evidence on the activities of the sayyids, especially the ones of nation-wide character. First of all, the sayyids took part in decisions as to the candidates for the khan's throne. It is evident from sources that the sayyids took part in negotiations with Moscow concerning the candidate for the Kazan throne in 1497 (Burash ~ Borash sayyid),

in 1519 (the charter from Kazan regarding that subject begins with the expression 'from the high sayyid'), in 1532 (a sayyid was mentioned during negotiations about the 'dacha' of Sultan Yanaly), in 1546 (the charter about the recurrent invitation for Khan Shah-Ali to occupy the throne begins with the name of Buyurgan-sayyid), in 1551 (negotiations about replacement of the very young Khan Utemish-Giray on the throne were carried out on the basis of a special patent mentioning sayyids) [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 36]. Sayyids were also present among the Kazan nobility, in those cases when a khan was invited to occupy the throne without consulting Moscow. This happened, for example, in 1521. The Russian chronicles comment on it in the following way: 'That very spring Kazan sayyids, ulans, and princes removed Tsarevich Sap-Giray from the Crimea and made him the Tsar of Kazan' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 37]. The involvement of sayyids in state affairs is also evident from the fact that there were sayyids among those who interfered when Khan Safa-Giray wanted to kill Russian ambassadors in May 1531 [Ibid., p. 57]. In some cases the active participation of sayyids in affairs related to the throne had rather deplorable consequences for them: at least two high sayyids were executed for supporting one of the candidates for the khan's throne (1524, Borash-sayyid, 1551, Kul-Muhammed-sayyid [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 30]). Probably one more execution took place in 1546 [Ibid., pp. 27, 33], but this question requires further examination.

The role of sayyids during the procedure of swearing an oath (*shertovanie*) was also significant [Ibid.; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 25]. One more case of diplomatic activities of one of the Kazan sayyids—Kul-Sharif—occurred in 1551. This should be examined separately because it was related to the return of khansha Süyümbike and Utemish-Giray's minor son to the Russians and is not always interpreted correctly in literature. In April 1551 the attack of Russian troops against the Kazan Khanate began, and in June they surrounded Kazan [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 165, 166–167]. Hard times came, and the Kazan people got fright-

ened: they sent their representatives 'to Shigaley and voivodes to complain asking for support, so that the tsar (Ivan IV.—D.I.) could take compassion upon them, did not order to captivate them, and made tsar Shigaley their tsar and took Utemesh-Giray and his mother tsaritsa Süyümbike.' Mullah Kul-Sharif, originating from the clan of sayyids, and prince Bibars Rastov came to Khan Shah-Ali and Russian voivodes with this offer. But they did not act on their own, they carried out 'the will of Kazan land,' which can be seen from the charter of the Kazan people sent to Ivan IV at that time [Ibid., p. 167]. Moreover, the ambassadors did not accept the conditions of Moscow at once—the chronicle report, dating back to 9 August 1551, says that they hesitated a little during negotiations, which means they disagreed. The chronicler writes about the Tatars: '... in fact they were being cunning.' It was only possible to make Kazan people accept conditions, proposed by the Moscow side, by force. And the conquerors threatened: if the Kazan people disobeyed the will of the tsar, that very autumn the army of the tsar would invade there' [Ibid., p. 168]. Only after these threats the ambassadors accepted the conditions of Moscow, among which, there was a requirement to return Süyümbike and her son. It is evident that Kul-Sharif and Prince Bibars, who accepted the conditions of the opposite side, were not guilty—they carried out the decision of the whole state as its diplomats. This can be seen from the procedure of accepting the conditions of the Russian side by the Kazan people, which took place on 14 August 1551. The chronicles state as follows: '... mullah Kul-Sharif, and Mansyr-sayyid's son Mahmet-sayyid, and all shaykhs, and shaykhzades, and imams, and mullahzades, and azis, and derbyshes, and Kudai-gul-ulan, and all other ulans and Prince Muraley (beklyaribeg Nurgali Prince Shirin.—D. I.), and many other princes and murzas came to the tsar (Khan Shah-Ali.—D. I.), and boyars' [Ibid., p. 169]. According to the source, the entire social elite of the khanate was present there.

Other representatives of Muslim priesthood of the khanate were also involved in diplomatic activities. For example, Abib-azey was mentioned among the Kazan ambassadors in 1519 [Ibid., p. 32]. Kul-derbysh probably belonging to the group of dervishes arrived in

Moscow from Kazan on business in the same year [Complete Collection of Russian Historical Chronicles, 8, 1859, p. 266]. In 1534 Chura-mollazade, a person of Khan Yanaly, appeared in Moscow [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 81]. For example, Andrychey 'afyz' was mentioned among the Kazan ambassadors in 1546 [Ibid., p. 148]. In the same year Agish-molladze, called a bakhshy (that is a scribe), was mentioned among the ambassadors of Khan Shah-Ali. He also features in the group of the Kazan ambassadors and messengers in 1549 (he is called 'mullah' there) [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793, p. 144]. At the beginning of August 1551 Kasym-mullah and Prince Bibars were carrying out negotiations with Khan Shah-Ali in Sviyazhsk Fortress [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 167]. Angildey-'afyz' arrived at this fortress on 11 August reporting that Khan Utemish-Giray and his mother were being taken to Sviyazhsk [Ibid., p. 168]. Among those accompanying Süyümbike and her infant son to that fortress was Alimerden-'aziy' [Ibid.].

The Muslim clergy of the khanate took part in military operations. First of all, this meant the sayyids. Particularly in 1491 Sayyid Borash (Burash) was mentioned as a part of the army of the Kazan khan who came to support the Crimean Khan Mengli-Giray during his battle against the Great Horde together with the Russian troops [Complete Collection, 12, 1965, p. 228]. It is plausible that there was a special subdivision in the khanate, which was probably subordinated to the high sayyid. In any case, the Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle talks about 'Kul-sharif and his regiment' [Ibid., p. 218], and A. Kurbsky decodes this message in the following way: 'our (that is Russian.—D.I.) people and their abazes, sayyids, and mullahs came to see their great bishop...' [Kurbsky, 1914, p. 198]. It looked the same way in 1549 during the defence of Kazan from the attacking Russians. Sayyid Kul-Muhammed, heading the young dervishes and sufis and 'saddling the horse of the holy war (that is gaza.—D.I.), preparing for the combat and putting on combat armour,' defended one of the city gates [Kul Sharif, 1997, p. 80]. It can be assumed that in other cases this

'regiment' also consisted of dervishes and sufis.

Diplomatic activities and participation in state affairs in general were related to reading and composing of different texts. Naturally that required a rather high level of literacy from the priesthood and a high rank and profound knowledge in many spheres by the diplomats. It is no coincidence that the high sayyid of the Kazan Khanate—Kul-Sharif, who was good at astronomy, history (both Tatar and Russian), military, and state affairs—was also a brilliant writer and poet [Iskhakov, 1999a, pp. 46–47; Kul Sharif, 1997, 90–91 b.]. This education was mainly acquired at local madrasas. For example, Sh. Marjani, basing on Tatar narratives, provides data on the last battle of high sayyid Kul-Sharif inside the madrasa situated in the Kazan Kremlin and on its roof [Marjani, 1989, 200 b.]. This very battle was described in the Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle in the following way: '... and Christians approached the mosque and their enemy mullah Kul-Sharif, and suddenly many unfaithful started struggling against him...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 218]. Apparently, this madrasa was near the 'Kul-Sharif Mosque' [Ibid.]. It is appropriate to note that by the middle of the 16th century there had been not less than 5 mosques in the Kremlin of Kazan [Kurbsky, 1914, pp. 181, 196, 198]. A. Kurbsky writes about this: '... there is a mountain near Kazan... there a city and tsar palace and mosques on it, there was a special place where dead tsars were buried: unless I am mistaken, there were five of them' [Ibid., p. 181]. Then A. Kurbsky mentions these Kremlin mosques without naming their number [Ibid., pp. 181, 196, 198]. Other madrasas could have been located near these mosques.

The authority of the Muslim priesthood in the khanate was unquestionable. Particularly Sh. Marjani, basing on oral narratives, writes that the High Sayyid Kul-Sharif 'was respected by Islamic khans and inhabitants of the city and granted great honours' [Merzhani, 1989, 200b]. The evidence provided by S. Herberstein allows us to treat this message trustingly. One more interesting piece of information, preserved in historical memory of the Tatars, was provided by Sh. Marjani who noted that they had

sent letters to the Kazan khans from Moscow, and there was a separate letter and presents for sayyid Kul-Sharif mentioned above. This message certainly reflects some historical realities because correspondence between the Crimean sayyids and Moscow grand princes, for example, was partly preserved (See examples of this correspondence: [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 75–77]).

Now let us stop at the intricate issue on the belonging of the Muslims of the Kazan Khanate to a certain sufi order (*tariqa*). Although there is little information about this, it still allows us to come to a certain conclusion in this respect. Some details contained in the message dating back to 1550 by Sharif Hajirarkhani, identified by me with Kazan High sayyid Kul-Sharif [Iskhakov, 2008, pp. 129–136] addressed to Turkish Sultan Suleyman Kanuni, allow us to say that this sayyid was related to Yesevi *Tariqa* and originated from the clan of Sayyid-Ata. In particular, in describing the defence of the gates of Kazan from the Russian troops, the author of the message provides the following lines: '... and Kul Muhammed sayyid, the deceased khan's son, Kutbi-l-aktab sayyid Ata's grandson from the clan of the Prophet was standing at the other gate, leading the young dervishes and sufis, saddling the horse of the holy war, encouraging people to wage war, preparing to fight against the Kafirs, observing them... May his grandeur last forever' [Kul Sharif, 1997, p. 803]. The characteristics of Kul-Muhammed as Sayyid Ata's grandson, originating from the clan of the Prophet, is a sign of his belonging to Yesevi *Tariqa*. Famous Turkish historian A.-Z. Valido Togan, publishing the manuscript of the composition 'Zafer-name-i vilayate Kazan,' provides some documents in the comments, confirming that Kul-Muhammed-sayyid (and consequently his brother Kul-Sharif) was related to successors of the famous sufi Ahmed Yesevi from Khwarezm' [Velidi Togan, 1966, s. 196]. Subsequently, M. Ahmetzyanov also shared this point of view [Kul Sharif, 1997, 907 b.]. The mentioning in 'Zafer-name-i vilayate Kazan' of sufis and dervishes in the Kazan Khanate allows us to agree with this opinion. The whole range of sufi trends are remarked by researchers on the basis of works by outstanding Tatar poet Muhammedyar, who lived and created in the Kazan

Khanate in the first half of the 16th century [Esays, 2000, pp. 72–78]. Further, the participation of this sayyid, who used to be the high sayyid of the Kazan Khanate then, in military events of 1549 is also important. This very tradition can be traced back to the sayyids of Yesevi *Tariqa*, since the times of Sayyid-Ata who became a 'nakib' under Khan Uzbek [Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 72–73]. Individual works by the last high sayyid of the Kazan Khanate, Kul-Sharif, who most likely was a relative of sayyid Kul-Muhammed, indicated above, are also noteworthy. Thus, his 'Ky-issai Hubbi Hoja' contains a mention about 'the joy of a thousand sheikhs' of hoja Ahmed Yesevi, his 'deputy' Khakim-Ata Suleyman (that is, Suleyman Bakyrhani), whose children were given birth to by 'Bukhar khan's (or Bugra khan's) daughter,' Askhar, Mahmud (Muhammad), Sultan Hubbi. Then in this work there is talk that before the death of Khakim-Ata Suleyman told his children and wife Gambar-Ana that after his death men would appear, who seemed to be hidden from sight, and there would be a man called 'Zangi' among them, and he will be her next husband. The indicated composition says that after he had married Ganbar-Ana, this person 'Zangi-baba' 'pastured cows' [Kul Sharif, 1997, 43–65 b.] M. Ahmetzyanov has already paid attention to the peculiarities of the presence of representatives of the indicated *tariqa* in top-echelon Muslim figures of the Kazan Khanate (see [Ibid., 90 b.]). Meanwhile according to the traditions of Central Asian sources, Zangi-Ata, the son of Arslan-Ata, was Khakim-Ata's student, and he himself was Ahmad Yesevi's student. As Devin DeWeese indicates, according to Hoja Hasan's poem 'Nitari'—Bukhari 'Mudkhakir-i akhbab' (1566–1567), 'tribes of Sain khan's ulus were 'hereditary followers' (myurids) connected with the line going back from Zangi Ata to Nitari himself' [DeWeese, 1996, p. 179]. According to Devin DeWeese, the lines of Yesevi *Tariqa*, known from sources, are related to several students of Zangi-Ata, with the unclear personality of Kok-Ata, but especially with the most influential figure of Ismahil-Ata from the standpoint of the early history of Yesevi traditions.' The last one goes back to Ahmad Yesevi in the following way: Ismagil-Ata ← Ibrahim-Ata (his father) ← Suksuk-Ata ← Sufi Muhammed Danishmend

← Ahmed Yesevi. According to genealogical data, Ismagil-Ata lived in the late 13–early 14th centuries [Ibid., p. 175]. It should be added here, the excellent knowledge, by the high sayyid of the Kazan Khanate Kul-Sharif, about diplomatic affairs [Iskhakov, 2007, p. 42], which is also similar to the institutions of the nakibs in the Jochid Ulus, the states of Ashtarkhanids and Shibanids in Central Asia.

It should be also taken into account, that I. Zaitsev identifies the author of the composition entitled 'Jiddad al-Ashikin' Maulanu Sharif ad-Din Husein Sharif as Maulyan Sharif, whose collection has been preserved in Central Asia. For his part, he finds it possible that Sharif Khadjitarkhani was known under these names [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 180]. In this case, it is hardly accidental that the talk turns to Khwarezm and Astrakhan as well as sheikh Kutb-ad-Din, who died in 1551, in the composition by Maulyan Sharif 'Jiddad al-Ashikin' [Ibid]. Meaning 'the Astrakhan trace' of Kul-Sharif and special role of the ulems of the capital of the Astrakhan Khanate in Muslim education of the Kazakhs [Fazallah ibn Rusbikhan Isfakhani, 1976, p. 106] most likely, we will one again discover the traces of Yesevi Tariqa.

Not only the mentioning about sufis and dervishes (the toponym 'Derbyshki' (*Därvişlär bistäse*) in the suburbs of Kazan points to these latter ones) in this state provided in Russian sources but first of all the sheikhs (sheikhzades), who were the rulers of tariqas, are evidence of the sufi character of Islam in the Kazan Khanate. Unfortunately, we know very little about the Kazan sheikhs. But the name of one of them, Kasim-sheikh, Ibrahim-hodja's son, has been preserved. According to preserved data, he lived in Kazan until 1552 [Äxmätcanov, 2008]. It is plausible that this is the very 'Kasim-mullah' who took part in negotiations in August 1551 with Russian voivodes and Khan Shah-Ali at the Svyazhsk Fortress [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 167]. Various narratives about Kasim-sheikh, including the ones providing evidence of his miracle-working capabilities, have been preserved [Äxmätcanov, 2008, 14–15, 25 b.]. According to R. Fakhret-dinov, sheikh Kasym ibn Ibrahim al-Kazani

died in Central Asia in the city of Kermin in 1589–1591 [Ibid., 14 b.]. It can be assumed that the 'Central Asian' track of the sheikh is not accidental at all, which can be seen from one of the Tatar chronicles, dating back to the 19th century and containing a sufi genealogy. D. Mukhametshin, discovering this genealogy, noticed that the succession ending with sheikh Kasym went back to Ahmed Yesevi and his student Khakim-Ata through a series of links [Mukhametshin, 2007]. It is also illustrative that the Tatar narratives preserved in a later source 'Risali-ya Bolgaria' note that the relatives of the given sheikh lived at the time of Temür in 'shakhri Bulgar' and in 'Bilyar,' including the legendary 'Rabiga Khazhiya' [Äxmätcanov, 2008, 13, 21 b.]. Other details of the lineage also point to its connection with Yesevi Tariqa [Iskhakov, 2011, p. 101]. Apparently, we are dealing here with a significant figure from the period of the Kazan Khanate as represented by Kasym-sheikh, probably he was the ruler of Yesevi Tariqa in this state.

No doubt, the provided data, which points to an active participation of the Muslim priesthood of the Kazan Khanate in state affairs as well as the existence of Islam institutions in the khanate (institutions of sayyids, Yesevi Tariqa headed by sheikhs, judicial system headed by the kazi), is the confirmation of state nature of Islam in that khanate. The yarliq of khan Sahib-Giray (1523), containing in the introductory part an appeal to 'emirs, khakims, kadis, honourable hosts' (*mavali-zavil ikhtiram*) [Vakhidov, 1925, pp. 82–83], is evidence of the same fact. The observations of the author of the 'History of Kazan,' who provides an order of Khan Ediger-Muhammed when talking about the assault on Kazan by the Russians in 1552, are also great illustration of the above-mentioned: '... and the tsar (that is, khan—*D. I.*) to pray... the new Kazan sayyid (Kul-Sharif.—*D. I.*), and mullahs, and afizes and derbyshes, all the people around Kazan...' [History of Kazan, 1954, pp. 148–149].

The Kasimov Khanate. The small Kasimov Khanate known as the Meshchera yurt was dependent of the Muscovite state and adjoined Russian lands, nevertheless remaining a Muslim state. Its capital was the city of Kasimov

(its initial name was the small town of Meshchera) appeared in the middle of the 15th century, a white-stone mosque was erected near the khan's palace. According to some sources, this mosque, which has survived to our time, was built under Sultan Kasim in 1467 [Sharifullina, 1991, pp. 49–50]. The population of the khanate, despite its polytechnic character, was also called Muslim in sources dating back to the 15–16th centuries: the charter of Crimean khan Mehmed Giray from 1517 talks about Meshcherian Besermians or Besermians from Meshchera [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 378]. And the charter of the ruler of the Kasim Khanate—Sultan Daniyar—dating back to 1483, a Besermian was mentioned among his *yasak* people [Bakhrushin, 1959, p. 121]. Although this term can be interpreted as an indication of an ethnic group [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 218–219], its connection with the confession of Islam is evident.

The Muslim clergy of the khanate was headed by the sayyid. Apart from him, such branches of the priesthood as the *abyzes* (*khafizes*), *mullahs*, *danishmend*s were mentioned in the state [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 20]. Although the data on sayyids in the Kasimov Khanate is fragmentary, their genealogy [Äxmätcanov, 1995b] was preserved because the offspring of these sayyids—the Shakulovs—still live in Kasimov as well. The closest forefather of the Shakulovs was Sayyid Shah-Kuli (Shah-Koly), who lived approximately in the last quarter of the 15th century. Then Ak-sayyid, who was the son of Sheref, became known from documents (1552, 1555). True, these two sayyids are absent from the genealogy of the Shakulovs. But Kashka (Kashkey) sayyid, Shah-Kuli's grandson, known between 1521–1587, was mentioned there, and the latter's son Bulyak-sayyid was mentioned in documents from 1600 and 1613 [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 14–18; 1998, pp. 192–193]. The early part of the genealogy of the Shakulovs goes back to Prophet Muhammed. It is also noteworthy that the lineage of the Shakulovs, published by M. Ahmetzyanov, contains a postscript about the spreading of Sayyid Shaghkhan's (Shaghkhan) offspring living in the first half of the 15th century and standing in the link of Shah-Kuli's

grandfathers, indicated above in this genealogy, in 'the Crimean vilayet, in the Kuban Region, and Dagestan,' and the offspring of his brother Shakhbay (Shahbay) were in the 'Budgar Vilayet, Khan-Kirmeni, Haji Tarkhan, and the Volga Region.' These materials allow us to talk about the kinship of the dynasties of sayyids in all the khanates of the former western part of the Golden Horde. Indirect data confirms the possibility of contacts between the sayyids of the Kasimov and Crimean khanates [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 22; 2011, pp. 113–114; Trepavlov, 2010, pp. 35, 68]. The fact that Sayyid-Ahmed-sayyid died in the Crimea in 1681 is evidence of the preservation of certain contacts between the Kasimov sayyids and the Crimean Khanate in the 18th century [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, pp. 498–499]. The cases of marital ties between personalities of the clan of sayyids and the khans of Kasimov provide evidence of the high status of the sayyids in the state. For example, the last ruler of the Kasim Khanate—Fatima-bikem, who was the wife of khan Alp-Arslan, who had ruled between 1614–1626—originated from the clan of sayyids [Ibid., p. 192]. Similar marriages between sayyids and the nobility of the khanate are also known. For example, Alikey-atalyk, who most likely originated from the clan of the Shirins, was married to the daughter of a sayyid [Iskhakov, 2011, p. 110].

Rather recent evidence, dating back to the 17th century, on the existence of the right to legal actions belonging to Kasimov sayyids [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 21] was preserved. This testifies about the former power of the representatives of this group in the Kasimov Khanate. In this respect, the following subscript in the genealogy of the Shakulovs, about the son of Sayyid Sayyid-Ahmed, who died in the Crimea, is noteworthy: '... our forefather Yakub-sayyid was a nobleman in the city of Yelatma. One day, a woman from Stary Posad (Iske yurt, a part of Kasimov.—D.I.) broke into the *tek*ie where the dead Arslan-khan and Fatima-sultan were lying and stole from the tsars of the savanna their shrouds and other items. Yakub-sayyid hung this woman on the same *tek*ie [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 497]. Apparently the sayyids, who were considered to

be the so called 'serving people' of the Kasimov khans, at least in the 17th century [Ibid., pp. 64–65, 82, 146] were busy with the distribution of justice when it came to 'Kasimov princes, murzas, and Tatars.' This right was granted to Khan Ali-Arslan by the charter of Mikhail Fedorovich, dating back to 1622 [Ibid., p. 34]. Before that they could get this right from the Kasimov khans.

It is also known that there was special military subdivision called 'The regiment of sayyids' in the late 16–early 17th centuries in the Kasimov Khanate. It was headed by Kasimov sayyids, who took part in military campaigns [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 17–18]. For example, during the military campaign of Russian troops in Kazan in 1552 'Ak sayyid Cherevseyev' (according to V. Velyaminov-Zernov, he was a son of sayyid Sheref) and all 'princes, murzas, and Tatars from the settlement' joined them at the Pyana River [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 1965, p. 199]. In 1555 'F. Siseyev and Ak-sayyid murza along with princes, murzas, and Cossacks from the settlement' were mentioned [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 410]. Despite the title of 'murza,' in this case we are talking about Ak-sayyid once again because one can read one more message that dates back to 1558, which says: 'Gorodets people, the sayyid, princes, and mirzas' [Ibid., p. 421]. A similar working was also used in 1563: '... and Grodets sayyids and ulans, and princes, and mirzas, and Cossacks, and also princes, mirzas, and Cossacks from Kadom and Temnik' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 364]. The same wording in another version looked like this: '... in the great regiment... prince Semen... Dmitriev Paletsky's son and Gorodets sayyids, and princes, and mirzas, and Cossacks and the court of Tsar Shigaley, and princes of temniks, and mirzas, and Cossacks' [Ibid., p. 349]. It is plausible that Kashkey-sayyid, from the clan of the Shakulovs, also took part in military campaigns because the charter of Tsar Boris, dating back to 1587, contains the following information: '... all the princes, and murzas, and Cossacks, and Gorodets Tatars, serving princes, and murzas, and Cossacks, who took part (in military campaigns.—D.I.)' with Koshkey-sayyid...

And now they are going to serve... instead of us' [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, pp. 93–94]. In the connection with the participation of Kasimov sayyids in military campaigns, V. Velyaminov-Zernov supposed that Kashkey-sayyid had had 'his own court and regiment' [Ibid., p. 443]. Indeed, there is information on two subdivisions of the Kasimov Tatars dating back to 1579 'The court of the tsar' and 'The regiment of the sayyid' [Ibid., p. 81; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 25]. In the subsequent years (in 1621, 1622, 1628–1629) reports that 'Kasimov princes, and murzas, and Tatars' were divided into 'The court of the tsar' and 'The regiment of the sayyid' appeared again [Ibid., p. 34; Shishkin, 1891, p. 515]. Apparently 'the court' and 'the regiment' of the Kasimov sayyids were a regular military formation, which were probably related to the division of the troops of the khanate into 'wings' (in this case 'The court of the tsar' was the second 'wing'). However, in general, the participation of Kasimov sayyids in military activities is completely analogous to the situation in the Kazan Khanate, which is hardly coincidental as there were ancient dynastic and political ties between these states [Iskhakov, 1988 pp. 45–47, 189–190, 202, 211, 218–219, 223].

The role of the sayyids in the enthronement of the khan in the Kasimov Khanate was discussed in a historical composition by Kadyr-Ali-beg 'Collection of Chronicles' (1602), while he described the procedure of ascending the Sultan Uraz-Muhammed to the khan's throne, which took place in the mosque of Stary Posad in Kasimov: '...The crowd was huge. Mullahs, danishmends, khafizes, begs, in short, all the Muslims gathered in a stone mosque built by Sheikh-Ali khan. A golden fire blanket was brought and spread... From the Old Yurt (Iske yurt—Stary Posad of Kasimov.—D. I.)... Bulyak sayyid started pronouncing his ceremonial khotba (prayer). Then four people (karachi-begs.—D. I.), holding four ends of the golden fire blanket, lifted the khan on it... All the Muslims... filled the the mosque with cheerful yells. After that Karachis, Atalyks, and Imildashes showered the Khan with money, and all those present congratulated the Khan' [Berezin, 1851, p. 551; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, pp. 402–404]. This ritu-

al is rather similar to the one described by the traveler I. Schiltberger at the turn of the 14–15th centuries, while observing the enthronement of the khan of 'the Golden Tatarya' [Schiltberger, 1984, p. 44], which confirms the continuation of the given Golden Horde tradition in the Kasimov Khanate.

Data on the spreading of a certain branch of Sufi Tariqa in this khanate was not preserved. However, most likely the information, indicated above, on the kinship between the Kasimov sayyids and sayyids from 'Bulgar vilayet,' 'Hajji-Tarkhan,' 'Crimean vilayet' is evidence of trails of Yesevi Tariqa in this state.

The Great Horde and the Astrakhan Khanate. The Astrakhan Khanate only emerged when the Great Horde had ceased to exist, and a part of its population and territory were transformed into independent possessions. True, they were governed by the khans descending from the clan of the rulers of the Great Horde [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 55]. Initially the capital of the Great Horde was Sarai ('Great Sarai'), but from time to time this function passed to Hajji-Tarkhan, especially after its defeat in 1481, caused by the Shibanid-Nogai coalition [Ibid., pp. 39–40, 52–53]. In this situation, Muslim institutions in the Great Horde and the Astrakhan Khanate were likely to have succession, but sources provide no information about that.

The fact that the Great Horde was a Muslim state is confirmed by the letter of the co-ruler of this state Khan Mahmud, dating back to 10 April 1466 and addressed to Turkish sultan Mehmed Fatikh. This message composed in the 'Great Horde' (*Olug Urda*) contains the following introduction: 'He is inimitable, and he demonstrates miracles of Muhammed, and he certainly relates to the clan of Mahmud, [post-script], may Allah immortalise his reign' [Sultanov, 1978, p. 240]. There are the following phrases in the address of another ruler of the Great Horde khan Ahmat, dating back to 1477, intended for the Turkish sultan, after the complimentary words concerning Mehmed Fatikh as a Muslim ruler: '...may Allah immortalise his reign and his power and elevate him and his palace higher than stars of Ursa Minor!' I thank God..., may the Lord make his life long...' [Ibid., p. 243].

The existence of the institution of sayyids in the Great Horde is beyond doubt, but the information on it is extremely scarce. In this connection, one should pay attention to sayyid Khozyaku 'fleeing' from 'the king' whose case was taken up by the Crimean ruler in front of the Grand Prince of Moscow in 1509 [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 68, 72–73]. According to V. Trepavlov, that was the Great Horde sayyid Haji-Ahmed, who found himself together with the people of Khan Sheikh-Ahmad in Lithuanian possessions, after the defeat of the Great Horde (Takht eli) [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 35]. Then he and his family (or a part of it) moved to the Kasimov Khanate, where he died. In 1515 he was no longer alive. In the beginning Crimean Khan Mengli-Giray demanded that the Polish-Lithuanian side send him back home, claiming that 'he and Shahmat (Khan Sheikh-Ahmad.—D.I.) rendered homage to that sayyid' [Ibid.] and then he asked the Grand Prince of Moscow for the same favour [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 68]. Khan Mengli-Girey's son Sultan Ahmed-Giray married to this sayyid's daughter also asked the Grand Prince of Moscow to send him back the belongings of sayyid Haji-Ahmed left in his possessions, explaining that he was 'the former (ancient.—D. I.) pilgrim of his grandfathers and fathers' [Ibid., p. 511]. Probably in the last case it was meant that Haji-Giray claimed the larger possessions than the Crimean Khanate for a while after the defeat of the Horde by him in 1452. The references of his offspring to ancient ties with the sayyids of the Great Horde can be explained by this fact. However, in fact it is most likely that Haji-Ahmed was the high sayyid of the Great Horde, and being an influential personality, he got on the nerves of the Crimean rulers, who were doing their best not to allow Takht eli to restored again [Trepavlov, 2010, pp. 35, 90–100]. One of the statements of khan of the Great Horde Sheikh-Ahmad, preserved in 'Lithuanian Metrics' and saying that 'there are sayyids and priests among his people held captive in Moscow,' can also be evidence of this fact [Ibid., p. 35]. If, as is most likely, Khozyaku (Haji-Ahmed) was to be considered a 'sayyid,' it can be assumed that Muslim religious figures

were being considered under the name 'priests.' The fact that there were mullahs in the Great Horde becomes evident from the charter of the Russian envoy in the Crimea I. Mamontov, dating back to 1501, reporting that Crimean Khan Mengli-Giray notified about the arrival of ambassador sent by Khan Sheikh-Ahmad to him [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 351]. V. Trepavlov, pointing to this fact, believes that the given 'mollozade' was 'the commander and supervisor of the Ordobazar' [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 33]. If there were children of mullahs in this state, that means there were mullahs themselves as well. The conclusion of V. Trepavlov, based on the analysis of 'Lithuanian Metrics,' according to which the sayyids and hajis were the ambassadors of the Great Horde, should also be taken into consideration [Ibid., p. 35].

Thus, in general, we can talk about the existence of the institution of sayyids, including the high sayyid heading Muslim clergy consisting of mullahs, mullazades, and hajis in the Great Horde. As for other groups of Muslim priests and the tariqa spreading in the Great Horde, nothing is known. However, the passage found in the lineage of the Kasimov sayyids, according to which their relatives were in 'the Volga Region,' under which apparently the Great Horde was meant, allows us to speak about Yesevi Tariqa being in 'Takht eli.'

The fact that Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan Isfakhani in his composition 'Mihman-name-yi Bukhara' (1509) describing ulems and scientists, who come to the Kazakhs from all over the world to teach them the bases of belief, also indicated descendants from 'Haji-Tarkhan,' is evidence of the depth of penetration of Islam in the environment of the population of the Astrakhan Khanate [Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan Isfakhani, 1976, p. 106]. The concentration of a significant number of tombs of the saints, whose names contained prefixes 'baba,' 'haji' ('azi'), 'ata,' 'khazrat' in Astrakhan and its suburbs, is not accidental either. The presence of tombs (kashene) near Astrakhan is clear from the sources dating back to the 1570s [Zaitsev, 2004, pp. 193–195]. The geographical location of Astrakhan, near one of the most popular roads among pilgrims of Central Asia heading

to Mecca, should also be taken into account [Ibid., p. 182].

The Tatar narratives testify about the existence of mosques in Astrakhan. Their precise number at the time of the khan is unknown, but in the 1670s there were seven mosques in the city [Ibid., pp. 178–202]. The written monuments preserved from the period of the Astrakhan Khanate (see more in detail: [Zaitsev, 2004]), the mentioning about khafizes in sources, the presence of a bakhshi (that is a clerk) as a part of Astrakhan embassy in Moscow in 1540 are evidence of the existence of a Muslim educational system in the state [Ibid., p. 182].

Taking into consideration the limited information on the institution of sayyids in the Astrakhan Khanate, this issue may be set on the historical basis only to draw the totality of evidence on the clergy of this state. The earliest information of this sort dates from 1554, when Khan Derbysh-Ali defeated Astrakhan Khan Yamgurchey with the help of the Russian troops. The Astrakhan Tatars, who were scattered during an enemy attack, started to return and later 'present petitions.' '... and Yenguvat azey... and many other mullahs, and azeys, and another 3000 people' were among the last ones who came [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 244]. Ötemish Haji knew one more haji called Niyaz, a rich man from 'vilayet Haji-Tarkhan' [Utemish-haji, 1992, pp. 97–98]. Although the first part of his name was not connected with religious belonging (Haji Niyaz), he was an educated man [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 181]. Then in 1558 A. Jenkinson mentioned a Tatar, with whom he departed from Astrakhan, as a man who was considered to be a saint because he had been to Mecca [Ibid.] that means the Hajj is mentioned again.

The chronicle message indicated above gives an idea of the structure of the Muslim priesthood of the khanate. It can also be seen in detail in another chronicle report dating back to 1557. The same year Derbysh-Ali 'changed his oath' given to the Russians and left Astrakhan, but in June 1557 Moscow received a message, according to which a part of the Astrakhan Tatars had returned: 'Inhabitants of Astrakhan, ulan Chalym, and mullahs, and hajis, and shaykhs, and princes, and all the murzas,

and Cossacks, and common people, Astrakhan land... bowed to him and told the truth' [Ibid., pp. 281, 283]. The existence of sheikhs in the khanate is confirmed by the name of 'Mashaikh' settlement (it derives from 'mashaikh,' which is an Arabic plural form of the word 'sheikh'). Later it became an integral part of Astrakhan. [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 185]. One more religious figure was mentioned in the charter of Nogai Prince Ismahil addressed to Ivan IV (1561) concerning the Astrakhan Khanate. He writes: '... eight Astrakhan people are teaching them: in the beginning Dostay Afyz (that is, khafiz.—*D. I.*), and Prince Tinish, and ulan Chalym, and Prince Ivancha, and Devesh, and Devlet Kildyey, and Prince Kuryan, and Kudai Berdi' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1795, p. 55]. We can see a rather complete description of the priesthood of the Astrakhan Khanate in the last years of its existence: mullahs, hajis, sheikhs, sheikhzades, khafizes. As we can see, the sayyids were not mentioned among the priesthood of the khanate. In one case, the fleeing Tatars, including 'many mullahs and azeys,' were headed by Yenguvat-haji (azey). In another case, Dostay-khafiz (afyz) was called the headman (at the beginning) of the Astrakhan nobility 'teaching gallantry.'

Probably there were no sayyids in the Astrakhan Khanate at all? It can be assumed that this conclusion would be mistaken because some sources know about the existence of sayyids in the Astrakhan yurt, particularly manuscript history called the 'Conquest of the Astrakhan Khanate' [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 66–67] allows pointing to the fact of the existence of the institution of *sayyids* in the khanate. This manuscript provides a rather complete description of the events of 1554, related to Khan Derbysh-Ali's accession to the throne in Astrakhan: 'Kasimov Tsar Derbysh Aley was assigned to the throne, and all the Astrakhan Khanate and the lands of the Tatars, princes, and murzas, and sayyids (our emphasis.—*D. I.*), and mullahs, and ulans, and abyzes, and people from uluses and, common nomads people. All of them had to put their hand on the Quran and swear an oath [Pogodin Collection, p. 92]. The authenticity of the unique message contained in the indicated manuscript can be partly rechecked on the

basis of other sources. For example, the fact of swearing an oath by the inhabitants of Astrakhan headed by Khan Derbysh-Ali in 1554 is supported by Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle adding the following note to this year: '... and Tsar Derbysh-Aley and all Astrakhan land united and signed an oath charter addressed to the Great Tsar of Russia Ivan Vasilyevich and his children and sent it to the tsar attaching a seal to it' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 244]. The division of the population of the khanate into uluses consisting of common people and headed by princes, murzas, mentioned in the manuscript indicated above, can be traced back in Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle from the year 1554 [Ibid.]. 'Common people' were called 'the rabble' in the chronicle dating back to 1557 [Ibid., p. 283]. And Nogai cases, dating back to 1561, testify about 'the Astrakhan uluses' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1795, p. 160]. Moreover Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle uses the notion of 'Astrakhan land' and the equivalent term 'the Astrakhan Khanate' in parallel [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 242, 244]. As it was shown above, both terms are used in the manuscript history from 'Pogodin Collection.' This data allows us to consider evidence from manuscript history as being quite authentic. Consequently, the given conclusion also spreads on the part of the source under consideration, in which it comes to Muslim priesthood of the Khanate including 'sayyids.' One more report on the Astrakhan sayyids (although it is not quite clear) can be seen in the message of former Astrakhan Khan Derbysh-Ali (he ruled in the Astrakhan Khanate between October 1537 and the summer of 1539) sent in 1551 from the Nogai Horde to Moscow through his agent. It can be assumed that at that time Derbysh-Ali, removed by Khan Yamgurchey from the Astrakhan Khanate, was in the Nogai Horde. The letter of Derbysh-Ali mentions a sayyid who 'came from there and told him a good word.' Most likely it was the sayyid from the Nogai Horde because he reported that "Yusuf bey and Ismail murza (that is, Derbysh-Ali.—*D. I.*) were looking for your (Grand Prince of Moscow.—*D. I.*) yurt.' And the sayyid said: 'Live here,' that means in the

Nogai Horde. Then the khan indicates that 'he was silent for two years,' had no contacts with Moscow, and after the sayyid had come to him he only 'wanted to listen to him and leave.' But in the end he changed his mind. As a result, it turns out that the sultan Yamgurchi 'killed the sayyid and his good son.' It turns out that 'the sayyid came to ask for prince Yusuf's support so that he could wage war against his enemy' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793, pp. 313–314]. It is plausible that the sayyids killed by Khan Yamgurchey were the high sayyid of the Astrakhan Khanate and his son, and the sayyid who turned to Derbysh-Ali was a representative of the sayyid dynasty of the Nogai Horde, who decided to revenge Astrakhan Khan Yamgurchey, having killed the sayyid mentioned above and his son. Probably this was, among other things, related to the existence of kinship between the dynasties of sayyids in the states under consideration.

A thorough analysis of sources allows us to decode the names of some sayyids of the Astrakhan Khanate. For example, there was the following information about Yenguvat-haji (azey) in a chronicle message dating back to 1554: '.. he was an influential personality at that time' [Ibid.] Taking into consideration the fact that in 1554 he was accompanied by many mullahs and hajis, the following question arises: What if he was the headman of the Muslim priesthood of the Khanate? Probably we should not be confused by the circumstance that he was called 'azey' in the chronicles. For example, in the Siberian Khanate as we will be able to see a bit later sayyid Din-Ali was called 'haji' all the time. The same tradition was typical for the state of the Shibanids. So it should be assumed that haji Yenguvat was not the only sayyid in the Astrakhan Khanate, and the manuscript history I referred to uses the term 'sayyid' in plural form as 'sayyids.'

It is more than plausible that Mansur-sayyid, mentioned above, was the headman of the priesthood of the khanate before sayyid Yenguvat-haji. First, the fact the he came to Kazan 'from Astrakhan' in 1545 and went back with Khan Safa-giray in a couple days later confirms this conclusion. Second, the general historical situation in the Crimean and Astrakhan Khan-

ates in the 1520–1530s does not contradict this conclusion. The thing is that after the fierce defeat of the Crimeans, conquering Astrakhan in 1523, thanks to betrayal of Nogai nobility, khan Mehmed Giray was killed [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, pp. 57–58]. During the long struggle for the Crimean throne one of the candidates for it, Sultan Islam-Giray (after another defeat in 1531) and Islam-Giray, found themselves in Astrakhan, where the former, 'according to rumors,' was 'seated on the throne.' He did not go there alone—about 100 people belonging to the Crimean elite were with him. At the same time sayyid called Mansur was mentioned in the Crimea in 1524 for the last time [Malinovsky, pp. 259, 412]. So it can be assumed that in 1531 sayyid Mansur found himself in Astrakhan (I should remind that exactly in 1531 Kurtka-sayyid figures in the role of the high sayyid in the Crimean Khanate). Although Islam-Giray was in Astrakhan for a short time (about a year or even less), sayyid Mansur could have remained in Astrakhan even after 1531. His arrival in Kazan in 1545, when in fact he came there to save the representative of the Crimean dynasty, the Khan Safa-Giray, who had found himself in a hopeless situation, is evidence of Crimean origins of sayyid Mansur.

Thus far, there has not been any other evidence on Astrakhan sayyids. Nevertheless, there is information on the existence in the early 19th century among Yurt Tatars of a division, of direct successors of the population of the Astrakhan Khanate, into three groups, one of which consisted of 'akhuns and kazys' [Economic, 1809, p. 171]. Apparently, this data goes back to the work by S. Gmelin, who noted such a group, including a kazy, mullahs, and abyzes, among the Yurt Tatars. It should be noted that about the kazy he wrote that he was 'unique...' and that he was kazy 'by genealogical right' [Gmelin, 1777, p. 180]. It is plausible that this kazy was an offspring of the sayyids going back to the period of the Astrakhan Khanate. In this connection, it should be taken into consideration that I. Zaitsev provides the report of Evlya Chelebi about lawyers—kadis belonging to kheshdeks [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 183]. Probably this is evidence of the presence of representatives of this group in the Astrakhan Khanate.

Now let us talk about Sufi Tariqa that was widespread in the Astrakhan Khanate. No doubt, the tariqa and tariqas in general existed in the khanate—the mentioning of sheikhs concerning this state is evidence of that. I. Zaitsev claimed that probably the Naqshbandiyya Tariqa (along with Kubraviya brotherhood, but he does not provide any sources about the latter) was probably spread in Haji-Tarkhan [Ibid., p. 185]. Nevertheless, legendary evidence, provided by Evliya Çelebi on the arrival of Mehmed Bukhari Sary Saltyk-sultan in 'Ejderkhan ile' and admission of a part of 'heshdeks' living in the vicinity of Astrakhan to Islam [Ibid., pp. 187–189], testifies about the initial spreading of Yesevi Tariqa in the Astrakhan Khanate because Sary Saltyk was the dervysh of Yesevi Tariqa. The narratives on the building of a mosque by 'khazrat Khamet-ata' in Astrakhan and the presence of honourable burials of people, whose names contain the prefix 'Ata' (Nur-Ata, Ak-Ata, Mansur-Ata, Khyzr-Ata) are evidence of the same circumstance [Ibid., p. 194]. Most likely, in this case one should interpret 'Ata' as representatives of the clan of sayyids. The presence of the tomb of 'sayyid-baba' in the cemetery of the Krasny Yar Village [Ibid.], just as the very name of Sayiitovo Village, most likely is evidence of burials of the line of Astrakhan *sayyids* being made here if these burials are not related to the population of the Nogai Horde from a later period.

Nogai Horde. Although the population of the Nogai Horde is sometimes represented in descriptions of some observers as 'ignorant when it comes to religion' [From the stories of Juan Persian, 1899, p. 8; Description, 1879, p. 485], no doubt, they had confessed Islam since the 14th century. It is not coincidental that Ruy González de Clavijo, in his famous description of a trip to Temür, dating back to the early 15th century, claimed: '... A... Edigu converted and is converting the Tatars to Mohammedanism, not long ago they have not believed in anything, until they accepted the religion of Mohammed' [Ruy González de Clavijo, 1990, p. 144]. Most likely this passage does not refer to Edigu himself and his tribe (the Manghits), who had adopted Islam earlier. Anyway Al-Makrizi and Al-Askalani preserved infor-

mation on the arrival of the Desht ruler Emir Idiku's wife (khatun) in 1416 (1417) who was going to carry out religious pilgrimage from Damascus [Tiesenhausen, 1884, pp. 442, 454]. According to historical narratives of the Karanogais, Nuretdin, one of the sons of ruler of the Nogai Horde Edigu, considered himself a Muslim [Ananyev, 1900, p. 12]. Thus, some other moments of confessional relations under Edigu should be searched for in the statement of Clavijo. First, this could shed light on the real proselytising activities of Edigu, but at the outskirts of the territory of the Golden Horde. For example, it could have taken place in Western Siberia. The campaign of Edigu and sultan Chekre (Chinggis-oglan?) 'in the Country of Siberia' taking place in about 1405–1406 is well known [Shiltberger, 1984, p. 35]. Non-Islamised groups of Turks had been able to stay in this very country by the beginning of the 15th century, which will be mentioned again a bit later. Second, these activities of Edigu may be related to distinct political purposes. On this occasion, it is helpful to turn to the narrative of 'Tokhtamysh-khan' preserved by the Karanogais. It reads as follows: 'After Tokhtamysh had died, Nuradil (Edigus's son Nur-ad-Din.—*D. I.*) came back and started ruling the Horde.' Some years later people became doubtful about his (Nur-ad-Din's.—*D. I.*) descent,...starting to construe that the ancestry of the Tokhtamysh originated... from... Chinggis Khan, and Nuradil was from another tribe.' In this situation Nur-ad-Din had to claim: '... I have believed in God since my birth and acknowledged his existence, he patronised me everywhere, I have read many religious books and the fact that I do not originate from the clan of Chinggis Khan does not demean me in any way because I originate from the clan of the glorious Turkish bogatyr Khochahmat-Baba Tukles' [Ananyev, 1900, p. 12]. As it is evident from the narrative, Nur-ad-Din turned to Muslim saints to legitimise his power in the Nogai Horde because 'Khochahmat-Baba Tukles' was hoja Ahmet Yesevi and Baba Tukles [Zhirmunsky, 1974, pp. 355–356, 383]. And it should be noted, elevating one's clan to this last saint (Baba Tukles ~ Baba Tukty Chashli 'Aziz) and to Prophet Mohammed's son-in-law Abu Bakr

through him was traditional in the genealogy of rulers of the Nogai Horde [Ananyev, 1900, p. 12; Nebolsin, 1852, pp. 224–225]. Although it was evident that the offspring of Edigu were trying to confirm their right of power this way [Zhirmunsky, 1974, pp. 283–284], it should also be emphasised that Edigu himself (or his forefathers), and then his offspring, could get married to religious figures of higher status—the sayyids. Anyway, the tradition of marrying off daughters of Nogai princes murzas and sayyids is well known [Kochekaev, 1988, p. 46]. That means that chances of cross marriages between representatives of civil and religious nobility of the Nogai Horde were rather good. Meanwhile, the genealogy of the rulers of the Nogai Horde acquires certain historicity, their role of the so called 'fighters for the faith' becomes more comprehensive.

In general, by the 16th century the Nogai Horde had turned into a Muslim society. For example, in the early 16th century the Polish traveler Maciej Miechowita wrote about the Nogais that 'they are the followers and fans of Mahommed..., practice circumcision, follow their own rules..., consider themselves ismaelites' [Mekhovsky, 1936, pp. 58–59]. In the late 1550s the English traveler A. Jenkinson indicated during his trip to Central Asia: '...in the country of the Manghits and the Nogais, its inhabitants follow the law of Mohammed' [Jenkinson, 1937, p. 169]. Muslim self-consciousness of prince of the Nogai Horde Yusuf (1551) has already been mentioned. Later the rulers of the Nogai Horde emphasised their belonging to the Islamic world. For example, in 1608 the Nogai prince Ishtiryak gave the following reply to the requirement of the Moscow ambassador to give back two ambassadors from Astrakhan: 'Since the beginning of time... Muslim laws do not allow the giving back of ambassadors' [Acts, 1914, pp. 192–193]. The Russian ambassador also criticised Prince Ishtiryak for the fact of violating his oath because he was swearing it by putting his hand on the Quran of the great emperor [Ibid., p. 193]. The rulers of neighbouring Muslim states also considered the Nogai Horde as a part of the Islamic world. In particular, while in 1549 Ivan IV told Lithuanian ambassadors that 'his troops were

defending the peace of Christianity and there must not be any Besermyans here' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1887, p. 271], the envoy of the Turkish sultan sent to murza Ismail, who became a prince later, left the opposite message in 1551: '... we are Muslims. And all of us are against the Muscovite state' [Burdei, 1956, p. 191].

As for Muslim institutions in this state, the existence of the institution of sayyids in the Nogai Horde is doubtless. For example, this is evident from the message of murza Tinaley (Din-Aley) addressed to Ivan IV (1564). The murza writes: '...my sayit-shikh Tinbay originates from my great grandfather' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1801, p. 135]. Although this message contains some unclear elements (for example, it is not quite clear what the expression "my sayit-shikh" means), it follows that there were sayyids in the Nogai Horde in the last quarter of the 15th century (this conclusion is based on the calculations of genealogical links of Tin-Aley's forefathers [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 61]). To be honest, in the Nogai Horde sayyids fleeing from the Kazan Khanate were mentioned between 1487 and 1491, as it was stated above. By the way, murza Musa wrote about one of them, Kasim-sayyid, in 1491: 'Kasim sayyid has stayed at us' [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 38]. Despite the fact this Kazan sayyid was wanted to get back to his motherland, he is unlikely to have succeeded in that.

Nogais affairs, dating back to 1545, contain more detailed information on the sayyids of this state, describing events related to the death of its ruler the Prince Shikh-Mamai in the Nogai Horde. According to Russian envoys, after he had died, Yusuf became the prince who sent his ambassadors to Moscow to establish friendly relations with the Moscow prince. Ambassador Baishash sent by the sayyid was also a part of them [Ibid., p. 305]. One more unnamed sayyid was marked in the Nogai Horde in 1551, as it was shown above, although the report was quite unclear. [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1973, p. 314].

As evident from a document, dating back to 1549, which says: '... Yusuf... sent ambas-

sadors... and there was an ambassador of the sayyid from Saray-Jük with him' [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 305], the residence of the headman of Muslim priesthood of the Nogai Horde was situated in its capital—the city of Saray-Jük. We know one more sayyid from Nogai affairs, dating back to 1617, 'the high sayyid Ikisat in Saraichik' [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 587]. As it concerns an important foreign policy action in the document dating back to 1549, the participation of the sayyid along with the ruler of the Horde, his brothers, and children is evidence of his high position in the state. According to B. Kochekaev and V. Trepavlov, the tradition of marrying off the daughters of Nogai princes and murzas to sayyids is not coincidental either. This is also an acknowledgment of the special status of sayyids in the Manghit Yurt. We know the names of some of the more outstanding sayyids being in the Nogai Horde. One of them is Uras/Uraz/Urys-sayyid (sayit) who was mentioned in 1507 among prisoners captured by the Russians [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 81]. We have already mentioned Tinbay-sayyid. But the last one could hardly be a high sayyid, otherwise he would be next to murza Tin-Aley as his sheikh. Nevertheless, actually the given fact is evidence of simultaneous presence of several people having the title of 'sayyid' in the Nogai Horde. There were other priests having the title of 'sayyids' in addition to him. In connection with the fact that in 1585 the Cossacks attacked 'Khozin uluses on bogomoltsovy—on Kara Khozin, and on Baba Khozin, and on Kara Asman Khozin'—and devastated their uluses, it becomes evident that the wife of one of hodjas mentioned above was Bey Urus's sister; most likely sayyids are meant again in this case. Although it is plausible that Kara-Hadja was a sheikh. Anyway, during the reign of Bey Musa (1491–1502) Bey Malum-sheikh's son-in-law was known. He was also the hoja whose son most likely was Kara-hoja [see Trepavlov, 2001, pp. 573–574]. V. Trepavlov considers Ikisat-sayyid mentioned above and being in Saray-Jük as the high sayyid of the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 587], which seems to be reasonable.

The work by V. Trepavlov contains later evidence on sayyids in this state. As the re-

searcher notes, in the early 17th century there were several sayyids at the court of the bey of the Nogai Horde and one of them was 'the high sayyid.' True, the statement of the author, according to which there was also 'the high sayyid of Saraychiq' in addition to the high sayyid, is not quite clear. As for me, I believe that this was the same person. In 1614 Ibrahim (Ibreim ibn Kalevat) was the high sayyid, then he was replaced by Saif ad-Din ibn Kalevat [Ibid., pp. 567, 570]. In 1604 four sayyids took part in the ceremony of reconciliation between Ishterek and Jan-Ali ibn Urus. This enterprise was organised by the Astrakhan authorities, and the sayyids had to say their prayers standing in front of Ishterek and Jan-Ali according to their rules. This would mean that '...sayyids... being Besermyans from the standpoint of their confession and belief, must be eyewitnesses of their thoughts' [Ibid., pp. 571, 573], that means they were the responsible persons for both sides. The reconciliation itself looked this way: 'Prince Ishterek and Yanaraslan ordered the sayyids to say their Muslim prayers and stood holding hands during that time. And as soon as the sayyids finished saying their prayers according to their Muslim laws, then Prince Ishterek and Yanaraslan came up to each other, hugged each other, and kissed each other' [Ibid.].

It was known in the Nogai Horde that sayyids are the messengers of God [Ibid., p. 570]. According to V. Trepavlov, the families of sayyids had a nomadic way of life. He provides the words spoken by the high sayyid of Prince Ishterek as witness for this conclusion. He said that 'fathers and grandfathers were roaming along the Volga River and the Yayiq River from time immemorial. I pray... as my fathers did... living in the same yurts and encampments' [Ibid.]. Official documents referring to the early 17th century and indicating that 'there were sayyids living among the Nogais... according to their Muslim laws' also testify this [Ibid.] Nevertheless, these adverse living conditions in the field were not always typical for the sayyids of the Nogai Horde, judging by messages from the 15th century about the arrival of people connected with the headman of the Muslim priesthood of the state from the

city of Saray-Jük. Yes, even Sayyid Sayf ad-Din indicated above also moved to Astrakhan in about 1615, where there were 12 people descending from the clan of sayyids in the late 1610s. As a result, in 1620 the Nogai sayyid Saif ad-Din started building a new mosque in Astrakhan with permission of local authorities so that 'all people coming here prayed for your (tsar Mikhail Fedorovich.—*D. I.*) health' [Ibid., pp. 569, 573]. What is more, this sayyid was going to perform charity work—that is, 'give food and water to all our people' [Ibid., p. 572].

According to V. Trepavlov, the sayyids of the Nogai Horde had their own encampments and the so called 'ulus people' in the first third of the 17th century. For example, high sayyid Saif ad-Din had ten families 'serving his father, his grandfather.' In the population census of Astrakhan yurts in 1633, these people are enumerated in the following way: house-serfs: 10, zahrebetniks: 1, subsistence ulus people: 18, their brothers: 3, children: 6, zahrebetniks: 1, average earners: 12, their brothers: 2, children: 30, zahrebetnik: 1; 'poor people': 40, their brothers: 6, children: 5 [Ibid., p. 573]. It is illustrative that 4 uluses were subordinated to the headman of the Nogai Horde: Sayit, Khoza, Bazar, and Saray-Jük. The first and the second ones were connected with possessions of sayyids and hodjas (the last ones were called 'hodjas' uluses'). According to V. Trepavlov, they were equivalents for Waqf possessions [Ibid.].

The sayyids headed a rather branched group of the priesthood in the Nogai Horde. Except for the sayyids themselves (one of them was an official and was in the city of Saray-Jük) sheikhs (shikh, shiik), mullahs (molna, molla), hodjas (hozya, kozya), khafizes (afyz, abyz), sufis (sufui, sufa) were also an integral part of priesthood [Ambassadorial books, 1995, pp. 20, 30, 32–36, 72, 76, 79, 131–132, 156, 162–163, 192, 203, 212, 246, 248–250, 295–296, 308, 315–316]. Probably dervishes were also a part of them [Iskhakov, 1997a]. V. Trepavlov also adds sadrs to this list dating back to the late 15th century—the first third of the 17th century. They were 'the offspring of Bukharian dynasty of chief priests or owners of Waqf possessions' in the Nogai Horde. This kind of priests was mentioned in the source only once in 1617:

'pilgrim... Prince Ishterek's sadyr khadzi Jeilev' [Trepavlov, 2010, p. 571]. Referring to data extracted by A.I.-M. Sikaliyev from epic works, V. Trepavlov provides the names of ministers of religion in the Nogai Horde (myfty/mufti, kadi, efendi), featuring in other sources, indicating that these late realities can hardly be referred to an earlier period [Ibid., p. 570]. One should agree with this conclusion, but it should be emphasised that it is impossible to eliminate the possibility of their existence among the Nogais in the 15–18th centuries especially taking into consideration the reinforcement of the influence of the Crimean Khanate in the Nogais in later periods. We should also add that hajis were mentioned in the Nogai Horde along with sayyids as their 'brothers' [Ibid., pp. 570–571]. Finally sheikhs had a rather important status among the Nogais, which follows from the marriage between Sheikh Malum-Hodja's son and Bey Musa's daughter [Ibid., p. 571]. Theoretically, sheikhs were close to sayyids from the standpoint of their status. It is known that the bey of the Nogai Horde Ishterek was married to sayyid Ibrahim ibn Kalevat's daughter [Ibid., p. 570]. In general, the penetration of links relating to Prophet Muhammad into the genealogy of the Nogai elite—that is, Manghits originating from Edigu—is likely to be related to matrimonial relations with female representatives of the sayyid clan. For example, Devin DeWeese provides evidence on Hodja Murtaf married to Magnyt padishah Musa-bey's daughter. Haji Taj-ad-Din, originating from them on his father's side, had grandmother Mikhr-Nigar-khanum on his mother's side, who was the niece of khan Din-Muhammed (Arabshah's line) and was the daughter of Manghit Muhammed-Mansur-murza (Bey Abbas/Gabbas's line). So she was the wife of sayyid Hashim-hadja (1506–1568) [De Weese, 1994, pp. 394–396]. Probably it was a rather old tradition, it is no accident that according to legends Edigu's son Nur-ad-Din was extremely active when it came to Muslim affairs, referring to his kinship with the Prophet [Trepavlov, 1995, p. 86].

The Muslim priesthood of the Nogai Horde had its own hierarchy which still cannot be decoded. It should be emphasised that Mullah

Dervysh-Aley (Ali) was called 'our great person' and 'kind person' in the message of murza Urak dating back to 1537 [Treppavlov, 2001, pp. 192, 203], which means he was marked out among other representatives of priesthood. Probably status differences between them were connected with their participation in state affairs: sheikhs, hajiis, and sufis played the part of ambassadors, some khafizis were mentioned while collecting tributes. Particularly, the expression 'Aslatai Abyz set off to military campaigns every year,' featuring in Nogai cases, can be interpreted as raising tributes with the help of military forces [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1801, p. 225; Acts, 1914, p. 196]. The clergy were also busy with other state affairs. We have already seen the ambassadors sent to Moscow, ambassador-sayyid. As a rather developed management system took place in the Nogai Horde, priests took up posts of officials rather frequently—the abyzes (khafizes), who were called clerks in Russian sources, and bakshis, who were called the same way (it was noted that mullahs could also be bakshis) [Kochekaev, 1988, pp. 42–43]. Various activities of the priesthood, including state officials, required a certain level of literacy. What is more, while the mullahs acted as bakshis, the sheikhs, hajis, and sufis acted as ambassadors [Ibid., pp. 20, 35, 72, 76, 79, 131–132, 249–250]. In 1490 ambassador of Nogai Tsar Yebelek Yemenekov called Kutluk (Kutlu)-sheikh (shiik, sheik) was also mentioned. Some of the khafizes drew attention to themselves during military campaigns [Ibid., p. 203]. We should also add that the charters of murzas and princes of the Nogai Horde, dating back to the 16–17th centuries, were written in the language which is different from the modern Nogai language. This language was marked as the Tatar language in the period when these papers were received in Moscow [Ibid., p. 22]. It is evident that the presence of literate people in the state meant the organisation of educational process in the Nogai Horde, but unfortunately, no evidence of this sort has been uncovered.

The specific feature of the Nogai Horde was the dispersion of power among several murzas who were the owners of uluses subordinated to

them. Every murza had his own administration that was similar to the prince's one. The clergy were spread in the same way. In addition to evidence on Tinbai-sayyid being next to Tin-Aley murza as his 'sheikh,' there is other data in this respect. For example, Urak murza calls mullah Dervysh-Aley 'his person.' There is a following remark below the charter of Tin-Aley (1550) mentioned above: 'written by Tin-Ali, murza's afyz Tau-Cherkes Afyz.' Ismail (Smail) sufi (*sufui*) was mentioned among 'his people' in the message of murza Musa (1490). In 1508 murza Mamai (Shikh-Mamai)'s person Kurman (Kurmai)—haji (*hoja*) came from him as a messenger. In the charter sent by murza Kasai to Moscow (1549) khafiz (*afyz*) Davlet Yar was called: 'my imeldyash.' Khafiz (*afyz*) Kantugan was defined as 'his person' in the charter of Yusuf-murza sent to the same place a year later [Iskhakov, 1997a].

Apparently, there was a mechanism of interaction between priesthood being in uluses and the central authorities headed by the sayyid. There has been no answer to this question yet.

The presence of sheikhs in the Nogai Horde is evidence of the spreading of a definite Tariqa there—no doubt, this was the Yesevi Tariqa. Of the same nature are constantly emphasised ties between the Manghit nobility and Baba Tukles (Baba Tukty Chashli 'Aziz), who was a legendary figure and most likely was an associate of sayyid-Ata, islamiser of the Jochid Ulus. Sadr-Ata himself was one of the successors of Ahmed Yesevi (through Khakim-Ata, Zangi-Ata) (this complicated problem was covered in the works by [Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 61–66]). Moreover, in the chronicles of Kokand historian of the 19th century Avaz-Muhammed 'Attar Khukandi 'Tarikh-i Jakhani-numai' Baba Tukles (Baba Tukty) exactly features as a 'saint' (*buzurg*) of the Manghit clan while denoting the list of feasts of famous Turk tribes. It may be assumed that Yesevi Tariqa in the Nogai Horde maintained its positions until the second half of the 16th century. Later the situation around the tariqa dominating in the Nogai Horde could change, but this issue requires a further examination.

The Crimean Khanate. The Crimean Ulus of the Golden Horde had been a significant

Muslim centre by the late 14th century, and until the Girays started ruling in the Crimea its capital called Solkhat, abundant in governor-generals of the Sarai khans, was the centre of spreading Islam. There were loads of mosques, dervysh cloisters, and madrasas [Fisher, 1978, p. 3]. According to the yarliqs dating back to the late 14th century, the following leading groups of Muslim priesthood were known in the '*Crimean tumen*': '*kazi-muftis, sheikh-mashaykhs*' are mentioned in the yarliq of khan Tokhtamysh (1381–1392), '*kazi-muftis, mashaykh-sufis*' were mentioned in the edict of Temür-Kutluk (1397–1398) [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 73]. The same groups of Muslim priests are mentioned in the yarliqs of founder of the Crimean Khanate Haji-Giray. The Crimean nobility realised its connection with Islamic community rather well. Particularly the message of beklyaribeg Eminek-bey Shirin from the Crimea addressed to the Turkish sultan and dating back to 1476 notified him that they had been attacked by the 'unfaithful' (that is Orthodox inhabitants of Moldova), while returning after their military campaign in Moldova [Nekrasov, 1990, p. 46]. It is evident that the definition 'unfaithful' is a result of setting of Christian Moldavians in opposition with the Muslims. The message of the khan of the Great Horde Murtaza, dating back to 1487, contains even a more colourful description of Crimean Khan Nur-Davlet's belonging to the Muslim ummah (he was the ruler of the Kasim Khanate then): '... Gracious lord, you are our support, you always help the Besermyans, you provide the law, you are the direct monarch assigned by God... May your power be great before the Second Coming of Mohammed and his pupils...' Then the khan concludes: '... you live among the unfaithful... Do you really want to live in this land forgotten by God?...' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 69].

Rather colourful descriptions of interconnection between Islam and everyday political and domestic life of the Crimean Tatars in the 16th century are given by a historian of the first half of the 16th century. Remmal-hoja who wrote the '*History of Khan Sahib-Giray* (*Tarikh-i Sahib-Giray-khan*)'. That is how he

describes the ceremony of sending the troops of Khan Sahib-Giray from Bakhchisaray against the Cherkeses in 1539: 'The khan left '... his palace wearing ceremonial clothes and holding a sword. He headed in the direction of Mecca, where prayers were said... A crowd of people were singing prayers...' The campaign was estimated as '*gaza*.' Remmal-hoja, who was a participant of this military campaign, says how his people had a rest during this military campaign: 'People set fire everywhere. Some of them were busy with telling stories, the others were singing passages from the Quran, while the rest were saying their prayers'. According to the same source, while preparing for a military campaign against the Muscovite state in 1541, the khan 'was saying prayers in his room all night long... In the morning he said a morning (*sabakh*) prayer (*namaz*)'. When they returned after the Astrakhan military campaign in 1545, there was a big celebration in the Crimea with participation of 'ulems, imams, and khatibs. All of them were saying prayers (examples from [Ostapchuk, 2001]).

In the first half of the 16th century the Crimean Khanate was a developed Muslim state in which Islam penetrated all the aspects of social life. Judging by reserved fragmentary evidence of the population census in 1529 and 1545, there was a large number of mosques, by the way they were divided into small district ones and big ones (*zhamig*). For example, in Caffa in 1529 there were 9 district mosques and 1 big mosque (the same quantity in 1545) in a part of the city called 'Frenk Khisar,' 15 district mosques and 1 big mosque (in 1545, 17 and 2, respectively) in 'Kale-i Birun,' 10 district mosques and 1 big mosque (the same quantity in 1545) in 'Kale-i KHaqq.' It should be emphasised that the population of Muslims in 1545 was about 8,100 people. As for other cities, there was the following situation: there was 1 mosque in the city of Sogdak (in 1529 and in 1545), 2 district mosques and 1 big mosque in the city of Mankup, 1 district mosque (1 district mosque and 1 big mosque in 1545) in the city of Balykly, 1 mosque in the city of Inkirman, 1 big mosque (2 big mosques in 1545) in the city of Kerch, 1 district mosque in the city of Taman [Fisher, 1981–1982]. Un-

fortunately, we do not have any information on madrasa attached to mosques in this period. Nevertheless, the participation of the Muslim priesthood in state affairs, including diplomatic activities related to composing the texts of treaties and agreements, required a rather high level of education. As for the Crimean educational institutions, there is only data referring to the period of the conquest of the Crimean khanate by the Russians in 1783. There were 25 madrasas and 35 maktabas back then. According to I. Aleksandrov, there were 1531 mosques and 21 tekies at that time [Aleksandrov, 1914, p. 212].

There is rather curious information relating to the Kazan Khanate about the Hajj organised by the Crimeans. In 1516 there was a charter of Tsaritsa Azeya among other charters sent to Moscow. She was the mother of Kazan Khan Abdul-Latif, who was in the Muscovite state at that time. She writes: '... And my son Tsarevich Abdyl-Letif...we ask... I want to go to Mecca and our mullahs tell us... I cannot go without my son or husband...'. The same request is contained in the charter of Sultan Bogatyr-Giray [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 303, 306]. Although the request itself might have political contents (Kazan Khan Muhammed-Amin was ill at that time), but it goes without saying that the fact of performing the Hajj itself is evidence of the existence of the reality.

Finally, there are the observations of the Dominican monk Deluc, dating back to the first quarter of the 17th century, about the mode of life of the Perekop Tatars [Description, 1879, pp. 473–493]. He reports that they follow the rituals of their religion and say prayers from the Quran, go to mosque 5 times a day... try to force their slaves to adopt Mohammedanism... wrap the deceased in tabu (*tabus*) or put them in a wooden coffin covering their faces with something like a cloth (*kezi*)... The deceased is brought to the cemetery, and a hoja (*mullah*) and his relatives accompany him... [pit] in a hole... saying 'Alla-rakhet-ilya'... throw some handfuls of ground there...put a big stone at the head and at his feet...' When a Tatar gets married to a girl according to the kaben ritual... There must be three witnesses with a hoja...

The hoja puts down the items he promised to give her and writes down the names of the witnesses... Civil suits are regulated with the participation of kadiaskers.' The only non-Muslim element mentioned by Deluc is about the tradition of putting 'branches of trees with colourful ribbons on them and bunches of flowers' in the coffins of dead young girls.

Now let us examine Islamic institutions in the Crimean Khanate. Certainly, first of all, there is the institute of sayyids. Materials about sayyids in this khanate are rather numerous, but they are poorly systematised. First, it is expedient to gain an understanding of the names of sayyids and figure out the sequence of their tenure of office, if possible. However, before that it is necessary to find the answer to the disputable question about the correlation of such notions as 'the high sayyid' and 'the great kadi.' A. Syroechkovskiy believed [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 38] that 'the high sayyid' of the Crimean Khanate was also 'the great kadi' simultaneously. Although sometimes this conclusion suggests itself after the examination of sources, the position of A. Syroechkovskiy cannot be accepted. What is more, his theory according to which the major kadi was called 'the great mullah' or 'dominating over all the mullahs' requires documentary corroboration. Meanwhile, I managed to find only one statement about 'the great kadi' in published sources; moreover, he could hardly be the high sayyid: the charter of Crimean khan Mengli-Giray sent to Moscow (1516) provides the following information concerning giving presents and paying tributes: 'Mullah Aley, my great mullah, dominates over all other mullahs, he is also the great kadi' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 299]. Although the expression '...dominates over all other mullahs' sounds a bit ambiguous (it is plausible that they mean here his age), it can be assumed that most likely the great kadi and the high sayyid were different posts in the Crimean Khanate, although Sultan-Ali might also originate from the clan of the Crimean sayyids. By the way, the full name of this kadi was Sultan-Ali Abdulgani, and he was considered to be 'the great mullah' [Kolodziejczyk, 2001,

p. 483]. Now let us get back to the issue of the Crimean sayyids.

The charter sent from the Crimea to Moscow on the behalf of Baba-sheikh (shikh) says: '... all the tsareviches, and the sayyid, and the mullah, and all the ulans, and princes, and four Karaches, and all noble men swore an oath' [Ibid., p. 39]. Apparently, the Baba-sheikh mentioned above is a sayyid. To prove this statement, I can provide a fragment of the address of Sultan Mehmed Giray composed in the same year, but a bit earlier than the first document and dedicated to the indicated ceremony of 'giving an oath.' Reporting that the Grand Prince of Moscow ordered to administer the oath, the sultan enumerates the names of a big number of noble men of the Crimean Khanate beginning it with Baubek-sayyid [Ibid., p. 33]. Basically, names '*Baba*' and '*Baubek*' are rather close (Baba is a short form of Babak and Baubek and Baubekh). There are other reasons for considering that Baubek-sayyid and Baba-sheikh are the same person. The name of Ghazi-Muhammed-sheikhzade (shikh-zody) follows the name of Baubek-sayyid in the list of names attached to the address of Sultan Mehmed Giray [Ibid.]. That was exactly the name of Baba-sheikh's son. Moreover, the names of Baba-sheikh and Baubek-sayyid never feature together in documents.

The special position of Sayyid Baubek (he is also Sheikh Baba) in the Crimean Khanate can be traced back in several documents. First, in 1508 Sultan Muhammad-Giray calls him in the following way: 'the pilgrim of my father' [Ibid.]. This construction, which seems to be strange at first glance, should be decoded as 'my father's old pilgrim.' In fact, Khan Mengli-Giray calls him 'Baba my shikh' in 1508 [Malinovsky, p. 132]. Second, diplomatic papers are evidence of the special status of this personality in the Crimea. One of Baba-sheikh's messages addressed to the Grand Prince Basil in Moscow was quoted above. Another charter was sent to Moscow in 1509 on his behalf. It contains the following phrases: '... I am your (Basil's.—*D. I.*) pilgrim... I am helping you with my matchmaker Mahmedsha' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 79]. The reply message of the Grand Prince

of Moscow addressed to Baba-sheikh (1509) says: '... and we want to have good relations with you and treat you with distinction' [Ibid., p. 80].

Some sayyids were at the courts of sultans in the early 16th century. The message of Sultan Ahmat-Giray, dating back to 1509, is evidence of this fact. It says: 'There are ulans, and princes, and good sayyids' [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 28]. Naturally, these sayyids were not the major ones.

There is no other data on sayyids in the Crimean khanate until 1516. However, in 1516 in the charter of Mehmed Giray to Moscow, concerning sending of gifts by the Grand Prince of Moscow to the Crimea, the names of Mansur-sayyid and Baba-sheikh's son Naur-llo (he was called more accurately 'Nasyr-Ollog' in another document) were mentioned [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, pp. 28, 161]. Apparently, Sayyid Baubek had not been alive by that time. Nevertheless, it is complicated to answer the following question: from whom did he inherit the superior religious power in the khanate. On the one hand, sources bear witness to the high position of Sayyid Baubek's son Nasyr-Ollokh-Sheikh [Ibid., pp. 161–162; Malinovsky, p. 258]. Particularly, Nasyr-Ollokh-sheikh was called the 'initial sheikh' in the charter of Mehmed Giray about 'pominki' in Moscow (1515), and his name precedes the one of Yabach-sultan on the list of elites [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, pp. 161–162]. Further it is noted in the message of Moscow diplomat in the Crimean Khanate I. Mamonov (1516) that during his reception the Crimean 'Khan Mehmed Giray hosted his son Alp-tsarevich and Sur-Alla (the corrupted variant of Nasyr-Olla—*D. I.*) shikh Baba, and Abdel-Al-shikh, and Azbyak tsarevich, and Mamysh ulan Sarman, and Abdyla ulan, and Azika prince, and Davlet-Bakhty Baryn, and Bakhteyar murza, and Assan murza (Temir's son)' [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 280]. It is evident that Nasyr-Ollokh-Sheikh features among the elite of the Crimea. However, according to Khan Muhammad-Giray, the statuses of sayyid Mansur and sheikh Nasyr-Ollokh were identical: in 1516 he gave them equal wages be-

ing tantamount to 2 'pominkas' [Ibid., p. 299]. That is why it is reasonable to talk about the high status of sayyid Mansur. For example, report of Moscow envoy V. Shchadrin from the Crimea (1518), talking about his audience with Crimean Khan Muhammad-Giray, says: '... the tsar ordered... to the grand prince and there were Agysh prince, Azika prince, Mansyr sayyid, Apak and Khalil prince, Mamyshtulan, Mamysht Checheut, Abdullah ulan, Yapancha prince, Memesh murza were sitting on the other side' [Ibid., p. 500]. The document shows clearly that Sayyid Mansur was among the elite of the khanate. Sources make the situation even more puzzled in 1519. First, 'Defter' attached to the great charter of the tsar (apparently this involved the sending of gifts, that is why the list of names of nobility was attached) begins with the names of 'Gazy sayyid' and 'Bilat (Bilal) sayyid' [Ibid., p. 636, Malinovsky, p. 258]. Apparently, the first one is 'Ghazi-Mahmed' sheikhzade, Sayyid Baubek's son. Thus, there were only several people who could be the headman of the Crimean priesthood. However, only one of them could take up this post.

I think this was the Sayyid Gazy (Ghazi-Muhammed). I will now list some arguments in favour of this point of view. It is illustrative that the name of Gazy-sayyid comes first in the appendix attached to the 'great' charter of Khan Mehmed Giray (1519). The content of the message of Gazy-sayyid, addressed to the Grand Prince Basil (1519), is definitely similar to the one of the analogous message of Sayyid Baubek (1509): '... tsar of the Great Horde Mahmed-Giray passes a bow to his brother the tsar of Russia Basil Ivanovich through Gazy sayyid. We wish well-being to both our tsar and you as his brother, our pilgrims say prayers so that you feel good' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 654]. It is worth noting that there is a fragment indicating that Gazy-sayyid took part in the procedure of swearing an oath in the quoted message: '... and swore an oath in front of your servant Ostap and now both rulers maintain good relations' [Ibid.]. It is the absence of similarity between the charter of sayyid Baubek and reference to swearing an oath, in

the simultaneous message of sayyid Mansur, that eliminates the possibility of the fact that Mansur could take up the post of the headman of priesthood in the Crimea [Ibid., p. 655]. Traditionally, the sayyids who headed clergy took part in the oath ceremony, and that is why this moment is especially noteworthy. Finally, as is evident from the charter dating back to 1508, Gazy-Muhammed was the pilgrim of Sultan Mehmed Giray at that moment, while Gazy-Muhammed's father Sayyid Baubek was considered to be Khan Mengli-Giray's pilgrim, who was his father [Ibid., p. 33]. It is quite acceptable that after Khan Mengli-Giray and Sayyid Baubek had died, the pilgrim of the new khan had more chances to take up the post of the headman of the priesthood.

The next mentioning about the sayyids in the Crimea can be found in a rather interesting document called 'The example of defter. And sultans, and sayyids, and shaykhzades, and mullahs, and ulans, and princes and murzas.' A. Malinovsky dated it back to 1524 defining it as 'The list of names of Crimeans tsareviches, princes, murzas, and different officials, who swore an oath to Prince Ivan Vasilyevich and with Prince Saidet-Giray in front of the envoy O. Andreev' [Malinovsky, p. 258]. The document began with the names of the following sayyids: 'And this is the master of the great teachers: Sayyid Saltan-Ali's brother Mansur sayyid, Sayyid Saltan-Ali's son Kurtka sayyid, Baba shaykh's son Nasyr-ollog shaykh, Mullah Abdyl-Rakhman's son Baba-shaykh mullah, Alyadin kady Sayyid Gazy's son, Sayyid murza Farsei Bilyal's son Sayyid Khydyr.' All the enumerated people were sayyids by origin, which is evident from their titles and the epithet 'the master of the great teachers' (most likely Sayyid Khydyr was the son of Bilal (Bilat)-sayyid indicated above (1519), and Abdyl-Rakhman was Azi-Mahmud sheikhzade's son—that is, Gazy-sayyid's son [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 636]. The names of sayyids are followed by the names of sultans, princes, and murzas. Apparently, by 1524 Mansur-sayyid had become the headman of priesthood of the Crimean Khanate because his name was the first on the list. It can be assumed that Gazy-sayyid was not alive at

that time because the defter only contains data about his son Alyadin kady.

Approximately in about 1531–1532 the Crimean Khan Islam-Giray prepared an army for the Grand Prince of Moscow. The list of those who swore an oath to Ivan Vasilyevich begins with Kurtka-sayyid, followed by Musa-sayyid. Ulans and princes are enumerated after them [Shcherbatov, 1786, pp. 501–502]. No doubt Kurtka-sayyid was a personality mentioned on the list dating back to 1524. He was the son of Sayyid Sultan-Aley. It is not quite clear whether he had been the headman of priesthood of the khanate by the early 1530s or not: this period of the history of the khanate is characterised by coups d'etat, which could influence the selection of the high sayyid in this state [Malinovsky, pp. 205–212]. Nevertheless, Kurtka-sayyid could be the major religious official in the Crimea during the reign of Khan Islam-Giray, particularly Sayyid Mansur found himself in the Astrakhan Khanate in about 1531, as it seems to me.

Thus, the names of many sayyids were known in the Crimean Khanate between 1508 and 1531. Some of them were major religious figures in the state (Baubek-sayyid, about 1508–1509; Gazy-sayyid, about 1519; Mansur-sayyid, about 1524; Kurtka-sayyid, about 1531).

There is good reason to believe that the institution of sayyids in the Crimean Khanate existed from the very outset of the state. One of the fragments of the message of Sultan Ahmat-Giray (1518) points to this fact. Reporting about affairs relating to Khozyaka-sayyid, the sultan writes: '... the deceased Khozyak sayyid was the pilgrim of our grandfathers and fathers' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 511]. As Ahmat-Giray was Khan Haji-Giray's grandson, the fact of the presence of sayyids in the Crimea in the first half of the 15th century (even if Khozyak (Haji-Ahmed -sayyid was the high sayyid of the Great Horde, is based on historical grounds. Other data confirms this conclusion. In my opinion, the presence of the institution of sayyids in the Crimea in the middle of the 15th century is also inferred to in the Tarkhan yarliq of Haji-Giray, dating back to 1453, which con-

tains the following lines: 'To his great and noble men. To his scientists and major priesthood (muftis).' In this case I used the translation by S. Malov [Malov, 1953, pp. 187–189]. Even if we deal with the list of the yarliq hidden in this text, we can still read there without obstacles the following things: '*...sadat ülviläriñä [unclear word.—D. I.], möfti mödärisläreñä [,] kadi-möxtäsibläreñä [,] möş aix-sufilarıñä...*' A. Kurat is absolutely right translating the term 'sadat' into the Turkish language as 'sayyid' [Kurat, 1940, p. 69]. I think that the initial part of the yarliq contains the same turn of speech as the ones used to denote sayyids on the list dating back to 1524 ('and this is the master of the great teachers'). However, the yarliq of Haji-Giray, dating back to 1459, contains the most detailed information on the Crimean sayyids. It reads as follows: '*...säyid-es-sadatlarıñä, möfti vä mödärisläreñä, kazıy [möxtäsibläreñä], mäşaix-sufilarıñä...*' (this fragment was borrowed from M. Usmanov, who kindly provided me with an extraction of the yarliq kept in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (in detail see [Usmanov, 1979, p. 212]).

At the same time, there is no address to sayyids in some yarliqs of the Crimean khan dating back to the 15th century. For example, the yarliq of Mengli-Gire says: 'mufti-mudarises, kazi-mukhtasibs, mashaikh-sufis' (in the original language: '*möfti mödäricläreñä, kazi-möxtäsibläreñä, mäşäix sufilarıñä*') [Berezin, 1872, pp. 1, 4] The close expression, 'Kazi-muftis, mashaikh-sufis' (in the original language: '*kazi möftiläreñä mäşäex sufilarıñä*') is contained in the yarliq of the same khan dating back to 1468 [Ibid., pp. 10–11]. And in the early 16th century one of Khan Mehmed Giray's yarliqs (1517) contains the same turn of speech: 'kazi-muftis, mashaikh-sufis' [Ibid., p. 17]. Nevertheless, there were still sayyids in the khanate at that time. They were mentioned in the yarliqs from time to time until the early 17th century not accidentally. Particularly the yarliq of Khan Salamat-Giray (1608) contains an address to 'sadats (that is, sayyids—D. I.), muftis, mudarises, kazi-mukhtasibs, mashaiks-sufis' [Firkovich, 1890, p. 57]. The author of this work is absolutely right

translating the term 'sadatlar' as 'sayyids.' This fragment looks in the following way in the source language: '*vä sadatlarıña vä möfti vä mödärrislärenä vä kazi möxtäsibläreñä vä mäşäex sufılarıña.*'

There is data (although it is rather poor) about marital ties of the Crimean sayyids. This data throws light upon the position of the sayyids among the Crimean elite. In 1507 Babaka (Baubek)-sayyid was called Mengli-Giray's son-in-law [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 483]. Apparently, his son-in-law was married to Prince Magmedsha's daughter. He calls him the father of his son-in-law in a document dating back to 1509 [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 79]. The prince mentioned above belonged to the Kipchak clan [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 27; Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 80]—that is, one of four clans of Karacha-beys in the Crimea—and was an ambassador of Khan Mengli-Giray (1508) [Malinovsky, p. 397]. Apparently, the mentioned kinship ties between the Crimean sayyids were traditional because Prince Magmedsha's son Prince Salimsha wrote in 1515 that he was going to marry off his daughter to the daughter of Baba-sheikh (Baubek-sayyid) [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 72]. The Crimean sayyids of the khanate became related not only with certain clans of karacha-bays but also with the ruling Giray dynasty. Particularly, the report about the wedding of sultan Ahmad-Giray and Sayyid Khozyak's daughter (that is Hadji-Ahmed, the high sayyid of the Great Horde) refers to 1518 [Ibid., p. 511]. The provided materials confirm the high status of the sayyids in the state. It is not surprising, in this situation, that all Muslim clergy was considered to be an integrated part of the ruling elite.

Finally, the issue of substituting the term 'sayyid' in the Crimea for the notion 'mufti' is noteworthy. Judging by available documents, the inhabitants of the Crimean Khanate preferred to use the traditional notion 'sayid' until the 1530s. True, the yarliq of Khan Saadet-Giray, dating back to 1522–1523, containing the address to 'mufti-mudarises and kadi-mukhtasibs' [Grigoriev, Yartsov, 1844, p. 340], seems to be at variance with this conclusion. Nev-

ertheless, first, the authenticity of this yarliq is under question, second, 'the oath charter' of the same khan, dating back to 1525, contains the expression 'the leading sayyid' [Malinovsky, p. 417], being evidence of the major role of this notation in state life. It is evident from the work by V. Smirnov that in the late 16th century–early 17th centuries the term 'mufti' became more frequent in the Crimea, although in some cases indirect forms of the old notion 'sayyid' were still applied (for example, the expression 'sadatlaryna' in the yarliq of Salamat-Giray, dating back to 1608) [Firkovich, 1890, p. 57]. V. Smirnov, enumerating the names of some people belonging to 'the dynasty of sheikhs' in the Crimea, notes one of them—Afif-Eddin-efendi (he lived after Sheikh Ibrahim, who died in 1593) whose son was a mufti in the city of Caffa, but after that 'he indulged in religion in his own cenobitic monastery in Sayyid-ile village near Caffa' [Smirnov, 1913, p. 153]. The fact that the former mufti lived in a village with such a specific name is evidence of the fact that the Crimean muftis used to be called sayyids. Consequently, the switch to a new term took place between the second half of the 16–early 17th centuries and was related to reinforcement of the influence of the Ottoman empire and the subsequent Turkification of the Crimean Khanate. Indeed, after Mehmed Giray II (1577–1584) had been removed from the khan's throne, and new Khan Islam Giray II (1584–1588), spending several years in Turkey in the dervysh cloister, had been assigned by the Turkish sultan, the status of the ruler of the Ottoman Empire in the Crimea was officially recorded for the first time: the name of the Turkish sultan was pronounced in khutba before the one of the Crimean khan [Nekrasov, 1999, p. 55; Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 106].

Sayyids in the Crimea took part in state affairs just like in the Kazan Khanate, which is evident from the so called 'oath' charters. The earliest one mentioning their participation in the oath ceremony of sayyids refers to 1508. The project of the charter, arriving from Moscow but composed on behalf of Khan Mengli-Giray, says: '... tsareviches Yamgurcha, Mahmet-Giray, Ahmet Giray, and all the sayy-

ids, and mullahs, and Baba-sheikh, and Prince Sakal, ulan Mamysh, and ulans, and princes, Prince Manghit Tevekkel, Prince Zizivut Mamysh, Prince Kourat Suleyman, Prince Yugona, and voivodes, Prince Shirin, Prince Agish, Prince Baryn Devlet, Prince Arghyn Mardan, Prince Kipchak Mahmud, and all the princes, and voivodes, and murzas... put their hand on the Quran and swore an oath' [Malinovsky, p. 185]. Another charter project, dating back to the same year but prepared on behalf of Sultan Mehmed Giray, says: '... ordered to administrate the oath... the first Baubek sayyid, Gazy-Mahmed shikh-zoda, Dovlet ulan, Shimak ulan, Murtoza ulan, Baku ulan, Devlet-Yar prince, Tyuvikkel murza, Kudoyar prince, Udyum murza, Soltan Mahmed murza, Ahmed murza, Beryu murza, Kuchelek murza, Mahmutek atalyk, Chibelek prince, Shigalak prince, Beryuchey prince, Temesh prince, Chura atalyk, Begich atalyk, Baubek duvon, Beg-Balak bakshi, Mami prince, Yamgurchey atalyk, Kobech ulan, Tokuz ulan, Tishkuvat ulan, Asan ulan, Abdylah prince, Churash murza, Cherik bogatyr, Uluk-Berdi murza, Oysul murza, Mamysh bogatyr, Yan-kara, Ak-Derbysh, Kabak printer, Buruntai, Kudai-berdy murza, Kudai-bakty bogatyr, Bakty bogatyr, Duulat-sufi bogatyr, Baba atalyk, Adna atalyk, Smerdiyar prince, Kokaz bogatyr, It-Bakmas bogatyr' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 33]. The fact of swearing an oath in 1508 was confirmed in the message of Baba-sheikh (sayyid Baubek) addressed to the Grand Prince Basil: '... Mahmed-Giray, and all the tsareviches, and we (italicised by us.—*D. I.*), and the sayyid, and the mullah, and all the ulans, and princes, and four Karaches, and all the noble men were swearing an oath' [Ibid., p. 39]. In 1513 (most likely 1515, as the initial dating contains mistakes) Khan Mehmed Giray was granting an oath in front of Russian envoy in the Crimea O. Andreev. The oath contains the following lines: '... no force, no attack, no robbery, no mean tricks can be caused by me, your brother, and my brotherhood, my children, my tsareviches, my sayyids, and ulans, and princes, and all our people...' [Malinovsky, p. 406]. The process of preparing this document unveils the membership of future partic-

ipants of the oath ceremony. On 10–24 June 1516 the project of the document addressed to 'Mahmed-Giray, Khan of the Great Horde' was sent from Moscow to the Crimea. The text said: '... you wrote to us (to Moscow.—*D. I.*)... you ordered to compose an oath charter, and we found you and your brotherhood, and your children, and sayyids, and ulans, and all the princes so that you could impose us (the Grand Prince of Moscow.—*D. I.*) your orders' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 317]. It can be assumed that the same oath is discussed in 'Memory,' dating back to the period between 1 November 1515 and 26 January 1516, given to Russian envoy I. Mamonov in Moscow. It comes to the fact that I. Mamonov had to give the following message to Khan Mehmed Giray: '... and in that oath charter in front of our boyar... Ivan told us the truth with his brothers, and his children, and all the sayyids, and ulans, and princes...' [Ibid., p. 194]. The envoy was told that actually it was said at the end of those ('oath.'—*D. I.*) charters that the tsar himself, and his brothers, and his children, and Shyryn, and Baryn, and Arghyn, and Kipchak, and sayyids, and ulans, and all the princes were at the head' [Ibid., p. 211]. In connection with the fact that the project of the oath was not approved in Moscow and was not signed, a 'parcel' for Khan Mehmed Giray was sent from Moscow to the Crimea (31 August–16 September 1518), which raises the issue of the charter again: '... ordered to compose an oath charter... and ordered to attach his scarlet tamgas to that charter... and he, and his brother Tsarevich Ahmet, and his children, and Tsarevich Bagatyr, and Tsarevich Alp, and other brothers, and his children, and sayyids, and ulans, and princes were at the head' [Ibid., p. 532]. The final form of the charter requiring so many efforts said: '... And there will not be any kinds of duties; no force, no attack, no robbery, no mean tricks can be caused by me, your brother, and my brotherhood, my children, my tsareviches, my sayyids, and ulans, and princes, and all our people' [Collection of works, 1894, p. 81]. As we can see, the sayyids feature in treaties and agreements in all cases.

In some cases the conclusion of such treaties was dated to Muslim celebrations: 9 De-

cember 1519, sultans, ulans, and princes had to gather on the occasion of the Kurman holiday [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 40].

It is evident from these documents that permanent participation of sayyids in affairs related to signing oath charters can be traced back rather clearly. It is also obvious from the oath charter brought by Russian envoy O. Andreev from the Crimea in 1524. The list of people taking part in the oath procedure has already been quoted by me. It began with the sayyids [Malinovsky, p. 241]. The common formula applied to documents during this procedure remained unchangeable. The sayyids are certainly mentioned among the participants of the oath ceremony in the front lines. Let us provide some examples in this respect. After Khan Saadet-Giray had been removed from the throne by Islam-Giray in 1524 and restored again in a year, he had to grant a new oath to Russian ambassador I. Koluchev in 1525. The charter composed on this occasion contained the old formula: '... no force, no attack, no robbery, no mean tricks can be caused by me, your brother, and my kalga sultan, and my brotherhood, my children, and other sultans, and sayyids, and ulans, and princes, and all our people...' [Ibid., p. 417]. When Islam-Giray was restored in the throne for a while in 1531 or 1532 [Shcherbatov, 1786, p. 521], a new oath of the khan and Crimean elite appeared in Moscow. It said: 'They created a company: Kurtka sayyid, Musa sayyidm Bashi ulan, Murtoza ulan, Azikalil ulan, Keldish ulan, Yanchura ulan, great Karach our Bagyrgan prince, Baryn Yan-Ali prince, Arghyn Mahmud prince, Baryn Yan-Osman prince, Mahmed ulan, Ahmadulla prince, Abdyl-Islam prince, Yanbulat prince, Altych prince, Aldyyar prince, Dana afyz our bakshi, Temesh prince, Nekhosh prince, Kholon pash afyz, Yainysh duvan, all the ulans and princes... were swearing an oath...' [Ibid., pp. 501–502]. 22 November 1531 Khan Saadet-Giray swore an analog oath to Moscow. The charter prepared on this occasion indicates: 'And your ambassador will come to see me, and he will attend me personally. And there will not be any kinds of duties; no force, no attack, no robbery, no mean tricks can be caused by me, your brother, and my brother-

hood, my children, my tsareviches, my sayyids, and ulans, and princes, and all our people.' Then the following information featured in the document again: '... I, Saadet-Giray and my Kalga Sultan Devlet-Giray and other sultans, my brothers, and my children, and our sayyids, and ulans, and princes were swearing the oath' [Malinovsky, pp. 259, 419].

It is not coincidental that Crimean Khans Mengli-Giray and his successor Mehmed Giray were trying to restore their influence on the sayyid of the Great Horde (most likely he was the high sayyid) Hadji-Ahmed. Certainly he was an important element of the statehood of the Great Horde, destroyed by the Crimean Khanate. The high sayyid of the Crimean Khanate relied on the priesthood, which was rather variegated and integrated with state machinery. Sheikhs headed by 'the major sheikh,' sheikhzades (shikhzodes, shaykh-zodas), kazis (kadis), mullahs, khafizes (afyzes), hajis (azeys), sufis were an integral part of priesthood headed by the sayyid [Malinovsky, pp. 185, 397, 419; Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 33, 39, 79, 161–162, 172, 280, 300, 412–415, 500, 511, 654, 655; Shcherbatov, 1786, pp. 501–502; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 10; Grigoriev, Yartsov, 1844, pp. 337–346; Berezin, 1851]. It is hard to say whether the term 'kadi' (kady) is used in singular or plural form. The yarliqs of Khans Hadji-Giray and Mengli-Giray contain the mentioning of muftis, mudarises, and mukhtasibs (1453, 1459, 1467, and 1468) [Berezin, 1872, pp. 1, 11; Kurat, 1940, p. 69]. Muftis also feature in the yarliqs of Khans Mehmed Giray (approximately 1517) and Saadet-Giray (1522–1523) [Berezin, 1872, pp. 17; Grigoriev, Yartsov, 1844, p. 341; Berezin, 1851, p. 21]. Mudarises and mukhtasibs are mentioned in the last document [Grigoriev, Yartsov, 1844, p. 341; Berezin, 1851, p. 21]. It should be emphasised that the yarliq of Saadet-Giray can be a later copy. However, the given yarliq looks like the tarkhan yarliq of Hadji-Giray dating back to 1453. As for the groups typical for other khanates, only the data on dervishes was not discovered in the Crimea. It should be especially emphasised that the list of representatives of

the priesthood, contained on the work by I. Aleksandrov, most likely reflects the situation of the 18th century, and not an earlier period.

Some branches of Muslim priesthood existed in the khanate since its foundation. This concerns not only kadis, mudarises, and mukhtasibs but also sheikhs and sufis, for example. As I have already shown, sheikhs were mentioned along with sufis in the khan's *yarliqs* dating back to 1453, 1459, 1567, and 1468. Other groups of the priesthood (*muf-tis*, *mudarises*, *kazis*, *mukhtasibs*, *maulyans*, *khafizes*) had definitely existed in the Crimea by the 15th century. Particularly, Mullah Bairamshah and Khafiz Ahmad composed the *yarliq* of Mengli-Giray dating back to 1467 [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 32–33].

A whole range of religious figures took up state posts in the khanate. For example, sheikh Abdyl-Gair's son Abdel-Avel-sheikhzade (afterwards sheikh) was a 'tet' in the beginning (1508–1509) and then he turned into 'the major ambassador of the tsar' at the court of Khan Saadet-Giray (1531) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 10; Malinovsky, pp. 397, 419]. Dana-khafiz was a *bakshi* in the 1530s [Shcherbatov, 1786, pp. 501–502]. Imer-khafiz was a 'mamich' of Sultan Ahmad-Giray (1518) [Collection of Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 511].

O. Aqçoqraqlı provides data on two sheikhs who arrived in the Crimea 'from Bukhara' and were buried near the chapel named after Saint Ghazi-Mansur [Aqçoqraqlı, 1928, pp. 170–172]. As for the latter, it is plausible that Edigu's son Mansur, whose offspring played an important part in the Crimean Khanate, is meant here [Syrpoyechkovsky, 1940, pp. 32–34]. Other data testifies that there was a dynasty of sheikhs based on 'the natives of the Kipchak steppe.' Its founder lived in the middle of the 16th century [Smirnov, 1913, p. 153]. Since in the above we are talking about sheikhs and sayyids coming from Bukhara, it is plausible that representatives of Yesevi Tariqa should be meant under them. As for the initial domination of Yesevi Tariqa in the Crimean Khanate, Ottoman historian Abd al-Gaffar Kyrimi has interesting data in this respect. Discussing the role of Edigu's offspring in the Crimean khan-

ate, he provides the name of Baba Tukles as the forefather of the Manghit bey in the sixth generation in his work called 'Umdet al-akhbar,' dating back to the 18th century. Then when he gives an account of events related to Khan Uzbek's going over to Islam and calls Sheikh Maj ad-Din, 'the greatest one,' who was the grandfather/ancestor of 'the famous scientist, Saint Sayyid Yakhi,' who belonged to Ali's clan, as well as Baba Tukles who was the ancestor of sheikh Najib ad-Din, sheikh Ahmad, offspring of Muhammed-i Khanafiya-i Alaviya, and Sheikh Khasan Kurlani (Gurkani), among four saints who led the khan to the Islamic throne [DeWeese, 1994, pp. 358–359]. Analysing this list, Devin DeWeese mentioned that the appearance of the name of Sayyid Yakhi Shirvani (who died in 1463 or 1465) among the saints who was an important link—the founder of Sufi Tariqa Khalvatiya taking place in the 17th century in Ottoman Turkey, is evidence of the appearance of this tariqa in the Crimean Khanate [Ibid., pp. 361–362]. As this composition contains distinct traces of Yesevi Tariqa (Baba Tukles, sheikh, sayyid Ahmed—that is, Sayyid-Ata), this is evidence of the change of the leading tariqa in the Crimean Khanate taking place at the turn of the 16–17th centuries. It is still unclear if this process affected the Nogais, who had become an integral part of the khanate by the 17th century.

One more Muslim institution functioning in the Crimean Khanate was represented by *kadylyks*—judicial districts headed by kadis who were subordinated to the *kadiasker*, appointed by the Ottoman sultan [Fisher, 1978, p. 21]. The origins of this institution are not quite clear, but V. Syroechkovskiy expressed his opinion in his time, according to which the high sayyid of the Crimean khanate was the great *kadi* simultaneously [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 38]. Basically that is possible, but *kadiasker* and *mufti* (this is the transformed high sayyid of the khanate) were different posts in later periods, particularly in the 18th century [Fisher, 1978, pp. 77, 96–97]. Probably their discrepancy appeared in the Crimean khanate after 1475, after the Ottoman protectorate had been established there. Nevertheless, it is also plausible that *kadiaskers*

were selected from among representatives of the sayyid clan, otherwise a religious figure who used to be a kadiasker could hardly be assigned to the corresponding post after the death of the Crimean mufti in 1791 [Ibid., p. 96]. As for this institution, there is information dating back to 1783 about the division of the Crimean Khanate into kadylyks, united in larger districts called kaimakanstvos (apparently due to the Turkish influence). It is obvious from them that there were 6 kadylyks in Bakhchisaray kaymakanstvo, 9 kadylyks in Akchemet kaymakanstvo, 9 kadylyks in Karasubazar kaymakanstvo, 5 kadylyks in Gezlev kaymakanstvo, 7 kadylyks in Caffa kaymakanstvo, 5 kadylyks in Perekop kaymakanstvo [Bushakov, 2000, pp. 33–64; Lashkov, 1886; Kameral, 1889, pp. 25–45]. It is clear from them that every kadylyk included a certain number of villages, which varied everywhere. As kaimakans were divided into kadylyks, the names of which coincided with the names of kaimakans (for example, Bakhchisaray kadylyk in Bakhchisaray kaimakan, Karasubazar kadylyk in Karasubazar kaimakan, etc.), we have good grounds for thinking that initially such settlements as Bakhchisaray, Akmechet, Karasubazar, Gezlev, Perekop/Or, and Caffa were centres of kadylyks. It is plausible that these divisions were based on the old divisions into beyliks (princdoms) because if we exclude the city of Caffa belonging to the Ottomans from the list of the cities, there are 5 city centres left (4 old beyliks and later Manghit Yurt). It is not coincidental that A. Fisher, paying attention to theoretical subordination of kadis to kadiasker, noted that 'in reality they were stipulated by requirements and were subordinated to the khan's authorities and clan chiefs of the territories.' Thus, although candidates for the post of kadis were approved by a kadiasker, they were assigned by the khan and clan chiefs [Fisher, 1978, p. 21]. However, in general, this institution served as the reinforcement of the influence of the Ottoman sultans in the Crimean Khanate. It is curious that the transformed post of kadiasker in the Crimean-Tatar society existed up to the late 19th century [Ibid., p. 98].

Tyumen and Siberian Khanates. Some historians believe that there were semi-independent possessions headed by separate branches of the Shibanids Dynasty within Shibanid state (it was also called 'The State of Nomadic Uzbeks') existing between 1428/29–1468/69. One of these branches was represented by the offspring of Siberian Khan Haji-Muhammed, whose possession had a political centre in Chimgi-Turu (Tyumen) after 1446. It used to be the capital of the Shibanid state. The Shibanid state, collapsing after the death of Khan Abu'l-Khayr in 1468–1469, was restored as the conglomeration of the Shaybanid possessions, functioning as the head, the chief ruler selected from amongst the 'Uzbek sultans' belonging to the Shiban clan. Capital centres of these enormous dispersed possessions could be at different places (in Balkh, Bukhara, Samarkand) depending on which of the Shibanids was elected to become a new superior ruler of the Uzbeks. The centre of power in these possessions gradually moved to Bukhara—the capital of Bukharian vilayet, especially under Iskander (1561–1583) and his son Abdullah (1570–1598).

It should be emphasised that 'Uzbeks,' headed by the Shibanids, had a nomadic way of life even in the early 16th century, going away to the steppes of Desht-i Qipchaq, occupying the territory of the region of the Urals and Western Siberia, and they seem to have left only in 1505–1506, probably even in 1511 [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, pp. 210–211]. This specific feature of political life of the Shibanids must be recalled because their Siberian branch was also noted in the historical realities mentioned above. That is why the issue of Muslim institutions in the Shibanid Siberian possessions must be considered in the common historical-cultural context of the functioning of analog institutions in the Shibanid state of Khan Abu'l-Khayr and the Shibanids' possessions in Central Asia, appearing after its collapse, first of all, in Bukharian and Khwarezm 'vilayets.'

The Shibanid state was a Muslim state from the very beginning, and the major ruler of nomadic 'Uzbeks' Khan Abu'l-Khayr was a real Muslim: 'Sharaf-nama-yi shakhi' (*Book of*

Shah's glory'), by Hafiz-I Tanysh, dating back to 1570/71–1588/89, reported that he was a real believer, meaning he confessed Islam and he treated with deep sincerity... ulems, muftis, hermits and pious men [Khafiz-i Tanysh, 1983, p. 77]. A great number of proofs of the existence of the sayyid institution in these possessions in the 16–17th centuries can be found in historical composition called the 'Sharaf-name-yi shakhi' and other sources [Iskhakov, 2011].

Sayyids were 'listed' in the general structure of religious figures of the Shibanids' possessions. True, many specific features of the hierarchy of Muslim religious figures in the Shaybanids' possessions in Central Asia remain unfamiliar to us. Only one thing is known for certain: the sayyids had a high position there, even being 'nakibs.' In most cases, they originated from the clan of Sayyid-Ata, as it was shown. The main groups of religious figures in the possessions of Khan Abdullah can be seen in the following example: when Khan Abdullah decided to have his son circumcised, he invited the following people to the festivities on this occasion: Muhammed Islam's son (the son of 'the hodja of the world') from amongst the hodjas, Kalan-hoja makhdum-zade, who became 'the major one in the Hojagan line,' 'noble sheikh ul-islam Khan-hoja' from amongst the sheikhs' [Hafiz-i Tanysh, 1989, p. 186]. Most likely, the last one referred to the sayyids [Iskhakov, 2011, p. 155].

Apparently, the analogue situation could be seen in the Khanate of Khiva in the 17th century. For example, according to 'Firdaus-ul-ikbal' by Munis, dating back to the 19th century, under Bukharian Khan Abdul-Aziz (1645–1680), Arabshakhid Abul-Ghazi-khan (1643–1663), conquering Khiva, assigned 360 'Uzbeks' to different posts, 36 of them were close to him, including: 2 sheikh ul-islams, 2 kazis, 1 reis (the high sayyid?), 'being an offspring of saint Sayyid-ata,' 1 nakib, 1 mutavelli [Materials, 1938, p. 327]. This example shows that 'sheikhs ul-islam,' 'kazis,' and 'reis,' and 'nakib' were different posts in the Khiva Khanate. Although the 'Uzbeks' could have copied the Bukharian Khanate, while establishing religious institutions, we cannot say

this for sure. Nevertheless, the 'Genealogical tree of the Turks' (Şacäräi törek), composed by Abul-Ghazi-khan in 1664–1665, contains a story about 'Nazyr Hodja from the clan of Sayyid Ata,' being in the 'Bakyrangan district.' He was a sayyid, and his daughter was married to the current ruler of Khiva, Ilbars-sultan [ÄbelGhazi, 2007, 203–204 b.].

However, in the Bukharian Khanate, kazis and high sayyids had been different posts for a long time, unlike the state of the nomadic Uzbeks during the reign of Khan Abdul-Khayr. Most likely, the nakibs played an independent role there as well, but they were sayyids by birth. By all appearance, the term 'sheikh ul-islam' was used in the Bukharian Khanate to mean the ruler of the Tariqa. However, sometimes this could be a sayyid by birth, as in the case of Khan-hodja. In particular, in the first half of the 18th century Mir Muhammed Amin-i Bukhari, talking about the beginning of the reign of Bukharian Ubaydulla Khan in 'Ubaidulla-name,' noted that the khan 'delegated great affairs related to the function of nakib' to Ja'far hoja, who was 'an outstanding person among hojas' (he had already taken up this post) [Mir Muhammed Amin-i Bukhari, 1957, p. 43]. However, 'the most important and sacred function of domination in Islamic religion' (that is the position of sheikh ul-islam.—*D. I.*) was entrusted to Muhammed-hoja Juibari, and the post of the judge [of the capital] (the major judge—that is, kazi.—*D. I.*) was entrusted to Emir Shikhabuddin, who had sayyid origins (his father also took up this post, and the source calls him the imam of the major mosque of the capital and 'the prince of the offspring of the Prophet') [Ibid., pp. 44, 293]. A whole range of supplementary posts were mentioned, for example, an a'lim—the major mufti; a military mufti, mudarises, a rais or '*muhim-i rayasat va ikhtisab*'—something like a censor), which are evidence of the presence of branched specialisation among Muslim religious figures in the Bukharian Khanate in the early 18th century. However, the post of nakib, related to the dynasty of Sayyid-Ata, was preserved in the khanate until the early 18th century. The offspring of Sayyid-Ata in the Bukharian Khanate also

took up other posts (for example, in the 18th century Yadgar-hoja belonging to sayyids, offspring of Sayyid-Ata, was 'a prefect of the palace' [Ibid., p. 179]).

Thus, Sufi Islam was spread in the possessions of the Shibanids. The offspring of Sayyid-Ata played a significant part in this. This points to the former significance of Yesevi Tariqa, which started being substituted for Naqshbandiyya Tariqa in the 16th century, to be more precise, for its predecessor Hojagan. Apparently, the existing union of Jakhriya, continuing the traditions of Yesevi Tariqa, gradually started melting into the group of Hojagan. The presence of domination of the Shibanids in the whole range of districts of Kubraviya Tariqa is also not doubted. Apparently, the peculiarities of Central Asian Islam, observed by researchers long ago, must be connected with that [Bartold, 1963b, pp. 302–304; Sukhareva, 1960, pp. 25–27; Gordlevsky, 1960, p. 270; Snesarev, 1969, pp. 52–66].

Although Islam was an official religion in the Shibanid state and its successors and had its Muslim institutions, as we could see, on some remote territories, particularly, in the Ural Region or in Western Siberia, the situation remained more complicated, which can be seen from separate historical narratives, preserved among the Siberian Tatars and the Bashkirs.

One of them, written in two manuscripts in the Tatar language, was discovered and published by N. Katanov [Katanov, 1904, pp. 3–28]. Later A. Bustanov re-edited this text on the basis of the original [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 214–219]. Although this legend has some chronological discrepancies, most likely the main events refer to the time of Khan Shayban, under whom Muhammed Shaybani-khan, the ruler of nomadic Uzbeks is meant. He is represented as the khan of the 'Middle Horde,' whose name can reflect the denomination of the 'Grey Horde' mentioned above by Ötemish Haji. The main chronological outline looks in the following way.

Three 'peoples' had their encampments in the basin of the Irtysh River: the Khotans (the Khanty people's ethnonym of the Siberian Tatars, apparently, from "Khitan"), the Nogais,

and the Kara-Kipchaks. Actually there were five peoples initially—there were also the Ichtyaks and rebels of Tarkhan-khan, but they avoided Islamisation, hiding in either the forest or 'Khyty,' and did not become the 'Tatars.' One of the 'ishans' was the founder of the Naqshbandiyya Order, Bagautdin-hoja (Bakha-ul-khak ua-d-din-shah Naqshbandi. He lived between 1318 and 1389. Hoja Muhammed ibn al-Bukhari (as it is his full name) ordered 366 'horse' sheikhs to come and see the indicated Tatars, who 'did not have the true faith and sincere notions' because they 'worshipped puppets,' offering them 'to confess to Islam.' Then there is talk about the 'ishan,' who ordered the sheikhs to accept the invitations, otherwise 'he would wage a great religious war against them.' When the indicated sheikhs came to the steppes of the Middle Horde to see Khan Shayban, he supported them and 'armed his 1700 heroes and headed... to the Irtysh River with them to wage religious war there.' By that time 'some representatives of the Khotans, Nogais, and Kara-Kipchaks confessed Islam.' All the rest became frightened and adopted Islam as well, under the pressure of the warriors. During the combat the majority of sheikhs and warriors of 'khan Shayban' were defeated, the khan himself went back to 'the people of the Middle Horde,' a small number of sheikhs stayed and they started teaching the bases of religion to those of the peoples of the Nogais, Khotans, and Kara-Kipchaks who confessed Islam.' Further there was talk about the leaving of the surviving sheikhs for 'Holy Bukhara,' and a whole range of data concerning Muslim saints in Western Siberia is provided. This plot has an interesting parallel to the story about the military campaign of Muhammed Shaybani-khan against the Kazakhs in the winter of 1508–1509. On the eve of the campaign the Kazakhs, who had already confessed Islam, were charged with paganism. According to Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan, the author of 'Mikhman-name-yi Bukhara', one of its manifestations was 'keeping the image of the idol whom they (that is, Kazakhs—*D. I.*) bow down to the ground' [Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan Isfakhani, 1976, pp. 105–106].

No doubt the source under consideration is multilayer. Moreover, the fact that 'honourable Sherpyati,' who was the little brother of two other sheikhs, was mentioned at the end of the story about sayyids among five sheikhs who stayed to teach religion, is also evidence of that [Katanov, 1904, p. 23]. Meanwhile, it is stated that Sherbeti-sheikh lived in the Siberian Khanate under Khan Kuchum (the first mentioning about the sheikh refers to approximately 1572) [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 1572 ff.].

Nevertheless, there is one more source that allows rechecking of the materials of historical narratives of the Siberian Tatars indicated above. These are the Bashkir narratives related to the tribe of Tabyns, written down by famous Bashkir scientist M. Umetbayev in the 19th century. He reports that the beys of this tribe—Asadi and Shikarali, living in the basin of the Irtysh and Ishim Rivers—fled to the West of the Urals when two khans were battling—that is, *'Ibak'* and *'Shibak'* [Kuzeyev, 1974, p. 282]. The ruler of the Tyumen Khanate Khan Sayyid-Ibrahim (he died in the late 15th century) can be recognised as the first one. As for the second one, most likely, this was Muhammad-khan Shaybani. The veracity of the provided message is increasing due to the fact that the names of Asadi (Asät)-bey and Shikarali-bey were really mentioned in the genealogy of the Tabyn Tribe [Ibid., p. 271]. Moreover, the genealogy of the clan of the Kara-Tabyns contains evidence of the removal of their ancestors from the Irtysh River to the Miass River, and then to the Chulman River—that is the Kama River [Nezergolov, 1985a, pp. 77–87; Nezergolov, 1985b, pp. 119–124]. This event, as it was already stated by me, dates back to the last quarter of the 15th century [Iskhakov, 1998a, p. 89]. The most interesting fact is that G. Chokry, being himself from the clan of the Tabyns and writing down the history of this group and going back to its past, surprisingly notices that 'one can hardly see religion (in this case Islam.—*D. I.*) among them.' He writes: *'Asyl babam Tobol, Irtysh, / Kinarinda bulub irmesh. / Асылда эрми йә чирмеш, / Белемәй диннәре сарпай'*). It turns out that the narratives published by N. Katanov have a grain of truth in them. By the

time of Khan Muhammad Shaybani's military campaign against the Tyumen Khanate, its Turk part had not been completely Islamised. Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that by the late 15th century a part of the population of the Tyumen Khanate had already confessed Islam. '...Some Khotans, Nogais, and Kara Kipchaks confessed Islam'). One more historical narrative, preserved by the Siberian Tatars, can also testify about this fact. This is the folklore composition 'Origins of aul Sala,' which talks about the founder of the village that his name was Sala, and his father was Suleyman-bey/baba (probably 'bey') who came to these lands from Bukhara with Shah-Murad's son Taibug-Bey. 500 people came with Taibuga to the lands of the future Iskir, a mufti and mudarris were among them... The newcomers founded the town of Iskir [Usmanov, Shaykhiev, 1979, p. 91]. In fact, this composition is a part of another large text called the 'Genealogy of saints from Mavara'nnakhr (Ash-shajarat al-awiya min bilad Mavara'nnakhr),' which has been introduced into scientific vocabulary recently by A. Bustanov [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 197–207] and relating to detailed genealogy of the guardians of the Bigach-Ata's tomb near the village of Ulugh Buran (Tyurmetyaki), which will be discussed a bit later. Since the city of Isker existed until 1483, probably the described event refers to the last quarter of the 15th century. Although probably the text of the original, from which a fragment of the history of aul Sala was borrowed, said that 'Taibuga Bey... was the first one who organised a khanate in the Isker Yurt' [Bustanov, 2009, p. 201]. Most likely, this was not the founder of the clan of the Siberian princes Taibugids—Taibug—from the clan of the Burkuts living in the 13th century but another Taibugid living much later (for more information on Taibug, former Temnik under Shiban, see [Iskhakov, 2009b, pp. 66–80]). In this case the narrative also talks about the continuing Islamisation of the Turk population of the Isker Yurt until the late 15th century. Finally, the ruler of the Tyumen Khanate Khan Sayyid-Ibrahim (Ibrahim/Ivak) defines himself as a Muslim in his message addressed to the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III (1489).

He claims: 'I am the ruler of the Besermyans' [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 19]. It is natural that Shibanid Sayyid-Ibrahim could not help belonging to the Muslim world in the period of his reign, taking into consideration the common situation related to the domination of Islam in the main possessions of the Shaybanids situated in the Central Asia.

The next stage of Islamisation of the population of the Isker Yurt/the Siberian Khanate is related to the period of Khan Kuchum's reign (since 1563) and reflected in Siberian-Tatar historical legends. That is where the first data on the sayyids in this northern possession of the Shibanids appeared. We are planning to examine them now.

Examining the institution of the sayyids in the Siberian Khanate, one should mainly base on historical legends of the Siberian Tatars. Two of them containing important data on the priesthood of the khanate in the 16th century are especially noteworthy. In one of them, which V. Radlov called 'On what Ilyas mullah heard from his father,' talks about the sheikh ul-islam of the Isker Yurt (*Isker Yortınıñ şäex-ul-islamı*) [Patterns, 1872, p. 212; Katanov, 1896, p. 51]. Another legend called the 'Genealogy of a sayyid' (*Säetneñ şäcäräse*) talks about the restoration of genealogical data on sayyids living in Siberia, which were lost during the military campaign of Yermak [Patterns, 1872, p. 217; Katanov, 1896, p. 56; Atlasi, 1997, 75b]. It should be emphasised that 3 more copies of 'Genealogy of a sayyid'/'Shajara Risalasi' were put into circulation by A. Bustanov [Bustanov, 2009v]. These legends are interrelated: if '*Shirbet sheikh*' is the main character of the first legend, the second story is narrated by him (he is called 'Sherbeti sheikh' here). The last legend exactly refers to the time after the death of Yermak (1584), when many participants of described events were alive. At the same time, the story of mullah Ilyas was written down much later—in the 19th century [Patterns, 1872, pp. 217–220; Katanov, 1896, pp. 54–55; Atlasi, 1997, 75–78b]. Hence, there are several alternative versions of the two sources. Nevertheless, in general, events stated in the legends coincide.

The story of Mullah Ilyas has the following plot. When Ahmet-Giray was the khan of the Isker Yurt, the sheikh ul-islam of the yurt died. The khan asked the khan of Bukhara to send a new sheikh ul-islam. The Bukharian khan wrote a letter addressed to the khan of Urgench in response to this request, ordering to send sheikh ul-islam to the Isker Yurt. He sent Sheikh Shirbeti, who had to become a sheikh in the Isker Yurt, accompanied by Mullah Yakup, son of his high vizier (*olı vä-zir*) called Mullah Musa, akhuns, murzas, and servants—500 people in total. All the group stopped over in 'Holy Bukhara' where they were hosted by Bukharian khan with royal honours. Then the last one gave them more people and a troop numbering 1000 people, and they set off for the Isker Yurt. When they came, Khan Ahmet-Giray met them 'granting royal honours to sheikh ul-islam, mullah Yakup, and other mullahs and providing each of them with a post.' In a year Ahmet-Giray khan died, Kuchum became the new khan [Patterns, 1872, pp. 212–213; Katanov, 1896, pp. 51–52].

The second legend known as the 'Genealogy of a sayyid' (*Säetneñ şäcäräse*) says that genealogy of sayyids, lost under Yermak, was restored as heard from 'Sherbeti sheikh and old men.' They said that 'the khan sayyid had come to Isker Khan Kuchum from Urgench to teach the Siberian people about Islam.' Din-Ali hoja has a leading place in the story told by Sherbeti sheikh. It has been noted that therewere imams of the great people in Bukhara (and) Urgench from his clan [Patterns, 1872, p. 217; Katanov, 1896, p. 56, Atlasi, 1997, 76 b.]. As Sherbeti-sheikh claimed Bukharian Khan Abdullah sent him and Din-Ali-Hodja to Siberia accompanied by Kuchum khan's elder brother sultan Ahmet-Giray [Patterns, 1872, pp. 217–218]. N. Katanov made a mistake while translating this fragment: he writes that Abdullah-khan sent them to Ahmet-Giray [Katanov, 1896, p. 67]. In general, this event, taking place in 1572, looked this way.

First, the ambassadors of Kuchum Khan arrived to Bukhara with a request to send 'one more sheikh.' When Khan Abdullah made a decision to send a letter regarding this issue

to 'Urgench hakim,' there was a Bokharan 'hakim' called Mullah Yakub beside him, whom he consulted. Then the letter was prepared for Urgench 'hakim' Khan-Sayyid-Khoja (Khan-Sayyid) with the order to send 'Seyid-zodeh Yarim Sayyid and Sheykhzodeh Sherbeti-Sheikh' to Kuchum. The ambassadors of Kuchum Khan took this letter to Urgench and handed it over to 'hakim' Khan-Sayyid. The letter read as follows: '...According to the decree of muftis and (based) on Sharia..., pass to the ambassador of Kuchum Khan of Siberia... Yarim Sayyid and Sherbeti-Sheikh..., with honour and (providing) travelling expenses, adding 10 good, middle-aged fellow travelers, send them.' When this group reached the city of Isker, the ambassador reported the arrival of the clergy to Kuchum Khan. The latter crossed the Irtysh River with his assistants Irtysh to greet the guests. After that everyone crossed the river to the city of Isker.

Kuchum Khan appointed Yarim Sayyid 'to administer justice and to take decisions' (*hökem kılğalı*). And Sherbeti-sheikh, according to his own words, was engaged into 'making the Tobol saints' pedestals famous.' This phrase can be found only in the version used by Kh. Atlasy. In Tatar it reads as follows: '*Bez, Şärbätü şäex, Tubılda yar Ghazizläär yatkan busagaların bäyan ittek*' [Atlasy, 1997, 77 b.] This fact was confirmed by G. Miller, who stated the following: '...an old sheikh... came from Bukhara to Siberia in the times of Kuchum..., to have the memorials of them (saints.—*D. I.*) written annually. He went about all the cemeteries and mazarets, and in different places showed those 7 saints, mentioning them by their names' [Miller, 1999, p. 13]. Two years later Yarim-Sayyid died, and Sherbeti-sheikh left for Urgench. Nevertheless, a new ambassador arrived from Kuchum Khan with a message from khan that 'there's no man for Sharia teaching and administration of justice, send one seyidzodeh and sheikh again.' History repeated itself: Abdullah Khan considered the matter and gave the order, and 'hakim' of Urgench prepared for dispatch Din-Ali-Khodja, who was the nephew of the Yarim Sayyid, deceased (Din-Ali-Khodja was a son of his younger brother), and of the already fa-

miliar to us Sherbeti-sheikh. First, these two set off for Bukhara and asked Abdulla Khan to send the uncle of Kuchum Khan Ahmet-Kirey (Giray) with them, explaining that 'it was a dangerous road.' The Khan satisfied their request and gave them 100 more attendants. When they arrived in Isker, Kuchum Khan gave his throne to Sultan Ahmet-Giray, who then reigned there for four years, but then was killed 'by his father-in-law Khan Shygay of the Vhol-Kazakhs.' Kuchum became the Khan again and gave his daughter Leila (*Lägil*) in marriage to Din-Ali-Khodja. They all lived in the city of Isker for some time, then the 'yurt was ruined' (*bozıldı*), Kuchum passed away [Obraztsy, 1872, pp. 217–220; Katanov, 1896, pp. 55–61; Atlasy, 1997, 75–78 b.]. Din-Ali-Khodja and his wife Leila had sons Sultan-Muhammad, Sayyid-Muhammad, and Aksayyid, who all lived in the city of Tara, and Sayyid-Muhammad had a son Mirgali Sayyid (this information is available only from Kh. Atlasy) [Atlasy, 1997, 78 b.].

All in all, the initial part of the genealogy of Siberian sayyids was as follows: Tobytsak (*Topeçak*)-sayyid—his son Alau-Din (*Galävetdin*)-sayyid—his sons Yarim-sayyid (elder) and Myrally (*Mirgali*)-hoja—son of the latter Din-Ali (Din-Gali)-hoja [Obraztsy, 1872, p. 217; Katanov, 1896, p. 55; Atlasy, 1997, 75 b.]. Kh. Atlasy has the following addition to this genealogy: Tobytsak-sayyid was a 'son' of 'Sayyid-Ata' (Säet atanıñ ulı Töpeçak säet) [Atlasy, 1997, 75 b.]. In fact, one of the copies of the 'Genealogy of Sayyids'/'Shajara Risalasy' (*Xadjalarnıx şäcäräse*) contained the name of Sayyid-Ata, which can be seen from the new publication of A. Bustanov [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 35, 45].

It is important to sequence the course of events mentioned in the legends when analysing the presented material and, to the extent possible, 'fit' them into the historical context. The tale of first arrival of Din-Ali-Khodja and Sheikh Sherbeti to the Siberian Khanate contains one date—it happened at the time of Kuchum Khan's reign in 1572. As its known, Kuchum Khan started his reign in the Isker Yurt in 1563 (e.g., see [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 109; Valeev, 1993, p. 19]), and 1565, accord-

ing to the sources related to the Nogai affairs, is indicated as the year when *'Tsarevich Aliy,'* son of 'the Siberian Kyuchum Tsar,' married the daughter of 'the Nogai Prince Tin-Ahmet,' which confirms the fact that Kuchum Khan had actually been reigning by that time in the Siberian Khanate [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1801, p. 195]. The middle son of Murtaza Khan Ahmet-Giray-Sultan happened to be in Siberia almost at the same time, along with the Kuchum Khan: the ambassadors from Ahmet-Giray-Sultan, as from 'Tsarevich,' arrived from Siberia to Moscow in about 1563. [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1795, p. 322]. According to G. Miller, Ahmet-Giray was sent by his father Khan Murtaza with 'a troop' to help Kuchum, and together with him 'akhun arrived as well, a few mullahs, and abyzes to carry out this cause to the end...with more persistence and success' [Miller, 1999, p. 199]. Despite the fact that in the present documents Ahmet-Giray is mentioned only as 'Tsarevitch'—that is, Sultan, it is possible that he could be the Khan of Isker Yurt for some time: based on the legends, his reign could have taken place in 1574–1578. Therefore, the chronological outline of events, mentioned in the legends, appears as quite truthful.

The information about close links between the Siberian Khanate and Bukhara Khan Abdullah is also historical facts. R. Skrynnikov even suggested that Kuchum Khan was a vassal of Khan Abdullah, the ruler of Shibanid state [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 109] (for information concerning some details about the political situation of that time, see [Atlasi, 1997, 78–79 b.; Ziyayev, 1983, pp. 19–20]). The latter was the real ruler of Bukharan vilayet of Shibanids' possessions (with its centre in Bukhara), even during the reign of his father Iskander (1561–1583), yet remaining the Sultan [Abduraimov, 1966, pp. 57–59; Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR, 1967, pp. 51–519; Istoriya Bukhary, 1976, p. 111]. Sometimes it comes as a surprise that Khan Abdullah could be in charge of the business of 'Urgench'—that is, Khwarezm vilayet, where the independent dynasty of Shibanids ruled, indeed, quite often having other suzerains—Temürids or Safavids. However, this

was not always the case. For instance, even Abu'l-Khayr Khan conquered Urgench twice (in 1433, 1435) [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 124], then Khwarezm vilayet had been a subject of invasion for Shibanids time in the 15th century, and starting from 1505 it had been finally occupied by them, and, except for a short reign (1510–1512) of Safavid here, this domain stayed under the power of the 'Uzbeks' Shibanids [Akhmedov, 1965, p. 147]. As it is known, Sultan Abdullah conquered Bukhara already in 1557, And later on Bukharan vilayet was his personal appanage. Though in 1561 he set his father Iskander on a khan's throne in Bukhara, Sultan Abdullah himself stayed as the real ruler of 'Uzbek Sultans' [Hafiz-i Tanysh, 1983, p. 244; Hafiz-i Tanysh, 1989, pp. 213–214, 230, 241]. It was even suggested in the literature that Abdullah became the supreme ruler of the 'nomadic Uzbeks' in 1570, when his father was still alive [Hafiz-i Tanysh, 1989, p. 7]. Even if it is not so, Khwarezm vilayet definitely obeyed the Bukhara ruler at the time when the group of clergy arrived in the Siberian Khanate 'from Urgench' and 'Bukhara' at the direction of Khan Abdullah: according to Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari, the warriors from 'Khwarezm' came to his aid in the course of Khan Abdullah's campaign against Balkh vilayet in 980 A.H./1573. These arrivals were 'from the Sultans of Khwarezm, the Sultan Suyunch-Muhammad, son of Haji-Khan, the ruler of Khwarezm and the subject lands' [Ibid., pp. 8, 147]. Therefore, there are no real contradictions between the historical material and the content of the legends. The chronicles suggest the same idea. Thus, 'Tara Yurt Tatar Sayyid Taneley Bereleev' [Bakhrushin, 1955, p. 165], mentioned in the end of the 16th century in the Russian sources, is no one but Sayyid Din-Ali, the son of Khodja Miraly/Mirgaliy ('Bereleev'—corrupted form of 'Miraly'). Information about him also appears in the translation of a letter sent by Abdulla Khan to Kuchum-Khan, dated from the middle of the 1590s by V. Trepavlov. It reads as follows: '...we sent Ali (that is, Din-Ali.—D.I) Khodja, he is a son-in-law of yours (of Kuchum Khan.—D. I.) and my clergyman, and if you could trust him and show your care...'

[Ziyaev, 1983, p. 22]. One more archive document, dating back to 1596 and presented by Kh. Ziyaev, also contains information about Sayyid Din-Ali-Khodja and Sheikh Sherbeti, to my mind—it is about a message to Moscow from the 'Siberians'—that is, Siberian Tatars—where they ask for permission to keep trade relations with 'Bukhara' and 'Nogai.' In the end of this document there is an appeal to Moscow to free 'sheikh, mullah... and Babuazey' and 'to send them to Bukhara' [Ibid., p. 23]. One can think that the anonymous sheikh mentioned here is Shirbety, and 'Baba-hoja'—that is, 'old and respected hoja'—is probably Din-Ali-Sayyid.

'Bukhara seits on Tara' Miraly Seitov and Akseit Seitov [Bakhrushin, 1959, p. 208], mentioned by S. Bakhrushin based on the documents dating back to 1672, were: the first one, grandson of Din-Ali-Khodji (Sayyid Mukhammed was the father of Mirali), the second one, Mirali's uncle (see above the genealogy of sayyids).

The content of the story by Mullah Ilyas, dating back to the 19th century, makes it also possible to trace the connection between 16th century events and the real personalities of the 19th century. In particular, Mullah Ilyas mentioned Mullah Musa and his son mullah Yakup (16th century) in the 19th century amongst his ancestors, presenting to V. Radlov his continuous genealogy that went back to them. [Obraztsy, 1872, p. 215; Katanov, 1896, pp. 54–55]. 'The Seits' copy'—found by A. Bustanov in the Archives of orientlists in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which contained besides 'Shajara Risalasy' the detailed genealogy of Siberian Tatars' family of Imamyanovy from Seitovo Village (Hoja aul) of Tarsky district in the Omsk Region, this genealogy continuing until the 19th century and starting with Din-Ali-Khodja [Bustanov, Korusenko, 2010, p. 104]—confirms the fact of the arrival of the 'clergyman' Abdulla-khan Shaybanid Sayyid Din-Ali in the Siberian Yurt during the rule of Kuchum Khan. As well as the genealogy of the Tara Bokharans Aytikins, which comes up to Khaydar (Aytuky) Yarymov (1752–1808) but goes back to Din-Ali-Khodja and indicates his

ancestors sayyids (Galyaletdin → Tupuchak → Sayyid-Ata) [Valeev, 1993, pp. 102–103]. There is also information available on a sheikh who came amongst the people of Din-Ali-Khodja to the Siberian Khanate during the reign of Kuchum Khan. We are talking here about the genealogy consisting of 17 generations from the Turmetyaky Village (Ulugh-Buran, Turmatak) in the Omsk Region, rewritten by an imam—the representative of the dynasty of sheikhs—Abd-al-Gany, the son of Mu'min (born in 1857), as it is said in the text, 'also of sheikh descent.' This genealogy starts from Abdal-sheikh who is mentioned in the tale (riyayat) presented in the text of the source: '... having arrived from the city (or 'vilayet') of Turkestan, Abdal-sheikh became a superintendent (mudzhavir) of the Turtamak Yurt' [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 207–209]. This very personality is mentioned in the 'Shajara Risalasy,' as it was noted by A. Bustanov, among the religious activists, sent by Abdullah Khan to the Siberian Khanate at the request of Kuchum Khan. The source reads as follows: '... Then Shirbety Sheikh, together with [him] arrived Baba Abdal, and old people [told] that this Din-'Ali-hoja came from Urgench and Abdulla-Khan sent [them]...' [Bustanov, 2009, p. 43].

Because of some people who took part in religious activists' expedition to Isker Yurt, following the order of Abdullah Khan, a question arises whether they really stayed in Central Asian 'vilayets,' which were under control of the Shibanids. In particular, the name of 'khakim' of Urgench Khodja Khan-Sayyid draws particular attention. First, as it is seen from 'Genealogy of sayyids,' he was a relative of both Yarim Sayyid and 'khakim' of Bukhara Khodja Yakup [Ibid., p. 44], which means that all these three men are from Central Asia Sayyids' branch. Second, to my mind, the name of Khodja Khan-sayyid is mentioned in the work of Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari 'Sharafnama-yi shakhi,' where among the guests of the feast of the circumcision of Khan Abdullah's son 'the noble sheikh ul-islam' Khan-hoja [Hafiz-i Tanysh, 1989, p. 186] is mentioned who, as it has been said, most likely, was of sayyid origin. Though Bukharan 'khakim' Yakup has not been identified with a real his-

torical figure, the above discussed fact means that events described in the analysed document did take place. These all prove that the information contained in the reviewed legends is both historical and trustworthy.

I think that the names of at least two supreme sayyids of the Siberian Khanate (Isker Yurt), who were the spiritual leaders of the state, are known to us—that is, Din-Ali (Gali)-sayyid (starting from approximately 1574–1575 and up to the conquest of Khanate by Russian) and before him his uncle Yarim-sayyid (1572–1574). It is still possible that the ancestors of Yarim-sayyid, especially his father and grandfather, were the high sayyids in the Isker Yurt.

Now I will dwell on a subject of the peculiarities of the sayyids' investiture in the Siberian Khanate. As it was mentioned before, the candidate for the Head of Khanate Muslim clergy was chosen in Bukhara, at least that was the situation during the reign of Kuchum Khan—that is, since 1563. Such an unusual procedure was, most likely, bound to the eventual displacement of the political centre of the Shibanids (nomadic Uzbeks) state to Central Asia starting at the beginning of the 16th century. This very state, as it was mentioned before, was closely related with the Siberian (formerly Tyumen) Khanate—one of the Shibanids' possessions. The discrete role of Bukhara, which was the capital of Shibanids state many a time since the beginning of the 16th century and became the state for good since the reign of Iskander and Abdulla Khans, can be clearly traced in several historical sources. For example, there is a report in the Yesipov's Chronicle stating that at the time when Kuchum 'with many warriors reached the city of Siberia (that is, Isker.—*D. I.*) and conquered the city,' he 'killed the princes Yetiger and Bekbulat' [Complete Russian Chronicles, 36, 1987, p. 48]. The killed, known as 'the Siberian princes,' reigned in the Isker Yurt before the arrival of Kuchum. According to the Yesipov's Chronicle, the son of prince Bekbulat Seydyak 'had the mercy of Kuchum Khan and was sent to Bukhar land.' Basing on the oral tradition of the Siberian Tatars, G. Miller admitted this himself [Miller, 1999, p.

196] and gives a more detailed characteristics of this event. He writes: '...Ediger... left his pregnant wife behind. Noble Tatars did not want to wait for a princess to give birth as they could not reach agreement as to who should reign in Siberia. They sent the ambassadors to Khan Murtaza of Great Bukhara, asking him to send one of his sons to make him a prince. Murtaza sent to Siberia his middle son Kuchum, together with a numerous following. Upon arrival, he was acknowledged by all as the khan.' It is interesting that Kuchum's father Murtaza Khan is referred to here as the ruler of 'Great Bukhara.' According to N. Potanin, the term 'Great Bukhara' meant West Turkestan, including the cities of Tashkent, Turkestan, and Inak. As for the 'Minor Bukharia,' these are the territories subordinate to Dzungaria (Turfan, Yarkend, Kashgar, etc.) [Potanin, 1868, pp. 24–25, 32].

Meanwhile, the pregnant widow of Ediger 'escaped to the Great Bukhara' [Miller, 1999, p. 196] (for more detailed discussion upon this issue, see the work of A. Frank: [Frank, 1994, pp. 14–15]). There is similar information in the Yesipov's Chronicle. It is said that after the conquests of Yermak, 'Prince Seydyak Bekbulatov from the Bukharan lands' came 'with a large army' against Kuchum [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, 1983, p. 59]. The already quoted tale about the history of Sala Village goes that the founders of the city of Isker came headed by 'Taibuga Bey'—that is, the representer of Burkuts clan—'The Siberian princes,' 'from Bukhara.' Despite the fact that it is unlikely that Kuchum Khan's father Murtaza was a khan of Bukhara, I would not completely dismiss the information presented by G. Miller about Khan Murtaza as of the ruler of 'Great Bukhara.' The matter is that in the 1550s there were dynastic strifes in Bukhara for the right to have the city and vilayet, which have not been sufficiently studied yet (see [Istorya Bukhary, 1976, p. 111]). Murtaza, being a Shibanid, could have taken part in these events. Based on the considered data, it becomes clear that in the middle of the 16th century there were not so clear yet political relations between the Siberian Khanate and the Shibanid state, specifically Bukharan

Khanate, thus representing the fact that the supreme suzerain of the Siberian Shibanids were Central Asian Shibanids.

The fact that Kuchum Khan appealed to the supreme ruler of the 'nomadic Uzbeks' Abdullah-Khan with a request to send spiritual leaders indicates that. The appeal of 'noble Tatars' to the 'Khan of Great Bukhara' Murtaza with a request to send one of his sons should also be considered in the same way. Next, when Abdullah Khan sent the clergymen to Isker Yurt for the second time (about 1574–1575), now together with Sultan Ahmet-Giray with 100 following and this resulting in Kuchum Khan's giving his throne to his uncle, this all reminds of the carrying out of the orders of suzerain by a vassal. A fragment from 'Genealogy of a sayyid' paints the same picture: the letter, which Abdulla Khan sends to the 'khakim' of Urgench, says that sayyid and sheikh are sent to Isker Yurt 'by the decree of muftis and [based] on Sharia' (*'möftilärneñ fatvāse menān, şār'i-şārif boerunča'*). Meanwhile, specifically in Bukhara, there were 14 muftis who were engaged in drawing up the solutions based on Sharia. These solutions were passed then to the supreme judge (*kazi al-kuzat—that is, kazıy*), who would pass the ultimate judgment on the case in point [Abduraimov, 1966, p. 89]. One more element documented in the legends of the Siberian Tatars calls our attention: there appears a hoja (or mullah) Yakup, 'Bukharan khakim,' who gives advices to Abdullah Khan about whom to send from Urgench to Isker Yurt. Then he writes a letter that contains the above mentioned lines about muftis' order. It seems that this was the official related to spiritual affairs. And he was the one who had the right to appoint the clergymen, who then could head the clergy of Isker Yurt. I suggest that the indicated hoja (mullah) Yakup was related to the hojas of Djuybary, who had a great power in Bukhara; the head of clergy (sheikh ul-islam) and a'lams came out of them. It is interesting that their power, according to some sources, was extended even to the Siberian Khanate: according to the information from M. Abduraimov '... sultans of Tura (that is, the Siberian Khanate.—D. I.) and Deshti-Qipchaq implicitly obeyed' [Ibid.,

p. 97] the Djuybary khodjes. Thus, the last fact once again confirms the thesis that the Isker Yurt/the Siberian Khanate and nomadic Uzbeks' State, especially Bukharan vilayet, had special relations.

So it is safe to say that the head of the Siberian Khanate Muslim clergy was of the sayyids dynasty and, most likely, bore the same title as the head of the Shaybanid state clergy—'sheikh ul-islam'—acting for the head qadi, as it was at the times of Abu'l-Khayr Khan. However, the fact that in the tale of Mullah Ilyas this title is ascribed to Sheikh Sherbeti is quite disconcerting. Nevertheless, this is the late version of the 1570s events, so we have to consider it cautiously. However, Sayyid Yarim himself ran the justice, which was the function of sheikh ul-islam, as F. Yakhin mentioned it. At the same time, from the earlier legend—'Genealogy of a sayyid'—it can be clearly seen that out of the two who arrived in 1572, Yarim Sayyid was a more important figure—Kuchum Khan kept him as an official. This fact is confirmed by the suggestion of Bukhara 'khakim' Yakup to send from Urgench to Isker Yurt, first, sayyid Yarim, and only after that, the sheikh [Bustanov, 2009, p. 44]. From 'Genealogy of a sayyid' it is seen that after the second arrival of the clergy from Bukhara, Din-Ali-hoja, being a Sayyid, had been placed above again—he married the daughter of Kuchum Khan (it is supposed that there was some confusion in the legend of the 19th century, but this case should be explored further).

It is quite possible that before arrival to Isker Yurt, the candidate for head of clergy was considered just a sayyidzade and not sayyid. In any case, in the Tatar version of 'Genealogy of a sayyid' there is a fragment where Yarim-sayyid, who then was in Urgench, is called 'sayyidzade' [Obraztsov, 1872, p. 218]. But the future sayyid was necessarily accompanied by a sheikh, who apparently was also called sheikhzade and not sheikh, before arrival to the Isker Yurt [Ibid].

The functions of this sheikh are not quite clear. If the sayyid was the head of clergy and ran justice (*hökem kılgaı*)—Kh. Atlasy gives this fragment more detail: '*şärigat xökemen*

yörtergä vä xökem äylärgä [Atlasy, 1997, 77 b.]—then sheikh was some kind of 'codifier' of the sacred graves. It is also possible that he and his confidants could teach the fundamentals of Islam, as it can be seen from the legend Mullah Yakup, arriving amongst the suite of Sherbeti Sheikh, taught children 'reading and writing, and the folk, religion' [Obraztsov, 1872, p. 213; Katanov, 1896, p. 52]. The fact that sheikhs taught 'religion' can also be proven by means of work called 'Of Wars of Religion of the Followers of Sheikh Bagautdin against Foreigners of West Siberia' [Katanov, 1904, pp. 19–22], which is based on two Tatar chronicles and was published by N. Katanov. The content of this work shows that the 'sheikhs' were acting among the Siberian Tatars, and the main events, most likely, are related to the times of reign of Muhammad-Khan Shaybany (died in 1510), called 'Khan Shayban' in the source. As it was mentioned before, the work is about 366 'equestrian sheikhs,' as three of them remained behind 'in steppe of the Middle Horde' and 'started teaching the fundamentals of religion' [Ibid.]. It is revealing that in Isker Yurt there were sheikhs before Sherbeti-sheikh according to the Nogai written affairs that contain information about Mamin-sheikh (shikh) 'from Siberia,' who was in Moscow in 1564 [CCRC, 1801, p. 103]. It turns out that sheikhs conducted state affairs as well. However, I partially agree with the objections of a group of authors to my previous wording concerning the role of sheikhs in the Siberian Khanate as the 'codifiers' of the sacred graves—indeed, one can agree with A. Seleznev and I. Belich that the sheikhs 'were not of a less significance in the system of folk Islam than 'official' representatives of the Islam 'clergy' [Seleznev et al., 2009, p. 139, note 338]. Nevertheless, this great thought obviously needs more insight, not least because sheikhs arriving to the Siberian Yurt from the Central Asian lands of Shibanids were in fact 'fitted' into the 'official' clergy group. What is more important is that the mentioned sheikhs obviously arriving to Isker Yurt in few waves took part directly in 'reformatting' of that Turkic-Tatar community, which existed within the North land of

Shibanids into the Islam community. As these fundamental changes occurred through the mechanisms of Sufi Tariqas (Yesevi, Naqshbandiyya), it is necessary to give some explanations.

In a common methodological way, the conclusions made by Devin DeWeese relating the role of Baba Tukles in formation of the Nogai ethnic identity are quite helpful for understanding of these processes. This researcher points out that Baba Tukles, often interpreted as Sufi, as the Islamisor, 'is first identified (and venerated) as the founder of a religious community then equated with the founder/ancestor of 'a tribe' or 'people' [De Weese, 1994, p. 492]. He finally turned into 'the central figure in the common origin legends' [Ibid., p. 510]. And this was related to the fact that for the groups adopting Islam 'conversion' occurred and almost all the time was understood 'in social context, with the whole common group, imagined as appropriating a new religion, as a group under the authority of a heroic figure turning into the figure of the ancestor...'. Finally, as the author puts it, 'nativisation of the bearer of Islam demonstrates not only the indigenous 'joining' Islam but accepting Islam as a foundation stone of 'the sacred history' of the particular community and, thus, the defining element in the central social and common structures.. of the community' (steppe community is meant here.—D. I.) [Ibid., pp. 516, 531]. This is what it was like in light of sheikhs' activities in the Siberian Khanate.

When as a result of the activities of the Muslim missionaries, mostly from the Central Asia, the institute of astana was formed in the end of the 15–16th centuries on the territory of the Siberian Khanate (for more information see [Seleznev et al., 2009, pp. 126–152]), and sheikhs were the first superintendents there [Ibid., p. 138], this peculiar spiritual management structure, with its core consisting of worshiping of the saints' graves (sometimes fake) from Sufi Tariqas Yesevi and Naqshbandiyya, started expanding rather quickly. For instance, according to 'Ash-shajarat al-awliya' min bilad Mavera'annahr' Shirbeti sheikh managed to 'discover' 12 'saints' [Bustanov, 2009, p.

201] graves during his lifetime (last-quarter of the 16th century–beginning of the 17th century) (as it is presented in the text of the source, 'in Tobol Yurt... Dja'far-ishan found twenty-two saints [graves].' Lifetime of the ishan is unknown), and later, apparently in the 17th century, this number reached 22 [Ibid], then in the 18th century it increased up to 49 [Bustanov, 2001a, pp. 63–64], and it increased even more by the end of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries (according to R. Rakhimov, there are more than 80 astana known for now).

The institute of astana, thus worshipping of the Sufi figures from Yesevi Tariqa and then from Naqshbandiyya Tariqa, became a part of the cultural and religious life of the Siberian Tatars. We can say, based on the example of Varvarian astana, I. Belich and A. Bustanov noted that astana in the name of the buried there *awliya* started serving as the arbiter in the sphere of the conventional norm regulated by *adat*: informers from the Siberian Tatars reported to these researchers that in the case when there was a horse stolen, and the victim brought charges against the specific person, sending sadaqah to astana, it was thought that if the charge was true, the thief would get sick, or the God would punish him, and if it was a wrongful charge, then the accusatory would get sick himself [Belych, Bustanov, 2010, p. 55]. To honour the saints, the funeral rites, particularly, khatym (*khatym khutsa*, *khatym-i khvadjagan*) [Bustanov, 2009a] came to be performed in a series of the local centres with astana. However, not the local saints were honoured but their great teachers as the representatives of the key parts of Sufi Tariqa Yesevi and Naqshbandiyya. So, during such performance of the rite in Bolshye Turaly Village of Tarsky District in the Omsk Region one of the arrangers reported that 'before this rite was performed by Bakha ad-din, and then, by his followers (mashaykhlar)' [Seleznyov et al., 2009, p. 175]. Simultaneously, around the places where sheikhs settled, the centres of Islam learning and local branches of the Sufi Tariqas, headed by their own ishans, appeared (I. Belych and A. Bustanov tell about one of them, see [Belych, Bustanov, 2010,

pp. 44–50]). Thus, in fact not only the new 'sacral topography' embracing the dozens of astana were formed, but the fusion of old Turkic-Tatar culture with the new Islamic culture took place. Here is a good example of it. According to the tale of a superintendent of the Varvarian astana, '... there was a peygambar Suleyman, he was a giant man and he fought for Islam. When he came to our lands, he sat and shook the earth out of his boots, and two hills appeared. That was the place where astana was set up, where wali Azys Daud-shaikh was buried then, who came here with the other sheikhs, there were 360 of them, from Bukhara and Tashkent, to spread the Muslim religion' [Ibid., p. 54].

As a result, the previous Turkic-Tatar ethnopolitical community of the Siberian Tatars was completely 'remade,' and it became the Islamic community based on the local Islamic centres and tracing its history on a domestic level to the arrival of the Muslim preachers. Such course of events is fixed by many preserved by Siberian Tatars authentic manuscripts that have been mentioned before ('Shajara Risalasy,' 'Ash-shajarat al-awliya' min bilad Maveran-nahr,' 'The origin of Sal aul'). The characteristic feature of all these 'stories' is that the ancestors of the Siberian Tatars become 'fitted' into the Islamic world as a result of sheikhs' activities (*awliya*, *yakhshilar*) and in the particular part of the Islamic world—'Sacred Bukhara'—which appears to be a virtual Sufi net, dating back to the Naqshbandiyyah and Yesevi Tariqas. As it was demonstrated before, probably because of the lack of specific data, the same was observed on the territories of the other late Golden Horde Turkic-Tatar states.

There were the other groups of clergy besides sayyid (sayyids) and sheikh (sheikhs) in the Siberian Khanate. Primarily, these were the mullahs. They appear in the legend told by Mullah Ilyas. We are talking here about Mullah Yakup, who accompanied sheikh ul-islam, and about 'many mullahs,' who set out with them to Isker Yurt. Upon their arrival to the Khanate, Ahmet-Giray-Khan gave every mullah 'a place.' 'Akhuns' mentioned in that legend could have been the branches of these mullahs. However, this term is not so

clear as it bears the impress of the 19th century (akhuns were well-known then by Tatars). It is not clear what clergy group of the 16th century stands for this 19th century term. To some extent, the answer can be found upon studying the already examined manuscript 'The Origin of Sal Aul,' where 'mufti and mudaris' are mentioned among the arrived 500 people [Usmanov, Shaykhiev, 1979, p. 91]. Though mentioned terms 'mufti' and 'mudaris' could have been the latest substitution of the earlier terms, they might have been mentioned in a manuscript as a designation for the real—existing in the Khanate—clergy groups. The point is that, as it was mentioned before, there was a position of a clergyman, called 'mufti' in Bukhara, which had links with Isker Yurt. There might have been hafizes (abyzes) also in the Siberian Khanate clergy: G. Miller points out (his information is aligned with a story of Mullah Ilyas) that together with Ahmet-Giray 'akhun few mullahs and abyzes' arrived at the Siberian Khanate. Moreover, the yarliq of Abdulla Khan, dating back to 1595/96 to the Kuchum Khan, talks about sending Shemerdey-abyz on behalf of the former as an ambassador to the Siberian Khanate (according to the source, this was not his first visit to Siberia) [Ziyaev, 1983, p. 22]. In this case, it is important that in the end of the 18th century there was 'Abyzovy' settlement near 'Seitovy' Village in Eskolbian volost [Tomilov, 1981, p. 99]. At last, the fact that besides sayyid and sheikh to Isker Yurt in 1572 came other representatives of the clergy is shown in 'Genealogy of a sayyid,' which tells about 10 persons accompanying the sayyid and sheikh. In Tatar they are called 'yakhshilar,' which at the Siberian Tatars means 'saints' and is applied mostly to the clergy. All in all, the following groups of clergy can be identified in Isker Yurt: sayyid (most likely, same for sheikh ul-islam), sheikhs, mullahs, abyzes, and there could be also muftis and mudarises. The presence of akhuns in the Khanate is more hypothetical.

What is interesting is that some of the sayyids in the Khanate had a title of 'hoja.' Apparently, one can agree here with F. Yakhin that the term 'hoja' was a synonym of the

term 'sayyid' [Yakhin, 2005, pp. 195–197]. One should also keep in mind the appeal of Ahmet-Giray to Bukhara with a request to send 'the senior' (*ölkän*) sheikh ul-islam [Obraztsy, 1872, p. 213]. N. Katanov translated this fragment as '*the grand*' [Katanov, 1896, p. 51]. Here the term 'ölkän' had some message in it, and it is not improbable that N. Katanov is correct as there were 'grand sayyids' in the Bukharan Khanate. It is not mere coincidence that in 'Genealogy of a sayyid,' speaking about noble rank of the Din-Ali sayyidzade, the narrator underlines the fact that 'in Bukhara (and) Urgench' 'imams of the great' (*olılarnıñ imamnarı*) were of his ancestry [Obraztsy, 1872, p. 217]. The version of Kh. Atlasy looks somewhat different, he writes about '*oluglar*' [Atlasy, 1997, 76 b.]. Thus, it is quite possible that the terms '*ölkän şäex ul-islam*,' '*olılarnıñ imamnarı*' are the synonyms of familiar to us epithets 'majesty of grand teachers' or 'grand sayyids.'

The rank of sayyid in the Siberian Khanate is supported by several facts. Let us say, Kuchum Khan (in the tale of Mullah Ilyas it is Ahmet-Giray Khan who gave 'sheikh ul-islam... great honour'), as it is said in the 'Genealogy of sayyids,' personally crossed the river Irtysh to greet the guests. The exceptional position of sayyid in the Khanate is issued from the fact that Din-Ali sayyid married the daughter of Kuchum-khan. It is possible that such sort of matrimonial relations existed before the beginning of Shibanid Kuchum-khan reign, between the dynasty of 'Siberian princes' Taibugids and the spiritual leaders of Isker Yurt. No wonder there is a Tatar legend preserved by G. Miller, which have been mentioned before: a pregnant widow of prince Ediger, runaway to 'Great Bukhara,' found there '*a lot of sympathy*' from a 'sayyid' who accepted her into his house and became a step-father for her son (he was named 'Seydyak'—that is, 'little sayyid' after him) [Miller, 1999, p. 196].

Although some sources tell about the arrival of Muslim clergy to Siberia from Central Asia (Bukhara, Urgench, Turkestan are mentioned), one should not disregard the other places in Isker Yurt, where the clergy appeared as well. So, with reference to 'Remezov's Chronicle,' G.

Miller informed that Kuchum 'brought many clergymen from Kazan' [Ibid., p. 199]. In spite of some anachronisms—the Kazan Khanate did not exist anymore during the reign of Kuchum Khan in the Siberian Khanate—this message can reflect some real events because the migration of the Tatar nobility, and sayyids

from the Kazan Khanate to the Khanate of Tyumen in the 1480s, was mentioned before. These cases could happen later as well [Ibid., p. 194]. However, this does change anything essentially as the same Yesevi Tariqa reigned in the Volga Region in the 15–16th centuries, and sayyids were the same descendants of Sayyid-Ata.

§ 2. Features of Islam among the Siberian Tatars

Igor Belich

Before we begin this chapter, it is important to note one essential aspect: in spite of the prevalence of spiritual unity, local Islam integrated and preserved many regional cultural features. When discussing regional variations in Islam, it is important keep in mind its essential character, free from any weighting on a national basis or focus on a specific time period. [Tatary, 2001, p. 423]. Cultural distinctions between the post-Golden Horde Turkic-Tatar communities are conditioned by their ethnic history, ethnic and cultural traditions, and the influence of neighbouring nations. However, the common Turkic-Islamic cultural base going back to the era of the Golden Horde became the unifying basis of their culture. It is important to take into account the time and degree of Islamisation. The Kazan Khanate inherited Islamic cultural tradition from Volga Bulgaria, and the spread of Islam was neither immediate nor consistent. For the Nogais and Siberian Tatars, whom Islam reached relatively late, the religious situation was more complex. While the Islamisation of the Nogai Horde and the Astrakhan Khanate was similar to that in the Middle Volga Region, Islam came later to Siberia and developed in different circumstances [Islam, 2001, pp. 65–74; Islam, 2006, pp. 89–122; Iskhakov, 2004b, p. 82; Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 84, 153–160; Izmaylov, Usmanov, 2009, pp. 616–617].

Islam in the form of Hanafi Madh'hab Sunnism spread in Siberia during the 15th and 16th centuries. Under Kuchum Khan (died 1598) it became the official religion of the Siberian Khanate, the cultural base of the Siberian-Tatar identity, whose representative groups each underwent Islamisation throughout the 17th and 18th centuries [Belich, 1988, pp. 100–106; Belich, 1997, pp. 93–98; Tomilov, 1992, pp. 141–

143; Valeev, 1993, pp. 170–171; Islam, 2001, pp. 67–74; Iskhakov, 2004b, pp. 82–84; Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 90–93, 115–122; Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 159–162; Seleznyov, Seleznyova, 2004, pp. 12–17; Sobolev, 2008, pp. 287–291]. Sufism (Tasawwuf) was important in promoting Islam among the wider Tatar populations of the region. The way the Sufi spread Islam allowed for the adaptation of various non-Islamic religious faiths and ceremonies, which resulted in a specific ideological view of local Islam as a regional variant of the religious syncretism. [Seleznev, Seleznyova, 2004, pp. 11–49]. However, local features of Islam should not be equated with 'national' features for the given people or region as 'the most different variants of Islam have always lived side by side in any culture' [Abashin, Bobrovnikov, 2003, p. 15].

Popular Islam finds expression to different degrees in mythology, domestic and calendar ritualism, folk medicine and superstitions. Mostly it is expressed in a cult of Saints, which provided seamless inclusion, preservation, and efficiency of different local and added in a process of Islamisation non-Islamic elements in religious views of the Siberian Tatars. That is why we can still talk about Islamisation in the region to this day. Sacred places are an indication of this. Compared with the 1970–1980s many of the sites' significance have been undergoing a radical reassessment until a complete Islamization, such as the holy places association with the graves of saints (astana), which previously had had a different meaning. The ethnicisation of astana as a part of Siberian-Tatar identity; their use as the principal symbol of regional religious identity and the 'discovery' of new places of worship with the 'forgotten' graves of saints. [Belich, 1987, pp. 40–41; Belich, 2013, pp. 14–

22; Bustanov, 2011, pp. 147–149; Bustanov et al., 2011, pp. 120–124]. Thus, when discussing the specifics of Islam among Siberian Tatars, an apt starting point is the analysis of the cult of the saints and *astana*.

Many works have been dedicated to the historical and ethnographic study of Siberian Islam [Belich, 1998a, pp. 31–39; Belich, 2004, pp. 63–96; Belich, 2006, pp. 14–23; Belich, 2010a, pp. 32–34; Belich, Sladkova, 2006, pp. 23–25; Islam, 2007, pp. 113–146, 248–251; Rakhimov, 2006, pp. 4–62; Seleznev, Selezneva, 2005, pp. 85–108; Seleznev, Selezneva, 2006, pp. 100–107; Seleznev, Selezneva, 2009, pp. 338–359; Seleznev, Selezneva, 2012, pp. 216–229; Seleznev et al., 2009, pp. 17–155; Seleznev, 2013, pp. 111–119]. Archeographic investigations of recent years have made new and fascinating findings, which have allowed for a re-examination and eventual re-interpretation of the written sources covering this topic [Belich, Bustanov, 2010, pp. 39–58; Bustanov, 2009b, pp. 156–192; Bustanov, 2009, pp. 195–230; Bustanov, 2011a, pp. 33–78; 2013b; Bustanov, Belich, 2010, pp. 211–216; Bustanov, Belich, 2013, pp. 14–22; Rakhimov, 2009, pp. 291–297]. This is where we shall begin.

The corpus of written sources containing information about the start of Islam and the cult of the saints—awliya in the Siberian/Isker Yurt—include several genealogy texts—that is, shajaras. These narratives exist in two versions. The first, recounted in Shajarat al-awliya min bilād Māwarāʾan-Nahr ('Genealogy of saints from Transoxiana'), Tāʾrīkh ('History'), The charter of the guardian of Yurum astana and Nasab-nāma, and more fully represented in the first manuscript, was created in the first half of the 17th century in the village of Tyurmetyak/Ollī-Bürān (in the north of the Omsk Region) by the custodians of Bigach Ata astana. The second version included in the Qarāghāy Manuscript, its copy in the collection of A. Aliyeva, and the copy of Saʿd Waqqas in the Tobolsk manuscript were put together towards the middle of the 18th century by Ibn Yabin hoja of Tara and the qadi (judge) of Tobolsk ʿAbd al-Karim. The first version was created by adherents of the Sufi Tariqa (order) Yesevi, while the second edition, by Naqshbandiyya Sufis. These two orders were

in competition in the 16–17th centuries [Belich, 1998a, pp. 31–39; Bustanov, 2009b, pp. 156–188; Bustanov, 2009, pp. 212–222; Bustanov, 2009g, pp. 45–61; Bustanov, 2011a, pp. 33–78; Bustanov, 2013, pp. 88–182; Belich, Bustanov, 2010, pp. 44–50].

Externally, a manuscript is a scroll wrapped around a wooden rod and placed in a leather or cloth case. A sacred object, shajaras, were passed down as an attribute in the family of the custodian of the astana (*ṣīq, astana qarawçe*) and were used in the rituals for the recitation of awliya names. The text is divided into an introduction, a body describing religious war, a hagiography, and conclusion. Here we shall point out and discuss several points of note in the text. First, the dates differ: in Shajarat al-awliya we see 1130 AH (1718 AD), in Taʾrih we have 950/1523, and in the later edition of the shajara it is given as 797/1394. Dating of sacred texts is relative and determined by the principle that the later the date the text is copied, the lower the chronological boundary. This date must not be linked to historical figures, events, or to the astana themselves—the 'real' world must be kept separate from the world of ideas [Bustanov, 2009, p. 203; Bustanov, 2011a, p. 44; Belich, 2010a, p. 33; Belich, Bustanov, 2010, pp. 50–55].

The question of which sources the authors used in compiling the shajara may find its answer in a reference made in the second edition to the record (nakil) 'of great men and saints past' [Bustanov, 2009, p. 215]. N. Katanov translated nakil as legend [Katanov, 1904, p. 18]. This is in any case an important argument not only for the late dating of the second edition [Bustanov, 2011a, p. 65] but also for understanding the nature of its source. The first version, 'Genealogy of saints from Transoxiana' was based on the copy 'To Sechira... Mulla Bobasha in the village of Epanchin Yurts' with a narrative about Ishāq Bāb dated 970/1562, brought from Central Asia by the first wave migrants [Bustanov, 2013a, pp. 471–480]. How reliable are shajaras? Experts believe that, as a subjective result of collective efforts, they contain both accurate information and distortions. It would in fact be odd if there were 'an absence of fantasy, such as the substitution of facts and events or contamination of

different events' [Kuzeyev, 1960, pp. 18–21; Usmanov, Shaykhiev, 1979, p. 103]. However, one should take into account the origin of the information presented in *shajaras*: they are not a line of descent but a genealogy of saints.

The number of *awliya*, where the initial number is 366 of Central Asian Yesevi and Naqshbandiyya devotees of Islam; however, it should be noted that the story of their 'canonisation' is based on the Sufi doctrine of sanctity (*welayah*) and the hierarchies of saints (*ri-jal al-ghayb*, 'men of the Unseen'), where the number of saints reaches 500 [Belich, 2005, pp. 33–36]. This is connected with the story of the two 'ways' of acquiring spiritual knowledge in Sufism—*sulūk* and *jazbah*. It is recounted more clearly in the *Shajarat*: 'There are two kinds of saints: First are those who follow the path (*saluk*) and then are those who are attracted by the divine (*majzub*). *Saluk* are saints who, having sought the help of prophets and received it, have found their way to the Lord... *Majzub* are saints who through their work spreading the faith (*da'wah*) found themselves close to God... ' The later edition extends this with a call for 'secret remembrance'—that is, a silent *dhikr*, as practiced by the main Naqshbandiyya groups, as opposed to the spoken one as practiced by the Yesevi [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 200, 220–221]. According to Bustanov [2011a, p. 45], this story contains the main message and concept for the whole text: 'Its primary focus is directed towards the presentation and continuation of the spiritual connection (*an-nisba ar-rukhiya*) of the deceased men of faith with the serving sheikhs and, through them, with the neophytes.' The significance of *shajaras* lay in their support of the local Sufi tradition and their connection with the rest of the Islamic world.

Another point must be noted that is key to understanding the main bulk of the text, which recounts a religious war. Its significance can be understood from the way it is described. The earlier edition talks of a regular 'war' (*djang*) led by 'majzub saints' in order to 'reveal the key of faith.' In the later edition this is modified to 'the great war'—*olyg djang*—started by the sheikhs and warriors on horseback, and in the *Qarāghāy* Manuscript, it becomes the 'Great Holy War' [Seleznov et al., 2009, p. 203]. Moreover, it was

not so much a 'war for faith' but a thinly-veiled military political expansion. The emergence of secular rulers and their people, with their names and quantity varying between the two editions, would be difficult to explain without this interpretation of the events. This means that the events described took place in different periods of time, which can be seen from the main body of text, and which we will move on to now.

The earlier *shajara* reads: 'In sacred Bukhara... was the holy *hoja Baha' al-Din*. The saints were assembled from different cities... once found, they were led [to him]... Saints manifest and invisible... sent 366 saints to the yurt of the *Ichtyak* to reveal the key of faith. They came down the river *Ishim*... and started a war (*djang*). A lot of men fell in *Ichtyak* land... and became *shahīds*. 66 returned... Those who remained in *Ichtyak* yurt erected a fence around the graves of the saints... and became *diwana* (God's fools, thought to be saints/Sufis.—*I. B.*). Others walked around the *Irtys* river mourning and became the *Hotan-Hytay*. The rest left their homes and fled for Upper *Irtys*. There they took some land and settled. Later they created *Hytay-hat Hotan*. The [*Ichtyak*] Yurt was deserted' for 9, or 90, or 100 years. 'Then, under *Murat Khan*, came his son *Taibuga Bey*. [He was] the first to found a khanate in *Isker Yurt*. And along with 500 men arrived the *Shah's akhūn* (that is, of *Bukhara Khan*?—*I. B.*), a *murza*, *sultan*, and *imam*. All of them remained in *Isker Yurt*.' Then 20 holy graves are listed with the names of the saints and the discoverer of the *astana 'Jalal ad-Din-awliya'* of *Bukhara*. The story concludes with a section on *Aftal Shaykh*, the discoverer of the *astana* of 'Hazrat *Bigach-Ata* in *Turma-dak Yurt*' and its first custodian (*mudzhavir*), and their family trees [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 200–201; Bustanov, 2011a, pp. 41–42; Dmitrieva, Muratov, 1975, pp. 40–41].

The text is quite clearly talking about two waves of Islamisation, or comings of the saints: the first taking place in *Ichtyak Yurt*, and the second, in *Isker Yurt*. There are two visible layers of narrative: sacral and factual. The former can be described thus: 'saints manifest and invisible (*al-gayib*)' 'from *Transoxiana*' send forth the 'majzub saints.' By 'spreading the faith' through *djang*, they become saints (20 of them are men-

tioned in the list of saints). Guided by their spirit and exposing the graves of the awliya, their followers take the Sufi initiation, becoming diwana Sufis and mudzhavirs. The factual narrative is as follows: the arrival of a ruler of strong faith embodying the ancestor and founder of the Khanate and man of Islam Taibuga and the creation of a new state and probably Islamic institutions. There is no reason to identify him with the founder of the Taibugid Dynasty; however, this possibility cannot be excluded [Bustanov, 2009, p. 206; Bustanov, 2011a, p. 48]. There is also an ethnological component: we see Hotan-Hytay, a double ethnonym—that is, the Khitai or Khitan, who founded the Hytay-hat Hotan 'home or yurt of the Hotan-Hytay' (from Persian *kat* 'home') in 'the upper Irtysh,' as well as the Ichtak people, who had their lands in the Ishym delta and the lower Irtysh.

The later shajara reads: '...by resolution and decree... hoja Baha'ad-Dīn Naqshbandī... 366 mushaikhhs gathered... and became his disciples (*murīd*). He 'saw 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, discover Islam in Chin-Machin... But some people of Hytay... ran to the banks of the river... Irtysh.' There roamed the 'Hotan... Nugai and Kara-Kipchak. [The fugitives]... stayed among them. They were Tatars who worshiped dolls.' An order was given to 'spread Islam among them... start a great war (*olyg djang*), 366... sheikhs came to the Middle Yuz of the steppe of Diyar, to Shibān Khan and were accepted as his guests. Having learned of the circumstances and given consent, he armed 1700 bahadurs, whom he sent on horseback..., came down to the lower reaches (of Irtysh), and started a great war.' There 'were... Hotan people, Nugai people, Kara-Kipchak..., escaped rebels of Tarkhan Khan [and] Ichtak people... all of one faith. The sheikhs, having joined forces with Shibān..., fought and exterminated countless non-believers and Tatars. But the 300 mushaikhhs who fell..., became shahids. The fugitives of Tarkhan Khan returned to Hytay. The Ichtak people escaped to the forest. Some of Hotan, Nugai, and Kara-Kipchak people professed faith..., and some became diwana. The Ichtaks remained resistant to faith... 1,448 bahadurs of Shibān Khan fell and became shahids, 222 left... to join the nation of Middle Zhuz. Shibān

became known as Wali Khan, having waged war... with the saints. 300 of the mushaikhhs became shahids. Out of the 66 remaining... three left to teach the pillars of faith to the Nugai, Hotan, and Kara-Kipchak people... In Tobol, Tara, Tyumen, Tomsk there were... Khwājas and sheikhs of their kin. 63 returned...' Then follows a list of 30 astana, with the names of their discoverers: 'Ishan hoja Dawlet Shah ibn Shah 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Ispichafi' from Bukhara and those who 'gathered them into one genealogy,' 'Ibn-Yamin-hoja and 'Abd al-Karim qadi, akhūn of Tobol and Tomsk.' At the end there is a silsila of astana custodians '*Kefesh-'Ali-Sheikh in the village of Kömshele*' [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 215–219; Bustanov, 2011a, pp. 61–65; Katanov, 1904, pp. 18–28].

We will now analyse this text and compare it to the previous one. The two narratives have almost completely merged as their source—the nakil of great men and saints past—is sacral. The standpoint has changed: instead of 'the manifest and invisible saints,' hoja Baha'ad-Dīn initiates 'the great war,' which points to a change in spiritual leader. By mentioning Caliph Ali and his sword, 'who discovered Islam in Chin-Machin region [what Muslim peoples called China in the Middle Ages],' sanctions the war's continuation. There was only one war, but the motive of visiting Middle Yuz indicates that the war and the sheikhs reined for a long time. The site of the war was the lower reaches of the Irtysh; its rank was *olyg djang*; the initiators were sheikhs on horseback and armed warriors. The result was the extirpation of many 'non-believers and Tatars,' with just 'some of them' converting to Islam; the death of 300 sheikhs, who then became shahids (30 of them are on the list of awliya), and 1,448 warrior shahids (not listed). We will set the piece on Tarkhan/Turgan Khan aside for now.

The appearance of the secular ruler: Shibān Khan legitimated the actions of the Sufis, thus receiving the name of Wali Khan. He cannot be identified with the historical leader known as Shibān Khan or Shaybani Khan but merely be seen as a representation of the Shibānids' khan's ancestor [Bustanov, 2009b, p. 188; Bustanov, 2009, p. 220; Bustanov, 2011a, p. 66; Nestorov, 2002, p. 206]. Nevertheless, the toponym

'Middle Zhuz,' used by Eastern authors in the 16–17th centuries to refer to a part of the Kazakh Union [Materialy, 1969, p. 551; Yudin, 1992; Uskenbay, 2012, pp. 183–187], narrows it down to Shaybani Khan [Belich, 1988, pp. 104–106; Iskhakov, 2011, p. 159]. The number of ethnic groups is doubled and corresponds to the nomadic tribes of Uzbeks and Kazakhs of the mid–15–early 16th century [Sultanov, 1982, pp. 8–51]. The factual narrative notes the existence of a 'holy family' in the towns of Siberia in the early 17th century, going back to the three 'Khwājas and sheikhs' who stayed there. One of them, Sharbatī Sheikh, is listed as a saint in both editions of the *shajaras*.

So, regardless of the allusions to certain historical figures and facts, the analysis of these texts shows that their content has little to do with the real course of Islamisation and the formation of the cult of the saints, where astana, attesting to this process, served as the markers of Islamic regional identity with its borders matching the core of the former single national identity. We are presented not with the factual history but with a way of thinking or vision of the 'revelation of Islam' in the region by the Central Asian ulemas who came to Siberia and their descendants. Such sources with a theological or sacral origin must be considered from this perspective [Belich, 1987, p. 41; Bustanov, 2009g; Bustanov, 2010, pp. 33–35; Bustanov, 2011, pp. 147–149; Bustanov, 2013, pp. 73–74; Bustanov et al., 2011, pp. 122–123].

The growth of the cult and of its sacral geography is notable in the manuscripts: while in the first version of the legend we find a 'catalogue' of 20 graves of saints, the second version presents 30 graves, with most of them corresponding with those of the earlier version [Bustanov, 2011a, p. 67]. Moreover, while in 17 episodes the information given in the *shajaras* is confirmed by the field data from the 1970–1980s, when there were about 50–60 astana recorded [Belich, 1997, pp. 94–95; Belich, 1998a, p. 32], the dramatic revival of the cult at the turn of the 21st century saw their quantity in the region—mostly in southern Tyumen and the North of the Omsk Region—reach 80 [Islam, 2004, pp. 47–50; Otchyot, 2004, p. 6] and their number still increases today. Any correspondence between

the names of the holy men with the list of saints and/or their graves appearing in the *shajaras* in the two editions is out of the question. This is why we shall restrict our discussion of the saints to the analysis of some of the Siberian *astana* best known according to verified data.

Islamic figures from Central Asia introduced into the Siberian spiritual chain of the *awliya* through the Sufi hagiography: Hızır İlyas, Zangi Ata, Sayyid Ata, Hākīm Ata, Ambar Ana and Hūbbī hoja. Local Tatar legend tells of Hākīm Ata leading 366 sheikhs, and his depiction is similar to that of the 12th century Sufi sheikh Suleyman al-Bakrygani. The locally renowned mausoleum of Hākīm Ata, apparently first appeared in the 16th century, is in Baish/Bakrygani aul's cemetery (Vagaysky District, Tyumen Region). It is a six sided log construction (reconstructed 1990) 1.2 m high (walls 6 m in length). According to the legend, his wife Ambar/*Kāmbār-Ona*, his son Hubbi-Huca, and 7 more *awliya* are laid to rest at this cemetery, and the necropolis is considered to be an *ollī astana*/'great astana.' Baish astana was mentioned by G. Miller in 1734 [Siberia, 1996, p. 80]. The *Shajarat al-awliya* points to its high status: 'The custodians (*mudzhavir*) in Mecca say making a pilgrimage (*ṭawāf*) to [the grave of Hākīm khazrat, is [an equivalent to] making a pilgrimage to Mecca.' One who visited the Hākīm Ata astana 7 times was thenceforth considered to have fulfilled *ḥajj*. The idea of Baish astana as a 'second Mecca' may be connected with the suspension of *ḥajj* among Siberian Muslims after the fall of the Siberian Khanate. The Remezov's Chronicle (p. 112), describing how Yermak's body was 'buried [by Tatars] according to their law at the Baishevo cemetery,' after a funeral feast 'according to custom,' should be noted as an exceptional example that confounds the final resting place of the famous character with the cult of astana [Belich, 1997a, pp. 53–73; Belich, 2002a, pp. 405–412; Belich, 2004, pp. 77–88; Bustanov, 2011a, pp. 41–42, 58].

The list of saints in *Shajarat al-awliya* gives the ancient settlement Isker as the resting place for 'Shaykh Pīrī, Shaykh Nazar, [their] younger brother Shirbatī Shaykh... Three sons to one father, a descendant of Sangī-Bābā.' A fourth is mentioned in the copy of Sa'd Waqqas: 'In

Isker lies Aykani-Shaikh-'Aziz... of Zangī-Ata progeny (*owlad*). Here and there, Shirbati Sheikh, having opened 12 graves, 'lay at the feet of his brothers.' According to the 'Shajara Risalasy' ('Treatise on Genealogy'), written by the Tobolsk ākhūn hoja Shūkūr b. Yusuf in the second-third halves of the 17th century and Nasab-nāma, it could have happened in the late 16th or early 17th century [Belich, 1998a, pp. 36–39; Bustanov, 2009, pp. 209–212; 2009v; Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 159–179]. It is worth noting a curious fact. Zangī Ata is part of the Yasavīya spiritual line (*silsila*), being a student (*murīd*) of Suleyman Bakyrqani, who was the first *murīd* and the third or fourth representative of Caliph Aḥmad al-Yesevi [Abashin, 2001, pp. 40–41; Devin DeWeese, 2003, pp. 8–12].

This Turkestan sheikh is mentioned in both editions: 'In Kobyak lies Kasim Shaykh, descendant of Imam Ahmad.' According to the local Tatar legend, Kasim Shaykh was the younger brother of Ḥakīm Ata, who was considered to be a brother of Bighāch Ata [Belich, 2004, p. 80]. Thus, we know of several brothers for Ḥakīm Ata: 2 siblings and 4 spiritual of the lineage Zangī Ata ← Ḥakīm Ata ← al-Yesevi. Their graves mark the path the first sheikhs took along the Irtysh River from the mouth of the Ishim to the mouth of the Tobol. This is visible from the Shajarat: 'Having crossed the Ishim River, [they] turned away, so there are no saints' [graves] from the mouth of the Ishim to the upper Irtysh. There are some in the lower reaches of the Irtysh' [Bustanov, 2009, p. 201]. The first astana mark the area of the initial efforts of Yesevi sheikhs to Islamise the region and the creation of the cult of saints. The situation is inconsistent with the cult of the so-called 'seven holy brothers' (*etti-ogayni*), widespread in different versions in Central Asia, where the system of 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 saints, whose mazars are located on a certain territory, performs the same function 'to unite the land by sacral means' [Abashin, 2003, p. 28].

While Ḥakīm Ata astana is located in the middle of the route of the first missionaries, the astana near Isker seems almost to stop them in their tracks. Iskerastana, taking the form of a renovated 'ancient wooden tower,' as noted by eyewitnesses from the end of the 17th to the

19th centuries (N. Sprafariy, I. Falk, V. Dmitriev, P. Slovtsov, M. Znamensky], had apparently attracted pilgrims and citizens of neighbouring villages from the 16th century until it burned down along with the necropolis on 29th May 1881. After this the tradition was lost [Belich, 1997, pp. 96–97; Belich, 2006, pp. 20–22]. Judging by these accounts, each of which notes one instance of worshiping the necropolis, collective rituals were performed here at different times of the year: 'May and September' and 'midsummer' are connected to various but interrelated events in the cult of saints. Local Tatars traditionally performed the ritual of remembrance for their ancestors (*tsim*) in May. Uraza Ait (*Eid*) was celebrated in September to coincide with the end of the month of Ramadan. Midsummer in the calendar of the Faithful corresponds to the date of hijra, and therefore ḥajj. Local Tatars would make a 'small pilgrimage' to the mausoleums of the saints, such as to Ḥakīm Ata astana. The remembrance of lost relatives and awliya on these dates essentially entailed visiting ancestors' graves (*tugum*) and astana, reading the appropriate prayers at them and, in the 18–19th centuries, the sacrifice of a calf. This is what we can assume about the cult in Isker astana. After a while the cemetery itself became an object of veneration, which is typical of the beliefs of the Siberian Tatars, and became a place for 'remembrance of Küchüm.' The Tobolsk Yurt Tatars or Shibanets, the ancestors of military and servile nobility of the Siberian Khanate, gathered here once 'every 3 or 4 years.' Their families still remembered in the 19th century that 'their kin could be traced back to Küchüm' [Belich, 2002, pp. 180–184; Belich, 2006, pp. 19–50].

At the mouth of the river Ishim, where Islamic devotees started their route to 'the lower reaches of Irtysh,' we find Bighāch Ata *astana*. Shajarat al-awliya reads: 'Bighāch Ata Shaykh, descendant of master (*mawla*) Jalāl ad-Dīn'. The silsila of the astana custodians introduces this figure: 'By sacred permission (*rukhsat*) of my brother Mullah Jalāl ad-Dīn Shaykh from Sacred Bukhara I came to the lands of Siberia (*vilayet*)... In the said settlement of Tūrmatak I, Aftal Shaykh, first lit a torch (*chirog*) to the reposed Hazrat Bighāch Ata.' Jalal ad-Din Sheikh lived in Bukhara and

was a follower of the Yesevi Tariqa [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 202, 212]. The list by Sa'd Waqqas gives Bighāch Ata three 'companions' but refers them all to the 'line of mawlawi Jami,' whom Katanov identified with the Naqshbandiyya poet and mystic 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Jāmī (died 1492) [Katanov, 1904, p. 24]. According to Bustanov, the change 'in name of the master Bigach-Ata' in the later version indicates 'the Naqshbandiyya took over dominance from the Yesevi [Bustanov, 2009, p. 220; Bustanov, 2011a, p. 67]. However, it is still unclear whether Jalal ad-Din sent Aftal/Abdal-sheikh to Siberia, or whether Bigach-Ata was a murīd of sheikh Jalal ad-Din, which would give a different time frame. Still we must not forget that we are dealing here with a sacred history.

If we follow the Sayyid copy of the 'Shajara Risalasy,' Abdal sheikh/Bābā Abdāl came to Siberia from Bukhara in 1572 together with Sharbatī Sheikh and Dīn 'Ali Khwāja. The fact that Sayyid Dīn 'Ali came from Urgench to Isker is confirmed by the letter from 'Abdullah Khān to Kuchum Khan, dating back to the 1590s [Bustanov, 2009g]. In the Nasab-nāma we read that 'our ancestors lived in Turmatak and Tautamak since the times of Kuchum,' the first being 'Abdal Shaykh.' Yet it also reads: 'coming from the city of Turkestan, Abdal Shaykh became the guardian of Turtamak yurt' [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 207, 209]. The probable proto-graph of the Shajarat, silsila in 'The charter of the guardian of Yurum astāna' clarifies: 'in the village of Ulugh Buran, Eftal from the sacred Bukhara lit a torch for the the venerable Bigach Ata from Turkestan' [Rakhimov, 2006, p. 19]. It seems that Abdal Sheikh could indeed have come to the Siberian *vilayet* in the time of Kuchum. In the spiritual chain he has no master, but underwent Sufi initiation through a dream, thus becoming an Uwaisī [DeWeese, 1993, pp. 1–34]—that is, he was guided by the spirit of wali Bigach Ata, whose *murshīd* was apparently ascribed as Jamal ad-din by Abdal Sheikh's descendants (Sheikh Zade) through a rukhshat. In Ḥakīm Ata's hagiography ('Ḥakīm Ata kitābī') the latter discovered his grave, becoming its first mudzhavir and receiving a *rukhshat* from Ḥakīm Ata himself. According to the local tradition, his grave is located in *Baish astana*. Bigach Ata is therefore thought of as a 'sibling' of Ḥakīm Ata

[Belich, 2004, pp. 79–87; Bustanov, 2009, pp. 221–214; Bustanov, 2011a, p. 54].

The analysis of 'Nasab-nāma,' including the *mudzhavir silsila*, showed that the genealogy dates back to the 16th century, and the *astana* near Tyurmetyaki village was created in the late 16th century' [Bustanov, 2009, pp. 209, 212]. The above material allows us to set the date at the last quarter of the 16th century. As an *astana*, this mausoleum is marked as between 'the cemetery of On Tsar' and the kurgans on a chart of the Ishim River in S. Remezov's Chorographic Drawing Book, compiled in the late 17th century. It is well established that the legendary 'Tsardom of On Tsar' had its centre in the mouth of the river, where a settlement is also marked [Chorographic, 2011, l. 107]. The mausoleum was on the bank of an oxbow on the river Ishim (*Astana Būrān*) among a line of kurgans at the edge of an ancient necropolis. Today it takes the form of a picket fence surrounding a 2.5 metre columnar grave, but it was originally apparently a hexagonal log construction. These kinds of constructions were built above awliya graves in these places as far back as the late 19th century, and their height was such that behind their walls 'one could see only the crowns of birches' [Belich, 2004a, p. 485; Seleznev et al., 2009, pp. 109–113, 118–121]. Columns (ormas), with their tops decorated according to gender, was typical of gravestones of the Kurdak-Sargat Tatars [Belich, 1998, pp. 55–57].

Apparently there was some kind of certain cycle or system of pilgrimages to these *astana*; however, the details are unknown. But their arrangement in the 'catalogues' of saints and appended information suggests that Bigach Ata *astana* was first to be visited, then Ḥakīm Ata *astana*, and finally Isker *astana*. P. Slovtsov's information that 'remembrances to Kuchum' were held 'every 3 or 4 years' at Isker, putting cult personification aside, would suggest that if there were a cycle, it went over a several years, or at least three. To date there is no data to confirm or disprove this thesis. However, we may suppose that such a system could have existed for believers of past centuries. As, for instance, in Central Asia, where this tradition has survived up to the present day in some areas [Abashin, 2008, pp. 5–23].

The earlier edition of the *shajara* refers to the lower reaches of Ishym in the Irtysh region as the '*land (yurt) of Ichtak*.' This was where the '366 saints from Transoxiana' 'came down the Ishym River' to and 'started a war.' Here in 9 or 90 years' time, 'during the reign of Murat Khan... his son Taibuga Bey... founded a Khanate in Isker Yurt.' In the later version here 'to the river, known by Turkic peoples as Irtysh, and in Tajik as Abi-Jarus, flowing to the west' but not 'a left tributary of the Ob,' as assumed by Katanov [Katanov, 1904, p. 20], but a left tributary of the Irtysh, the river Ishim, came first of all the sheikhs and bahadurs of Shibān Khan. Word for word it reads: '...to the banks of a river flowing near Kun-Batysh (of the west) and known by the Turks as Irtysh-Suy but in Tajik as... Ab-i Jarus' [Bustanov, 2009, p. 216]. And then, 'coming down to the lower reach of Ab-i Jarus/Irtysh,' they wage 'the great holy war,' reaching Tobol.

This area was inhabited by the ancestral communities of *Kurdak* and *Sargat*. The Kurdaks, living for a long time side by side with the Kazakhs (*Arghyns*) of Middle Zhuz, were descended from the same family. Arghyns lived nomadically in the 14–16th centuries from Syrdarya to the mouth of Ishym and further downstream on the Irtysh. Some of the Kurdaks, having joined the Lokay tribe of Uzbeks, particularly the Esanhoja group, went to Transoxiana later than the other Uzbek tribes—that is, under Shaybani Khan [Karmysheva, 1976, pp. 231–236]. Apparently, *Kara-Kipchaks* inhabited this area, whose generic name was preserved in the village name B. Qarāghāy; as well as *Hotans* (*Khitans*, *Khatais*), an ethnonym that was preserved in the village name Katanguy and the Katayskiye Elany tract of the Osha River; and Nogais who left their name in the Nugai tract of lake B. Uvat. Apart from their ethnonym in the name *Istyatsk* Yurt, the presence of Ichtak was preserved in the genealogical legends of the Sargat Tatars [Tomilov, 1981, pp. 119–134; Alishina, Niyazova, 2004, pp. 27, 31, 32]. Therefore, the ethnological history of this regional subgroup of Siberian Tatars to some extent confirms the facts reflected in the two versions of the legend of the regions Islamisation given in the *shajaras*. This is more or less all that can be ascertained from the factual history.

But the question remains to what extent the aspects of the cult of the saints, and the *astana* in particular, can be viewed as authentic. There can be little doubt in terms of the sacred narrative as they are its symbolic expression, naturally embodying the spiritual connection with the object of veneration—the 'pillars' of faith for the Siberian Tatars. As for the historical reality, one can hardly expect a clear and positive answer to this question. The analysis of the three above mentioned *astana* showed that it's a figment [Belich, 2010a, pp. 32–34; Belich, Bustanov, 2010, pp. 50–55]. But the believers do not care whether the mausoleum of saint Ḥakīm Ata is near Baish aul in Siberia or near Muinak in Uzbekistan. The main thing is that both here and there they may find his protection and patronage on the road and course of life.

In conclusion, we may note that the question of the chronology and creation of *astana* among the Siberian Tatars is still yet to be studied sufficiently. The development of the *awliya* cult followed the region's Islamisation and increased in the second half of the 16th century, where its appearance is reflected by *astana*. This process started under Kuchum with the arrival of Muslim theologists from Central Asia. Particularly, Dīn-ʿAlī Sheikh as a sayyid under the khan and *Sheikh ul-Islam* of the Siberian Khanate, Sharbatī Sheikh as a cataloguer of saints graves and apparently the first populariser of the legend of Siberian Islamisation and Abdāl Sheikh as a custodian of one of the region's earliest mausoleums. In the 17–18th centuries new *astana* appeared, devoted not only the names of the 366 legendary *awliya*, but also to local men of faith. However, studied have shown that even the first and more significant *astana* were the result of Muslimisation of previously holy sites and reflect the sacral history of Siberia, which is centred around the idea of a 'first ancestor'—the founder of the state and devotee of Islam, connected with the legends of the noble clans of the local Sayyids, Khwājas, and Sheikhs (as detailed in [Bustanov, 2013a, pp. 471–533]). The main peculiarity of Islam in the cult of the Saints among the Siberian Tatars is perhaps that Islamisation is still ongoing there.

CHAPTER 4

Political and Legal Culture

§ 1. Culture of Public Life

Damir Iskhakov

The tradition of statehood that formed a very specific culture of public life was one of the important aspects of the Turkic-Tatar civilisation in the 15–16th centuries onward. This included the culture of diplomacy, court rituals, and the system of state symbols (thrones, crowns, state seals, banners, and other symbols of power). Despite the fact that there is not much information on this subject, and it varies from one state to another, separate data can yield certain conclusions about this peculiar cultural aspect in the life of the medieval Turkic-Tatar communities of the period discussed. Studying the given cultural stratum raises the question of its origins: it can generally be traced back to the Golden Horde Civilisation.

Despite the fact that the issue of the culture of public life in the Turkic-Tatar societies still remains sparsely researched, some of its aspects were studied as early as in the 19th century [Berezin, 1851 pp. 543–554; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 403; Smirnov, 1887, pp. 329–331]. The subject was further researched in the 1920s [Vakhidov, 1925, p. 63]. Over the past decades, interest in this issue has grown significantly (see [Yuzefovich, 1988; Usmanov, 1979; Iskhakov, 1997a; Iskhakov, 2006a; Iskhakov, 2007; Iskhakov, 2009v; Trepavlov, 2001; Zaitsev, 2004; Kolodziejczyk, 2011]).

Culture of Diplomacy. Many aspects of the Kazan Khanate's diplomacy can be studied on the basis of the sources that illustrate its relations with the Muscovite state. Known examples include the negotiations of 1497 'declaring' Sultan Abdul Latif the Kazan ruler, and the negotiations with Moscow 'for peace, brotherhood, and friendship' of 1507 [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 24–25]. A more detailed portrayal of the negotiation process, dating back to 1516, describes how ambassador Shah

Hussain-Sayyid came from Kazan to Moscow asking to 'make Abdul Latif, the ailing brother of Khan Muhammet Amin, the new 'tsar.' The ambassador had the authority to act on behalf of Khan Muhammed Amin and 'the entire Kazan state' and swore to the Grand Prince of Moscow that 'they would not declare anyone tsar or tsarevich without the Grand Prince's consent.' He brought a draft treaty from Kazan. The document was first signed by Khan Muhammet Amin in the presence of Moscow envoy Ivan Chelyadinov, before the latter left for Moscow along with Kazan ambassador Shah Hussain Sayyid. It appears the ambassador had to get the treaty signed by the Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich. While in Moscow, the Kazan ambassador 'wrote in his own hand a document, on which the Kazan tsar and the entire Kazan state would swear an oath to the Tsar.' After that Shah Hussain Sayyid left for Kazan together with Russian ambassadors, where Khan Muhammed Amin and 'all the entire Kazan state' 'swore to the tsar' in accordance with the agreement. The Russian ambassadors then went back to Moscow together with Shah Hussain Sayyid, who had to speak on behalf of Muhammet Amin 'to beg' for Vasily Ivanovich's 'consent' to declare Abdul Latif, the Khan's brother, the new tsar [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 15, 25]. Ambassadors were responsible for the actions of the rulers and nations they represented and on whose behalf they negotiated and made promises. Thus Shah Hussain Sayyid, who had signed the documents confirming that after Khan Muhammet Amin's death Shah-Gali would be made the next king, fell from grace with the Moscow authorities after Kazan broke this promise. According to the charter given to Russian envoy O. Andreev in 1523 in Moscow to be delivered to

the Crimean Khan, Russia demanded 'to hand over Shah Hussain Sayyid, the Kazan ambassador, who was known to reside in the Crimea at that time and who had sworn to the Grand Prince on behalf of all the Kazan people and broken his oath to declare Shig-Ali tsar after the death of Mahmet Amin.' [Malinovsky, l. 239]. However, the Crimean authorities did not hand the disgraced Sayyid over, who by 1523 had already got married in the Crimea. However, according to T. Gubin, the Russian envoy in the Crimean Khanate (1524), Shah Hussain Sayyid 'would not be allowed to return to Kazan' [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 26]—as a result of the violation of his oath a diplomat would find himself in an extremely difficult situation.

In 1546 Russian ambassadors returned to Moscow from Kazan together with Gammet Sheikh, the Kazan ambassador, who was to deliver a charter written by three Kazan noblemen—Buyurgan (Abeyurgan) Sayyid, Prince Kadysh, and Chura Narykov (the latter was also prince karacha beg and belonged to the Agryn clan). The charter stated the following: '... Sayyids, Ulans, Princes, Mirzas, Sheikhs, Shehzads, Dolyshmans, and Cossacks, and the entire Kazan state pay obeisance to the Tsar to fulfil their request... to appoint Shigalei the Kazan tsar, and to send an associate boyar to Kazan to make the Sayyid, Ulans, and Princes, and the entire Kazan land swear an oath to the tsar.' The Sayyid, on whose behalf this letter was written, was Buyurgan, who was to be made to swear the oath with the rest of the country's nobility. The Chronicles state the following: '...the Grand Prince sent Ostafy Andreev to Buyurgan Sayyid, Kadysh, and Chura... to inform them of his will and make them swear the oath.' 'The Sayyid, Ulans, Princes, Mirzas, and the entire Kazan state' swore an oath to the Russian ambassador 'never to betray the Grand Prince and Tsar Shigalei as long as they live.' 15 March 1546 Kazan ambassadors Prince Urazly and Hafiz (Afyz) Andrychey came to Moscow together with the Russian ambassador, who had accepted the oath of allegiance from Kazan. The ambassadors were instructed to 'pay obeisance' to the Tsar on behalf of 'the Sayyid, Ulans, Princes,

and the entire Kazan state' and to ask him to 'send Tsar Shigalei to Kazan without delay' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 148].

It is significant that the Sayyids always participated in choosing a Kazan Khan, which was often a matter of foreign policy [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 36]. The Sayyids' prominent role in foreign-policy matters is a legacy of the Golden Horde epoch from the period after it was Islamised (see [Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 72–73]). The Sayyids' role was also significant in the procedure of swearing oaths, (Russian *shertovaniye*, from *şartname*). An oath of allegiance to the pretender to the throne sent from Moscow or other capital was the most important oath in the Kazan Khanate. During the inauguration of Shah-Gali in Kazan in 1519 all the noblemen and all the 'public representatives' were therefore put under oath. The list of noblemen put under oath begins with Sayyid. In 1546, before Shah-Gali was sent back to Kazan from Moscow, 'the Sayyid, Ulans, Princes, murzas, and the entire Kazan state swore an oath to the Russian ambassadors' (see above). Only then was the pretender to the throne sent to Kazan, but, apparently, the procedure of 'administering oaths' did not take place in this case (due to the Khan's short stay in Kazan). In August 1551, when Khan Shah-Gali was enthroned in Kazan once again, the procedure of 'taking oaths' was duly carried out. At first, the oath was taken by the Kazan noblemen (the list begins with Mullah Kul Sharif and Sayyid (Kul) Muhammet), and 'the Tsar (that is, Khan Shah-Gali—*D. I.*)...stamped the oath papers with his seals, and the best people of Kazan swore on them.' Only then did 'the Kazan people over three days swear in their hundreds an oath to the Tsar... and they swore the same oaths as their rulers did.'

Contracts regarding the relationship between the Kazan Khanate and the Muscovite state were a different type of 'oath.' Sayyids again participated in their formulation. They were of two types: a) contracts for 'peace, brotherhood, and friendship'; b) a contract 'not to enthrone' in Kazan a 'tsar or tsarevich' without the Grand Prince of Moscow's consent. Some of the features of the first contract

(the version recognising a vassalage) can be learned from an charter by Khan Kuchum dated back to 1570, when the ruler of the Siberian Khanate sent a message to Moscow requesting for Ivan IV to recognise him 'as an elder brother.' The above document contains the outline of the relationship between the parties as seen by the Khan: 'If a man was one's father's enemy, so will he become one's son's enemy also; if a man was one's father's friend, so will he become one's son's friend as well; if one's father becomes friends with a man, can one's son be his enemy?' [Collection, 1819, p. 123]. [Collection, 1819, p. 123]. As was already mentioned, in 1507 Burash Sayyid arrived in Moscow on behalf of Khan Muhammet Amin 'to pay obeisance to the Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all Russia and ask him to establish peace, brotherhood, and friendship between their nations.' Negotiations on this issue had already previously been held, so Burash Sayyid's visit to Moscow as the Khan's ambassador should be regarded as the climax for the negotiations. Indeed, as a result of Burash Sayyid's efforts, 8 September 1508 Vasily Ivanovich 'established peace, brotherhood, and friendship with Tsar Muhammad Amin' and sent back his envoy, Sayyid, to Kazan accompanied by the Moscow ambassador. The fact that the latter returned to Moscow in January 1509, 'carrying the oath papers from Tsar Muhammad Amin, and the Tsar took an oath to establish peace and brotherhood as it had been before... with Ivan Vasilyevich' means that Burash Sayyid went to Moscow to prepare a draft contract.

The events of 1512 clearly prove that Kazan and Moscow drafted and agreed on contracts prior to their actual conclusion. That winter Shah Hussain Sayyid, the ambassador of Khan Muhammad Amin, came to Moscow with an offer 'to establish peace and friendship,' as mentioned above. As a result of his negotiations with the Grand Prince's boyars on 'the peace between Tsar Muhammad Amin and the Grand Prince,' the Sayyid wrote an 'oath paper' and 'swore an oath to the boyars that he would swear to Tsar Muhammad Amin in Kazan in the presence of the Grand Prince's ambassador that, according to the contract, the

tsar would serve the Grand Prince for his entire life.' As is evident, we are again talking about a draft contract. After agreeing on the content of the contract in Moscow, the Kazan ambassador left for Kazan together with the Russian ambassador, where Khan Muhammad Amin 'took an oath on the contract in the presence of the Grand Prince's ambassadors and sealed it with his *myashen*' [seal—*D. I.*].'

The second type of contract was signed in 1516, when Khan Muhammad Amin was gravely ill. Kazan ambassadors visited Moscow headed again by Shah Hussain Sayyid to inform the Grand Prince of the Khan's illness and ask, as mentioned above, 'to declare' Abdul Latif Khan promising that 'Tsar Muhammad Amin and the entire Kazan state would take any oath the Grand Prince desired and that they would not select a tsar or a tsarevich without the Grand Prince's consent.' As the Khan's ambassador, Shah Hussain Sayyid 'wrote with his own hand that the Tsar and the entire Kazan state would swear to the Grand Prince.' This was a draft contract because the Grand Prince of Muscovy sent his ambassadors together with the Sayyid to deliver the above 'document' in Kazan, and 'Tsar Muhammad Amin and the entire Kazan state swore allegiance to the Grand Prince on these documents' in the presence of the ambassadors [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 36–38].

The practice of drawing up draft contracts applies to other Tatar States of the same period. This is evident from the description of 'swearing an oath' to Moscow by the Siberian Prince Edigur Taibugid in 1555–1558 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, 1965, pp. 233, 251, 258; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 248, 276, 286] and Khan Kuchum in 1571 [Collection, 1819, pp. 63–65; Acts, 1841, p. 340], from the process of preparing the Astrakhan-Lithuanian agreement in 1540 [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 131], and from the information on Moscow-Crimea agreements of 1508, 1515–1518 [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 194, 317, 532; Malinovsky, p. 132 reverse], in which case Ivan III suggested that the Crimean Khan 'seal the draft contract with his nishans (seal ring with the khan's name) and scarlet

tamgas (red square seals) (our emphasis.—*D. I.*). The Crimean Khan also was required to 'swear an oath' on the above contract 'to rule together with his brother Tsarevich Ahmat, and his children Tsarevich Bagatyr, Tsarevich Alp, and with other his brothers and children, as well as Sayyids, Ulans, and Princes.' As follows from the procedure of preparing the contract in 1508, they 'took an oath' ('rota and pravda') on the Quran. Likewise, in 1670 after negotiations for peace in Moscow the Crimean envoys Safar Aga and Shahtemir Atalyk on the last page of the document recording the negotiations wrote their oath, which ended with the following words 'We swore on the Quran' (*Kuran üstünde şartqılduq*) [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 304]. It is also notable that the word 'rota' (oath) is sometimes used here in such collocations as 'to drink rota' or 'to drink shert,' which dates back to the custom of drinking each other's blood after taking an oath [Ibid., p. 481]. The above description of 'taking oaths' by the Kazan people in 1551 shows that Sayyids somehow blessed the procedure by being the first to take the oath. It is possible that in the Kazan Khanate the oath of allegiance was also taken on the Quran, although there is no direct indication of that in the available sources. In the Crimean Khanate there was a special 'Shertnaya Kniga' (Oath Book)—the Quran that was kissed by the Crimean Khan after taking a diplomatic oath [Ibid., p. 482]. The duration of the process of concluding a contract ('shert') between the Nogai Horde and the Muscovite state in 1557 [Trepavlov, 2001, pp. 611–614] also leads us to assume that a draft contract was drawn up. A similar situation can be seen in the process of preparing a contract between the Siberian Yurt and the Muscovite state in 1571. The draft contract brought to Moscow from the Siberian Khanate states the following: '...to approve this document, I, Tsar Kuchum, have stamped it with my seal, and the best Siberian people (possibly Karachibeks—*D. I.*) signed it.' Upon the completion of the negotiations in Moscow, Khan Kuchum's ambassador and his envoy made a promise: when Ivan IV's envoy 'comes to Tsar Kuchum's land,' 'Tsar Kuchum and his best people would swear and seal this oath and

the Tsar's and the Grand Princes' yarliqs, and Tsar Kuchum would rule... in accordance with the conditions of this oath.' Apparently, Khan Kuchum's representatives at first ratified the contract, which was then to be confirmed by the Tsar in the presence of a Russian envoy.

Naturally, the diplomatic correspondence and agreements of the Turkic-Tatar states were not limited to the relationship with the Muscovite state. For example, the oral tradition of the Siberian Tatars contains interesting information on the features of the investiture of the Supreme Sayyid in the Siberian Khanate—how the head of the Muslim clergy was selected in Bukhara during the reign of Khan Kuchum [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 53–61]. The letter of Kazan Khan Sahib Giray to Sigismund I, the King of Poland and Lithuania, which dates back to 1538–1545 (the exact date is unknown), and which was a matter of foreign policy, not only reflects the specific aspects of cooperation between the two states, but also the fact that Kazan's representatives were well aware of the diplomatic subtleties (the indication of Sigismund I's titles, recognition of the King's superiority over the Khan, etc.) [Mustafina, 1997, pp. 26–38]. Regular diplomatic contacts between the Great Horde's Khans, especially those of the Crimean Khanate with the Ottoman Empire are well known [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 76]. The Astrakhan Khanate also had direct contacts with the Ottoman Empire [Ibid. pp. 115–117]. In 1549–1551 there were similar connections between the Ottoman Empire and the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 2001, pp. 246–247]. Naturally, all this required a certain level of diplomatic culture.

The above data (needless to say that we have discussed here only some of the available sources) demonstrates that the Turkic-Tatar states of the Late Golden Horde period had a developed diplomatic culture. The words of Kul-Sharif (Hajitarhani), the last Supreme Sayyid of the Kazan Khanate, who had practical and theoretical knowledge of diplomacy, confirm this conclusion. He said the following of the diplomacy of his time: 'In accordance with the needs of the epoch, for the purpose of ensuring the wealth and well-being of the country, the peace, and security among the

people as well as ensuring peace in the world, the rulers of the beautiful city of Kazan feigned friendship and exchanged ambassadors and government officials.' Here he turns to a saying popular in mid 16th century Kazan: 'Do not associate with the bad.' Then he ends his observations with the following verse:

The tranquility of the world is based on the understanding of these two ideas:

To be loyal to your friends and feign indifference to your enemies [Sherifi, 1995, p. 87].

Seals. The official (state) seals, mentioned in the sources in almost all the states of the Late Golden Horde period, were another element of the public culture of the time. For example, when Khan Shah-Gali was enthroned in Kazan in 1551, 'oath charters' were drawn up and were 'stamped with the Khan's seals' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 169]. Apparently, what is meant here is state seals, one of which is preserved in an image on a *yarliq*, dated 1523 and which belonged to the Kazan Khan Sahib Giray—it is scarlet in colour [Vakhidov, 1925, p. 63], and another seal, a blue one, is preserved on a *yarliq* of the Kazan Khan Ibrahim dated 1479 [Usmanov, 1979, p. 34]. Both of them are square. Some Russian Chronicles mention a 'shert' (written oath) from the Siberian Prince Yadiger Taibugid that was made in 1558 and stamped with 'the Khan's seal' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 258; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, 1965, p. 258]. Another 'shert document' from Khan Kuchum (1571) contains the following entry: '... and to approve this document... I, Tsar Kuchum, have stamped it with my seal...' [Collection, 1819, p. 64]. A study by M. Usmanov confirms that in the Crimean Khanate there were similar seals of two shapes: seal rings (almond-shaped) and square-shaped ones, and the Khans' seals bore the Girays' coat of arms [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 140–166]. They are also mentioned in relation to the Moscow-Crimea negotiations dated 1515–1518 (cf. the phrase 'to seal with nishans and scarlet tamgas'). In the Crimea the square seals were called 'tamgas'. Since the 14th century, they also had another name—'nishans' (from the Persian *nishan* 'sign'). Apparently,

the word 'tamga' is connected to presence of the 'Tarak tamga,' the Giray family emblem, in the centre of the square seal since the reign of the Crimean Khan Haji Giray [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 321–323]. A similar square tamga (seal) belonged to Mahmut, the Khan of the Great Horde, who lived in the city of Astrakhan (1466) [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 144, 147]. In the Astrakhan Khanate, there were seals as well: when the Astrakhan Khan Abd ar-Rahman sent his 'great ambassador' to Moscow in 1540 to negotiate for 'friendship and brotherhood,' Ivan IV 'ordered the Tsar's calligrapher to draw up a charter of friendship,' and then after the Khan's ambassadors 'swore on this charter,' the Khan was to 'swear on the charter and seal it with his seals (our emphasis.—D. I.)' [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 131]. According to D. Kolodziejczyk, the square seals in the Crimea were 'gold' (*altun*), 'blue' (*kyk*), and 'scarlet' (*al*) in colour. The first two of the above seals were more prestigious, so in 1563 Ivan IV forbade his ambassadors to accept documents sealed with a 'scarlet nishan' [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 326]. Signature seals (seal rings) were probably more personal. However, they can sometimes be found in official letters. For example, a letter from the Crimean Khan Saadet Giray to Krakow dated 1523 mentions a 'perstennyi nisan' (ring seal) [Ibid., p. 327]. The Crimean-Polish agreement dated 1667 bears the seal of *qalğa* and two seals of Giray Sultans [Ibid., p. 311]. Another type of seal mentioned in the documents of the Crimean Khanate from the 17th century were hanging seals or 'baysa' (from the Mongolian *paitsza*). They appear in documents sent to Moscow and take the form of a gold-plated silver seal attached to the document with a silver cord. For example, a Crimean document dated 1624 was certified in the following way: '*altun baysalu mühürümüzni salduq*' [Ibid., pp. 337, 341]. A legacy of the Jochid tradition, these seals were an element of the state power in terms of their content (titles, the owner's name, coat of arms) and were used for the state certification of official documents [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 152–182]. Since the Crimean Khanate outlived other Turkic-Tatar states, it was subject to certain innovations. For example, clearly influenced

by the Ottoman tradition, at the turn of the 17th century Crimean Khans started sealing their documents with a sultanic tugra. This mark replaced the initial phrase 'sozüm' (my word) in yarliqs, which had existed since the epoch of the Golden Horde. Indeed, the phrase 'sozüm' can still be observed in the Crimean yarliqs (both original and translated) of the first half of the 16th century: 'The word of Mendli Giray, the Great Tsar of the Great Horde' (1507), 'Ulu Ordanung ulu Hanı Deştı Qıpcaq barça Mogul padişahı Muhamad Kerey han sözüm' [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 343, 345].

Attributes of the state power. According to Russian diplomatic documents, while receiving Jerome Bowes, the British ambassador (1583–1584), Ivan IV, the Tsar of Muscovite state was sitting 'with three crowns at his side: the crowns of Moscow, Kazan, and Astrakhan' [Readings, 1885, p. 98]. I. Zaitsev suggests that the latter was 'taken as a trophy during the conquest of Astrakhan or made by Russian jewellers in connection to the annexation of the city' [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 182]. The first suggestion seems to be more likely. The fact is that the Kazan chronicle contains some interesting information about 'the crown of Kazan' regarding the time when after the conquest of the city the Khan's treasures were divided among the conquerors. Here is the full description: '[Ivan IV]... ordered to be taken to his chambers... his chosen arms... and the Tsar's belongings... And the Tsar's treasures that were captured in Kazan, the *Tsar's crown* (our emphasis.—*D. I.*), and his warder, and the Kazan Tsars' banner, as well as other Tsar's equipment were handed to our righteous Tsar from God' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 1903, p. 467]. As seen from the Chronicle, the Russians not only came into possession of the Khan's crown but also other state symbols (the warder, the banner, and some other attributes of the Khan's power—'other tsar instruments'). It cannot be excluded that 'the Siberian Crown' possessed by Russian Tsars also used to belong to the Siberian Khanate. The fact that the crowns of Kazan and Astrakhan are connected to the titles of Muscovy monarchs, 'the Tsar of Kazan' and 'the Tsar of Ansrakhan,' also indirectly evidences this. Meanwhile, Boris Go-

dunov's title 'the Tsar of Siberia' [Uspensky, 2000, pp. 49–50, 96] or 'the Sovereign of the Whole Siberian Land and the Northern State' [Collection, 1819, p. 132] is the direct equivalent of those titles. Further study reveals that Ivan IV had already had the last part of the above title (this can be seen from a charter sent to Vilno (modern Vilnius) on 22 July 1555, see [Iskhakov, 2009v, p. 86]), which clearly came into existence after the Siberian Prince Yadiger Taibugid established vassal relations with Moscow. Meanwhile, the concept of 'the Tsar of Siberia,' as well as other similar terms, first appeared in Boris Godunov's title in connection with the final conquest of the Siberian Khanate in the 16th century. The 'Siberian Crown' could have been captured by the Russian troops at that very time (see [Faiz-rakhmanov, 2002, p. 145]).

This leads us to the conclusion that the Tatar states of the Late Golden Horde period had certain state symbols, and this is conformed by Crimean sources. According to Smirnov, the Crimean archive contains a document called the Genealogy of al-Genghis—the Descendants of Giray Khans and Sultans, Who Reigned in the Kipchak Steppes of the Crimean Khanate that includes comments on the power attributes ascribed to Chinggis Khan, but that are in this case rather characteristic of Girays: Chinggis Khan was wearing 'a Moghul khan crown with a green top, decorated with a white shawl with gold and pearls; the crown also had its front decorated with a spoonbill feather, precious stones, and pearl pendants'; then it goes on to describe the 'throne, covered with a luxury multicolour oriental carpet, with banners, timbals, drums, tambourines, bows and arrows, zischagges, and brigandines lying to the left of the throne'; and finally, that 'on the right side of the throne, on blue cushions, lay the law, and on the left side, Tarak (that is, Giray tamga.—*D. I.*), which was a part of the symbolic tamga or coat of arms' [Smirnov, 1887, pp. 329–331]. Some of these items were related to the Ottoman protectorate: in accordance with the Tarikhi of Muhammed Giray, during the inauguration of Crimean Khan Mengli Giray the Ottoman Sultan presented him with 'a banner, a drum, and a kettle drum'

[Ibid., p. 297]. Apparently, they were the symbols of power.

As to the throne mentioned in the Genealogy, they probably existed in other Tatar Khanates as well. Qadir Ali Bek, the author of the *Compendium of Chronicles*, implies there was one in the Kasimov Khanate. In his story about 'Uraz Muhammet being lifted by four karacha begs on a 'golden koshma' (kind of rug) in 1600, he provides an image of a 'throne' (*tähet*) in the shape of a rectangle [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 403]. However, the koshma itself could be called 'throne' here, but the very presence of the term '*tähet*' (throne) is still very significant. And the Kazan Chronicler mentions that when Kazan was captured by the Russians, Khan Edigur Muhammet was sitting 'on the ground, on a carpet' rather than on the common 'tsar's golden place' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 1903, p. 163]—it seems that a throne or a throne seat is meant in the latter case.

Court ceremonies and etiquette. There is a description of the ceremony of the inauguration of Sultan Uraz Muhammet, which took place in the city of Kasimov in 1600 in the presence of four princes from the clans of Arghyn, Kipchak, Jalair, and Manghit in Kasimov as well. It was described by Qadir Ali, one of the karacha begs, in his '*Compendium of Chronicles*' that contains the following note: 'previously Kipchaks and Arghyns would sit to the Khan's right, and representatives of Shirin and Baryn tribes, to the left' [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 193, 195]. 200 common people—apparently, ordinary Cossacks—attended the ceremony alongside the 'Kerman begs and murzas.' The description of the ceremony states the following: '...they brought and spread out a golden koshma ...Bulyak Sayyid began to read a khotba (a prayer for the love and health of the Khan). Then four people (karacha begs.—*D. I.*), holding the four ends of the golden koshma, lifted the Khan on it... all the Muslims...filled the Mosque with joyful cheering. After that Karachis, Atalyks, and Imildashes showered the Khan with money, and all the guests congratulated the Khan' [Berezin, 1851, pp. 543–554; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864 pp. 402–405]. As is evident,

the reading of khotba was a part of this ceremony. Apparently, this was a common practice; for example, a solemn prayer was read in honour of a newly elected Bey in the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 566]. The fact that Sayyids Kul Muhammet and Kar Said were also present at the ceremony alongside Sultans and Oglans—that is, tribe rulers—who in 1429 proclaimed Shibanid Abul Khayr a khan, also suggests that there was a similar prayer in honour of the Khan. Another type of khotba appeared in the Crimean Khanate in the late 16th century: Khan Islam II Giray introduced a custom according to which the Friday khotba was preceded with the name of the Turkish Sultan [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 106].

Swearing an oath on the Quran (*shert*) while signing contracts was another characteristic trait of the Turkic-Tatar societies of the 15–16th centuries. Apart from the Crimean Khanate, a similar ceremony existed in the Nogai Horde, where the Nogai murzas 'would sing prayers in a tent' when taking a *shert* [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 566]. We can assume that the same was true for the relationship between the Siberian Yurt under the reign of Khan Kuchum and the Muscovite state, which is evidenced by the draft contract concluded between the Khan and Ivan IV in 1571. From this document it is clear that Khan Kuchum sent an ambassador and an envoy to Moscow, who 'took a binding oath (*rota* and *shert*) on the... document' to Ivan IV. It is also indicated that the Khan's ambassador and envoy first 'took an oath (*shert*) for their sovereign and Tsar Kuchum, and all his best people, and the entire Siberian state...' [Collection, 1819, pp. 64–65]. This (binding) '*rota*' is an oath that was probably sworn on the Quran.

The special treatment of Sayyids in Tatar states noted in the sources is also indicative of the etiquette and ceremonies of the time. In particular, when describing the welcoming ceremony in 1524 for Sultan Safa Giray by Kazan noblemen near the city of Kazan, S. Herberstein says that the event was arranged with 'pomp and honour because this suite (of Kazan princes.—*D. I.*) included the Sayyid, the Tatar High Priest. The author goes on to say that a Sayyid 'enjoys so much power and

respect that even tsars go out to meet him as he approaches and, standing, offer their hand to him. He sits on his horse, and they bow their heads and touch [his hand]: this is only permitted for tsars, whereas dukes do not touch his hand but his knees, noblemen, his feet, and common people, only his dress or horses' [Herberstein, 1988, p. 176]. That this is authentic information as opposed to a European invention is confirmed by the data associated with the Siberian Khanate. A text dating back to the end of the 16th century tells of real events recorded from the mouths of the Ambassadors of Bukhara, who describe a meeting of Khan Kuchum with a group headed by Yarim Sayyid that had come at his invitation to the Isker Yurt from the Bukhara Khanate [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 55]. It is noted that when Khan Kuchum was informed about arrival of priests, he and his *nökürs* (personal bodyguards) crossed the River Irtysh to greet the guests.

The particular treatment to Sayyids in the Tatar states of the Late Golden Horde is evident from their titles, preserved in sources from various khanates: '*näküybel äshraf*' or '*sudat gızam*,' '*sadati gozam*' ('the Great Ruler,' 'his Majesty the Great Teacher') which have in Russian and European sources been rendered as 'the Great Bishop,' 'the Great Anar, Abo Amir,' 'the High-Priest,' and 'the Arch Priest' [Ibid].

Noblemen would sit in a particular arrangement at receptions in the courts of the rulers of the Turkic-Tatar States. The Russian ambassador V. Shadrin, who attended a reception of the Crimean Khan in 1518, said: '... here beside him [the Khan—*D. I.*] sat Agysh Prince, Azika Prince, Mansyr Sayyid, and Apak; and on the other side (our emphasis. —*D. I.*) sat Khalil Prince, Mamysh Ulan, Mamysh Checheut, Abu-la Ulan, Yapancha Prince, and Memeshev murza' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 500]. If we bear in mind that the list of noblemen included *karcha* begs (Agysh of the Shirin clan, Azika of the Manghits, Mamysh of the Saldzhiguts, and Khalil probably of the Kipchak clan), their location on opposite sides of the Khan should be regarded as a traditional element of the court ceremonies. We have already provided data on

the Kasimov Khanate, where the representatives of the Kipchak and Arghyn clans were located 'on the right hand' of the Khan, and those from the Shirin and Baryn clans, 'on the left hand.' The court ceremonies in the State of Shibanids during the reign of Shaibani Khan is described in '*Mihman—Name-yi Bukhara*' (1509). Regarding an 'August meeting' in the countryside of Kang-i Hil near the city of Samarkand, Fazlallah b. Ruzbikhan, it is told that while arranging the seats in the *iwan* of the Kanigilsky court, 'Ulems sat on the right side, and Sultans were sat on the left side... The great Emirs and the respected noble *murzas* in the August circle *took their seats according to their ranks and titles*' (our emphasis.—*D. I.*) [Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhan Isfahani, 1976, p. 153].

Some elements of the welcoming ceremony for ambassadors in the Nogai Horde have been preserved in Nogai written affairs. In particular, Russian ambassadors complained that they 'were asked to pay a duty to tax collectors of the three Hordes and to the doorkeepers' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1791, p. 238]. Sometimes the ambassadors considered this as a 'will' given by the Nogai Prince to the 'Karachi... to rob by tax duties' [Ibid., p. 239]. However, we are dealing here with what is in fact an ancient tradition, according to which '12 Princes in the Horde (Nogai Horde.—*D. I.*)' were required to 'charge any ambassador the sum of a fur coat and an *odnoryadka* (cloak)' [Continuation of Ancient Russian Vivliofika, 1793, pp. 264–265]. The tradition of giving gifts to the 12 ruling Aqs and leading Beys and Mirzas was then established in the first quarter of the 17th century in the Crimean Khanate [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 136]. However, it is possible that it had existed there before. V. Trepavlov notes that the ambassadors were instructed by the Ambassadorial Order in Moscow not to succumb to 'dishonest' customs, including payment of the 'staff duties': the guards at the entrance to the Bey's tent in the Nogai Horde would sometimes throw a '*batog*' (staff), and one had to pay a tax in order to step over it [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 605]. In fact, the above examples are connected with this custom, which

actually was a part of the greeting ceremony for ambassadors in the Nogai Horde. Similar customs apparently existed in parallel Tatar states. In any case, some Moscow-Crimean agreements dated 1513, 1525, and 1531 attest that when the Moscow ambassador arrived in the Crimea he would go directly to the Khan where 'there shall be no daragas, nor daraga duty collectors, nor the other collectors, and no force, attacks, looting, or deceit' [Notes, 1863, pp. 406, 417, 419]. This old formula has been known from Crimean documents since 1474: '...the ambassador shall go directly to me (the Khan.—*D. I.*), there shall be no daraga duty collectors or other collectors' [Collection, 1894, p. 1]. We can assume that we

are dealing here with the transformation of elements of the court welcoming ceremony for ambassadors, including for representatives of the vassal territories that had been preserved since the period of the Golden Horde. For example, ambassadors in the Crimean Khanate gave presents to noblemen at their reception, who saw them as a tribute from the vassals. On the other hand, the Khan gifted honourable clothes to the ambassadors that actually emphasised the Khan's sovereignty over the rulers of these envoys [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 481]. Of course, in the period under review all these elements were already a part of the state culture in Turkic-Tatar societies of the 15–16th centuries.

§ 2. Legal Culture of the Turkic-Tatar States in the 15–18th Centuries

Roman Pochekaev

Legal culture refers to the general state of the 'legal milieu' in a society—its laws, court and judicial system, law enforcement bodies, the legal awareness of the country's population as a whole, the level of legal values and their implementation in practice [Alekseev, 1999, p. 51]. Special attention is paid here to texts that reflect the legal reality, as well as their creation, storage, and translation [Polyakov, 2004, p. 469]. When classifying legal cultures, the researchers have good reason to speak about an oriental version of legal culture, distinguishing between the Muslim, Indian, Far Eastern (Chinese and Japanese), and African varieties [David, Joffre-Spinosi, 2003, p. 308].

The lack of a legal culture among Turkic and Mongol nomadic peoples in the main historical and legal classifications is apparently due to insufficient knowledge. However, studies that focus on the legal system of Eurasian nomadic peoples indicate that they had a remarkable and at the same time highly developed legal culture. The most developed judicial cultures were those of the powerful 'steppe empires'—the empire of Chinggis Khan and his successors, the Yuan Empire in China, Ilkhanate in Iran, and also the Golden Horde. The Chinggisids compensated for

the lack of principles and norms regulating certain types of legal relations not inherent to nomadic societies by incorporating the norms of the settled states into its imperial law, primarily those of China and the Islamic world.

Thus, the legal practice (and respectively, the legal culture) of the Mongol Empire and its successor states that were of the Empire type was a unique combination of a number of judicial sources within a single legal system: 1) the norms of imperial law (as a result of the laws enacted by the rulers); 2) common law of nomadic tribes and settled peoples (including adats of Muslim subject Chinggisids); 3) religious law (Sharia law in the Islamic world and Buddhist canons in China, Mongolia, Tibet); 4) the law of foreign peoples and states with which the Mongol Empire and its successors were constantly interacting. Such a complex but balanced combination of seemingly different sources of law formed the legal basis for the existence of the Golden Horde, which was characterised by the highest developed legal culture of that time.

However, as a result of the collapse of the 'steppe empires,' including the Golden Horde, the material component maintaining

the level of the legal culture fell, and the single state with a complex but balanced legal system was replaced by a number of states—actually Turkic-Tatar states—with laws and legal cultures at wholly different levels of development. This is most evidenced by the fact that what had been elements of a unified legal system were now independent legal systems in the various Turkic-Tatar states—states that had previously coexisted within a single governing entity. Therefore, when describing the legal culture of Turkic-Tatar states of the 15–18th centuries, one should take into account the parallel co-existence within these independent legal systems (and cultures) of the imperial legal heritage of the State of Chinggis Khan and the Golden Horde, the common law of nomadic and settled peoples inhabiting these countries, and religious law (Sharia). In the Golden Horde the competition of such different legal systems was controlled by a strong central power that was primarily interested in protecting its own interests with the help of any potential legal principle and norms coming from a variety of sources. However, this mishmash of origins, without the controlling hand of the central power (which was weakened as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde), was made manifest in the Turkic-Tatar states that replaced the Golden Horde. One of the peculiarities of the legal development of the descendants of the Golden Horde was the fact that they chose different paths. Some of the entities that developed in regions, which had already adhered to Muslim traditions for a long time (even before the Mongol conquest), became states in which Sharia law predominated. These were the Kazan, Crimean, and Astrakhan khanates. Others, which mostly represented nomadic state formations, began to base their legal system upon the rules of traditional law. The state of the Shibanids, the Nogai Horde, and the Siberian Khanate belonged to this group [Pochekayev, 2009b, p. 43]¹. However, whatever system of law

dominated in each of these states, all three major legal systems (the imperial, the customary/unofficial, and Sharia) were to some extent practiced in each of them. Besides, if in some cases the norms of one system substituted or supplanted the norms of the other, in others they were complementary or interchangeable.

The coexistence of the above legal systems in the Turkic-Tatar states of the 15–18th centuries allows us to regard them as the rightful heirs of the national identity and laws of the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde and relate them to the same unique manifestation of Turkic-Mongol nomadic legal culture.

The historiography and sources of the legal culture of the Turkic-Tatar states of the 15–18th centuries. Researchers have repeatedly addressed aspects of the history of government and law in the Turkic-Tatar khanates. Moreover, the majority of scholars have focused on the history of a particular state (which is quite logical), while only rare works have suggested a synthesis and comparative analysis of the political and legal aspects of the history of Turkic-Tatar states (see, for example, [Zaitsev, 2004a; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007; Iskhakov, 2009c]). We should also note the fundamental research of M. Usmanov on the diplomacy of the Turkic-Tatar states of the 14–16th centuries [Usmanov, 1979] and the original research by D. Iskhakov on the role of the supreme Muslim clergy (first of all, of the sayyids) in the post-Horde states [Iskhakov, 1997a]. A short article by T. Beysembiyev on the political and legal ideology of post-imperial Chinggisid states and its perception in neighbouring countries is also of particular interest [Beysembiyev, 1991].

Among the most important researches focusing on the politico-legal development of the Crimean khanate, we note the works of V. Smirnov [Smirnov, 2005; Smirnov, 2005a], A. Khoroshkevich [Khoroshkevich, 2001], O. Gayvoronovsky [Gayvoronovsky, 2007; Gayvoronovsky, 2009], as well as a series

¹ In the present work we do not examine the law culture of the so-called Great Horde, as we share the opinion of authors (U. Shamiloglu, for instance) who consider this state to be the late Golden Horde. There-

fore, its law culture shares the same aspects as the Golden Horde's one.

of works by the French scholars Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejey and A. Bennigsen; T. Gök-bilgin, G. Weinstein, etc. [Eastern Europe, 2009]. This research is primarily dedicated to the political history of the Crimean khanate; however, their authors often devote special attention to a range of legal issues and thoroughly analyse the written sources of the law (see below). Further on, certain legal issues are addressed in research on the history of Crimean-Moscow relations [Sanin, 1987; Novoselsky, 1994, et al.], Crimean-Turkish relations (see for instance [Oreshkova, 1990] and in works on the history of the development of Islam in the Crimean khanate [Boytsova, 2004]). The following examples of research are dedicated solely to the legal aspects of the history of the Crimean khanate: F. Lashkov's research on tenure in the Crimea [Lashkov, 1894–1896], F. Ametka describes the development of state, law, and justice in the Crimean khanate [Ametka, 2003; Ametka, 2004]; the interrelation of Sharia and customary law in the Crimean khanate in the second half of the 17th century is briefly addressed in the article by R. Pochekeyev [Pochekeyev, 2009c]. Moreover, there is a range of works on source studies which describe and analyse the Crimean written sources on the law or documents of legal significance. Those include the research of M. Berezhkov, F. Lashkov, O. Aqçoqraqlı, I. Zaitsev (see, for instance, [Berezhkov, 1894; Berezhkov, 1894a; Lashkov, 1889; Lashkov, 1890–1891; Aqçoqraqlı, 1931; Zaitsev, 2009a]).

The politico-legal aspects of the history of the Kazan khanate are covered in the monographs of M. Khudyakov, Sh. Muhamedyarov, D. Iskhakov, A. Bakhtin [Khudyakov, 1996; 1996 Muhamedyarov, 1950; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005, Bakhtin, 2008]. A number of legal issues are touched on in the works of Sh. Muhamedyarov (land relations), D. Iskhakov (the role of the Muslim clergy in the politico-legal life of society), V. Trepavlov (the establishment of legal relations with other post-Horde states) [Muhamedyarov, 1958; Iskhakov, 1997a; Trepavlov, 2007].

The history of the Nogai Horde is explicitly covered in the fundamental research of V. Trepavlov, who pays considerable attention to the political life and legal relations in this state [Trepavlov, 2001]. Besides V. Trepavlov, who is also the author of multiple works on the Nogai Horde history, separate aspects of the politico-legal history of the Nogai Horde were also addressed by other authors. Thus, the works of Ye. Ponozenko cover issues of the administrative structure, justice, and lawsuits among Nogais [Ponozenko, 1976; Ponozenko, 1977]. The research of B. Viktorin observes the role of customary law in the life of the Nogais as well as peculiarities of the administrative structure in the Nogai Horde [Viktorin, 1985; Viktorin, 1991; Viktorin, 1999].

As far as we know, there is no research dedicated to the politico-legal structure in the Kasimov Khanate. Certain aspects of governmental structure and legal development are described in general works on the history of the Kasimov Khanate by V. Velyaminov-Zernov, A. Bakhtin, S. Acar, B. Rakhimzyanov [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863–1868; Bakhtin, 2008; Acar, 2008; Rakhimzyanov, 2009]. The role of the Muslim clergy in legislative activity and political decision making in the Kasimov khanate is addressed by D. Iskhakov [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 12–14].

The politico-legal history of the Siberian Khanate is represented in the works of a number of contemporary researchers. General questions on the politico-legal structure are reflected in the work of D. Iskhakov [Iskhakov, 2006]. An analysis of legal documents (the letters of Tyumen and Siberian rulers) is provided by A. Nesterov and A. Bustanov [Nesterov, 2004; Bustanov, 2007]. D. Maslyuzhenko investigates issues of the monarchic status and co-regency in the Tyumen Yurt/Siberian Khanate [Maslyuzhenko, 2007; Maslyuzhenko, 2009]. The works of D. Iskhakov and Z. Tychinskikh address the problems of the administrative, political and territorial structures of the Siberian Khanate in the 16–17th centuries as well as the status of its beklyaribeks [Iskhakov, 2008; Tychinskikh, 2009; Tychinskikh, 2009a].

The politico-legal aspects of the Shibaniids' state (also known in history as 'the state of nomadic Uzbeks') are discussed only in general works related to the history of this state [Akhmedov, 1965, pp. 71–108; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, pp. 259–262; Maslyuzhenko, 2008, pp. 72–90; Iskhakov, 2009c, pp. 74–77]. To our knowledge, there is no research on the problems of state and law in the Shibaniid yurt.

As for the Astrakhan Khanate, historiography hardly covers the governmental and legal aspects of its history. Some issues are described in the seminal study by I. Zaitsev [Zaitsev, 2004]. The influence of the Muslim clergy on the politico-legal life of the khanate is examined by D. Iskhakov [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 64–68].

Undoubtedly, these significant differences in the number, volume, level, and focus of the studies of various Turkic-Tatar states are explained by the condition of the extant written monuments on law of each of the states.

The majority of sources are on the topics of state and law (and, consequently, legal culture) of the Crimean khanate. Moreover, many of them are published and even translated into Russian. One of the most highly-valued sources on the history of the formation of the state and legal system in the Crimean Khanate is undoubtedly that of the *yarliqs* of the Crimean khans. The most significant publications and detailed research on their *yarliqs* were carried out by V. Grigoriev and Ya. Yartsov [Grigoriev, Yartsov, 1844; Yartsov, 1848], I. Berezin [Berezin, 1872], Z. Firkovich [Firkovich, 1890], F. Lashkov [Lashkov, 1895b], V. Smirnov [Smirnov, 1913; Smirnov, 1917], S. Malov [Malov, 1953], A. Bennigsen [Bennigsen, 1978]. Another equally important source is that of documents on diplomatic relations between the Polish-Lithuanian state, Russia and the Crimean Khanate: ambassadorial books, state reports of ambassadors, and the letters of the Crimean khans. Among the most important publications are the works of N. Obolensky [Obolensky, 1838], N. Murzakevich [State report, 1850], V. Velyaminov-Zernov [Velyaminov-Zernov, 2010], V. Smirnov [Smirnov,

1881], G. Karpov [Monuments, 1884; Monuments, 1895], F. Lashkov [Lashkov, 1891; Lashkov, 1892], A. Markevich [Markevich, 1895–1896], A. Sergeev [Sergeev, 1913], B. Florya [Florya, 2001], S. Faizov [Faizov, 2003], I. Mustakimov [Documents, 2008]. Kazasker books (*sakki*) can be seen as specific but still extremely important sources on the history of legal culture in the Crimean Khanate. The most significant publications in this field are those of M. Biyarlanov [Biyarlanov, 1889–1890] and F. Lashkov [Lashkov, 1896a].

There are far fewer legal monuments that survived on the Kazan Khanate. These include, first of all, a small number of *khan yarliqs* and messages, which were published and accompanied by studies done at various times by S. Vakhidov [Vakhidov, 1925a], M. Usmanov, Sh. Muhamedyarov and R. Stepanov [Gosmanov, 1965; Muhamedyarov, 1967], I. Vášáry [Vášáry, Muhamedyarov, 1987], D. Mustafina [Mustafina, 1997], S. Alishev [Alishev, 2001]. Moreover, references to the acts of the Kazan khanate are found in a number of later documents (at the end of the 16–18th centuries)—affirmative certificates of Russian rulers which were already issued when the Kazan khanate constituted a part of Russia (see, for example, [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864a]).

A considerable variety of documents survived on the Nogai Horde owing to the extant ambassadorial books that shed light on the relations between it and the Muscovite state. They contain a weighty number of official acts (messages) written by Nogai beys and *murzas* as well as letters addressed to them and the '*yarliqs*' of Moscow rulers. The history of the publication of these sources begins at the end of the 18th century. The most significant publications of ambassadorial books about Russia-Nogai Horde relations were carried out by N. Novikov [Novikov, 1791–1801], G. Karpov [Monuments, 1884], M. Lukichev, N. Rogozhing, B. Keldasov, Ye. Lykova [Ambassadorial book, 1984; Ambassadorial book, 1984; Ambassadorial books, 1995], V. Trepavlov, and D. Mustafina [Ambassadorial book, 2003; Ambassadorial books, 2006].

A special situation occurred with the legal monuments of the Kasimov Khanate. Neither legal nor any other official documents have survived to the present day. However, there is a series of contractual letters of Moscow rulers touching upon the question of the legal status of the Kasimov Khanate, as well as other acts of the Muscovite state. These were published by V. Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863–1868], L. Cherepnin [Spiritual, 1950], A. Antonov [Antonov, 2001], et al. Important politico-legal data is found in 'The Collection of Chronicles' by Qadir Ali-bey Jalairi, which was compiled at the court of Kasimov khan Uraz Muhammad [Library, 1854].

The Tyumen and Siberian Khanates left behind only a few written monuments. Only a few diplomatic documents were preserved to the present day. Among them are charters of the Tyumen/Siberian khans of the 15–16th centuries, which were erroneously named yarliqs, as well as letters from Moscow rulers to Siberian monarchs. These sources were repeatedly published and quoted in different theme-based collections of works and studies (see, for instance, [Collection, 1819; Nebolsin, 1849; Ambassadorial book, 1984; Ambassadorial books, 1995; Atlasi, 2005; Iskhakov, 2006]. Additional information on the politico-legal aspects of the Siberian Khanate is found in charters of the Moscow tsars of the 16–17th centuries, which are published as the appendix to the seminal work of G. Miller [Miller, 1999; Miller, 1941; Miller, 2005], as well as in documents on the history of Russian-Mongolian relations in the middle of the 17th century [Russian-Mongolian, 1996].

Legal acts of the state of Shibanids are almost non-existent or have yet to be discovered. We can only make general conclusions regarding the politico-legal development of the state if we consider narrative sources (see [Ahmedov, 1965, pp. 71–108; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, pp. 259–262; Iskhakov, 2009c, pp. 74–77]).

A similar situation is observed in respect of the Astrakhan Khanate: thus far only one official document of this state has been found—the message of the Astrakhan khan

(whose name was also restored based on this act!) to the Turkish sultan [Documents, 2008, pp. 65–68]. Meanwhile, researchers have drawn general conclusions about the politico-legal structure either based on narrative sources or indirect acts (see [Zaitsev, 2004]).

As a result, most research on the legal culture of the Turkic-Tatar states analyses fundamental sources on the history of the state and law (legal monuments) and reconstructs the administrative structure of these states based on these sources. Thus, attention primarily is paid to political and state components rather than to legal issues. The legal aspect is touched on to a lesser extent. In addition, researchers understandably describe the Muslim (sharia) aspect of Turkic-Tatar legal culture in a detailed way. They also note the peculiarities of 'national Islam' in each of the states under consideration as well as certain aspects of customary law.

However, the evolution of the principles and norms of imperial ('Chinggisid') law in Turkic-Tatar khanates of the 15–18th centuries has yet to be the focus of deep research, although the existence of this very system allows us to regard these states as the direct and immediate descendants of the Golden Horde and its legal traditions. Correspondingly, in Turkic-Tatar states the co-existence of several legal systems within one single government formation, which we have outlined as the main characteristic and peculiarity of their legal culture, has also yet to be sufficiently investigated¹.

The imperial legal heritage of the Turkic-Tatar khanates. The very fact that the Turkic-Tatar states were political heirs of the Golden Horde as well as the fact that most of them (except for the Nogai Horde) were ruled by the descendants of Chinggis Khan and the Golden Horde stipulated the use of

¹ The only research that in a fairly detailed way describes the influence of the Golden Horde's legal traditions on legislation in the Crimean Khanate belongs to F. Lashkov [Lashkov, 1894; 1895; 1895a; 1896], but the author limited himself mostly to questions of land/legal relations. In addition, today many of his conclusions require revision based on the latest research and newly discovered sources.

sources, principles, and concrete norms of the imperial law in these states.

First, this is due to the retention of the very institution of khan power. Besides, Chinggis Khan's descendants preserved the monopoly on this title in all Turkic-Tatar states throughout the period under consideration (see [Beysembiyev, 1991, p. 27]). However, the rulers of the Nogai Horde—Edigu's heirs—and the Siberian Taibugids were the exception. But they would also enthrone puppet kings during different periods of time. It is not a mere coincidence that Russian chronicles repeatedly refer to the title 'Nogai khan' (see, for example, [Sabitov, 2009]). Monarchs of the post-Horde states would emphasise their succession from Chinggis Khan in official acts. One of the brightest examples of how the 'charisma' of the Chinggisid dynasty continued to be the source of supreme power is the fact that khan yarliqs in the 16–17th centuries would appeal to Tengri—the ancient Turkic deity which, according to the official imperial ideology, bestowed power upon Chinggis Khan and his heirs. It is noteworthy that the Crimean khans of the middle of the 17th century, Muhammad Giray I and Islam Giray III (who were Muslims and, according to some data, even claimed the title of khalif—the ruler of all the righteous), appealed to both Tengri and Allah in their messages [Faizov, 2003, pp. 80, 87, 115, 123, 135, 142, see also Boytsova, 2004, pp. 87–88]¹.

Having inherited the charisma of Chinggis Khan from their direct predecessors—Jochid khans of the Golden Horde—the monarchs of the Turkic-Tatar states also inherited their prerogatives in various spheres. First, this pertained to their legislative activity, which was reflected in the issuing of orders—that is, khan yarliqs.

Some kinds of yarliqs disappeared as they were simply not required any longer. For instance, the functions of yarliq orders, which had existed in the Golden Horde and other Chinggisid states in the 13–15th centuries, were gradually subsumed by sharia legislation in the Crimean Khanate. Thus, the basis of law in the Crimea constituted sharia norms, judicial decisions were made by kadis and were recorded in special books—the *Kazasker sakki* [Biyarslanov, 1889–1890].

Moreover, khans in Turkic-Tatar states lost their monopoly regarding the issuing of yarliqs. Thus, a Turkish author of the 17th century, Hussein Hezarfenn, notes that not only the Crimean khans but also their heirs and coregents—Kalga-sultan and Nuraddin-sultan—had the right to issue and grant yarliqs [Oreshkova, 1990, p. 266]. Indeed, a number of yarliqs issued by both khans and persons who bore the sultan title have been preserved, for instance, orders by Muhammad Giray-sultan, Adil Giray-sultan, Fatih Giray-sultan, and even one khan daughter—Mehri-sultan-hanyke. Such orders were called tarkhan yarliqs or soyurgal yarliqs—that is, deeds of gift [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 21, 36, 43–45, 53, 55]. V. Smirnov informs us of a curious document from the legal perspective—a charter (yarliq?) of Baht Giray-sultan sealed by the stamp of his father, Bahadur Giray Khan [Smirnov, 2005, p. 380]! Moreover, Russian archives contain sources indicating that even Nogai beys who were not Chinggisids also issued 'ierlyks' (see [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 523]). In 1549, after the death of Safa Giray, a quriltai was held in Kazan. At that quriltai the participants (beklyaribek prince Mamai, ulans, mullahs, khafizes, princes, centurions and decurions) adopted and signed a document that was sent to the Crimean khan Sahib Giray. This document was called a yarliq which, in our opinion, is evidence that the quriltai of 1549 took upon himself the functions of the supreme government with the right to issue proper acts before the new khan ascended to the throne (this very document contains a request to send the new monarch to Kazan) (see [Iskhakov, 2010, p. 140]).

¹ This tradition also takes root in the Golden Horde, where many khans continued to address Tengri in many of their yarliqs and tablets even after the adoption of Islam (see, for example: [Banzarov, 1850, pp. 8, 17]), which did not evidence the fact that they were 'bad Muslims', although it is indicative that apart from the Islamic factors that helped to justify their power, they also continued to use imperial factors of legitimization which had existed since pre-Islamic times.

Granted charters could be granted both to individuals and to entire settlements, as was the case during the days of the Golden Horde [Vásáry, 1982]. They could also be granted to persons belonging to certain confessions, for instance, we know that Crimean khans issued *yarliqs* to the Karaites [Firkovich, 1890, pp. 55–105]. However, in the course of time, the Crimean khans started the practice of issuing *yarliqs* without granting the addressee the status of a *tarkhan* (which was not viable from the economic perspective) but allowing addressees to receive a certain monetary reward from the state treasury (see [Usmanov, 1979, p. 246]). And *tarkhan yarliqs* issued by the first Crimean khans were subsequently confirmed by their successors. Some of those *yarliqs* remained in force and effect until the last years of the existence of the Crimean Khanate, and even after it became part of the Russian Empire (see, for instance, [Smirnov, 1913, pp. 28–39]). A similar situation also existed in the Kazan Khanate: *tarkhan* privileges of *yarliq* holders were preserved not only during the existence of this state but even later, after the khanate was annexed to Russia [Khudyakov, 1996, p. 683; Vásáry, Muhamedyarov, 1987, pp. 190–206].

We can thoroughly trace the fate of *yarliqs* in the Crimean Khanate and to a lesser extent in the Kazan and Siberian khanates, while there is absolutely no data on *yarliqs* in the Astrakhan Khanate. Based on the available sources, we can suggest that in these khanates *yarliqs* were preserved and actively used in legal practice. However, if in the Golden Horde *yarliqs* played the role of enactments with compulsory universal action, in the descendant states they mostly represented subsidiary legislation or, possibly, a tradition and evidence that the local rulers were the successors of the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde.

The Crimean Khanate left behind the biggest quantity of *yarliqs*, and it is the Crimean documents that allow us to trace the evolution of this institution in the post-Horde khanates. As the analysis of the extant documents show, the majority of *khan yarliqs* represented either deeds of gift or letters to for-

eign rulers whom Crimean khans (who dared to call themselves the main successors of the Golden Horde) considered inferior in comparison with them (see, for instance, [Firkovich, 1890]). Collections of *tarkhan yarliqs* are of special value. For a long time, Crimean khans granted them to representatives of the same clan [Smirnov, 1913]. This is evidence that the Golden Horde (and the Mongol Imperial) tradition was retained. According to this tradition, each *khan*, when ascending to the throne, had to either confirm or cancel the *yarliqs* issued by his predecessors. However, in the 17th century Crimean khans started using another means of confirming the will of their predecessors: the *yarliqs* issued by former khans were sealed by present khans. This way, the latter prolonged the validity of these documents. Thus, the *yarliq* describing *khan Devlet Giray I*'s decision on a certain land dispute also contains the seals of khans Selim Giray I, Salamat Giray II, and Mengli Giray II—that is, that *yarliq* was in effect from the 1570s till the 1740s. In a similar way, the validity of Selim Giray II's *yarliq* on granting land ownership was confirmed by his successors Arslan Giray and Khalim Giray [Lashkov, 1895b, pp. 89, 92].

The entire range of extant official acts of the Kazan khanate contains only two *yarliqs* and both of them are *tarkhan* ones. One was issued by *khan Ibrahim* and the other by *Sahib Giray* [Muhamedyarov, 1967; Usmanov, 1979, pp. 34–37; Äxmätcanov, 2009]. Despite the fact that a significant number of acts of the Kazan *khan secretariat* were missing, there are reasons to think that it is the Kazan Khanate where the *yarliqs* that are most characteristic of the Golden Horde could be preserved. This is related to the fact that, in comparison with the Crimean Khanate, during a rather short period of its existence (1437/1445–1552) the Kazan Khanate neither lost the traditions of the Horde nor fell under foreign influence. Meanwhile, the Crimean Khanate fell under the strong influence of the Ottoman state-legal tradition already in the middle of the 16th century.

Although the administrative apparatus of the Kazan Khanate was built on the ba-

sis of the Muslim bureaucratic hierarchy, it preserved some administrative institutes of the Horde (i.e., de facto Turkic-Mongol institutes). For example, the administrative units 'darugas'/'dorogas,' which are mentioned in the sources, may be compared to the regions in the Golden Horde which were ruled by khan governors—darugas. This parallel becomes even more vivid if we take into consideration that these 'darugas,' in turn, were divided into hundreds and tens, which corresponds to the administrative system of the Golden Horde [Iskhakov, 2009c, p. 60]. Keeping this in mind, it is logical to suppose that the appointment of the rulers of these 'darugas' was also made in accordance with the order accepted long ago in the Golden Horde—that is, via issuing certain khan yarliqs. The extant messages of Kazan khan Safa Giray to Polish king Sigismund I and his son and co-regent Sigismund II August dated to the turn of the 1530–1530s [Mustafina, 1997] are not yarliqs.

A similarly small quantity of official acts have survived from the Tyumen yurt, which was subsequently transformed into the Siberian Khanate. Its history has not been adequately investigated due to the almost complete absence of authentic Siberian sources (see, for instance, [Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 5–6]). Nevertheless, there are no doubts over the very fact of the existence of the institution of khan yarliqs in this khanate. Thus, we see the following phrase in the letter dated to 1489 of Tyumen khan Sayyid Ibrahim (Ibak) addressed to Moscow Grand Prince Ivan III: 'When after seeing the yarliq the Chumgur prince reaches it, this will be the sign of your brotherhood' [Ambassadorial book, 1984, p. 18]. The message itself is not a yarliq as it is addressed to a ruler of equal status [Bustanov, 2007, p. 93]; however, the above mentioned yarliq is a kind of a 'credential charter' given to the khan messenger as the proof of his diplomatic authority [Pochekeyev, 2009b, p. 186]. The status of one more document is less clear. It is khan Kichum's letter to Moscow dated to 1570, called a charter in the Russian translation [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 179–180], although some researchers

translate the word 'charter' as 'yarliq' (see, for instance, [Atlasi, 2005, pp. 48–49]). We suggest that this document should not be seen as a yarliq (such as the above-mentioned Kazan messages to Polish kings and nobility) because, first, there are no indications that Kichum placed himself above the Moscow tsar; second, the text of the charter is finished by a 'bow,' which is not characteristic of yarliqs because if the khan granted a yarliq, he saw his position as higher than that of his addressee.

As we finish our survey of the evolution of the yarliq institution in the post-Horde Turkic-Tatar states, we should say a few words about another interesting tendency related to the process. We should mention the fact that foreign monarchs would grant yarliqs to khans Chinggisids and other rulers of the post-Horde states (yurts), although foreigners were not descendants of Chinggis Khan and, therefore, did not have the right to issue yarliqs. Nevertheless, we are acquainted with at least six such documents: the yarliq of Turkish khan Mehmed II to Crimean khan Mengli Giray of 1473 [Guzev, 1972], the yarliq of Ivan the Terrible to Siberian khan Edigur of 1556 and three yarliqs issued again by Ivan the Terrible to Nogai murzas in 1557–1561 [Ambassadorial books, 2006, pp. 242–243, 334], as well as the yarliq of Boris Godunov that appointed Kazakh sultan Uraz Muhammad to the position of ruler of the Kasimov Khanate (let us note that the texts of the two yarliqs—those of Ivan the Terrible of 1556 and Boris Godunov of 1600—were not preserved, but the fact of their existence is mentioned in the sources) [Trepavlov, 2008]. Let us note the fact that yarliqs were adopted neither in the record keeping practices of the Ottoman Empire nor in the Muscovite state. Undoubtedly, the issuing of yarliqs bore an extraordinary character that reflected the special relations of the Moscow State and the Ottoman Empire with the post-Horde Chinggisid states. And according to M. Dovnar-Zapolsky, the Lithuanian Metrics dated to the beginning of the 16th century also make mention of the 'yarliqs' of the Polish king to the Crimean

khan Mengli Giray [Dovnar-Zapolsky, 1897, p. 18]. However, in this case, we believe that either the source contains a mistake, or the researcher is wrong: we know that Crimean khans sent yarliqs to Polish-Lithuanian monarchs who were considered Crimean vassals in terms of the southern Russian lands (see [Pochekeyev, 2006]), and we are not aware of any other evidence that Polish kings sent yarliqs to Crimean khans, except for that provided by M. Dovnara-Zapolsky in his work.

Quite interesting information on the international legal status of Turkic-Tatar rulers of the post-Horde epoch is contained in their diplomatic acts and letters to foreign monarchs. Because their form (records) and content mostly corresponded to the legal tradition of the Golden Horde, we see these writings as possible examples of the Jochids' imperial heritage. Thus, the Crimean khans who were considered the most legitimate successors of the Golden Horde monarchs adopted the following title in their letters (including the messages which bore the status of a yarliq—they were addressed to inferior monarchs): 'I am the great khan of the Great Horde and the Great tsardom, of Desht-i Qipchaq, and the throne of Crimea, and of all the Tatars and many Nogais, and of the Tats and the Tavgachs, and of the Circassians living in the mountains, I am the great padishah, I am great khan Muhammad Giray' [Faizov, 2003, p. 115; see also Lashkov, 1895b, p. 90]. The inclusion of such elements as 'the Great Horde' and 'Desht-i Qipchaq' into the title of khan represents the evidence that Crimean khans laid claim to the status of the rightful heirs of the Golden Horde khans. Meanwhile, only the first Crimean khans Mengli Giray I and Muhammad Giray I could truly lay claim to succession. They attempted to restore the unity of the former Golden Horde, uniting the Crimea with the khanates of the Volga Region. However, as we see, the titulary itself is preserved even until the middle of the 17th century, even after Crimean khans lost their aspirations toward great power.

But what is more curious is that the Western monarchs treated them as such! In particular, Lithuanian grand dukes and Polish kings

kept recognising their vassal dependence on Crimean khans in terms of the Southern Russian lands, kept receiving yarliqs from them and kept paying them tribute, despite the fact that Moscow rulers had regained those territories at the turn of the 15–16th centuries and had no intent to cede them either to Crimean khans or to Polish-Lithuanian monarchs (see in more detail [Pochekeyev, 2006, pp. 226–228; Pochekeyev, 2008, pp. 33–34]). The Lithuanian Metrics calls Mengli Giray I 'grand Tatar tsar'—that is, Lithuania's rulers considered him the legal successor of the Golden Horde [Dovnar-Zapolsky, 1897, p. 13]. A Polish historian of the beginning of the 16th century Maciej Miechowita calls the Crimean khan Muhammad Giray 'the Perekop ruler' and 'the Crimean emperor'; another Polish-Lithuanian of the middle of the 16th century Michalon Lituanus also refers to the Crimean khan as a caesar (again, emperor) [Miechowita, 1936, p. 90; Lituanus, 1994, pp. 64–65].

What status, in the eyes of European monarchs, did other khanates hold after the disintegration of the Golden Horde? Such states as the Astrakhan and Siberian Khanates seem to have had no contacts with the European monarchs at all. Thus, it is hard to define the way Europeans looked at these khanates. Anyhow, based on the extant letter of the Siberian khan Kichum to tsar Ivan IV of Moscow, we can conclude that the ambitions of the Siberian Shibaniid were not at all large-scale: he calls himself 'a chainless (free) person' (see, for instance, [Atlasi, 2005, pp. 48–49])—that is, he merely notes that he is not subordinate to anyone. The fact that he bears no title which would connect him to the lineage of the Golden Horde is a sign that his claims to the former Tyumen yurt of the Jochid Ulus were really weak. Moreover, studies have expressed reasonable opinions that Siberian khans were either Kazan's vassals [Trepavlov, 2007, pp. 101–102] or the vassals of Bukhara rulers [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 149–152]. The latter may be evidenced by the extant yarliq of Bukhara khan Abdullah II to Siberian khan Kichum, who is therefore represented as Bukhara's vassal

[Materials, 1932, p. 296]. What is also interesting is that one revision of the Yesipov's Chronicle refers to the Siberian khanate of the Kichum epoch as the Golden Horde [History of Kazakhstan, 2005a, p. 209].

There is more information on the status of Kazan khans. Thus, the above-mentioned letters of Safa Giray to the Polish king Sigismund and his son do not contain any lavish titles (in comparison with the messages from his relatives) that suggest he is laying claims to vast possessions of the Jochid Ulus. Moreover, the khan and successor of the Golden Horde refers to the Polish king as not even 'brother' but as 'father'—that is, he recognises the latter's higher rank [Mustafina, 1997]. Let us note that in their correspondence the Crimean khan called the Polish king his 'brother'—he addressed him as a peer [History of Kazakhstan, 2005, p. 33]. Because the Kazan khan was the Crimean khan's nephew, there is nothing surprising in this difference. Therefore, the former recognised himself as subject to the latter despite the fact that both monarchs bore the title of khan and issued yarliqs, thus were *de facto* independent rulers! Sahib Giray emphasises this himself, as in the yarliq dated 1537 and directed to Ivan IV, where he writes: 'The Kazan land is my yurt, and Safa Giray tsar is my brother' [Florya, 2001, p. 237]. As we know, Kazan's Safa Giray was the nephew of Crimean Sahib Giray in family terms and his vassal in political terms. Nevertheless, in the letter to the foreign ruler he calls him his 'brother'—that is, an equal. Apparently, representatives of the Jochid clan (all the more such close relatives as the members of the Giray family) tried to keep the impression of unity in front of foreign sovereigns and guard not only their own prestige but also the reputation of their relatives. They supposed quite rightly that raising the prestige of the whole clan implied an elevation in their own status in the international arena. By referring to the Kazan ruler—his vassal—as a khan and his 'brother,' the Crimean khan hinted at his own power: what a great monarch he should be if rulers bearing an equal title were subordinate to him!

However, yarliqs and ambitious (but mostly declarative and not reflecting the real situation) letters to foreign monarchs constituted the foundation of the 'Chinggisid' legal system in the form it which it existed in the post-Horde Turkic-Tatar states. Other sources of the law, and first of all Chinggis Khan's Yasa, ceased to exist as due to their replacement by sharia norms and principles. However, the lack of demand for many imperial legal sources in the Turkic-Tatar khanates was in many ways connected to the fact that their rulers did not claim to the imperial legal heritage and, as a result, did not need laws regulating legal relations on an international level (which was resolved by the Yasa; for more details see [Pochekayev, 2009b, pp. 35–37]).

That is why other elements of Chinggisid law (besides yarliqs and the status of tarkhan) appeared occasionally in the Turkic-Tatar states and were of short duration. An example of this is the attempt to reintroduce the 'tamga tax' in the Crimean Khanate in the mid-17th century.

As we know, the tamga (the trade tax) in the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde was one of the most 'beneficial' state tributes and was actively used. However, as the various tenets of Muslim law became more entrenched, it was actively discouraged because for unknown reasons it was considered the most egregious expression of the 'Chinggisid' legal heritage, which was hostile to sharia. Thus, the distinguished Central Asian poet Jami praised his contemporary Hodja Ahrar—a no less famous religious and political representative of the Temürid epoch—because 'the efforts of his proper opinion washed away the stigma of the tamga and the dirt of yargu from the hem of faith' (quote according to [Boldyrev, 1985, p. 55]). Apparently, a similar attitude towards the tamga developed in Muslim society of the Crimean khanate: if it is still mentioned in the yarliqs from the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century (see, for instance, [Smirnov, 1913, pp. 31–32]), then it is totally absent by the middle of the 17th century. The 'tamga tax' was re-established by Bahadur Giray

I at the beginning of his reign (1637–1641) [Smirnov, 2005, p. 380], which caused huge discontent both among his subjects and of the Turkish suzerain. There is a likelihood that although the khan sought the replenishment of his treasury when introducing this tax, the Ottoman administration perceived it as an attempt to express independence and return to 'Chinggisid' imperial aspirations, besides Bahadur Giray I's other actions signaled the same thing (for more details see [Gayvoronsky, 2009, pp. 242–248]). As a result, the introduction of this tax triggered both pressure from the Ottomans and unrest in the Crimean population. Thus, after nearly twenty years Islam Giray III, one of the closest successors of Bahadur Giray, had to rescind the tamga tax [Smirnov, 2005, p. 386].

The khanate, which never fell under strong foreign influence, mostly retained the traditional tax system which had existed since the time of the Golden Horde. Thus, in the Kazan Khanate, there existed traditional Horde taxes, in particular, the 'yasak.' A similar situation prevailed in the Tyumen yurt and the Siberian Khanate, where the fiscal system was patterned after the Golden Horde [Iskhakov, 2009c, pp. 76, 85]. In the Nogai Horde not only supreme rulers had the right to collect the tamga, so did beys and individual murzas [Ambassadorial book, 2003, p. 55].

The imperial legal regulation of land relations also underwent significant changes. The forms of land tenure, which had been in effect in Chinggisid states in the imperial era, almost completely fell out of use. These included iqta, indju, soyurgal, and more. The abolishment was the result of several factors. On the one hand, imperial legal relations with respect to land of a Turkic-Mongolian origin were replaced by sharia norms whereby the institutions governing land ownership were clearly regulated. As a result, even Turkic-Mongolian terminology was replaced by terms of Arabic origin: in particular, such notions as 'mülk,' 'mevkufe' and others came into use in the Crimean Khanate. [Lashkov, 1895, pp. 56–58]. On the other hand, the role of the tribal

nobility significantly increased in the post-Horde states. Its representatives had initially possessed lands on indju and soyurgal bases, which meant conditional ownership. The owners could dispose of the land only if they were in service to the khan. Eventually, such 'owners' went further and turned the conditional ownership into their respective family hereditary appanage (de jure in some cases). As a result, previous forms of land tenure in the post-Horde states were turned into hereditary beyliks [Lashkov, 1895a, pp. 79–89; Khudyakov, 1996, pp. 682–683; Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 83–84] or into grants to murzas who retained the status of serving land owners up till the fall of the Crimean Khanate. The same happened in other Turkic-Tatar states, for example in the Kasimov Khanate [Lashkov, 1895a, pp. 91–99; Lashkov, 1896, pp. 48–49; Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 79–82]. However, sometimes khans remembered the Chinggisid legal ideology according to which they were the supreme land owners in their states and could deprive tribal aristocracy even of possessions which they considered hereditary. Thus, according to the Voskresenskaya Chronicle, Kazan khan Safa Giray in 1541 'collected yasak from many princes and gave it to the Crimea' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 2001, p. 295, see also Khudyakov, 1996, p. 683].

However, only powerful and mighty monarchs allowed themselves to take such decisive actions. Those who never possessed real power risked provoking the ire of the nobility, losing their throne and perhaps even their life. No wonder many rulers in the Turkic-Tatar states preferred not to spoil relations with their influential subjects and opted to forget imperial legal norms and principles, instead making peace with the sharia and the customary legal norms.

Customary law in the Turkic-Tatar states and details of its development. In comparison with the imperial law, which somehow found its reflection in official acts or collateral sources, the principles and norms of the customary law, which were applied in the Turkic-Tatar states in

the 15–18th centuries, were not recorded in any manner that could be deemed codified or precise. This is understandable: if they had been recorded, it would hardly be possible to classify them as legal customs, which had passed from one generation to another orally. As a result, sometimes it is quite hard to distinguish what is the unofficial customary law of the Turkic-Mongol nomadic societies from everyday customs or institutionalised customary law—law recorded in written legal acts. Thus, for instance, a Bukharian author of the beginning of the 16th century Ibn Ruzbikhan gives us an example of a trial over who was the heir of a deceased man—his second son or his grandson from his deceased elder son. According to sharia, the priority was given to the son, but the decision based on sharia did not satisfy Muhammad Shaybani-khan, and he 'ordered action according to the law of Chinggis Khan,' 'according to Chinggis Khan's Yasa,' which dictated that the priority belonged to the grandson—the son of the first-born who had died before the legal heir [Fazlullah ibn Ruzbihan al-Isfahani, 1976, pp. 59–60]¹. Today it is hard to investigate if this particular condition was initially recorded in the Yassa of Chinggis Khan, or if it was codified legal practice because family law and inheritance relations were usually settled on the basis of ancient customs.

Nevertheless, there is some information at our disposal regarding the customary law in the Turkic-Tatar states, and it allows us to draw certain conclusions on the evolution of legal customs and their role in Turkic-Tatar societies in the period under consideration.

¹ Despite the fact that the event described refers to the history of the Khanate of Bukhara, we must not forget that Muhammad Shaybani khan was a direct descendant of the Golden Horde khans, and thus was a bearer of Jochid's political and legal values. Even the empire in Central Asia he had created was built upon the principles of the Jochid and not Chagatai nationhood (read more: [Pochekaev, 2010]). We therefore believe that there are reasons to examine the political and legal aspects of Muhammad Shaybani's activities in the context of Jochid legal culture, unlike the activities of his successors, who were already influenced by Central Asian nationhood and law.

It also provides a picture of the degree of its influence on the formation of Turkic-Tatar legal culture.

In Chinggisid states, the authorities usually never interfered in private legal matters, and khans were the first to demonstrate such forbearance. Thus, Rashid al-Din described the decision of khan Ögedei, the son and heir of Chinggis Khan, which apparently evolved into a precedent for all similar cases which came after it: 'At first, they passed the law forbidding the cutting of the throats of sheep and other edible and food-producing cattle. Instead, according to custom, the method employed was to cut [their] breast and shoulder blade. One Muslim man bought a sheep at the bazaar and brought [it] home. After closing his door, he slaughtered it, saying 'basmalah.' A certain Kipchak had seen him at the market. After waiting a while, he followed him and climbed onto his roof. When [the Muslim] thrust a dagger into a sheep's throat, he jumped down from above, tied up the Muslim, and dragged him to the palace of the kaan, [the kaan] ordered the naibs to investigate the matter. When they reported on the circumstances of the case and the incident, [the kaan] said: 'This poor man complied with our law, and that Turkic man denied it, as he climbed onto his roof.' The Muslim man was came to no harm, while the kipchak was executed' [Rashid ad-Din, 1960, pp. 49–50]. Thus, although Ögedei khan formally violated the rules of the Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan, he demonstrated state non-interference into the private lives of his citizens. Undoubtedly, such a wise decision prevented conflicts between the state, imperial law (which was represented by the Great Yasa and yarliqs), and private law based on the ancient traditions of multiple nations which constituted the Mongol Empire and its descendants. It is no wonder that subsequent rulers, both of the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde, did not attempt to regulate the private relations of their subjects. These relations were based upon ancient legal customs called 'yosun/yusun' in the Turkic-Mongolian societies and 'adat' in Muslim regions.

Correspondingly, there existed the courts of customary law, which settled disputes within separate kins and tribes in all Chingisid states (and particularly, in the Golden Horde). These courts worked along with the Sharia kadi courts, which subsequently acquired the status of official state courts. The government neither encouraged the activity of such courts nor interfered in their functioning as they had their own scope of activity and their own competence, and these never overlapped with the competence of jargu and kadi courts (see [Pochekeyev, 2009c, p. 176]).

Thus, the government did not interfere with the system of customary law. However, eventually, the reverse of this came to be—that is, unofficial law penetrated imperial state law. This process emerged in the later stages of the Golden Horde. As the khan's power weakened and the central administrative office disintegrated due to civil wars and the raids of Amir Temür (1391, 1395), the number of official courts significantly decreased, and judicial powers were gradually concentrated in the hands of judges who based their decisions on customary law. Thus, the Italian diplomat G. Barbaro, who in the 1430s visited the residence of khan Kichum Muhammad (reigned in 1428–1459) not far away from Hajji-Tarkhan (modern Astrakhan), notes: 'The justice practiced throughout their camp is very sudden. It functions as follows: When someone has a problem with someone else, then they both—if there are more, than all involved—get up and go wherever they think is best, and they say to the first person they meet if he is a man of status: 'Master, render us a judgement, for we are engaged in a controversy!' Whereupon he stops and hears what both parties have to say: determining right then what he thinks is best without further recording of it, and whatsoever he determines, this is accepted without any opposition. In such situations, a crowd of people gather, and he that renders the judgment says: 'You shall all be witnesses!' Such judgments are regular occurrences in the camp. And if any like differences happen by the way, they observe the very

same order.' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 145–146]. Let us emphasise that the discussion thus far has been on the khan's main camp, and so such 'unofficial' justice was therefore widespread even in the territories controlled by the khans of the Golden Horde! Undoubtedly, a similar situation was observed in the Turkic-Tatar states—the Golden Horde's descendants. However, we should keep in mind that the role of sharia court was significantly increased there, which is why this unofficial customary justice could be in effect in the capitals and even in the regions which were divided into kadilyks—judicial districts within the jurisdiction of the sharia court (see [Boytsova, 2004, p. 44]). Rather, these courts operated in separate nomadic tribes that operated far from the capital or the khan's main camp (see [Trepavlov, 2004, p. 282]).

The status of those judges who made decisions based on customary law is not recorded by sources. However, we know very well their status in the Kazakh Khanate, in which they were called beys and were held in great respect and where they also had influence not only within their tribes but also on the governmental level. It is likely that the status of beys emerged in the epoch of the late Golden Horde. This conclusion can be made on the basis of a note made by G. Barbaro who mentioned that the judicial decision could be made by 'any stranger of eminence.' It is possible that the Venetian, when saying that 'any stranger' could become the judge, was exaggerating a little bit to emphasise what he saw as the 'barbarian character' of the Horde courts. Undoubtedly, that 'stranger' had to be highly respected by his compatriots and also had to be a person of impeccable honesty and honour, and well-versed in ancient customs. This is exactly how beys were characterised in Kazakh society. They were individuals who did not occupy official posts but were highly respected by their tribesmen for their personal merits and knowledge of customary law and had the reputation of law-abiding, fair people.

However, in the Turkic-Tatar states such customary judgments were delivered by

judges who had not been democratically elected compared to Kazakh beys. Let us not forget that in the pre-Imperial era of Turkic-Mongolian society judicial activity remained within the competence of the persons referred to as 'begs'—tribal elders and leaders. They retained their right to deliver judgments in the tribes under their control during the era of the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde. Therefore, we are not referring to elected judges, rather we mean hereditary tribal leaders who possessed the title (post) of beg in accordance with the position they occupied. Thus, for example, researchers relate the emergence of the Kazakh court of beys to the activities of someone named Manky-bey (who according to legend lived in 1105–1225)—the contemporary and comrade-in-arms of Chinggis Khan. Manky-bey is considered the creator of the fundamental principles of the court of beys and presumably governed the Ulus when Chinggis Khan was away (see [Zimanov, 2008, pp. 67–68; Kazaktyn, 2004, pp. 167–208]). The official chronicles and essays compiled at the courts of the Chinggisids do not mention the name of Manky-bey, and therefore we have every reason to consider him a legendary character. However, in the Tatar historical essay of the 17th century 'Daftar-Genghis-name' (i.e., the source of which was absolutely not connected to Kazakh national legends) we come across a reference to Manky-bey which proves his existence. Let us note that in this essay he is not presented as a judge of the people's choice but as a government official—that is, a beg and the leader of the tribe of the Uishins (Hushins), who acted on the same basis as other tribal leaders and stood at Chinggis Khan's right hand [Daftar, 2000, 16–19 b, see also Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, pp. 157–159]. Recall that the tribe of the Uishins consequently played a significant role in the history of the Golden Horde, which fact may serve as indirect evidence that Manky-bey was an official representative of authority. Legends of the Siberian Tatars and Bashkir shejeres also refer to him as a founder of a number of clans [Iskha-

kov, 2006, pp. 39, 110–111]. The status of bey was occupied by another famous Golden Horde figure—Edigu (1352–1419), the founding father of the Nogai Horde's rulers. Kazakh legends also describe him as a bey-judge [Kazaktyn, 2004a, pp. 140–164]. Note that Edigu is also presented as a fair judge in the Tatar folk epic 'Edigü' [Edigü, 1990, pp. 26–27, 29].

All this, in our view, allows us to suggest that in the Turkic-Tatar states customary judgments were the prerogatives of the tribal nobility, which also reflected an increase in the role of the nobles in the state and legal life of these countries. However, we should also keep in mind that the scope of activities of customary courts remained the same: family and inheritance cases, property disputes, crimes committed within the same clan or tribe were settled there. Inter-tribal conflicts as well as other types of disputes (land, political, etc.) were settled by either kadi judges, or khans, or a council of karachi begs.

Nevertheless, sometimes it is hard to draw a line between the competence of secular courts and the purview of official judicial institutions—khan courts and kadi courts. The same was applicable to the system of customary law itself, within which specific processes took place in the Turkic-Tatar states of the 15–18th centuries. As a result of those processes legal norms and principles established by the public authority were transformed into institutions of customary law. At the same time, this unofficial law was associated with the reigns of individual rulers. The first signs of this process were made evident in the Mongol Empire in the epoch of Chinggis Khan's closest successors and the first rulers of the Golden Horde. Thus, for instance, the Pope's ambassadors John of Plano Carpini and Benedict the Pole, who visited the possessions of khan Güyük and the lands belonging to the Golden Horde ruler Batu, failed to relate some norms of the officially accepted legislation and of the customary law and, therefore, characterised them as the 'law and custom.' Meanwhile, Chinggis Khan is presented in their interpretation as 'the founder of the religious law'

in the Mongol Empire [Plano Carpini, 1997, p. 42; History, 2002, pp. 116, 117; for more details see Pochekayev, 2007, pp. 143–144, 147]. In a similar vein the essay of Muin al-Din Natanzi, also known as 'Iskender Anonymous,' refers to Batu's tura as his legislative code [Materials, 1973, p. 128]. Persian sources contain the term 'tora-chingizkhan'ia' [Doerfer, 1963, s. 264, 265, 555]—that is, the foundation of the customary law in the Turkic lands (which was subsequently inherited by the Mongols)—tore—is attributed to the founder of the Mongol Empire. The famous statesman Babur, who was also the founder of the Great Mogul Empire, shared the same view. In his notes he mentions the constitution of Chinggis Khan ('tore-i-Chingiz') distinguishing it from his Yasa ('ya-sa-i-Chingiz') [Baber, 1826, p. 202].

In the 16–17th centuries such a political-legal transformation was to a great extent a way in which the Turkic-Tatar rulers shaped international policies in their favour. Thus, for instance, the Nogai rulers of the 16th century called Ivan the Terrible a Chinggisid. By that time he had already annexed the Kazan and Astrakhan khanates. The Nogai rulers suggested that he, the Moscow tsar, acted in accordance with the ideological heritage of the Jochid empire which they called 'adat-i chingiziye.' This ideological reconstruction allowed the Nogai rulers to justify their cooperation with the Christian Muscovite state rather than with other Muslim centres of power—that is, the Ottoman Empire and its subject, the Crimean Khanate. Those states, in the opinion of the Nogais, did not share this 'Chinggisid' ideology [Bennigsen, Weinstein, 2009, p. 363; Trepavlov, 2004, p. 283]. Already at the end of the 18th century Russian scholars noted that the Astrakhan Tatars adhered to 'the law of Mohammed,' while 'other Nogais are steeped in ignorance as they mix their faith with many pagan superstitions' [Georgi, 1776, pp. 43–44]. This allows us to suppose that customary law prevailed in their lands, even in those late times, when sharia law seems to have totally driven out 'pagan' traditions.

Therefore, customary law was retained in the Turkic-Tatar states and was even devel-

oped, as we can see. It constituted a great part of the system (and legal culture) of those states, sometimes replacing Imperial law. The authorities of the post-Horde states did not hamper its development as they saw no rivalry in it to other legal systems. However, when attempts were made to broaden the scope of customary law, thereby pressuring the status of Imperial law or sharia, those attempts were met with stiff resistance. An example of such a conflict is the 'judicial reform' which the Crimean khan Murad Giray (1678–1683) tried to introduce.

Soon after ascending to the throne, he ordered that cases should be settled on the basis of 'the Chinggis's tore' instead of sharia. He even abolished the position of the Kazasker, or supreme judge, replacing it with the Tore-bashi. However, that reform was not further developed: soon Murad Giray arrived at the Ottoman camp to participate in military actions together with the Turkish people, and there someone named Vani Efendi managed to convince the khan to restore sharia law, which the khan did [Smirnov, 2005, p. 248]. Later, when historians tried to explain his actions, they speculated that the khan had attempted to demonstrate his independence from Istanbul; however, an analysis of the sources allows us to suggest that in fact the 'judicial reform' was a kind of populist action whereby Murad Giray managed to achieve popularity among his subjects and even outshine the renowned Selim Giray, his predecessor. And after achieving the desired result, the khan was quick to discontinue the reforms (which seem to have been solely declarative) and restore the dominance of sharia in the legal system of the Crimean Khanate [Pochekayev, 2009c, pp. 323–324]. At any rate, we are not interested in the reasons, but we need to know the attitude of different societal groups towards the khan's initiative. Thus, the Ottoman authorities did not condemn Murad Giray in any way, since, on the one hand, they had no reasons to suspect him of disloyalty; on the other hand, the customary law was widely used in the Ottoman Empire itself as it did not contradict the written legislature and sharia. The Crime-

an citizens, as we have already noted, were completely devoted to their khan, whom they were ready to support even militarily, when they heard he was ousted from power [Smirnov, 2005, p. 430]. Thus, the only ones who opposed the reform were representatives of the Muslim clergy, whose position as adjudicators of sharia legal values as the leading judicial system Murad Giray had attempted to weaken. The outcome of this opposition shows that Islam and Islamic law played a far more significant role in the Turkic-Tatar states than in the history of the Golden Horde.

Islamic law in the Turkic-Tatar states: its role and peculiarities. As noted above, Islam had existed in a number of areas occupied by the Golden Horde and then became the core of the Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries, long before khan Uzbek adopted it as the official state religion, and even long before the Mongol invasion. Thus, Islamic law was not a mere novelty for the Turkic-Tatar states of the 15–18th centuries. Instead, it represented a natural part of their legal culture.

Among the peculiarities of Islamic law (the Sharia) in the post-Horde states, we should first of all mention that it occupied a greater role in comparison with other sources of law, including within the Golden Horde itself. As noted earlier, the strengthening of sharia was related to the decay of both central power and the system of Imperial law, which could only be maintained by the powerful khans of the Golden Horde of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries. In the meantime, the role of the clergy gradually increased, and since khan Uzbek's reign it was integrated into the administrative structure of the Jochid Empire, where it grew in strength as the Imperial power-state institutions weakened.

Finally, another reason for the consolidation of law was the need for Turkic-Tatar rulers to find new ways of legitimising their power. The truth is that by the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries, as a result of the disintegration of the Chinggisid imperial entities (the Yuan Empire in China,

the Ilkhanate in Iran, the Ulus of Chaghatai, the Golden Horde), it was no longer enough for those aspiring to supreme power in the Turkic-Mongol states to lay claim to direct descendancy from Chinggis Khan. As a result, not only did the Chinggisids start to lay claim to the thrones of different states on the territory of the former Mongol Empire but representatives of other, less eminent clans (compared with the descendants of Chinggis Khan) also acted in like manner. Thus, already during the dark times of the Golden Horde in the 1360–1370s ('The Great Troubles,' as this period is referred to in the Russian chronicles), several regional rulers tried to declare themselves independent sovereigns of their possessions. Later on independent status was acquired by the Nogai beys—the descendants of Edigu ('Edigü'), by the Siberian Taibugids, by the Temürids in the ulus of Chaghatai, as well as by a number of less eminent dynasties, like the Duglat family in Kashgar, etc.

The Chinggisids continued to be regarded as legal claimants to power due to their origin (V. Trepavlov describes this phenomenon as 'inertia,' see [Trepavlov, 2009]); however, now they were only 'the eldest inter pares' among the claimants to power and the throne. The charisma of Chinggis Khan's kin was now challenged by other bases providing grounds for assuming power, the main one being religious factors, as Islam continued spreading throughout the Chinggisid states. In the altered circumstances, these reasons seemed even more compelling than claiming lineage to Chinggis Khan, which is why it is no surprise that the Chinggisids themselves started appealing to a religious justification as the basis for their rights to power and also to the motivation for political decisions and activity. At this time, the address to religious values and authorities was vivid throughout the entire reign of every Turkic-Tatar ruler upon ascension to the throne.

As a result, we see a shift from the previous justification of Chinggisid sultans for their claims to the throne and supreme power in one state or another (for more details see [Sultanov, 2001, pp. 57–65; Kügelgen, 2004,

pp. 54–56]) was replaced by one that was more weighty—the will of Allah—which was reflected in a certain verse of the Quran: 'You will grant power to anyone you want, and you will take power from anyone you want' [Quran, 1991, p. 39: sura 3, verse 25/26]¹. Some Turkic-Tatar monarchs went so far as to proclaim themselves the khalifs—that is, rulers of all Muslim people throughout the world! For example, Muhammad Shaybani-khan decided to adopt this title when he came up with the original concept on several khalifs coexisting in different countries as long as they did not harm each other [Kügelgen, 2004, pp. 288–290]. In the same vein, according to some sources, in the middle of the 17th century the Crimean khans Muhammad Giray IV and Islam Giray III also adopted this title, although they were supposed to *de jure* recognise their suzerain—the Turkish sultan—as the khalif (see [Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 154–155]).

That is why it is no accident that at the ceremony of the khan's enthronement, which took the form of a *quriltai*, members of the khan's clan, his supreme commanders, and representatives of the Muslim clergy all participated. In addition to taking the traditional vow of the steppe, the monarch, who ascended to the throne, swore on the Quran and also had to be approved by the head of the clergy. This practice was applied in Kazan, Kasimov, and the other Turkic-Tatar khanates (see, for instance, [Khudyakov, 1996, p. 676; Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 20, 27]).

In future khans and rulers would always consult Sayyids and other influential representatives of the clergy who would often use their authority to seal the decisions of sovereigns, thus ensuring the effectiveness of their delivery. In the last years of the existence of the khanate Kazan Sayyids were often the first advisers to khans—they occupied chief ministerial positions. We do not know how widespread this practice was of

the use fatwas issued by theologians as a vehicle for the delivery of khan orders. At the very least, it was common practice in the Turkic-Mongol states of Central Asia. Even such a powerful ruler as Muhammad Shaybani-khan preferred to deliver his imperative decisions not by issuing *yarliqs* but through the adoption of fatwas by his court ulemas. Strong Muslim traditions in the post-Horde khanates—Kazan, Crimean, and Kasimov—as well as the significant influence wielded by the clergy on political matters in these khanates lend weight to the assumption that their monarchs adhered to the same line.

The role of Sayyids was so strong in the Kazan and Kasimov Khanates that they were not only the spiritual leaders of the Muslim population there but could serve as commanders. Contemporary scholars even suggest that the Kasimov Sayyid also performed the functions of a *beklyaribek* [Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 71, 74–75]. In the Crimean Khanate Sayyids played the role of the main *kadis*—that is, supreme judges acting in accordance with Sharia norms. In fact, in khan charters and letters their names were often written before the names of sultans from the Giray family [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 10, 43–44, 50]. We also are aware of judicial functions performed by the Sayyids in the Siberian khanate during the reign of Kichum [Iskhakov, 2006, p. 164; Iskhakov, 2009c, p. 77].

Moreover, the post-Horde states entered into international agreements in accordance with the tenets of Islam and the support of the Muslim clergy. Thus, for instance, Nogai beys and murzas of the 16–17th centuries often invoked their Islamic faith in negotiations with Moscow rulers (true, they likened it to Christianity rather than contrasting it with that faith). Moreover, agreements with Moscow were sealed by an oath on the Quran [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 565; Ambassadorial book, 2003, p. 36]. At the end of the 15th century to the middle of the 16th century Kazan Sayyids personally participated in negotiations with Moscow authorities and contributed working out the conditions of international agreements [Iskhakov, 1997a,

¹ It is curious that Islamic court historiographers of the first Mongol khans (not Muslims) quoted this Quranic verse, as the latter sought to justify the legitimacy of their rule in Islamic countries (see, for instance: [Juvaini, 1997, p. 562]).

p. 36]. In the Crimean Khanate the role of the clergy was also significant in developing policies with the outside world of the: for example, in 1659 khan Muhammad Giray IV notified tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich that he had conferred with his scholars, and they had said that an agreement had been breached by the Muscovites (quote according to [Sen, 2009, p. 26]).

However, from time to time, the rulers of the Turkic-Tatar khanates tried to limit the influence of the clergy and entered into conflicts with their Muslim advisers. The very fact of such conflicts suggests that the Muslim clergy possessed significant influence as the clerics felt they could engage in confrontations with the monarchs. The outcome of such confrontations varied. For example, during his reign Kazan khan Safa Giray went so far as to execute two Sayyids and a successor, Shah Ali [Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 30–33]. In contrast, the Crimean khan Murad Giray, who attempted to introduce judicial reform and replace the Sharia court of kadis with the customary Turkic-Mongolian *töre*, was forced to yield to Vani-effendi, a prominent representative of the clergy, and accept it that his efforts were fruitless [Smirnov, 2005, p. 248; Pochekeyev, 2009c].

By constructing their image as protectors and disseminators of the Islamic faith, the Turkic-Tatar rulers were able to patronise religious figures, build charitable institutions and finance them, and also wage holy wars (*gazavat*). Moreover, a 'holy' war could also be initiated against other Islamic states, provided the court theologians approved that the enemies were apostates and thus were even more dangerous than 'kuf-far'—that is, unbelievers. This is exactly how Muhammad Shaybani khan justified his campaigns against other Muslims—the Kazakhs or the Siberian Shibaniids [Fazlullah ibn Ruzbihan Isfahani, 1976, pp. 105–106; Katanov, 1904, pp. 18–28; Iskhakov, 2002, p. 178]. Similarly, khan Kichum's struggle with the dynasty of the Siberian Taibugids (which *de facto* represented the restoration of the legal dynasty on the throne of the former Tyumen yurt) was presented as a move

aimed at the spread of Islam in that pagan region—after it was approved and actively supported by the Muslim clergy of Bukhara and Khwarezm (see [Katanov, 1897, pp. 51–60; Bustanov, 2009d]). This was also how the Crimean khans and sultans justified their attempts to restore the former borders of the Jochid Ulus. After regaining the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates from the Muscovite state, they portrayed their actions as a battle against the enemies of their faith. The same justification was used as grounds for the campaigns against the Persian Kyzylbashs. In respect of the Ottoman sultans, the vassalry were also khalifs, and invoking their will was enough grounds for portraying any war against the enemies of the Turks as a holy war—a *gazavat* (see [Documents, 2008, pp. 88, 104, 108]).

Naturally, such an approach to policy was neither the invention of Chinggis Khan's descendants nor was it created by their rivals—rulers of the Turkic-Tatar states and other dynasties; it had been used since the very first centuries of the Islamic era. The fact of its adoption by the Chinggisids is indication of their understanding that the *zeitgeist* had changed, and the Turkic-Tatar states had been totally absorbed by the Islamic world.

A special role in the legal culture of the Turkic-Tatar states was played by judicial activity that grew to be mainly a prerogative of Islamic men of law. Of course, Sharia courts had operated in the Golden Horde along with the Imperial *jargu* courts as an official judicial authority since 1320—that is, after Khan Uzbek made Islam the official religion of his dominion. From that moment on the *jargu* courts were abolished, and the importance of the qadi courts grew; it should also be mentioned that in the post-Horde states the qadi courts not only coexisted with the official Khan's courts, they superseded them becoming the dominating judiciary.

Thus, for example, almost all of the judicial activities in the Kazan Khanate were performed by Muslim theologians (see [Usmanov, 1985, pp. 182, 185; Khudyakov, 1996, p. 689]). Some indirect evidence suggests that Sayyids also had some judicial prerogatives

in the Kasimov Khanate [Iskhakov, 1997a, p. 211].

A wealth of data has survived on the Sharia courts of the Crimean Khanate, including both narrative sources (chronicles and historic works by Crimean and Ottoman authors), and official acts (the Khan's *yarliqs* and the *saqqs* (the Kazasker books)). All these sources allow us to conclude that the Islamic judges all enjoyed a rather vast jurisdiction.

According to the Kazasker *saqqs* of the 17th century, Sharia judges settled cases that related to land disputes, family matters (marriages and divorces), inheritance disputes, matters related to the purchase and liberation of slaves (slave title deeds), as well as custody/guardianship and donations of *waqfs* [Biyarslanov, 1889, pp. 48, 50; Biyarslanov, 1890a, pp. 74, 75–76]. We know that as early as the 16th century they started to include the wording of the Khan's *yarliqs* in the Kazasker *saqqs* [Lashkov, 1895b, pp. 111–112; Usmanov, 1979, p. 270], although this was not the only impact of the increasingly important qadi courts upon the Khan's court and other authoritative decrees. In the early 17th century Khan Salamat Giray I could afford to issue *yarliqs* that contained recommendations to the qadis (including the Kazasker) [Biyarslanov, 1890, pp. 68–69], although there is evidence that at the same time, and especially later, the tables turned—when rendering decisions, the khans relied on the opinion of judges who acted on the basis of Islamic law. To give an example, when Salamat Giray made up his mind to liberate a slave, this decision was subject to official registration with the Kazaskersaqq; in the same vein, the previous decisions taken by the Khan in relation to matters being within the scope of the Sharia were deemed effective only once confirmed and documented by the Kazaskers [Biyarslanov, 1890a, pp. 74–75, 77; Lashkov, 1896a, p. 77].

Curiously, in some cases, decisions taken by the khans and the qadis in line with both Imperial and Sharia law were similar. In a case noted above, Shaybani Khan decided an inheritance dispute, ruling that the matter should be resolved according to an order established by Chinggis Khan. However, he was

not fully satisfied with the ruling and ordered that justification for this solution should be found within Sharia law. The men of law did not fail their Khan. One of them 'submitted to the Khan an excerpt allegedly approved by qadi Shurayh... His majesty, representing the most merciful... expressed his satisfaction with the fact that his majesty and Qazi Shurayh shared their opinions with the following words: "It behooves us to act following the words of Qazi Shurayh, and we shall do so from henceforward.'" [Fazlallakh ibn Ruzbikhani Isfakhani, 1976, p. 60]. In our view, this episode is rather illustrative. Even as powerful a monarch as Shaybani Khan realised that in the new social and political environment decisions based only on Imperial (the 'Chinggisid') law will not be deemed binding to his Muslim subjects, so he made efforts to demonstrate that his governance was in line with Sharia law.

It should also be noted that in the Turkic-Tatar states (specifically in the Crimean Khanate), the judges of the Sharia courts were apparently remunerated by the state. This prevented them from abusing their power by charging whatever fee they liked. Thus, during the reign of Janibeg Giray, Kazasker Mustafa set fixed prices for the services of qadis and hakims [Boytsova, 2004, pp. 44, 54]. Thus, in the Turkic-Tatar states the Sharia justice was of a more orderly nature than, for example, in the Central Asian khanates of the same period where the qadis did not receive any salary and earned by extortions from the suitors setting all sorts of penalties, special fees etc. (ref.: [Lunev, 2004, p. 102]).

Compared to the Golden Horde, in the Turkic-Tatar states land and legal relations underwent significant changes. As mentioned above, in the post-Horde states, traditional Islamic land law doctrines replaced different forms of land ownership that prevailed in the Turkic-Mongol Empire-type states. Thus, in Crimea there existed the Khan's domains, the privately owned *mülks*, communal lands, as well as specific types of land ownership, like *hojalyks*—that is, lands owned by the *hojas* [Lashkov, 1895, p. 56; Boytsova, 2004, p. 48]. And finally, in all of

the Turkic-Tatar states an important place in the relations under laws relating to the ownership of land was held by the waqf property [Lashkov, 1895, p. 55; Khudyakov, 1996, p. 681; Rakhimzyanov, 2009, p. 76].

Changes to the tax law of the Turkic-Tatar states were also significant. In the Islamic states conquered by the Mongols by the middle of the 13th century not only was the executive power infrastructure destroyed so was the tax system as well—Islamic fiscal institutions were forced out and replaced by institutions adopted by the Mongolian rulers from the Uighur and Chinese legal heritage (see, for instance, [Tusi, 1986, p. 92]). However, as Islam regained its dominant position, Turkic-Tatar monarchs managed to reach a certain compromise by keeping existing taxes and renaming them to match the Islamic tax system. Thus, for example, the yasak (qalan) tax charged in the Golden Horde matched the kharadzh tax charged under Sharia, whereas ushr (the tithe) replaced a similar Mongol tax, taghar (see [Kerimov, 2007, pp. 235–236; Lunev, 2004, pp. 90–95]). Of course, not every tax could be so easily substituted. For example, the zakah tax charged under the Sharia has no parallel in Turkic-Mongol Imperial law. Likewise, as we have seen, collecting the tamga tax was illegal under Sharia law. Considering the above, the tax system of the Turkic-Tatar states was another example of how Islamic law became the prevailing legal system, gradually replacing both the institutes of the Chinggisid Imperial law and the common law of the Turkic-Mongolian tribes.

Foreign influence upon the formation of legal culture in the Turkic-Tatar states (general overview). Despite close contacts with the foreign states (and in some of the cases outright dependency upon such states) from the 15th into the 18th century, it would be an exaggeration to say that the legal system of every Turkic-Tatar state during that period was significantly impacted by foreign law¹.

Thus, for example, the Kazan and the Astrakhan Khanates existed for too short a time to fall under any form of foreign rule that could have a serious impact upon their legal culture. This is why the official acts extant of these Khanates testify that the document flow traditions dominating there were those inherited from the Golden Horde. These traditions prescribed for the documents to be brief (like the Uighur official acts) which was far from typical for the Persian, Turkish, and Central Asian acts that are known for their abundant verbosity (see [Abzalov, 2009, pp. 109–110]).

Moscow ambassadorial books that contain a number of official acts by the Nogai beys and murzas are evidence that it was also from the Golden Horde that the Nogai Horde inherited its traditions of lawmaking and records management. Though the Nogai Horde existed for a much longer period than did the Turkic-Tatar khanates in the Volga Region, it was too powerful to be deeply influenced by any state. Besides, their nomadic lifestyle involving mobility of both those who ruled and their population, who could quickly migrate from Kazakhstan to Bessarabia, made establishing a foreign sovereignty over the Nogai Horde next to impossible.

One should also be cautious when considering the notion of foreign influence upon the Kasimov Khanate. As noted above, we do not have recourse to any extant official acts executed in that state. And yet, we have reason to believe that at the early stage of its existence it adhered to the legal and bureaucratic traditions of the Golden Horde, as its first rulers came from Kazan and the Crimea, areas that were not under any significant Ottoman influence at that time. At later stages of its existence, the Kasimov Khanate was likely influenced by the law of the Muscovite state. However, if there was some influence, the transformation of the Kasimov Khanate's legal system was hardly artificial and painful. During the 16–17th centuries the legal and bureaucratic traditions of Moscow were also based on traditions inherited from the

¹ The question of the Kazan Khanate's possible vassal dependence on the Ottoman Empire in the 1520s was studied by I. Zaitsev who admits, however, that it is not possible to make a final conclusion

about vassal dependency based on the extant sources [Zaitsev, 2004a, pp. 121–130].

Golden Horde and thus had a great deal in common with the culture of the late Golden Horde period (see [Mazhidenova, 2008, pp. 26–27; Pohekayev, 2009b, pp. 204–210]).

Considering the form and wording of letters by Sayyid-Ibrahim Khan and Abulek Khan written in the late 15th century, the Tyumen yurt apparently also adhered to the traditions of the Golden Horde's legal culture and bureaucratic order [Ambassadorial Book, 1984, pp. 16, 33; Ambassadorial Books, 1995, pp. 19, 32–33]. However, if we consider its successor, the Siberian Khanate, the situation turns out to be more complicated. As noted above, in the second half of the 16th century it was officially a vassal territory of the Bukhara Khanate. However, the official correspondence between Khan Kuchum (his relatives) and Moscow indicates that during that period the Siberian Khanate still adhered to legal and diplomatic traditions originating from the Golden Horde as such correspondence contains no traces of any influence from Central Asian legal culture. It is likely that the protocol for official acts as well as the fact that Kuchum was very actively positioning himself as a 'self-ruled man' were supposed to underscore his independence in the eyes of Moscow. The situation was slightly different if we consider internal legal policy. In this area Bukhara obviously exerted considerable legal influence, though not through its authorities but through its clergy. As is known, a considerable number of Muslim clerics (mostly adherents of the Naqsh-bandiyya and the Yesevi orders) followed Kuchum and his family to Siberia, whereas later both Kuchum Khan and his brother Akhmad Giray sent messages to Bukhara requesting that new Muslim clerics should be sent to them [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 164–169]. It is only natural that with the destruction of administrative and legal systems as well as with the lack of qualified administrators and men of law, the most competent members of the Khan's circle—the well-educated Muslim clerics—tended to carry out administrative, judicial, and law-making functions. Some of them became judges, while others

governed towns and cities. Consequently, they introduced into the legal culture of the Siberian Khanate some traditions of Central Asian Islam.

The legal culture of the Crimean Khanate, which for several centuries was officially under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, experienced the most significant influence of a foreign power. Although we have access to quite a number of narrative sources and acts, the degree of such influence has still not been adequately explored, and scholars have not yet reached consensus on this matter. Thus, V. Smirnov once wrote that the Crimean rulers and men of law accepted the Ottoman state, legal, and bureaucratic traditions to a considerable extent. M. Usmanov, in his turn, states that this influence was not significant, and that it did not even affect the fundamental principles of the Crimean legal system [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 82–83].

First, it should be noted that, although Ottoman political and legal ideology was foreign as regards the Crimean Khanate, it was not totally alien. On the contrary, its influence upon Crimean legal culture is seen as quite organic. This is because the Ottoman Empire, like the Turkic-Tatar states, largely inherited ancient Turkic traditions of state and law. This is why in Turkey (like in the post-Horde states), apart from the Sharia law, for a long time an important role was played by both monarchical law and common law. As a result, the Ottoman sultans generally saw nothing negative in Crimean law and did not see any need for a complete reorganisation, or 'Ottomanisation,' of the khanate's legal culture.

Nevertheless, unlike the Siberian Khanate, which was influenced by Central Asian legal tradition through Muslim clerics, the Crimean khans focused not on the Islamic aspects of Ottoman law but on monarchical and imperial aspects of the law. This was largely reflected by the transformation of the legal and bureaucratic traditions in Crimea where Ottoman features gradually replaced the legal legacy of the Golden Horde.

When did this process start? Most researchers link the 'Ottomanisation' of the

state and law in the Crimean Khanate with the activities of khans Saadat Giray I and Islam Giray II, who were educated and appointed by the sultan's court (see, for instance, [Halim Giray Sultan, 2004, p. 42; Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 150]). However, we believe that the first steps that brought the Ottoman tradition closer were taken soon after Mengli Giray officially acknowledged the Ottoman protectorate. Thus, his letter of 1486 addressed to Sultan Bayezid II is a good example of the official style of Ottoman. Addressing their suzerains, the khans had to use a style that was generally accepted at the courts of such suzerains (see, for example, [Grigoriyev, 1987, pp. 128–129]. This style gradually became so popular that the Crimean khans started to use it in their internal documents and diplomatic correspondence with other foreign sovereigns. Thus, V. Smirnov notes that the exquisite wording of letters that Islam Giray III sent to Moscow is an obvious sign of Ottoman influence [Smirnov, 2005, p. 387]. However, it should be noted that Islam Giray III was prone to pursue a policy of his own without reference to the Istanbul authorities... In the 17–18th centuries the khans' *yarliqs* were also often named *firman*s (the same word was used for similar types of edicts issued by the Ottoman sultans) (see, for instance, [Lashkov, 1895b, pp. 113–114]).

Bear in mind that in the Crimean Khanate the Turkish Sultan was treated as the principal spiritual authority, though only after 1584 when khan Islam Giray II (an appointee of Istanbul who was educated under Turkish traditions) ordered that *Khutbah*s should be given in the name of the Ottoman sultan [Halim Giray Sultan, 2004, p. 42; Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 150]. Remarkable enough, even after the Crimean Khanate attained independence as a result of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), the khans kept referring to the will of Sultan as caliph—the spiritual leader of Muslims. In fact, this was a religious and ideological figment employed by the last Crimean khans to veil the fact that they aligned their policies with Istanbul and even refused to join Russia in its war against

Turkey (see [Smirnov, 2005, pp. 184–185; Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 155–156]). Nevertheless, such relations between the Turkish sultans and the Crimean khans indicate that the Ottoman influence on the formation of the legal system in the Crimean Khanate was also supported by the spiritual authority of the sultan, who was also a caliph.

The Crimean clerics who received their education in Turkey also contributed significantly to the promotion of Ottoman legal traditions within the Crimean Khanate. No wonder that, being appointed to positions of influence as administrators or judges or to the Khan's court (up to the positions of *Sheikhsul-Islam* and *Kazaskers*), they brought with them the influence of Islamic theology and jurisprudence to the legal culture of Crimea (see [Boytsova, 2004, p. 49]).

And finally, one more area of the influence of the Ottoman legal tradition upon Crimean law includes the direct interference of the Turkish authorities in the legal relationships in the Crimean Khanate. Thus, for example, the Ottoman sultans repeatedly issued edicts affecting Crimean noblemen who were subjects of the Girays. At the same time, it should be noted that according to some of these edicts (*firman*s), they were issued following the khans' advice [Lashkov, 1985c, pp. 118–120]. However, we believe that the mere existence of such legal acts indicated that the Crimean noblemen grew more influential and independent of the khan's will to the extent that they were capable of initiating direct contact with the sultan's court in Istanbul. Indeed, it seems that the reference to the khans in the above edicts is a token of the sultans' courtesy towards them and their status. Another such case (found in the chronicles of the Crimean Karaites) is that of a Turkish Pasha who served as the sultan's ambassador during the reign of Murad Giray (there are numerous references to him) and who, upon arriving in Crimea, tried to impose a new annual tax upon the local population [Smirnov, 2005, p. 425]. Although the Pasha failed in the face of the opposition of both the khan and his subjects, the fact of such an attempt by the sultan's am-

bassador implies that the Ottomans felt that Crimea was under their jurisdiction. Another important example of the Ottoman authorities' interference into the political and legal practices of the Crimean Khanate is that of the Kaffa (i.e., the Ottoman) mufti Mevlana Abd ar-Rezzaq, who issued a fatwa resolving a dispute related to the throne between Ghazi Giray II and his brother, Fath Giray I. His ruling was in favour of the former [Boytsova, 2004, p. 49].

In conclusion, we would like to emphasise that the Ottoman legal traditions could hardly influence the legal culture of the Crimean Khanate if the two nations were not so close in the following two areas. First, as noted above, they shared a great deal due to their common Turkic origin in terms of the system of governance and the law. Second, the dominance of the Sharia system in both states came to be a powerful driver for the integration of the legal systems of Turkey and the Crimean Tatar state.

Jurisprudence in Turkic-Tatar states throughout the 15–18th centuries Summarising the above, we will give an overall picture of the legal systems of the Turkic-Tatar states, including the role played by legal relations in the society, the legal views (awareness) of the population, and the status of lawmakers and men of law. A review of the above suggests that in the post-Horde states, legal systems were quite well-developed. One can even say these states had their own jurisprudence (bearing in mind that this modern term can only be conditionally applied to the specifics of law in the late Middle Ages).

As contemporary scholarship on legal issues is rather Eurocentric, it is generally accepted that the oriental ('traditional') type of legal culture, where the principles of law, religion, and ethics are often inseparable, is rather imperfect. However, a close study of the development of a legal culture in the Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries demonstrates that this stereotype is wrong. The fact that the principles and rules of religion, law, and ethics are so closely interlinked does not demonstrate the underde-

velopment of legal culture in these states; it only expresses the specifics of the national mindset and sense of law.

Even in ancient times Turkic tribes had a distinct notion of the law (tore) and its features, as well as of legal behaviour, what is legal, crime, and punishment (see [Arsal, 2002, pp. 232–235; Pochekeyev, 2009]). As the Turkic states evolved, the early 'steppe empires' were replaced first by the state of Chinggis Khan and then by its successors (including the Golden Horde) and the post-Horde Turkic-Tatar states, and the Turkic legal culture grew became increasingly elaborate. However, this culture kept intact its main principles, which is evidenced by the written sources of the 15–18th centuries, which reflect the legal views of the ancient Turkic tribes and Turkic-Tatar nations.

Thus, the ancient Turkic epitaphs, the book 'Kutadgu Bilig' by Yusuf of Balasagun, and the Turkic epic tales 'Oguz-name' and 'Book of Dede Korkut' associate law and rights with specific persons, mostly the rulers and their advisers, whereas those who break the law act not only to the contrary of the ruler's will but also commit crimes against the Heavens and the divine order. A perfect monarch (or a ruler of lower rank) is a person who observes the laws established by himself, who arbitrates his subjects in the way of justice, and who does not impose a heavy tax burden (for more details, see [Pochekeyev, 2009, pp. 299–302]). A similar view is incorporated in the works of the Turkic-Tatar states during the post-Horde period. To give an example, let us turn to the poems of Muhammedyar, a Tatar author of the 16th century, who wrote about justice and observing the law, as well as about the perfect monarch, etc. [Muhammedyar, 2007, pp. 104, 137, 170; see also Amirkhanov, 2001, p. 155 ff.]. The principal character of 'Edigu,' a Tatar epic tale created in the late Middle Ages, is also an upright judge ensuring the rule of law set by the khan. He himself is a law-abiding subject who does not dare aspire to the throne because he does not belong to the khan's family [Edigu, 1990, pp. 24–27, 29, 208]. Note that the adoption of Islam as

the official religion of the Turkic-Tatar khanates in the late Middle Ages did not affect the perception of these basic principles of the Turkic law as, just like the Turkic *töre*, Sharia also treats legitimacy, orderliness, and justice as values. Consequently, Islamic political and legal ideology also viewed rulers as lawmakers endowed with power by Allah [Boytsova, 2004, p. 43]. Just as under the Turkic law, crimes under the Sharia were treated as a breach of heavenly rules as infringing a law also entailed an infringement of the rules prescribed by the Quran and Sunna [Boytsova, 2004, p. 45; Kerimov, 2007, p. 189].

The Islamic science of law evolved considerably in the Golden Horde. Throughout the history of this state, men of law shared their 'scientific experience' with their colleagues from neighbouring states. Thus, in the Golden Horde there were many *ulamas* from Iran [Muminov, 2004], whereas the legal scholars originating from Bulgar, Crimean, or Syr Darya regions (i.e., from the Golden Horde) taught law and worked as judges not only in the Jochid state but also in Iran, Central Asia, and Egypt (see, for instance, [Usmanov, 2000, p. 144]). No wonder that the Arab historians were very well aware of the legal scholars of the Golden Horde and their academic work; some Arab historians even wrote biographies of such men of law. (see [History of Kazakhstan, 2006]).

Unfortunately, we do not have detailed information on the legal science and scholars of the post-Horde states. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of decay in Jochid jurisprudence after the collapse of the Jochid state. Of course, the clerics, who played such an important role in the legal policy pursued by the Turkic-Tatar states, continued to act in line with the traditions established by the legal scholars of the Golden Horde. There is no sign of any significant works on the theory of Islamic law created during that period, although they continued to reproduce and comment on the works created in the Golden Horde. Today we refer to reproductions of Arab works on *fiqh* made in Crimea during the 16–18th centuries; the

chroniclers devoted a great deal of attention to the law [Zaitsev, 2009a, pp. 33, 34, 43–45, 55]. Thus, the Kazan khans of the 16th century accessed a voluminous library that included copies of works on Islamic law [Zaitsev, 2000; see also Trepavlov, 1999]. We also know about the work of Islamic legal scholars (*sheikhs*) who taught *fiqh* in the Kasimov Khanate [Rakhimzyanov, 2009, p. 76]. A special status in the legal culture of the Turkic-Tatar states (especially that of the Crimean Khanate) was held by works of Ottoman legal scholars who worked intensively on codifying and systematising Islamic law in the 15–16th centuries (especially during the reigns of Mehmed II Fatih and Suleyman I Kanuni) (see [Aydin, 2006, pp. 353–355]).

Thus, in the post-Horde states the science of the law was predominantly of a practical nature—that is, the men of law did not create any new works but studied, reproduced, and applied the classical works on Sharia and *fiqh*. This fact, however, does not mean that the level of legal knowledge in the post-Horde period declined; rather, the focus moved towards law-enforcement. This is why the works of legal scientists of the earlier periods remained popular and topical throughout the 15–18th centuries.

The practical application of Islamic legal theory was developed by *kazaskers*, *muftis*, and *ulamas*. During the reviewed period the main works on applied legal thought were the above-mentioned *kazasker saqqqs*, as well as the numerous *fatwas* and *risales* (letters, treatises) that clarified the application of legal principles to specific actions taken by the rulers (see, for instance, [Smirnov, 2005a, p. 117]).

The historic sources (both narrative and acts) mention many names of Islamic legal scholars who focused on practical law-enforcement. Thus, it is from the *kazasker* records that we know the names of the Crimean supreme judges, namely Mustafa (under Janibeg Giray), Ibrahim (under Selim Giray I and Devlet Giray II), Abdul Latif b. Omar (under Saadat Giray II), and Feyzullah Efendi (under Sahib Giray II) [Lashkov, 1896a,

pp. 72, 125, 133, 134]. Crimean sources also tell of opposition of two groups in the Crimean legal science at the beginning of the 18th century. These were Kazasker Abu-s-Samad and Mufti Abu-s-Suud [Smirnov, 1913, pp. 15–17], which means that it was not without contradictions and disputes that legal science in the Turkic-Tatar states developed. We have access to much less information about legal scholars in other Turkic-Tatar khanates. These include the sayyids that we know about from historic sources. Many of these sayyids acted as supreme judges in the Kazan and Kasimov Khanates, and also as the khan's advisers on policy and law (for more details see [Iskhakov, 1997a]).

In the Turkic-Tatar states legal knowledge was preserved, applied, and developed not only within the context of Sharia law. There were also experts in the principles and standards of imperial and common law, although today we can only make reasonable assumptions about them.

No doubt the monarchs themselves and other members of the Jochid family were well-versed in the principles and standards of imperial 'Chinggisid' law. Claiming to be successors of the empire of Chinggis Khan and the Golden Horde, the monarchs espoused their political and legal ideology. Recall that when rendering judgment on an inheritance dispute, Shaybani Khan ordered action according to the 'order established by Chinggis Khan'—that is, it was implied that the laws of the Mongol Empire's founder were well-known. The Crimean and Kazan khans as well as the Nogai beys also referred to the order established by Chinggis Khan (see, for instance, [Smirnov, 2005, p. 248; Bennigsen, Weinstein, 2009, p. 363]).

Incredible as it may seem, the officers of the khan's secretariat also shared imperial political and legal values. We say it was incredible because these were mostly Muslims, and we might assume they ought to protect and implement Sharia standards and principles. Nevertheless, they contributed much to the preservation in Turkic-Tatar states of the main forms and wordings of the khan's *yarliqs* and other official acts as they existed

during the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde (these issues were studied in detail; see [Özyetgin, 1996; Abzalov, 2009]).

The tribal chiefs and the elders who handed down legal knowledge from generation to generation within their families adhered to the values of common law of the Turkic-Tatar tribes. Unfortunately, we do not have access to any sources containing details of experts on the Turkic-Tatar common law. This is in contrast, for example, to the Kazakh beys who are mentioned in numerous legends and messages (see [Kazaktyn, 2004a]). Apparently, the lack of information on experts in common law in the Turkic-Tatar states is due to the fact that their role in the legal culture was much less important than that of the Kazakh beys as Sharia standards dominated in those states. Nevertheless, indirect details in the sources imply that such experts existed. Thus, for example, the Nogai beys and the Turkish and Persian historians of the 15–17th centuries refer to traditional common law (*tore* and *adat*), so there must have been people who possessed knowledge on this ancient Turkic law. When trying to reform the court system in the Crimean Khanate and to limit the role of Sharia courts, Khan Murad Giray appointed a *tore Bashi*, which means that by the end of the 17th century in Crimea there were also experts in Turkic common law. Recall that the common law in Crimea was not prosecuted by the Ottoman suzerains of the Crimean Khanate as in the Ottoman Empire itself common law ('*orfi*') played an important role that was integrated with the lawmaking activities of the Sultans ('*Qanun*') and Sharia [Aydin, 2006, pp. 323–335; see also Oreshkova, 1990].

Thus, we can conclude that the legal culture of the Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries was a complicated, multilevel, and sometimes contradictory system. However, it might be less developed than the legal culture of the Golden Horde, which situation would obviously stem from the weaker central power of the khan and the fact that it was not possible to ensure the most efficient implementation of Imperial ('Chinggisid') law, which would be a kind of driver for the integration

of the different legal systems within the context of the legal system of the Golden Horde. Nevertheless, the Turkic-Tatar states had a rather well-developed and unique legal culture which was no less and in some aspects even better developed than the legal culture of some countries in Europe and the Orient.

Thus, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the legal culture of the Turkic-Tatar states in the 15–18th centuries was an important stage in the development of Turkic-Mongol legal culture (on the one hand) and an important integral element of Turkic-Tatar civilisation.

§ 3. Structure of Power in the Late Golden Horde States

IskanderIzmaylov

Structure of the State System. The Khans.

The state system of Tatar Khanates was based on Golden Horde political traditions. The supreme power belonged to the Chinggisid khans. From a legal standpoint, all the khans (descendants of Chinggis Khan's son Jochi (Jochi), the founder of state—that is, Ulus Jochi or Ulugh Ulus) were deemed to collectively own all the Ulus, though de facto the real power belonged only to those khans who managed to gain loyalty and support of their kin and the most influential noblemen, and who were approved by the meeting of the most noble aristocrats (the Kurultai). This situation was due to a complicated system of succession to the throne. After the 14th century one had to be a Muslim to become Khan [Izmajlov, Isxakov, 2009, pp. 310–320]. This was a strict rule even for the Kasimov Khanate, where any sultan who converted to orthodoxy lost his rights to the throne. During the turmoil of 1359–1360 all of the Ak Horde Jochids were killed, and power was transferred to the khans of the Kok Horde (the line of the Tuqay-Temürids). As during the 15–18th centuries the throne in Ulus and the Tatar Khanates could be held only by the descendants of Jochi, even the most influential of the Ulugh karachi begs (beklyaribeks) always ruled the country on behalf of the khans, who were rulers in name only. All the Jochids of the Ak Horde used Old Tatar as their official language (the Volga turki), which was the only language to be used in official documents. Up to the 18th century this language was officially used by Russian officials for the purposes of diplomatic communication with the eastern countries. After

the collapse of the Jochid Ulus, the power in the new Khanates was taken by separate lines (clans) of the Jochid descendants: in Kazan power was seized by the descendants of Ulugh Muhammad; in the Crimea, by the Girays; and in the Siberian and Uzbek Khanates, by the Shaybanids.

It seems that as early as the 15th century after collapse of the Jochid Ulus, there arose a tendency to treat the khanates that sprung up as the inherited 'yurts' of the different Jochid dynasties. A record of this trend was preserved in one of the documents of the 'Ambassadorial Book for Nogai Affairs' for the year 1576. Among the other lands that previously paid fee to the Nogai beys and that joined the Moscow state (and thus, their obligations to regularly pay the fee to the Nogais were also transferred to the Russian state) the document lists 'the Tsar's Temir Qutlugh's yurt of Astrakhan as well as Alibey's yurt, and Altybey's [yur]t, and the Bulgarian Tsar's yurt, and Ardabey's yurt along with thirty Tumens...' [Ambassadorial Book, 2003, p. 47]. V. Trepavlov reasonably believes that the above refers to the territory of the Astrakhan Khanate (Temir Qutlugh's yurt), Kok Horde (the yurt of Orda Ichen), and the Kazan Khanate [the Alibey and the Altynbey Bulgarian Tsar's yurt] [Ibid., pp. 81–84]. This obviously was not just a folklore tradition, but it was of an official diplomatic and historiographic nature [Izmajlov, 2006, pp. 99–128]. No doubt that the rights of the Crimean Girays to their possessions were also secured in the Crimean historiography [Zajcev, 2009a, pp. 63–134].

Before 1518 the Kazan Khanate had only khans descended from Ulugh Mu-

hammad (except only that in 1496 the state had a Shibaniid as khan), and later it had only khans descended from Temur Qutlugh (1518–1552 with intervals) and the Girays (1521–1511 with intervals), whereas Yadigar Muhammad, the last Kazan khan who was a member of the Great Horde khan s' dynasty who ruled in the Astrakhan Khanate and whose genealogy goes back to Temur Qutlugh Khan. Another khan who was appointed by the implacable enemies of the Muscovite state headed by Mamich Berdey also seemed to be a descendant of Temur Qutlugh Khan (see [Khudyakov, 1991, pp. 174–188; Iskharov, Izmaylov, 2005, pp. 55–63]).

The ruling dynasty of the Crimean Khanate was a part of the Gireys (Girays) family (1443–1783) and descended from Khan Hacı Giray. Some historians [Usmanov, 1972] believe that this dynasty was named after the name of the Giray (Kiray) family or tribe who were quite widely known among the Mongols and Turkic-speaking nations of the Central Asia. From the late 15th century, when in 1478 Sultan Mehmed II enthroned in Crimea Mengli Giray, the son of Hacı Giray, the Girays became vassals to the Sultan of Turkey. Officially, such vassal relations were formalised during the reign of Islam Giray (1584–1588) when in the khutbahs the name of the Sultan began to be pronounced before the name of the Khan. To make the Girays more dependent on the Sultan, some members of this family lived in Istanbul (and later on the island of Rhodes); whenever a Crimean ruler fell out of the Sultan's favour, such a ruler was replaced by one of these Girays. The Girays took part in the war between Turkey and Poland, Moldavia, Russian State, and Iran and raided Russian, Polish–Lithuanian and other lands. The Girays were also members of the Divan, a high governmental body of the Crimean Khanate. After the Crimean Khanate was annexed to Russia (in 1783), Shahin Giray, the last Khan of Crimea waived his rights to the throne. Some of the Girays started to serve the Russian state, others moved to Turkey (see [Bakhrushin, 1936, pp. 29–61; Fisher, 1978, pp. 17–69; Vinogradov, 1999, pp. 58–69]).

The descendants of the Jochids (Tuqay-Temür and Shibani) had founded a number of khanates in the lands of the Kok Horde. However, there was one exception, when from 1495 to 1563 the state was ruled by local Taibug noblemen (Taibugids) [Frank, 1994].

In official terms, the khans were autocrats, their names were mentioned in the daily prayers (the khutbahs), and they affixed their seals to all the laws and acted otherwise in their representative capacity. In some of the cases they commanded the army though it is not quite clear whether they had any real influence upon the course of combat. However, it seems like some of the Kazan, Siberian, and Crimean khans were an exception. It is quite possible that a khan received a considerable part of the spoils of war as the organiser and commander. It is quite possible that some of the khans were so keen on warfare because they aspired to gain more war trophies. Wishing to strengthen their power within their countries, they had no other means to attract military and service class nobility aside from sharing the spoils of war with them, whereas inside the country the khan's powers were quite limited.

Every khanate had its own pattern of distributing power between the khan and the aristocracy. As a rule, the tarkhan and soyurghal yarliqs, which granted a certain family or person privileges for their service, were issued or confirmed on behalf of the khans. Apart from confirming the traditions of using the land, the khans obviously could also reallocate certain lands. Thus, for example, in the Crimean Khanate from 1530 the khans had the power to grant the lands they controlled (including the ploughed fields, hayfields, gardens, etc.) to the new owners, thus enabling such new owners to 'own the said land, to sow, and to cultivate it unhampered' (see [Bulletin of the Tauric Academic Archive Commission, 1895, pp. 85–87, 91]).

According to the sources, like in the other Tatar Khanates, the right of certain persons to own the granted land upon expiry of the prescribed period was subject to confirmation by the khans, who were the supreme owners

of the land. As a rule, the khans granted their confirmation. Thus, for example, according to the *yarliq*, Muhammad Giray, khan of the Crimean Khanate, granted his confirmation and after being 'offered a horse' issued a *yarliq* with a scarlet tamga and blue seal ordering that 'the above named emirs... and their families should own the granted lands free and unhampered' (Ibid., p. 88).

However, this does not mean that the khan held absolute power. On the contrary, all we know about the Tatar rulers is that only a few of them truly tried to rule in a sovereign and autocratic manner. As a rule, such attempts resulted in military takeovers by the Tatar nobles. The most dramatic examples come from the history of the Kazan Khanate, where the territory was divided into *darugas* that were in fact ruled by the *karachi* begs. In other words, though owning unoccupied lands was one of the key privileges of medieval lords, the khans possessed none in reality. Moreover, the noblemen of the Kazan Khanate took care as not to allow the khans to freely allocate the lands or grant the right to collect taxes and duties. Sources say that any attempts made by the khans to strengthen their power in terms of disposing of land or money were fiercely opposed by the aristocratic clans. We should recall that misappropriation of *soyurgals* and land was the main accusation levelled against many khans, from Muhammed Amin to Sheikh Ali. Thus, in a letter dated 1541 and addressed to the Grand Prince of Moscow by Ulugh *karachi* beg Bulat 'and all the Kazan land' the noble Tatars listed the offences committed against them by Khan Safa Giray, namely: 'the people of Kazan suffer of much pressure exerted by the sovereign who has withdrawn the *yarliqs* from many of the princes and has given these *yarliqs* to the people of Crimea' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 2000, p. 99]. One of the diplomatic charters also refers to these accusations against Khan Safa Giray: 'if a person's father died, he (that is, the khan—I. I.) deprived him of his father's income; if a person's elder brother died, he also did not allow the younger brother to get the income of his elder one'

[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1793, pp. 269–274]. Most likely, in this case (which was neither the first nor the last in the host of conflicts between the khans and the nobles) the conflict was about the khan's right to approve the *tarkhan* and *soyurgal* *yarliqs*. Having misappropriated this right, Safa Giray khan granted the right to collect taxes and duties to his henchmen, thereby trying to gain wider social support. However, as a result, he lost all support of the Tatar clans and was overthrown. Nevertheless, he was able to recover his lost throne with the help of the Nogai, to whom he gave the position of one of the *karachi* begs (the Prince of the Nogais) as well as money and land obviously taken from the clan noblemen. However, this did not put an end to the opposition between the Kazan noblemen and the khan. The khan has died in his own palace under mysterious circumstances, and his successors failed to retain the throne for longer than a year. Sheikh Ali, his successor, wise in experience of his predecessors, pursued the same policy. As a result, the khanate lost all of its stability and strength. Thus, it may be concluded that issuing the *tarkhan* and *soyurgal* *yarliqs* (which was obviously his right and privilege), the khan could not take these away from any person at his own discretion and grant these to his supporters (the privilege of disposing of the land, taxes, and duties belonged to the Tatar clans and the rural communities). No khan had the power to destroy this system without running the risk of being buried in its ruins, as happened in the case of the Kazan Khanate. It appears that *ulus* re-distribution in the Kazan Khanate and in the Jochid *Ulus* was of an extraordinary nature, the usual granting practice being limited to confirming owners' rules, like 'since the reign of the late Khan Uzbek and until today...', 'in *yarliqs* issued by Chinggis Khan and the succeeding khans,' 'we bestowed a grant according to the old custom,' etc. In other words, it is not only the reference to the granting tradition (which seems to constitute the reasoning for the granting) that is notable, but also the *yarliqs* being confirmative rather than recording a grant. An

elaborate system of inheriting any land and income must have existed preventing everybody, including the khan, from obtaining any property or rights to it in an arbitrary manner. That is, again, unless the khan wanted to turn the nobility entirely against him. There seem to have been opportunities that khans, for example, Safa Giray, occasionally took to avoid 'granting' a *yarliq* for a vacant property or *soyugal* to its inheritors, or to confiscate the property of disloyal aristocrats. Nevertheless, it was generally clear that the khan's efforts were illegal and could not become an 'ancient custom.'

In this respect, it appears that the historians who studied the structure of land-related relations and khans' rights limited themselves to West European analogies and the common idea of 'autocratic' khans possessing absolute power. The following passage by historian Sh. Muhamedyarov, who is generally very careful and scrupulous, is representative of this: 'The khan who enjoyed a combination of political authority over the population of the Kazan Khanate and control over land would issue *soyugal* charters to his vassals. Sahib Giray's charter establishes a number of privileges for him without distinguishing between political rights and those related to property only' [Muhamedyarov, 1958, p. 16]. S. Alishev wrote similar things, believing that earnings from national land and income raised with it in the form of *yasak* would 'be added to the khan's treasury' and applied to the maintenance of the army and officials [Alishev, 1990, p. 40]. However, the problem seems to reside in another aspect. It is unlikely that the khan managed the khanate treasury. Most probably, he raised certain funds with his *tarkhan* rights, just like other feudal lords did, while the *divan* managed the khanate treasury. In this respect, the property rights of Kazan feudal lords were inextricably linked with their class (or political) status, which is characteristic of medieval societies.

The khan himself would own land, an *ulus* of his own. Fragmentary evidence dating back to a later period suggests that such a khan's 'domain' did exist. For instance, the

Scribe's Book of 1565 reads as follows: '...in the village of Nurdulatov... there was vacant land that used to belong to Tsar Mohammad Amin [Copy, 1910, p. 104]. Historians estimate the number of such estates in the Volga Region and in Trans-Kazan to have been about 20 [Istoriya Tatarskoj ASSR, 1951, p. 137]. That is, the khan had at least land of his own, though his plots appear to have been detached and small. It would be very reasonable to suppose that the khan received the land upon his enthronement. It is unclear whether khans owned such lands from the time of Ulugh Muhammad or it is what remained of the land initially allocated to the khan. The khan's *ulus* could also include towns. The fortress of Iski Kazan (Kamayev archaeological site), where Khan Jan-Ali was imprisoned following his subversion, might have been one. Some archaeological discoveries indicate a probability that Russian captives were kept there. In any case, khans depended on the Tatar clan nobility in terms of law and (property) relations, for it was the aristocracy who gave them khan's land to control during their reign (a kind of *soyugal* for the period of their khanate).

The structure of the khan's power required consolidation. That is why the khan of the Crimean Khanate, beginning in the late 15th century, wanted to appoint a successor in advance, whom he could entrust to command the army and attend diplomatic negotiations (see [Smirnov, 2011, pp. 265–273]).

Karacha begs, headed by the Shirins (Ulugh karachi begs), apparently played a major role in enthroning khans in their state as well as in the general implementation of state policy. This applies at the very least to the Crimean Khanate and the Kazan Khanate. In a way, Shirin karachi beg Agysh was right to boast, 'Has not the cart got two axes? The right axis is my ruler khan; the left one is me, my brothers, and my children' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 39–40]. Official sources present a very vivid description of the official status of each clan. In a manner of speaking, karachi begs established the khan's authority, while he affirmed their powers. Direct evidence is

available of their taking oaths to ratify agreements with foreign powers and other internal rulers—the khan's brothers and sons, religious authorities, and the khan's chancellors [Ibid., pp. 20, 211]. In the Kazan Khanate *karacha* begs participated in all negotiations held on behalf of 'the entire land of Kazan' to invite khans to take the throne, to which fact the following phrase refers: '...from sayyids, Ulans, Princes, Karachis, and the entire Kazan state' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 2000, pp. 31–32, 56–57, 68, 81, 167]. However, no information on the ceremony of enthroning the khan in the Kazan Khanate has come down to us. It was probably similar to that of the Kasimov and Crimean Khanates.

No data is available regarding the existence of an officially proclaimed successor to the throne having a special title, as it was in some other late Golden Horde states. The throne was passed from father to son, though cases of brother succeeding to brother's power took place from the late 15th century and even earlier. In the event that the ruling dynasty was extinct, the Tatar aristocrats would invite a Chinggisid from among the closest Jochid relatives to take the throne. For instance, Sheikh Ali and khans of the Giray clan were enthroned under the pressure of the Grand Prince of Moscow.

A special set of court officials served directly to the khan, of which Russian chronicles mention a butler and an equerry. Beg Shakh Abbas, son of Shaam, and Beg Batike are known to have occupied the positions, respectively, in 1551 during the reign of Sheikh Ali.

Court officials also included an *atalyk*, who taught the khans' children, and an *imildash* (for more details on the term, see: [Vásáry, 1983])—that is, milk brothers of the khans and their children; Russian documents refer to the terms as 'dyadka' and 'mamich.' Though seemingly archaic, the roles were essential to the social structure of Turkic-Tatar states. In fact, they acted as mediators between the Chinggisid khans and the local nobility. Both parties benefited from the relations: they enabled Tatar aristocrats to get

closer the throne, ensuring a support among the nobility or the khans, who enjoyed devoted service and high reliability. *Atalyks* were not merely teachers and instructors but principal advisors to the khans-to-be, the ones who actually formed the policy of their pupils without occupying any high office. Needless to say, personal qualities and credibility of the *atalyk* and his clan largely determined whether his pupil would be elected khan. Similarly, the choice of *imildashes* formed a mutual commitment between the sultan as well as the khan-to-be and the clans of their 'milk brothers.' As well as marriage, choosing 'imildashes' and the 'atalyk' was a crucial task and an important way of enhancing the khan's power. It is no wonder that many *atalyks* were previously otherwise distinguished. For instance, the *atalyk* of Khan Safa Giray, Talysh, was a military commander, fought on the Ityakovo field in 1524, and fell in the war of 1530, while the tutor to Safa Giray's children *atalyk* Ali Shakhul is mentioned in Russian sources as a high official; one of the city gates of Kazan were called the *Atalyk Gate*. The Tatars held milk brothers in respect treating them as close relatives. For example, in the time of the conquest of Kazan, Khan Yadygar's two *imildashes* were taken prisoner along with the khan as members of his family. The famous initiator of the struggle against the Russian conquerors Mamich Berdy could have been an *imildash* of one of Kazan khans, which would make him one of the most noble representatives of the remaining Kazan aristocracy.

A class delegate body known as the *quriltai*, which addressed all key national issues (including formal khan elections and dethronement, declarations of war, etc.), was a way in which the military and service class nobility and the clergy could influence the national affairs [Khudyakov, 1991, p. 194]. Russian sources mostly refer to it as 'the entire land of Kazan.' As calculated by M. Khudyakov, Russian sources mention 'the entire land of Kazan' 14 times [Ibid., pp. 191–195], though it is obvious that the *quriltai* had more gatherings, at least 15: to dethrone the khan (Mamuk in 1496, Safa Giray in 1541

and 1546, and Jan-Ali in 1535), to enthrone the khan (Sheikh Ali in 1519 and 1551, Safa Giray in 1535 and 146), and to sign peace and shert (sworn) agreements with Muscovite Rus (1516, 1518, 1524, 1530, 1531, 1546, 1551). Chronicles suggest that declaring a khan was a long process. The negotiations were mainly aimed at agreeing on the shart-name to establish the parties' rights and responsibilities. After the parties agreed on every item, the ceremony of signing—sealing the charter—took place during a congress. The following is a description of the event by a chronicler dated 1551: 'And tsar Shigalei and the entire land of Kazan took an oath to the king... And the tsar ensealed the sworn charters with his seals, and the best men of Kazan set their hands to it' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, 1965, p. 65].

It is beyond any reasonable doubt that the qurultai gathered much more often; but written sources do not reflect some of the meetings. The information available on other Tatar khanates is also fragmentary and requires some special research. In fact, the quriltai has a long Turkic-Tatar history [Khudyakov, 1991, pp. 191–192; Fyodorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 168–169; Pelenski, 1978] and changed in form significantly over the centuries—from a public assembly to the council of the high aristocracy. Contrary to the opinion expressed by G. Fyodorov-Davydov, it was not an archaic institution but a form of class representation for the high clan aristocracy during the period of the Jochid Ulus. It was a way to institutionalise its power and secure its privileges. In the Kazan Khanate, which borrowed the institution from the Jochid Ulus, it developed into an efficient instrument of preserving and entrenching the status-based power of the high Tatar aristocracy. The closest historical equivalents of the quriltai of the Kazan Khanate are sejm of the szlachta in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which were the only body to elect the king, the veche of Novgorod, which elected the prince, and the aristocrat congress in the Holy Roman Empire, which also elected the emperor. That is, the analogy

enables us to call the governmental system of the Kazan Khanate an aristocratic republic. Thus, it appears very natural that Russian historians applauding the 'democratism' of the Novgorod veche tended to ignore the fact that the Tatars had a very democratic institute of power with roots in an ancient tradition and that exercised real influence on national affairs; to admit it would mean to give up the essential mythologem of the Tatars having enhanced the autocratic trend or to accept the fact that the Tatars of Kazan did not constitute a permanent military threat to Rus since the khan did not possess the military power we would require, while the Kazan aristocracy had no motive to wage wars at Russia—any success would be dubious, it would be impossible to keep whatever they could conquer, and, to crown it all, any victory would enhance the khan's credibility and authority.

It was the divan (state council) composed of representatives of the Tatar high nobility (sayyids, karachi begs, oglans) what held the real power in the Kazan Khanate between quriltais. [Khudyakov, 1991, p. 191]. In a manner of speaking, it was an operational control body. Most probably, the divan controlled the state apparatus of the executive power. There must have been some separation of duties within the divan (for instance, the sayyid would clearly play a major role in international affairs), but this requires extensive research and comparison.

The Ulugh karachi beg (kaymakan or shirin bey according to the Crimean terminology) of the Shirin clan also executed the supreme administrative and military power in the Crimean Khanate (the most famous officials include Emenek of the late 15th century and Jan-Temür-murza of the first half of the 18th century). They had their residence in Solkhat (Eski Qırım). Other key positions included the or-beg, responsible for maintaining the international security of the state, who had his residence in Perekop. The khan agasy (vizier) and a number of different officials, known as kazandarbashi, aktachibashi, defterdarbashi, killarjibashi, etc., were responsible for finance and tax-

es. The positions were usually divided up between the ruling clans. When Crimea became independent of the Turkish Empire, the sultan's representative began to play an important role in its life.

Different khanates had different state apparatuses depending on local customs and foreign influence. The Kazan structure of authority appears to have preserved more features characteristic of the Golden Horde. Its administrative and fiscal apparatus included a number of categories of officials—apart from emirs and the sayyid, the yarliq of Khan Sahib Giray mentions such positions as hakim, kazi, mawali zaawel-ikhtiram, wakil, makaaman, ichi, baqchachi, kshti-baanan, guzar-baanan, tutnagul, and tamgachi [Khuudyakov, 1991, pp. 206–210; Usmanov, 1979, pp. 222–227]. In addition, the following types of officials are known: 'keeper of the tsar of Kazan'—that is, the head treasurer, khan's butler, equerry, weapon keeper, bakshi (scribes, secretaries) [Alishev, 1990, pp. 51–52]. A series of such categories has been known since the period of the Jochid Ulus. Clergymen were also engaged in the national affairs, especially in diplomatic missions [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005, pp. 81–84].

The governmental system of the Crimean Khanate was largely determined by Ottoman influence but still preserved certain traditional elements and structures. The divan (state council) constituted a way in which the aristocracy could influence national affairs. The divan included the qalga, the nuraddin, the shirin bey, the mufti, representatives of the Tatar high nobility headed by karachi begs of the four ruling clans, who could at the same time occupy governmental positions, other senior managers, and the serakesirs (rulers) of the three nomadic hordes (Bucak, Yesidan, Nogai). The divan was responsible for all national affairs; it would approve and decide complicated cases beyond the jurisdiction of social class and local courts, in particular the allocation of the national expenditures, including the cost of maintaining the khan and his court [Smirnov, 2011; Syroechkovskiy, 1940; Fisher, 1978].

Information on the government and state structure of the Khanates of Astrakhan and Kasimov as well as those of the Great Horde is far less extensive; but they also observed the earlier governmental tradition of the Jochid Ulus to which they added a few particular features [Zajtsev, 2004, pp. 203–226; Rakhimzyanov, 2009, pp. 65–77; Trepavlov, 2010, pp. 28–38].

Military and Service Class Nobility. Tatar Ruling Clans. In fact, power over Tatar khanates belonged to the military and service class nobility, or 'service class Tatars' according to Russian terminology. The ruling highest ranks of society were represented by the khan, members of his family, and four more classes: Muslim priesthood, princes and murzas, and the Cossacks living at the court (ichki) and beyond it. It is plausible that ichki had a higher status and were begs themselves [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 61–80].

The social organization of the nobility in the Kazan Khanate had a hierarchic system connected with the rights to own land (or levy a certain kind of taxes) as a conditional (soyurgal) right, for which a nobleman had to serve his suzerain, and conditional-unconditional one (tarkhan), that is relief of duty (partial or complete) in favor of the khan. The highest representatives of nobility were represented by oglans, karaches and emirs, then came murzas, and the layer of knights, represented by bagaturs and Cossacks. Waging war was the main activity of the service class. It is no coincidence that one can often read in epitaphs referring to the 16th century that so-and-so 'was martyred by a disbeliever' [Rakhim, 1930, pp. 164, 169].

The term 'chura' which was preserved in authentic written sources and Tatar narratives is especially noteworthy. As we have already mentioned above, this term has nothing in common with the denomination 'kol,' it denoted military servants which can be clearly seen from epic literature 'Chura-Batyr' or 'History of Kazan' describing the escape of Chura Narykov. Basically the term 'chura' could be combined with such well-known oriental military terms as 'gulyam' or 'mamluk.' Gulyams and mamluks were slaves,

young boys often bought in slave markets, they were trained at special military camps, turning them into professional heavily armed warriors who were able to fight against European knights. As for their social status, they often obtained quick promotion becoming the rulers of the whole states (for example, the state of Mamluks in Egypt or India). Nevertheless most likely the term "chura" means the general name of the class of military servants—the knights. The indications of historians (for example, the one according to which Edigu was the 'chura' of khan Tokhtamysh [Usmanov, 1972, p. 94], Tatar narratives about military servants and earlier Turkic tradition going back to the epoch of Turkic khaganates are evidence of that. He was known in the Volga Region where he was registered at least since the latter half of the 12th century and broadly used in the set of titles between the 13th and the 15th centuries denoting the representatives of military class, knights (see [Khakimzyanov, 1978, pp. 80–82]. Later after the Russian conquest this term, was displaced from social practice by another name of military class—the "serving Tatars." Contrary to the opinion of certain researchers [Khudyakov, 1991, pp. 199–206], most likely not the representatives of nobility possessing patrimonial estates but the Cossacks (rank and file, decurions, centurions) got lands for their service. Probably up to one the fourth land estates of the state belonged to them. This conclusion is evidenced by the fact that, during the first decades after the Russian conquest, the so called "serving Tatars" were rewritten as groups dispersed in many villages as landed classes (see: [Scribe's Book, 1978]).

The social organisation of the nobility in the Crimean Khanate also had an hierarchic system connected with rights to own land (or impose a certain kind of taxes), for which the owners were to serve to their suzerain. The high nobility was represented by descendants of the Girays—the qalga, the nuraddin, and other sultans, murzas and begs, and small service nobility known as emeldyashi and sirdashi.

The structure of the aristocracy in Tatar khanates relied on land relations. The mil-

itary feudal system was presented by two major types of hereditary ownership—conditional (soyurgal, suyurgal) and conditional unconditional (tarkhan). The owner was obliged to serve his suzerain (generally it was a khan but it can be assumed that the power was mediated by the headmen of Tatar clans), and he received hereditary possession in return, a certain tax and administrative-judicial immunity. So military service was the major and the most important duty of the owner of soyurgal although its order and duration dictated by the custom are unclear. A fragment of the "History of Kazan" may serve as an illustration for such an assembly: "And Kazan Tsar Sapkirey, listening to the great voivodes of Moscow, decided to send princes and murzas to all Kazan uluses ordering them to gather in Kazan, get ready for the siege, and wait for the enormous Russian forces" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 2000, p. 252].

All serving class aristocracy and, largely, the clergy in the Kazan Khanate were representatives of Tatar clans and tribes. A more accurate way to express the idea is to say that there was no military service class in Kazan, except for the Tatar one, as well as in the Jochid Ulus that means nobody could become a part of nobility unless he belonged to a Tatar clan, and correspondingly, all representatives of this class belonged to one or another clan in view of relative and family ties. Among all the clans of the Tatar khanates (and their registries, for example, in the state of Shibanids, numbered up to one hundred titles) four clans were especially outstanding from the standpoint of noble rank and might—the Shirins, the Arghyns, the Kipchaks, and the Baryns. These were four ruling clans, and the tradition of their distinguishing (the names of certain clans vary from khanate to khanate) goes back to the state structure of the Jochid Ulus and further to the times of the Ancient Turks (see [Shamil'oglu, 1993, pp. 44–60]).

In spite of the large number of sources available and even contrary to them, some historians tend to deny the very possibility that the system might have existed either due

to the lack of direct mentions in sources or in terms of general considerations. However, various sources from Russian chronicles to Tatar literary works provide direct evidence that the four clans did exist and play an important role in the history of Tatar khanates, especially the Khanates of Kazan and Kasimov and the Crimean Khanate (see [Iskhakov, 1995; Iskhakov, 1998; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005]). It seems reasonable to quote the following lines of an agreement between Moscow and Kazan: 'Also we will receive from you no Tatars, and you shall not receive none of my people but from the kin of the Shirin, and Baryn, and Arghyn, and Kipchak' [Collection, 1819, no. 27, p. 33].

Four clans of the Crimea were especially outstanding from the standpoint of gentleness and might—the Shirins, the Arghyns, the Baryns, and the Kipchaks (Yashlavs) [Manz, 1978; Inalchik, 1995]. The Nogai Manghit (Mansur) and Sidjeut clans joined them later. A constant rotation of clans, that of the Manghits replacing the Arghyns, the Kipchaks, or the Baryns in power structures, could take place during the 16–18th centuries. Later in the 18th century the Manghits were able to force even the Shirins off the political stage but failed to neutralise their influence completely. Members of the clans, especially Shirins, were influential both as messengers and hostages. For instance, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania usually demanded Shirin hostages, once even along with some of the Baryn clan [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 613]. The Kipchaks and the Arghyns were less influential within the system, which is attributable to their specialisation in the 'Russian' policy. The ruling clans enjoyed the privilege of marrying Girays—'the khan only marries his daughters off to those begs and their sons' [Inalchik, 1995, p. 76], the Shirins and the Manghits again being the most influential ones [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 40, 401].

The reason why the ruling clans played such a major role in Tatar khanates' policy is that they constituted a vast majority of the army. Sources dated the first thirty years

of the 16th century claim the Shirins alone to have been able to provide up to 20,000 horsemen; during the anti-Circassian campaign of 1543 the Shirins provided 5,000; the Arghyns and the Kipchaks, 3,000 each, and the Manghits, 2,000 warriors [Inalchik, 1995, p. 76]. The clans were too powerful for the khans to confront them. Characteristically, when the ruling clans were jointly opposed to Sahib Giray, who wanted to build his power according to the model of Turkish sultans and found a regular army, in 1551 the latter was dethroned and replaced by Devlet Giray.

Thus, the ruling clans did not merely exist as ethnic and social communities in Kazan, Kasimov, and the Crimea—they were the regional leaders and interacted intensely sheltering their relatives in exile. The materials constitute a reliable evidence of the four ruling clans being a real power in East European Tatar khanates.

Karachi begs of the four ruling clans, the Shirins, the Arghyns, the Baryns, and the Kipchaks, from among which the Ulugh karachi beg (the great karachi beg), usually a Shirin, was appointed—in fact, the head of the government and the commander-in-chief. As in the Crimea, it was usually a representative of the Shirin clan. Two prominent statesmen of the Kazan Khanate, Bulat Shirin and his son Nur-Ali Shirin, who were in control of the national policy for several decades, also originated from that clan.

The community of Tatar clans in the Siberian Khanate was headed by other clans, which seems attributable to the ethnosocial structure of the khanate. The prominent clans of the Kok Horde were the Manghits, the Jalairs, the Qongirats, the Saljiuts, the Naymans, etc. (see [Iskhakov, 2011, pp. 94–114]).

Taxable Population. Most of the population was taxable (*kara halik*)—peasants, who apparently paid taxes and duties to the government, were called personally free 'people' *keshelär*, while 'slaves' dependent on the feudal lords were referred to as *kollar*. More recent sources (Russian scribes' books and official documents, which most probably can

be extrapolated to the earlier period in the history of the Kazan Khanate) suggest that a vast majority of the Muslim population was national subjects, the Tatar nobility owing only a small part of it. Prisoners captured during military campaigns could be among the latter.

The terms to denote the category of personally dependent peasants, 'kullar,' have been disputed in historical literature. As early as the 1920s G. Gubaydullin accepted the untested interpretation of the word 'chura' presented in K. Nasyri's notes, who recorded a folk legend about a murza who had many 'chura kol' [Nasyri, 1977, p. 50], which led to him perceiving the two terms as an integral notion; he even coined the term 'chura holders,' which he applied to feudal lords of the period of the Kazan Khanate [Gubaydullin, 1925, pp. 12, 47, 78]. In more recent historical works the term was either used as synonymous to 'slave' in the context of 'kol' or ignored without providing any serious account of why the mistake had been made. Finally, M. Usmanov analysed the term in detail in his work of Tatar historical sources, noting that the fact that authentic sources use it to denote persons of a definitely noble origin did not substantiate an interpretation of it as synonymous to the term 'kol' [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 93–95]. Even though the issue seems very clear, S. Alishev revived the term 'kol-chura' or 'kul-chulara' in a number of recent works as 'a person fully dependent on their master and legally deprived of rights.' He then explained that the 'kol-chury' would work in the field or in their feudal lords' estates but could also have a household of their own [Alishev, 1990, p. 43]. In fact, the latter statement does not rely on any material, even the legend recorded by K. Nasyri, for it described armed horsemen, 'servants and dzhigits,' who gathered at the call of their murza. Does it mean that slaves in the Kazan Khanate also had horses and weapons? As the term is clearly beyond the concept of slave accepted by the historical community, it obviously refers not to slaves shedding sweat onto the ground but military servants spilling their blood and that of the others on the battlefield.

Yasak (yasak-kalan) was the main type of taxes in Tatar khanates; other types of land and income taxes and duties (salyg mussama, tamga-tartnak, kharaj, and more) also existed, as well as such duties as that to supply victuals to the army and the authorities (anbar-maly, ulufa-susun, etc.), provide transfer (ilchi-kunak), etc. Moreover, there existed a number of Muslim taxes (goshur and zakat) payable to the clergy as well as those imposed on subordinated non-Muslim peoples (jizya). The total number of taxes and duties was up to 16; over 10 categories of officials were responsible for collecting them. The population of subordinated areas also paid taxes (yasak) and charges to the government as well as to individual feudal lords and had to fulfil duties to the government and the nobility.

Most of the population of the Crimean Khanate were also tributaries who were to pay taxes to the government or to their feudal lords. The key taxes included the yasak and other taxes, charges, and duties, such as to supply victuals to the army and the authorities (anbar-maly, ulufa-susun, etc.), provide transfer (ilchi-kunak), etc., all traditional for Tatar states. Moreover, there existed a number of Muslim taxes (goshur and zakat) payable to the clergy. Grants from Turkey, in particular, remuneration for the participation of Tatar military contingents in the sultans' campaigns, monetary contributions paid by the neighbouring Poland and Russia to prevent invasion to their territory, and plunder ensured a large inflow to the treasury of the Kazan Khanate. The amount of Russia's monetary payments to the Crimean Khanate ('pominki' in Russian) was up to 12 roubles (in the mid–17th century) (see [Bakhrushin, 1936]).

Therefore, a class and clan power system originating in the well-established tradition of the Turkic people in Eurasia functioned in Tatar khanates. Khans belonging to various tribes of the Jochid clan had the power. However, the khans would be unable to rule their countries efficiently without the support of Tatar clans. They all had a hierarchic system generally confined to four ruling

clans (the earliest of them being the Shirins, the Baryns, the Arghyns, and the Kipchaks). Further rotation caused changes to the set of clans and their importance in the administration of the state. The administrative apparatus was quite traditional, also originating in the Golden Horde. The internal and external conditions determined regular transformations. For instance, the adminis-

trative apparatus of the Crimean Khanate in the 16–17th century largely took the Turkish pattern, though some special features were also present. In general, the material referred to in this work suggests that the Jochid Ulus was a class representative feudal monarchy with the ulus and beg administration system, headed by the Tatar ruling elite consisting of four clans.

CHAPTER 5

Spiritual Culture

§ 1. Spiritual Culture of the Kazan Khanate

Gamirzan Davletshin

The Kazan Khanate did not exist for long. And yet, the time allocated to it in the course of the history was mostly wasted either on internal conflicts or on fighting with foreign invaders. Nevertheless, even in such a short historical period, Kazan became a cultural centre for the regions of Volga, Kama, Ural, and Siberia, and the Kazan Khanate could rise up to the level of the advanced countries of the East and Eastern Europe. The Kazan Khanate became a worthy successor to the rich cultural heritage of the Bulgar, the Golden Horde.

Islam and Muslim Theology. Islam evolves, gets more firmly established in Kazan. Unlike Bulgar and Golden Horde societies, the Bulgar-Tatar population of the Kazan Khanate no longer have any problem with adopting and spreading Islam. Islam has already become a centuries-old tradition in the Kazan Khanate. The people mostly lived in accordance with the Sharia. Islam was indeed an established state religion. The throne could be taken only by a Muslim.

The official character of Islam is also reflected in state documents, mainly in charters (*yarliqs*), where the khans justified their words and political actions by mentioning the names of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad. It is clearly seen in the *yarliq* of Khan Sahib Giray (1523) [Vakhidov, 1925a], where 'great sayyids, qadis' are mentioned right after the emirs and hakims (local authorities). As it is seen from the text, sayyid was not just one. Yet in some sources he is presented as the highest religious figure ('High Priest') of the country having immense authority.

The nature of Islam as a state religion is reflected in the fact that Muslim religious leaders took part in state affairs. The sayyids usually were the heads of embassies and per-

formed important assignments of the khans. Russian rulers, who were well aware of the authority and high rank of the sayyids in the Kazan Khanate, strove to use them to their advantage. Sh. Marjani wrote: 'When sending letters to the Kazan khans through ambassadors, Russian princes attached a separate letter and gifts personally for Mullah Şarifkol (Kul-Sharif.—G.D.) [Märcani, 1989, p. 200]. The person we are talking about is a renowned religious and social figure, the last Supreme Sayyid of the Kazan Khanate Kul-Sharif. A special work by D. Iskhakov [Iskhakov, 2011] is dedicated to the sayyids in the Tatar Khanates.

The development of Muslim theology ('ilm') continues in the Kazan Khanate as well. The Quran remains the Great Book of Muslim enlightenment and pedagogy for the Muslims in this period as well. Nazip-Nak-kash-Ismagil studies these issues more thoroughly [Näkkäş, 1997].

The enlightened people of Kazan wrote comments to this Holy Book. One of them, 'Quran Tafsir,' written in 1508, has survived up to the modern times. And 'The Collection of Hadiths'—that is, the deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad—was composed in 1552. Like in the earlier times, the scholars, poets, and enlightened people in general would confirm their thoughts by *ayahs* from the Quran, by Hadiths. Those who knew the Quran by heart were called the hafiz. This term can be seen also in the epitaphs of the Kazan Khanate [Yusupov, 1960, text 8].

A qadi, like in the Jochid Ulus, was one of the reverent in the religious hierarchy. In the *yarliq* of Sahib-Ghirey of 1523 they were mentioned right after 'great sayyids.' The qadis composed the Fatwa [Möxämmät Ämin, 2004, p. 269]. In 'The History of Ka-

zan' 'molns (mullahs), and sayyids, and shiis (sheikhs), and shihizgadehs (sheikhzadeh), and molzhadihs (mullahzadeh), imams, taze-his (hajis?), and afazis (hazifs)... are mentioned among the religious figures. [The History of Kazan, 1954].

And in this period fiction remains the most efficient means of promoting the religious and any other sciences in general. The introductory parts of Muhammedyar's poems are a kind of a brief history of Islam. The poems are short stories about the Prophets, the first righteous caliphs and famous people in the Islamic world as well as information about astronomy, geography, and medicine. And the poem by Muhammad Amin 'Mogjizname' is entirely dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad, to his fictional character to be more precise.

The works of Muhammedyar, and especially those of Kul-Sharif, are full of Sufi ideas. For example, the characters of 'Kyissai Hubbi Hoja' are historical figures: Ahmed Yesevi, Khakim Suleiman, and their close ones, different extraordinary events from their lives are described. [Kul-Sharif, 1997, pp. 43–65]. One of the Sufi centres in the Kazan Khanate was Chelnin fiefdom (ulus?) [Garif, 2006, p. 82b]. Probably such Sufi orders existed also in other regions of the country.

The capital of the Kazan Khanate was one of the main centres for spreading Islam among the peoples of the Volga and Ural Regions. Here numerous missionaries of Islam were prepared, big cathedral mosques, mausoleums of saints, khans, and their confidants were built. The presence of 'Tarsifs' (the Quran interpretation in the Tatar language) speaks of the wide spread of Muslim propaganda and missionary work.

Thus, Kazan as well as Bulgar carried on the tradition of the 'northernmost outpost' of Islam. Religious tolerance, the characteristic of the whole Turkic-Tatar history, was preserved.

Islamic devotees were amazed at the presence of such a strong Islamic centre in far north, away from other centres of the Muslim world. Visiting these northern Islamic places by the inhabitants of Islamic centres, providing assistance in religious matters to their dis-

tant brothers in faith were a deed pleasing to God, a bravery of its kind.

The tradition to bury the country rulers, the khans, in the most prestigious mosques or in the yards of these mosques was kept during the period of the Kazan Khanate [Ancient Kazan, 1996, p. 122]. The remains of two mausoleums had been examined in the last years under the supervision of F. Huzin, and an idea was suggested that Khans Mahmud and Muhammad Amin might have been buried there [Mausoleums, 1997, pp. 15, 18, 28].

As a tradition in the times of the Kazan Khanate, a special service was initiated for meeting the guests, aiming to show them historically holy places, to tell about prominent people of their land, and—having given them to eat and drink—to see them off. The executors of these holy responsibilities were themselves identified with the saints and were called mudzhavirs. In the times of the Kazan Khanate, the town of Bulgar, already in ruins, became a religious and cultural centre, a place of worship and pilgrimage for the Muslims of the Kazan Khanate. Especially there were many visitors around the tombs at the Minor minaret. The great poet of the Kazan Khanate Muhammedyar also performed a similar honourable service. He was the keeper of the tomb of Khan Muhammad Amin [Möxämmädär, 1997, p. 175b].

Despite the official character of Islam in the Kazan Khanate, other religions also coexisted in the society. The Finno-Ugric peoples and partly the Bashkirs generally continued to practice former pagan beliefs. Islam spread peacefully among separate groups of the settled Finno-Ugric and nomadic Turkic-speaking population in the south-east of the country.

Thus, the Turkic-Mongolian tradition of tolerance to other religions carried on.

Education and Upbringing. During the period of the Kazan Khanate pedagogical activity was also assigned to the clergymen. There was not a Muslim village without a mosque. Each mosque had a mektebe or medrese. All the people, so to say, were drawn to literacy. The institution of 'teacher—student' continued to exist in this period. The teaching,

mentoring, was often inherited. For example, on the tombstone found in the village of Timmerche of the Vysokogorny region is written: 'Teacher Şagimardan, the son of teacher Mirgali,' died in 1534 [Yusupov, 1960].

Studying outside the state in the scientific and cultural centres of the East was considered as the highest level of education. Bukhara was especially popular, first, as one of the cultural centres during the reign of the Temürids, then starting from the 1530s becoming the centre of the Uzbek Shaybanids' state. The Khan of the Shaybanids state Muhammad (1451–1510) presented the Kazan Khan Muhammad Amin musicians, singers, poets, artists among whom was also the famous singer Ghulam Shadi Ghudi.

Usually the educated people of the Kazan Khanate spoke several languages. The Arab and the Persian languages were especially widely used. It is interesting that the Russian sources list the languages, instead of listing the peoples of the Kazan Khanate '... except for the Tatar language, there are five different languages in that tsardom: Mordovian, Cheremis, Voitetsky, Abo Arsky, and the fifth is Bashkirian...' writes A. Kurbsky [Ancient Kazan, 1996, p. 136]. But the Tatar language was the official and colloquial, literary and partly international language of the state. The Tatar language was also used in diplomatic affairs. There was a body of Tatar translators who permanently stayed in the Russian service in Moscow [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 125–129]. Apparently, it was since that period that the well-known expression has come: 'The Tatars do not need an interpreter.'

Even foreigners note the cultural and educational level of the Kazan Khanate inhabitants. The ambassador of Austria and traveler Sigismund Herberstein, who visited Kazan at the time, wrote in his traveling notes: 'These Tatars are more educated than others as they cultivate the fields and live in the houses and are engaged in various trades' [Herberstein, 1988, pp. 145, 157].

In the Kazan Khanate as well as in other late Golden Horde Tatar states the children of khans and high rank officials were brought up by sage, experienced aged men. They were

titled as 'milk fathers (*söt atalars*), atalyks.' This phenomenon was called atalychestvo. One of the gates of the Kazan Kremlin was even called Atalyk. The term 'atalyk,' as a tutor for the khan children, is more thoroughly developed by I. Izmaylov [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2005, p. 60]. However, it is necessary to remember that the term 'ata,' 'atalyk' in those times was widely utilised as a Sufi term, indicating the leaders, murids, and mentors in the Sufi orders, especially in such ones as Yesevi and Naqshbandiyya, which were popular in the Kazan Khanate.

The sayyids also performed such a role. Quite often the terms 'sayyid' and 'ata' are used together. This is how the following lines from 'Zafer name-i Vilayet-i Kazan' by X. Şerifi are perceived: 'And on the other gates of the fortress, the grandson of Kutbi-l-aktab Sayyid Ata from the Prophet's line, the son of the late Sayyid, Kul Muhammad Sayyid, may his virtue continue, took the lead of the dervish-like youths and gathered his Sufi subordinates' [Şerifi, 1995, p. 90].

In the Kazan Khanate the literary works continue to play an educational and pedagogic role.

The issues of morality, spirituality, and destiny associated with Islam are brought up in Muhammedyar's works. These eternal issues were essential to the society of the Kazan Khanate of that time.

Muhammedyar structured his poem 'Nury Sodur' ('The Light of the Hearts') entirely in accordance with the matters of important human qualities, morality, pedagogy [Muhammedyar, 1997, 11, p. 247].

The first chapter is dedicated to justice; the second, to mercy; the third, to generosity; the fourth, to modesty; the fifth, to gazavat; the sixth, to patience; the seventh, to the ability to keep the word; the eighth, to devotion; the ninth, to the ability to hold one's tongue; and the tenth, to forgiveness. Yet in the forefront are justice, righteousness, and truth. For the sake of it anything can be endured. The second is mercy. It is the combination of justice (justice, however, can be cruel) and mercy is the main thing in the policy of the an ideal ruler.

To make it more understandable and effective for the reader, these major higher human qualities in Muhammedyar's poems are personified in the widely-known to the Muslim world historical characters of Hatim al-Tai, Harun al-Rashid. Justice is realised in the character of Khosrow the I Anushirwan (Anushirwan the Just, 531–579). Generosity is in the character of Hatim Tai. Heroism is in the character of Rustem. Justice is personified by Harun al-Rashid. These outstanding persons, worthy to be historical examples to look up to, were widespread in Turkic literature of the Golden Horde period as literary characters. Historical works were written about them, they were passed by word of mouth, became steady images of the folklore. They were subject to didactic literature, became only moral symbols. Therefore, it should not be stated that only through them people knew the entire consecutive history. In such a form they enter the spiritual world of the Kazan Khanate.

In the poem 'Tuhfai Mardan' ('The gift of men') human qualities are personified generally in such fictional characters as Çinbil (justice, devotion, truth achievement), Toygusun (guile, greed, the rebel), Gulruiy (a symbol of outer beauty), Xuşxun, Xuşnave (a symbol of inner beauty), Bezbaz (a symbol of brutality, self-glorification). Or Biblical and Quranic characters: Karun (a symbol of infinite wealth, greed) and others. An important quality is modesty. It is closely related to faith (iman). In the 4th chapter of the poem 'Nury Sodor' ('The Light of Souls,' 1542), devoted to shame (modesty), he directly translates a Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad into the Tatar language in the form of poetic lines [Ibid., 258 b.]. That is, only a person who has faith in God is modest. If Allah has given a person the gift of faith, this person will stay modest in life.

Sh. Marjani also notes the active intellectual life in the Kazan Khanate: '*Galimnär, şul isäptän gabbasi izgelär vä galävi säedlär küp ide*' ('The learned men, among them holy ones—abbasids, great sayyids were numerous') [Märcani, 1989, p. 2]. The Tatar legendary also tells about a multitude of educated,

enlightened men and scientists in the Kazan khanate: '*Golämalari vä mödärrisläre vä häm kötepxanäläre küp ide vä talibläre küp ide*' (Scientists and teachers, libraries and students were numerous) [Rivayatlär häm legendalar, 1987, p. 55b].

Written Culture. The written monuments, which had been created and read in the Kazan Khanate and survived up to the present days, are extremely various in nature. Among them we can come across texts in the Turkic, Arab, Persian languages, literary works, religious, and scientific books, granted charters (yarliqs), epitaphs, translated and original creations. Muhammedyar's works on their own are outstanding monuments of the Kazan Khanate written culture. The phenomena and subjects, connected with the written culture, are described in the works of Muhammedyar. His poems present us a society with a highly developed written culture. Literacy, the ability to read and write were greatly respected by the people.

Well-functioning records management was characteristic of the country. The khan, for example, had a whole chancery with staff, including secretaries, scribes, seal keepers, as well as the officials responsible for the financial activities of the court. Records management and chancery were highly advanced and carried on the traditions of the Jochid Ulus. Bakhshi was the head of the Khan's chancery. In the social hierarchy they all occupied the highest level, and along with high-born begs and sayyids, were a part of the staff of the embassies.

The khans gave their subordinates tax release yarliqs together with lands; some of them, for example, yarliqs of the Khans Ibrahim and Sahib Giray, survived up to our times. These were long rolls designed by professional calligraphers, and their legitimacy was authenticated by multicoloured seals. Around 60 copies and originals of such documents survived—the yarliqs that had been made in the Tatar khanates.

The custom of decorating refined kitchenware with the Arabic writings of pleasing contents continues to exist in the period of the Kazan Khanate.

Among such findings, a brass pitcher, executed at the level of the world works of art, is of interest. Coppersmith Nasyri, who worked at the court of Khan Muhammad-Amin, left beautiful lines of poetry, delicately engraved on the brass pitcher dating back to the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. [Xäyri, 1994]. The court coppersmith Nasyri made an inscription on the elegant pitcher, praising his favourite commander of Khan Muhammad Amin Kubik. He even wrote lines of poetry in the Turkic language and kind wishes addressed to the Khan in the Persian language, which allows us to make conclusions about the high level of literacy and education among the upper class of the craftsmen.

The culture of inscriptions on tombstones from the Jochid Ulus times moved on to the Kazan Khanate. In that period their contents and decoration were even more refined. Some inscriptions had lines of poetry by the Arab poet Abu-l-'Atahiya: 'Death is a door, and all people will enter it.' The stone monuments indeed resemble the doors of magnificent eastern buildings with pointed tops. The Tatars quite often refer to the ancient cemeteries as 'The Main Home.' It is interesting that some monuments or tombstones even have a layout of this 'eternal home,' decorated with an image of a flower. These patterns are harmonious with what the Quran says: the people who make deeds pleasing to God during their lifetime shall live after death in the Paradise garden among flowers.

These inscriptions celebrate Allah and men. They urge to do good and kind deeds in this world. They are full of deep respect, reverence for their ancestors and history. On some tombstones the bitterness about the death of a loved one is expressed by lines of poetry. These tombstones and monuments with inscriptions were carefully protected as shrines. It is remarkable that in order to be more effective, the obituary is written on behalf of the dead, like in the ancient Turkic epitaphs.

In the work by Muhammad Amin 'The Book of Miracles' there are a lot of reflections, stories about death [Möxämmät Ämin, 2004,

p. 209], where death is perceived as a bird (soul) that has left its cage, this frail world. After reading them one involuntarily recalls the well-known lines by G. Tuqay: '*Oçti dönya çitlegennän tarsinip küñelem koşi...*' And on a tombstone dated 1522 the following words are written: 'Left just like a falcon that flew away...' Not only can these expressions be seen on the Bulgar-Tatar tombstones, but also the human soul is depicted in a form of a bird with open wings [Yusupov, 1960, tab. 6].

These sad lines of the aforementioned epitaph remind of the ancient Turkic ritual song of lamentation and Süyümbike's mourning song over the grave of her husband Safa Giray, rendered by the author of 'The History of Kazan.' The words there '... my darling tsar, hear my bitter mourning song, and open your dark tomb, and take me, alive, with you. And may your tomb be one for us, for you and me, our royal bedroom and chamber!...' [The History of Kazan, 1954] are in accord with the words in the aforementioned epitaph 'take my soul away.'

Establishing interstate relations in a form of an oath and wise sayings goes back to the Hunnish times. The old Russian miniatures that survived up to today have scenes depicting Tatar ambassadors giving oath in Moscow [Artsikhovsky, 1944]. Three attributes are clearly visible on them: two or three sabers, cups with some drink, and a turfy piece of earth. Perhaps, such obligatory attributes of an oath are common for all Tatars because same attributes are also seen on the miniatures representing ambassadors from the Crimea. The expression 'cir käse' (turfy earth) still remains in the Tatar beliefs and proverbial signs [Äxmätcanov, 1992]. Swearing by earth they say: '*cir yotsin*' (may the earth swallow me), '*cir upsın*' (may the ground open under me). While going for a long journey, they take a handful of the earth from their homeland in order to return safe and sound. The turfy earth on the ancient Russian miniatures is probably also brought from the homeland. Therefore, this is a very serious oath—an oath sworn by the most sacred: the homeland earth, independence of the homeland, which constitutes the basis of this oath. Two or three sabers, per-

haps, designate the number of the agreeing parties. Veneration of weaponry, swearing by weapons, is a widespread phenomenon since ancient times. This specifically concerns sabers. A saying is preserved in the old Turkic sources: 'May it enter in blue and come out in red (colour).' This was said when swearing an oath by sabers to prevent its violation [Koşgari, 1960, vol.1, p. 342].

The Turko-Tatars also sealed important negotiations by drinking a beverage from expensive ware. Here it should be mentioned about the numerous sculptures of the Kipchaks that carefully hold something sacred in their hands on belt level, some bowl with an oath drink ('*ant äçü*,' literally: 'to drink an oath'). This expression, recorded in the Codex Comanicus Dictionary and in the Golden Horde works, still exists in the Tatar language for a reason. The dastan 'Edigü' also tells about drinking an oath drink of 'white milk with a drop of blood.' The Russian sources use it in the form of a loan translation from Tatar 'drank shert' (see [Iskhakov, 1997a, page 48]).

Scientific knowledge. The development of scientific knowledge in the Kazan Khanate followed the trends characteristic of the entire Muslim East. The educated residents of the Khanate were familiar with the works of such well-known Eastern scholars as Abu Ali ibn Sina, Ibn Khaldun, Omar Khayyam, Al-Ghazali, Al-Biruni, etc.

Mathematics. A large (243 folios) handwritten 'Collected Rules of the Science of Arithmetics' (*Mäcmägıl kavagıyd gıylme xisab*) by Muhiyiddin Muhammad ibn al-Hajji Atmaji, compiled in 1542, has survived [Berkutov, 1968]. The collection of works, comprising three parts, explains whole numbers and fractions, offering practical examples ('Collection of customs duties,' 'Counting eggs in a basket,' 'On hiring,' 'Dividing inherited property or income from it,' etc.). It comprises three sections. It was once used as a textbook in the Kazan medreses of the time. This collection of rules demonstrates the advanced development of mathematical education in the Kazan Khanate. Even later mathematical works, which were widespread



Old Russian miniature [Artsikhovsky, 1944]

among the Tatars, had not changed fundamentally.

The annex to the textbook contained methods for solving twenty arithmetic puzzles, 'most of which are rarely encountered in old books' ('Determining age,' 'Guessing a number or the amount of money in a purse,' 'Counting chess squares quickly,' 'Guessing a ring,' etc.) [Ibid.]. The game of chess was also mentioned here.

Literary works of the Kazan Khanate contain metrological terms used at the time (the distance of the flight of an arrow, the length of a 'tree') [Mäxämmät Ämin, 2004, 146, p. 157].

The study of gravestones of the period allows drawing several conclusions regarding the metrology and mathematical knowledge of the time. When produced, such gravestones were measured by both cubits and spans. The arshin entered the Russian measurement system from the Volga Tatars in the 15–16th centuries [Shansky, et al., 1971, p. 29].

Geography. Geographical knowledge is considered the product of the so-called Eastern or Muslim Renaissance. It was dominated by the so-called 'theory of climates (aklim).' At the same time, the Bulgar-Tatars made

their own contribution to the development of the geographical knowledge of the time. For example, they possessed superior knowledge of the territory in their location—the 'seventh climate' area—and everything to the north, west, and east of it. Data contained in medieval Muslim geographic literature on the various peoples and lands of the North, to a certain extent Rus, the Urals, and Western Siberia, is largely Bulgar-Tatar information.

Traditionally, 'the entire world' was represented by two principal reference points: 'East—West' (*'mäşrik—mäğrib'*) and 'seven climates' (*'cide iklim'*) [Möhämmädyar, 1997, 126, p. 172]. These is the data on the geographic position of the Bulgar vilayet in the seventh climate in accordance with the Muslim geographic tradition.

A unanimous sentiment prevailed among Muslims of the entire world and the centres of Islam at the time which is clearly reflected in a work by Şerifi. Since the patron of Kazan was considered to be the Moon, a celestial body that by that time had already become a symbol of Islam, in the Islamic world Kazan was perceived almost as a holy city. Kazan Muslims were treated with particular reverence in the Islamic world because 'Kazan..., located far away from the Islamic vilayets, borders on the states of the infidels.' 'It cannot expect assistance or support from anyone but the Almighty and the help of his angels' [Şerifi, 1995, p. 87].

Interestingly enough, matters of defining the geographic regions (climates) at the time were attributed to the sphere of mathematics (riaziyyat) [Ibid., pp. 87, 400].

During the Kazan Khanate period interest in Muslim historical and geographical essays did not wane. During the same period the book by Arabian Persian scientist Zakariya al-Qazwini, 'Gacäibel mäxlukat vä garaibel mäücadag' ('Marvels of Creatures and Strange Things Existing'), was being read in the libraries of Kazan. In 1549 the Kazan begs sent ambassadors to Sultan Süleyman I with a request to send Sultan Devlet Giray to the Kazan throne, and at the same time sent a book in Persian as a gift to the Ottoman sultan [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 576]; researchers

believe that this was the work by Zakariya al-Qazwini (see [Iskhakov, 2009v, p. 96]. In a message from the Crimean Khan Saadat Giray addressed to the Grand Prince of Moscow (1526) there was a request to 'let Usein Sayyid visit Safa Giray in Kazan to take some books there.' These messages present Kazan as one of the important centres of book repositories in Eastern Europe. As a matter of fact, the well-stocked library of Kazan is even mentioned in legends [Rivayatlär häm legendalar, 1987, p. 55].

Astronomy. Traditional cosmogonic ideas indicate that the Turkic Tatars knew the vault of the heaven, the celestial bodies present on it, and their locations very well. S. Gerbershtein particularly mentions that the Tatars navigate well using the stars [Gerbershtein, 1988]. The Turkic Tatars had possessed a well-developed system of terms related to stars and constellations since ancient times, which was largely the same in all Turkic languages. [The Tatars, p. 315; Sevortyan, 1974, p. 631].

The names of celestial bodies and their symbols were perceived as forces of magical influence; they were present in divination rituals, and were also reflected in folk superstitions and scryings that also included knowledge obtained using astronomic devices.

Astronomic themes were also found in works of fiction. Knowledge of the sky was not the domain of specialists only but was widespread among the common people (belief in the 'star of happiness' or the 'star of destiny') [Möhämmädyar, 1997, 132, p. 133].

One of the questions that had remained unanswered since the times of Ahmad ibn Fadlān was related to the shortness of the night in the summer and of the daylight time in the winter and, as a result, the difficulty of practicing the five namaz prayers prescribed by the Shariat. In particular, this concerned the reading of the fifth namaz—yastu. Despite the fact that it is for the most part a non-issue, the dispute was still going strong in the Kazan Khanate [Şerifi, 1995, p. 87]. They would try to resolve these questions based on authoritative Muslim publications. Astrologers (*'yoldızçı'*) made wide use of tools like the quadrant and the sextant.

Medicine. As in Bulgar and the Golden Horde, in the Kazan Khanate a medicine was called '*ut*,' and a healer was called an '*utçı*' (literally, 'herbalist') [Möhämmädyar, 1997, p. 71].

Thus, medicinal herbs were the most important means of medical treatment in the Kazan Khanate, just as in Bulgaria and the Jochid Ulus.

The healing of a royal family from a deadly disease and their later conversion to Islam along with their people and the marriage of the healer to the ruler's daughter is an ancient folklore motif in Turkic-Tatar lore [Däülätšin, 1999, pp. 151–152]. A similar plot is present in a poem by Möhämmädyar. It tells the story of a man called Zagid who is imprisoned and is waiting for his execution. But he heals the son of the beg, whom no healer could cure, with a herb brought to him by a snake, and so he avoids execution. Moreover, in this story the snake is represented as an expert on medicines, a symbol of healing. This is the Tatar version of the snake-like Asclepius, a character from Ancient Greek mythology.

Books entitled '*Şifa*' ('Healing') were popular in the Kazan Khanate. Muhammad-Amin al-Bolgari wrote a commentary to one of them. He first copied the ancient book '*Şifa*,' written in 1146, in Bulgar in 1468, and then in Iraq in 1473.

Legends and tales about the great medical man of the Muslim East ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) were popular with the people. Indeed, ibn Sīnā's work '*Al-Qanun fi't-Tibb*' (The Canon of Medicine) was copied and published by the Tatars on numerous occasions. It is also known as 'The Collection of Folk Medicine' [Khayrullin, 1980, p. 77].

History. Genealogical and ethnological legends continued to exist during the subsequent period. Talmudical, biblical, and quranic characters came to the fore.

Later the tale of the sons of Japheth (the son of Noah) was supplemented by new stories: those of Alp and his sons Bulgar and Burtas, who allegedly were the forefathers of the Bulgar and Burtas peoples and built cities of the same name. Different versions of this legend are known from 12th and 15th century

sources. Some of them have survived to the present day through the Jochid Ulus and the Kazan Khanate.

Eastern literature of the Kazan khanate, including works of fiction, was an effective tool for spreading the knowledge of history. Literary works often referred to antiquity, to the East, and especially to historic personages. This information, crossing over from one work to another, covered the activities of the same historic characters and the historic events related to them. The typical characters of these tales were Iskandar (Alexander the Great—356–323 B.C.); Afletun (Plato), the Ancient Greek idealist philosopher, 428–348 B.C., a symbol of wisdom; Dionysius I the Elder, the tyrant of Syracuse, 432–367 B.C., a symbol of evil and cruelty; Anushirwan, a symbol of just rule; and Harun al-Rashid, a Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty (766–809 A.D.). For Möhämmädyar, their main feature is just rule [Möhämmädyar, 1997].

Through the history books that were widespread in the Muslim world, the Turko-Tatars were also familiar with the history of other peoples and countries. Just as in the Muslim East, the founding and building of large cities and structures and individual events were connected with the name of Alexander of Macedon the Builder, or Iskandar—Dhul-Qarnayn. This emphasised their antiquity. This tradition was continued in the Jochid Ulus and in the post-Golden Horde state. M. Ahmetzyanov writes that the rulers of the Ulus had a noticeable tendency to connect their state with antique civilisation. The Tatar Genealogies (*shejeres*) contain the names of the sage men (*khakims*) Socrates and Iskandar—Dhul-Qarnayn [Äxmätcanov, 1995, pp. 15, 24]. Plots about Dhul-Qarnayn continue in the literary fiction of the Kazan Khanate.

The poetic work '*Gıykab*' ('Punishment') by Muhammad-Amin has survived to the present day; it condemns the ruler of Samarkand, Temür, the conqueror of Golden Horde cities. The poet and khan took the catastrophe his country went through in the past hard. He demands that the Almighty visit a grim judgment ('*gıykab*' on the culprit of this tragedy).

In his works Möhämmädyar expresses high opinion of scientists. He remarks upon their intrinsic modesty, eloquence, and high moral qualities [Möhämmädyar, 1997, p. 114].

As can be seen from 'Zafer name-i Vilayet-i Kazan,' a high degree of wisdom and learning indicated the cleverness and wisdom of such representatives of antiquity as Aristotle and Plato [Şerifi, 1995, p. 91].

Furthermore, in the Kazan Khanate scientists, poets, writers, singers, musicians, skilled artisans, etc., could live and create only under the patronage of the Khan or another member of the elite. In the history of the Kazan State one Khan who was a patron of the sciences and arts was Muhammad-Amin. He himself was a poet. He invited the best men of science and art to his palace.

Thus, in the Kazan Khanate there was no opposition between science and knowledge on the one hand and religion on the other hand. Theology and science were an organic whole.

Traditional folk culture. Despite the unfaltering position of Islam in the Kazan Khanate, traditional folk culture—beliefs, notions, and oral folk tradition—continued to exist. This phenomenon, which was characteristic of all groups of Tatars, is treated as a national peculiarity by researchers [Usmanov, 1985, pp. 177–185; Iskhakov, 2008, p. 94]. The preservation of traditional pagan beliefs can also be felt in the account of the anonymous Russian author of the 'Kazan History,' who lived in captivity in Kazan for 20 years and knew numerous local historic sources. He writes that since the old Bulgarian times there has been a pagan prayer site at the Chertovo site of ancient town near Yelabuga. It performed the same function in the Kazan Khanate. Even the Khan would send the sayyid himself there to find out the future destiny of the country. According to the Christian author, an evil spirit lives there. The local population makes sacrifices to it, worships it, asks for its assistance during difficult times, and prays for peace, well-being, and happiness. Prior to the Russian conquest, the spirit declared that the country soon would be conquered by enemies, that it could not protect the people, and left the country in the form of

a winged snake [Kazan History, 1954, pp. 91, 92]. It is clear that this extract conforms to the ideology of the Russian church.

Legends describing battles against dragons and terrifying snakes living in places where the construction of capital cities or large towns has been started are also attributed to the Kazan Khanate period.

These legends are based on the idea that cities that play an important part in the history of the people cannot have been built by usual means. These cities have been sacred from the very beginning; their future site was cleansed of evil forces by fire. In other words, the fate of a city is predetermined at the time of its founding.

The same thing happened during the search for a building site for Kazan [Rivayatlär häm legendalar, 1987, pp. 48–55]. The story represents the fight with chaos (the dragon) and the conquest and reclamation of space; this is why sacrifices were made.

The ancient meaning of these rituals is the fight with chaos (the dragon or snake), seizing the sacred, habitable space from it, the development of that space, and making a sacrifice to ensure the well-being of the future city.

Ever since ancient Turkic times, for the Turkic, Khazar, and Azov Bulgar people, fire was a tool of purification and not an object of worship as it was for Iranian-speaking tribes (see [Däülätšin, 1999, pp. 81–82]). The belief in the purifying power of fire as a tool of purification from evil spirits continued during the period of the Kazan Khanate. The site of the future city of Kazan was cleansed of evil powers and winged snakes by fire. The winged snakes resided in caves; this last detail is a hint at their antiquity.

No state can exist without holidays. The author of the Kazan History describes one of them. 'But the Tsar of Kazan and his noblemen brought a stallion and a fat young (bull) and sacrificed them. The commoners and poor people brought sheep and chickens to sacrifice. And they rejoiced and celebrated, formed choirs, sang songs, clapped their hands, jumped, danced, and played their harps, and struck their fiddles (kubız?)...' [Kazan History, 1954, p. 149].

This celebration with a mass sacrifice of animals could also be connected with the Muslim Kurban Bayrami festival. However, based on the description it is mostly a general merrymaking with dancing and singing. Likely, it is similar to Sabantuy.

Many works of Bulgar folklore were inherited by the population of the Kazan Khanate and have survived to the present day. And at that time legends and ideas about the Northern people and Iskandar Dhul-Qarnayn were widespread among the people. Legendary tales about Edigu began circulating when he was still alive. The collections of historical works 'Daftar-i Chingiz-name,' 'Compendium of Chronicles' by Qadir Ali Beg, etc., contain numerous legends and tales that were already in existence during the Kazan Khanate period.

In his poems Möhämmädyar makes skillful use of folkloric and mythological themes. These are stories, bywords, and aphorisms ('Ransom your neck from evil,' 'When treating the master, throw a bone to his dog,' 'Don't feed a pup—its nature will make itself known anyway,' 'He dug a well and fell into it himself,' 'A hare does not live in a wolf's den,' 'If you kill a serpent, don't touch its offspring,' 'For one good deed will come ten rewards,' etc.), words 'remaining from antiquity' (*borıngıdan kalgan*), and fragments of old tales [Möhämmädyar, 1997, pp. 118, 120, 125b].

'If it is an old fable (*mäsäl*), listen to it.' Such lines can be seen fairly frequently. In them Möhämmädyar is indeed speaking of fables. However, in his poems he offers only their result, their cautionary advice, or their essence. This conclusion itself has already become a byword, a proverb. Proverbs and bywords can be encountered in his works especially frequently [Ibid., pp. 118, 120, 121, 122, 125]. The author frequently stresses the antiquity of the tales [Ibid., pp. 122, 145]. This is his way of highlighting their importance. It is similar to our fairy tales starting with the words: 'Once upon a time...'

When praising Khan Sahib I Giray, the poet declares that 'his sword could destroy even a dragon.' The Book of Miracles by Muhammad Amin also includes the theme of fighting a dragon. We see a *batır* from Tatar

tales, beheading many-headed dragons one-by-one.

Thus, this motif was present during the Kazan Khanate period as well.

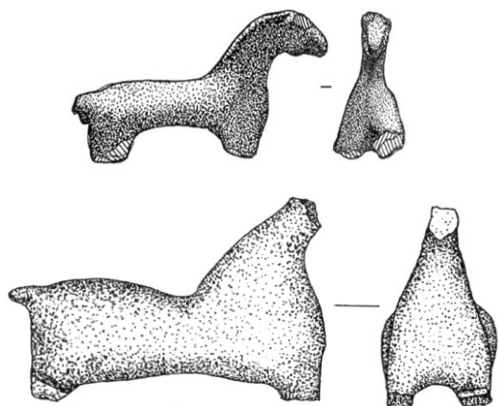
Almost all legends about the founding of Kazan mention the destruction of the city of Bulgar, of the resettlement of its population in a new place, and the construction of New Bulgar (*Bolğar äl-Cädid*) there. The succession between Bulgar and Kazan is highlighted in other legends and fables. One of them is the story of the 'Incombustible Maid,' the Bulgar princess Süyümbike.

The book also mentions rituals dating back at least to Bulgar times. 'Häryañgadan östä kıyldılar nısyar'—that is, each new one was showered with coins [Möxämmäd Ämin, 2004, p. 45].

This ritual of the ancestors of the Tatar people has been known since the Bulgar times. Let us recall the meeting of the Baghdad envoys by the Bulgarians. The ambassadors were met at a distance of two farsakhs (10–12 km) and showered with dirhams. This represents not only a well-established ritual for meeting distinguished guests but also an older world view whose meaning had possibly been forgotten. Going out to meet guests at a distance from the city was considered a sign of hospitality, and initially it was an effort to safeguard people coming from a faraway strange country even before they arrived in the city. The same idea was used in the Tatar ceremonies of meeting the bride during her first visit to the groom's dwelling.

The Book of Miracles also contains such plots as fighting a dragon. They are to a large extent in accord with the fighting of dragons as the most terrifying forces in Tatar folk tales [Ibid., p. 67].

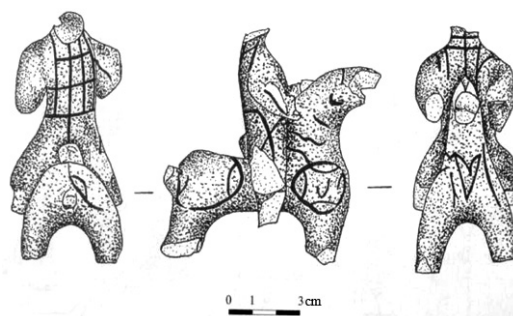
Many dastans, legends and fables, beyits, historical songs, tales, bywords, and proverbs that have survived to this day appeared during this period. They comprise numerous legends and fables about Bulgar and Kazan, tales about Amat, Cikmargän, Chura batır, and Edigü that tell of such eternal and great problems as love for the motherland, its protection, and reverence towards history.



Clay animal-shaped toys
[Sitdikov, 2006, fig. 119–5, 79–7])

Archaeological materials of the Kazan Kremlin from the Khanate period frequently include clay children's toys in the shape of animals and riders. They reflect the dreams of children and their parents.

The last thing I would like to mention in this article is this. After the dissolution of the



Clay horsemen-shaped toys
[Sitdikov, 2006, fig. 79–10]

Golden Horde, not only the Kazan Khanate but also other Tatar states rose from its ruins. Unfortunately, the latter have not been studied very well. But even a cursory glance shows that the state structures, the political and economic lives, etc., of the Tatar Khanates were similar. This also applies to spiritual life. This is why the comparative genetic method of studying the culture of the Kazan Khanate is so important.

§ 2. Language

Enze Kadirova

The era of the Golden Horde qualitatively changed the vector of ethnic and social processes in the region, which gained powerful inertia of development and were continued in the subsequent period. In the first half of the 15th century the Golden Horde ceased to exist as a whole and broke up into separate Khanates that established their own dynasties. As the ethnic and political successor of the Golden Horde, the Kazan Khanate became the next foundation for the development of social and ethnic processes.

During the period of the Kazan Khanate, many peoples of the region were experiencing a process of ethnic formation, in particular, in that period the ethnic (or sub-ethnic) group of the Kazan Tatars was formed [Iskhakov 2004b, p. 130; Khamidullin 2002, p. 134]. Such 'tectonic' changes, of course, led to a new stage in the development of the Tatar colloquial and literary language.

According to the generally accepted classification of medieval Turkic literary languages,

starting in approximately the 15–16th centuries the period of existence of regional Turkic literary languages begins; such languages include Old Uzbek, Old Azerbaijani, Old Tatar, and others [Borovkov, 1963, p. 21; Tatar Grammar, 1993, p. 34; Khisamova, 1990, p. 60; Khakov, 2003, p. 71]. The medieval Tatars for a long time considered themselves to be a single whole and continued to use the literary traditions established in the 13–14th centuries. However, political disunity, vast geographic distances, and a number of other factors caused some linguistic changes between the Khanates. For example, the Crimean Tatar language developed for centuries (1475–1774) under the strong influence of Anatolian Turkish. It is known that the ruler and poet Ğazı II Giray Khan wrote his poems in two variants—in the Kipchak language and in language that had undergone Oghuz-Ottoman influence [Useinov, 1999, p. 38].

Resolving a number of issues related to the problem of studying the literary language

of the period of the Kazan Khanate is an important area in the research of M. Zakiyev, V. Khakov, F. Faseev, F. Khisamova, et al. When characterising this period of the Old Tatar language, scholars indicate that the variant of the regional literary language dates from the essentially Kipchak literary language of the Golden Horde period and gradually absorbed elements of the common colloquial Tatar language, in which the traditional part is predominantly represented by the Uighur-Qarakhanid tradition and, to a lesser degree, by the Oghuz tradition [Zakiyev, 1975, p. 10; Khakov, 1989, p. 14; Khisamova 1990, p. 21].

Not many written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period have been preserved to this day: works of fiction, yarliqs, epigraphs, scientific works, and dictionaries of the 15–16th centuries. The linguistic features of these monuments have been investigated in the monographs and certain articles of V. Khakov, F. Khisamova, F. Faseev, A. Nurieva, N. Burganova, E. Khadirova, et al.

The idea of a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the written monuments of the Golden Horde period developed by F. Nurieva [Nurieva, 2004] is promising with regard to the analysis of the linguistic situation of the Kazan Khanate period. Distinguishing basic and peripheral linguistic characteristics makes it possible to determine the correlation between the standard language and its variations at this stage. In our opinion, variability, as a reflection of the processes taking place in the language under the influence of various factors, is also very important for clarifying the functional and stylistic situation in the Old Tatar literary language of the Kazan Khanate period. The analysis of linguistic sources of the period under examination shows that variability of language elements is inherent to the majority of them.

The graphic correspondence between *alif* and *alif yay*. According to the encyclopedia 'The Russian language,' language variations are a historical category, and 'some grammatical variants are age-old, whereas for a number of phonemic variants a brief existence, preserved in writing variants, is typical' [The

Russian language, 1997, p. 62]. For the language of written monuments of the Golden Horde period, 'variable spelling, in which the historical [*ä] and the high unrounded front vowel [i] are used in parallel, is typical' [Nurieva 2004, p. 316]. In the narrative poems of Muhammedyar, the works of Kul-Sharif and Mohammed Amin, yarliqs, and epigraphs of that period, a single-variant spelling of words in initial position with (alif yay) is present: *ايكي* [Zafer name, p. 63a; Yusupov, 1951, p. 80] *ايلجي* [Zafer name, p. 60a] *ايشك* [Nur-i sodur, p. 62b] *ايكاس* [Nur-i sodur, p. 62b]. In the middle of a word, variable spelling—that is, with 'yay' *ى* or without it—is typical, although the second variant is more common: *سنگا تىكانلىرى نجه*. For example, the 2nd person singular pronoun '*sän*' ('you') is the most frequent pronoun in the narrative poems of Muhammedyar. It was recorded 249 times. In the narrative poem 'Nur-i sodur,' the form '*sin*' ('you') is encountered only once: *Gäffar wä ğofran irursän sän ğäfür Mağfirät camyny mäna sin ecur* [Nur-i sodur, p. 626] (You who are all-forgiving, you forgive all; And let me drink from the cup of absolution). It is an interesting fact that in most cases in the narrative poems of Muhammedyar, in the 'Zafärnamäi vilayate Qazan,' and in the yarliq of Sahib Giray Khan, the verb *kil-*, *kil-tur-* [Nur-i sodur, p. 49a; Nur-i sodur, p. 48b; Zafer name, p. 61b] is written with an '*i*': *كىل*.

In the language of written monuments, labial harmony no longer forms a single strict system. The narrative poems of Muhammedyar maintain labial harmony (*kuñul*, *ukuš*, *oluğ*, *jörüş* 'motion'), and also doublet forms of spelling: *kunilik* (2 times), *kunuluk* (1 time), *moñlu* (3 times), *moñly* (4 times), *urun* (1 time), *urn* (2 times). For instance, the word '*jöz*' ('face'): +e (2); +emne (1); +emgä (1); +en (2); +ene (2); +eneñ (1); +endä (1); +enä (1); +üm (1); +ümne (2); +ün (1); +üngä (1); +ündä (2); +üñ (4); +üñdin (1) [Kadirova, 2001, p. 161]. As we see, the poet uses a labial variant in the 1st and 2nd person possessive affixes in the singular and plural forms. That phenomenon is also typical of other written monuments of that period. In the formation of the genitive, the labial vari-

ant in the written monuments of that period is rare—*kukneŋ*, *kuŋulneŋ* (1 time), *kuŋulun* (1 time). A labial variant of the predicate affix *'-dur'* is typical of the narrative poems of Muhamedyar [Tuhfa-i mardan], while in the works of Kul-Sharif and in the *yarliq* of Sahib Giray, it has the form *'-dyr'* [Kyissai, 1899, p. 6; Zafer name, p. 3; Mustakimov, 2003].

The correspondence between 'z' and 'j' is typical of the works of Muhammedyar: *iza* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 53b] ~ *ija* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 49a]; *ajaq* ('leg') [Nur-i sodur, p. 55b] ~ *azaq* ('leg') [Nur-i sodur, p. 58b]; *qojuğ* ('well') [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 55b] ~ *qozuğ* ('well') [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 55b]; *qajğur* ('to grieve') [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 55b] ~ *qazğur* ('to grieve') [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 57a]. It should be emphasised that the standard form is the words with *'-j-*'. In other written monuments *z-* variants have been not recorded (*ija* [Faseev, 1982, p. 148], *ajrylmaq* ('to separate') [Zafer name, p. 61b]; we find the word *suzla-* only in the works of Kul-Sharif [Kyissai 1899, p. 3].

The written monuments are characterised by 'j' in initial position: *jib* ('thread'), *jitmiş* ('seventy'), *jig-* ('collect'), *jir* ('ground'), *jin* ('sleeve'), *jit-* ('to reach'), etc. In the written monument 'Zafärnamäi vilayate Qazan' variable spelling of the borrowed word *jadra/cadra* 'core' is observed: *Tublarynyŋ harber utluğ cadrase* [Zafer name, p. 62a]. This is the only example of the use of *c* at the beginning of a word.

With regard to 'd/t' in initial position, the narrative poems of Muhammedyar, the works of Kul-Sharif and Mohammed Amin, and *yarliqs*—that is, all the main sources of the Kazan Khanate period—do not form a significant range of variation and belong to the *t*-group of Turkic languages. However, the works of Umami Kamal, the Arab-Turkish-Tatar dictionary, the work 'Madjmag al-kavagıyd', and also the Quranic tefsir (16th century) constantly maintain the feature *d-*.

The written monuments of the 15–16th centuries are characterised by vocalisation of voiceless consonants in the intervocalic position (*ajağyny* [Zafer name, p. 61a],

oluğlyğyny [Zafer name, p. 62b]); at the same time, there are plenty of examples with *-q,-k* (*sakez* ('eight'), *tuquz* ('nine'), *cyqar* 'to exit,' etc.). The narrative poem 'Tuhfa-i mardan' has the variation *q/ğ* in the word: *saqyn-* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 50a]/*sağyn-* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 49b] 'to miss'; in the poems of Kul-Sharif it is used in the forms *sağyn-* [Bakyrġan, p. 29].

All the written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period preserved the Old Turkic combination *-lt-* and *-rt-*: *kaltur-* 'kiter-' 'carry,' *ultur-* 'uter-' 'kill,' *tultur-* 'tutyr-' 'fill,' *qortul-* 'qotyl-' 'to escape,' *ultur-* 'utyr-' 'sit down.' In the works of Muhammedyar the verb *qortul-* 'to escape' is recorded four times. Only in one case is it recorded in the form *qartul-*, while in others it has the form *qotul-*. Thus, one narrative poem mixes different variants that coincide semantically.

The preservation of *q/k* and *ğ/g* at the end of adjectives. The works of Muhammedyar and Kul-Sharif give preference to the forms listed above with *q/k* and *ğ/g* (*oluğ* 'elder, great,' *kecik* 'younger,' *tuluğ* 'full,' *kurukluk* 'beautiful,' *qotluğ* 'happy,' *qoruğ* 'strict,' *burcluğ* 'obliged, indebted,' *qatyğ* 'solid,' *jaslig* 'lacrimal'), but the works of Muhammedyar also have the Kipchak variant—*ly-*: *valcyqly* 'dirty,' *tatly* 'delicious,' and its labial variant *-lu-*: *torlu* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 59a] 'different.' We do not observe a strict system in their usage. In the works of Umami Kamal adjectives are formed only through the suffix *-lu, -lı*: *olu*, etc. The use of *ğ/g* and *q/k* instead of the bilabial sonant *w* occurs in the works of Muhammedyar and the works of Kul-Sharif not only at the end of adjectives but also in the middle and at the end of nouns: *jağmady* 'it was not raining,' *tağ* 'mountain,' *ağyz* 'mouth,' *qoduq/qojuğ* 'well,' *syğyr* 'cow,' *syğdur-* 'to contain.' When writing the numeral 'fifty,' Muhammedyar uses both forms: *Iset any moğtabar xanlar xany Sakez joz ille bis bait irur sany* [Nur-i sodur, p. 68a] 'Listen, honourable Khan among Khans, the number of beits will be eight hundred and fifty-five,' and also *Birur irsaŋ oc joz illig meŋ jarmaqğa* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 63b] 'If you give me money at the rate of three hundred and fifty thousand.'

The morphological structure of the written monuments is also characterised by mixing of grammatical forms.

The core system for the declension of nouns, both nominative and possessive, in the narrative poems of Muhammedyar is Kipchak. The noun in the dative is formed through the affixes -ğa/-gä, -qa/-kä. Sometimes in the works of Muhammadyar and the written monument 'Zafärnamäi vilayate Qazan,' after a voiceless consonant the affix -ğais used: utğa [Tuhfa-i Mardan, p. 54 a] 'to the fire'; jamanluqğa [Tuhfa-i Mardan, p. 55 a] 'for bad'; jaxşuluqğa [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 55 b] 'for good'; utğa [Zafer Nam, p. 54 a] 'to the fire.'

The usage of affixes of both types is observed in the ablative case. The ablative case in the language of Muhammadyar's narrative poems is formed with the Uighur-type variant -din: ziräklekdin 'away from sensibility' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 47 a], išekdin 'away from the door' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 47 b], [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 47 b]. Occasionally the variant -dan appears, which graphically is transmitted in the form: tağ + dan [Nur-i sodur, 63 b] 'from the mountain,' ber-beren + dän [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 56 a] 'from each other'; köndän kön [Tuhfa-and Mardan, p. 62a] 'day by day,' boruᅡudan [Tuhfa-and Mardan, p. 43a] 'from ancient times.' In the works of Kul-Sharif and in the Muhammad-Amin poem 'Gıyab' the form -din is the only marker of the ablative case. In the poetry of Umami Kamal the ablative case has the varying forms -dan and -din; however, the predominance of -dan over -din is obvious. In the language of a yarliq of Ibraghim Khan the form -din was recorded, and in a yarliq of Sahib Giray Khan -dan was recorded once, and -din was recorded twice.

The 3rd person dative in the language of the written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period is represented by different variants. In order to determine the nature of this phenomenon, all declensional variants were counted. In the narrative poems 'Tuhfa-i mardan' and 'Nur-i sodur' the formative -yna/-enä dominates quantitatively: Kilde qojuᅡ başyna su barmu tib Jörür irde üzen ᅡajät susatyb [Tuh-

fa-i mardan p. 55 b] 'I went to the well to see if there is water because I was dying of thirst'; Zahid jitte biçin baᅡyna tämam Bicin ᅡizzät ilä qyldy säläm [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 56a] 'The hermit went to the garden of the monkey, and the monkey respectfully greeted him.' One can observe also the form -ynᅡa/-engä: Alyb any üze ewengä ilteb Qyzy juq irde üzengä qyz iteb [Tuhfa-i mardan p. 52b] 'He took her to his home, he had no daughter, and he adopted her.' Along with the above-listed variants, the form -yᅡa/-egä is recorded: Ewegä kilde äjde äj xäbibä Utünüem bar sükmä mäne äj zäᅡifä [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 62b] 'He came home and said: 'Oh, darling, I have a request, do not scold me, oh, my woman.' According to the above-mentioned examples, one may conclude that the variants -ynᅡa/-engä and -yᅡa/-egä may be used in the same word, namely in the word ew 'home': ew-engä, ew-egä. This form also was recorded once in a Kul-Sharif poem (qujnyᅡa), and it predominates in the work 'Zafärnamäi vilayate Qazan': atyᅡa atlan [Zafer name, p. 62b], ählegä [Zafer name, p. 60b].

The 3rd person accusative endings -n and -ny vary quite widely as well. Muhammedyar used the endings -yn/-en and -yny/-ene in the 3rd person singular possessive declension in approximately the same amount. In poems the accusative word forms -n and -ny may be used in parallel within a beit: Con kitabym atyny aᅡladynyᅡ Šah doᅡasy süzlären tyᅡladynyᅡ [Nur-i sodur, p. 42a] 'And you have understood the title of my book, you have heard the words of the prayer of the Shah.' It is also possible to use the same lexemes with the formatives -ny and -n: Totub anyᅡ süzene šah cihan ᅡadl qylu bašlady Nawuširwan [Nur-i sodur, p. 44b] 'Listening to him, oh tsar of the Universe, Naushirvan began acting justly.' Such a variation is observed in the Kul-Sharif poems -en (once) and -ene (twice), in 'Kysisai Hubbi-Hoja'—26/10, but -yn/-en are not so frequent in 'Zafärnamäi vilayate Qazan' (jiren [Zafer name, p. 61b], jortyn [Zafer name, p. 61b]); active usage of -yny/-ene are observed: jasaqyny [Zafer name, p. 61b], širbätene [Zafer name, p. 61b]. In the works of M.-Amin: Zolymyny izhar qyldy här jirä.

In the declension of nouns with 1st person possessive affixes in the accusative, the parallel use of different variants is observed. While the affixes -ymny/-emne and -ynny/-enne clearly predominate, in the language of narrative poems the form -y/-e can also be found (5 times): Anda äjdimsä süzümi almaduñ Hic fikr iteb qolaquña salmaduñ [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 57a] 'Then I said, you did not take my words seriously, did not reflect, did not listen.' Looking at how this variant functions in this case, it can be seen that the accusative -y/-i is used to change the proportion of open and closed syllables: sü-zü-me but: sü-züm-ne.

Based on available research, let us consider the functioning of verb forms in the written monuments of the 15–16th centuries.

The past tense is different from other tenses in that it has a variety of forms. The past categorical tense with the ending -dy/-de, -ty/-te is the most frequent in the language of sources from this period. This is a common Turkic form and 'expresses an entire, obvious, single action in the past' [Tatar Grammar 1993, p. 106]. A lack of consistency is observed in the spelling of the form—that is, after a stem with a voiceless consonant in some cases a voiced pair appears. For example, in the later manuscript copy of the narrative poem 'Nur-i sodur,' in a dozen or so cases after a voiceless sound the affix begins with a voiceless sound; while in copy V we see qajt-dy, in copy D we see qajt-ty; tutdy—tutty (in two places); jatdy—jatty; isetde—isette, isetdelar—isettelar; es itdelar—es ittellar. In the spelling of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural endings in the written monuments, a different spelling is noted: jör- 'to go, walk' jör+dem (2); jökür- 'to run' jökür+düñ (1); kür- 'to see, watch' kür+dem (5); +dük (1); +düñ (2); +düñez (1); tot- 'to keep, hold, clamp' tot + + duñ (1); + dy (4); +ty (6); + tuñyz (1) [Kadirova, 2001]; tidük, sojurğaduq [Fa-seev, 1982, p. 148].

The present simple with the ending -mys is not frequently used in the studied written monuments; it is represented mainly in the 3rd person form. There is only one example

in the works of Muhammadyar in which it is used in the 2nd person singular form.

In the Muhammadyar texts the past simple tense with the ending -yb/-eb is represented only in the 2nd and the 3rd person singular, but in the Kul-Sharif texts it is represented also in the 1st person plural.

The written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period testify to the usage of the form -ğan/-gän: Nadanlyqdin üz başyna jikänlär [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 60b] 'Because of ignorance you destroyed yourself.'

In the linguistic sources of the 15–16th centuries the forms of the present and future tenses of the verb are not used as actively as the forms of the past tense. In the language of the written monuments the form of the present-future tense -yr/-er, -ur/-ür is represented: belürmän, belürsän, belür, belürsez. In the literary language of the turn of the 15–16th centuries the consolidation of new morphological forms was taking place. Along with the present-future tense affix -yr/-er, -ur/-ür, one may also encounter the affix -a/-ä. However, it has limited usage in the written monuments: Altun kömüş cyqa qandin / 'Where the gold and silver come from'; *Täqsiren ütenämen sän bergä räxim äjläb bağyşlağyl män zäğifä* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 57a] 'Please, show mercy, and devote his sins to me.' The usage of the form -adyr with the personal endings of all three persons has been recorded: qyladyrmyn [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 54b], quladyrsän [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 54a]; Forjad qylub jyğlajdyr [Kyissai, 1899, p. 6] 'he/she is crying very loudly.'

In the studied texts, the forms of the future tense are quite numerous, but the affix -ğaj/-gäj is used frequently: *Bu utny izeb ecergäjsen* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 57b] 'You will give the infusion of this herb to drink.'

The impersonal verb forms in the texts under study are the richest in composition.

Action nouns in the written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period are represented in the Oghuz form with the affix -maq/-māk, while the form -u,-ü has limited usage.

In the written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period the infinitive is represented by two forms. When rendering the infinitive,

the works of Muhammedyar demonstrate stability of the form with -mağa/-mägä, while the form -yrğa/-ergä is recorded in just three examples. The works of Kul-Sharif have the second variant just once: kürürgä [Kyissai, 1899, p. 8]. These forms are not reflected in the language of the yarliq of Ibrahim Khan and Sahib Giray Khan either.

In the sources of the 15–16th centuries three forms of participle are used, usually correlated with the past tense: -ğan, -myš, -dyq. The actual correspondence of participle forms within the system in the sources is not uniform. They differ in various frequency of usage. While in the Muhammedyar narrative poems, in the yarliqs of Ibrahim Khan and Sahib Giray Khan, in the work 'Zafar-nama-i vilayet-i Kazan,' and in the the works of Kul-Sharif, the form of the predicative function with -myš predominated, in the participial meaning, the form with -ğan/-gän predominates. The first type is not found in the yarliqs; only the participle form with -ğan is used. In all the written monuments, in cases of substantive use, the form with -ğan acquires indicators of possessiveness, case, and plurality. The participle with -r/-yr is widespread and multi-functional; it is used in attributive, predicative, and substantive functions and has the ability to take affixes of possession and case and to combine with postpositions. Let us note a peculiar phrase where a participle of this form is combined with a postposition. In the written monument 'Zafar-nama-i vilayet-i Qazan' the affix of the future participle with -mas and the postposition *borun* 'before (that)' express the tense for completion of a process that is defined by the dominant verb: *Äj Šäräfi, mustäğidd bulmaq kārāk ülmäs borun* [Zafer name, p. 61b] 'Hey, Sherifi, we should be preparing until the moment of death.' According to L. Budagov, this form is peculiar to the Kazan and Kyrgyz languages [Budagov, 1869, p. 278]. In other sources of the Kazan Khanate period, which we have discussed, it does not occur. In the earliest written monuments in the works of the Golden Horde period, *-mas-din borun* is used in this meaning [Borovkov 1963, p. 111; Fazylov 1966, p. 279].

In the monuments of the Kazan Khanate period the adverbial participle is represented by the forms -yb/-eb, -ubän/-übän, -a/-ä, -u/-ju, -ğac/-gäc, -ğaly/-gäle, -ğanca/-gäncä, -maj/-maiyn. The adverbial participle with -yb/-eb is quite frequent, but other forms are used rarely, paying tribute to traditions.

In the written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period compound verbs occur frequently, rendered by a special modal construction 'noun (or adjective) + auxiliary verb bul-: xasil bul- 'to appear' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 47a], azad bul- 'to get rid of' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 60a], xajran bul- 'to be amazed' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 47b], fida bul- 'to sacrifice oneself' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 52b], alcaq bul- 'to be friendly' [Nur-i sodur, p. 45]. Along with bul-, the form ul- also is used in these conditions. It is important to emphasise that the Oghuz variant of the axillary ul- is not very typical of the written monuments of this period. Looking at the functioning of this variant, it can be seen that in Muhammedyar's narrative poems, ul- is found only six times, in combination with loan stems, and only in only one example with the Turkic word *iksük*.

The postposition *belän* 'with' is observed in various phonetic variants in all the written monuments of the period. Calculation of their textual distribution enables us to speak of the predominant usage of the variant *berlä* in the Muhammedyar narrative poems; at the same time, *belä* and *ilä* also occur: the form *belä* occurs more than 30 times, and *ilä*, 16 times. In this regard, the works of Kul-Sharif differ from one another—that is, in the poems the form *berlän* was recorded, in 'Zafar-name,' *berlä* (13 times), in the work 'Kyissai Hubbi-Hoja,' *berän* (8 times), and just once the variant *menän* was recorded. In general, in Ummi Kamal's poems the variant *ilä* is dominant, although the form *berläis* also not alien to his poetry; in the works of Mohammed Amin only the variant *ilä* is recorded. In the Kazan yarliq of Sahib Giray Khan the form *belä* is recorded. According to the opinion of a several scholars, this is 'a result of Central Asian Turkic influence' [Mustakimov, 2013, p. 33].

Most of these changes in the morphological structure indicate the penetration of colloquial forms into the literary language of the 15–16th centuries.

The volume of lexical material of the various written monuments of the Kazan Khanate period is not identical. In them is recorded rich Turkic-Tatar lexical material with synonym sets and idiomatic constructions reflecting the most various aspects of the socio-economic structure and lifestyle of that time, stock raising and agriculture, flora and fauna, human and animal anatomy, crafts and the activities of people.

A comparison of the Turkic-Tatar vocabulary in written monuments of the 15–16th centuries with data on the modern Tatar language showed complete similarity between the majority of their lexical material and the modern Tatar language. The material of the sources demonstrates that they consist of Turkic words that to some extent are typical of Old and Middle Turkic written monuments and were also characteristic of the written monuments of Central Asia. These words were widely used in Old Tatar works and dictionaries of the 17–19th centuries. In the monuments of the Kazan Khanate period Arabic and Persian words and phrases also occupy a significant place. Arabic-Persian stems often form the nominal part of compound verbs: qabul qyl- [Nur-i sodur, p. 67a] 'to accept,' bajan qyl- [Nur-i sodur, p. 46b] 'to narrate,' mobarak bul- [Nur-i sodur, p. 67b] 'to bless,' andisa qyl- [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 46b] 'to worry,' sarex it- [Nur-i sodur, p. 60a] 'to explain,' etc. New words are often formed on the basis of Arabic-Persian borrowings using Turkic affixes. The affix -lyq is quite productive in this regard: ğajarlyq [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 46a] (ğajar 'sly' + -lyq) 'trick,' nadanlyq [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 60b] (Persian nadan 'ignorant' + -lyq) 'illiteracy, unenlightenment,' ğafillyq [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 65a] (Arabic ğafil 'inattentive, sloppy' + -lyq) 'ignorance.'

From the modern viewpoint, the Old Tatar literary language of the 15–16th centuries had the following functional styles: artistic, educational, and formal. Among the most

outstanding examples of the artistic style is the poetry of Muhammedyar. The main content of the narrative poems is to call leaders to the right path and to noble deeds for sake of the nation and all the people through words and instructions. The poet knows well the power of words on the way of edification. Therefore, Muhammedyar always acts having thought through and chosen each word, each expression and puts a fundamental meaning into each of them. Addresses with sän 'thou' and sez 'you' are very interesting. Muhammedyar addresses Allah and his prophet Muhammad as sän 'thou.' This is observed in Mohammed Amin's works as well. In communication among themselves, a porter, a fisherman and a woodcutter, an old man and a young man, a husband and wife, and a boy and girl address each other in Muhammedyar's narrative poems as sän 'thou.' Of special interest is the case of the use of sän 'thou' by an ordinary Arab to address the Shah. It is interesting because in Muhammedyar's narrative poems, when addressing another person, sez 'you' is used. Such an address is peculiar to persons of a higher social position.

The researchers of poetry of the 15–16th centuries S. Abilov and V. Khakov noted the magnificent skills of the poets Muhammedyar and Kul-Sharif in the use of phraseological material. The imagery of words in their works is combined with the active usage of phraseological units. Preliminary observations show that the main body of phraseological units used in the language of the poets is preserved in the active lexicon of the modern Tatar language to this day. They occur more often in the untransformed form—a general linguistic phraseological unit is used by the author without any structural or semantic changes. For example, in the language of Muhammedyar's narrative poems there are many phraseological units of the most frequent lexeme suz 'word' (138 times): suzga keru 'to start a talk' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 45a]; suzne kacuru 'to pronounce a word' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 49a]; suz tiju 'to touch upon' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 49b]; suzne qua kilu 'to thicken words' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 50b];

suzga baqmau 'to not attach importance to' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 56a]; suzne alu 'to obey' [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 57a]; suzga qolaq totu, suzne qolaqqa salu 'to attach importance to' [Tuhfa-i mardan, pp. 60a, 67b]; suzdan cy-qmau 'to keep one's word.' For instance, suzene kasu 'to interrupt a talk': Kasmaz irde sahy berla suzene [Nur-i sodur, p. 53b] 'He did not interrupt his talk with the Shah.'

Phraseological units that include the lexemes *kuz* 'eye,' *bas* 'head,' *tel* 'tongue': *kuz acyb jomğancy* 'very quickly,' and *kuz tosu* 'to notice' in their structure are frequently used: *Tutsa irde telene saxrada qaz Tutmaz irde ul dam ecra any baz* [Nur-i sodur p. 60a] 'If the goose holds its tongue in the steppe, the hawk will not catch it at that time,' etc.

The lexemes *zorak* 'heart,' and *kunel* 'soul' have been widely used in phraseological units from olden times and are used by contemporary writers and poets for describing and depicting emotional states: *kuñel bağlau* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 59a] 'to put one's soul into,' *kuñel ozu* [Nur-i sodur, p. 60a] 'to be disappointed,' *kuñelen alu* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 60b] 'to banish from one's soul,' and so on.

In the modern Tatar language the equivalent of the phraseological unit *sofrasy qajnau* 'to be nauseous' is *saury kaynau*: *Bu garza suzlaren Xusxun isette, sofrasy qajnau jozidin ranğe kitte* [Tuhfa-i mardan p. 48a] 'Khusshkhun heard the words of the request, he became nauseous and turned pale'.

Such somatisms as *joz*, *inj* 'face,' *qulaq* 'ears,' *qul* 'hand,' *ajaq* 'leg,' and *qojryq* 'tail' are less common in the composition of phraseological units: *Sana kilsa inlare sarğaryb San ajgyl man irorman asri tabib* [Tuhfa-i mardan, p. 57b] 'If someone comes to you worried, tell them that you are a healer'; *Kem qulundin kilganca qyl jaxsylyq* [Tuhfa-i mardan p. 55a] 'Do good to the best of your ability.'

The phraseological combination *qolaq sal-* 'to listen' is substituted by the author in some cases for a synonymous phraseological unit *qolaq tot-* 'to attach importance to': *Ber nasixat ajtajem qolaq sal Ijasen syjlasan ete-na sojak sal* [Tuhfa-i mardan p. 49a] 'I will give you advice, listen, give a bone to a dog when entertaining its owner'; *Bulmacy suzga qolaq totmaq karakmas* [Tuhfa-i mardan p. 60a] 'Do not attach importance to an unnecessary word.' These phraseological units do not differ much in their structural and semantic relations.

Having described the sources in general, it should be noted that their language has a written tradition. However, compared with the Golden Horde period, forms typical of the Volga Tatar language are used more and more frequently. The research results indicate that the Old Tatar language of the Kazan Khanate period was a Kipchak language which was absorbing elements of the colloquial language and had been influenced by the Qarakhanid-Uighur literary tradition with minor Oghuz inclusions.

§ 3. Literature in the Crimean Khanate

Nariman Abdulvapov

When speaking about literature in the Crimean Khanate, as well as Crimean Tatar literature in its entirety, it is important to note that it is probably the least well researched aspect of Turkology as a whole, and especially Turkic language literature. The literature of the Crimean Khanate must be acknowledged as the literature that contains the most 'discoveries' out of all the modern literatures on Turkic languages in terms of the number

of authors and records, and the undeniable stylistic quality of those records. It is safe to say that with every month spent studying the history of Crimean literature in the analysed period, new names emerge that had been undeservedly forgotten and were wallowing in obscurity because of their ethnicity. As a result, more than a hundred names of Crimean poets, historians, literary figures, and theologians have been discovered over the last

two decades, and the list is constantly growing. As for the literature itself, it includes reasonably imaginative, deep, comprehensive, diverse written monuments of different genres (poetry, historical chronicles, engaging and Sufi prose, treatises on various fields of the so-called Islamic sciences etc.). All of them display numerous examples of strong ideological messages, a deep understanding of philosophy and aesthetics, high quality writing, as well as a large variety of literary and historical accounts of different aspects of the political, social, cultural, and daily life of Crimean society (and not only Crimean) at that time. They include written monuments whose importance transcends the scope of Crimean literature.

While getting acquainted with medieval Crimean Tatar literature, the following should be kept in mind. First of all, a large number of written monuments are considered lost due to the many social and political cataclysms that have occurred throughout the history of Crimea and the Crimean Tatars. We know about these monuments and their authors from their contemporary historical and literary sources and the accounts of later authors.

Secondly, a large number of the remaining written monuments remain largely unstudied and often not even correctly attributed. Hundreds of such manuscripts are kept in multiple literary collections in the countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as Turkey, Germany, Austria, England, France, Holland, and other states. With this in mind, it should be noted that the extensive body of works of the authors who left Crimea for various reasons, or who lived outside of the country for a long time, has been preserved far better than the body of works of the authors who lived and worked in Crimea only.

Thirdly, aside from literature in Turkic languages, medieval Crimean authors created an impressive number of religious and academic texts, as well as fictional and historical works in the Arabic and Persian languages. It follows that such works are obviously an integral part of the cultural heritage of the Crimean Tatars and deserve careful consideration.

Finally, it should be mentioned that in the process of getting acquainted with medieval Crimean Tatar literature, the global reach of the Crimean authors and their work beyond their country of birth becomes apparent. Major religious, cultural and academic centres of the Muslim world can be counted among the cities and settlements where they lived, served and created their scientific and literary works: Cairo, Damascus, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Sinop, Konya, Kastamonu, etc. Taking into account the fact that all of those centres are located in what was the Ottoman region, of which Crimea belonged to, and the specifics of the literary process of that time in general, there is no reasonable basis to discard them as representatives of Crimean literature, even if it is, strictly speaking, an arbitrary distinction.

In view of this it is important to note that with it having close contact with the literature of the whole Ottoman region (besides the aforementioned facts, it is especially prominent in numerous examples of Ottoman authors, even famous ones, residing in Crimea), most of the classical canon of the Ottoman Empire was in circulation in Crimea, which was never viewed as an extraneous part of the literary process. This can also be said about Turkic language literature in general. The literary field was uniform and the classics were integrated into it, both in Persian language (Nizami, Attar, Rumi, Saadi, Hafiz), and in Turkic languages: from the Golden Horde period (Qutb, Bagirgani, Husam Katib, Seyf Sarayi, Mahmud Bulgari, Khorezmi etc.), Central Asian (Esevi, Djamī, Navā'ī, Haali, Lutfi), Azerbaijan (Nesimi, Fuzuli), Seljuk-Ottoman period (Yunus Emre and his followers, Süleyman Çelebi, Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed, Baki, Nefi, Nabi etc.). Of course, with time Crimean literature itself began producing exemplary authors who gained importance both in their national group and beyond (Aşık Omer).

Therefore it is difficult to give a comprehensive description of medieval Crimean Tatar literature with regards to its timeline and continuity or adequately judge its ideo-

logical or aesthetic potential, place it within the context of Ottoman or Turkic literature, or define its place and importance in global literature as a whole. The only indisputable fact is that this literature should be considered an inherent and natural part of medieval Turkic literature that absorbed the traditions of the previous historical periods such as of the Turkic (6th to 8th century) and Uyghur (8th to 9th century) khaganates, as well as the Karakhanid state (9th to early 13th century), and participated in the literary processes of the following epochs—the Golden Horde (13th to 15th century), Chagataid (15th to 16th century), Seljukide, of Azerbaijan and the Ottoman Empire (13th to 19th century). And this points to medieval Crimean Tatar literature as one of the founding literatures of the Muslim East, and an impressive one at that. It has long been known for its magnificence, represented by not only Turkic, but also Persian and Arab literatures.

Crimean literature in the Golden Horde period. Crimean Tatar literature entered the Crimean khanate period with over two hundred years of development behind it. Despite the scarcity of the remaining sources, there is information about at least three great written monuments created in Crimea in this period. These are arguably some of the greatest works not only of Crimean or Ottoman literature, but of Turkic literature as a whole.

These works are two poems based on the Quranic narrative of Yusuf and Zulaikha, by Crimean poets Mahmud Kirimli (late 12th to early 13th century [?]) and Abdulmejid Qirimli (late 14th to early 15th century), as well as an 800-page poem written in Farsi 'Kalendername' by Ebu-Bekr Kalender (late 13th to first half of the 14th century). The first written monument can be found in two translations of it (it is unknown what happened to the original), the second one has not been discovered yet, and the third one has only just started circulating in the wider academic community.

Mahmud Kirimli's poem deserves special mention. While the original text of this incredibly important written monument is deemed lost (although opinions vary, see:

[ODKE, 2000, pp. 19–20]), two translations of the written monument have been preserved. The translator is assumed to be a younger poet, a contemporary of Mahmud Kirimli, Halil-oğlu Ali [Konurat, 1996] who translated the poem from the 'Crimean' ('Deshti') language to 'Turkic'. A number of Turkish and Crimean Tatar researchers have expressed their belief that there is some kind of link between Halil-oğlu Ali and the renowned poet Kul Gali, and that Mahmud Kirimli's poem was written much earlier than previously thought, in the early 13th century [Ibid.].

Unfortunately, this issue has not become the subject of a wider academic discussion yet. However, it may happen relatively soon. One thing is clear: Mahmud Kirimli's poem has every chance of being accepted as Turkic literature's earliest poetic adaptation of a famous Quranic narrative. Actually, this idea is not new [Ertaylan, 1960]. After Mahmud Kirimli, well-known poets would often draw upon the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha. Over 80 poems based on this narrative would go on to be written, one of them by another Crimean author, Abdulmedjid el-Qirimi (latter half of the 14th to early 15th century). The title of his work is 'Munisü'l-Uşşak' ('A friend of lovers'). Ibn Arabshah wrote about him [as-Sahavi, dj.5, pp. 77–78].

While on the subject of Abdulmedjid let us note that besides the aforementioned poem, sources have brought us one of his ghazals preserved in a hand-written volume of a famous Turkic translation of Saadi's *Gülistan* which was completed in Egypt in 1392 by the distinguished Golden Horde poet Seyf Sarayi (the manuscript is currently in the possession of the Leiden University Library) [Gülstan, 1989, p. 183].

As for *Kalendarnâme*, it still has not been discovered by researchers worldwide. This probably has to do with the location in which this written monument was created. By the author's admission he wrote it in Crimea between the 1320s and 1340s. Although by the time of its discovery in 1966 in Namangan his manuscript was described as 'priceless' and 'unique' by the faculty of the Abu Ray-

han Beruni AN UzSSR University of Asiatic Studies Manuscript Foundation (Tashkent) [Munirov, Zhuvonmardiev, 1966]. This written monument is currently being prepared for publication. Preliminary research shows that Ebu-Bekr Kalender was likely of Anatolian descent and was born in Aksaray in the suburbs of Konya, but spent most of his life and possibly died in Crimea. Arguably this can be inferred from the lack of references to him in any known bio-bibliographical reference book. According to the author himself the work was written as a reply to 'Mesnevi-i manavi', a famous work by Jamal ad-din-sheik Rumi (Mevlana, 1207–1273), a spiritual leader and brilliant poet. The author also mentions that he was acquainted with Rumi's son, another Sufi teacher and poet Sultan Veled [Kalandarnâme, manuscript, p. 201].

On the topic of Crimean literature in the Golden Horde period, there are accounts of at least twenty other religious leaders and scholars—Crimeans famous both in their native country and in various centres of the Muslim world such as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem (Kudus), Bursa, Edirne and others. Emir b. Osman Sufi (died 1329/30, Sham), Ziyaeddin b. Sadullah el-Qirimi (died 1378/79, Cairo), Mevlana Rukneddin Ahmed b. Muhammed (died 1382, Cairo), Mevlana Redjeb b. Ibrahim (died 1392/93, Bursa), a famous Sufi teacher Muhammed el-Qirimi (latter half of the 14th century, Kudus). These are but a few names found in Arab and Ottoman sources [Bursali; as-Sahavi]. It should be noted that some of these scholars are identified as authors of religious texts including Sufi texts, and also as poets [Şerafeddin, 1994, p. 13].

When speaking about Crimean scholars, the reasonably high level of education in Crimea and generally in the Golden Horde must be mentioned. In what used to be the capital of the Crimean Khanate, the town of Qrim (also known as Solkhat, nowadays Sary Krym), large ruins of a madrasah of 1333 founded by Indji Beg Khatun (died 1371) still stand preserved. According to some sources she was the mother of a famous Crimean ulus-bey Qutlugh-Temür [Kramarovsky, 1997, p. 36], which can be taken as

evidence that the social status of a learned Muslim woman in Crimean society in the first half of the 14th century was reasonably high. It should also be noted that it was exactly in these years that Ebu-Bekr Kalender wrote his work in Qrim (see above). One can assume that the Sufi poet was invited to Qrim by the founder of the madrasah herself.

Speaking of which, in the same 1333 Ibn Battuta visits Qrim, finding a cohort of local religious leaders in the capital of the ulus: the sheikhs Muzaffereddin, Muzhireddin and Horasanizade, kadis Serefeddin Saili and Hsir, faqihs Şefereddin Musa and Alaeddin, Khatib Ebu-Bekr, imam of tulus-bey Telek Temur Sadeddin and others [Ibn Battuta, 1986, pp. 69–71].

Some time later, in the middle of the century, a famous scholar and faqih Ahmed Hodjenji (died 1400, Medina) spends several years in Qrim and Kaffa. The sources note his close association with a famous, as can be inferred from the tone of those references, spiritual leader Ebu-l-Vefa Osman el-Magribi as-Şazeli. There is evidence of another famous scholar Alaeddin Ahmed Seirami (died 1388) staying in Qrim at the same time. [Tiesenhausen, 1884, p. 463]. Even later, in the early 15th century, Qrim would attract probably the most famous scholar in this list, faqih Hafizuddin Muhammed Bezzazi (died 1424), who, according to sources, would find in Qrim an environment that was sufficiently competent in Islamic sciences, and would go on to educate a number of famous students [IA, Özel (a)]. Finally, in 1412 the famous scholar, historian and poet Ibn Arabshah (died 1450) would visit Qrim. Later, in one of his biographic works he records his meetings with local scholars and poets Ahmed Buyruk, Mevlana Şerefeddin, Mevlana Mahmud el-Bulgari and poet Abdulmedjid [as-Sahavi, dj.2, p. 127]. All of this further attests to the fact that Qrim, even when located on the fringes of the Muslim civilisation, was never by any means an unimportant, provincial region when it came to culture.

Returning to the subject of literature, it should be added that in regards to the development of fine arts and poetry in Crimea,

some information can be gleaned from Crimean epigraphy data, namely samples of poetic epitaphs on tombstones dated 13–15th century, preserved to the present day in Sary Krym [Aqçoqraqlı, 1927, p. 3; Aqçoqraqlı, 1929, p. 7]. These poetic fragments are written in the local, or, using Halil-oglu Ali's terminology (see above), Crimean or 'Deshti' language.

It should be noted that at that time Crimea was experiencing an amalgamation of a number of literary movements. On the one hand, Crimea was an arena of great importance in the literature of the Golden Horde. On the other hand, Central Asian literature continues to maintain its influence that had spread into Crimea in the age of the authors of poems about Yusuf and Zuleikha, or, as they are assumed to be, followers of Ahmed Yasavi [Ayan, 2005]. It developed greatly during the time of Islam's expansion into Crimea in the latter half of the 13th century [Abdulvapov, 2006, p. 145]. Finally, Anatolian (Seljuk-Ottoman) literature spreads into Crimea [Abdulvapov, 2006, p. 145].

Other than literature in Turkic languages, literature circulates in Farsi, which had long been known as the literary language of the Turkic peoples, and in Arabic. For example, Ibn Battuta writes about the practice of the declamation of religious and poetic texts in Arabic and Farsi in Azak, very close to Crimea [Ibn Battuta, 1986, p. 76]. In the latter half of the 13th century Y. Kemal and A. Krinsky writes about the possibility of writing a Sufi text in Arabic in Crimea [Kemal, 1930].

Literature of the Crimean Khanate: timeline, main trends, representatives. The early history of the Crimean Khanate from the late 1420s to the end of the 15th century is characterised by the difficulties of establishing a young nation and a dramatic battle for the legacy of the Golden Horde. 1475 marks an event that would define the development of Crimea thereafter. Ottoman Turks take control of all Christian colonies on the peninsula: The Principality of Theodoro with its centre in Mangup, colonies of Genoa in Kaffa, Sudak, Balaklava, and others. Thus

begins the Ottoman history of Crimea, namely the history of the Kaffa ayalet—an administrative body under Istanbul's direct supervision, and a province stretching along the Black Sea coast from Chersonese to Kerch, including large territories of south-western Crimea. After a significant political and cultural shift in which Crimea begins to emulate Istanbul, the latter's influence over events in Crimea grows exponentially.

These events create a dangerous socio-political situation in Crimea. It is characterised by dramatic relationships with both its previous overlord (the Golden Horde) and its future one (the Ottoman empire). This resulted in the very modest number of known works of Crimean literature and science of the time being preserved. Furthermore, only two of them, a Crimean khan Mengli Giray I [died 1515] and a famous scholar-müderri Seyyid Ahmed b. Abdullah Qirimi (died 1474) have literary works (poems) that have been preserved to the present day in fragments [Emiri, 1995]. On the one hand, the crisis was not conducive to the active development of literary arts and research, and on the other hand, it meant that the existing written monuments were extremely vulnerable.

Consequently, after two centuries of intense cultural progress, Crimea sees a decline in creative activity. The decline was also noted outside the peninsula. With regards to this a dialogue between the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (1451–1481) and the aforementioned Seyyid Ahmed of Crimea is notable and depicted in a number of Ottoman sources. A student of a famous faqih Hafizuddin Bezzazi, Seyyid Ahmed b. Abdullah (Mevlana Qirimi, died 1474, Istanbul) was a famous Crimean theologian, philologist, legal scholar and poet. He came to Istanbul when Mehmed Fatih was Sultan and, having received the Sultan's favour, was given the honour of tutoring his children and teaching in the most prestigious Ottoman madrasahs. In one of the conversations between Mehmed Fatih and the Crimean scholar, who also performed some diplomatic duties, Seyyid Ahmed replied to the Sultan's question about events happening in 'the country of Crimea,

famous for its intellectual life and abundance of scholars, a birthplace of 600 religious leaders (mufti) and 300 men of letters (musannif). He said that a certain vizier had appeared in his country and was so bold as to 'treat local scholars rudely'. Consequently 'the people began to leave their homes, and because scholars are the heart and soul of the national entity and problems with their moral and intellectual health affect all parts of this entity, in the wake of their exodus the whole framework of the Crimean government has been dealt irreparable harm' [Mecdi, 1989, pp. 101–102].

This dialogue is notable for the fact that it not only references the crisis that had engulfed the Golden Horde at the time—the country of Crimea' likely meant not only Crimea but the Golden Horde as a whole, but it also attests to the scope of the influence of Islamic culture in the region, to the significant presence of representatives of Islamic sciences, education and literature, as well as the perceived significance of expanding Islamic learning through the Golden Horde and the special status of its representatives.

It is telling that despite the crisis scholars continued to create new works. Sources note that Seyyid Ahmed alone wrote a number of texts on different fields of Islamic sciences, logic, philology and mysticism [Bursali, 1990, p. 14]. Out of them two Sufi texts deserve a special mention: 'Şerh-i Gulşen-i raz' is a commentary on a famous poem by the distinguished Sufi sheikh Mahmud Şebustari (died 1320) 'Gulşen-i Raz' ('The rose garden of mysteries') written in Farsi (according to Bursala's account, one copy of this commentary was kept in the library of Aya-Sofia [Ibid.]), and 'Şerh-i Miftah-ul-Gayb' is another commentary on a famous work by the pupil and adopted son of the distinguished theosophist Ibn Arabi, a contemporary and follower of Djelalleddin Rumi, the sheikh Sadreddin Konevi (died 1274). It is interesting that both works were especially popular with the members of the Sufi order mevlevi, which gives the accounts about the authors of the commentaries being a member of this Sufi order further weight [Soysal, 1961b, p. 21].

Seyyid Ahmed bin Abdullah was by far not the only Crimean scholar and poet about whom information has been preserved. Crimeans continue to live in Cairo and other centres of the Islamic world. Abdulla bin Muhammed el-Qirimi, Ali bin Muhammed el-Qirimi, Mahmud bin Omer el-Qirimi, Yusuf bin Huseyin el-Qirimi, Serefeddin bin Kemal el-Qirimi (died 1443), Nedjmeddin Iskhak bin Ismail el-Qirimi (died 1475/76, Cairo), Burhaneddin Ibrahim el-Qirimi (died 1483/84, Cairo)—these are but a few names of famous Crimean theologists, spiritual leaders and scholars [Bursali; Sahavi].

Going back to the latter half of the 15th century, it is important to mention the significant change in status of the city Kefe (previously Kaffa), which became the second cultural capital of Crimea. In light of this it would be prudent to also mention another widely discussed problem in modern Crimean literary studies.

Besides being a political and trading centre, Kaffa became an important cultural and, specifically, literary centre. Presently available accounts name over 80 poets, scholars, theologists, and historians who came to prominence under the nisba 'Kefevi', and about the same number of their colleagues who worked and lived here without being Kefevi (they include a number of famous people, see below). While the second category does not raise any questions, the ethnicity of the people in the first category often remains unclear,—that is, it is entirely possible that among the large number of people we now know as 'Kefevi', there may be some who are ethnically not Crimean Tatars (even if at the time it had some kind of fundamental importance). Admittedly, there is little doubt that many 'guests', while not being ethnic Crimean Tatars, stayed in Kaffa and assimilated into the local community, gradually losing their previously held ethnic characteristics.

Literature of the 16th century. The 16th century, usually hailed as the Golden Age of the Ottoman Turkic culture, saw most of modern Crimea cities develop as cultural, political and trading centres: Bakhchys-

array, which sprung up around the new palace build by a Crimean khan Sahib-Giray I (1532–1551); Kefe, later designated Little Istanbul ("Küçük İstanbul") due to its active socio-political and cultural life; Akmesdjid (now Simferopol), designated a city of residence for the khan's governor, the kalgi-sultan, Kezleva (now Yevpatoria), the city that in the later half of the century was a contestant for the title of the khanate's new capital; and Karasu-Bazar (now Belogorsk), the largest trading centre of the peninsula. During this period Crimea established a good system of socio-economic relationships, and an extensive infrastructure of culture and education. Regarding the latter, Crimea's famous educational establishment, the Zindjirli Madrasa, was opened in 1501. For many centuries it was considered a bastion of Crimean Tatar scholars and came to special prominence during I. Gasprinsky's educational reforms.

Sources confirm that this period saw active development of Crimean urban planning, architecture, sciences (first and foremost amongst these the religious or so-called Islamic sciences, although there is also evidence of development in mathematics and the natural and applied sciences, astronomy, logic, ethics and others), literature, and arts (calligraphy, miniatures, music). The spiritual and creative atmosphere in society was largely shaped by the Sufi faith, an Islamic religious movement advocating an all-encompassing love of God, sincere religious worship, absolute purity of intentions and conduct, the renunciation of materialism, attention to neighbours, spiritual self-improvement, and so on.

Compared to the previous period, the 16th century gave Crimean Tatar literature a much larger number of names that are also of interest to the general reading public. Amongst people who left an impression are members of the ruling family, religious leaders, scholars, Sufi sheiks, representatives of the lower academic classes of the khanate, and people from lower social circles. Unfortunately, for the bulk of them only partial fragments of their literary works have been preserved until the present day. Nevertheless, several of the

authors of the 16th century are undoubtedly brilliant.

All these authors represent two different movements of the Crimean literature of that period: of the Divan and of religious Sufi texts. The following is some relevant information about the major literary movements of Crimea in the period of the khanate.

Three movements of medieval Crimean Tatar literature are usually emphasised due to their content and poetic characteristics. The first one is the so-called *Divan literature* (*divan edebiyati*, from the Arabic '*divan*' meaning 'the collection of poetry by an author'), which constitutes the classic literature of the period. Currently there are at least three definitions of the concept of the Divan literature: a wider one, a traditional one and a narrow one. As a wide term Divan literature is understood as meaning all written literature of the Muslim period: poetry (using the aruz system of metrics), both religious and not; and prose—historical, recreational, Sufi, epistolary, academic and so on. The traditional definition includes poetry (using metrics) and prose (fiction), but only that that is secular. Finally, the narrowest definition of the term reduces it to strictly secular metrical poetry. It is the secular poetry that is usually called classic, due to the fact that during its formative period it largely emulated 'classic' Persian poetry.

Divan literature can be characterised as covering the widest range of genres, a strict framework of poetic etiquette and an exceptionally diverse and sophisticated use of language. Most medieval Crimean Tatar authors represent Divan literature.

The second movement is the so-called *Sufi literature* (*tekke edebiyati*), largely represented by the poetic creations of numerous religious leaders and lay members of the Sufi orders—the tarikats. The artistic language, symbols and imagery of this literature, its fairly difficult and sophisticated etiquette, not only greatly influenced the formation and development of religious literature itself, but in large part defined the principles and evolution of many literary genres of secular literature (and most of all, Divan poetry).

Lastly, the third movement *ışık poetry* (*aşık edebiyatı*, from Arabic '*aşık*' meaning lover or poet). It is characterised by the works of folk poets—*aşıks* (*ozans*, *kedays* etc.). Together with folk written monuments it composes the bulk of folk literature (*halk edebiyatı*). Representatives of this literary movement accompanied their performances by playing a string musical instrument called the *saza*, which gave rise to an alternative name for this type of poetry: *saza poetry*. *Aşıks* were very popular among the people for combining the talents of a poet, composer, singer, and musician in one. *Saza poetry* is characterised as folk poetry, although in the process of its development it incorporated various elements of classic *Divan* poetry. *Aşık poetry* gave Crimea and Turkic literature as a whole the famous author by the name of *Aşık Omer* (died 1708).

Let us go back to the 16th century. Evidence suggests that Crimea in that time was influenced by the increasingly lively literary processes that were spreading across significant territories of vast regions such as the Volga territory, the Caucasus, Western Asia, Anatolia, the Middle East, North Africa, etc. Moreover, Crimea acted as a kind of bridge between literary traditions across a vast geographical region, as well as actively participating in defining the boundaries and qualities of the literature that would become central to the literary processes of the whole Turkic Muslim world: Ottoman literature.

Without a doubt these years saw an expansion of the Golden Horde's literary legacy. It is a well known fact that the Crimean Khanate was effectively a successor state of the Jochid ulus. It is through Crimea that the Ottomans familiarised themselves with the Golden Horde's written monuments. There are accounts of large amounts of translation taking place in the court of the Crimean khan Sahib Giray I (1532–1551), previously the khan of Kazan from 1521–1524. In particular, one of the results of this work was the Ottoman translation of a famous written monument of the Golden Horde literature, '*Hikyaet-i Djumdjume Sultan*' by Hyusam

Kâtip [Köprülü, 1981, p. 176; Minnegulov, 1993, p. 72]. Evidence of this is provided by one of the direct participants of these events, the khan's astrologist, apothecary, historian, poet and translator Kaysuni-zade Nidai Remmal Hoja. In a famous historical account of Sahib Giray I's rule he notes that he himself was given the task by the khan of translating ten books to Ottoman Turkish [Târih-i Sâhib, 1973, p. 109].

The same can be said about Chagataid literature. It was once thought that the interest in the works of Navā'ī and followers in the Ottoman court of the early 16th century was cultivated in a large part thanks to Crimeans, specifically the future rulers of Crimea, those educated in the Sultan's Enderun Royal Academy, the poets Saadet I and Sahib I Giray [Geraybay, 1995, p. 16]. Due to this, the presence in the vast (according to Halim Giray, 'uncountable') library collection of the Crimean Khan Saadet Giray I (1524–1532) of the '*Hamsa*', by Alişer Navā'ī, with the Khan's personal signature and stamp, can be seen as symbolic.

On the other hand the reverse process also took place; Ottoman (Anatolian) literature was swiftly incorporated into Crimean literary life. In particular, this is believed to be the period when the literature of the so-called '*mevlid*' canon gained widespread popularity throughout the Khanate. Examples of this literature include the famous poems on the Prophet Muhammad's life: '*Mevlid*' by Süleyman Çelebi (died 1422), '*Muhammade*' by Yazidjioglu Mehmed (died 1451), and others, as well as numerous religious poems (*destans*) of a didactic nature such as '*Kesik baş*' ('The tale of the severed head'), '*Gogerdjin*' ('Dove'), '*Geyik*' ('Doe') and others, and the religious hymns, the *ilyahi*, of the legendary Anatolian poet Yunus Emre (died 1321 [?]) and his followers. Later this literature would truly become the folk literature of Crimea, known in every household and being an accompaniment for the majority of a Crimean Muslims' life [Çoban-zade, 2003, pp. 13–14, 72–73].

It should be noted that the most well-known authors of Crimean 16th century lit-

erature today were members of the ruling family, the Girays. The four most famous Crimean rulers of this century: Saadet I (died 1540), Sahib I (died 1551), Devlet I (died 1577), Ghazi II (died 1608), not counting Mengli I (died 1514), mentioned elsewhere. Historical sources paint them as people who were not averse to the cult of the written word and the virtues of sophisticated linguistic arts [Geraybay, 1995, pp. 10–16]. And if the first three cannot be called important poets by any stretch of the imagination (not to mention that most of their works are lost), the last one became the jewel not only of Crimean poetry but of all Ottoman literature.

Ghazi Giray II (Bora) was the son of the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray I (died 1577) and made history as a great ruler, talented politician and brilliant commander. He had a decisive character and was a very independent thinker. He was a person of massive intellect and knowledge in various fields of religious and secular sciences (including the hard sciences), famous as a talented poet, a skilful calligrapher, and a brilliant musician (he played the *tanbur*, a popular fretted instrument) and composer. The last of those deserves a special mention: Ghazi Giray is recognised as the most brilliant composer not only of Crimean music but of Turkic classical music as a whole. Over 60 of his musical pieces have been preserved, and some of them have been published [Krymskotatarskaya, 2007].

Another well-known fact is that Ghazi Giray was a philanthropist. His support of scholars and artists was instrumental in the development of the country's academic and creative works.

As for his literary legacy, not all of his poetry has lasted to our time. His 'Divan', mentioned in several documents, remains undiscovered [Ertaylan, 1958, p. 31]. Researchers have at their disposal only a lesser *divan* (*divançe*) and fragments of poems in various hand-written collections of works currently in the libraries of Turkey, Russia, Great Britain and other countries. All in all of Gazaiy's known work there are some 50 of Gazaiy's ghazals, two of his poems, or *mesnevi* as they

were also called ('Dolab' ['Mill wheel'] and 'The rose and the nightingale' ['Gul ve Bulbul'] and another, 'Coffee and Wine' ['Kahve ve bade'], which remains undiscovered), as well as a number of letters in both verse and fictional prose [Ibid.].

Gazaiy's body of work spans various genres. Together with the more familiar love poems and poetry covering the philosophy of love and military themes, the unusual satire—*hidjvie*—deserves a mention. They are especially interesting for dealing with unsavoury socio-political relationships within the poet's contemporary society, mocking numerous flaws of the Sultan's court and the Ottoman ruling class for wallowing in scheming, hypocrisy and corruption [Ibid., pp. 40–46]. In addition to the Ottoman elite, Gazaiy takes aim at people of other social statuses, and at the religious and educational institutions of the period. Among the vices the poet castigates are ignorance, conceit, stupidity, greed, corruption, spiritual emptiness, false devoutness, fraud and others. The author himself appears in his works as someone calling the ruling elite to account for their vices before God, the country, and its people. Gazaiy's satire is undoubtedly a highlight not only of his personal work and the Crimean poetry of the time, but of Ottoman literature as a whole.

Gazaiy's military verses are as great as his satire. They praise moral strength, courage and fearlessness, the greatness of dedication to the country of one's birth, descriptions of scenes of preparation for battle, and of the battles themselves [Ibid., pp. 36–40]. The latest fragments of his work show a fair degree of humour (*mizah*) regarding some aspects of daily life in the Crimean-Tatar Ottoman army.

Gazaiy also wrote religious poetry, with motifs of philosophical musings on man's higher destiny and the relationship between God and man, as well as various manuals of an Islamic nature. Those works include some ghazals and a poem (*mesnevi*), 'Dolap' ('Mill wheel'), on the theme of the Islamic concept 'kader' ('predestination') [Ibid., pp. 46–50]. The latter is written according to Shariah

motifs, unlike, for example, the famous Sufi masterpiece by Yunus Emre.

Gazaiy also explores some Sufi themes. For example, I. Ertaylan mentions this while noting Gazaiy's Sufi symbolism and enthusiastic mysticism, which bring to mind the names of the most distinguished Sufi devotees: Mansura Halladja and Imadeddin Nesimi (a renowned mystic poet of Azerbaijan descent) [Ibid., p. 34]. Sufi themes can be found in a number of Gazaiy's ghazals. In one of them he presents himself as a person who 'knows the meaning of all names' and who 'conquered the Universe by slaying a sly "enemy", his own ego' [Ibid.]. It should be noted that in one of his ghazals Gazaiy mentions the Mevlevi order [Ibid., p. 81]. Another significant motif in Gazaiy's ghazals are epicurean themes (rintlik) [Ibid., pp. 35–36].

In addition to ghazals, his mesnevi poem 'The Rose and the nightingale' ('Gil ve bulbul') was created under the direct influence of Sufi ideas, in particular of aesthetic categories such as beauty and love. The poem is an allegory of love and beauty (worldly and divine) and it is likely that it is influenced by the works of the famous Persian Sufi poet Fariduddin Attar [Ibid., pp. 50–53].

Speaking of Gazaiy, it is important to understand his poetic culture, the literary movements that informed his poetic world and writing style. The poet was well-educated in both the literary classics and in the modern poets. These are chiefly the Çağatay poets with Alişer Navā'ī at the helm: Djami, Lyutfi, Hayali and others. In some of his verses Gazaiy appeals to these distinguished poets as if to associate himself with the established classics [Ibid., p. 32].

The next layer is Ottoman literature. Researchers note Gazaiy's numerous themes that are similar to those of the most famous representatives of this genre of literature: Zati, Baki, Hayali and even Hafi, who lived a little later [Ibid., pp. 32–33].

Finally, one of the most important of the poet's influences was the works of Fuzuli. Ghazi's close attention to him can be inferred from Gazaiy's clear efforts at imitation, such as the mesnevi poem 'The Rose

and the Nightingale' ('Gul ve bulbul') which bears resemblance to Fuzuli's 'Nik u bed', or from numerous poetic turns of phrase in the Crimean author's ghazals which are stylistically similar to those of Azerbaijan's famous poet. I. Ertaylan notes that some of Gazaiy's poems are inspired by Fuzuli to such an extent that were those poems signed with the latter's name no one would doubt they came from the great 'Baghdadian's' pen [Ibid., p. 33].

All the aforementioned influences are also expressed through Gazaiy's use of language that successfully uses the linguistic armoury of all the mentioned languages as well as of the Crimean dialect of Turkic.

Gazaiy is undoubtedly a brilliant poet and has pride of place in the Crimean literature of the period of the khanate. When talking of Gazaiy, the atmosphere of the Khan's palace in the time of his reign also has to be mentioned. The son and grandson of a poet, Gazaiy instilled a love for both poetry and verse into at least two of his sons, and one of his daughters (see below). The sources describe him as a frequent philanthropist, who supported many Crimean and Ottoman poets, writers, musicians, calligraphers, and miniaturists. Among his proteges we can see, in particular, the Ottoman poets and musicians Abduddelel Zihni (died 1591 or 1614) and Asafi Dal Mehmed Çelebi (died 1598?). Together with Gazaiy the latter participated in one of the military campaigns against the Persians in 1581–1582, which ended with a long imprisonment and months-long confinement in an Iranian zindan. This was later described by Asafi in his poem 'Shedghaat-name' ('Tale of bravery') [Ibid., pp. 11–20].

Gazaiy also exchanged letters, including letters in verse in both the Ottoman and Arabic languages, with famous representatives of Ottoman culture: sheikh al-islam, the muderris and the historian Hodzha Saaddedin (died in 1599), the scholar, poet and calligrapher Gani-zade Mehmed Nadiri (died in 1627), and the Kefe's scholar and poet Husejin Kefevi (died in 1601) [Ibid., pp. 41–45, 57–61].

The latter author, who also dedicated, incidentally, one of his most famous prose

works to Gazaiy (see below) and was likely to have been close to him, is in his turn one of the most distinguished Kefin authors of the century. Hussejin Kefevi was a famous poet, writer and scholar, called 'the Sultan of authors' ('sultan-ul-muellifin') by his contemporaries [Bursali, 1990, p. 15]. Among his numerous academic and literary works (spanning theology, fiction and others) there are a number of works to be mentioned in particular: two texts on the works of Hafyz, including a commentary to his 'Divan' ('Sherkh-i Divan-y Hafyz') as well as a commentary in Turkic to Saadi's 'Gulistan' [IA, Akpinar, pp. 186–187]. Contemporaries describe Hussejin Kefevi as a master poet, proficient in Ottoman, Farsi and Arabic, who paid special attention to the sophistication and precision of language. He was a renowned master of poetic imitation *nazire* [Ibid., p. 186]. Fragments of Hussejin's poetic works have been preserved and are currently the subjects of research [IA, Akpinar].

In addition to his literary and academic fame, Hussejin Kefevi is renowned as a famous musician and composer, which has brought him even closer to Gazaiy. There is also information indicating that as a city *mulah* Hussejin Kefevi taught music to the most talented Kefin children, using music and songs of his own composition [Ibid., p. 186].

The poet Talibi (died between 1512–1520) was another Kefe's author: in Latifi's anthology he is noted as being able to write 'highly' sophisticated poems despite having little education [Latifi, 1990, pp. 457–458].

Speaking of Kefe's authors, another name should be mentioned: the talented poet Enveri Çelebi (died 1547, Istanbul). He spent most of his life in Istanbul as an owner of a small textile shop, and became renowned as a talented pyrotechnic [YYOA, Çakım]. As a writer of a 'Divan', Enveri, despite not being educated, wrote 'amazingly beautiful and masterful verses' according to his contemporaries, and often did this *impromptu* [Ibid., p. 412]. Enveri deserves a special mention: he adhered to the so-called 'simplified turki' ('turki-i basit')—the trend in poetry that called for the simplification of the language

and furthermore, for its turkification, as opposed to the ornate Ottoman preferred in *divan* poetry of the time. This is evident from both Enveri's poetry and prose (see below), that was riddled with elements of the Turkic folk language, wise proverbs, sayings and set phrases [Ibid., p. 413].

Almost all of the authors mentioned above, who were formally *divan* poets, incorporated, as we saw, religious *sufi* themes. As for the 'tekke literature' authors, there are Mustafa Myudami (died in 1540), an author of a 'Divan' in *Sufi* motifs, that along with numerous short-form poems, contains a reasonably long hagiographic text (781 *beits*)—the 'Tales of Bukharian Emir' ('Menakyb-y Emir Buhari') about the life of the legendary sheikh St. Emir Sultan of Buchara (died in 1429, Bursa). Mustafa Myudami was born in Qrim, lived in Kafa for some time, and then later lived, by all evidence, in Anatolia (possibly in Bursa) where he completed the course in *Sufi* sciences under the guidance of famous spiritual leaders. His later life and place of death are unknown. The manuscripts of both works are kept in Istanbul's hand-written collections, and several fragments of poetry were published [ODKE, 2000, pp. 32–37]. Among them are fine examples of the poetic prayer *munajat*, as well as eulogies honouring the poet's spiritual mentor (Sheikh Suleiman), the order's *pir* (Sheikh Sinan) and Saint Emir Sultan.

Bakai (Abdulkaki Kefevi, died in 1591/92) was another representative of the religious *Sufi* poetry of that period. As a son of Kefe's *qadi* he visited almost all important centres of the Ottoman Empire. In Cairo he met and studied *Sufi* religion under the poet Ibrahim Gulsheni, a famous sheikh and the founder of the Gulsheniyya Order (a branch of the Halvetiyya Order). Later Bakai served as a *mesnevi*han (reciter or 'Mesnevi') in one of the *mevlevi* houses of Damascus [Bursali, 1990, p. 31]. One of his poems is currently available for researchers—a eulogy-medhie, or *museddes*, in honour of Jalal ad-Din Rumi [Crimean Literature of the Ottoman Period, 2000, pp. 38–40].

Speaking of the religious Sufi poetry of the 16th century the aforementioned poet Enveri should also be mentioned. Sources pay special attention to his treatise (prose-poetry) on hurufism—one of the mystical movements in Islam, based on the so-called symbolism of letters (from where the movement's name takes its origins), that has certain points of correlation with Sufism (we are reminded of a brilliant poet from Azerbaijan, Imadeddin Nesimi). Arguably many of Enveri's 'Divan' poems are also written in Sufi motifs.

Unfortunately the poems of a number of Crimean Sufi sheikhs and scholars of the 16th century are still undiscovered. Namely, 'Tatar sheikh' by Ibrahim bin Ak-Mehmed (died 1592/93, Istanbul)—a famous sheikh of the Halvetiyya Order, who was an advisor of the Crimean Khan Devlet I and of his son Ghazi II. After moving to Istanbul, Ibrahim-efendi took a place as the sheikh in the Küçük-Aja-sofia mosque, came into prominence as a commentator of the Quran, the author of several texts on Sufism and as a poet (he wrote in the Arabic and Turkic languages) [Bursali, 1990, pp. 9–10]. As well as Mahmud bin Suleiman (died in 1582)—a famous scholar (see below), a Myurid of the famous Kefe's sheikh Takiyuddin Ebu-Bekr (died in 1562), miderris and cadi, who also, according to sources, wrote in Turkic and Arabic languages [Bursali, 1990, p. 34]. The latter, namely bilingual and trilingual authors, were something of a norm among the academic and literary elite in medieval Crimea.

To sum up the discussion of poetry of the 16th century, one more name should be added to the aforementioned authors: Fendi (his chronogram, dated 956/1549, has been documented by Evliya Çelebi in one of the sources in the Sudak [Evliya Çelebi, 2008, p. 158]). All authors largely represent two of the main schools: divan poetry and religious Sufi poetry. As for ashyk poetry, no information is available about this before the 16th century, although undoubtedly this school was also widespread in Crimea at the time.

Not only poetry remained intact in the literature of the 16th century. Currently, examples of fictional prose are also known and

represented in particular by the letters of Ghazi Giray and Husejin Kefevi—great examples of the epistolary genre of the time. A number of collections of short stories of Husejin Kefevi in the genre 'fal-name' can be viewed as examples of Turkic fiction. First and foremost is the collection 'Raz-name' ('The book of mysteries') that collected short stories (192 pieces) about the practice of literary fortune-telling in the intellectual sphere of the time—in this case, on the basis of the most frequently used, for relevant purposes, texts; the holy Quran, 'Mesnevi' by Rumi, 'Divan' by Hafiz and Dzhami [IA, Akpinar, p. 187]. The massive popularity of the collection can be assumed from numerous copies currently held in collections of manuscripts in Turkey, Russia, England and elsewhere [Ibid.]. Another known fact is that the first version of the book was titled 'Sevanihu't-tefe'ul' and contained 139 short stories. It was finished in 1577 and gifted to the Crimean khan and poet Ghazi Giray II by the author himself [Ibid., p. 186].

The earliest preserved Crimean historical prose is also dated from the 16th century. Kajsuni-zade Nidai, known in Crimea as Remmal Hoja, was a court advisor, astrologist, apothecary, historian and poet during Sahib Giray's I rule (1532–1551). His 'the Story of the khan Sahib Giray', written after the khan's death by the commission of his daughter, Nur-Sultan Hani, contains valuable information about the political and cultural life in the khanate of that period. The chronicle was preserved in a number of copies and was published in 1973 in Ankara by O.Gök-bilgin in Latin graphics, with a translation in French [Tarih-i Sahib, 1973]. This work is one of the most prominent examples of Crimean historiography [Sejityagya, 2003; Zaitsev, 2005].

Academic literature on various fields of Islamic sciences—exegetics, hadith studies, Islamic law (fiqh), ethics and sufism, is represented by the works of the 'Tatar sheikh' Ibrahim bin Ak-Mehmed (died in 1592/92), Kefe's qadis Mahmud bin Sulejman (died in 1582) and Husejin Kefevi (died in 1601), Kefe's mufti Baba Kushi Abdurrahman (died

in 1575/76) and others. Among those people sheikh Ibrahim bin Ak-Mehmed deserves a special mention. M. Bursaly provides a list of five of his texts; at least two of them are of Sufi composition [Bursaly, 1990, pp. 9–10]. Mahmud bin Suleiman should also be mentioned, with his fundamental autobiographical work 'Ketaibu a'lyami'l-ahjar', something of an encyclopedia, with information about the life and work of over 809 famous Islamic jurists (mostly faqis of the Hanefi's Mazhab) as well as Sufi leaders and Muslim saints [IA, Özel (a)]. Preserved in many copies in the collections of manuscripts of Uzbekistan and Turkey, currently this work is popular and actively used in academic circles. Its chief characteristic is its style, that unified the precision of academic writing with elements of the Muslim hagiography *menakymname*—due to various legends and myths about the biographies of one person or another being included within the text [Ibid., p. 185].

Works on ethics (*adab*) can be found among academic works. In particular, a notable text among the theological works of a famous Ottoman scholar-lexicographer Mustafa Akhteri (died 1560) is his commentary on the subject of a corresponding text of a certain Kefen author of the first half of the century [IA, Koç].

Translated literature. Out of the translated literary legacy that has been discovered, one deserves attention—the Turkic translation (with commentary) of the famous 'Gulistan' by Saadi, translated by Husejin Kefevi. This work, that contains critical notes on the earlier Ottoman commentary of 'Gulistan', by the poets Syururi and Shem'i and by the well-known Ottoman bio-bibliographer Kâtip Çelebi (Hajji Halfa), whose commentary was critically lauded at the time of its publication [Zaitsev, 2005, p. 51]. This work was completed in Mecca in the same year the author died (1601) and was preserved until our time in several copies [IA, Akpinar, pp. 186–187].

Additionally there is no reason to reject the possibility that Tatar Ali was a poet of Crimean descent (or that Sherif Amidi [died 1514], shortened to 'Sherif', was either). He

was the author of the most complete (55,000 beits) Turkic translation of the 'Shehname' by Ferdowsi, in 1511 gifted to the Egyptian Sultan Kansukh Gavri (1501–1516). The translation was accomplished in the Mamlyuk-Kipchak language. Its copies are currently held in collections of manuscripts in Istanbul, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Dushanbe and elsewhere [Minnegulov, 2003, pp. 216–217]. Gibb writes about working with the British copies [Gibb, 1999, c.1, pp. 548–549]. This translation was partially published in 1965 in Warsaw by A. Zayonchkovsky [Zayonchkovsky, 1965]. It is worth noting that the question of the author's ethnicity still stands. Given the substantial population of Crimeans in Egypt in those years, the suggestion that the poet might have been of Crimean descent has every right to exist.

Speaking of the Crimean literature of the 16th century it is important to mention a number of Ottoman authors who participated in literary processes in Crimea over the discussed period. One of them is the aforementioned court historian and poet of Sahib I, Remmal Nidai. Later in the court of Ghazi Giray II another name can be added—Zihni (Abduddelil, Nedzhefzade, Zihni-i Kadim, died in 1591 or in 1614, Baghdad), a poet who wrote in three languages: Turkic, Arabic and Farsi. He was a musician like Ghazi, and a master calligrapher, a member of the Mevlevi order, which calls to mind the melevi themes in Gazai's own works [TDEA, p. 8, pp. 656–657]. There is information in one of the Crimean chronicles that Zihni was given a sable fur coat of Gazai's own shoulder for a recital of a beits of the famous Baki [Sejityakhya, 2004, no. 4, p. 76]. One of Zihni's works was preserved. It is an imitation (*nazire*) of Gazai's well-known ghazal 'Raete' [Emiri, 1995, p. 13].

In Kefe the presence of Ottoman authors is especially noticeable. This is understandable since the city is the capital of an Ottoman *eyalet*, it keeps an Ottoman garrison, Ottoman officers are appointed to its head and to key administrative positions, and trading and cultural contacts with Istanbul and Anatolia as a whole don't pause even

for a minute. Poets can be found among the rulers of the eyalet (beylerbeys): Shakhzade Suleyman, the son of Sultan Selim Yavuz—later the famous Suleyman 'the Lawyer' ('Kanuni') (1495–1566, pseudonym 'Muhibbi', wrote a 'Divan'), Zeinel Pasha (around 1527/28, pseudonym 'Zeyni'), 'Asafi' Dal Mekhmed Pasha (around 1598), and among the Kefe's muftis: 'Medkhi' Mahmud (Kara, died 1597/98, owner of a 'Divan'), as well as among the Kefe's qadis: Shemseddin Çelebi (died in 1520), Dervish Mekhmed Çelebi (died in 1531, wrote in Turkic and Farsi), Seliki Şha'ban (died in the last years of Suleyman I Kanuni's rule, 1520–1566), 'Neyli' Mekhmed (Küçük Lutfizade, died in 1592), and among the lesser clerks: Shevki Yusuf Çelebi (died in 1500s), Zihni Çelebi (died in 1510s, also a master of prose, stylist *munshi*), 'Garibi' (16th century, also a master calligrapher) [SO; TDEA; IA]. In addition to poets there are scholars, for example, from 1558 to 1565. Among Kefe's muftis was a well-known Ottoman scholar, theologian and expert in Arabic studies and philology Kemaleddin Ibrahim bin Bakhshi (Dede Dzhongi, died in 1567) and so on [IA, Akgündüz].

As evidenced by this, the 16th century in Crimea is characterised by a rich literary atmosphere encompassing almost every stratum of modern society. An abundance of authors, lively literary meetings, various literary traditions, schools, languages... As a consequence: a rising level of the mastery of poetry by Crimean authors as well as acceptance of societal themes, and critical reactions to current issues of that period, despite the prevailing popularity of romantic and philosophical lyrics and mysticism.

Literature of the 17th century. The materials on the literature of the 17th century are much more extensive. During this century Crimean Tatar literature acquires a number of brilliant names in practically every literary school. A heavy torrent of *ashyk* poetry is a supplement to *divan* poetry and religious Sufi poetry. Historical prose, as well as Sufi, and academic and religious prose, are also showcased more extensively.

As earlier, the most impressive list belongs to *divan* poetry—at least 35 representatives have been discovered so far. Most prominent are again the members of the Khan's family: nine poets, four of whom are khans themselves. Not all of their works have been preserved. Although the known legacy is enough to judge the high skills of the authors.

As for the lost written sources, the one deserving of a special mention is Jani Beg Giray's poetry—a Crimean khan in 1610–1623, 1624, 1628–1635, mentioned particularly by Halim Giray [Gülbün, 1990, p. 77]. The collection of manuscripts and early printed books in Bakhchysaray housed a manuscript of poems of a certain Jani Beg Giray Sultan until World War II [Inventory book I, no. 370]. There's a possibility they are the same person. Unfortunately the collection currently does not house the manuscript. It could have vanished during the occupation or in the post-deportation period.

Other scarcely preserved works belong to the pens of Ghazi Giray II's heirs—his sons Saadet and Husam Girays (pseudonyms 'Arifi' and 'Seyfi', both killed in 1636) [Öztuna, 1989, p. 530] and his daughter, known as Knan-zade-hanym [Seven Planets, 1832, pp. 150–151].

The latter was married to another poet from a ruling family—Rezmi Bahadır I, a Crimean khan between 1637 and 1641. His poetry has been preserved and some of his *ghazals* have been published [Crimean Literature of the Ottoman Period, pp. 78–84].

Another poetess with ties to the ruling dynasty was the 'inimitable poetess' Khan-zade Etime, Ghazi's granddaughter, and the daughter of his son-in-law, Shirin Mustafa [Sejityahya, 2004, no. 4, p. 79].

Rezmi's younger brother Mehmed IV, who ascended to the throne after Rezmi (1641–1644, 1654–1666, died in 1674 [?]) was also a talented and prolific poet. Unfortunately, his 'Divan', mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, has not yet been discovered [Nalbandova, 2000, p. 19]. According to Çelebi, this 'Divan', signed with the pseudonym 'Khani', is especially interesting for the fact that un-

like Mehmed's preserved poetry, and indeed most aforementioned authors except Gazai, it was written not in the Ottoman language, but—again, according to Evliya Çelebi—in the Chagatai language. It might have encompassed not only Chagatai itself, but the local Crimean dialect, that gravitated towards the language of the most famous Chagatai poet—‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī. Consequently, Çelebi's words can be indicative of the fact that despite the strong influence of the Ottoman literary language, Crimea continued to develop earlier poetic traditions.

Out of the later authors the one deserving of a special mention is the Crimean khan Hacı Selim Giray I (1671–1678, 1684–1691, 1692–1699, 1702–1704)—one of the most vibrant characters not only of Crimean history but also of Ottoman history as a whole [Abdulvaap, 1996]. An incredibly gifted ruler and a brilliant commander, Selim is an iconic figure in Crimean cultural history. Hajji, hafiz and member of the Mevlevi order, poet, musician, and composer (some of his poetry and musical works have been preserved), he came to prominence as a frequent philanthropist as well. He is mentioned together with dozens of names of his contemporary Crimean and Ottoman cultural figures, writers and artists [Sejtyakhya, 2004, no. 4, p. 83]. Interestingly, while not being a prominent poet, Selim inspired such a number of literary works they could be made into an anthology. Nazym Yahya (died in 1727), Shahin Giray (died in 1717), Mustafa Gevkerhi (died in the first half of the 18th century), and many other Crimean and Ottoman authors dedicated their works to him. The most well-known of those is a poem of a distinguished Ottoman poet Alaeddin Sabit (died in 1712), 'The Tale of Victory' ('Zafername') [Zafername, 1311].

The end of the century heralded the rise of another very talented poet—Shahin Giray Sultan, the son of Tokhtamysh Giray Khan (also a poet), who in 1691/92 was a nured-din of the Khan Safa Giray [Abdulvaap, 2007a]. Today Shahin Giray is probably the most well-known author of Crimean divan poetry in the Western world. He rose into prominence with a brilliantly written ghazal,

an example of visual poetry (a cyclic ode in the form of a flower) with elements of a palindrome. This specific form is called 'kalb' in Eastern poetry, from the Arabic 'centre', 'heart'. Since the beginning of the 18th century the ghazal was a favorite form to imitate among the Ottoman authors; one example of this is Sakiba Dede's takhmis (died in 1735). The poem was translated to German and subsequently published in 1856 in a well-known work about the history of the Crimean Khanate by Hammer-Purgstall [Hammer-Purgstall, 1856, pp. 255–258]. Finally, the ghazal was translated into English and published in 1861, with commentary, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in London* [Redhouse, 1861]. A modern American literary historian, Dick Higgenson, placed the ghazal's picture on the cover of a monograph published by him on the history of visual poetry from ancient times to the 18th century, as an example of the most exquisite technique, and visually stunning execution, of a poem [Okrushina, 2003, p. 7].

Research into the works of Shahin Giray brought out other examples of his masterful poetry, particularly a poem in the mulemma genre (in this case in three languages: Turkic, Arabic and Farsi), a brilliant chronogram (tarikh) on the death of the Ottoman poet and calligrapher Dervish Fasikh (died in 1699) and others [Abdulvaap, 2007a]. We also know that one of the poet's qasida is in honour of the aforementioned Hacı Selim Giray [Seven Planets, 1832, pp. 205–207]. The author of 'Seven Planets' notes that Shahin was a great lover of flowers. He turned a settlement where he resided into a sort of Garden of Eden, and even his orders on flowers planting were written in verse [Ibid., p. 208].

When it comes to poets not from a khan's family, almost no information is available. The most glaring example of this are the poets mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. In his 'Book of Travels' he notes the large presence of court poets in the Khan's court in Bakhchysaray: Abdulummin of Kastamon (calligrapher and miniaturist), Fazli Çelebi, Feyzi Çelebi, Nedzhati Çelebi (astrologist), Nedim, Lemyi, Erani, Emir Medkhi Çelebi, and

Khasan Kadi Efendi [Evliya Çelebi, 2008, pp. 111, 117–118]. Unfortunately there is no information about them or their works.

A number of poets also appear in different written accounts; including Evliya Çelebi in relation to chronograms (tarikhi) on various Crimean buildings (mosques, madrasah, fountains, bridges etc.), or in relation to, for example, epitaphs at the Khan's cemetery in Bakhchysaray. Bakhti, Dyurri, Selyami, Kesbi, Feyzi, Zihni, Fasli, Kadri, Fetkhi, Naim, Rizai, and others: names from a sort of stone anthology of medieval Crimean poetry that has brought us short fragments of the works of poets who were possibly very prolific in their time [Bakhchysaray, 1848; Nalbandova, 2000]. To be fair, it should be mentioned that there might be 'Ottoman guests' among these authors.

However some information about a number of authors is available. Among them a large number of Kefe's poets. Talibi-i Kefe'vi is known as the author of the history of the Ottoman Empire in verse, 'Tarikh-i Al-i Osman' [Ertaylan 1958, p. 20]. Deb'i Huseyin Çelebi Kefe'vi (died 1639) was a janissary, poet and novelist [Crimean Literature of the Ottoman Period, 2000, p. 11]. Sayyid Musa Kelimi (died in 1644) was a Kefe's mufti known as a theologian, poet, literary scholar and historian. According to historical sources he received his pseudonym 'Kelimi' from Baki himself, who noted a poetic talent in the young author [Soysal, 1961a]. Modern Theodosia remains home to an architecturally astounding mosque, which was built in 1623, while Sayyid Musa was the mufti of Kefe [Brun, 1877]. His discovered poems deal mostly with religious themes [Crimean Literature of the Ottoman Period, 2000, pp. 83–84]. A lesser known poet in our time is Kefe'vi Sayyid Abdulkerim Sherifi, one of the contenders for the status of the tutor of poetry of the legendary Ashyk Omer [Ergun, 1936, p. 7].

Among these names one author is especially prominent. He would go on to become one of the Crimean divan authors most famous today: Jan-Muhammad. He wrote a written source, well-known in academic cir-

cles, of Crimean Tatar poetry in the Khan period—a poem known as 'Togaj-bek' about the events of the Cossack-Crimean war against the Polish szlachta, that in Ukrainian historiography is called the Cossack National Liberation Uprising under the command of Hetman B. Khmelnytsky against the Polish Szlachta [Aqçoqraqlı, 1930]. A number of important battles of that war (particularly the battles of the Yellow Waters (Sary-Su) and Korsun, famously ended with the alliance's victory, precisely thanks to the assistance of the renowned Crimean cavalry.

The poem, which is 17 chapters long, with 946 couplets, was discovered by the renowned Crimean Tatar historian and literary scholar O. Aqçoqraqlı in one of the coastal settlements in Eastern Crimea during the historical-ethnographic expedition of the Bakhchysaray Khan Palace in 1925. The manuscript aroused great interest both in the Crimea and in the Ukraine's academic circles. O. Aqçoqraqlı was invited to Kharkov to read lectures about his findings (at the time it was the capital of the Ukrainian SSR) and to Kiev, including to the USSR's Academy of Sciences [Shemyi-zade, 1974, p. 102]. In 1930 with the cooperation of a member of the Academy A. Krinsky he published a detailed article in a collection titled 'Studii z Krimu' ['Studies in the Crimea'].

In the pre-war period, in addition to O. Aqçoqraqlı, a number of young academics worked on the poem. Plans were made to publish an edition of the poem. However, with the start of the Great Patriotic War, all copies containing the poem were lost, and the deportation of the Crimean Tatars did not permit an immediate search for them. Today, researchers only have around 50 couplets published in an article by A. Fetislyamov in one of the pre-war Crimean Tatar literary journals [Fetislyamov, 1939].

Going by the fragments and descriptions of scholars who studied the poem, it is an example of a mesnevi poetic work in an especially popular genre at that time, *gaza-vatname* (from Arabic 'gaza'—'the war for faith') which can be translated as 'Tale of the military campaigns.' The poem describes

events from Crimean-Ukrainian-Polish history in 1647–1651, preparations to a number of well-known battles, and their progression, namely the battles of Zholty Vody (Sary-Su), Korsun, Lviv, etc. The poem's protagonists are the brilliant Crimean Tatar commander Togay Beg, Hetman of the Cossacks Bogdan Khmelnytsky, the Crimean Khan Islam Giray III (1644–1654), his kalga Krym Giray, and others. The poem ends with the death of the chief protagonist, who was also the author's relative.

A detailed description of the poem is essentially not possible due to the absence of the full text. However, this is undeniably an incredibly prominent historic-literary written monument of the Khanate period. In addition, the events that inspired the subject matter of the poem also motivated a number of Crimean Tatar literary and folk written monuments, both in verse and in prose [Aqçoqraqlı, 1930, p. 170].

Two of the poets, both of which rose to prominence in Istanbul, are worth a special mention, natives of Bakhchysaray—Hasan Vedzhikhi (died in 1661) and Lutfullakh Lutfi (died in 1703). After completing his education in Istanbul, the former went on to become Secretary of the National Council (Divan-i Humayun). He wrote 'Divan' and a valuable historical chronicle [ODKE, 2000, pp. 85–91]. As for Lutfullah (Abdullatif) Lutfi (also known as 'Tatar Lutfi'), he was a mudderi and a *cadi*, referred to as a talented poet in anthologies. Unfortunately, he did not have long to live [ODKE, 2000, pp. 127–132]. Both authors' works are published in fragments [Ibid.].

Additionally, a number of Ottoman anthologies contain brief information and examples of works by another Crimean poet popular in his time—Alidzhan (also known as Ali Qirimi, died in 1703). Several of his romantic and philosophical poems have been published [ODKE, 2000, pp. 120–126].

First and foremost in discussions of religious Sufi verses of the century, mention must be made of the works of a number of Sufi sheikh-poets. In the early 17th century, sheikh Feyzi of Kefe (died in 1645 [?]),

an historian and poet, wrote two poems in a somewhat unusual genre for this literature, 'the forty hadiths' ('kyrk hadis'): the first one in forty quatrains (*kyts*), and the second one—a *mesnevi* titled 'Ravzatu'l-ibad' [IA, Karahan, p. 471]. Works of two other sheikh-poets, father and son Afifi and Izzi, were preserved by the author of the chronicle 'Seven Planets'. Afifeddin Abdullah (pseudonym 'Afifi', died in 1640 [?]) was a famous religious leader and scholar of his time. As the son of a renowned Crimean sheikh and poet, 'Tatar sheikh' Ibrahim, the son of Ak-Mekhmmed, he perfected his education in Istanbul, and for a short time he was a professor in the leading Ottoman *madrassahs*. After returning to Crimea he served as a *cadi* in Sudak, Mangup and Kefe. Later, he was designated to the position of mufti of Kefe. In retirement, he settled in the village of Seyyid Eli in the outskirts of Kefe where he founded a Sufi order and headed it until his death [Seven Planets, 1832, pp. 152–157]. Fragments of his poems, a few Sufi *ghazals*, were written down by the author of 'Seven Planets', and in recent times have been frequently published, including translations into Russian and Ukrainian [ODKE, 2000; Gryozy; Okruzhina, 2003].

The son of sheikh Afifeddin, Abdulaziz (pseudonym 'Izzi', 1611–1694/95 [?]) was a famous Sufi sheikh and poet in his own right. According to legend, he decided to complete a course in mysticism by studying with famous Sufi teachers. He set out for Istanbul, but fate brought him to Sinop, where he studied Sufi sciences (*tarikats*) under the local sheikh Ahmed Sinopsky. After his initiation, he served as a mentor in Sinop for a time, and later returned to Crimea where he was the head of his father's *tekke*. Sheikh Abdulaziz had a good reputation among his contemporaries. This can be inferred, for example, from his designation to the post of the Crimean *cadiasker* by the Crimean khan Haji Giray (1683–1684). Nevertheless, the sheikh did not show an interest in holding such an office and soon left it. Late in life, feeling that his death was close, the sheikh went on a *hajj* to Mecca surrounded by relatives,

friends and pupils. He died there in Hijaz [Ibid., pp. 215–218].

Izzi was known for his extreme piety and complete indifference to material goods. According to legend, his only possession was a sheepskin on which he prayed and meditated, and in his spare time, composed poems. Some of his poems, Sufi *tevkheids* on the subject of divine love and spiritual self-improvement, as well as poems in the *nutuk* genre (from Arabic 'word', 'speech') are lectures from a sheikh (*murshid*) to a pupil on the Path (*salik*). These poems were written down by the author of the 'Seven Planets' collection and, similar to his father sheikh Afifeddin's work, have been frequently published in recent times, including translations into Russian and Ukrainian [ODKE, 2000; Grydzi; Okrushina, 2003].

Another creator of religious Sufi poetry of that time was the aforementioned Crimean khan Mehmed Giray IV (died in 1674). His known works are specifically religious, unlike his private poems that were collected in his 'Divan' [ODKE, 200, pp. 97–115]. However, it could be that the 'Divan' itself was not compiled in strict accordance with the rules of composing such collections, and mainly consisted of religious works.

According to sources, Mekhmed IV was a very religious person, a member of the Sufi order Mevlevi. Due to the latter he was given the name 'Sofu' ('Sufi'). It has been suggested that the preserved poems were written in the later period of his life, when the dethroned khan lived as an ordinary dervish in Dagestan. The poems convey the tragedy experienced by the poet, and which he continues to experience, his deep loneliness, unending melancholy and weariness. They are permeated with laments about the cruelty of fate, the imperfection of human nature, its depravity. The motifs of the poems are sincere repentance and prayerfulness, an emotional address to God as the only real source of mercy and compassion. The poems are not deprived of didactic themes, appeals against trusting this world and for awakening from the 'mindless dream', emerging from 'Nothingness'. Direct Sufi themes that are also present

are thanks to God for initiation into the spiritual science *marifet*, next to which 'all the Ottoman riches' mean nothing, for the discovery of the great truth *hakikat* in the depths of his own existence, etc [Tansel, 1967]. These poems are not written under the pseudonym 'Hani', which was likely previously used by the author for *divan*-style poetry, but under the pseudonym 'Kyamil' ('Perfect'), which is in line with the names usually used by Sufi poets.

Aside from them, two more authors are representative of religious Sufi poetry. However they are more famous outside of Crimea. The first of them, Seyyid Dervish Mekhmed (-Dede) Kefevi (died in 1671/62, Konya, pseudonym 'Shefi') was a dervish of the Sufi order Mevlevi. After leaving his birthplace he spent many years in Konya, in Rumi's monastery, where he died. Templates of his work, including fragments of the 'Spring' *qasida*, were published [ODKE, 2000, pp. 92–96].

The second, Abdullah bin Ali Kefevi (or the Dervish Abdi, died in 1695, Bursa), literary pseudonym 'Muti', was a dervish of another Sufi order—Gulsheniyya (a branch of the order of Halvetiyya). He spent many years in Bursa. Aside from his poetic talent, he was a prominent *zikirbasy*—a reciter at Sufi celebrations, and a composer of religious music. His poems in a popular genre of *ilyakhi* can be seen in different manuscript collections. A 'Divan' has yet to be discovered [IA, Özcan].

Ashyk poetry holds a special place in the history of the Crimean literature of the 17th century. First and foremost, it is the work of the legendary poet Ashyk Omer—the most distinguished author of not only Crimean Tatar *saza* poetry, but of Turkic *ashyk* poetry as a whole.

We must note a somewhat artificially introduced discussion among Turkish and Russian researchers that occurred over many years. The subject of the discussion was the author's birthplace: in a number of sources he was said to have been, namely, a native of the settlement Gyozeve in the outskirts of Konya [Turetskaya, 1983, p. 189]. Now,

after the seminal publications of the Crimean Tatar poet and literary scholar E. Shemi-zade [Shemi-zade, 1974], the discussion has reached a conclusion. Indirect evidence of this is the latest publications about the poet in Turkey [YYOA, Güngör].

Ashyk Omer was born and died in the city of Kezlev (Gyozleve, now Yevpatoria) in Crimea, but he spent most of his life outside of his birthplace, in constant travel across the vast Ottoman Empire. In his poems, he names dozens of places and cities from the territories of the current Ukraine, Turkey, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Bosnia, Greece, countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

Out of hundreds of ashyk poets, Ashyk Omer's name is usually among the first, most proficient and beloved authors. M.Köprülü calls him the most renowned *saza* poet in the history of this literature [Köprülü, 1962, p. 260], Sh. Elchin proposes, that popularity of Ashyk Omer is comparable only to the legendary Yunus Emre [Elchin, 1987, p. 15]. Many scholars of the poet's work are unanimous in the opinion that Ashyk Omer's influence over his contemporaries, as well as over ashyk poets of the following generations cannot be overstated [Ergun, 1936, p. 81].

He went down in the history of ashyk poetry as one of its most prolific authors: currently over 2000 poems and verses are attributed to him. Ashyk Omer was a poet of great talent who was a master of the craft. He was equally versatile in the vast variety of forms and artistic devices of both folk poetry and strictly classical *divan* poetry. The thematic diversity of his work is astounding. Together with romantic themes, his work encompasses social, philosophical, militaristic, religious (Sufi) and mystic motifs. His so-called 'foreign verses', full of indescribable melancholy and sadness, were especially popular.

As for genres, Ashyk Omer's work can fill an entire anthology of most of the primary genres (*tyur*) of the three main literary movements of the time. Among his poems are wonderful examples of romantic verse, the so-called 'foreign verses', descriptions of nature

(*bakharie*, *nevruzie*), eulogies (*medkhie*), epitaphs (*mersie*), examples of militaristic poems (*gazavatname*), descriptions of cities (*shehrensiz*—Istanbul, Bursa, Varna, Sinop and others), numerous examples of didactic poems (*nasikhatname*, *ibretname* etc), critics of social mores and individual human flaws (*hidzhvie*), examples of religious Sufi verses (*tevkhid*, *munadzhat*, *nat*, *ilyakhi*, *ramazanie*, *slyat-name*, *vudzhud-name*, *devrie*, *aetname*) etc. Omer's oeuvre also includes poems of the so-called 'technical' genres, namely poetic riddles *muamma* and *lyugaz*, including acrostic poems. Works in the *tekerleme* genre and political debate, *munazara*, command the most attention among the folk *dastan* poems. One of the poet's most influential works is, coincidentally, the earliest example of the genre in ashyk poetry. It is his 'Tale of Poets' ('*Shairname*'), something of an anthology of poetry with names and short descriptions of the work of some 170 poets of the past and present. It attests to the wide breadth of the author's literary knowledge [Ergun, 1936, pp. 431–434].

The same diversity can be seen in Ashyk Omer's use of different poetic forms, both traditional Turkic folk poetry (*koshma*, *semai*, *destan*, etc.) and *divan* poetry of the court (*ghazal*, *murabba*, *muhammes*, *museddes*, *mustezad*, etc.) [Ergun, 1936].

Ashyk Omer is without a doubt a great poet, who celebrated love and human dignity, social morals and fairness, sincere piety and spiritual self-improvement in his work. He was hailed as a master (*ustad*) in his lifetime, and his poetic craft was imitated for centuries [Ibid., pp. 79–95]. Taking into consideration the astonishing range of genres and thematic diversity of his oeuvre, his poetic universality, which encompasses features of all of the major literary movements of the time, the accessibility and simplicity of his language, which, at the same time is unwaveringly lyrical, Omer can easily be called the leading national poet—a man whose works were created for all, regardless of status or class.

Indeed, Ashyk Omer is still one of the most frequently published poets. His po-

ems have been translated into Russian and Ukrainian. His artistic output has been the focus of studies by the foremost Crimean Tatar, Turkish, Azerbaijani and other literary scholars. And yet, his name is legendary, and much fundamental research remains to be done.

Another ashyk of the 17th century who is often mentioned in regards to Crimea was Mustafa Dzhevheri (Gevkheri, who died in the first half of the 17th century)—a legendary poet who is usually associated with Ashyk Omer. According to long-standing ashyk tradition, he is considered to be a native Crimean, although a number of Turkish scholars allege that the poet is of Anatolian descent [Elçin, 1984, pp. 12–13].

As regards the prose of the 17th century, the most representative texts are historiographical. At present, scholars have delineated at least eight chronicles. The son of an Ottoman governor in Kefe, Abdullah Ridvan-pashazade, (writing under the pseudonym 'Abdi', died in the 1640s [?]) in his 'Chronicles of the Kipchak Steppe' ('Tawarikh-i Desht-i Kipchak') describes events in Crimea from Mengli I (1475) to the time of Sultan Murad IV's rule (1623–1640) [Zajonchkowski, 1969]. The text is an important chronicle, particularly as regards the circumstances of the Crimean revolt of the early 17th century. It was published in Warsaw in 1966 by A. Zayonchkovsky [Zayonchkovsky, 1966].

The aforementioned mufti of Kefe Seyyid Musa wrote a text on the history of Islamic countries titled "The Beacon of History" ('Shemsu't-Tevarikh') [Bursali, 190. p. 32]. The manuscript has been preserved in at least two lists, but its significance in relation to the subject of Crimean history has never been studied [Öztürk, 1989, p. 39].

"The History of Khan Islam Giray III" of the stylist (munshi) of the Crimean divan and poet Mehmed Senai describes events of the middle of the 17th century—Crimean military campaigns along with the Zaporozhian Cossacks under the command of Hetman B. Khmel'nitsky against Poland in 1648–1650. The work was commissioned by the prominent Crimean vizier Sefer-Ghazi Aga. In

the foreword, the author explains his intention to put the name of Islam III into 'The Book of Tsars'—'Shahname of the Chinggis Khan's House' [Senai, 1998, p. 4]. The chronicle was published in Warsaw in 1971 by Z. Abrahamowicz [Senai, 1971]. Later it was translated into Russian and Ukrainian [Senai, 1998; Turanli, 2000]. Crimean literary scholars have suggested that the aforementioned poet Dzhan-Mukhammed, the author of the poem 'Tugai-Bek', could be its author [Senai, 1998, p. 3].

"The history of Muhammad Giray" by the Dervish Mukhammed, the son of Mubarek Giray, describes events of Crimean history between 1683–1703. The only preserved copy is kept in Vienna, and has yet to be published [Sejityagya, 2003, p. 15].

Some of the chronicles that were not preserved deserve special mention—a work by Hairi-zade titled 'Takvim', and two anthologies: 'Medzhmua', by Abdul'veli Efendi, employed by the author of 'Seven Planets', and 'The Collection of Events' ('Vakiat med-jmuasi') by Mesuda Efendi who, according to Smirnov's account, was a mushavir (advisor) of Prince Shekhabaz Giray-Sultan, and who perished at the hands of the Circassians in 1111 (1669/1700) [Ibid., p. 14].

In addition to the chronicles written in Crimea and dedicated to the history of the Khanate, another chronicle produced outside of Crimea also contains fairly important information in this context. This chronicle's author is the aforementioned Bakhchysaray poet Vedzhikhi Hasan Çelebi (died in 1661, Istanbul), and it is known by different titles—'History of Baghdad's Subjugation'. 'The history of Vedzhikhi', and others. 14 years after the author's death, the work was translated into Italian, although it was never published. The copies are kept in collections in Istanbul, Leiden and Vienna [TDEA, c.8, p. 522].

While on the subject of Crimean historiography of the 17th century, mention must be made of the work described by Evliya Çelebi and known as "The history of Tokhta-bey" ('Tevarikh-i Tokhta-bey') [Evliya Çelebi, 2008, pp. 230–237]. Thanks to a

traveller, we know the summary of this lost chronicle, which Evliya Çelebi describes as having been kept in the family of the author's descendant, the Khan's children's tutor, atalyk Imram Kodzhi. According to the summary, it was written in the Chagatai language, and encompassed events of the 13–14th centuries; it was written "gracefully, distinctly and eloquently", and it was read in a declamatory fashion—*tilyavet* [Sejityag'ya, 2003, p. 14].

In addition to historical prose, there are examples of Sufi prose as well. Namely, the aforementioned sheikh Haydar-zade Muhammad Feyzi' (died in 1645/46 [?]) wrote a number of such texts. These have not yet been the focus of scholarly research [Bursali, 1990, p. 11].

Newly-discovered academic works are few and far between. They are mostly represented by texts on various fields of Islamic sciences by Crimean theologists of that time—Ebu-l-Bek, Mukhibuddin Ejjub Kefevi (died in 1684, Istanbul), Abdunnafi bin Abdulveli (died in 1704, possibly the son of the aforementioned historian Abdulveli Efendi) [Bursali, 1990, p. 20], Huseyin Kefevi ('Tatar Imam' (?–?)) and others. Out of them all, Ebulbeg Mukhibiddin—the son of a Kefe's mufti, historian and poet Seyyid Musa-Efendi and later a Kefe's mufti in his own right, would go on to become one of the most well-known scholars of the whole Ottoman science. The is primarily due to a fundamental work titled 'Kulliyat'—sort of an encyclopedia of terms used in religious (Islamic) sciences, philosophy, logic, philology, etc. Recognised as the most accomplished reference book of its time, even in our days this text remains popular: since 1837 it has been published numerous times in Istanbul, Bulak (Egypt), Beirut, Tehran, Damascus [IA, Kılıç].

As we approach the end of this survey, we should mention the Ottoman authors of Crimea. The father of the distinguished satirist poet Omer Nefi (died in 1635), Mekhmed Beg, was a presence in the Khan's court at the turn of the century. Later, Crimean motifs could be found in Nefi's work: in the form

of quite unflattering words for his parent in one of his satirical pieces, and in the form of two odes to people who, on the contrary, played a positive role in the poet's life: Girays khan Jani Beg and Nureddin Husam, son of Ghazi II [Karahana, 1992, pp. 3, 10–11]. During Rezmi Bahadyr's rule, the khan's nedim was an Ankar poet-dervish and traveller Lutfullakh Abdi Çelebi (Bejzade, died in 1646) [TDEA, c. 6, p. 106]. When Islam III prevailed in Crimea, it was home to the poet-mevlevi and calligrapher Ibrahim Dzhevry (died in 1654): in Gyozev Evliya Çelebi would record two of his chronograms—at the inn and on the fountain, dated 1062 (1651/52) and 1061 (1650/51) [Evliya Çelebi, 2008, pp. 54, 56]. During the rule of Mehmed IV, namely in 1662/63–1664/65, a famous Istanbul Sufi sheikh, writer of a Divan and poet-mevlevi Hajji Ahmed Dede resided in Crimea (around 1711) [SO, 1996, c.4, p. 1219]. It is notable that Mekhmed IV, also a member of the Mevlevi order, would be opening a monastery in a historical outer region of Bakhchysaray—Aziz—during this very period [Gülbün, 1990, p. 97]. This suggests that perhaps sheikh Hajji Ahmed Dede's presence in Crimea was connected to that event.

The historian Hasanbejzade Akhmed Pasha was one of the poets living in Kefe (died 1636/37) [TDEA, c.4, pp. 129–130]. In the early 1690s, Alaeddin Ali Sabit (died 1712), a famous Ottoman divan poet, would spend two years as a city *cadi* in Kefe [YYOA, Şentürk]. This period corresponds to the period of the famous Selim Giray's rule, and it is to him that Sabit had dedicated a poem 'Zafername' earlier (also known as 'Selimnâme' and 'Gaza-name', 426 beyts, published in Istanbul in 1882 and 1893) about Selim I and his victories in the battle against the Russian army under Perekop in 1687 and the Austrian army in 1690 [Zafername, 1311]. The post of a *cadi* in Kefe was possibly a reward provided to Sabit for his literary works.

Another poet who resided in Crimea for long periods of time during his lengthy travels was the dervish Mekhmed Kirimi (died in 1708) [ODKE, pp. 168–170].

While on the subject of the Ottoman authors of the 17th century who left their mark on Crimea's literary history, another name must be mentioned. Evliya Çelebi travelled to Crimea numerous times and recorded in his "Book of Travels" valuable insights into various aspects of socio-political, cultural, religious and educational life in the Khanate of that period. Evliya Çelebi is especially appreciated for recording dozens of names of poets and writers—members of Crimea's literary life of the time, for providing valuable information about their life and examples of their work (see above). In addition to poetry, it is due to Çelebi's effort that the so-called 'History of Tokhtabay', recorded by a traveller in Bakhchysaray, was preserved (see above).

The literature of the 18th century Already, from the end of the 17th century, starting with the famous campaigns of the count Golitsyn (1687, 1689) and the Azov campaigns of Peter the Great (1695–1696), the Crimea faced the most serious threat to the state's very existence. This was sharply demonstrated by the Crimean campaigns of Münnich and Lacy in 1736 and 1737—fifty years before the annexation of the Crimea almost all the cities of the peninsula were struck by the tragedy of devastation, and by cultural and political shock. Alas, even cultural records, including the most vulnerable carriers of spiritual culture—manuscripts—and official documents were burnt. Written records testify that the richest collection of the khan's palace library in Bakhchysaray [Inalcık, 1992, p. 425] wasn't spared this tragic fate.

Nevertheless, despite this disheartening picture, interest in Crimean literature was not lost. It is clearly traced in the dozens of names of poets, historians, theologians, and those of their manuscripts which survived, as well as in the various data about the works which were lost. A peculiar feature of the artistic and literary work of that period is the significant increase in motifs concerning the social and everyday life of the Crimean society of that time.

The poetry of the divan is still the most extensive. At the top of the century's lists of

poets are representatives of the khan's family. At the beginning of the century the Shahin Giray sultan is still creating his works (see above). At the same time the future Crimean khan Mengli Giray II (1724–1730, 1737–1739), famous for his special inclination to historical and literary work [Sejtyagayev, 2003b] and also to Sufism [Abdulvaap, 2008], appears onto the poetic stage. Some samples of his creative work have been preserved and repeatedly published [Literature of the Ottoman Empire, 2000, pp. 193–194].

Fate has favoured more the poetic heritage of Said Giray, the son of the Crimean khan Saadet III, who was Edisan's serasker (died after 1767/68). The manuscript of his 'Divan' was preserved in Turkey and was published there in 2001 in Roman letters, having become the object of study in recent years [Karaköse, 2001]. O. Tavukçu, who worked with 'Divan', points out the outstanding talent of the author, a representative of the so-called 'Indian style' school, 'Sebk-i Hindi'. According to the researcher, 'Divan' embraced more than 200 works of the poet including a number of examples of prominent genres in the form of mesnevi: a tawhid (glorification of the Creator, 68 beits), a naat (an ode to the Prophet Muhammad, 29 beits), an ode to four 'just' caliphs (26 beits), 'Miradzhiye' (a poem about the ascension of the Prophet, 69 beits), another naat in the ramazaniye genre (60 beits), and also a poem containing the author's reflections on the art of poetry (89 beits), amongst others. The researcher also pays attention to the motifs of the numerous deprivations suffered by Said Giray and of the boundless homesickness which is felt in his ghazals [Tavukçu, 2009].

There is also some information about the poetic attempts of the last Crimean khan—Shahin Giray (died 1787) [Muallim, 1986, p. 323].

Apart from representatives of the khan's family, history has provided us with a fairly long list of other poets. At the beginning of the century a poet and scientist from Karasu-Bazaar, Khilmi-effendi, gained much popularity [Seyityakhya, 2004, no. 4, p. 84]. Now researchers possess his qasida in

honour of the Crimean khan Devlet Giray II (1699–1702, 1709–1713), which was written in the wake of the well-known Russo-Turkish stand-off on the river Prut in 1711, which nearly ended with the disgraceful capture of one of the main characters of these events: Peter I [Ibid., no. 5, pp. 88–89]. It is interesting that the author wrote some kind of appendix to the ode: a poetic miniature in twelve (!) different languages, containing unfriendly wishes addressed to 'The White Tsar'.

Another poet of Karasu-Bazaar was the famous historian and theologian, Gafuri Abdulgaffar bin Hassan Qirimi (died after 1744) [Seyityakhya, 2004, no. 4, p. 86]. The historian Said Giray mentioned particularly among his poetic works, 'the History of the Crimea' in verse. Unfortunately this hasn't been found yet [Ibid.]. Now the poetic heritage of Gafuri is considered lost, and only a small religious poem with the radif 'Ya Rabb' ('Oh Lord!') is at our disposal [Index, 2007, p. 113].

Like Gafuri and Said Giray, many other Crimean historiographers of the century were poets as well. Hurremi Çelebi, better known as the author of the so-called 'Brief history' [Smirnov], is the author of two poetic 'Divans'. And if one of them, which is kept in the manuscript collection of the Khan's palace in Bakhchysaray, is written in a traditional manner with the prevalence of love poems and philosophical poems [Inventory book II, no. 783], the second one (from the Berlin State Library's collection, broke fresh ground in the history of Crimean classical poetry [Kellner-Heinkele, 1982]. 'Divan' abounds with the descriptions of everyday Crimean life, in particular, that of the cities of Bakhchysaray, Karasu, Akmesdzhit, etc. A number of poems are devoted to various influential Crimean people of that time, especially to the representatives of the heads of noble families among the Crimean steppe-dwellers—the Nogais. Those poems with sharp criticism of social morals, seen particularly in the poem 'Edisan-name', for example, are especially captivating. Folklore motifs, which are skilfully woven into the text's fabric—for example, the names of the well-known na-

tional dastans ('Dede Corcoud', 'Adil Sultan' and others), traditional tools, various ethnographic details, and so on—can be seen in a number of ghazals [Seyityakhya, 2004, no. 5, pp. 90–94].

The poetic heritage of Rizai (Sayyid Muhammed Riza, the author of the widely-known chronicle 'Seven Planets' [see below]) is less known today. Nowadays, in the absence of 'Divan', it is limited to separate poetic fragments, including those in Farsi, which decorate his famous work on the history of the Crimea.

The heritage of the poets Edib, Derdy, Mudzhemi, Hyfzi, and Piri, famous for the single burial epitaphs on the territory of the Khan's cemetery in Bakhchysaray [Bakhchysaraysky, 1848], remains almost unexplored. Nothing is known about the poet Sheikhi—the author of a skilful poetic chronogram on the well-known 'Fountain of tears' in the Khan's palace in Bakhchysaray [Abdulvaap, 2007v].

In addition, the chronicle of Said Giray provided us with the names of poets, now forgotten: Ismail Mirza (known also as a calligrapher—a hattat), Mukhammedzhan-effendi (according to Said Giray, 'the best poet of the Crimea'), Khamid-effendi (with the pseudonym 'Khamdi', a calligrapher), Pir-Mekhmed (with the pseudonyms 'Piri' and 'Kufri'—possibly the author of one of the epitaphs; see above), Osman-effendi (who came from the small mountain village Kok-Koz', a preacher and a mudarris), and also two scientists and poets from Budjak—Dagy'stani Mekhmed and Abdurrezak-effendi [Seyityakhya, 2004, no. 4, pp. 85–86]. Besides, a certain Medadi – the secretary (Kâtip) at the court of Saadet Giray IV and Mengli II – is mentioned by O. Aqçoqraqlı [Aqçoqraqlı, 1930, p. 165].

The works of the Crimean poets who, by a twist of fate, found themselves in the capital of the Ottoman Empire—Istanbul—are better known. Rakhmetullakh Sheriffe (died after 1720) received his education in Istanbul, and was a qadi [Crimean Literature of the Ottoman Period, 2000, pp. 330–332]. Hafyz Mekhmed Lyayikh (died 1748, Istanbul)

reached the high position of being the Anatolian *kazasker*, and made a name for himself as a skilful calligrapher [Ibid., p. 14]. Rakhmi Mustapha from Bakhchysaray (Qirimi or 'Tatar', died 1751, Istanbul) became an official historiographer (*vakanyuvis*) at the Ottoman court. His 'Divan' was preserved in a number of copies in various of Turkey's manuscript collections [Ibid., pp. 195–196]. As a poet he joined the ranks of the recognised Ottoman poets of the century, and his philosophical poems became especially popular. He was also a recognised master of the poetic chronogram the *tarik*, his 'Divan' contains 117 examples of this genre [Horata, 2006, pp. 505–506]. The poetic works of Rakhmi became the object of study, and some poems from his 'Divan' were published (one of them presents an ode devoted to Jalal ad-Din Rumi) [Crimean Literature of the Ottoman Period, 2000, pp. 196–212]. Omer Besim (died 1781) was an official; in one of the manuscript collections of the Istanbul Süleymaniye Library there is a selection of his works consisting of 34 ghazals, 18 *kyts* and five chronograms. Two ghazals were published [Ibid., pp. 277–279]. Furugyi Çelebi was known as a skilful poet who wrote in three languages [Ibid., p. 15].

The religious Sufi literature of the century is represented, first of all, by the works of a number of Sufi sheikhs. Mekhmed Fakri, son of Sayyid Hamid of the Crimea (died in 1766 [?], Karasu-Bazaar), was a famous sheikh of the brotherhood of Sezai (Halveti-Gulsheniyya's branch). Now, about three dozen of his poems, mainly in the *İlahigenre*, are well-known: some on the topics of divine love, others glorifications dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad, as well as various edifications in the best traditions of Yunus Emre and his followers [Abdulvapov, 2008].

The works of the sheikh Shuayb Çelebi, the son of the sheikh Abdu-s-Samed (died 1766 [?], Istanbul), the tutor from the well-known Crimean Sufi monastery in the settlement Koledzh, near Kefe (the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood), and the father of the famous sheikh-poet Ismeti (see below), haven't been found yet. O. Murasov mentions him as the

author of numerous poetic works, in particular *ilahi*-hymns [Abdülvahap, 1999, p. 10].

The heritage of the Crimean Sufi authors who, by a twist of fate, found themselves outside the Crimea is, once again, better known. Selim Baba Qirimi (or Selim Divane, died 1756/57, Köprülü) was a very famous sheikh of the Qadiriyya order who taught in the Balkans and spent his last years in the monastery in the town Köprülü, on the territory of present-day Bulgaria, where he died [Divane, 2004, pp. 11–20]. He has become famous for his sincere religiousness and frequent ecstatic states, which brought him the alias 'Divane'. He is the author of a number of Sufi treatises and a 'Divan'. Two of his treatises have been repeatedly published in Turkey in recent years; their topics cover various aspects of the theory and practice of Sufism [Crimean Literature of the Ottoman Period, 2000, pp. 214–268]. As for 'Divan', it has not been found yet; other separate famous poems, including the ones from the above-mentioned treatises, have been published. They represent samples of Sufi *tevhid* and *ilahi*-hymns with motifs of sincere love for God, longing for Him, of passionate languor, readiness to sacrifice oneself for the sake of reuniting with God; written in the best traditions of romantic Sufi poetry [Ibid., pp. 268–276].

Many more Crimean sheikhs became famous in Istanbul. Dervish effendi (died in 1735) was the sheikh of the Khalwatiyya brotherhood, and taught in one of the Istanbul cloisters; he was also a preacher in the well-known Süleymaniye Mosque. Written sources mention him as the author of very popular *ilahis* [SO, 1996, vol. 2, p. 411]. 'Tatar' Ahmed (died 1743/44, Istanbul) was the sheikh of the Naqshbandiyya order, and taught in the famous Istanbul monastery of Emir Bukhari. He wrote the commentary on Sadreddin Konevi's work '*Miftakhu'l-gayb*', but its fate is still unknown [Bursalı, 1990, pp. 11–12]. Hamid Bi-Neva (died in 1771/72), from the sheikhs of the Khalwatiyya order, is the author of the treatise in Turkish '*Risale-i Tewkhid*'—about the theory of the 'unity (integrity) of existence' ('*wakh-*

det i-wudzhut'), which was later published [Bursalı, 1990, p. 11]. Besides the treatise, 1000 ilahi are of his authorship, according to written records [Encyclopedia of the Turkic Literary Language, vol. 4, p. 86].

The historiography of the century is sufficiently representative and consists of a number of very significant examples of the genre. At the beginning of the century, under the Crimean khan Fetkh Giray II (1736–1737), the secretary of the divan, Ibrahim bin Ali Kefeve, wrote the treatise called 'Tevarikh-i Tatar Khan ve Dagystan ve Moskov ve Desht-i Kipchak ulkelerindir' which recounts the history of the western Tatars, the Nogais, the Kuban Tatars, the Cossacks of the Ukraine, the Moscow and Russian states, Dagestan, and also of Chinggis Khan, Jochi, and his successors [Seyityagjya, 2003, p. 15]. The work mentioned in the copy of 1789 (1213) was published in Pazarchik (Romania) in 1933 [Tevârih-i Tatar Han, 1933].

Abdulgaffar Qirimi, who was mentioned above, Hasan's son, the qadi and the secretary of the divan, wrote a very detailed story called 'Umdet-ut-tevarikh ve-l'-akhbar', recounting the history of Islam, the Golden Horde, and the Crimean Khanate—from the creation of the world to Selyamet Giray II [Seyityagjya, 2003, p. 15]. It was published in Istanbul in 1924/5 [Umdetü't-Tevârih, 1343]. As has been stated above, the 'History of the Crimea' in verse, still undiscovered, was also written by the same author.

Seyyid Muhammed Riza (died in 1756 [?]), from the famous family of sheikhs of the Crimea, is the author of possibly the best-known work in the sphere of Crimean historiography [Seytyagjyaev, 2003]. His book 'Seven Planets in the News about Tatar Kings', containing the most detailed data on the socio-political, religious and cultural life of the Khanate since its foundation (and before) until the rule of Mengli Giray II (1724–1730, 1737–1740), became the reference book on Crimean history for almost all domestic and foreign researchers. The chronicle, which was preserved in a number of copies, was published in Kazan in 1832

under the editing of M. Kazembek [Seven Planets, 1832]. The particular interest in this chronicle is elicited by its information on literary life in the Crimea. The book includes examples of writings by a number of Crimean poets (Gazai, Rezmi, Kyamil, Afifi, Izzi, Shahin, etc.), some of which were preserved only thanks to Riza.

One more Crimean chronicle—the 'History of the Crimea', by the historian and poet Hurremi Çelebi Akaj, has been long considered an adaptation of 'Seven Planets' [Inventory book II, no. 150]. More serious researches have revealed a considerable extent of the original materials there [Smirnov, 1887, pp. 14–15]. This work was one of V. Smirnov's main sources and was referred to as the 'Brief History'. The copies in St. Petersburg, Kiev, Egypt and Bakhchysaray are also well known.

The chronicle of Said Giray, the son of the Crimean khan Saadet III, named 'Said-Girey tarikhy', has been introduced into active scientific circulation quite recently, following the research of the famous German turcologist, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele [Kellner-Heinkele, 1975]. It contains the richest material concerning the Khanate's life as observed by the author—the serasker of Edisan. The details of the khan's family life and of the life of the Nogai hordes outside the peninsula are of special interest. The chronicle contains short characterisations of more than a hundred well-known representatives of the Crimean noble families and ulema scientists, including poets. Two copies of the work known today are preserved in the State Library in Berlin [Tarih-i Said, director] and Paris.

Among the historians who were known in Istanbul we will note Mustafa Rakhmi (also known as Tatar Rakhmi, died 1751), who, as has been stated above, became the official court historiographer (vakanüvis). His historical works provide a description of the Ottoman diplomatic mission to Iran in 1747 called 'Sefaretnâme-i İran' [Krachkovsky, 1957, p. 641] There is evidence that he wrote a work on the history of the Crimea, but its fate remains unknown [Ibid.].

Speaking of chronicles, one should recognise the considerable literary and artistic value of these works [Seytyagjyaev, 2005]. It should be also noted that, as a rule, they contain much precious information concerning the literature of the corresponding period. In this respect one cannot but mention the work by Sayyid Muhammed Riza: from the poetic fragments (see above) which he included in his historical narration, the whole anthology may be compiled. In the same respect the chronicles of Abdulgaffar Qirimi and Said Giray are also quite interesting.

Among the authors of scientific treatises (on theology, law, philology etc.) we know today are: Hilmi (died in the first quarter of the 18th century), Abdunafi b. Salim Qirimi (died after 1719), Abdulgaffar b. Hasan Qirimi (died after 1744), Mustafa Rakhmi (died 1751), Omer b. Salih (died around 1746/47), Muhammed Kefevi (died 1772/73 [?], Kudus), Akkirmani Mekhmed b. Hadzhi Hamid Mustafa Kefevi (died 1760). The last two authors were especially prolific, records note that they wrote, respectively, nine and eighteen treatises, some of which were published [Bursalı, 1990, p. 19; Encyclopedia of Islam, Yıldız].

From the translated literature it is possible to point out a Turkic translation, from the Arab language, of the famous Sufi treatise of the Central Asian spiritual mentor and poet Abdullah Ansari al-Kharavi (died 1089): 'Menazili's-sairin' ('Stops on the Way'), accomplished by the sheikh-poet Mekhmed Fakri and kept in the Istanbul collections [Bursalı, 1990, p. 10].

In the 18th century, as well as in the previous period, Ottoman authors were present in the Crimea. Among the poets of the divan we will note Osman Kyunkhi (died 1716), who was an official in Kefe [Encyclopedia of the Turkic Literary Language, vol.6, p. 42]. Here the Sufi-poet, the writer of 'Divan', Abdullah Sydki spent three years as the sheikh (died 1747) [Encyclopedia of the Turkic Literary Language, vol. 8, p. 1]. The author of the anthology, also a poet, Abdulfettakh Shefkhat (about 1826/27), born in Baghdad, was the secretary at the court of the last Crimean khans. His 'Tezkire-i shuara' contains information

about 117 poets of the period 1730–1814 [Encyclopedia of the Turkic Literary Language, vol.8, pp. 114–115]. Another court secretary in Bakhchysaray was the poet Etimi (died 1753), the writer of 'Divan' [Encyclopedia of the Turkic Literary Language, vol. 8, p. 592].

Alongside the poets we observe the presence of Ottoman historians in the Crimea. So, in the period of the second rule of Mengli Giray II (1737–1740) in Kefe, Numan Ebu Sekhl Salikhzade (died after 1755) holds the position of a military judge (hordu kadysy). Later he will describe his Crimean impressions in the historical work 'Tedbirat-y Pendside' [Krachkovsky, 1957, pp. 641–642]. In the period of the first rule of Selim Giray III (1765–1767) the historian Suleiman Shamdanizade (Fyndyklyly) (died 1779), the author of the work 'Myuriu't-Tevarikh' is present in the Crimea [Encyclopedia of the Turkic Literary Language, vol.8, p. 64].

The details of all these authors' stays in the Crimea, as well as the reflection of their impressions of Crimea in their writings, certainly provoke interest. The latter has not yet been studied systematically.

'The Black Century' (Kara Asyr). At the end of the Khan's time in the sky of Crimean classical literature flashed the star of another bright author: the historian and poet Khalim Giray sultan (1772–1823), the writer of a 'Divan' and the author of a well-known work on the history of the khan's ruling dynasty—'The Rose Bush of the Crimean Khans' ('Gülbün-i Khanan') [Divan-ı Halim, 1991; Gülbün, 1990]. Alas, Halim would spend the most part of the life outside of the Crimea, like his son, the poet Shakhbaz Giray (died 1836) [Bursalı, 1990, pp. 320–321].

Both of them would join the ranks of the Crimean diaspora, which formed very fast as a result of the large-scale emigration which took place in the territory of the Ottoman Empire. From the emigrants' milieu came a considerable number of outstanding personalities—famous statesmen, scientists, educators, artists, religious authorities, Sufi sheikhs, etc. who would be the pride of the Ottoman political and cultural elite of the end of the 18–19th centuries [Abdulvaap, 2004]

Among them there is a whole outstanding constellation of poets, men of letters, prose writers, and authors of treatises on various branches of religious sciences and mysticism: the poets Abdullah Ramis Pasha (died 1813, author of 'Divançe', publ. in 1846/47), Ferrukh Ismail (died 1841) and his son Ziver (died 1829), Mekhmed Said Pertev Pasha (died 1837, author of 'Divan', published 1840), Ebubekir Rifat (died in 1830, author of 'Divan'), Fazyl Mekhmed Pasha (died 1882, author of 'Divan'), Salih Nesim (died 1842), Mekhmed Nuzet (died 1887), Refakhi Hacı Giray (1815–?), Zekeriya Nig'yakh (died 1819), Mikhrabi (died 1920, from Gerayev) and the authors of religious and Sufi treatises Hidzhabi Abdalbaki (died 1822/23), Qirimizade Reshid Ahmed (died 1863), Abdusettar-effendi (died 1887), etc.

All these authors should be considered in the context of the divan literature of the Khan's period. In the Crimea this literature would practically cease to exist: the condi-

tions contributing to its coming into being and its development would disappear. Today not a single (!) name from the literature of the Crimean divan of the 19th century is known. The same fate, however, awaited the representatives of religious and Sufi literature too. The national poetry today is actually represented by only two or three names. After the splendour of the previous centuries this emptiness is especially striking. The Crimean Tatar literature, as well as all the culture of the Crimean Tatars in general, was plunged into the shock and crisis that lasted for many decades in its historical homeland.

It ended exactly 100 years after the annexation of the Crimea—with the actions of the outstanding Crimean Tatar educator, public figure, editor, writer, and publicist, I. Gasprinsky (1851–1914). His activity and the newspaper 'Tardzhe-man' in particular opened a new page in the history of Crimean Tatar literature.

§ 4. The Medieval Tatar Costume

Mikhail Gorelik

Before we start exploring our topic, we should determine its temporal and ethnic borders. Since in the previous volumes of 'Tatar history' the history of the costume wasn't addressed in detail (the costume was presented only as a number of reconstructions by the author of these lines), it seems to be necessary to start nearly from the ancient times. But as this volume sums up the results of the development of the Tatar ethnic groups of the Middle Ages, it seems appropriate to study the costume of the main ethnic groups which served as the base for modern Tatar ethnic groups such as the Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberian and Crimean Tatars, and also the Nogai and 'Lithuanian' Tatars (Lipki).

Quite a small number of books deals with the Tatar costume: most of them were published in the 90s of the 20th century. They are exceptionally rich in ethnographic material: clothing and photos from museums. Illustrated sources were referred to less—only of the 18–19th centuries. And the illustrat-

ed monuments of the 16–17th centuries are quite sparse. The absence of earlier records in these editions is understandable: according to the Soviet tradition, the Golden Horde period was almost completely ignored; the pre-Mongol period from the 12th till the beginning of the 13th century for some reason was not studied, most likely because of the complexity of the problem. And only the ancient Bulgar costume, owing to the extreme expressiveness and richness of the archaeological funeral complexes of the 9–10th centuries, was favoured with being described and even reconstructed. But this credit belongs to archaeologists rather than to historians of the Tatar costume.

It appears necessary to consider the data—archaeological, visual, and written—on the early Bulgarians and Hungarians of the 8–9th centuries, on Volga Bulgaria of the 11–13th centuries, the Polovtsians of the 12–13th centuries, the Central Asian Tatars and Mongols of the 10–12th centuries, the

Chinggisid states of the 13th century till the beginning of the 15th century, and European realistic images of Tatars, ethnographic descriptions and other documents, as well as the original objects of the 16th century up until the first half of the 18th century.

The costume of the ancient Bulgars

Archaeological materials on the ancient Bulgars are usually confined to dress made of metal. For men these are waistband fittings, for women, waistband fittings, the metal furnishings of dresses and headdresses, and jewellery. The mens' costume of the early Bulgars was reflected in illustrated sources. On the Byzantine miniature of Vasily II's manuscript 'Menologion', created in 1017 and stored in the Marciana Library in Venice, we see detailed images of Bulgarians/Bulgars, slashing the Christians with their swords. They are wearing caps with a cone-shaped fur cap-band, round at the top, and trousers with narrow trouser-legs worn untucked. Kaftans of a length stretching over the knees are especially interesting: this is obviously a whole-cut robe with narrow fitted top, long narrow sleeves and with a sharply cut hem/skirt, a little lower than the waist. The skirt is slightly flared and for easier riding in the saddle, cuts are made to each side. The top part has a V-shaped collar and a straight cut down the vertical axial on the chest until the cut line. The hems of the cut are connected with hinged buttons, and by loops with buttonholes sewn on them. The collar is trimmed with fur and its ends are loose, not joined under the throat. Fur lining is seen at the bottom of the hem too. The kaftans of the Danube Bulgars cut in such a fashion find a bright illustration in the Bulgar toreutics of the Volga region in the 9–12th centuries. Moreover, on the mid-calf kaftans on the engraved and stamped male figures, such details as the folded hem/skirt are emphasised. This detail was popular in the costume of the nomads of Central Asia, at first in the women's skirts of Sakae of the 4th to 3rd centuries BC, and later, in the 2nd century BC to the 5th century AD, already in the men's wrapover kaftans of the Hunnic

and early Turkic tribes. At the end of the 5th century the Bulgars brought a short, whole-cut, men's dress, with a cut skirt which could have folds, all around or only on the sides, to Eastern Europe. The Bulgars/Bulgarians spread this style among the peoples of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasus, especially in Georgia, and also further, to the west of Europe. Upon its arrival the Bulgarian kaftan became the most popular garment of the highest levels of the society until the 15th century. It was equally popular with the Polovtsians of the 11–14th centuries: both among the nomads of the southern Russian steppes, and among the dwellers of the Hungarian, Transylvanian and Bulgarian nomadic camps. Only the Byzantines long 'disdained' to wear the 'barbaric' attire of their enemies, the Bulgarians (in Byzantine it was worn only by people of the lowest professions: circus performers, dancers and musicians). But shortly before the fall of the empire of the Romans they adopted it... from the Hungarian and Bulgarian Polovtsians / Cumans / Kuns. The boots on the Bulgar toreutics are depicted with high and narrow boot tops, with side seams. But one written source reveals narrow trouser-legs, like in the Byzantine miniature, with a wide side edging. This is one of the peculiar features that is similar to the costume of the Turks of Altai, reflected in the rock carvings of this region. In the illustrated records Bulgar/Bulgarian male haircuts of two different types are shown. It is either long locks hanging down on one side of a shaved head (Danube Bulgaria and partially of Volga Bulgaria), or a short haircut (Volga Bulgaria). Now it is difficult to say whether this difference was connected to tribal distinctions or social status. It should be noted that the Bulgarian haircut radically differs from the haircut of the ancient Turks. Their hair was always very long and reached the waist—it was worn loose, and was tied up with a ribbon around the forehead by the most high-ranking man at a particular place and time, whilst all others wore it in several braids.

As we see, the men's costume of the early Bulgars defined in many respects the ear-

ly medieval fashion of Europe. At the same time it didn't fully correspond to the men's costume of the ancient Turks.

The ancient Turkic costume is most well-known thanks to the images of the 8th to 4th centuries: the Central Asian stone sculptures and rock carvings, the Sogdian painting and illustration, and to Chinese fine arts. In recent years as a result of the archaeological excavation in the north of the People's Republic of China scientists discovered a number of original samples of textile clothing in a good condition. Judging by these and by the discoveries of separate fabric samples, Turkic people widely used expensive patterned fabrics, mostly from silk of Chinese, Sogdian, and occasionally Iranian origin. But the metalwork of belts and thongs which tied together the tops of the boots are found in many places, including the living places of the ancient Bulgars. Generally speaking, boots were a kind of 'brand' of the Bulgar's. It is demonstrated by a fabulous annalistic entry in the 'Tale of Bygone Years' that the Kiev prince Vladimir Svyatoslavovich, inspecting the bodies of killed Bulgar soldiers on the battlefield, remarked that it was difficult to defeat completely these people in boots and it was better to be friends and trade with them.

The costume of the Hungarians (Magyar, Madzhar, Mishar-Meshchera) in the 9–10th centuries also belonged, most likely, to a Turkic complex. This could be determined by the old and close connection of their ancestors in the southern Urals with the Bulgarians' and the Khazars' ancestors, the Oghuz and Oghurs. It is not by chance that the ancestors of the Hungarians have appropriated the 'Oghurs' (Old Russian 'Ougri') ethnikon. It is confirmed by the Old Hungarian images of the Hungarians that are engraved on the silver bowls and dishes found in the Urals. There we can see the riders in rather long kaftans, covering their knees, with a leather belt and in boots with quite high boot tops, becoming broader towards the top. The boot tops had a side seam and the joints were cut in the form of braces.

The main difference between the Old Hungarian costume and the Old Bulgarian

one consisted in the character of the metalwork. The fact is that the old Hungarian costume was decorated with magnificent silverwork which was much richer than the costume of their contemporaries from the steppe. This may have been connected to the Ugrian peoples' attitude to silver, which they held as sacred. This was vividly demonstrated by the abundance of silverware that had been stored and is stored today in the Ural taiga in the form of different treasures devoted to their gods. Silver bead plates not only covered the belts and shoe thongs: they covered the top of boot saddles and trimmed the edge of tops, they were sewed along the flaps and the hem of kaftans, and edged the lapels. The headdresses, which were like caps, could be furnished with a conical silver pommel, and the swept back brims were also decorated with silver plaques at the edges. The cap-bands of women's caps were also bordered with shaped silver plates. It should be noted that the decoration of clothes with metal plates was used, as a rule, in women's costumes, whereas in men's ones the headdresses were decorated with a pommel. A similar pommel found in the Swedish Vikings' town Birka brings us to such a conclusion. And although this pommel is made in the Scandinavian style and is decorated with beading, unlike the Hungarian one, engraved in a purely Hungarian style, we can safely assert that the Hungarians made the Vikings-Ruses acquainted with this head-dress decoration: on the Volga or Dnieper rivers, where the trade routes of the Ruses intersected with the old Hungarian route toward the 'attainment of the homeland' beyond the Carpathian mountains. The haircut was influenced by the ancient Hungarians too. Their men shaved their beards, leaving the moustache and two long locks of hair on the crown of their head, which they braided. This is seen perfectly in the Old Hungarian images. But just the same hairdress was also attributed to the Russian prince Svyatoslav Igorevich by the Byzantine chronicler Lev Diakon, which is explained by his close ties to and military alliance with the Hungarian elite. The similar haircut of the Danube Bul-

garians, depicted in the numerous graffiti of the 9–10th century buildings in the capital city Preslav, can be explained by the close although very often hostile connections of these neighbours. Old Hungarian jewellery should be addressed separately. This includes bronze objects in the Volga-Ural Finnish tradition (the ridge and A-shaped rattling pendants), the Khazar three-beaded earrings, a necklace from silver coins, and the massive Hungarian temple rings made from silver tracery. An important detail of these rings is the fact that they were joined under the chin. The Dnieper Ruses and the Volga Bulgars adopted this feature from the Hungarians.

The men's costume of the 12–13th centuries of Volga and Kama Bulgaria can be 'deduced' from the Volga Bulgarian costume if we take into account the previous tradition and the ethno-cultural situation in the region in this period. One can assume that in the course of becoming sedentary and urbanised, the Bulgars enriched their textile repertoire, having added flax and probably nettle fabrics to their traditional woollen fabrics, felts, furs, and imported silk and cotton fabrics. The proximity and close connections with the local Finnish population must have resulted in both technical and ornamental borrowings in weaving. At the same time there was the high functionality, convenience and beauty of Turkic-style ornamentation, which was so well-cut and rich in silhouette, that it could not be influenced greatly by borrowings from their neighbours. The influence of the southern Muslim cultures had to become much stronger—due to the adoption of Islam at the end of the 10th century and the total Islamisation of Bulgar society in the 11–12th centuries, which affected the urban population, which was closely connected by trade with the Muslim world, to a greater extent. This happened because at this particular time in both close and distant Muslim state formations military and political power belonged to an elite of Turkic origin. Therefore in Bulgaria the Seljuk costume, which was formed by the interpenetration of elements of the Oghuz and Iranian costume set, was conceived of as the Islamic men's costume.

From the pure Muslim Arab costume only the turban was borrowed, and it was intended only for religious figures who also wore a *tajlasan*—a long and wide scarf-shawl. Governors could also put on a turban—but only during the Friday service when they played the role of the imam. The influences of the Rus's costume set can't be excluded either—it was determined not only by close commercial relations, but also by very similar natural conditions and, consequently, economic and cultural types. In this period Bulgaria was famous for its boots, made from the well-known Bulgar leather which became popular across the wide territories of Eurasia. The most popular and expensive version of this was goat skin (*morocco*) with the surface embossed in grainy and coloured turquoise-green using copper oxide. The most peculiar feature of the Bulgar men's costume of the 11–12th centuries are the belts with metal ornamentation. Moreover, the Bulgar metalworkers of the 11th until the first half of the 13th century in Eastern Europe and Western Siberia almost monopolised this sector. In any case, samples of Bulgar silver belt-work are found across the vast expanses from east Scandinavia to Western Siberia. It is possible that in order to meet the need for a belt set for the poor social masses that could not afford the silver production of the Bulgar masters, the Bulgar merchants started to buy the cheap iron and bronze (brass) items of belt-work made by the Kyrgyz craftsmen. It is impossible to imagine that the Bulgars, either their craftsmen or merchants, could have let into their markets, that they had monopolised long before, merchants or especially craftsmen from far away in Southern Siberia. Therefore in the recent years the popular arguments about the direct and continuous presence of the Kyrgyz—craftsmen, merchants and, even more, soldiers, on the territory of Bulgaria—are ungrounded.

As for the costume of the Bulgar women of the 11th until the beginning of the 13th century, no graphic materials or archaeological textile that could give a hint about their clothing is yet available. Only the richest jewellery, made from precious metals, some-

times with inserts of gemstones and amber, provides the evidence of such a richness of a costume.

The costume of the Central Asian Tatars

For the first time the ethnonym Tatars (in the word combination 'Otuz Tatar'—that is, the nine {tribes of} Tatars) appears in a phrase of an Old Turkic runic inscription in honour of Kul-Tegin, 732 AD [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2004, pp. 140–141]. Their initial whereabouts are connected with the areas to the north-east of the Old Turkic territory, near Western Manchuria. At that very place, around the lake Buir-nur, the main, and most populous, ulus among the six Tatar uluses was located. It is interesting that the first data about the probable Tatar costume dates precisely back to the 8th century. It is a Chinese mural picturing the ambassadors: foreigners in a tomb of the Tang crown prince of Zhanghuai (Li Xian), 706 AD. The ambassador of 'the northern barbarians'—the Tatars (or Khitans)—is dressed in a long wrap-over robe with a round collar and a shallow wrap from left to right. On the axis of the robe there is a vertical seam—an intersection of narrow pieces of cloth. A big piece of apparently thick fabric, similar to an Indian blanket, covers the shoulders. On the head there is a cap with a quadrangular crown, a flat top, a narrow fur peak and wide fur earpieces. Similar caps were also popular in the 13th century among the Khitans [Gorelik, 2010, Table I, 4, 10–12 26, 27] so that the character may represent a Khitan envoy, but at the beginning of the 8th century such caps could also have been used by the Tatars. In any case, the blanket-like cape isn't found among the other inhabitants of the steppe and taiga zone. The footwear of the described character is unique—the boots with leather saddles and fur tops with the fur on the outside are explicit evidence of the habitat of its carrier—the northern taiga and steppe.

Already in the first half of the 9th century the Tatars had settled down at the most westerly border of their habitat—in the area of the present-day Chinese provinces Xinjiang, Gansu and Qinghai [Klyashtorny, Sultanov,

2004, pp. 141–144]. Here they became so famous that a 'but-i tatori'—'the Tatar woman, as beautiful as a Buddhist statue' became a character of one of the best poems of the great Persian-Tajik poet of the 10th century, Rudaki. At this particular time—in the 10–12th centuries—the Tatars, for the West and the South, became a symbol of the power and riches of nomadic Central Asia. And the unique archaeological sets of the Tatar costume which were quite recently discovered by scientists refer precisely to the 11–12th centuries.

The culture of the Central Asian Tatars of the 10th until the beginning of the 13th century still represents an absolute blind-spot. This has resulted from the fact that almost no archaeological diggings were made on the territories of the Tatar uluses—a huge area from Western Manchuria to eastern Xinjiang, adjoining in some places the Great wall—consequently, there was no material with which to distinguish the elements of the Tatar culture. And that happened in spite of the fact that 'Since the ancient times their name has been known to the world. ... The places of their camping grounds, halts and yurts ... are near the borders of China. ... despite all the hostility and discords which reigned among them—already in the ancient world for most of the time they had been the conquerors and lords of the majority of tribes and areas, standing out (from others) by their greatness, power and prominence' [Rashid ad-Din, 1952, p. 101]. The great historian and courtier of the Mongol monarchs of Iran also notes: 'There are six Tatar tribes which are famous and glorious and each one has an army and [a] sovereign [Ibid., p. 103]. The main, richest, and most populous yurt of the Tatars was located in the far east, in Southern Manchuria, near the Buir-Nur lake [Ibid., p. 101]. And as early as the 10th century the western one, composed of six Tatar tribal yurts-uluses, turned out to be in the same region of the present-day intersection of provinces of the People's Republic of China such as Qinghai, the West of the Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang—as S. Klyashtorny has demonstrated based in various written

sources [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2004, pp. 139–144].

I studied the issue of the Tatar tribes' territorial location in such detail because in recent years, precisely from the territory of the Qinghai and Xinjiang provinces, came elements of the costumes of different eras and different tribes, in a perfect condition, which we are going to discuss below.

However even before the main finds, in the 1980s, among the Chinese images of nomads, I have distinguished characters who can be defined as Tatars [Gorelik, 2010, pp. 37–40, tab. X; tab. 8]. The costume of these characters, consisting of a kaftan-robe higher up with long narrow sleeves, a round collar, and a wrap from left to right is shown in the Chinese pictures of the 11–13th centuries. The sleeveless kaftans with axial cuts can be put on over it. On the waist and hips there is a warmth-retaining piece of cloth, sometimes on straps. On the heads there are felt hats with a low, roundish or round, and conical, crown, with brims or with a peak and a neck flap. The hats are often fur-trimmed and above the forehead the edging is narrowed. Once the leader was depicted in a 'compound' hat: a high narrow crown framed with the pheasant feathers sewed together. Soft boots with the boot tops widening towards the top serve as footwear. White trousers with wide trouser-legs are presented there too. The knees are insulated with round knee-pads with laces.

Therefore, what was found by the Chinese archaeologists in the Ganshi burial site by the settlement Aral, in the province Qinghai (People's Republic of China) [Qi, Wang, p. 42–43], were defined by me as the Tatar garments of the 11–12th centuries, taking into account their resemblance with illustrated sources [Gorelik, 2010, tab. 9].

In the 1960s in the province of Qinghai the mummy of a fully-dressed man, in a good condition, was found and published as a black-and-white photo on a leaflet of the agency of Xinhua [Ibid., tab. 10]. He wore a sable fur coat, edged with tiger and ermine fur, a cap with a fur margin similar to the one found in Alar, and soft suede boots with

fur inside. I was especially interested by the cuffs of a fur coat, made of cloth, and the waist warmer, embroidered here and there with the richest pattern of stylised plants' and animals' silhouettes, which was strongly reminiscent of the motifs of the animal style of the late Karasuk and Saks period of Central Asia.

That's why when in the antique markets appeared well-preserved objects embroidered with patterns completely analogous to those of an old Qinghai find, I assumed the existence of the 'Tatar-Mongolian animal and plant style' [Gorelik, 2012a], described by Rubruk with delight [Journeys, 1957, pp. 91–92]. The main motifs of the embroidery on parts of the costume from the Suleiman Collection are birds with open wings, with one or two heads, and ungulates and predators standing 'on tiptoe', lying or 'turned inside-out'. They are complemented with motifs of 'the Chinese coin' or 'the pearl'—a square with the concave sides fitted into a circle, popular among the Chinese (and later appearing in the Chinggisid decor). The shapes of animals and birds are outlined boldly and all the details are filled in: feathers, heads, legs. The area of the torso is divided by lines of 'ribs' into sections stitched up with multi-coloured threads. Stylistically the majority of these images date back to the records of the late Karasuk (the first quarter of the 1st century BC) and Saka (the 8th till the 3rd centuries BC) cultures: 'Deer stones', rock carvings on rocks and stones, on 'fossil' records from precious metals and organic materials, on the tattoos of mummies. A number of the artistic and technical aspects of embroidery are also connected with the 'fossil' textiles of the Hunnish period (3rd century BC until the beginning of AD). This appeal to 'archeology' is reasonable. When in the 9th century the Tatars and the Mongols from the taiga of the Amur river region came to the Central Asian steppe, a place completely new for them, they started to settle, to assimilate to this unexplored area, where from all the rocks and stones, from the ancient steles, they were watched by the spirits of these places, embodied in birds and animals who



Costume of a noble Bulgarian after the 10th century's Byzantine miniature. 'Bulgarians battling Christians' in the manuscript of 'Menologion' composed for the emperor Basil II, the Bulgar Slayer. 10th century. Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik. 2011.



Costume attire of a noble Tatar, 11th century, excavated in Qinghai province, PRC. Marjani Foundation, Moscow, and Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar. Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik. 2011.



Costume set of a noble Tatar, 11th century burial site near Aral village, Eastern Turkestan. National Museum of Chinese History PRC, Beijing. Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik. 2011.



Winter costume attire of a noble Tatar, 11–12th centuries, found on a mummy, excavated in Qinghai province, PRC. Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik. 2011.

were at the same time the objects of the hunt. They didn't adopt the human guise—these were spirits of the dead, former masters of the steppes. To make their spell weaker, the new inhabitants of the steppe destroyed and plundered the burials of their lords where the decorated gold, wooden and fabric objects, and the tattooed corpses were kept. The local ancient art served a fine illustration of a rather original and sophisticated 'Tatar-Mongolian animal and plant style'.

The waist warmer, the belt trimmed with fur on the bottom edge, the tobacco pouch, the waistband pendant and the suede soft boots are presented in the Suleiman Collection. The threads of golden, red, blue and light-blue shades on the fawn-coloured unbleached silk and suede were used for the covering embroidery. The Chinese silk, intricately carved pieces of which were used for the applique work on the boots, is of the same colour. The blue and sandy colour of the embroidery and the Chinese fabrics suggests that the items of clothing from the Suleiman Collection are part of the clothing ensemble purchased by the Museum of Islamic art in Doha, Qatar, together with the robe, the cap and 'the altar wimple'. The form and cut of the items of clothing from Doha don't give any rise to doubts as to their Tatar origin. The silk Chinese fabric they are made of is very similar to the Lyaos fabric of the Khitan kaftan from the collection of Mu Wentang (Hong Kong), dated to the 11th century. So all the clothing items from the Suleiman Collections and the museum in Doha can be dated to the 11th century. And the mummy from Qinghai can be possibly dated to a later period: the end of the 11–12th centuries.

Thus, now we have an idea of a costume of the Central Asian Tatars and it gives us an insight into the very high level, wealth, refinement and a technical perfection of the early Tatar applied art.

The Chinggisid Empire costume

The Mongol costume is a cultural highlight of the Chinggisid Empire whose influence and power extended in the 13–14th centuries over vast territories in Eurasia, from

the Danube to Korea and from Siberia to India. Its significance for the world history of dress is also determined by the fact that it produced a powerful and in some cases decisive effect on the national costume of a large number of Asian and European people in the 15–18th centuries—that is, after the collapse of the united cultural space of the Chinggisid Empire. The meaning of a beautiful and prestigious costume for a distinguished Mongol is revealed in the following words of Chinggis Khan and those belonging to the circle of his closest people: 'Chinggis Khan once reached a highland named Altai, looked over [his] hordes, servants, and surrounding people, and spoke his word: "My efforts and intentions in regard to shooters and guards as black as a thick forest, wives and daughters by birth or marriage, glowing red like fire, have the following aim: to delight their lips with the sugary sweetness of [my] goodwill **and adorn them from head to toe with gold-embroidered garments...**" [Rashid ad-Din, 1952, A98b, p. 251]; "Chinggis Khan once asked Boorchinoyon, Chief Emir, what he saw as the greatest pleasure and joy for a man. Boorchinoyon then said, 'That a man takes his grey falcon..., saddles up his fair horse..., and goes hunting grey-headed birds amidst the green freshness of spring, and that **hewears good clothes**' [Ibid., A99a, p. 252]. As we can see, beautiful and prestigious clothes were the second most precious thing among the life values, goals and pleasures of Mongols in the 13th century. These men were as hard as iron, and still valued beautiful clothes. Obviously, the same applies to Mongol women, especially noble-born ones, whose status in society was, in fact, virtually as high as that of men.

One cannot say that the question of the Mongol costume of the 13–14th centuries did not evoke any interest amongst researchers. However, it was addressed only occasionally, sporadically, and was normally regarded as a 'preamble' to the ethnographic Mongol costume within the ethnographic framework. This can be explained by the fact that very few items representing the Mongol costume of the 13–14th centuries were known until

recently. These items were retrieved from excavations and, as a rule, only archaeologists were familiar with them. Illustrated records, in turn, attracted little attention, while written ones provided too little information, as there was no clear understanding, first of all, among translators, as to what exactly the texts described. In late 1970s the author, using the Tabriz miniatures, managed to single out the male Mongol costume and determined its principal elements [Gorelik, 1982]. In the 1980s, the author of this work conducted a large-scale analysis of costumes using records of art (Chinese paintings and graphic art, Persian miniatures and Mongol stone carvings) in a single context with written records (Chinese communiques of envoys and notes of travellers, European texts of the same genres, Arab and Persian historical collections, the precious evidence of the "Secret History of the Mongols") and rare archaeological finds from the territory of the USSR and PRC. The results of this research were described in two substantial articles, the first of which contained a detailed review and typology of the costume of the Khitan people, who spoke a Mongolian language, in the 10–12th centuries, the Tatars from Central Asia in the 10–12th centuries, and the Mongols in the 10–14th centuries. This question was addressed within the framework of the Central Asian costume in general—that is, in comparison with the Uyghur, Tangut, and Jurchen costumes, its discussion being supported by a substantial number of charts and tables [Gorelik, 2010]. The other article considered the Mongol costume of the 13–15th centuries as a phenomenon characteristic of the imperial culture that formed in the middle to the second half of the 13th century, the culture of the Chinggisid Empire in its entirety, and its influence on the costumes of other peoples [Gorelik, 2009b]. Unfortunately, due to various circumstances the articles have been published just recently. The period since 1980s, when the articles were written, until the end of the first decade of the 21st century, witnessed sensational archaeological findings of genuine Chinggisid costumes and their remains, a major part of which have

appeared on the antique market and caused significant interest among collectors, including the most prestigious collections of Oriental art. It is noteworthy that the Suleiman Collection has the most extensive and impressive collection of Chinggisid costume of any private collection. It boasts virtually every type of shoulder clothing for women, girls, and men, men's and women's headwear, precious belts for men and jewellery pieces for women. Some of the items of clothing used to belong to the famous A. Leeper's collection. All the items belonging to the Suleiman Collection are considered to be amongst the best specimens that represent the prestigious culture of the Chinggisid Empire, and are works of high noble art. Some museums of the PRC, Mongolia and Russia (National History Museum, Saratov Regional Museum of Local Lore, Volgograd Museum of Local History) also have spectacular undamaged individual pieces of costume, or even complete clothing ensembles. The Chinggisid costume items have become exhibits in shows, demonstrating the art and culture of the Empire of Chinggis Khan and his predecessors and heirs, that are permanently popular with quite different audiences. Their beauty and richness revealed to the world anew have resulted in new research on the Mongol costume of the 13–14th centuries (as well as on the Khitan costume, related to the spectacular findings of the luxurious garments of Khitan noblemen) [Vlaskin et al., 2006, p. 184; Dondoy Bayar, 2000; Lantratova et al., 2002; Orfinskaya et al., 2006, pp. 169–171; Tishkin et al., 2002; Shelkovy'j Put' (The Silk Road), 2007; Erdenebat, 2006; Erdenebat, Khurelsukh, 2007; A Journey, 1997, pp. 65–142; Allsen, 1997; Watt, Wardwell, 1998; Shang Gang, 1999; Zhao Feng, 2004, pp. 327–386; Chinggis Khan, 2004; Style from the Steppes, 2004; Gold/ Silk, 2005; Jia Xizeng, 2005 and others]. Over these 25 years, the author of these lines has kept studying the Mongol costume—as well as the costume contemporary with the Chinggisid Empire in general—and the costume of individual uluses [Gorelik, 2006, pp. 125–126; 2009, pp. 164–167; 2009a; 2010a], which were re-

flected in the graphical reconstructions and corresponding chapters of such monumental works as "Atlas Tartarica" [Tartarica, 2005, pp. 256–257, 270–271, 284–285, 292], "The Unabridged Atlas of the History and Culture of Kazakhstan" [Atlas, 2008, pp. 210–211, 213, 216–218, 232–235, 252, 254–255, 267, 287–291], as well as in the author's book "The Mongol-Tatar Armies" [Gorelik, 2002, pp. 14, 17].

Currently, using the results of a 40-year-long work on the question, and considering the dramatic increase in the available data, especially those represented by items of clothing, as well as illustrated ones, we can obtain a relatively complete picture of the genesis and development of the Mongol and, in particular, the Chinggisid costume.

As to the Mongol costume per se, one could say that—judging from the horizontally-scrolling picture 'Nomad caravan, *Fan-Yi*' which according to the colophon goes back to the 5th dynasty, the 10th Empire (early 10th century) and is kept at the Gugong National Museum in Taipei—the principal elements of the costume emerged simultaneously with the Mongols' appearance on the historical stage, formed as instantaneously as Athena, who came out of Zeus's head. Unfortunately, the Chinese depictions of the Mongols became known to us only since the 13th century. However, the period of the 11–13th centuries provided us with wonderful Chinese paintings that depict nomads who are different in their costumes, hair and weaponry from the Khitan people, Jurchens, Tanguts, or Uyghurs, as well as from the Mongols, although the Mongols are the closest related people for them. Judging from the frequency of such pictures and their closeness to the Mongols, I came to the conclusion that they depict nomads speaking a Mongolian language who resided closer than others to the Great Wall and along its whole length. They were the Tatars, the most well-known nomadic people of Central Asia in the 10–12th centuries. They were so well-known that the Mongols were called Tatars both in Europe and China, although the Mongols did not approve of this. Thus, by the 13th century

the costume worn by Mongol men, as is evidenced by the above-mentioned information, included a kaftan smock with an oblique wrap from left to right, sometimes with a cut-off lower hem, in other cases with a straight, flaring silhouette, sometimes close-fitting, which was achieved by using the technique of incision. The lower hem of such a kaftan reached the knee-level or went a little lower. On top of other items, people wore a fur coat in the same fashion with the fur on the outside: a *dokha* that was significantly longer, had long turned-down sleeves with cutouts in their upper section and high vents to the sides from the hem up. The shoulders were protected from cold by a round-shaped wrap-over fur cape, or a pelerine made of fur or fabric with the shape of a four-bladed rosette that had an opening for the head; the blades were decorated with ribbons made of pieces of cloth sewn together that hung down from the blades. Hats were low, round-shaped, with narrow peaks and wider neck-flaps. Above the temples, at the point where laces were attached, there were short ribbons. High boots with tops that grew wider upwards and had seams on the sides. The hair was plaited into two braids folded into rings behind the ears. The women's costume is represented by an ankle-length loose smock with wide sleeves and an oblique wrap from left to right. Headwear is represented by the *bokhtog* (discussed further below). Since the episode presented in the picture is taking place in a windy winter, the *bokhtog* has a felt hood with a peak. For the same reason the smock has a belt fastened around it. The Tatar men's costume has elements similar to Mongol ones, namely low, round-shaped hats with narrow peaks and wider neck-flaps (but without ribbons at the temples), smock kaftans with an oblique wrap from left to right, high boots with seams on the top sides, and four-bladed rosette-shaped pelerines. The differences consist in the predominance of smocks with a round-shaped collar and a straight cut on the right side of the chest, trimming of the round hats and pointed caps with tails of fur-bearing animals, coming together in their narrowest sections above the forehead, and high

boots with extremely wide tops and central seams. The warmth-retaining jacket for the lower back enjoying great popularity with the nomads of Central Asia, and in the Tatar costume it could have the form of not only a one to one-and-a-half cubit-long piece of thick fabric, but also a wide (from the upper thighs up to the solar plexus) piece of cloth with laces along the axis and shoulder straps. Unique items are round-shaped quilted knee pads and four-bladed hats resembling the modern hats of the Batyrs. A very typical feature is the adornment of headwear with plumes or individual feathers, both long and short ones. Hair was plaited into two braids behind the ears; there is only one occurrence of it being folded into rings. Women's costume is shown as identical to that of men.

By the middle of the 13th century the Mongol costume was formed completely, having assimilated costume elements characteristic of the people related to the Mongols through their previous conquest and absorption. This concerns, first of all, the Tatars, as well as European nomads speaking Turkic languages: the Cumans, Kuns and Sary Kipchaks (the Polovtsians). The Tatars' contributions to the Mongol costume were feather adornments for headwear, fur trimming for the hats described above, and their own type of warmth-retaining jacket for the lower back. The contributions of the Cumans, Kuns, and Polovtsians was that the Mongols who defeated and killed the Polovtsian khans took possession of their ceremonial garments and saw their new subjects dressed in unprecedentedly luxurious ceremonial clothes that are now familiar to us due to the findings at Chingul Kurgan, a burial mound of one of the khans (clothes made of scarlet and purple Byzantine silk, adorned with gold-embroidered ribbons, delicate carved and patterned gilded leather and silver-gilded plaques, and plates decorated with multicoloured gems, embroidered with spun gold, wire-ribbons, and pearls). They assimilated not the trimming, but rather the silhouette and fitting details and were very accurate in their recognition of these features as characteristic of the costume worn by the most privileged social groups in Europe,

reaching from the Russia and the Caucasus to the very western areas of the continent. One of such features was, first of all, the cut-off hem, which was significantly wider than the top and was attached in tucks. This technique was applied to different elements of the costume, including the lower hem, by nomads in Central Asia during the final centuries BC, and was brought by the Huns to the Northern Caucasus and to Central and Western Europe. Clothes that had a cut-off hem attached in tucks were an extreme rarity in Central Asia before the second third of the 13th century, but in the West (except Byzantium) this fashion of ceremonial clothes enjoyed the highest popularity among privileged social groups by the beginning of the 2nd millennium AD—and this is true of both men's and women's clothes. The second element was horizontal bands across the stomach. European clothes were of a non-wrapover type. The 'excess' length of the top fabric, hanging down on the hips, where the top was attached to the tucked lower hem, and the attachment line was quite tight, formed numerous horizontal creases on the stomach. In the Polovtsian wrap-over kaftans the creases were sometimes represented as gold-embroidered ribbons and trimmings attached to the seam line and above it, which can be also seen in one of the Chingul kaftans. The Mongols created these lines by attaching trimmings and strings, plucking threads, and weaving. This was exactly how by the early 1230s the most prestigious imperial clothing for men was formed. A considerable contribution was also made by the Jurchens, who brought into the costume their ornamental motifs and their arrangement.

The Mongol conquests in Central Asia, China and Persia allowed them to make the dream—cherished by Chinggis Khan, the Mongol noblemen in general, and many simple warriors—come true, and dress their women and themselves in luxurious gold-embroidered garments. The obsession of the Mongols with gold-embroidered fabrics, and most of all silks, was extensively described in the written records of the East and West that tirelessly dwelled on the luxurious gold-embroidered garments that used to be prepared

by thousands, stored and granted several times per year as festival presents and rewards for service to hundreds of princes and khatuns, thousands of noyons and begs, to tens of thousands of guardsmen, to ambassadors as ambassadorial gifts, and to scholars, etc. This phenomenon was best described by Rashid al-Din, a great historian and a great nobleman contemporary with the Hulaguids, a dynasty of Mongol rulers of the Near and Middle East, when he discussed the shortage of gold in his country: 'It was widely known that Mongols wore too many embroidered, gold-woven clothes and the like, that gold was wasted on them and was also sold to Hindustan, so [it] was taken away, [for these reasons] there was not enough gold anymore! [Rashid al-Din, 1952, p. 646]. As we can see, the Mongols' love of shiny gold-embroidered garments was condemned as the major cause of shortage of gold in the country, while its being exported to India was only second in its importance. Incidentally, this very passage shows that gold-embroidered fabrics for Mongol clothes were woven in the Hulaguid state. In the recent years, as a result of new findings of genuine Mongol costumes contemporary with the Chinggisids, fabric accessories and individual textile specimens, as well as new definitions of textile specimens retrieved from old European and American collections in Russia, Ukraine, Europe, and America, there have emerged a large number of interesting publications dealing specifically with Chinggisid textiles.

Now let us take a look at the development of the Mongol costume during the Chinggisid Empire. First of all, we can observe the establishment of the Mongol Imperial culture that focused on the representational, status-based aspect of culture. We refer to it as the Mongol culture because it was precisely the Mongol ethnic culture and, in particular, its external manifestations—dwellings, costume, weaponry, the harnesses for horses—that served as the basis for the imperial culture. Every element that it had borrowed from the conquered people—the Kyrgyz, Tangut, Khitan, Jurchen, Chinese, inhabitants of Eastern Turkistan, Khwarezm, Transoxiana and Persia, the

Kipchaks and Polovtsians, Bulgars and Russians, Yases and Circassians—was initiated, approved and selected by the Mongol elite. The costume appeared as the main constituent in the process, as its elements—the dress, footwear, headwear, accessories, hair—communicated immediately the person's position in the Chinggisid society.

In terms of costume types, there was a clear distinction between men's and women's Mongol costumes in the 13–14th centuries. The costume worn by girls was identical to that worn by men, something which was highlighted by foreign eyewitnesses. It was not until recently that we managed to identify this costume for girls and find any differences between the male and female versions that had been lost upon foreigners but was caught immediately by the Mongol eye. The principal piece of clothing for men's shoulders was a *degel*, a smock with an oblique wrap from left to right, but it was sometimes inverted as well, which means that the wrapping direction cannot be viewed as a strict determinant of ethnicity. Men's (and girls') *degels* were close-fitting, and the waistline was created, first of all, by using the incision technique, with subsequent widening of the lower hem with extension pieces. The garment body was made from two vertical cloth pieces sewn together on the front along the vertical axis. The neck and the upper wrap flap were sewn up to a considerably wide—to a width of three fingers—semi-closed collar. The sleeves were long and tapered, their cuffs a little wider than the collar itself. The collar and the cuffs were stitched with parallel seam lines. Sometimes the sleeves were of a turned-down type, that is, there were openings for arms near the armpit sections of the garment. This element of the Mongol fashion grew extremely popular in the 15–19th centuries across the vast Eurasian territories, but it was the Mongols' idea to button them up to the back using buttons and loops in the lower sections of the sleeves. The sleeves of men's and (girls') *degels* were not necessarily long, reaching the wrist, they could also reach the elbow or even hardly cover the shoulders. Men's *degels* had vents on the sides going from the hem up to the waist.



A courtier in Mongol imperial costume. After Iranian miniatures of the first third of the 14th century. Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik. 2011.



A Golden Horde official in Mongol costume, consisting of a whole-cut robe with foldaway sleeves and a cape. After the finds in the Golden Horde burial, 14th century, near Tormosin village in Volgograd Region. Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik. 2011.

As to their length, they covered the knees or reached the middle of the shin. Girls' degels were longer, sometimes reaching their feet, and had no vents on the sides. Besides, the cuffs and collars of girls' degels were edged with fabrics whose colouring contrasted with the basic tone of the smock, while in the male version these elements had the same colour of the rest of the smock. Impressed by the luxurious garments of the European Cumans, the Mongols introduced the tucked cut-off lower hem, an element found in the dresses of Europe's most prestigious social groups, into the most festive version of the degel. This element made it more loose-fitting around the hips and extremely comfortable to wear while riding a horse. In the West they also borrowed

such a detail of the gala smock as the horizontal bands across the stomach and the lower back that were typically found in garments, (with a cut-off tucked lower hem) forming small horizontal creases in the waist section. The bands were woven, hem-stitched, or made using strings and ribbons sewn to the fabric. The flaps of the degel were fastened at the top of the vertical hem with several pairs of ties or ribbons. A less common option is a knot-button fastening with loops for button-holes. Another fastening point was located on the chest side opposite the wrap, where a pair of laces were attached to the garment. Smock fabrics for the Imperial noblemen were developed on the basis of Chinese and Persian, Transoxiana and Anatolian ornaments in the

workshops of Eastern Turkestan, and depicted popular Mongol motifs of ungulates in the forests (borrowed from the Jurchens), birds (borrowed from both Muslim and Jurchen textiles), dragons, phoenixes, kylins, Chindamani stones, coins, peonies and carnations (adopted from the decor of Chinese textiles). Fabrics for ceremonial garments were woven by Uyghur, Chinese, and Muslim weavers in Kuche, Dadu, and Tabriz as a garment piece, each smock individually. It was common practice to weave a patterned band along the sleeve and shoulder lines with epigraphical or pseudo-epigraphical patterns in 'flowering Kufic script', or, in other cases, with animal caravans and floral and geometrical patterns. This decorative element was, most probably, brought into the Mongol culture by the Jurchens who, in turn, had borrowed it from the Muslims, imitating their 'Tiraz' fabrics which bore woven inscriptions of a ruler's name, and Muslim wishes of well-being. Such fabrics were granted to subjects by khalifs, as well as by other Muslim rulers. Another decorative element of the smock was an ornately carved four-leaved rosette that rested on the shoulders, upper chest and back. It represented a luxuriously decorated pelerine of the same shape, which was a traditional element of Mongol and Tatar clothes. Loaded with various ornamental motifs, the rosette was a combination of weaving, embroidery, and applique. The same technique was used for a patterned horizontal band on the lower hem above the knee-level. This element was also a Jurchen borrowing. Purely Mongol elements were squares on the chest and the back that were filled with images of birds and animals in the woods, or flowers (later on in China, under the Ming and especially under the Qing rule they became symbols of rank—buzi badges), circles on the shoulders representing the sun and the moon, and trapeziums filled with patterns, also placed on the shoulders and sometimes below the circles.

The second most common garment worn by men and women was the terleg, a kaftan somewhat shorter than the degel. Chinese authors described it as a 'square-flapped' kaftan. It had a rectangular neckline and opened at the

neck level with a cut going down to the solar plexus, then turning at a right angle or obtuse angle to the right and under the arm, and going further down to the edge of the lower hem or to the waistline. In the latter case, the cut turned to the centre and then went down to the edge of the lower hem. Festive or ceremonialterlegs, likedegels, had a cut-off, tucked, lower hem. Kaftans for girls, like smocks, were different from those for men in that they were significantly longer and always had collars and cuffs edged with fabric of a contrasting colour that was usually darker in tone than the rest of the garment. Girls' terlegs are demonstrated in the Yuan frescoes from Dunhuang that show Noblewomen, depicted in the Dunhuang wall painting for their religious donations. Our exposition demonstrates such a ceremonial female terleg from the Suleiman Collection. It is made of golden silk with tiny floral patterning, has a left to right wrap, and the right flap goes downward immediately at the left side; the lower hem is of a cut-off type and is attached in tucks; the flaps are fastened with three pairs of ribbon laces. The right—lower—flap has an 'attached' rectangle on the chest, that is, the vertical side of the rectangle turns right near the waistline, reaching the body's axis and then going vertically down to the edge of the hem. The flaps were tied together using ribbons attached to the right flap and the interior side of the left flap, which helped avoid the left lower hem dropping down. Both male and female terlegshave vents going from the waistline down to the lower hem edge. The female terleghas edgings encircling the neck and going along the sides of the vertical cut on the chest, while its cuffs have silk edgings contrasting in colour and tone with the rest of the garment.

A third kind of overclothes for the shoulders worn by both men and women was a kaftan with a right-angled neckline, a straight axial cut from the neck to the lower hem. It had wide and short 'wing' sleeves. Its length reached the knee-level. It was a tight-fitting garment, made using the incision technique, which had a flaring lower hem. The lower hem sides had insets of tucked fabric instead of vents. The kaftan was fastened using hook-

on buttons, metal balls or knot buttons—with buttonhole loops from neck to waistline. Fastening points were marked with lines of buttonholes, stitched or made of trimming cord on each flap.

A fourth type of overclothes for the shoulders worn by men (and women) was an extremely rare non-wrap-over piece of clothing with a wide, rectangular, V-shaped, or horizontal neckline. Its festive or ceremonial version had a tucked cut-off lower hem, similarly to other overclothes for the shoulders worn in the times of the Chinggisid Empire. This dress was, most probably, borrowed by the Mongols from European nomads: the Polovtsians, Cumans, and Kuns. It has a direct relation to European, namely Russian, clothes.

In winter, all these types of overclothes for the shoulders were worn, heat-insulated with felt and fur, trimmed with fur, and also having fur collars attached to them. Among them, the warmest and the most prestigious of all was a piece of clothing that had the same outline as the *degel*, but was coated with fur on the outside and had a fur lining on the inside. It was called a *dokha*, *doga*. *Dokhas* were extremely valuable, especially those coated with sable fur. Temüjin received a sable fur *dokha* from Borte's father Dai-Sechen. By presenting it to the khan of the Keraites, Tooril, the one who was to become known as Chinggis Khan garnered the support of the powerful Tooril—Wang Khan, which he enjoyed for many years.

Short, waist-long wrapover shirts with long narrow sleeves were worn under the overclothes. Trousers had long legs that were not wide, and slightly narrowed towards the bottom, sometimes also with stirrups. Belt loops could be arranged around the waist in order to run a woven belt through them. Though relatively modest fabrics were generally used for trousers, one can come across items of luxurious patterned silk. In winter, two pairs of trousers made of skins were worn, one with the fur inside, under one with the fur outside.

A waist-warming piece was characteristic of Mongolian men's clothing. All medieval nomads across Central Asia are known to have

used this type of clothes. The Uyghurs, the Khitan people, the Tangut, and the early Mongols used a long, rectangular or oval piece to wrap around the waist without its ends meeting at the front; a belt was used to hold it in place. Sometimes blade-shaped pieces covering the hips extended downward from its ends at the front, while a wider and shorter blade was used to keep the sacrum warm at the back. The ends of such blade-shaped pieces were often carved to a leaf or a trefoil shape. To keep warm, Tatars used a long and wide rectangular cloth, fully wrapped around the torso, and fastened either at the front or with one and a half wraps. It was not only the belt which held it on the body but also side laces and sometimes thin shoulder straps. The imperial Mongol clothing included all types of waist-warmers, in particular the Tatar one. This insulating clothing was an important and significant part of men's clothing and was therefore covered and trimmed with costly fabric and fur over the felt or woollen base piece, and decorated with intricate embroidery.

The special kind of overclothes for the shoulders that the Mongol girls wore was a short wrap-over jacket with short or long sleeves, sometimes even sleeveless. Such a jacket could have both a vertical axial cut and an oblique one—with a left or right wrap. It is clearly a Jurchen borrowing. Jurchen wives of the Mongol elite portrayed during the reign of the Yuan dynasty are wearing such jackets. Ceremonial jackets were made of golden silk brocade, and decorated with weaving and embroidery in the same manner as men's ceremonial *degels*.

The belt was an essential indicator of each man's status. Graphic and textual sources suggest that belts were not a ubiquitous accessory. Mongols did not wear belts in private and, most importantly, during rites, to establish a mystical connection to deities. They would take off their belt in a demonstrative way and hang it across their shoulder or neck. Being always a kind of a baldric to hang bags with necessities on, belts might be omitted where weapons were not required within reach; bags were attached to the laces on the side of the trousers and were available due

to the side cuts in long-skirted overclothes. Status indicating belts were mostly buckled (in the west of the Empire, patterned silk bands, woven with plates and stronger than leather belts, could be used instead) with a set of metal, bone, or stone. The bladed belt set for swords was the most popular. It included a frame buckle with a needle, an end plate, three carrier-bead plates, each with a bottom loop—two to attach a sheath, one to attach a knife and a belt bag, one to two scabbard lockets to run the belt end through, multiple crescent-shaped plaques covering the belt around the waste, or, more often, the loose end of the belt, as well as plaques of various shapes—round, square, heart-shaped, rosette, etc.—arranged in rows. Soviet excavations in Primorye showed this type of set to have been formed within the Jurchen craft tradition and borrowed in full by the Mongols. The dressiest belt type across the principal yurt of the empire, which included Mongolia with its adjacent regions and China, was that with a central buckle shaped as an intricately carved oval, flanked with two crescent-shaped plaques. The fasteners used were either locks or hook-and-loop types—fastening details were present in the central plate and one of the flanking plates. The ceremonial belt depicted around the waists of Yuan noblemen in marble sculptures, tomb murals, and other Yuan graphic works was not a baldric—on these metal plates were used to attach peaceful objects, such as food knives, and two purses, one on each side: a small one for a fire striker and coins, and a large one (a 'portfolio') for documents and paper money. After the mid-14th century, a new type of belt set appeared in the west of the Golden Horde, influenced by Anatolian metal work, where the carrying badges with loops were replaced by rings. The belt bags and purses known by their Turkic names—*kalta*, *kaptargak*—were essential accessories for every Mongol. Two purses were often worn, one on each side. Small textile bag-shaped purses and boxes with their lids sliding up and down on ribbons were used to keep money and women's pincers, needles, thimbles, and cosmetics. Leather envelopes with patterns stamped on them

and covered with metal overlays or expensive fabrics were used to store fire-making accessories, small knives, money, and even food. Mongol envelope purses were so popular that copies of them were produced in the Rus'. An especially large number of them have been found in Novgorod.

Mongol men's headgear was quite diverse. They can be classified into hats with brims or fur lining: *orbelges*; and bashlik-like hats: *malgais*. *Orbelges* were made of felt, leather, paper. It was common to cover them with expensive or cheap fabrics and border the hatbands and brim flaps with more valuable or less valuable fur. The basic type of the orbelge was a low roundish hat with a narrow peak and a broad neck flap. The place on the inside where broad ribbons were attached for fastening was marked on the outside with short cuts of such ribbons running down to the joint between the peak and the neck flap. Both men and girls wore such hats. Ceremonial variants were decorated with top pieces of metal or gilded fabric, and wood, gemstones, and pearls. Nests for feathers were arranged on such top pieces. Though the principle of the feather decoration of headgear was borrowed from the Tatars, the imperial Mongol feather decoration was quite authentic: one to four white heron feathers were arranged in the centre of the crown, with tufts of eagle-owl feathers at the sides of the crown. The latter was a tribute to the mythical eagle-owl saviour, of which Mongols have always been eager to tell strangers impressed by the detail. Several more types of hat had a dome-shaped crown and brims of varying width, either solid or cut. A conical cap of white or coloured felt was borrowed from the Kipchaks and the Polovtsians. Cuman noblemen of the 14th century Hungarian court decorated them with a heron feather on the crown, as the Mongols did, while Mongols began to use a tuft of eagle-owl feathers in the late 14th century. The most luxurious headgear, that of the emperor, was a white felt hat with a low helmet-shaped crown and hand-wide horizontal brims. Such hats often had a large trapezoidal neck flap. The Chinggisids and other high elite had especially rich pom-

mels of gold and nephrite, with insets of gemstones and pearls, pendants with pearl trusses, and balls of gold, and gemstones. Even the chin lace was decorated with pearls and gemstone beads. In the hot climate of China, the hat could have a woven base of thin bamboo ribs covered with silk. A variant of that hat type was one with broad horizontal brims and a very low flat-bottomed crown, widening slightly towards the top. Such hats were made of very thick felt. Much later, secular and Buddhist Tibetan officials began to make hats of copper and brass, which they still do. Mongolian felt caps were made of four sections: each section was cut as two trapezoids, a low one narrowing greatly towards the top (for the brims) and a tall one with the narrowing not so pronounced (for the crown), and a triangle (for the pommel). When sewn together, the pieces resembled ancient Egyptian pyramids. The top was sometimes flat with an even top section instead of a triangular one; a square bottom was sewn to the top. Mongolian caps were also a kind of ceremonial headgear for lower level officials in the Yuan Empire, and for those up to the highest rank and even those of the highest level in the Uluses of Hulagu and Jochi. Ceremonial caps were covered with expensive fabrics: Chinese silk and velvet, embroidery. It was not only costly pommels that decorated dressy orbelges and caps—their crowns and brim flaps were also decorated with plaques and plates of precious metals, sometimes with inserts of gemstones (and glass) and pearl. The malgai, unlike the orbelge, does not seem to have been a mark of status. It was a bashlik of soft fabric, thin and arranged in one layer in summer, and thick, with lining and layering, during the winter season. The Mongol Chinggisid malgai is related to the bashliks of the Khitan people and the Tatars, but is fully authentic. Its specifically Mongol features include, first of all, a low round crown and ribbon laces attached not to the inside, as with the orbelge, but on the outside, over the temples, though not by the upper ends but a little lower—to let the upper ends of the ribbons hang down as in the orbelge. The Suleiman Collection in Moscow boasts a wonderful malgai in a perfect

condition of classical 13–14th century Mongolian design. It has a wide neck flap narrowing towards the bottom, attached to the low round crown, with earpieces attached to it to cover the ears and the sides of the neck. The earpieces have a round cut over the forehead, and a blade-shaped peak is attached. Long and wide ribbon laces are attached to the seam between the crown and the neck flap. The hat is crowned with a sophisticated textile pommel: a four-leafed rosette, in the centre of which is a bulky ball with a tail on top. The malgai has a cotton lining and is covered with pieces of several luxury Chinese silk-stripes. The earpieces could be folded back, and the neck flap could be folded up. They were fixed in that position using a loop on their folded tip, which could be hooked around a knot-button sewed to the back of the head. Mongol headgear changed over time. In the last three decades of the 14th century, the classical orbelge hats began to fall into disuse. Hats with a bell-shaped crown, often vertically quilted, with cut-type brims of medium and small width were coming into use. They were decorated with metal pommels, sometimes made of precious metals, with insets of gemstones and pearls and plumes of feathers and horse hair. Both headgear pommels, and massive brass templates for jewellers to beat out pommels from precious metals have been found in Bulgarian towns of the Golden Horde epoch. Young noblewomen wore especially luxurious headgear. The dome-shaped crowns of their hats, apart from the pommel, carried inlaid figured plates of gold and silver. The luxury hats of young women could be decorated with costly plates of silver attached in multiple layers, outlined to resembled a lotus flower or an intricately shaped drop, consisting of a solid base on pins of a wire filigree openwork with granulation and holders for gemstones and pearls. Such plates are present in the Simferopol hoard and in the collection of the Marjani Foundation, Moscow. Attachable plates that appear a little easier to produce but look just as elegant are often found during the excavation of Golden Horde towns in the Volga Region, the Crimea, Khwarezm, and other regions of the Jochid ulus. Another

piece of the headgear of young women, the frontlet, was also decorated with precious plates, pearl embroidery, and beads.

A conical sheepskin hat (*papakha*) with a rounded top, not very tall, was popular in the Jochid ulus. In any case, all the men depicted in the Iranian miniature pictures that represent characters from the Jochid ulus or events taking place in its territory are wearing such *papakhas*. However, this type of headgear was also worn in the Chagataid ulus—Spanish Ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo describes a lambskin *papakha* decorated with a ruby, as worn by Temür (Tamerlane) during a very formal reception.

As important evidence of the fact that the Islamization of the population of the empire's western uluses was represented in people's clothing, a small *taqiyah*, hat, always white, was worn underneath headgear.

Mongol men's and women's hairstyles, which foreigners found very peculiar, are noteworthy. Men shaved the tops of their heads, letting their hair grow down to the eyebrows at the front and down to the bottom of the shoulder blades at the back. They also shaved their temples in front of their ears, so that in front was left a lock approximately the width of two fingers, which was sometimes divided in two at the bottom like a swallowtail. The Mongol name for the lock was *khekhel*, *khokhol*. At the back long hair was braided into two braids and arranged in rings behind the ears. The nobility wore two to three pairs of ring braids. Sometimes, when in private, Mongols could wear one braid hanging down between the shoulder blades. It is noteworthy that the Slavs of the lower Dnieper Region, who later became Ukrainians, borrowed the hair style from the Circassians forced to move there by the Mongol khans: a shaved head with a long lock hanging forwards and to the left side from the top. Ukrainians called it *osledets*, and Muscovites *khokhol*, calling the Slavs from the Dnieper Region *Cherkasy*—that is, Circassians. The word *khokhol* turned into a Russian ethnic nickname for Ukrainian people. The only difference between the hairstyle of young women and that of men was the fact that the former did not shave the top of

their heads and their temples, merely parting their hair. Sometimes a curl was formed from a large lock on the top of the head. When a girl wore headgear, the difference between her hairstyle and that of a man was hardly noticeable.

The footwear of Mongol men and women were leather boots. Their design for men and women was generally similar, though men's boots had higher tops, often covering the knees, and could have very thick and hard leather at the front, which strengthened such boots, likely made specially for military purposes, and allowed them to function as greaves. The basic design featured vertical seams along the boot tops. The toe, the heel, and the sole were attached as separate pieces. Leather of a different colour with coloured edges was sometimes attached to the bottom of the foot to get a kind of an overshoe image. Soles could be both soft and made of thick, hard leather. The upper part of the boot top was cut to form a round projection, higher or lower, at the front. The only way in which the second style differed from the first was in the boot top having only one cut at the front, arranged along the vertical axis. A vertical piece of leather of a different colour, widening to the bottom, often with scalloped edges and merging into the toe, was inserted into the cut. The tops of such boots, also with a rounded knee projection, were tightened with narrow textile or leather ribbons under the knees. The design is still present in Tibet and in regions where the Tibetan culture is represented. The authentic, purely Mongolian edging of the upper part of the boot top copied its shape with a projection on the knee. Their luxurious archaeological items are often covered with the Chinese tapestry silk fabric named *kesy*, and have an embossed and embroidered fringe. A similar edging technique is still present in the Oirat clothing and that of ethnic groups culturally related to them. They are found in archaeological complexes both as shoe (or stocking) edging and as individual objects. This has led certain researchers to think that they were a kind of gaiters attached to the trousers, tied to cover the joint between the trousers and the upper part of the boot top, or even, for some



Mongolian imperial costume of a married lady,
13–14th centuries. After Chinese and Iranian drawings
and archaeological finds of costumes.
Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik

Mongol maiden costume, end of the 13th —
first half of the 14th centuries.
After archaeological finds in the burial site
of a Mongol maiden in the Eastern Azov region.
Reconstruction and drawing by M. Gorelik. 2011.

reason, to cover cases (the latter version is absurd). In illustrated records, such edging pieces are presented as boot edging or stocking edging, protruding over the boot top, as in ethnographic Mongolian footwear.

Now, let us focus on the clothing of the Mongol matron. The upper shoulder part, also known as *degel*, had a design very different from that found on a man's attire. Instead of an accentuated waist, it was very wide, flaring outward toward the bottom. The women's *degel* hit the foot in front, and even touched the ground in the back. Ceremonial *degels* of noble Mongol women had a proper train; the more noble the lady, the longer the train. Foreign eye-witnesses tell of several ladies-in-waiting to carry the train. The *degel* generally had a deep, oblique wrap from left to right, which could also be inverted.

Under the armpit, three ribbons were usually used to tie the side flaps together. The sleeves were very wide near the shoulders, long, and rounded, tightening towards the wrist, though the wrist openings could be rather wide. The cuffs and the collar with the upper oblique part of the flare were always edged with fabric of a colour and hue in contrast to the primary fabric of the robe. Ceremonial imperial women's robes had the standard edging of three fabric stripes (arranged in an inverted order as compared to girls' clothing)—the outermost was broad with golden flowers against a dark colour, then a narrow stripe with golden flowers on blue, and the innermost, a narrow stripe with golden flowers on red. This is the way it is depicted in famous portraits of Yuan empresses, but archaeological clothing is quite consistent with the tradi-

tion, even though in reality it must have been more diverse, depending on the status of the robe owner and where and when she lived. The Mongols borrowed from the Chinese the use of multirow edging, as well as the technique of using edging to accentuate fabrics. The fabrics and decorations of ceremonial women's robes were similar to that of men's attire. Imperial women's ceremonial degels were also made of lengths of silk brocade with a stripe of pseudo-kufic along the shoulders and the sleeves, which were woven by craftsmen of various origins in Beijing, East Turkestan, and Tabriz (?), combining Chinese patterns with those of the Middle East. The Suleiman Collection presents an imperial ladies' ceremonial degel of lengths of brocade with authentic Yuan patterns—figures of a kylin lying among clouds in a leaf-shaped festooned cartouche; images of the 'Chinese coin',—that is, a circle with a square with concave sides inside it (a decorative element extremely popular among the Mongols) fill the background. The 'Islamic' pseudo-kufic ornament along the shoulders and sleeves is replaced with a local geometrical pattern with a line of animals parallel to it—the motif is of Seljuk origin, but the animal figures are absolutely Chinese tigers, not following each other one by one, but arranged in pairs; Chinese lotus flowers are interspersed between each pair. The flares, hem, and cuffs of the degel is edged with sable fur. This costly fur on a costume of gold brocade, equally valuable, indicated the high status of the owner, and the extensive collection in the treasury is evidence of the vast wealth of the Mongol state [Rashid al-Din, 1971, p. 237]. Chinese red-and-gold silks were also used for ceremonial Mongolian ladies' robes, while costly kesi were used for edging and applied to the forearm of the sleeves. Four-leafed rosettes (the 'cloud pattern' according to Chinese terminology), circles and trapezoids on the shoulders, squares in the centre of the chest and the back were woven and embroidered on both women's and men's robes. In bad weather, Mongol matrons wore a dress of a style similar to the ceremonial degel, but made of leather and, probably, fur, or in any case, with fur trimming, over the

degel. Leather degels were decorated with applique work and embroidery. What made the ladies' silhouette very different from that of men and young women is that ladies' degels were hardly ever girded, except on rare occasions in extreme weather. Only Circassian women of the Golden Horde girded their attire, originating from Mongol girls' clothing, with sachets comprising of metallic patterns on a silk band.

The most important symbol of a Mongolian matron was her headgear—the bokhtog, boktag (Chinese gǔ gǔ, gǔ gǔ guàn, European bocca). The bokhtog had an essential representative function. It was an indicator of a Mongol lady, her ethnic, family, and tribal status, as well as her social status and that of her husband, visible even at a distance. A bokhtog was a present from the woman's relatives and that of her husband, given right after the wedding. It was the bokhtog that made a woman a Mongolian. When the Naiman prince Kuchluk married the daughter of Kara-Khitan gürkhan, the Khitan princess refused to wear the bokhtog [Rashid al-Din, 1952, A 70b, p. 197]—a direct descendant of the highest nobility of the renowned, ancient Liao dynasty, which at one time ruled over North China and Mongolia, she found it shameful to step forward as a representative of a Mongolian tribe, even a large one,—that is, to appear before others as a Mongolian. Even nowadays, especially in Russia, though the headgear in question is well-known from texts and graphic sources, numerous finds by archaeologists, often in good condition, lead to disputes on the ethnic affiliation of women buried with a bokhtog. What feeds such debates is that the ritual headdress placed in such tombs varies in terms of specifications; moreover, archaeologists, as a rule, are often poorly informed about the structure of such headdresses, and therefore might mistake remnants for other types of headdress, or even other objects altogether. However diverse the details, the 'classical' bokhtog consists of two structural elements—a small round cap with a neck flap and a round aperture on the top, and a round tube placed on the aperture and crowned with a flat-bottomed conical piece on

top. There are numerous variants of the upper part of the bokhtog,—that is, the cone, both in terms of shape and size. Evidence from witnesses and numerous graphic sources suggest that the bokhtog was sometimes topped with a rod wrapped in textile and beads; a tuft of feathers attached to the upper part, from eagle-owl to peacocks and even kingfisher feathers; relatively short ends of the cloth covering the upper part of the headgear hung down at one or both sides of the base, with a pearl strand on the left. Archaeologists have found bokhtog topper structured such that the base consisted of a wooden or bone brace or two braces fixed to form a cross; a wooden or bone bush, usually cut to resemble a flower, would be inserted in the middle of the brace or in the centre of the cross, in which a rod of wood, bone, or, according to sources, metal, sometimes precious, was also inserted. Broad black ribbons were attached to the base of the cap, attached to the birchbark frame of the upper part by the temple pieces and the neck flap to hold the bokhtog on the head. Pictures and archaeological findings suggest that the ribbons were covered with gold rhombic plaques with pearl inserts, or cloth pieces of the same shape with a lattice of pearls. A small bashlik with ear pieces and a neck flap of the most expensive fabric affordable was worn over the lower base cap. It was of a solid vertical cut, with lace or buttons with buttonhole loops at the back. Broad ribbons were attached to the ear pieces to be tied under the chin or on the back of the head. A long (about 1 m) veil was attached to the bottom edge of the column, or to the cone. Ceremonial imperial bokhtogs were structured in a standard jewelled pattern. Apart from the ribbon rhombic plaques, the full design included a large brooch at the joint between the tube and the cone, a cylindrical amulet holder under it (sometimes two small cylinders), a small brooch or a row of triangles at the joint between the column and the cap and, finally, drop-shaped temple dangles with pearl pendants. The tube could be decorated with a vertical patterned stripe of multicolour beads and pearls. Luxury elements were made of fine gold, and generously inlaid with pearls, sometimes also gemstones.

A cylindrical amulet holder was affixed under the brooch. According to U. Erdenebat [Erdenebat, 2006, p. 118, Zurag 82], bashliks worn directly on the head, without a base with the upper part, formed women's mourning headdress. They might also be referred to as a bokhtog.

Women's clothing in the Chinggisid Empire was always complete with jewellery and decorative pieces. Bracelets were the most popular accessory, their ends decorated with symbolical tiger heads, with the 'lucky knot' with dragon tails in the centre. Amulet holders/tumars,—that is, containers for charms, were very common. These were small cylinders with more or less generous decorations, worn on the neck or attached to the top of the bokhtog tube under the cone. Purses shaped as boxes, rectangular or with the bottom edge intricately carved in a sophisticated festoon were also part of a woman's gear. Luxury gold tumars of gold filigree were also widely used. Their prototypes were leather purses. In the tomb of a noble Mongol woman of the early Golden Horde period located in the town of Novopavlovsk (Stavropol Region), a series of purses filled with wool, chalk, herbs, etc. were found. Attached to a ribbon, they could be worn across the shoulder, thus serving as the ancestor of the traditional women's adornment of the Kazan Tatars—the *khasite*. Neck adornments were also common; the most characteristic of these were small or large settings with flat interiors in which gemstones and pearls were set.

The costume worn by dwellers of the former Jochid ulus in the 15th century.

Information on the clothing of Turkic-Mongol dwellers of the empire of Jochid ulus at the time of its decline and dissolution into several political units is much poorer than that of imperial clothing. This is largely attributable to the general Islamization of the population, since the new religion dictated the burial of the dead in winding sheets only. However, the materials and burial sites of the Volga Region, especially those of the highest Mongol nobility of Central Asia—amir/beklyaribek Temür Barlas and his grandson Ulugh Beg in the

Gūr-i Amīr mausoleum in Samarkand, suggest that the dead were buried in clothes in certain burials of Central Asian Muslim leaders of the 16th to 17th century. Unfortunately, the burial clothing of Temūr and Ulugh Beg was never properly studied, and no detail was published in spite of the utter importance of such material. Therefore, our principal source is limited to numerous miniature pictures, mainly from Herat, Tabriz, Shiraz, and Baghdad, made in kitabkhane (art book studios) at the courts of Mongols-Temūrids and rulers of Turkmen states—Kara Koyunlu and its successor Ak Koyunlu. The details of everyday life, especially clothing, are presented with meticulous accuracy and in great detail. The data obtained from such miniature paintings are consistent with rare items of belt mountings and textile from the territory of the Golden Horde. Relatively numerous sketches depicting robe and caftan embroidery preserved in the 'art galleries' of the rulers of Ak Koyunlu Turkmens—albums known as muraqqahs, captured by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II Fatikh, are a wonderful and absolutely authentic source of information on the clothing of this period. It is safe to suggest that, while the men's clothing of the Mongol successors of the Ulus of Chagatai (the Mongol-Turkic inhabitants referred to themselves as Chagatai, calling their Turkic language Chagatai) and the Mongol, Turkmen, and Persian successors of the Ulus of Hulagu borrowed heavily from Mongol traditions, the Mongol-Turkic (Tatar) clothing of the Golden Horde, ruled by the Mongol Chinggisids, where very nearly all ethnonyms were the names of Mongol tribes, should have preserved the tradition to an even greater extent. Moreover, both local and international Islamic clothing traditions had far less influence there than in the Near and Middle East. Miniature pictures suggest that noble men's clothing fully preserved Mongol features. The basic shoulder attire for men was a long robe known as the degel with an oblique left to right wrap, and long narrow sleeves, or very short wide wing sleeves. A rather shorter caftan with short sleeves only covering the middle of the forearm, or wings, was worn over the degel. A whole-cut dress with a round or

v-necked collar and a vertical axial cut to the bottom of the chest was more common. Either buttonhole loops and buttons or lace were used to fasten the aperture. Long robes had a slit on the side from the hem to the knees. Of note is that Iranian miniature pictures of the 15th century rarely depict foldaway sleeves. They must have been popular in the Golden Horde, at least in the Black Sea Region. These territories had direct connections to the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Italy, where garments with foldaway sleeves were extremely popular due to the Mongol influence. In the 15th century, the practice of tucking long outer clothing inside trousers, mostly while hunting or at war, later also during more common activities, began to spread. To this end, the design for clothing worn on the hip had to change. The old type of trousers, rather thin, evolved into underpants, while the upper pair in which the robe/caftan was tucked in was made of thick colourful fabrics and had a wider, lower crotch to accommodate the lower part of the robe. As this attire was warmer around pelvis, the demand for traditional undergarments used as insulation to shrink, although they continued to be used by shepherds in cold and foul weather. The hems of trouser legs were loosely tucked into boot tops, which were now somewhat shorter, and must wider in the leg. The boots, which still had side seams on their tops, now had small heels.

The 15th century 'Mongol-Tatar' men's clothing remained fully Mongolian. We can see the same 'protobuffons' cut in a square or, less frequently, round shape on the chest and the back, the patterned horizontal stripe under the knees, and the four-leaved rosette around the collar. The 'lunar' and 'solar' circles on the shoulders remain, though the trapezoid shapes under them known to be characteristic of the Mongol tradition are not depicted in miniature pictures; at the same time, there are sketches in which actually clothing is depicted adorned with embroidery. The sketches suggest a passion for Chinese motifs and elements of style among elite clothing stylists, who applied the Ming Chinese motifs to their creations with greater or lesser degrees of accuracy and freedom of interpretation. Drag-

ons, phoenixes, cranes, flowers, landscapes of mountains, swamps, and forests, even 'Chinese' warriors engaged in battle are all represented in the pictures. Sketches representing Iranian Islamic tradition, based on what had been developed in the Mongol imperial culture with great influence from the Chinese (in particular, Jurchen and Tangut) legacy, are fewer. A luxurious four-leaved caftan neck-piece, all embroidered with gold, with an axial cut and collar and joint between the top of the robe and the detachable skirt hem edged, now kept in the Armoury Chamber of the Kremlin, Moscow, is an outstanding example of the decorative style. Its surface is covered with finely crafted flowers and winged angels. The neck-piece is kept in the Armoury Chamber as an example of 16th century art of Iran, while American art historians date it to the Temürid epoch. The author of the present book is inclined to believe it was manufactured in the last three decades or at the end of the 14th century in the domain of Temür, and the caftan it adorned was a kingly present to the (temporary) favorites—khan Tokhtamish and beklyaribek Edigu. It was later presented to the Grand Prince of Moscow, again as a royal gift. When the fabric of the caftan became worn, the intact gold details were removed to be kept individually in the field treasury of Moscow rulers (now the Armoury Chamber).

As in earlier periods, the belt was an important element of male clothing, indicating the owner's status. Miniature pictures depict a wide variety of sashes of wrung cuts of multihued patterned textile. However, the secular elite still preferred fancy belts with an accessory precious metal detailing. Characteristically, belts and sashes of the ceremonial Mongolian type are neither depicted in miniature paintings nor found in excavations, thus belonging solely to the Ming Empire. Old and new dynasties of the former Ulus of Jochi, Chagatai and Hulagu, as well as their noble subjects only wore the baldric type of belts—sword knots and saadak belts. According to the miniature pictures, the set now consisted of a frame buckle with a needle, an end plate, two to three round beads with loops at the bottom, narrow scabbard locketts, and

one or more very large round plaques, which were the main adornment on the belt, fastened on the side. Belts of this style were found near the village of Litva near Minsk and in the Mangup Fortress located in the Crimean Mountains. The belt from Belarus dates back to the first half of the 15th century, while the Mangup set dates back to the turn of the 14th to 15th century.

As for women's clothing of the period, there is little information on the Tatars of the Ulus of Jochi. Wonderful examples of clothing were found in the Belorechye Kurgans. However, while the local cultural tradition of the Golden Horde of the 14th century is well-represented, that of the local Adygs of the 15th century is not—the Adygs became politically independent of the dwindling Golden Horde and developed a culture of their own, which, (only to a limited extent) having its origins in the imperial culture of the previous period, was nevertheless distinct. However, if only for the sake of comparison, we should study the materials from Western Ciscaucasia. The situation with women's clothing is the same in 15th century Iranian miniature paintings. While the clothing of the male population of the secular elite clearly carries on the Mongol tradition, it does not seem to apply to that of married women. However, noble unmarried women depicted in Herat and Baghdad miniature paintings and sketches dating to the very late 14th century to the first half of the 15th century have Mongol hairstyles and clothing. The matrons' clothing is clearly representative of the local Iranian social order as it developed in the local environment under the Turkic-Mongol influence. Theoretically, by comparing the two indirect sources, we could single out typologically common elements, representing a legacy common to both regions of the Chinggisid imperial culture. Such common elements can be delineated. First of all, we see the upper caftan, wrapover type, with a vertical axial cut, buttons with loops and buttonholes holding the flaps together. The length of the caftan varied from mid-thigh to mid-shin. It was mostly fitted at the waist, and could have short (mid-forearm) or long and narrow sleeves. The Belorechye caftan is de-

tachable, and has a tucked hem and a high collar. The Iranian miniature paintings suggest that ceremonial caftans were made of costly colourfully patterned fabrics and embroidered like men's ceremonial outer clothing. Yet, the square and round fields on the chest and the back, known as 'proto-buffans', which functioned as Mongol status marks, are not represented in women's caftan embroidery. This is quite understandable—the Muslim woman would no longer be present at quriltai and feasts wearing a garment consistent with her husband's status, as was the tradition with Mongol women. The caftan seems to have originated directly from Mongol young women's clothing, which was virtually the same as that of men. Foldaway sleeves with long cuts fastened with buttons with loops and buttonholes, just as the flaps that became common in women's wrapover clothing that originated from men's clothing. Belts and straps with metal detailing were also adopted from men's clothing. Based on finds from Belorechye and early Kabardian kurgans, women's (sometimes also men's) belts and straps were made of a thick silk band woven on plates. Some women's straps had no buckle, and were tied in a knot. Besides belts with a set, textile sashes were used. During the cold season, a foot-long wrapover warm robe with long narrow sleeves covering the hands could be worn with or instead of a caftan. Such robes had fur details such as lining, collars, edging, etc. Quilting was definitely used to make the item warmer. As we can see, the design of long-skirted outer clothing has nothing in common with that of the Mongol clothing. However, decorative techniques were generally the legacy of the Mongol imperial tradition. Beginning in the 15th century, a foot-long dress with narrow sleeves, wrist-long or covering the hands, was worn under a caftan. The dress had a round or V collar and could be both high and wrapover, with a vertical axial cut. As for headdresses, Iranian miniature paintings always depict a shawl characteristic of the Near and Middle East, arranged in different ways, but never covering the face. The upper edges were usually wrapped around the forehead to form either loose ends protruding

to the sides or to the back, or a protruding folded comb. The rest of the fabric dropped down over the waist as a veil. Circassian burials contain remnants of tall conical headgear with applique decorations and headdresses of precious or non-ferrous metals shaped as spiked cones with a crescent on top of with its horns pointing upward, and sometimes small pendants on chains. Unfortunately, no information is available on pre-Mongol Adygean women's headdresses; however, they do not look like those of the Polovstians and, even if they were derived from the bokhtog, the connection is very distant. It might be possible to attribute the crescent topper to the Chinggisid tradition—a crescent with its horns turned upwards is reliably known to have been included in the Mongol imperial heraldic symbols.

Thus, we can assume that in the 15th century Tatar-Mongol peoples could have developed female attire consisting of a long dress, and a caftan of a variable length with short or long sleeves, which could be girded with a sash or a plate belt, and a warm robe with a long hem and sleeves. Fragmented sources on the 15th century, along with more recent sources suggest the popularity of head coverings consisting of shawls and tall conical hats decorated with metal. It would be reasonable to assume that, during everyday activities, the shawl was generally associated with women, while girls wore conical hats. Beginning with the wedding ceremony, the both shawl and cone could be worn together on special occasions. A set of adornments would be added to women's attire reflecting the wealth and status of the owner, including earrings, rings, bracelets, necklaces, and braid jewellery.

Tatar Clothing of the 16–17th centuries.

Sources on Tatar clothing dating back to the 16–17th centuries are far more extensive than those of the previous century. However, most of these are graphic, with very few real elements of clothing preserved. It should be noted that images of Tatars dating back to the 16th and 17th centuries were rendered by European artists in the realistic style of the Renaissance, sometimes representing ethnographic features with astounding accuracy.

The graphic sources mostly belong to travel reports, and drawings on maps to mark certain ethnic groups inhabiting this or that territory. Paintings and even portraits are also available. Naturally, graphic sources require they be approached in the framework of expert art analysis—some of the images are rather arbitrary; the authors had never seen Tatars, and either depicted them from anecdotal sources, or relied on tradition and their own conceptions, which were sometimes absolutely fantastic. Moreover, the chain of how the Tatar man and the Tatar woman might be artistically represented has to be followed in its entirety, as the initial portrait from life would be inevitably reproduced by other artists over the course of years, accumulating changes, omissions, and fanciful fictitious details. An example can be found even in the latter half of the 18th century. The beautiful 1768 aquatint by the rocaille French *Le Prince* was reproduced after four years in a rather fettered wood engraving by Georgi, based on which even more awkward copies were made. The clothing, traits, and posture would remain the same, while details faded, and a fantastic 'oriental' sabre appears... Another example is a series of variants of a family portrait, which certain researchers from Kazan unabashedly refer to as a portrait of the khan's wife Süyümbike with Prince Utyamysh and their henchmen, claiming the original dates back to the 16–17th centuries. In fact, this cannot be the case, since the portrait, being purely European in its theme and composition, though slightly archaic and influenced by the *parsuna* artistic trend, could not possibly have been created in Kazan in the 17th or, even less probably, 16th century. The painted portrait-like archaic features are characteristic of Russian (except for Saint Petersburg) portrait painting of the first half of the 18th century. Therefore, it is a provincial Russian portrait of a wealthy Tatar family, or even an attempt on an historical portrait of Süyümbike within the ethnographic reality of the 18th century. Of interest is that some elements of reality may have their origin in earlier times, but to date this has yet to be the subject of research. Similar phantoms have been occurring in recent years. They are

mostly related to matters which are important and essential, and which determine the level of artistic developments in the Khanate of Kazan. The tragedy of the people, as well as culture studies is that the art of the Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia has undergone extensive eradication. All of the jewelry, weapons, cutlery, utensils, and clothing, all the costly plunder of the conquered regions of Kazan and Astrakhan, seems to have been stolen, scattered, and remade into something else over the long tumultuous period in with all figures in the lengthy historical drama played a role, especially, in all likelihood, the Cossacks. Everyday objects simply wore out and were thrown away. The inhabitants of Kazan, who put up a fierce resistance when under siege, were largely annihilated, including the most prominent craftsmen and artists, as well as their more modest counterparts. Only provincial craftsmen carried on the tradition, though for a different customer—for a long time it was new Russian landowners, while those of the old clients who survived had become 'orphans of Kazan' without sufficient means of support. The opportunities of the large stratum of 'service' Tatars were far from those possessed by the khan's courts and oglans, officials, wealthiest merchants, who were numerous, and the clergy of the Khanate of Kazan (and Astrakhan). The tiny Kasimov Khanate was too weak as a customer; besides, its grand architecture suggests Russian craftsmen played a large role.

Thus, the artistic situation in the Tatar khanates of the Volga Region was rather dismal. This makes any evidence of great accomplishments by the craftsmen of the Khanate-period Kazan even more welcome. So a 'version' emerges, claiming the filigree belt clasps from the Armoury Chamber of the Kremlin, Moscow originated from Kazan, 16–17th century. In fact, these are the so called 'pafti' buckles dating back to the 19th century, very typical for the west of the Ottoman Empire, especially the Balkans. The most serious of the phantoms is the Kazan Hat of Ivan IV, the crown created to celebrate the tsar's acquisition of the throne of Kazan, which enabled him to call himself a tsar and made the title legitimate for the Grand

Prince of Moscow. A 'version' both persistent and popular with the scientific and would-be scientific community of Kazan defines the Kazan Hat as follows: 1—a work of Kazan jewellers, 2—simply the crown of the last khan of Kazan Yadigar. However, this 'version' is an absolute myth based on a lack of awareness and understanding of the special features of that bejewelled artistic creation. None of the advocates of these 'versions' seem to have noticed the fact of the hat being, if you remove the 17th century fur band, a bell-shaped tiara with two tiers of sophisticated openwork toothed rings. No ruler, whether of the Muslim East or of the Christian West, has ever had such a crown. However, such a tiara—two-tiered, and later three-tiered—has crowned the head of the Pope. The only Muslim ruler to wear it was the Ottoman sultan Suleiman Kanuni/the Magnificent. The sultan is depicted with it in his 1532 shoulder-length portrait in profile engraved in Venice, and its inverse copy made by the artist Agostino Veneziano in 1535. The engraving shows the headdress, which presents the barbut helmet popular in Italy in its ceremonial variant referred to as *barbuta alla veneziana*, on which a sugar cone shaped tiara is placed with four toothed rings decorated in a most luxurious manner in the Italian Renaissance tradition. Circa 1532, the scrupulously engraved headdress of gold and adorned with gemstones and pearls was designed and ordered by the sultan and produced by the craftsman Luigi Caorlini in Venice. The craftsman received an enormous remuneration of over 100,000 ducats from the Ottoman treasury. It was the great vizier Ibrahim Pasha who made the payment and brought the crown helmet to Istanbul. The sultan only wore the crown once, to receive the embassy of the Habsburgs—the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Indeed, this was the occasion for which it was ordered. This was because the Ottoman sultan was the ruler of Rum (the Oriental term for Asia Minor and partly the Balkan Peninsula), where the Eastern Roman Empire/Byzantine lay. However, the sultan wanted, and believed himself entitled, to rule over the entire Roman Empire, including its western part, its sacred centre being Rome, ruled by the Pope, and its secular centre being the em-

peror's Vienna. It was Catholics to whom the symbolism of the structure was absolutely clear (Orthodox Christians, except for the Russians, were already subjects to the sultan)—the sultan was both a sultan (khan, padishah), as a secular ruler, and a caliph—the spiritual leader of Muslims, ruling in the name of the Prophet. The helmet symbolised the former, while the papal tiara symbolised the latter. The tiara had four tiers rather than the Pope's tiara, which had three. The four tiers symbolised power over the four corners of the earth. Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan IV is known to have greatly admired Suleiman since childhood. The reason why he introduced his reforms was to bring various institutes of Muscovy—financial, legal, military—in line with the principles of Suleiman Kanuni. It is reliably known that Ivan ordered a portrait of his hero from Italians travelling between Muscovy and Italy, who supplied it with ease. Thus, it is understandable why the tsar ordered a work of art resembling the sultan's crown to celebrate his highest triumph after conquering the Chinggisid throne of Kazan. This was more modest and had only two tiers. It could be Kazan jewellers who crafted it, but this is not necessarily so. The artistic aspect (without being limited to it) of the culture of the 16th century Moscow was largely orientalist, or, to be more specific, Tatarised. The reason why the Kazan Hat cannot belong to the Khanate of Kazan is the fact that the population of Kazan was hardly aware of the Catholic headgear that Europeans had designed for Europeans, as well as the fact that the khan of the Khanate of Kazan would not dare wear a crown symbolising his equality to the Ottoman sultan—his imam, caliph,—that is, spiritual leader and, though indirect, suzerain.

Now that we have studied the phantoms, we should turn to real evidence. All European sources mention elements of men's clothing popular with most of the Tatar peoples of Eastern Europe.

The most realistic and earliest depiction of Tatars is a painting by an unknown German (?) painter titled 'The Battle of Orsha', kept in the National Museum of Warsaw. The painting depicts the troops of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth defeating the army of

the Grand Principality of Moscow in 1514, and was obviously painted straightaway after the event. The reality and faces, some painted like portraits, are depicted with astounding accuracy and in great detail. What is interesting to us here is the manner in which a squadron of Lithuanian Tatars, also known as lipkas, is depicted. Common soldiers are wearing long-skirted quilted robes with thickly quilted knee-length caftans with very short wide sleeves and stand-up ear-high collars, with a straight axial cut. The caftans could provide relatively reliable protection against arrows, as well as even sabres. On their feet, they are wearing boots with toes turned-up; on their heads are very tall white felt hats resembling a sugar lump in colour and shape, with brims cut to a small depth and turned down. A steel flat cover could be found under the hat. They have the old hairstyles originating from the ancient Tatar styles—the tops of their heads and foreheads are shaved, and the remaining hair is arranged in two braid hanging down from the temples. The chief of the Lipkas is wearing a massive turban wrapped around a vertically quilted hat. Unlike common soldiers, he is wearing a quilted armour caftan covered with luxuriously patterned velvet. It is noteworthy that the Lipkas look nearly the same as the Muscovite cavalry, wearing the same hats (only they have fur-trimmed brims turned up), quilted robes, and caftans. However, all Muscovites have caftans covered with patterned fabric, with hems trimmed with fur, and functioning not as soft armour, but as under armour to wear with steel armour known as *beherets*. The painting clearly shows the extent to which Tatar clothing influenced that of the Muscovites. In 17th century paintings, Lipkas are wearing dark robes and fur-trimmed *malakhai* hats with neck flaps. European contemporaries sometimes depicted Lipkas wearing long caftans covering their knees, with an axial cut on the chest and a tall hat with a neck flap. The battle *zhupan* of Hetman Żółkiewski, dating back to the 17th century, kept in the Czartoryski Museum, Kraków, is probably related to the Lipkas. It is a long-skirted and long-sleeved silk cotton quilted robe — *a terleg* (Russian —

terlik), though the protruding overlapping upper section of the flap is not rectangular in the Mongol tradition but triangle—the way the Muscovites adapted it. A 1660 drawing by T. Kortson shows a calvary captain of the Lipkan army, wearing a short thigh-length caftan and a waist-length waistcoat with fur-trimmed collar, hem, and armholes. His wide trousers are tucked in short boots; he is wearing a hat with a pumpkin-shaped crown and a fur band. A truss is hanging from the top of the hat; on one side of the edging is a feather. The full ensemble generally seems to resemble that of the Cossacks, which was very close to Nogai attire.

As far as the Crimean Tatars are concerned, relatively extensive information is available on the clothing of the elite, including images—Turkish and Persian miniature paintings dating back to the 16th century, West European engravings, and very few unique examples of real clothing. The clothing of the male Crimean elite can be classified into steppe, 'Tatar', and Ottoman categories. Ottoman features can be found in the khan's attire—the outer shoulder attire in the form of a ceremonial long-skirted Turkish caftan with long foldaway sleeves and a large collar, mostly of fur. Jewelled oop buttons are used to fasten the caftan. Clasps were numerous in Turkish fashion; they were arranged with small spacings and numerous buttonhole loops. Girding was not common. 16–17th century Turkish caftans were made of multi-colour patterned Bursa velvet and thick dense *kemkha* silk; buttonholes were made of seaming lace or patterned ribbons. In the early 18th century, ceremonial caftans of sultans and, accordingly, khans, were made of red broadcloth, as was the Turkish fashion; buttons and buttonholes were less numerous, but larger and generously decorated with diamonds. The large turndown collar, flaps, and sleeve cuts were edged with costly sable or otter fur. The 'steppe' variant was a set of an undercaftan with long narrow sleeves and an overcaftan with wide midforearm-length sleeves. The overcaftan with the oblique Mongol left to right wrap or an axial cut on the chest had a low collar, which could stand-up or be turned down. According



A Crimean Tatar (or Nogai).
Engraving, 1703.

to written records, common Crimean nomads wore a short caftan of shipskeen, mostly with the fur outside, both in winter and in summer. All Turkish and Persian images dating back to the 16th to 17th centuries depict the Crimean elite, including khans, wearing very special hats with a dome-shaped crown of plain or patterned fabric that is not very tall, and a fur band with upturned triangle wedge pieces at the front and at the back. Hats with such a band are examples of an ancient Oghuz legacy that was very popular in the Seljuk East of the 12th to 13th centuries. Still used during the Mongol epoch, as we can see, it was preserved in Crimea until the 17th century. In the early 18th century, it was the headgear what made a Crimean khan's ceremonial attire different from that of the sultan—in contrast to the enormous Ottoman turban, the Crimean khan wore a fur papakha hat, though also enormous, decorated with brilliant aigrettes with peacock feathers, just like the sultan's turban. As for the late 17th century, a beautiful engraving by artist Christoph Weigel from Nuremberg pub-

lished in 1703 depicts a Crimean Tatar (and, most probably, a West Nogai) wearing a long-sleeve undercaftan with an oblique right to left buttoned wrap (Turkish style) tucked in wide trousers with legs untucked. The style originated with the 'hunting' fashion of the 15th century and preceded the 'dzhigit' clothing tradition of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The fur-trimmed overcaftan is worn as a raincoat, over the shoulders, held by a strip of cloth attached on the left of the collar and fastened to a button on the right of the collar. The hat has a large round crown and a relatively narrow fur band. A 16th century's Persian portrait of a khan depicts in detail an undercap of yellow patterned fabric edged with white ribbon. It seems that hats with pumpkin-shaped quilted crowns with a horizontally stitched or fur band were popular with Crimean Tatars of the 16th century. All Crimean Tatars are depicted wearing boots. Yet, it is safe to assume that soft ichig underboots with high tops and kavushi boots with hard soles and heels were often combined. It was only the elite who still had buckled or silk band baldric belts with costly, particularly massive metal plates. Textile sashes became more popular as an everyday accessory with the common people. Baldrics acquired a modest structure of thin straps with small metal fittings.

A costume of the Nogais could be very close to what was worn in Crimea. The latter, presumably, was more varied and more typical, since not only were the Nogais a large body in the Nogai Horde, they also were broadly affiliated with ethno-political structures of the inhabitants of Kazan, Astrakhan, Crimea, the Kazakhs and the Bashkirs. Their costume integrated various traditions based on the main 'template' referred to below.

Taking a close look at a 16th century Persian portrait of a noble Crimean (see tinted insert), it is impossible not to notice its similarity to a large series of portraits of the Turkic nobility on Tabriz miniatures of the 16th century and their later copies. This 'genre' in Iran is linked to the victories of the Sefevid shahs over the Uzbeks and Turkmens, which were immortalised on miniatures and murals in the images of the battles, as well as in the

portraits of the captive steppe rulers. An attribute of captivity—Y-shaped stocks holding the head and the left hand of the captive, is shown on these miniatures not without reason. At the same time they are depicted in combat garments, sometimes even in kuyak armours, and with a full set of armament—a sabre, a saadak, a knife on a belt, a dagger behind the belt, a ring for shooting on the thumb of the right hand, and a flail with a large ball. All are dressed in long caftans: the inner, with long narrow sleeves, and the outer caftan, usually wrapped left over right, with short wide sleeves reaching the mid-forearm. A buttoned top caftan with an axial cut is seen much less often. On their heads—hubcaps with cut brims, either wide or narrow. The crown is quite often quilted in vertical segments. The hubcaps are made either of white felt or covered with tinted and patterned fabrics. Small elegant astrakhan hats/papakhas are less often shown, even more rarely—rather large turbans. The hubcaps and astrakhan hats are decorated with small feathers in precious aigrettes, attached to the crown by a golden cord or a golden chain. On their feet—boots or ichigs with kavushs. It is probable that here we see the typical costume of a representative of the Turkic elite of nomadic roots, which was current for the territory from Central Asia to the Black Sea region, and, accordingly, for the multi-tribal Tatar nobility. A Kazan (and, probably, Kasimov) Tatar representative of the military estate (rather an oqlan than a cossack, judging by the image context) is shown on a well-known engraving of the mid-16th century illustrating the work on Muscovite Rus by the imperial envoy Herberstein. The Tatar, depicted among members of the Russian nobility, is with a quiver, a knife on the belt and a mace tucked in his belt. He is dressed in a flared mid-calf length caftan, narrow at the top, with a straight axial cut with buttons and button-holes almost to the bottom, and long narrow sleeves and a wide fur flat collar. The cap with a crown—a high hood, round at the top, has a cap-band trimmed with a wide strip of lynx

fur. The cap has wide ties. The trousers have wide trouser-legs worn untucked and made of horizontally striped fabric. On his waist there is a cloth belt, and tight soft boots on the feet. A similar, but more generalised costume is shown on the European maps of Tataria. As we see, the 'Tatar template' in a man's costume took shape in the 16th century and continued to exist up to the beginning of the 18th century.

Female Tatar attire is incomparably less known, since there are no Eastern images of Tatar women, and European images are extremely rare, as well as lacking in detail. However the 'Tatar template' for a woman's costume of the 16–beginning of the 18th century can be described. The Tatar woman's attire consists of a long under-gown with a round collar and a cut to the solar plexus or navel, a tunic-type loose, often flared dress with long sleeves, narrow or wide, even flared at the bottom. The outerwear has a fitted, shorter or longer caftan with short sleeves, usually with a straight axial continuous cut featuring buttons. It was the finest part of the garments, the rich had it decorated with brocade and imported coloured and patterned fabrics. The headdress is almost always shown in a form of a high hefty sugar-loaf, sometimes with a neck-flap. Sometimes it was worn over a shawl covering the head and shoulders, sometimes—directly on the head. Possibly, the first option was intended for married women, the second one—for girls. On their feet were shoes and ichigs with kavushs. The abundant use of gems consisted of sewed-on elements, mainly coin-like, on the headdress, necklaces worn under the chin or on the neck, maiden splints, bracelets, earrings and rings. A sash-hasite was a whole collection of amulets of various forms. The described 'Tatar template' of a women's costume was formed in the 16th century and was used in women's garments of many, not only Tatar, peoples from the Caucasus to the steppes of Central Asia. It appeared to be most vividly expressed in Nogai, Astrakhan, Kazakh and North Caucasian—Western and Central—costumes.

CHAPTER 6 Architecture and Art

§ 1. Architecture of the Kazan Khanate

Niyaz Khalitov

The architecture of the Kazan khanate, which left behind neither land constructions, nor authentic descriptions or any visual art, is one of the most poorly studied phenomena in the history of Tatar culture. Medieval Kazan, the image of which may be drawn today mainly on the basis of historical sources and indirect information, so far cannot be considered a full-fledged subject of architectonic analysis on all its levels. Nevertheless, according to the sources known to us, it appears to be a complex and ambiguous phenomenon resulting from advanced centuries-old traditions. By the time the Kazan state came into being, its architecture had already passed through the Azov Great Bulgarian (the 6–7th centuries) period, which preceded the Kama Early Bulgarian (8–9th centuries) and the Kama Great Bulgarian (10–13th centuries) periods, as well as the Golden Horde (13–first half of the 15th century) period. During that time a variety of Turkic and Khazarian, Caucasian and Central Asian, Arab and Persian traits were noticeable, along with those from Asia Minor and traits from developed Eastern civilizations, which were introduced to the Volga region by the Bulgars and by their role as mediators.

The ascendancy of the Chinggisid khans' dynasty from the Lower Volga and Black Sea Coast centres on the Kazan throne in the middle of the 15th century undoubtedly introduced new features to the architecture of the capital. The Golden Horde nobility who had been brought up in the cultural traditions of the capital of one of the greatest empires in the world and followed the familiar traditions of Desht-i Kipchaq (Sarai, Krym), were certainly looking up to the modern centres of the Islamic world, and first and foremost to the Ottoman Empire, for their cultural poli-

cy. Therefore, the development of Kazan city and especially the capital's architecture has to be considered in its general connection to the world culture of Islam. Folk culture was less dependent on the political environment and was more resistant to innovations. Kazan was in a period of rapid construction, where new fortifications and city walls, palaces and mosques, trade canals and a river port were being built. Numerous remains of log constructions, white stone and brick bases of the mausoleums and mosques of that time (dilapidated and reconstructed, some of them existed up to the second third of the 19th century) have been studied by archaeologists, and characteristic tiles and plaster sheeting details have been found. The drawings of medieval artists, both Russian and Western, provide information on the unique architecture of Kazan. Many spired tower-minarets, the white-stone fortified palace of the Khan, and multi-dome stone baths, etc. can be seen in them (see: [Khalit, 1996]).

On the border of the forest-steppe zone and the Steppe and to the south where the towns of pre-Mongol Central Bulgarian and Golden Horde cities once stood, architectural traditions by the 15th century had been developed on the basis of their own traditions and the imperial school of the Golden Horde. One might note certain principles of urban planning expressed in both the spatial composition of the capital cities and in the corresponding size of the buildings, as well as the scope of construction. Culturally, the khanate became the direct successor of the traditions of Volga Bulgaria, which is confirmed, in particular, by archaeological [Smirnov, 1951], ethnographic [Vorobyev, 1953] and anthropological data. Kazan people adopted new creative concepts and widely used heavy

domes, tiered formations, and inclined and multi-inclined coverings characteristic of the Bulgar architecture. They also preserved a unique type of minarets [Khalit, 1995]. Fortresses and castles, palaces and baths, caravanserais, mosques, madrasahs, houses and tombs were all built here, which was all inherent to the architecture of the Muslim East since the very start.

Stone and brick constructions left more traces and therefore there is more information about them than about wooden or earth ones, not to mention nomadic mobile structures. The masonwork, numerous samples of which can be found in the Kazan Kremlin, was extremely varied: from skilfully laid flagstone to smoothly polished blocks. Fortifications, baths, palace chambers, mosques and tombs were all built of stone. This architecture in its essence was close to the unified planning and construction approaches of the medieval architectural schools of Transcaucasia, the Crimea and Turkey. The plinthis bricks widely used in Bulgar and the Golden Horde in the 14th century are rarely found in Kazan, while the remains of brick constructions leave no doubts about the extensive spread of bar bricks, which although not very noteworthy from a modern point of view, are always commonly perceived as 'Russian'.

The cities were mostly built up with wooden log houses and other domestic constructions. Different natural and geographical conditions than those in the Trans-Kama region, the abundance of wood, the proximity of peoples living in forested areas and who possessed evolved technologies for processing timber, all left a mark on the region's architecture. Timber came to play the leading role here, and outright dominated stone even when it came to constructing monuments. Wooden designs allowed for the creation of beautiful elements built atop structures that were rich in silhouettes (towers, superstructures, tents, spires), and also picturesque bends and facade partitioning. Such figurative means of stone architecture as domes, arches, external portals and cylindrical towers were easily replaced with tented roofs, canopies and multifaceted forms. Certain

types of mobile architecture also remained, including tents, yurts and kibitkas.

The development and character of the Volga and Kama culture at each stage of its historical course can be correctly estimated only by considering its interrelations with the closest centres of Islamic culture: Transcaucasia, the Black Sea Coast, Khwarezm, as well as other more remote ones, including Iran, Asia Minor and the Middle East. Each of these centres was an outstanding example of the regional style in art and architecture based on its own pre-Islamic traditions. The cultural line of 'Egypt—Turkey—Caucasus—Volga region' is clearly visible when comparing architectural monuments of that era. Despite their geographical remoteness, the people of the Islamic world were related in faith and blood and closely connected with each other, and the Kazan Khanate was a similar centre that occupied the northernmost point of the vast Islamic world. Kazan actively cooperated in political and cultural relations with many of them, even down to being directly involved in the recruitment of construction teams from one region to another. Certain historical information testifies to the possible participation of Italian architects during the construction of the Khan's court and its fortifications at the end of the 15th century, as the name of the Crimean architect Yakup is mentioned in the documents [Usmanov, 1991].

The formation and apogee period of development of the medieval Kazan school of monumental architecture (15–16th centuries) chronologically coincided with similar development stages of one of the greatest schools of the Islamic world: the Ottoman school. Its influence is obvious in the architecture of stone monuments of all post-Golden Horde states of that time. The surviving examples of medieval decorative art of the Volga region and their echoes in later works of the Kazan Tatars (and not only) provide all the foundation necessary to consider the Ottoman style as one of the historical styles of the Tatar artistic culture in all its manifestations: decorative, applied, monumental, and architectural as well. The medieval art

of Turkic peoples of the Volga, Urals and Siberia, which included architectural and decorative art, also relied on the local Turkic–Finno–Ugric tradition, giving birth to unique forms and manifestations of artistic culture [Valeev, 1975].

Settlements and Dwellings.

Tatars had various dwelling types depending on the place of residence and the construction materials used, as their design principles were subject to Sharia law and regional traditions, combined with the vestiges of nomadic dwellings to some extent. The type of the house depended on the financial state of the owner, and ranged from a mud hut, a semi-mud hut, an adobe hut, a one-to-three-story log house with a more or less developed structure, stone 'chambers' or various combinations of log, brick or stone constructions (the Khan's palace, Nur Ali's estate, the house of Kul-Sharif in Kazan). Stone and wooden one-to-three story buildings with a high ground floor used for household purposes, under a two or four-sloped roof, in general probably resembled later traditional houses described by the ethnographers of the 18th century. Outside the estate was fenced with a timber wall or paling. More wealthy two-story houses might have exterior balconies or galleries.

One particularly characteristic detail was mentioned in ethnographic literature: people with a nomadic past, including the Tatars, had a summer dwelling along with a winter one, which was sometimes just an ordinary yurt in the yard or outside the settlement. It is known, for example, that Chinggisid khans sometimes preferred to rule the state from the nomadic camp, not from the capital of the empire, and in decoration of the Khan's palaces (for example, in Bakhchysaray) elements of the nomadic style can clearly be seen. Up to the present moment no attention has been paid to the nomadic component and its influence on the development of national traditions in Tatar architecture despite direct indications on behalf of contemporaries as to the existence of the 'Kazakh type' yurts in Tatar life well into the end of the 19th century. [Vorobyev, 1953, p. 158]. The fact that until

the beginning of the 20th century the Kazan Tatars often had two houses standing nearby might be considered an echo of this tradition: they had a winter and a summer house connected by a canopied passage or a gallery on the second floor. Obviously the complexes mentioned above served as prototypes to such constructions [Khalitov, 1989, p. 75]. The 'Mongol' type of dwelling in the form of a centrally planned square structure spread throughout the Lower Volga region during the era of the Golden Horde and had an influence on the architecture of Tatar mosques [Khalit, 2012]. The architectures of the Bulgar and Golden Horde appeared in medieval states where the nomadic component played an essential role in the economy and culture of the people inhabiting it. Therefore, they inevitably developed as a result of the synthesis of nomadic and settled cultural traditions. This was reflected at all levels, including city planning, spatial and compositional aspects, design, artistic and figurative, symbolic and decorative elements. Its role in this process cannot be underestimated. On the contrary, taking into account that the nomadic tradition had been shaping the mentality of the Volga region inhabitants for millennia and at the time of transition to a settled life it was the main lifestyle, it is necessary to consider its characteristics and see its traces in the architectural tradition of the subsequent eras.

The analysis of medieval Muslim miniatures permits us to speak about five types of nomadic structures: yurt, bigger and smaller tents, kibitkas and canopies. There is no doubt that all these types in either form existed in the early architecture of Kazan as the legacy of medieval Turkic city culture, which combined elements of both the nomadic and settled style.

Ensembles and Complexes.

Palace Construction. Consistent pattern, traced in the layouts of the Khan's palaces in Kazan and Bakhchysaray (and, perhaps in Khan-Kerman as well) where similarities to the Sultan's Topkapi palace in Istanbul can be seen, point to a general planning principle: a longitudinal-axial composition of the complex around an extended maidan, where

the inhabited, representative, cult, memorial and household zones were grouped. A high cylindrical tower adjoining the Khan's living quarters was another characteristic element of palaces. All of these constructions are united by one fact: they were built by Chinggisid khans, natives of Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, at the time new independent Tatar states were being established. Perhaps they all had a single prototype—the palace of the Khan of the Golden Horde, the Chinggisid patrimonial residence in Sarai [Khalit, 2009a]. Meanwhile the palace in Istanbul became an example of the style of the period as well as an example for imitation.

The Ensemble of the Ark of Kazan. The Ark (fortified court of the Kazan khans), was a universal complex of inhabited, administrative, cult and household buildings surrounded by a ring of defensive constructions. The complex closest to the Ark of Kazan in style, construction manner and cultural affiliation is the Palace of Shirvanshahs in Baku (Azerbaijan), which was completed for the most part in the 15th century. Its buildings, along with those of the Crimean Tatars, are probably the closest analogies to the Kazan structures, which allows historians to speak about uniform principles of architecture dominating in those days in the Volga-Kama, Southern Caucasian and Black Sea regions. Other close examples of a similar complex might be the palace of Iskhak-Pasha (a citadel in Dogubayezit) in Turkey, and the Khan-Sarai in Bakhchysaray. The size, principles of spatial organisation and stylistic features of the constructions they consist of can serve as examples for restoring the image of the Ark of Kazan in the 15–16th centuries. After examining a number of documents of the 16–17th centuries, the conclusion can be drawn that it was a stone citadel in the form of an irregular quadrangle of embattled walls and towers, roughly aligned with the cardinal directions and crossed from within by additional fortifications according to the lay of the land.

The main entrance to the Khan's residence was protected by two-towered gates resembling the main gates of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul. Some medieval images of these

gates remained. The Ark's next line of defence was an additional wall with multi-tower gates to the inner courtyard reminiscent of the Gates of Pleasure in the Topkapi Palace. The architecture of this Palace likely served as the basic image for the reconstruction of the Ark.

The Ark of Kazan, as well as any residence of important feudal lords, had a number of features, but the main ones had to be convenience, safety of living, multi-functionality of the grounds (housing, representative, administrative, defensive functions) and the possibility of evacuation in case of military threats. The positioning of the buildings had to contribute to the defensive functions of the citadel,—that is, they were possibly connected or arranged at various levels. The courtyard also had to be divided into a number of closed sections with blockable entrances and exits, and perhaps with additional internal walls to create 'death corridors' for the invaders.

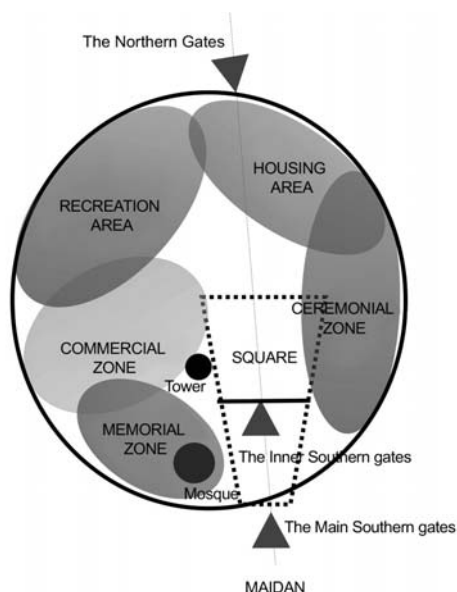
The main three-part three-story building was the centre of the Khan's courtyard composition; brick (stone) and wooden buildings either adjoined it from different sides or stood apart at a small distance. The surrounding buildings (to judge by the medieval drawings) had rich, ample moulding of the facades and an elaborate outline, as if encouraging the idea of an intricate high-rise silhouette dominating the general composition of the palace.

The following are the functional groups of buildings and rooms that were part of the palace complex at the administrative centre of the state, the Khan's family residence and defensive structures:

1. The administrative block: buildings or rooms of the State Council (Diwan); the court (qadiyat); the ceremonial square in front of the palace; prison (zindan); treasury; library, archive; barracks of the Khan's guard.

2. Residential block: The Khan's palace; buildings for the servants and guards; guest house; garden.

3. Service and household block: kitchens; bath; stables; storerooms; court handicraftsmen workshops (copper foundry, shoemaker, sewing rooms, blacksmith/jeweller/gunsmith's shops, etc);



Functional diagram of the Ark of Kazan. 11th century

4. Cult block: mosque; tomb of khans; perhaps the tomb of a saint.

The assumed area of the Khan's courtyard is obviously too small to accommodate all of these functions and the bureaucratic administrative structures of a very extensive state that by then measured the size of modern France. It is therefore entirely possible that the Khan's courtyard in Kazan had the limited functions of a purely administrative centre (or one of them) that was more fortified in case of a critical situation, such as the one in 1552. An-

other one of such centres, according to many sources, was most likely the Khan's country residence on Lake Kaban (Kabansky ancient settlement), or perhaps other (military camps) in case the capital was occupied by the enemy.

As concerns other palace structures, there are mentions of the Nur-Ali Shirin Palace in the north-west part of Kerman Yugara (for more details about the justification of this term, see: [Khalit, 1999, pp. 49, 50]) and also mentions of the palaces of Arsk '*princes and their noblemen*', which '*are very beautiful and truly worthy of awe*' [Original, 1902, p. 129].

The Architecture of Religious Structures

The mosque, madrasah and türbe (tombs) can be included in this group of structures.

According to the most preliminary calculations, there might have been about 1500 mosques on the territory of the khanate in the middle of the 16th century, however there remains little information about them at all. Part of these structures were located in the city centres and played the role of kabir and jami, but the majority were mahallah mosques. There were probably also public city musalla near large settlements.

To summarise all the known data, it is possible to define **four various groups of mosques** in the medieval architecture of the Volga-Kama region, each fulfilling its own function and intended for quite definite purposes or a certain social group of inhabitants. These buildings differed both in size and in



Arch of Kazan.
Reconstruction
by N.Kh.
Khalitov

the artistic style of their architecture: mahallah mosques; jami (some of them carried out a memorial and perhaps commemorative role); kabire; musalla. There were also **specialised mosques**: madrasah mosques, market, military, cemetery, memorial mosques, etc.

Five layout types of mosques were formed in the medieval architecture of the Volga–Kama region: courtyard; columned; central-domed; multi-hall (multi-domed); and single-hall (mahallah mosque and yurt).

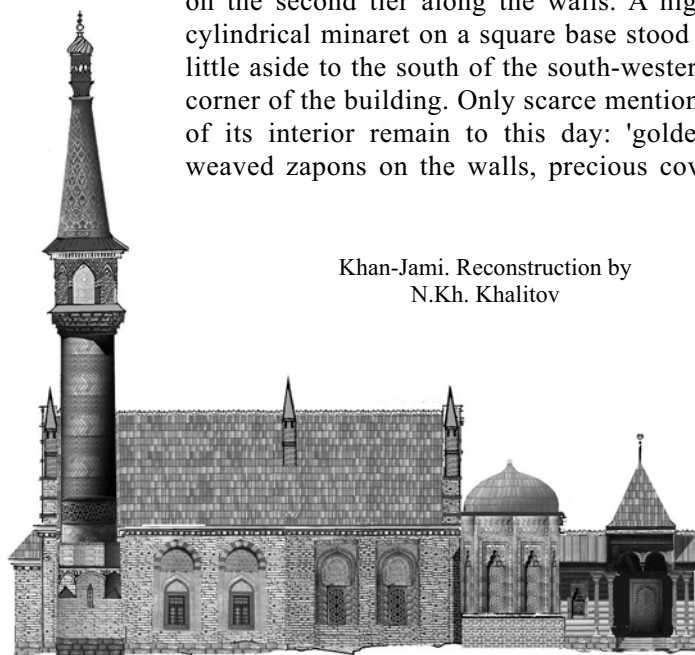
As for their dimensions, the mosques had several variations that in general corresponded to the mentioned types: multi-tower (courtyard and columned); with one-two adjoining (built-in) minarets (dome, multi-dome, multi-hall); with a minaret on the roof (single-hall); and without minarets (yurt, etc.).

There is more or less authentic data about several mosques from the actual constructions of that time: Khan-Jami, al-Kabir, Kul-Sharif, Nur-Ali and two more, so far anonymous and located on the territory of Kerman near the Tyumen gates and opposite Khan-Sarai. In addition, a description of a medieval wooden mosque in the Tatar settlement before its demolition in 1742 has been saved to this day.

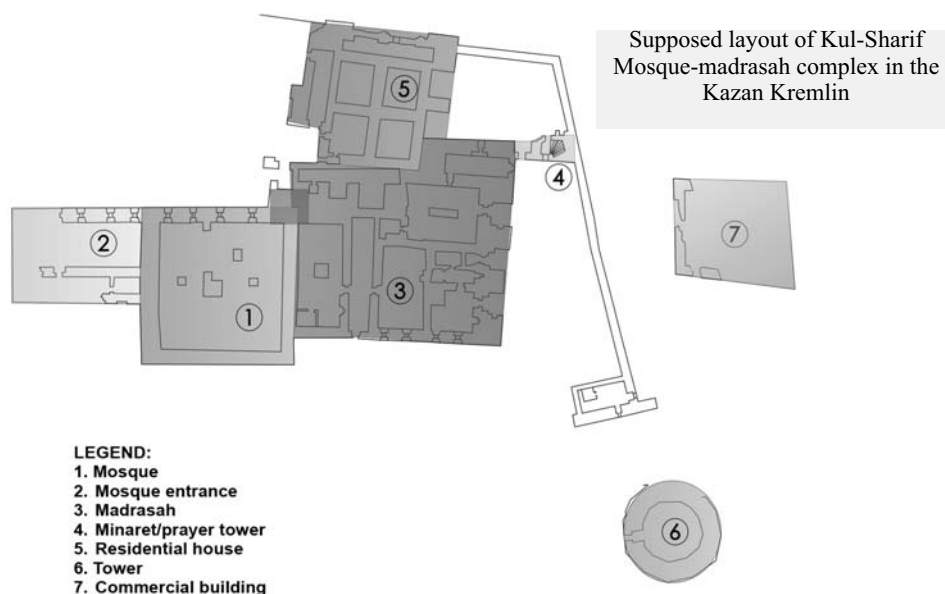
Al-Kabir. As any large Muslim city, the capital of the Kazan state had a main capital mosque named al-Kabir. The reference to an eight-tower mosque in Kazan in one of the historical works by Sh. Marjani and M. Khudyakov's hypothesis about the use of its image in the architecture of the Cathedral of Vasily the Blessed (Pokrovsky Cathedral) in Moscow, commemorating the capture of Kazan, are widely known. This idea gained particular popularity in Soviet and Post-Soviet historical literature and artwork. If the architecture of Pokrovskaya and other memorial churches connected with the Kazan campaign of Ivan the Terrible is analysed in detail, it is possible to find many traces of the Tatar architecture in their im-

ages and forms, including the main layout of a mosque-prototype that featured a complex with a central dome (and possibly a tented roof), surrounded by four minarets,—that is, a mosque of the Ottoman type. Small turrets towered around the basis of the dome to support its base, minarets and other finishing elements of the building might have had onion domes of various design. Mosque minarets, unlike Ottoman ones, might have had more hefty 'Bulgar' proportions, indicative of which is the form of the 'pillars' of Vasily the Blessed that are close to Bulgar towers in their proportions but belong to the Mamluk type of minarets.

Khan-Jami. It is known that in the Ark of Kazan there was the '*Tsar's*' (*Khan's*) mosque, that served as a pantheon of the Kazan khans (a memorial mosque) [Tale, 1959, p. 179]. The word 'mosque' referred not only to the building, but to the entire cult complex, including the necropolis with tombs and the courtyard protected by a stone wall, as it is mentioned that about a thousand women, clergymen and the Khan's confidants took cover there when Kazan was attacked by the Russians. Judging by the annalistic and other images, it was a one-to-two story stone building, and its domed hall with two tiers of windows might have had gallery balconies on the second tier along the walls. A high cylindrical minaret on a square base stood a little aside to the south of the south-western corner of the building. Only scarce mentions of its interior remain to this day: 'golden weaved zapons on the walls, precious cov-



Khan-Jami. Reconstruction by
N.Kh. Khalitov



erings on the Tsars' tombs embellished with pearls and precious stones' [Ibid.], meaning there were probably sarcophagi of the Khans covered with fabrics over the graves. These were found during archaeological research performed at the bottom of Süyümbike Tower in 1978 and 1998–2001 [Mausoleums, 1997]. There were also the remains of plaster facing covered with fine convex floral design, along with pieces of tombstones.

Kul-Sharif Mosque-Madrasah. Near the Ark and behind the square, the religious and educational centre of Sayyid Kul-Sharif could be found, which was partially studied by archaeologists in 1997–1998. After Kazan had been captured by the Russians, it was given to the Kazan bishop's parish and remained like this up to its demolition after the fire of 1829. The archival plans that were saved permit us to picture this large complex of stone and wooden buildings. In the medieval part of it that remained, three functional groups can be identified: a mosque, a madrasah and a residential house (of Kul-Sharif). The mosque is defined as a jami with a central dome of the Ottoman type from the end of the 15th century: a square stone construction at its base topped by a dome. The mosque is adjoined by two structures that can be defined as a lobby and a staircase with an exit to the western facade. The two-storied lobby space was sym-

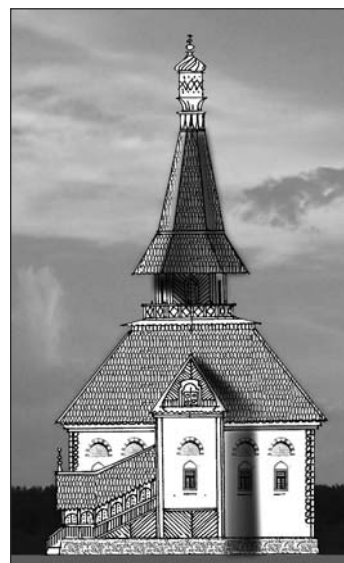
metrically divided into two chambers, which were probably topped by domes with a minaret between them. From the western side it was adjoined by a stone staircase. Assuming that the mosque had appeared earlier, it can be reconstructed as a typical jami with symmetrical composition along the 'East to West' axis. The exterior forms and stylistic features of the mosque, judging from the general style of the period of Sahib Giray and Safa Giray's rule, can be reconstructed in the Crimean-Ottoman style of the first third of the 16th century. It is necessary, of course, to take into account the more severe climate, which demanded the presence of entrances and galleries closed from the cold, more massive walls and intensive heating, and external coverings that protected against an aggressive environment. There might have also been purely Kazan motifs on the facades of the building not to be found anywhere else.

During the second stage of the layout and architectural development of this mosque, after the madrasah had been connected to it from the western side, the eastern entrance might have been constructed, which at the same time expanded the mosque's facade along the maidan perimeter for mass prayers in the fresh air.

Nur-Ali Mosque. The mosque constituted a part of the central group of stone mosques



Nur-Ali Mosque.
Reconstruction by
N.Kh. Khalitov



Mosque near the
Tyumen Gate.
Reconstruction by
N.Kh. Khalitov

near the Khan's Palace in Kazan and stood near the 'Muraleev tower' of the Kazan Kerman. This was a centrally planned construction of the 'octagon-on-tetragon' composition topped with a spired dome or a curvilinear tented roof. The external appearance of this rather typical example of Ottoman style from the 15–16th centuries may also be pictured quite easily. This was possibly a simple stone building with a tile or wooden covering not too amply decorated with carved details.

Mosque near the Tyumen Gates. This mosque was located on the place of the later church of Cyprian and Justina and was a centrally planned Golden Horde mosque-burama with a minaret in the centre of the roof.

Tombs. There were presumably at least two types of mausoleums, some parts of which survived up to modern times in the form of land structures.

1. **Türbe.** This type of tombs is found in the ancient settlement of Bulgar and is a classic example of the 'Seljuk style' (octagon on a tetragon with triangular bevels, topped by a dome and an exterior pyramidal tented roof made from local limestone). In related cultures (the Crimea, Transcaucasia and Turkey) there were also other versions of türbe: oc-

tagonal, many-sided and cylindrical with or without a square base, with an exterior dome or tented roof, etc. Theoretically speaking, any of them might have been in Kazan as well. Indeed, on the miniatures of Russian annals from the 16th century many-sided constructions with pyramidal roofs, resembling those of the traditional Bulgar türbe, can be seen.

2. **Tent.** The image of the Safa Giray tomb on a miniature in one of the illustrated copies of 'The Kazan Chronicle' [RSL, reserve 178, no. 98] gives some grounds to assume its complete similarity to Kasimov tombs. One example of such tombs are several monuments remaining from Khan-Kerman (Kasimov, Ryazan Oblast) built atop the graves of the local nobility [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863]. Tekiye of Khan Shah-Ali in Kasimov, according to typological classification by D. Vasilyev [Vasilyev, 2003], belongs to the B1–1 group of the Golden Horde mausoleums (two-chamber rectangular without portal) or B2–1 (two-chamber rectangular without portal with rooms along the main facade).

3. **Chardughan.** One cannot exclude the existence of a chardughan in Kazan, which was a way of accentuating and fencing in noble burials using a many-sided arcade pavilion open from the top that was popular in the Crimea and Turkey and also noted to exist in the Golden Horde.

Architectural Forms and Details

Signs of the Ottoman style in the Tatar national tradition in the Volga region are generally seen in applied and decorative art objects and in stone carvings. Its echoes are also frequent in the Tatar architecture of Kazan and its surroundings from the 18–19th centuries. Distinct features of Ottoman influence can be observed in the architecture of the Russian 'uzorochye' of the 17th century; most logically they are born from traditions of the Kazan style adopted by the Russians in the course of colonisation of the Tatar lands and the assimilation of the Tatar diaspora.

The main characteristics of this style are low-relief wall plasticity, precise divisions, wonderful proportions, fine floral ornaments made using various techniques and incorporated into simple facades, and a rich polychromy of interiors. The apertures are bounded by arches of different configurations and can sometimes be very intricate, framed with niches, carvings or other decor, plat-bands and tympana with sumptuous comb-like lintels in the shape of floral ornaments. Walls are also enriched with various decorative niches, at times in fancy shapes and adorned with carved or painted panels, as a rule with floral ornaments. Apertures and niches are embellished by graceful decorative columns of unique forms at the sides, and muqarnas are also widely used.

This unique set of ornamental motifs partly carries on the traditions of the Seljuk style, but they are in large part introduced by the Ottomans for the first time, which significantly adds to the stylistic image. Ottoman ornamentation has none of the rigid regularity of the Arab and Seljuk eras, which has less stylised elements that are close to forms of the natural world. Ottomans returned to the Turkic nomadic vision of the world in its artistic culture by creating a poetical image of the decorative style: multi-coloured, infinitely various and variable. All this and much more are its stylistic norms, and they accompany Ottoman-type structures wherever they are, including in Tatar architecture.

The scientific study of medieval Tatar architectural structures is far from complete,

yet a short and far from complete list can nonetheless be introduced.

In Tatar medieval architecture the **composition of building featuring angular towers** with buttressing or decorative purposes became fixed. Here it acquired a special meaning and defined the image of a capital mosque for all time, even now [Khalit, 2008]. Small turrets over the corners of minaret quadrangles also became a variation on the same composition.

The multi-tower composition of the building developed in the domed form surrounded by pinnacle turrets. These forms are seen frequently in the miniatures representing Kazan from the 15–16th centuries. Traces of this form can be observed in the decorations of memorial temples of the Muscovite state associated with the capture of Kazan: St. Boris and Gleb Cathedral in Staritsa, St. John the Baptist Church in Kolomna, Basil the Blessed Cathedral in Moscow, and others. There are enough reasons to assume that there are borrowings from Kazan architecture.

The forms of arches were varied. Among them were simple ones (semicircular, onion, vaulted using different configurations and keeled), as well as sagging ones imitating the curtains of nomadic tents, which is reminiscent of the Seljuk nomadic style. This element also became traditional in the architecture of the Volga Tatars present in urban and folk architecture up to the beginning of the 20th century.

Ceramic Facing. Single inclusions of glazed porcelain tiles in brick and stone masonry were widespread during the Seljuk period. Glazed porcelain square tiles of blue and light blue colour obviously intended for narrow strips and borders, along with scattered glazed bricks obviously not intended to completely cover walls, testify to the presence of such decorative techniques in the architecture of the Kazan Khanate.

Framing apertures with tympanum. This is a widespread feature characteristic of the Ottoman architectural style. The presence of a tympanum over a window or a doorway could have the most varied of forms, starting

from simple rectangular, semicircular and vault outlines to rich elaborate compositions amply covered with ornaments both inside a cartouche and on its exterior edge. It is clear that stone carving motifs for tombstones were not specifically designed; they merely repeated the techniques and forms of architectural decor. It can be assumed that the architectural concepts of Tatar tomb steles that were mainly stylised after mihrabs (reproducing both their general image as well as the precise details), preserved elements of the decoration essential to the Tatar entrances into the monumental buildings of mosques, madrasahs and palaces. If one considers such cartouches as imaginary 'Heaven's doors' (especially considering the religious content of the inscriptions inside them), such a concept seems quite logical. Then there are tympana with a pitched sagging top that reproduce the traditional forms of nomadic architecture. Similar tympana can be seen in Russian architecture of the 17–beginning of the 18th century in Kazan as well. For example, on the facades of the Palace Church in the Kremlin sagging triangular tympana are combined with keeled ones remarkably similar to the Ottoman ones in configuration. This points directly to their likely borrowing from medieval Tatar architecture.

Door panels, plenty of which remain from the Ottoman period, appear to be true masterpieces of decorative and applied art from the perspective of their carving, mosaic, painting, forging, embossing, engraving and casting. They could be smooth surfaces covered with uniform drawings, or complex compositions on panelled bases that combine all types of ornamentation and implementation techniques. Similar doors taken from medieval Kazan were recently found in a Russian museum, which permits us to draw an opinion about the style and high quality of architecture in the Volga region [Khalit, Khalitova, 2011].

One can get an idea about **the Tatar capitals** by their traces in Russian architecture from the 16–beginning of the 18th century, which are connected in one way or another with Tatar culture. Among them is Basil the

Blessed Cathedral in Moscow, where we can see the typical Seljuk and Ottoman style of adjacent columns at the entrances reminiscent of the Tuscan order. More difficult versions of the same adjacent columns can be seen on the facades of the Süyümbike Tower and the Palace Church in the Kazan Kremlin. The facades of the Governor's Palace in the Kremlin built in 1846 on the site of the Ober-commandant's House (which was rebuilt from the Khan-saray) had characteristic Ottoman capitals with angular 'droplets', albeit in their own special way. It is clear that the architect (F. Petondi) copied them from the facades of the old Khan-Sarai, and in doing so linked history to a specific artistic image: the succession of the Tatar and Russian palaces and centres of government.

Porebrik. This is a typical feature of the Ottoman style, but unlike the brick facade pattern we know so well, the Turks also carved in marble, both on their facades and in interiors. The porebrik pattern is widespread in the brick decor of the Kazan Russian buildings, and special attention should be paid to the decorations on the Spasskaya and Süyümbike towers of the Kazan Kremlin where elements of Tatar architecture were conceptually reflected [Khalit, 2005, p. 9]. There is a wealth of evidence to assume that this pattern existed in Tatar medieval architecture as well.

The *brick muqarnas* form a special group, and the Russian 'gorodki' can be considered a variation on them. They can be seen as laid out with simple or specially ground bricks, and they seldom follow any classical design. The facades of Spasskaya Tower in the Kazan Kremlin are decorated with one of the characteristic kinds of this Ottoman muqarna [Khalit, 2005, p. 9]. Their presence on this structure points directly to the existence of Tatar prototypes that were probably still there at that time in Kazan or on other Tatar settlements.

The decoration of corners in the Tatar architectural style in general inherited techniques from the Seljuk style.

The included concealing angular seams using an adjacent column buried in the

ground to a quarter of their height. This technique is usually used in many-sided (8 and more) structures and is common in the architecture of the Crimea. Traces of such concepts remained in the Russian Kazan architecture with a rather precise reproduction of a Seljuk or Ottoman rotunda-türbe with all the patterns inherent to these styles. The corresponding prototypes probably existed in Kazan architecture.

The vertical angle of an aperture or niche were decorated by a column inserted into a special cut, and as a rule did not reach the bottom and top of the aperture. We can see an example of this type in the remains of a Bulgar Kabir portal (14th century) and in the Kazan Kremlin (archaeological research at Süyümbike Tower, 2001).

A cut or the rounding of a corner up to a certain height where the walls join to form a right angle. This transition can have the shape of a slanting triangular console, either smooth or completed with the honeycomb structure of a muqarna or palmette. This mode was widespread throughout the entire Muslim world and was very familiar to the Tatars as well, who often applied it in the architecture of residential houses. The earliest examples of such concepts are recorded in the Kremlin (Sujumbike Tower) and in the Old Tatar settlement of Kazan of the 19th century. We can assume this originated in the Volga region in medieval times.

Ornamental motifs

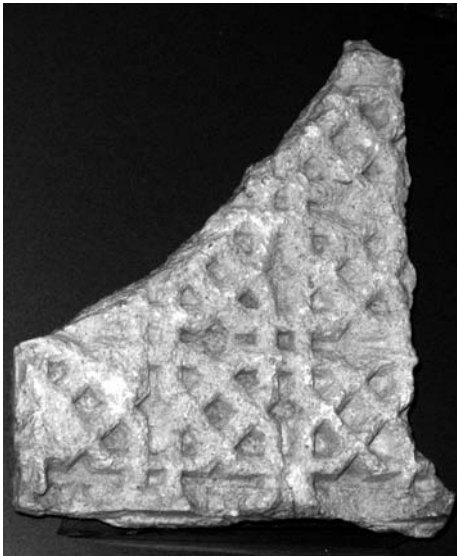
The style of Tatar ornaments as we know them now was formed, to a large extent, under the influence of Ottoman culture, which clearly indicates the common cultural orientation of the populations. The Ottoman motifs can be traced throughout all areas of artistic culture starting as early as the 15–16th centuries, and their mark can be seen even in the architecture of the 18–early 20th centuries. This allows us to conclude that the Ottoman style became national during the Kazan state and was perceived as such by the subsequent generations of Kazan people who reproduced its motifs as elements of their traditional culture.

We know quite a bit about the Tatar architectural ornaments of that time. First

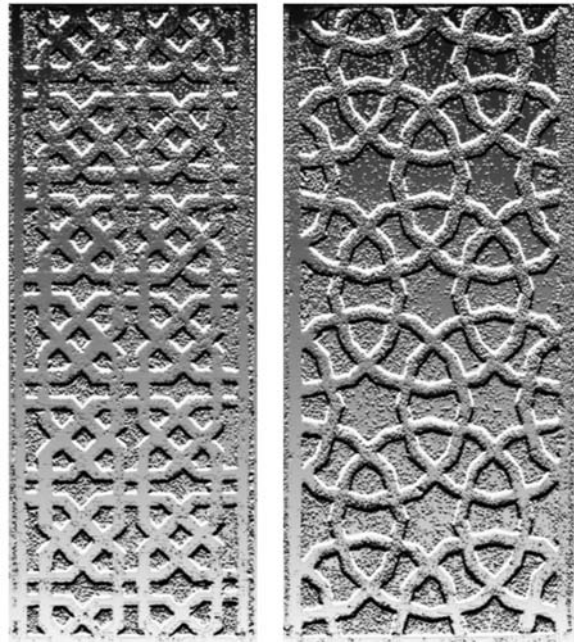
and foremost, this includes the carvings on tombstones preserved in a variety of examples. There are many parallels and literal identical matches with Turkish motifs, but there are also some original examples that develop the indigenous ornamental traditions in line with the Ottoman style. Of course, no one invented any special ornaments for tombstones, as these were simply the same architectural elements, just adapted to the corresponding size. By comparing them with real examples found on the walls of preserved buildings (unfortunately, not here), it is easy to imagine their architectural prototypes in carving, painting or tiled mosaics. There is no doubt that these same patterns covered the surface of walls, architectural details and interior items. Only a single example of stone carvings out of many techniques has lasted to our day, but it still allows us to make our judgements on its originality and on the stylistic properties of architectural ornaments in the Volga region. They could have been geometric (wave, zigzag, twisted strands, ropes, meanders, rosettes, girih, etc.), in the form of plants, epigraphic and also zoomorphic. The techniques used to create them could be sculptural (carving, moulding, ornamental masonry) or planar (tiles, murals, mosaics), monochrome or multicolour. Therefore, the ornamental motif or story imprinted in tombstone carvings could be used with this style in medieval buildings through the application of a variety of techniques and in various elements of facades or interior decor, some good examples of which can be found outside Tatarstan. By comparing the ornamental motif with examples from Ottoman architecture, we have an excellent opportunity to legitimately reconstruct the medieval architectural elements of Volga region Tatars.

Several geometric ornaments

Twisted strands and ropes. This is a common ornamental motifs throughout history, including in the Ottoman style. In Tatar culture it can be found on tombstone carvings and wood carvings used to decorate the borders of gates, platbands, etc. [Khalitov, 1976, pp. 123–125].



Ornamental motifs



Zigzag. This ancient motif that originated at the very least in the nomadic past of the Turkic population and widely mastered within the Seljuk style, became widespread in the Ottoman period both among the Tatars and Turks. The patterns could be flat or textured.

Wave. This is an ancient ornamental motif that organically fits into the culture of Turkic people. In the Ottoman style, the wave acquired the image of plant sprouts and is rarely found in its pure form, although isolated examples do exist.

Meander. This is a cultural motif that can be found virtually all over the world, and it also takes a solid hold in the Ottoman style and Tatar culture. Most often we see an oblique meander that resembles a traditional nomadic wave and an endless geometrised plant vine.

Rosettes. In Tatar art, we can find both the traditional variety of rosettes and those that are typically considered Ottoman. However, they represent a relatively small percentage compared to the rosettes of ancient nomadic and Seljuk origin.

Stars. A common motif in Tatar art and architecture is a six-pointed star in the form of two intersecting triangles. This can be found in the design of portals and tympanums, and in the patterns of grills and stained-glass windows.

Girih existed in Islamic architecture as one of the principal decorative means for over a thousand years without ever changing its shape, and can be found, virtually unchanged, in the Bulgarian, Golden Horde, and later Tatar architecture using a variety of materials and techniques. These could be made using such techniques as carving, mosaics, tapping (embossing), casting and painting mainly for the decoration of flat surfaces (fences and window grills, door leaves, decorative panels, etc.), although sometimes it was also used on curved surfaces (such as domes, arches, column rods, muqarnas, etc.) The comparison of girih-designed architectural elements in the rare finds discovered in Tatarstan and Kazan with similar elements found throughout the entire Seljuk region reveals their identity and allows us to postulate that any of its varieties might have also been included in medieval Kazan architecture. The remnants of stamped and carved girih ornaments (wall panels) were found amid the vestiges of an unknown building near the porch of the Annunciation Cathedral in 1861.

A couple plant ornaments

Tatar medieval plant ornaments that have been preserved well enough to make some generalisations, clearly indicate that they

belong, on the one hand, to the Ottoman style for many art forms (embroidery, jewellery art, tombstone carving), and on the other hand reveal a significant conservatism of certain motifs. For example, the stylised plant sprouts in the carvings on Tatar tombstones are similar to the border stripped ornaments of Ottoman Turks, but their Tatar interpretation is more abstract and conventional. Such a solution is justified in terms of designs for a tombstone carved from a limestone slab.

The Ottoman style developed several types of crowning heraldic ornaments, one of which is consistently used for the carvings on Tatar post-Golden Horde tombstones and can be found in a sufficiently large variety of interpretations. In this case, the plant motifs are identical to the Turkish ones and prompt us to imagine other possible uses of these patterns in wood carving, painting on wood and plaster, etc., which did not survive

to the present day following the disappearance of the Tatar medieval architectural heritage. Another interesting typical feature of these ornaments is an additional contour that outlines the entire composition on its upper perimeter. In its simplest form it looks like a tulip, but often it is much more complex and forms an ornate silhouette that sometimes can be compared to a bouquet of flowers. This fits well with a wide variety of ornamental patterns.

Vase with flowers. These type of ornaments (in very elegant designs, at that) are preserved on medieval Tatar tombstones. The elaborate pattern and excellent technical execution suggests that the old masters were familiar with certain architectural prototypes. It would be logical to assume that these motifs existed on some monumental buildings, or perhaps their remnants were around somewhere, which caused them to reappear on tombstone carvings.

§ 2. The Culture of Urban Development in the Kazan and Kasimov Khanates

Khanifa Nadyrova

1. Towns of the Kazan Khanate

The Kazan Khanate had one major city: its capital, Kazan. The main types of settlements there were walled cities, such as darugha centres, military fortresses, fortified manorial estates and villages. They were built using wooden materials. As a result, their architectural and planning structure can only be restored by archaeological excavations, which have already been conducted in Kazan and some darugha centres. However, the popular folk tales of the north-western part of the Khanate describe huge estates, lath fenced yards with 'twenty gates', a large house and many buildings [Valeev, 1967, p. 61].

Darugha centres were towns with a fortress and open trading quarters. The most famous towns in the Kazan Khanate were Iske Kazan (Old Kazan), Archa (Arsk), Alat, Chally (Chalynsky Gorodok) and Zyuri. They were all significantly smaller than Kazan (Fig. 1). Virtually all of them had a sector type spatial organisation caused by their position on the cusp in the

landscape [Gubaydullin, 2002, p. 190, 192]. This was not specific to the region, but rather a common phenomenon in Eastern Europe.

Unlike the cities of the Golden Horde period, the towns of the Kazan Khanate had their own fortifications [Burkhanov, Izmaylov, 1999, pp. 135–138]. The medieval town of Iske Kazan is associated with the Kamaevo (Iske Kazan) ancient urban settlement and the Russko-Urmatskoe ancient rural settlement located 40 km north from the mouth of the Kazanka river, near the modern village of Kamaevo in the Vysokogorsky District of Tatarstan.

The Kamaevo ancient urban settlement of the 13–16th centuries is made of remnants of a fortress with an area of 7.2 hectares, and the Russko-Urmatskoe ancient rural settlement is made up of remnants of its main trading and handicraft quarter with an area of 124 hectares. The Kamaevo cemetery was for the town's population, while the Russko-Urmatskoe cemetery was for people from the trading quarter of Iske Kazan. The archaeological material

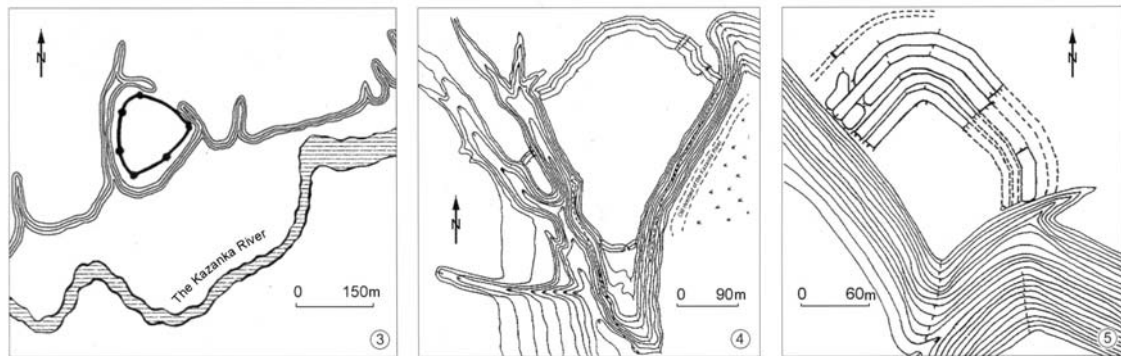


Fig. 1 Layouts of fortified centres of cities of the Kazan Khanate of the first half of the 16th century.
3—Archa, 4—Iske-Kazan, 5—Chally

discovered by A. Burkhanov limits the establishment and existence of the Kamaevo settlement to the first thirty years of the 15–mid 16th century, which means it existed in the period of the Kazan Khanate [Burkhanov, 2002].

The organisation of the Iske Kazan land had its own unique features. The fortress was set on a rocky cusp with steep slopes spatially isolated from the trading quarter and located in the floodplain of Kazanka. However, this location helped the fortress control approaches to the town and protect its trading quarter. This technique was known since the Bulgar times when major trade and craft settlements were protected by separate fortresses located in the mouths of rivers. The planning structure of Iske Kazan has not been identified. The buildings were mostly wooden, although the foundations of several smaller stone buildings were also discovered during the excavations.

The Chally ancient urban settlement represents the remains of Chally, a small walled town founded as early as during the Bulgars and walled off by three rows of ramparts. The city was located on a flat area with one side adjacent to the Myosha river. Regional traditions can be seen in the design of the triple defence system for the fortress that was adjoined on the north and north-east by vast open trading quarters.

In the Russian chronicles and other historical sources describing the events related to the capture of Kazan in 1552, the town of Archa was known as the 'town of Arsk' [Kurbsky,

2004, p. 262]. This town was founded in the Bulgarian period and was built on a cusp with a sectoral structure. A wooden fortress stood on a high cape between the Kazanka river and a deep ravine; from the field side it was immediately next to the trading quarter. Later, the Tatar fortress was replaced by a Russian wooden fortress of triangular shape with a square tower at its corners. Perhaps this type of fortress, which was the most appropriate for that landscape, also existed in the Khanate period.

The structure of Zyuri, a walled town, is also entirely unknown. During the Khanate period, the towns of Kashan and Kirmenchug gradually lost their importance as princely centres.

But in this same period Bulgar retained its importance as a Muslim religious centre, where Tatars visited the ruins of mosques and the remaining mausoleums of nobles and saintly ancestors. A small cultural layer dated from the Kazan Khanate period was discovered in the centre of the Bulgar ancient urban settlement, which indicates that some population continued to live on in the half-ruined city.

The small towns and villages of the Kazan Khanate had their own specific features, which were described with admiration by A. Kurbsky, who participated in the capture of Kazan: '... The estates of their princes and nobles are very beautiful and truly amazing, and the villages are numerous...' [Kurbsky, 2000, p. 262]. Unfortunately, he never mentioned what exactly made them so beautiful and amazing.

2. Urban Development in Kazan, the Capital of the Kazan Khanate

a) The urban development landscape.

The landscape Kazan developed on is defined by the valleys of the Volga and Kazanka rivers with water meadows towered over by a high ridge cut across from west to east by several deep ravines that divide it into separate hills (mountains). Kazanka wound through the flat valley from the north-east to the west and served as a natural water barrier on the outskirts of the city from the north. Swamps and forests extended from the opposite side, the northern shore of the Kazanka river. The Bulak, a silty river channel, connected Kazanka with Nizhny Kaban lake, which is 2 km south-west of the Kremlin. The abundance of lakes, flood plains with small streams that dried up in the summers, and marshy lowlands determined the development of the city between the Kazanka river and the Bulak channel on the hills in the south and south-east.

b) The city structure and architecture of Kazan.

Archaeological excavations from the last decade, years of historical and graphic studies conducted by architectural historians and the use of various analytical methods has allowed the author to outline the spacial structure of the Kremlin during the Khanate-period Kazan (Fig. 2).

By the beginning of the Mongol invasion, Kazan was a small, fortified stronghold with an area of about 7 acres. Initially, the trading quarter was located on the north-eastern side, but later it began to expand to the south.

In the latter half of the 12–the first third of the 13th century, stone walls 1.8–2.0 m wide were built of raw limestone to replace the old wooden and earthen fortifications of ancient Kazan. The remnants of stone gates and a stone-paved passage about 6 metres wide have been discovered on the southern part of the defence system [Sitdikov, 2000, p. 23]. These fortifications were destroyed during the Mongol invasion in 1236, but then restored in the latter half of the 14th century and, after a series of renovations, continued to function in the first half of the 15th century. The stone walls were built on an earthen rampart that

was 0.5–0.7 metres high and 12 metres wide at the base. After the walls had been built, the rampart was then elevated by additional 1 metre. The soil to make the rampart was taken from the adjacent Tezitsky ravine, which was turned into a moat. The remnants of small wooden hut-like structures that supported the mound of the rampart to prevent landslides have been discovered on the northern edge of the rampart [Ibid]. On this side, the rampart had an almost vertical slope. Following the development of the city and the southward expansion of its territory, the wall was left standing within the city to protect the Kremlin citadel and existed until 1552.

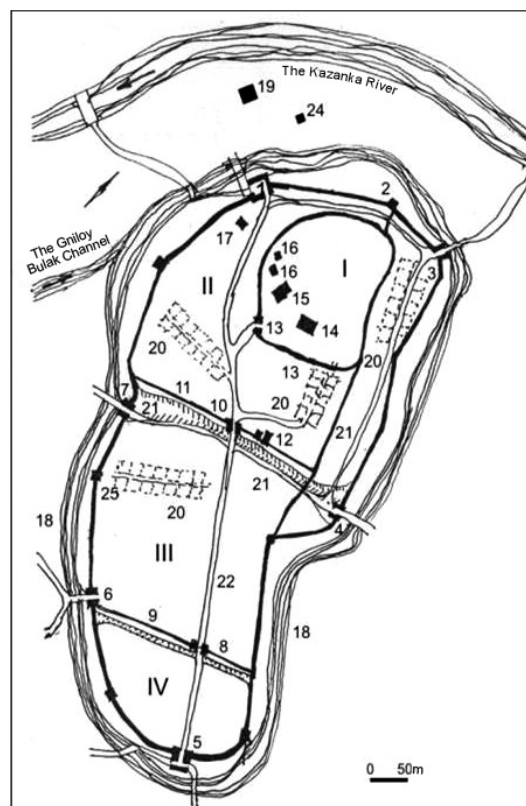
In the first half of the 16th century, brick and stone walls and a tower along the Tezitsky moat were reconstructed taking into account the latest achievements in European fortification architecture [Aydarov, 1990].

By the mid-16th century, white stone and wooden walls surrounded the Kremlin with an area of about 22,5 hectares and in the shape of an irregular quadrangle elongated from north to south. On the eastern side, the walls almost reached the base of the hill to the Elbugin (Water) gate tower that led to the Kazanka river crossing.

In the latter half of the 14th century, certain towers in the Kazan Kremlin dating from Khanate times continued to be used, and new gate towers were built to replace the destroyed ones. For example, the Nikolsky (Taynitsky) gate is the Tatar Nur-Ali (Muraleev) gate, the Voskresensky gate is the Elbugin (Water) gate, the Preobrazhensky (Sergiev) gate is the Tyumen gate, and the Dmitrievskiy gate is the Sboiliv gate of the Khanate period. The Northern Tower of the Kazan Kremlin was erected in the latter half of the 16–early 17th century on the site of the square-shaped stone tower of the Khanate period that was 4 metres high and 2.5–2.8 metres thick and made of large limestone blocks have been preserved [Gubaydullin, 2001, p. 25]. The Eastern Tower was erected shortly after the capture of Kazan. No tower dating back to Tatar Kazan was ever found in its place [Starostin, 2001, p. 29].

The fortifications in the southern part of the Khan's Kremlin most likely included three

Fig. 2. Structural layout of the Khanate Kazan's Kremlin. Reconstruction based on the data of archaeological dig and historical-graphical materials: I—Khan's courtyard, II—citadel fortified with the second defense line along Tezitsky ditch; III—Middle part between the first and the second internal defense lines; IV—southern part of the Kremlin; Towers: 1—Nur-ALi, 2—Northern khan's tower, 3—Yelbugin's tower, 4—Sboylovaya tower, 5—Khan's tower, 6—Tyumen tower, 7—Tezitskaya tower; 8—Great Through tower, 9—first internal defense wall and a ditch, 10—stone through tower, 11—second internal defense wall and Tezitsky ditch, 12—Kul-Sharif's mosque and madrasah, 13—defense wall of the Khan's courtyard and through tower, 14—Khan's palace, 15—Khan's mosque, 16—Khan's mausoleums, 17—Nur-Ali mosque, 18—ditch around the Kremlin, 19—Tagir's (Dair's) bath, 20—streets of the Tatar Kremlin with wooden build-ups and embankments, 21—road along Tezitsky ditch, 22—Great road, 23—bridge across the Kazanka River, 24—Tainichny spring



moats and triple rows of walls reinforced by high towers and dividing its territory into three parts. It is clear that the Kremlin of the Russian period was an almost exact replica of the Tatar fortress, the only difference being that its walls have straightened corners on its southern edge [Khalitov, 1999a, pp. 52–53].

The Khan's Kremlin had a citadel that was separated from the rest of the area by the Tezitsky moat and rampart, over which the white-stone wall with the gate tower described above towered. The north-eastern part of the citadel included the Khan's courtyard surrounded by a stone wall. Four rows of two-metre oak piles were driven into the ground under the eastern part of the wall. This technique originated from the Bulgar-Khazar traditions of strengthening weak soils and was used in the region during the Bulgar and Golden Horde periods. A stone plinth more than 3 metres wide was constructed on top of the piles. The wall might have had a height of 6–8 metres because its excavations uncovered the remnants of a 0.8x1.5 metre buttress used in the structure [Muhamadiev, 2001, p. 72]. The structure of the defensive wall in ancient Kazan had two walls made of limestone blocks with space in between filled with mortar and small stones.

The Khan's mosque, mausoleums and palace were located in the Khan's courtyard around the square. According to some sources, the dominant feature of this complex was a watchtower at the entrance to the courtyard from the western side. One of the first monumental buildings in the Khan's citadel of the Kazan Kremlin in the mid-15th century during the reign of Khan Mahmud was the Khan's Mosque [Sitdikov, 2006, p. 175]. This was a 14x14 metre square-shaped white-stone building pointed on its longitudinal axis towards the south-west, in the direction of Mecca. In the first half of the 16th century, the Khan's mosque was expanded with a new brick structure (9x9 metres) built along the longitudinal axis. The total length of the structure was 23 metres. It is possible that the brick and stone building was adjoined by wooden extensions and outdoor staircases.

The Khan's mausoleum, where in the early 1460s Khan Mahmud was buried, was built to the north of the Khan's mosque. Its second part was most likely added in the early 16th

century, and this is where in 1518 Khan Mohammad Emin was buried. It was a 6x18 metre white-stone two-chamber building. Along with single-chamber mausoleums, multi-chamber mausoleums were also widespread in the cities of the Golden Horde. The longitudinal walls of the Khan's mosque and mausoleums run parallel. This arrangement of mausoleums suggests that their interiors might have been used for funeral prayers [Mausoleums, 1997].

The white-stone Khan's palace (18x24 metres) was erected in the centre of the courtyard. The interior space in the palace is divided by internal walls into 6 unequal premises that are up to 2-metre thick. It can be assumed that the eastern part of the second floor included the great hall for state ceremonies [Khalit, 2009, pp. 305–307].

According to Tatar legends, the Kul-Sharif Mosque had eight minarets and was built in the citadel to the south of the Khan's courtyard at the turn of the 15–16th centuries [Sitdikov, 2006, p. 184]. The Kul-Sharif Mosque complex adjoined the white-stone wall of the citadel from the South with a gate tower and a bridge over the Tezitsky moat.

Since the remnants of all mosques were discovered only at the level of their foundations, it is difficult to estimate their layout. It is difficult to tell whether they had any multi-column halls like in Bilyar or Bulgar. The possibility remains that they had a domed ceiling system without columns that was similar to the religious architecture of the Ottoman Empire that the Khanate maintained close ties with thanks to the Crimea. The architecture of buildings in the Khan's citadel probably reflected regional and Golden Horde traditions, along with the influence of the Ottoman architecture of that time [Khalit, 2009a, p. 305–309].

A road linking the Nur-Ali and Khan's gate towers crossed the Kazan Kremlin from the north to the south. This main street of the Kremlin had white-stone paving [Sitdikov, 2006, p. 118]. A palace complex belonging to Nur-Ali bey, one of the greatest nobles at the Khan's court, could presumably be seen on a slope towards the Nur-Ali tower when moving along that street from the south to the north. It is a known fact that this complex included

the Nur-Ali mosque. This northern part of the fortress therefore had a higher density of monumental buildings.

The residential section of the Kremlin citadel was made of wood. At the base of the slope, in the North Eastern section of the Kremlin close to the Yelabuginskaya Tower, excavations uncovered a street 6 m wide with wooden pavements that led from the North-west to the South-east. Small homesteads with wooden residences and outbuildings were densely packed on both sides of the street. The homesteads were stockade-fenced.

In the North-eastern part of the Kremlin Hill, behind the 19th century Governor's Palace, several structures dating back to the Khanate period have been discovered, among which the remnants of three buildings with fragments of walls, floors, staircases, stove structures and traces of refurbishments are of particular note. It is likely that people who serviced the Khan's Palace lived there.

To the North of the Annunciation Cathedral (1560), along the Southern hedge of the modern-day President's Garden, architects discovered a Khanate-period alley pointed towards Mecca following the regional azimuth (205–210°) where there used to be wooden structures on both sides [Sitdikov, 2001, p. 10]. The direction of this 2.0–2.5 m wide alley with wooden pavement is obviously related to the mosque mentioned in the Scribe's Book of 1565–1568 opposite the Northern chapel of the Annunciation Cathedral.

On the territory of the former Khan's Palace close to the Eastern facade of the Annunciation Cathedral, the archaeologists discovered a street along the Eastern stone wall that used to lead to the Yelbuginy Gate at a distance of 20 m from the edge of the hill slope [Sitdikov, 2002, pp. 177–178]. On both sides the street was densely built up with homesteads containing wooden dwellings and outbuildings. Archaeologists also discovered wooden pavements in other locations of the fortress. The width of streets in the Khan's fortress on average amounted to 3.5–4 m.

To the South of the first stone defence wall and the Tezitsky moat no remnants of stone structures have ever been excavated. This is

where the 3.5–4 m wide streets paved with timber blocks were discovered with wooden houses and outbuildings on both sides.

The study of the Outer City (trading quarters) was of particular importance for establishing the structural layout of the city. The description of the trading quarters in the 1565–1568 Scribe's Book of Kazan reflects its condition 15 years after the city's conquest by the troops of Ivan the Terrible [From 'Scribe's Books of the City of Kazan for 1565–1568', 1996]. The analysis of historiographic [Egerev, 1956; Kalinin, 1929] and archaeological materials has allowed researchers to reconstruct the structural layout of Khanate-period Kazan (Fig. 3).

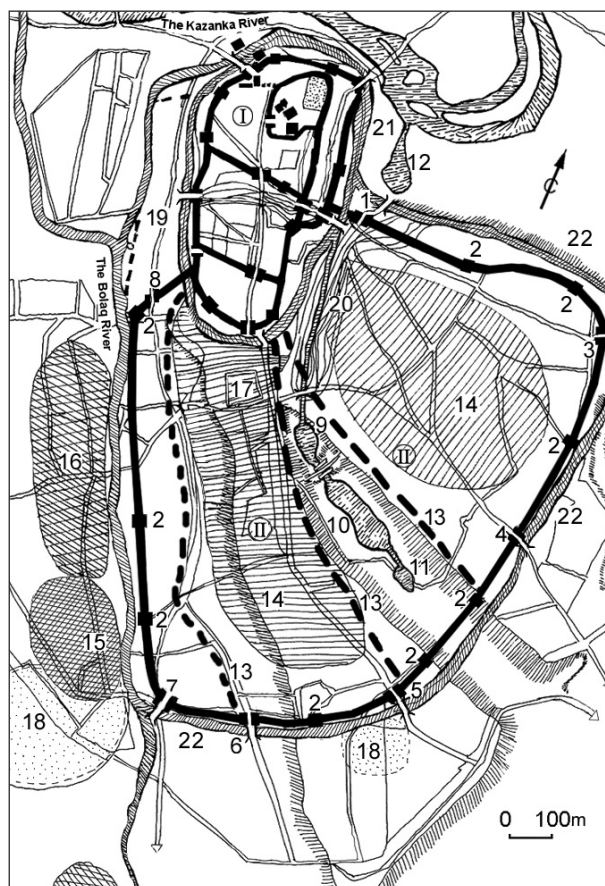
In the latter half of the 16th century, the Russian administration restored the city mostly within its former limits. They made minor extensions in the trading quarters to the West and South by including the middle portion of the left bank of the Bulak into the city, where during the Khanate period a nameless suburban trading quarter had been located. This was most likely due to the strategic aspects of the city's defence in hostile surroundings and not because of its overpopulation.

The wooden defensive walls, dwellings and mosques of the trading quarter had all been destroyed during the city's assault in 1552. The stone buildings

might have been used for various purposes, including churches after they had been consecrated. The option for this type of use has been confirmed by the stone structures of the Khanate-period Kremlin that were used as warehouses or churches during the Russian period.

The Khan's caravanserai from that time was located on the square in front of the Kremlin gate where the Gostiniy Dvor of the Russian period was later built. The stone Tagirova (Dairova) Bathhouse used by the Russian troops to dig into and blow up the wall to create a secret pathway to the Taynichnyi Spring to the North of the Kremlin remained on the bank of the Kazanka until the 17th century. The three stone bathhouses on the Bulak and a bathhouse on Poganoye Lake (a later Russian name) close to the Yelbuginy Gate that was mentioned in the Scribe's Book, as well as bathhouses on the banks of lakes in the Chernoozerskaya Hollow, were situated next to traditional water sources. Public bathhouses, a must-have for Muslim cities, were built from stone and brick and be-

Fig. 3. Structural layout of the Kazan Khanate in the mid-16th century (based on the plan by A. Satsyperov in the early 18th century) Explications: I—the Kremlin fortified with white stone walls and towers and a ditch full of water: II—External city (posad) surrounded by wooden walls and towers: 1—Proyezdnyaya Tower, 2—nameless non-through towers, 3—Kaybat tower, 4—Arsk tower, 5—Tsar tower, 6—Upper Nogai Tower, 7—Lower Nogai Towers (Kuraish or Crimean ones), 8—Atalyk tower; Lakes: 9—Bannoye (Upper Poganoye), 10—Black, 11—White, 12—Lower Poganoye; 13—Probable location of northern-western part of the walls of trading quarters, 14—initial trading quarters, 15—Kuraish sloboda, 16—nameless slobodas, 17—khan's caravan serai, 18—Muslim cemetery of the city, 19—seasonal fair "Tash-ayak", 20—canal connecting the lakes with the ditch and the Kazanka River, 21—ditch around the Kremlin, 22—ditch around the External city (posad).



longed to the Eastern hammam type of bathhouses. These bathhouses found in stone and brick structures had become widespread in the region's cities since the 10th century and were built with multi-domed tops.

There was no obvious need to change the main road arteries of the city connecting the Kremlin, Gostiniy Dvor and other important nodes of the city with the entrance towers of the trading quarter leading to the state roads, including the Nogai, Crimean, Arsk, Alat, Galitsk and others. The presumable area of the trading quarter of Khanate-period Kazan amounted to about 80 hectares. There are two possible variations of the trading quarter during the Khanate period. According to the first, the walls of Kazan's trading quarter enclosed the Chernoozerskaya Hollow with a system of lakes, which is where the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin was later built (the Old site of ancient town) and the area near the Bulak. Its length in the South-eastern direction was about 800 m and led towards modern-day Astronomicheskaya Street. The structural layout of the Kazan trading quarter had a radial fan-shaped base. On the Western side, the trading quarter was bordered by the Bulak Channel.

According to the second version, the city might have had several trading quarters. One of them adjoined the fortress from the South and was located along a chain of hills that now makes up a whole (when the redevelopment plan for Kazan was put into practice in the 18th century, the ravines separating the hills were filled) along the Bulak Channel. The walls of this trading quarter were located on the Western slope of the hill a little above Bauman Street on the Eastern slope of the hill at its base, along the Chernoozerskaya Hollow where the remnants of fortress walls were found. In the South, the trading quarter was bordered by a wooden wall and a moat along modern-day Astronomicheskaya Street, where their archaeological remains were also discovered. This moat used to be filled with water from the Bulak and was connected by a channel to the chain of lakes in the Chernoozerskaya Hollow [Mingazova, Kotov, 1989, p. 12].

The second trading quarter might have been located along River Kazanka, in what was

known as Old site of ancient town. In this case, the walls went from the fortress along the edge of the high left bank of the Kazanka, skirted the territory of the trading quarter near the Northern side of modern-day Svoboda Square, and continued on to the other side of the Chernoozerskaya Hollow to the Kremlin. Consequently, the Chernoozerskaya Hollow remained outside the walls of the trading quarter and acted as an additional outside obstacle for attackers due to the marshiness of the swampy banks and the system of lakes including Lakes Bannoye, Chernoye, Beloye, etc. Around the Northern portion of the Chernoozerskaya Hollow, the walls of the two trading quarters might have been connected. In the opposite case, they were set up against the Kremlin walls.

The defensive system of the Kazan trading quarter comprised a moat and a rampart that had a wall on top made of gorodens—wooden blocks filled with earth and stones. On top of the wall there was a platform for soldiers. In their most important and danger-prone defensive positions the walls had towers, some of which included gate towers. There was most likely eight of these gate towers. From East to West along its circumference, the trading quarter wall had the following towers with gate towers: the Proezdnyaya Tower (the Tatar name is unknown), the Kaybatskiye and Arskkiye Gates (leading to Arsk Road), the Khan's Gate (or Tsar's Gate, located on the hill slope near the Physics Department of Kazan Federal University), the Upper Nogai Gate (leading to Nogai Road around Bauman and Astronomicheskaya Streets), the Lower Nogai Gate (Kuraisheva, or Crimean Gate, leading to the Bulak and Kuraisheva Sloboda), the Atalykovy Gate (leading to the Gniloy Bulak Channel and Tashayak Market). The number of towers without passages is unclear.

According to information from the Russian chronicles, during the Kazan Khanate period the walls and towers of the trading quarter had been rebuilt on numerous occasions and renovated in 1505, 1530, 1546, 1551. The trading quarter moat was dug using the preexisting ravines and connected to the Bulak Channel and the Kazanka. An analysis of the natural landscape conditions and the materials of archae-

ological interest from the historical portion of Kazan tell us that the Chernoozersky Ravine (Hollow) was of vital importance to the city and was a part of its structural layout. The hollow was essentially the principal water source for the city. Springs ran along the slopes and bottom of this deep ravine to feed the lakes created using an artificial floodgate system. The channel flowing along the bottom of one of the ravine's branches connected this lake system to the Kremlin moat, Kazanka river and Poganoeye lake located at the bottom of the Northern side of Kremlin Hill.

The main axes of the structural layout of the Khanate-period trading quarter were the three main thoroughfares that joined up at their Northern ends in front of the Khan's Tower in the Kremlin. Their joint beginning was located on the trading square in front of the Southern wall of the Kremlin and separated from it by a deep moat. The central one of these three roads stretched along the ridge of the hill system towards the Khan's Gate of the trading quarter (the direction of modern-day Kremlevskaya Street).

The second thoroughfare stretched along the base of the Western slope of the Kremlin Hill. It supposedly started to the North-west of the Alatykov Gate in the trading quarter and, after passing through the Lower Nogai Gate (the Crimean, or Kuraishev Gate) of the trading quarter, continued on to the South, to the Nogai Horde and then to Crimea. The question of whether there was a trading quarter along the Western slope of the hill close to the divided estuary of the Bulak still does not have a sufficient answer. The Lower Bazar and the seasonal fair Tash Ayak (or Stone Leg; the name is related to the stone bowl used to collect trade taxes) were held there, operating mostly in spring when the flooding of the Volga and the Kazanka brought in large vessels with goods that were able to enter the Bulak Channel directly.

The third thoroughfare started at the Sboyliviy Gate of the Kremlin and led to the Arskiye Gate of the trading quarter that led beyond Kazan to the town of Archa. Streets and alleys led down from the trading square where the Khan's caravanserai was located to the east

and west along the slopes of the hill and mostly along the lateral ravines towards the thoroughfares that united the main streets of the trading quarter into a singular structural layout.

The trading quarter's development was arranged in the form of mahallas (parishes) located around mosques. Residential development of medieval Muslim towns was traditionally based on the clan and kindred principle, where separate portions or quarters of towns were populated by families of the same clan or tribal group. It must also be mentioned that the importance of this principle determined the social hierarchy within portions and quarters of the town. The clan and kindred principle of settlements in Kazan and other towns of the Khanate is indirectly confirmed by the fact that in the Tatar settlements of the 17–18th centuries (as well as during a much earlier period), large homesteads were still present that were built up with dwellings and outbuildings of several generations of relatives not separated by any fences.

A contemporary author of the early 19th century explained this phenomenon as follows: '...It often happened that the yard of a Tatar and his entire house was not on any street, but instead surrounded on all sides with similar yards of other owners, and to reach it one needed to pass through several other yards. Only families related to each other are grouped together in this manner, and they are separated from strangers by alleys and streets. This happens because when someone in these households get married, they do not move to the outskirts of the village. Quite the opposite: a half of the parent's yard is enclosed, and the newlyweds keep a separate house and household there' [Ethnographic Description, 1841, pp. 406–407]. In this case, the 'enclosure' mentioned here is a later phenomenon caused by tax reforms from the 18th century.

These homestead houses formed groups around narrow, semipublic alleys. Neighbourhoods (clusters) were then formed by the groups of groups; the groups of neighbourhoods formed quarters, and the groups of quarters formed the residential development [Petrucchioli Attilio, 2007, fig. 123]. This process of accumulating structures made ethnic quarters or neighbourhoods the basis for the

'free concentration' of a related population, unlike the social and economic division of urban population in the West [Abu-Lughod, 1993, p. 23]. The quarters of Kazan, much like the towns of the Muslim East, were in many ways similar to the tribal villages under the custody of the local elite [Bianca Stefano, 2000, p. 146]. This can be traced very easily in the organisational forms of the Tatar settlements of the late feudal period and Khanate times. The formation of such clusters in Muslim towns of the East resembles the establishment process of homesteads in Tatar settlements. To strangers, the streets and alleys of a town with a Muslim population seemed to be a labyrinth of corridors with blank walls. However, in reality they comprised an encoded and complex visual system of thresholds, transit areas and buffer zones that when combined acted as filters impeding a stranger's progress inwards.

The arrangement of the residential structures of the trading quarter of Khanate-period Kazan, as well as other towns and settlements of the Khanate, was influenced by the Sharia. According to ethnographic data, the existence of principles and methods for the arrangement of structures in the region's towns and settlements determined by the Sharia was witnessed in the Tatar slobodas and settlements even in the late 19th century. For example, no window in a house neighbouring another homestead could be placed on its side. Yards were enclosed with a high, tightly constructed fence so strangers would not be able to see the women and private life of the household happening there. The centuries-old placement of houses and outbuildings during these homestead years and the absence of windows or doors on houses or other structures facing the street if they were located on the borders of the homestead, indicate that the ancient principles of the 'closedness' of dwellings was a requirement of the Sharia for Tatar towns and settlements in the New Time.

Dwellings and outbuildings were grouped on the land plot seemingly without order, even though some internal logic was undoubtedly present. Above-ground dwellings had one, two or three chambers. To the right or left of the wall, there was an adobe oven on a frame with a cemented-in cauldron equipped with a chim-

ney; opposite the door there were narrow beds made of wood planks. Suf beds were characteristic of Golden Horde residences. However, the beds in houses of the Kazan Khanate period date back to traditional Bulgarian dwellings heated by massive stoves that did not have a heating section underneath like the Golden Horde sufs. If a dwelling had two-chambers, a wooden mudroom was added to the house or it had five walls. Three-chamber residences were comprised of two dwellings connected by a anteroom along the axis. The residences of commoners were identical both in town and in the country. Houses of rich townspeople were lit by a red shade, and those of their social inferiors had only felt windows. The regional varieties of populations in the country and in towns of the Khanate period date back to the traditions of the Golden Horde and Bulgar periods.

Kazan, or rather its suburbs, must have had a large musalla mosque designated for use by the entire city to pray during major Muslim festivals. However, its location has not yet been discovered. It was presumably located in the Arskoye or Khanskoye fields. Out of these two probable locations for the musalla mosque, the Arskoye Field is likelier because it was never submerged during the spring flooding.

Beyond the Bulak and close to Kaban Lake the country Kuraisheva Sloboda containing the Otucheva Mosque can be found. There was also a settlement with an unknown name on the left bank of the middle portion of the Bulak to the North-west of the Kuraisheva Sloboda where there was a rise that remained dry during the floods.

The part of the population belonging to other ethnicities and denominations had special residency conditions in Tatar cities, residential quarters, ceremonial structures, cemeteries and rules of behaviour. When Kazan was in its Khanate period the Armenian Sloboda was located to the South of the city outside of its walls and near the pre-Revolutionary Sukonnaya Sloboda. Just like in Bulgar, it had its own church and cemetery, but according to Muslim tradition, urban cemeteries had to be placed outside of city walls. The city's cemeteries were located outside of the Southern wall and moat of the trading quarter and beyond the

Bulak in the area of latter-day Sennaya Square, close to the Kuraisheva Sloboda.

Only in the Khan's citadel of the Kremlin along with the Khan's Mosque were there mausoleums for members of the Khan's family and top nobility [Mausoleums of the Kazan Kremlin, 1997]. The cemetery for the lower nobility was located in the South-eastern corner of the Kremlin between two defensive walls.

Khanate-period Kazan therefore had every characteristic of a Muslim city as well as the respective categories of ceremonial and public buildings.

3. Towns of the Kasimov Khanate

Unlike the Kazan Khanate, the Kasimov Khanate had a significantly smaller territory. The capital city of the Khanate was Khan-Kermen (Kasimov), which was founded somewhat upstream the Oka instead of the former Meshcherskiy Town destroyed by the Mongols in 1376 and comprising a part of the Narovchat Ulus of the Golden Horde. The Mishar beyliks (princdoms), while preserving a certain amount of independence, were formally a part of the Kasimov Khanate. The centres of these beyliks were the towns of Kadom, Temnikov, Shatsk, Yenkey and several others with medieval structural layouts that are unknown to this day.

4. Urban planning development of Khan-Kermen (Kasimov), the capital of Kasimov Khanate

a) The urban development landscape.

Khan-Kermen was located on the high left bank of the Oka and was divided by ravines into a number of hilly peaks. The deep ravines with neither springs nor creeks instead contained roads connecting the upper portion of the city with the river on the narrow riverside where random outbuildings were built few and far in between.

b) The city structure and architecture of Khan-Kermen.

The structural layout of medieval Khan-Kermen was determined by its specific geographical conditions. The core of the city was the Khan's Kremlin surrounded by wooden walls and located on the peak between the ravines currently known as Uspensky and Polezhayev. The city eventually grew in size, and the residential development of the trading quarter spread from one hill to another. In the 17th century, trading quarters united by the road leading to Kazan (Fig. 4) were located around the Kremlin along the bank of the Oka. The roads to Moscow, Vladimir and Murom stretched out from the main gate in the North-western section of the Kremlin, which had walls built as log frames or tarasas. The historical panoramic views of Kasimov in the 17th century show only that the walls of the Khan's court resembled a stockade with structures that at the time still remained on top. Here we can recognise the prayer tower of the Khan's Mosque and the tall observation tower (possibly the prayer tower of the Sobornaya Mosque) without its upper levels (Fig. 5). To the left of the citadel a tall wooden fortress tower and a portion of the wall can be seen. These are possibly the remnants of the defensive walls of the Khan-Kermen Kremlin.

The structure of the Khan-Kermen citadel closely resemble the structures of the Khan's

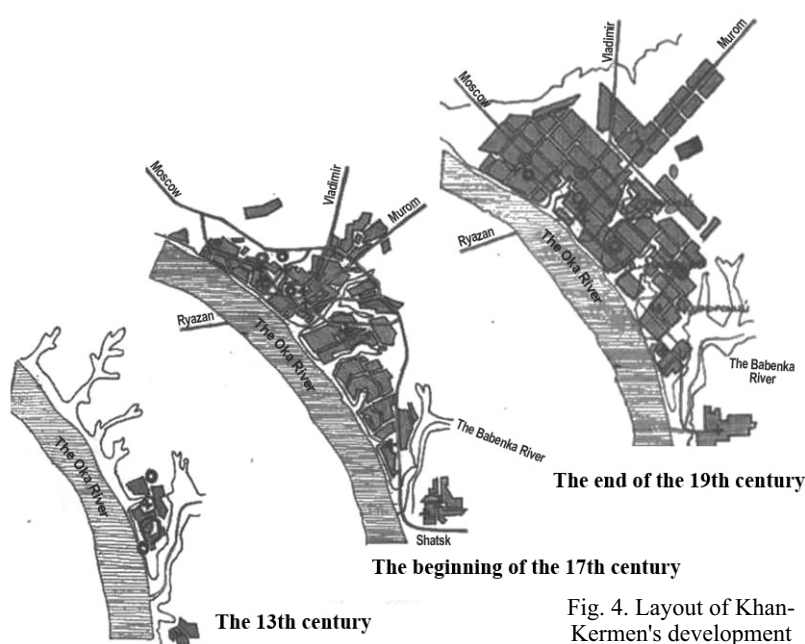


Fig. 4. Layout of Khan-Kermen's development



Fig. 5. Kasimov's panoramic engraving from the book: Cornelis de Bruin. *Reizen over Moskovie, door Perzië en Indië*. Amsterdam, 1714 (Cornelius de Bruin. "Journeys to Muscovite Rus, Persia and India". Amsterdam, 1714). <http://www.etoretro.ru/pic42181.search.htm>



Fig. 6 Khan mosque in Kasimov. Minaret, 1467.



Fig. 7 Mausoleum of Khan Shah Ali (Photo by E. Stroyeva)

Yard of the Kazan Kremlin. Kazan had the same group of structures around the inner square of the Yard. The Khan's Palace was positioned along the square paved in white stone [Khalitov, 2009; Khalit, 2009a, p. 314]. In 1467, the Khan's Mosque was built of white stone opposite the Khan's Palace, but now only the minaret remains. The destroyed building was restored in the early 19th century (Fig. 6).

Close to the Khan's Mosque the mausoleum of Khan Shah Ali was built in 1555–1556 (Fig. 7). This was a two-chamber structure made of white stone (13.5x8, 5x5.0 m) that at the time did not have an outer coating or an entrance on the Southern side. The largest chamber contained the shrine itself, was lit with four small arched windows and had an underground crypt one could enter using a narrow stone staircase located inside to the right of the entrance to the mausoleum. The door on the Western wall leads to the second chamber (ziarat-kha-

na) devoted to the reading of the Quran, which was lit with one window and had an earth floor. Each chamber was covered by a cloistered brick vault hidden behind a tall parapet on the facades. The type of initial coating has not been established. The vaults were covered with earth, and rainwater was removed from the roof using stone water spouts made in the parapet. The facades were built from finely dressed rectangular limestone blocks. The low arched door aperture was left unframed. Above the entrance to the tomb there was a sculpted niche with the following text written using Arabic Suls-style characters: 'The builder and owner of this building is Shah Ali, the son of Sheih Auliyar Sultan, on the twenty first day of the month of Ramadan, nine hundred and sixty second year' (9 August 1555 according to the Gregorian calendar). Inverted sculpted cornices extend beyond the niche. The tomb contained the burial places of Khan Shah Ali and eight members of his family [Ahmetzyanov, 2006].

The manors of the nobility with their wooden structures were probably located in the Kremlin outside of the Khan's Yard as they were in Kazan.

The city planning culture of the Kazan and Kasimov Khanates was therefore rather highly developed and reached back to Golden Horde traditions. The Muslim typology and architecture of public and ceremonial buildings (mosques, madrasahs, mausoleums, caravanserais, hammam bathhouses) were preserved in the Kazan and Kasimov Khanate towns. However, the city planning culture of the Volga–Kama Region as regards the Kazan Khanate underwent a noticeable transformation when compared to the Golden Horde period. The towns built in an elongated linear fashion typical of Golden Horde times disappeared. The version of cities built on cusps in the landscape and organised according to a sector-based structure with wooden and earthen defensive structures was restored in the Kazan Khanate in a new capacity. The domed buildings of mosques, hammam bathhouses and mausoleums, contrasted by tall minarets dominated the relief of towns in both Khanates. Towns were built based on the varieties of homesteads and dwellings consisting of the wooden structures traditional for the region.

§ 3. Art of the Tatar Khanates

Guzel Valeeva-Suleimanova

The period after the dissolution of the Golden Horde is an entirely new stage of development in Tatar culture and art. It is one of the most important stages in history, yet due to the widespread destruction of cultural monuments it has been studied the least. The significance of this stage lies in the fact that it was the stage of development where independent Tatar feudal culture was brought to its peak,—that is, the culture of the ruling classes related to the most outstanding works of art and creative crafts. After the fall of the Tatar states, the high forms of art that formerly prospered under the patronage of the Khan, military leaders and nobility, disappeared, and many urban crafts and artistic traditions related to them followed suit. Only several hundred years later they were restored in the forms of folk decorative arts and crafts forced to develop in rural conditions and only partly

retaining the accomplishments of the urban craftsmen ousted to the periphery.

The period of existence of Tatar states is also remarkable due to the fact that it saw the rise of Muslim culture that later became a major factor in the preservation of the ethnic identity of the Tatar people in the Volga and Urals Regions, as well as the Crimea and Western Siberia. The general artistic trend conformed to the aesthetic canons of Islam that were officially established during the Golden Horde epoch in some states, particularly in the Kazan Khanate, and developed in stride starting from the pre-Mongol era in the culture of Volgan Bulgaria. The two hundred years spent as a part of the Golden Horde undoubtedly left its mark on the lifestyle and cultural image of the Tatar khanate population. Even though each of them had completed their own process of historic development, they were united by the

inherited high traditions of the Golden Horde's Muslim culture.

The art of the Tatar khanates has never been the subject of a systematic study as a result of the following factors. Firstly, the biased attitude of official Russian science towards the history of the Golden Horde and Tatar khanates had placed this subject beyond the limits of serious scientific interests. Secondly, the existing negative stereotypes influenced the ideological attitude of the scientists who ignored and even denied the role of Tatar states in the development of Russian culture. This negative image of Tatar khanates promoted the premeditated obliteration and destruction of their monuments of art and architecture, most of which were lost to further study. Due to the inferior nature of the available research materials, which include a just few material monuments and documented sources, one must admit that the art and general artistic culture of Kazan and the Crimean Khanates has received the most attention.

The architecture and art of the Kazan Khanate first became a subject of systematic study by art historian F. Valeev, who determined the new stylistic direction that developed under the influence of the Muslim or Eastern Baroque style and was unrelated to the Golden Horde [Valeev, 1967]. This style is characterised by its increased ornamentality, the dominance of floral motifs in ornaments, and the universal use of patterns. A reorientation was also made towards secular culture unencumbered by religious canons; high, elitist forms of palace art reached their height and influenced the development of mass urban artistic crafts.

The art of the Kazan Khanate comprised an original combination of general imperial features from the Golden Horde culture with the ethnic regional particularities that had been taking root since the times of pre-Mongol Volgan Bulgaria. Unlike Astrakhan, the Siberian Khanates and the Nogai and Great Hordes (the states of nomadic and semi-nomadic Turkic-Tatar tribes), the Kazan Khanate was an agricultural and mercantile state with highly developed traditions regarding monumental architecture, decorative arts and

widely popular urban and rural artistic crafts. In the more than one hundred years of this state's progressive development there was a significant upswing in culture that situated it among the leading countries of the East, along with Eastern and Western Europe.

In the decorative art of the Kazan Khanate and other Tatar Khanates, the imperial features of the Golden Horde culture had long since transformed into the high culture of the Khan's court, whose needs were satisfied by skilled local and invited craftsmen: 'And the Tsar ordered expensive crowns, and silver and golden vessels and plates, and had luxurious royal robes made for him' [Kazan History, 1954, p. 59]. Monuments of decorative art in the Kazan Khanate expose their commonality with contemporary works from the workshops of rulers of the entire Islamic world, which proves the close relations of the khanate with a number of countries in the Middle and Near East, in particular Osman Turkey (mostly through the Crimean Khanate).

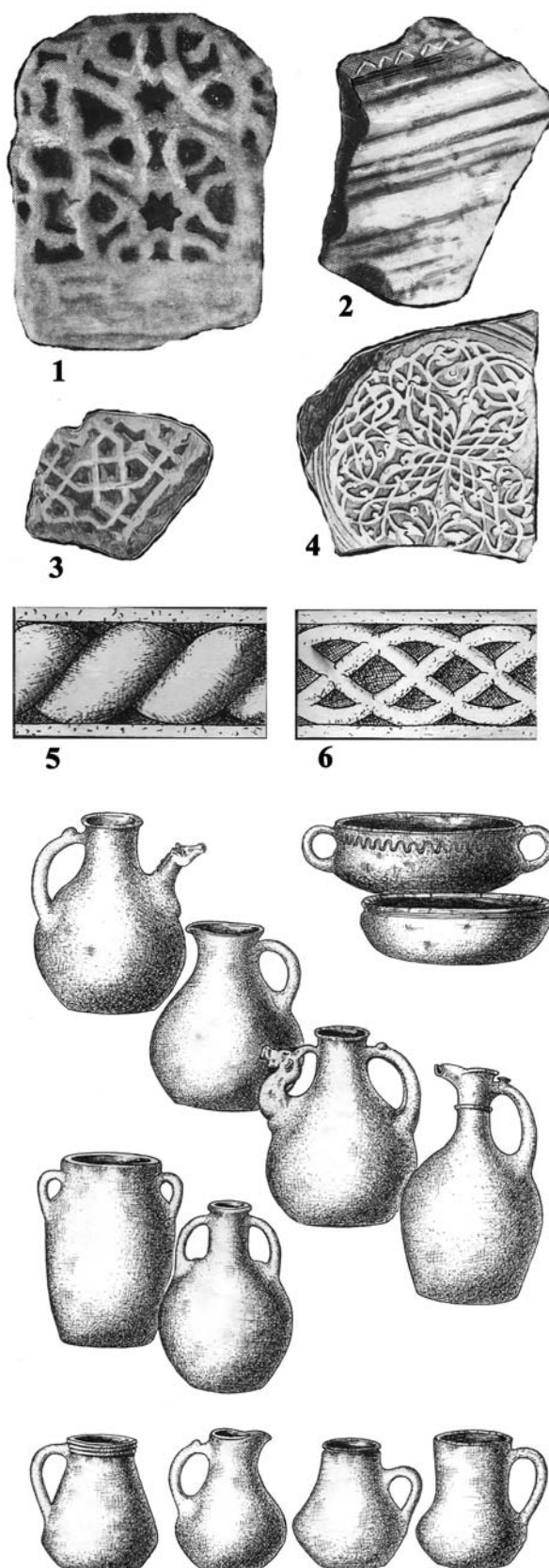
The high level of development of decorative art in the Kazan Khanate represented in the monumental decorative works and arts and crafts is proven by the archaeological digs conducted in the Kazan Kremlin and in Iske (Old) Kazan ancient town (N. Kalinin, A. Khalikov, R. Fakhрутdinov, A. Sitdikov, F. Khuzin, etc.) and the discovery of architectural fragments, household items, article of clothing and the remains of their manufacture, including craft workshops (pottery, leather work, metal processing, etc.), tools and product blanks. The fragments of decorative clothing include carved alabaster slabs decorated with arabesque ornaments, majolica tiles with glazed floral motifs and architectural details made of carved stone. Works of decorative ornamental art and artistic crafts are represented by archaeological finds of pottery and glazed ceramics (amphora-shaped khums, korchagas, carafes, bowls, plates, inkwells, etc.) decorated with carved ornaments and painted underglazes. The ceramic kumgans with moulded zoomorphic details (heads of roosters, rams, horses) as well as the discovery of leather footwear decorated with ornamental patches, nails and fluting, fragments of the leather cov-

Fragments of patterned stone (4–6) and gypsum (1–3) architectural details from the excavations of the Kazan Kremlin

er of the Khan's coffin with silver onlay and a quiver decorated with ornamental stitching, etc. can all be attributed to the same group.

Museum collections (the Armoury Chamber of the Moscow Kremlin, the State Historical Museum in Moscow, the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, the Russian Ethnographic Museum in Saint Petersburg, the Museum of the 1,000th Anniversary of Kazan, etc.) display unique samples of toreutics (a wine jug, cup, military armour), jewellery (belt buckles, Quran cover, decorative buttons), goldwork (a sample of a bed cover) and unique, luxurious everyday items of the Tatar nobility that arrived to us from the Russian Tsar's treasury as well as in part from private purchases or accidental finds.

The existing museum items should be supplemented by annalistic and other documentary sources, including the drawings of S. Herberstein made in 1556 [Herberstein, 1908] that demonstrate the wealth and power of the Kazan Khanate. Russian chronicles tell the story of the removal from Kazan 'of 12 fully loaded great carts filled with gold and silver, and gold and silver vessels, and ornamented beds, and various royal apparel, and various vessels'. 'They took innumerable pieces of gold and silver, and pearls, and precious stones, and fair gold-worked fabrics, and beautiful expensive cloths, and silver and gold vessels, and many other things beyond count' [Kazan History, 1954, p. 156, p. 98]. Chronicles also mention the seizure of state regalia, weapons and military trophies. Among other items, the exposition of the Armoury Chamber includes such masterpieces of jewellery as the Kazan Hat and



Jugs and ceramic household utensils, 15–16th centuries. Reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev

the Khan's throne (the throne that belonged to Ivan the Terrible, and later to Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov).

The art of the Kazan Khanate was the object of scientific academic studies in the chapter of the monograph devoted to the medieval culture of the Tatars of the same name [Valeev, 1987; Valeev, 2002]. The theoretic aspects of the attribution of works and methods of study related to the art of the Kazan Khanate were covered by the author of this work in the article entitled 'The Art of the Kazan Khanate: Rarities and Methods of Their Study' [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 2002]. This article covers several new, previously unstudied monuments that were introduced to the scientific community.

First of all, one needs to go back to the works of art that were particularly important from the perspective of spiritual culture development. These include handwritten works expounding upon the art of calligraphy. This art form comprises an integral part of Muslim culture and has been developing steadily since the Volgan Bulgaria people converted to Islam [Valeeva-Suleymanova, 2008]. Despite the scarcity of remaining examples, one can safely assume that calligraphy existed as a kind of religious (there is a 1508 copy (tafsir) of the Quran) and secular court art (the Khan's yarliqs). The rise of calligraphy was related to the development of poetry and other forms of literary art that flourished in medieval Kazan. A Kazan poet of the period named Muhammedyar mentions numerous calligraphers in his famous poems 'Tuhva-i mardan' ('Gift of Men') and 'Nur-i Sodur' ('Light of Hearts'). One might also add to this list the legendary information on the libraries of the Kul-Sharif Mosque and Tsarina Süyümbike in Kazan Kremlin, as well as the generally deep traditions of the bookish culture of the Tatars.

The most prominent examples of the art of calligraphy and printed miniature painting were the yarliqs of the Kazan and Crimean khans. We have information on two yarliqs of Kazan khans. The first one is the yarliq of khan Sahib Giray (1523), which was made as a scroll and reveals the artistic canons of handwriting and the architectonics of its spatial and colour composition. Its text is written

in black ink in the 'Riqah' script (which was widespread among Kazan hattats/calligraphers) with elements of Diwani (used mostly by Crimean scribes) [Vakhidov, 1925a, p. 37]. A red square stamp (Nishant) is imprinted on the yarliq. The text on this stamp is written in the Kufic script, which is evidence that the art of print engraving existed in the Kazan khanate [Chervonnaya, 1987, pp. 159–160]. A trident—the emblem of the Crimean khans Girays—is portrayed in the central part of the stamp. Another yarliq from Kazan khan Ibrahim [Usmanov, 1979, p. 144] which has a blue stamped Nishant and less bombastic inscription, also contains the name of the scribe: 'hafiz Hajji Kurban'. The artistic features of the writing found on the yarliqs, as well as the comparative materials related to the textual and paleographic specifics, speak in favour of a local Kazan-Tatar school of manuscript art.

Calligraphy in the form of epigraphic inscriptions and the art of stone carving are represented in the samples of stone tombstones. The extant stone epitaphs of the 15–16th centuries that can be found in the cemeteries of ancient Tatar auls, are evidence of the fact that flat-relief stone carving was developed not only in Kazan and large settlements in Kazan's suburbs, but also in the city of Kasimov, large settlements of the Astrakhan region and in the Crimea itself.

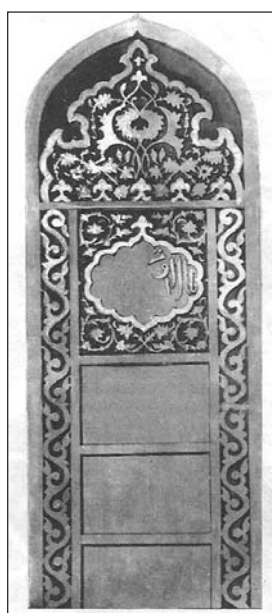
The obverse and often reverse sides of the stones are covered by an exquisite floral design and lush inscriptions that were made by professional carvers-calligraphers. The craftsmen who decorated the epitaphs praised the piety and nobility of those to whom the epitaphs were devoted. The content of the inscriptions was usually lyrical and imbued with sadness, while the ornaments expressed an admiration of beauty and love for nature ('The grave is one of the gardens of the paradise...', 'From the world of eternity he laid down in the world of eternity', etc.). Two types of headstones can be distinguished according to the form and character of the ornamental decoration: 1) transitional ones from the Golden Horde and Bulgar headstones to the ones belonging to the period of the Kazan khanate (the latter half of the 15—the beginning of the 16th century);



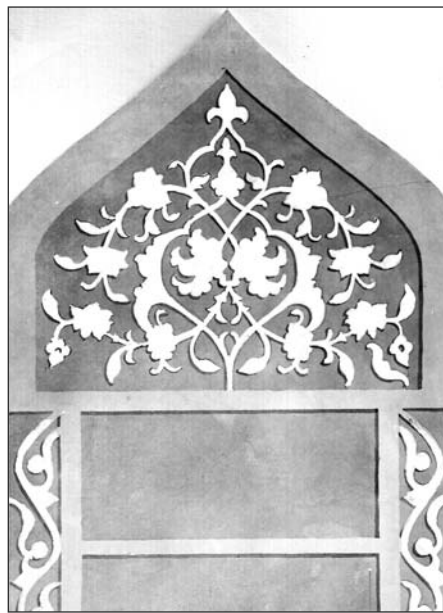
Old cemetery with reserved epitaphs from the 16th century.
Trans-Kazan



Headstone. Molvino aul of the
Nurlatsky Region, 1528
(G.V. Yusupov Introduction to the
Bulgar-Tatar epigraphy Table 62)



1



2

1—The front of a gravestone.
Starye Mengery aul of the
Vysokogorsky region. Pictorial
reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev

2—Gravestone. Tyamti aul of
the Sabinsky region. (16–17th
centuries)
Reconstruction by F.Kh.
Valeev

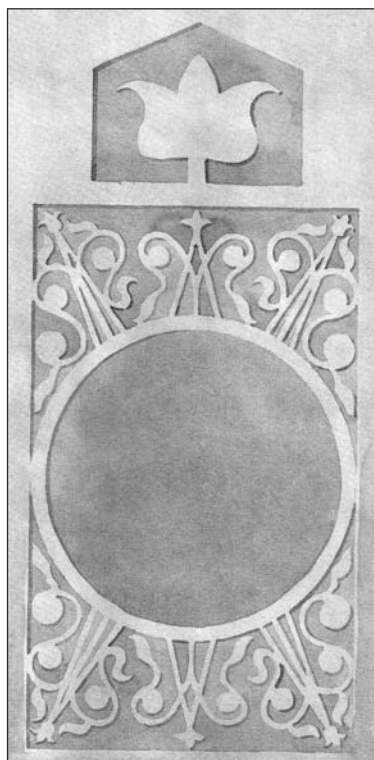
2) headstones from the first half of the 16th century [Valeev, 1975, pp. 156–160].

The skilfulness of stone carvers from the first half of the 16th century significantly outshines the works of stone carvers from the epoch of the Golden Horde. The headstones have a considerably larger size (up to 2,5 metres high) and their carved patterns are opulent.

Ornaments are placed not only on the front, but also on the back and sides of the stones. New ornament compositions portrayed on medallions were also popular, and they feature bunches of flowers growing from flowerpots. F. Valeev examined the gravestones as works of art [Valeev, 1969, pp. 11–16, table 6; Valeev, 2002, pp. 10–14, table 7, appendix



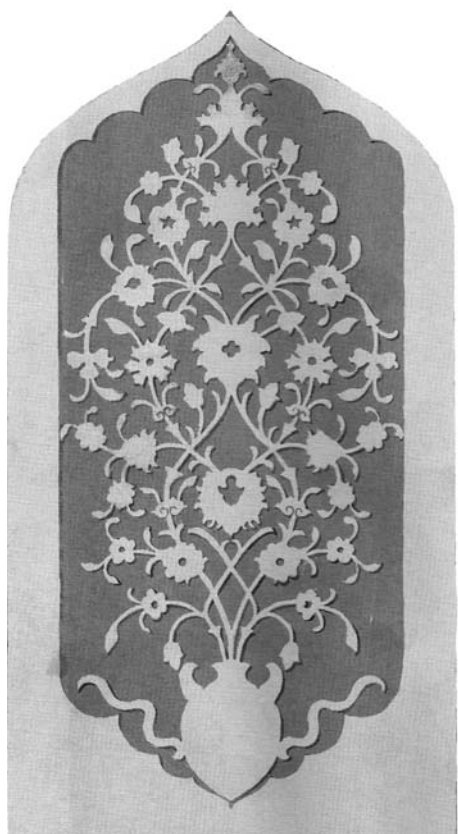
1



2

1—Carved decorations on the reverse side of a gravestone. Tashly Kaval aul of the Vysokogorsky region, the first half 16th century. Reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev

2—Carved decorations on the reverse side of a gravestone. Starye Mengery aul, the first half 16th century. Reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev



1

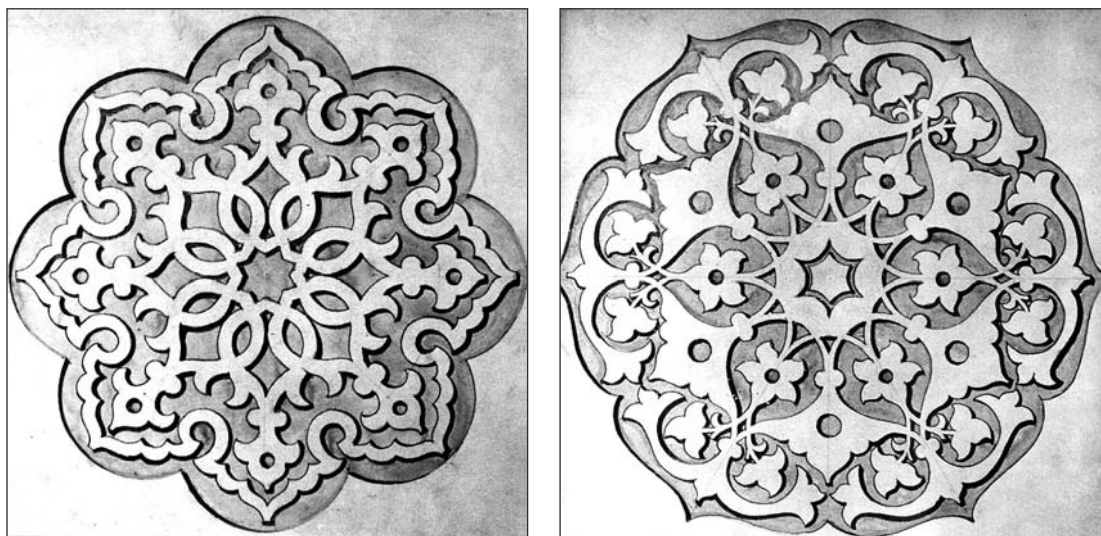


2



Festooned rosettes on the reverse side of gravestones. Chyrshy aul of the Vysokogorsky region. 16th century. Reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev

1—Pattern on a reverse side of a gravestone. Village of Panovka in Sabinsky region
2—Pattern of a side border. Sulabash aul in the Arsk region, the first half of the 16th century. Reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev



Carved rosettes on the reverse sides of gravestones. Middle of the 16th century Sulabash aul of the Arsk region.
Reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev

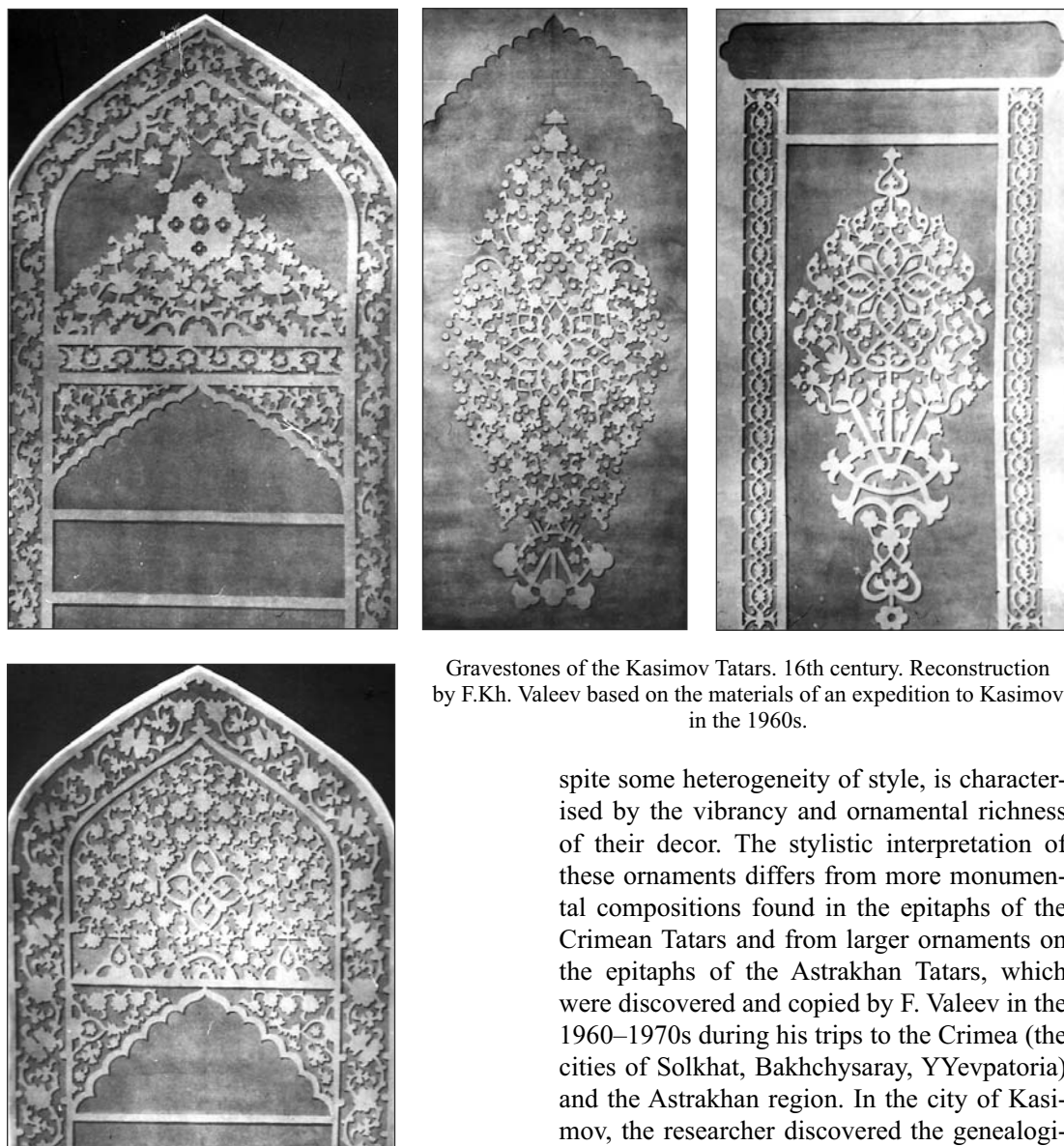
12–24] and systematised them according to their form, decorations and development of the ornamental style. He also laid the foundations for the typology of the Golden Horde and the Kazan khanate epitaphs [Valeev, 1987, pp. 121–124; Valeev, Valeeva-Suleimanova, 2002, pp. 84–87]. The ornaments of the gravestones of the 15–16th centuries revealed the influence of Turkey, Central Asia, the Caucasus and Iran.

The carved stone tombs from the period of the Tatar khanates connected to a certain territory and local centres of production on the one hand show the inheritance of the art of stone carving beginning with the Golden Horde, but on the other hand they allow us to identify the specifics of lapidary art in the artistic centres. The largest art centres included the Kazan, Crimean and Kasimov khanates, where gravestone decoration reached a high artistic level and enjoyed wide-spread popularity. Despite having similar decorative motifs, the gravestones were different when it came to elements of form, composition and ornamental structure, inscription style, materials and some other features that allow us to distinguish regional centres or schools of art of stone carving [Valeeva-Suleimanova, 2008, pp. 95–100].

For instance, carved stone tombs are one of the unique artefacts that give us an idea about art in the Kasimov Khanate. Here we

mean the nine famous epitaphs located in the Khan mausoleum of the city of Kasimov. Above the entrance to the mausoleum there is an Arab inscription on a stone slab: 'The builder and owner of this building is Khan Shah Ali, the son of Sheikh Auliyar Sultan...'. This construction is dated 9 August 1555. This is a family mausoleum, and all the tomb steles in it are dated from the latter half of the 16th century. At the time, the inscriptions on these epitaphs were read by Kh. Faizhanov and V. Velyaminov-Zernov. The gravestones are decorated with a floral ornament and made using a sophisticated carving via a flat-relief technique that adorns the front and back sides of the headstones. Their reproductions were made in 1960 and 1966 by V. Valeev, who also created their graphic reconstructions.

Headstones in Kasimov possess certain similarities with gravestones of the Kazan Tatars as regards the technique of carving inscriptions and ornaments, as well as ornamental decorations. However, there are also several essential differences. All Kasimov steles have a special compositional pattern for their decoration in the form of an eight-ray web that forms a rosette in the centre of a flower. A smaller size of ornaments is more characteristic for them, which creates a certain 'milledness' and granularity in the motifs, as well as in the ornaments they form. Their compositions



Gravestones of the Kasimov Tatars. 16th century. Reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev based on the materials of an expedition to Kasimov in the 1960s.

are enhanced by images of small circles that fill in the free space between the floral motifs. The upper part of the tombstones is decorated more lavishly and impressively, with more constrained, abstract imagery. The same repertoire of floral and plant motifs (shamrocks, tulips, lotuses, multi-petal rosettes, semi-palmettes, etc.) may vary artistically depending on the patterned composition, which allows us to conclude that they had their own tradition different from the Kazan-Tatar style.

In general, the design of the Kasimov tombstones of the first half of the 16th century, de-

spite some heterogeneity of style, is characterised by the vibrancy and ornamental richness of their decor. The stylistic interpretation of these ornaments differs from more monumental compositions found in the epitaphs of the Crimean Tatars and from larger ornaments on the epitaphs of the Astrakhan Tatars, which were discovered and copied by F. Valeev in the 1960–1970s during his trips to the Crimea (the cities of Solkhat, Bakhchysaray, YEvpatoria) and the Astrakhan region. In the city of Kasimov, the researcher discovered the genealogical tree—shejere—of Sayyids Shakulovs dated from the 18th century [Ahmetzyanov, Sharifulina, 2010, p. 16].

To date, no masterpieces have been discovered in other forms of decorative art from the Kasimov Khanate except for one unique exhibit displayed in the Local history museum of Kasimov (in the mosque) featuring the armour of a Tatar warrior dating back to the 16th century according to the museum archives. The equipment consists of a helmet, a shield, chainmail, one bracer and a wand topped with the moulded head of a bull. Judging by the wealth and exquisiteness of its decoration, the

armour belonged to a member of the Kasimov nobility.

The shield was cast by forging a single metal sheet and has a conical shape topped with a tall spire in the form of a large wild goose head with a long neck. On the front side there is an image of the sun engraved in the form of a face. An Arabic Kufic inscription is engraved on the lower edge of the helmet, and its surface is decorated with an arabesque-style ornament featuring floral motifs. The ornamental corpus of the helmet is gilded and silver-plated, and there is chainmail mesh is attached to the lower edge of the helmet. In the centre of the shield, as well as on all four of its sides, there is a clear-cut picture of the sun. The ornament on the iron plate of the chainmail is gilded in gold, while the silver plates are engraved with niello. Judging by their style and decoration, the helmet and shield were created by the same craftsman. In general, this exquisite exhibit requires thorough examination and attribution.

Some large museum collections keep unique gold and silver items which used to belong to the Kazan nobility. In the National Museum of Tatarstan, there is a unique sample of everyday life in the khan palace: a brass jug, absolutely exquisite in its form (see tinted insert). The jug was discovered at the beginning of the 1970s while dismantling a wall in a brick house in Kazan. It was published for the first time by A. Khayrullin [Khayri, 1994]. Its form and size show that it is a drinking jug, not a 'kumgan (metal vessel) for Muslim ritual ablutions' [Chervonnaya, 1987, p. 154]. The name of its creator is engraved on its corpus: 'the son of coppersmith Emin khan, foreman Nasyir', who worked at the court of Kazan khan Muhammad Emin [Valeeva-Suleimanova, Shageeva, 1990, p. 26]. This item has an exquisite form and is decorated with a floral pattern featuring sprouts (a grape-vine) and the calligraphic inscriptions of poetic miniatures in Tatar, Arabic and Persian. These love poems are considered to belong to Tsarina Süyümbike. The text of these inscriptions contain a dedication to the legendary khan warrior Kubik (Kebek) karachi-beg, who died during the Kazan conquest: 'From master Nasyir, living in the Kazan palace, to the commander of the troops, famous

and brave beyond any doubt, whose name was Kubik'. The inscriptions are engraved, while the brightly executed ornament is chiseled in [Tatar encyclopaedia, 2008, p. 370].

The jewellery art of the Kazan khanate features world-class masterpieces. The extant unique examples of jewellery created at the court of the Tatar khans are stored in the Armoury Chamber of the Moscow Kremlin. Among them there are khan regalia that became the insignia of tsar Ivan the Terrible, including the former crown of Tatar khans 'Kazan Cap' and the khan throne (see tinted insert) that was inherited from the last Kazan khan to be ousted, Edigur. They are among the most outstanding examples of Tatar palace art of the 15–16th centuries, studied first by F. Valeev. Both the throne and the cap are made of gold, richly inlaid with precious stones and decorated with a lush floral pattern in the Muslim Baroque style.

The later changes in those regalia evidence that they were borrowed and adapted to the ceremonies held at the Russian tsar's court. For example, another topping to the crown was added. At first, it was capped by a red Chinese spinel (a kind of tourmaline), which in 1627 was removed in order to be placed on the diamond crown of tsar Ivan Alekseevich and decorated with a large yellow topaz mounted between two pearls [Ancient state regalia, 1979]. The low throne of the Eastern type was redesigned for Tsar Mikhail Romanov in 1613. Its height was increased by lengthening its legs and back, and its shape was transformed into an armchair with the spine topped by a picture of the two-headed eagle [Shakhieva, 2005, p. 127]. A recreated copy of the khan throne, together with a copy of the 'Kazan cap' are displayed in the Museum of Kazan Millennium Anniversary in the Kazan National Cultural centre.

F. Valeev was the first to attribute the khan crown as a jewellery masterpiece of the Kazan khanate [Valeev, 1969, p. 91]. A comparative analysis of its shape, elements of its decor and the system of gem-inlays helped the researcher date it to the turn of the 15–16th centuries [Valeev, 1987, pp. 145–146]. The theory that the 'Kazan cap' was created in Moscow workshops by captured Tatar jewellers [Grabar, 1959, p. 564] has never been substantiated.



Badge with a picture of Azhdaha.
Pictorial reconstruction by F.Kh. Valeev

ed, and the khan crown, just like the Golden Horde 'Monomakh's cap', was entered into the register of outstanding works of Tatar jewellery art [Tatar encyclopaedia, 2006, p. 65; Valeeva-Suleimanova, 2008, p. 229].

In the collections of the Armour Chamber, the author of these lines managed to find belt buckles of an outfit belonging to a Tatar nobleman, as well as a unique Quran holder (see tinted insert) which were attributed to Khanate times [Valeeva-Suleimanova, Shageeva, 1990, pp. 84–87]. Similar buckles created by Tatar and Turkish jewellers were discovered even earlier, in the end of the 1960s, by F. Valeev in the collections of the Russian Ethnographic Museum [Valeev, 1969, p. 90]. They were subsequently examined in a thorough manner, and the results of the examinations were published [Valeeva, 1987, pp. 143–145; Valeeva-Suleimanova, 1995, pp. 83–86]. Discoveries of similar buckles and clasps in different museum collections attributed to the khan epoch are proof that this kind of jewel was both wide-spread and a prestigious element in the ceremonial attire of the Tatar nobility. Apparently, Turkey was the trend-setter when it came to these articles. For instance, the miniature of 1588 portraying Suleiman the Magnificent (Kanuni) during a hunt clearly shows that his Ottoman sultan attire contained a belt buckle of a similar form and size [Turkish arts, 1999, p. 202]. Such buckles were popular even later in 17–18th century attire in Turkey and the Balkans (Macedonia, Bulgaria), in the Crimea and the Northern Caucasus.

This comparative analysis of Tatar clasps allowed scientists to investigate a range of peculiar features of the jewellery art related to the epoch of the Kazan khanate. First of all, this relates to the filigree technology inherited from the Golden Horde. Filigree was widely spread among the latter, especially in the ornamentation of jewels on articles of attire (linings, belt buckles, Quran holders). Secondly, new techniques appear in the jewellery art of the Kazan khanate. These techniques were not found in the Golden Horde filigree, but rather discovered in the works of Turkish jewellers of Ottoman times. In particular, pieces of Tatar and Turkish jewellery art are related in style, technology and ornamental motifs that were characteristic of the 15–16th centuries [Valeeva-Suleimanova, 2010].

As concerns clasps, one important element is the shape of the plates that compose the clasps. The external contour is characterised by a complex curvilinear ornament created by deep carvings in the form of semi-circles that make the outlines more dynamic. Rosettes with scalloped edges, heart-shaped and leaf-shaped motifs also belong to this type of ornament. The shape of these plates is also characteristic of the decor of the 'Kazan cap's' crown, Tatar gravestone frames from the 16–17th centuries, plated bronze plates dated from the 13–15th centuries, in particular those containing the picture of the Azhdaha-dragon. The same types of curvilinear fillets also dominate the decoration of the ceremonial jar (matar) of the Turkish court and the sultan helmet belonging to the Topkapi Palace collection in Istanbul, which dates from the latter half of the 16th century [Turkish arts, 1999, p. 20]. It is also important to pay attention to a similar system of precious stone and gem inlays inherent to the insignia created at the court of Turkish (mataras, helmet) and Tatar (crown and throne) rulers (see tinted insert).

The key element involved in the attribution of Tatar clasps is the original method of how they are affixed to fabric. This is done by soldering miniature square-cut bars forming four or five parallelepipeds to ensure the clasp's construction is sound. This type of method for the ornamentation of large filigree pieces was

Belt buckles. Gold, filigree, granulation. The first half of the 16th century. Russian Ethnographic Museum

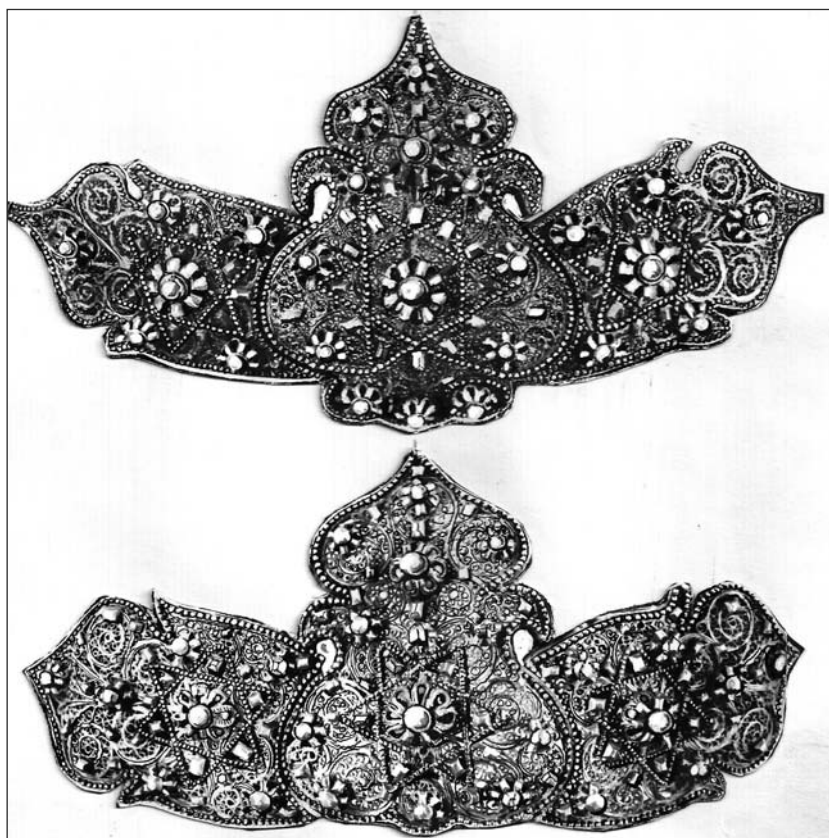
also used to create said Turkish buckles from the collection of the Russian ethnographic museum.

The Armour Chamber collection also contains a unique sample of a Quran holder (see tinted insert), which was discovered and attributed from the start by the author as a piece of art from the Kazan khanate times. The Quran holder is made of silver, while its cover is decorated with a filigree overlay

containing patches of large granulated spots that form floral motifs. It is ornamented with gems placed in ten deep nests. Only light-blue turquoise, dark-red garnet, green emerald and blue sapphire were preserved [Valeeva-Suleimanova, Shageeva, 1990, p. 85; Valeeva-Suleimanova, 1995, p. 87].

One particularly unique discovery should also be attributed to pieces of palace art, or at least to their characteristic style: a cast copper bowl discovered at the bottom of Kaban Lake in 2001 [Mingazova, Khaliullina, 2002, pp. 100–103]. It is kept at the Museum of Kazan Millennium Anniversary and was examined (including via chemical analysis) by an interdisciplinary group of scientists who attributed it as the work of Tatar toreutics of the 15th century. The surface of the bowl is ornamented with an engraved decor, and on its rim there is an Arabic inscription including verses in Persian, the author of which is supposedly a famous poet of the 13th century, Saadi.

The permanent exhibition of this museum also includes a reconstruction of a leath-



er quiver (see tinted insert) discovered by N. Nabiullin during the excavation of the Kazan Kremlin [Nabiullin, 2002]. The quiver was decorated with elaborately intertwined nodal motifs executed attached via silver sewing. The composition of the ornament is topped by a semi-circle (half-moon) with a highly stylised miniature of Zilant in its centre. This mythical, polymorphic creature known as the Azhdaha-dragon was also depicted in the assumed



Emblem of the Kazan Princedom taken from the Tsar Title Register, 1672.

national emblem of the Kazan khanate [Valeev, 1987, pp. 150–153; Valeev, 2002, pp. 91–93; Tatar encyclopaedia, 2005, pp. 476–477]. In the upper right corner there is an embroidered ornament reminiscent of an A-type tamga that is also present in pieces of Golden Horde art (ceremonial hatches, bracelets) and on grave-stones of the Kazan khanate from the first half of the 16th century [Valeev, 2002, pic. 28, 38–1, 50–7]. The artist N. Kumysnikova created a reconstruction of this sewing.

An ornament in the arabesque style on the quiver is a continuation of the Golden Horde Bulgaria artistic style where a similar decor of ceremonial hatches, bracelets and mirrors can also be found. At the same time, in comparison with earlier pieces the ornaments on the quiver are characterised by a more geometric stylisation and abstraction of motifs, which was intrinsic to the developmental tendencies in Muslim art of the 15–16th centuries. This is evidenced by the unique belt buckle of the male ceremonial dress present in the exhibition of the same museum.

Pieces of decorative art in the Kazan and other Tatar khanates reveal the formation of ethnic-regional artistic traditions that continued to develop in the culture of the Kazan, Siberian, Astrakhan, Kasimov and Crimean Tatars. In the era of the Tatar khanates, a general canon of traditions was formed that reconciled them with the culture of the Islamic world, especially Ottoman Turkey, Crimea, Iran, Central Asia and Azerbaijan.

In addition, art in the Tatar khanates (especially in the Kazan khanate) served as an inspirational model for Russian craftsmen. This is evidenced by the motifs and ornamental compositions characteristic of Tatar art from the 15–16th centuries: lotus, tulip, palmettes, floral bouquets, rose knots/rosettes and flowerpots. It is also evidenced by the popular decoration of fabrics, jewellery and so-called Russian ewers in Russian architecture that copied Tatar samples, as well as household items from the Royal court, the fashion and names of boyar clothes, hats and shoes (kazakyn/man's knee-length coat, beshmet/undertunic, yapancha/jacket; nauruz, tafia, bashlyk; ichetygs, chobots, clogs) [Kostomarov,

1860]. The fact that Tatar khan craftsmen, in particular architects, were invited by Russian princes, is evidenced by the fascinating information contained in a letter from Crimean khan Mengli Giray to grand prince Vasily III, dated September 1509. In this letter, the Tatar khan asks to send Jakub, his 'skilful bricklayer' back to him, as he had previously worked in Kazan and was currently detained in Moscow. A fragment of this letter extracted by M. Usmanov from the book 'Monuments of diplomatic relations of Ancient Russia with foreign powers' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895] is presented in his preface to the reprint of Karl Fuchs' 'Kazan Tatars' (1991). It is possible that Jakub is the same famous architect Yakov (nicknamed Barma) that according to the Russian Chronicles was the mind behind famous buildings in Kazan and Moscow. The Crimean khan asks in his letter: 'Jakub is my bondman, a useful skilled bricklayer for me, and you should... dress Jakub... and provide him with a horse... and send him to me, your brother, but do not leave Jakub with that man of ours, Yusuf...'. In this context, the cognomen of Barma can be connected to the Tatar verb 'barma' (stressed on the last syllable),—that is, if present in the name, such a nickname might mean 'not gone'.

Pieces of decorative and industrial art created at court workshops in Kazan are distinguished by the splendour and exquisiteness of their form and magnificence of decor, which allows us to generalise on specific features of the Kazan–Tatar artistic style. Many of them are considered masterpieces of decorative art and by right occupy a worthy place in the annals of world culture.

After Kazan was conquered, the high forms of Tatar decorative art developed in both urban craft workshops and court workshops were destroyed. Professional art such as architecture and its decoration, calligraphy, ceramics, hot metal processing, pile weaving, and gold and silver stitching were gone forever. The fine-art traditions from the Kazan khanate were inherited by and further developed in the large villages of the Trans–Kazan area where the foci of the Tatar Muslim civilisation still remained.

§ 4. The Development of Kazan–Tatar Fortifications from the 15th Century to the First Half of the 16th Century

Almaz Khabibullin

The architecture of defensive structures in the Kazan Yurt absorbed a range of advanced techniques from the Iranians, Bulgar, Chinese, Arab, Caucasian, Khazar, Seljuk, the Golden Horde, Central Asian and others cultures. It was based on the early field or 'nomadic' fortifications which had emerged in the 8th to 10th centuries and whose development continued until the 18th century. Three main types of nomadic (field) camps (temporary settlements) should be distinguished among the Tatars: the kuren or camp-ground type, the kishlak (winter encampment) or semi-nomadic type and, finally, the semi-settled type [Khabibullin, 2011, pp. 182–185].

The subsequent genesis of more durable Tatar fortification building built upon certain principles taken from this nomadic architecture [Gubaydullin, 2002a, p. 28]. The 'krym' (perekop), or a ditch and rampart system, is regarded as one of the first stationary types of Tatar fortification. A considerable variety of types of moats and ramparts had existed since Bulgar times¹. The slopes of the hills on which fortresses were built were often escarped. Moreover, tunnels were dug in the ramparts through which brief diversionary sallies were often carried out². The approach routes to the

gateways were also made more sophisticated, with the arrangement of so-called 'traps'³. In order to reinforce the banks, they were occasionally reinforced with wood or masonry⁴. Hydrological works were also widely used to hinder the enemy's movement towards fortified points (waterlogging, artificial channels, etc.).

During the floruit of the post-Golden Horde Yurts, the Tatars developed the following defensive constructions: defensive (sentry) lines and strong points (kirmyans or fortresses) and temporary fortified camps (kishlaks, yasak kishlaks, kurens, nomadic camps, etc.), kirmyanchiks (small fortresses), caravanserais and detached patrol points (signal towers). Strongpoints and Tatar defensive lines formed systemic parts of the state military concept.

Towns in the Kazan Yurt usually had a three-part functional structure: the ark (citadel), the kirmyan (kremlin) and the rabat (krym or trading quarter). The ark of a kirmyan was usually protected by wooden or stone walls, towers and gates⁵. So called shelter-fortresses (Kazan, Iske Kzan)⁶ were

earth in front of these tarasy in the Kazan fortress so that the Tatars could make short diversionary raids. The same holes could be used to put out fires on the wooden walls.

³ Access to gates was often arranged on the right side so that an adversary, when approaching the fortress, exposed the side left unprotected by shields.

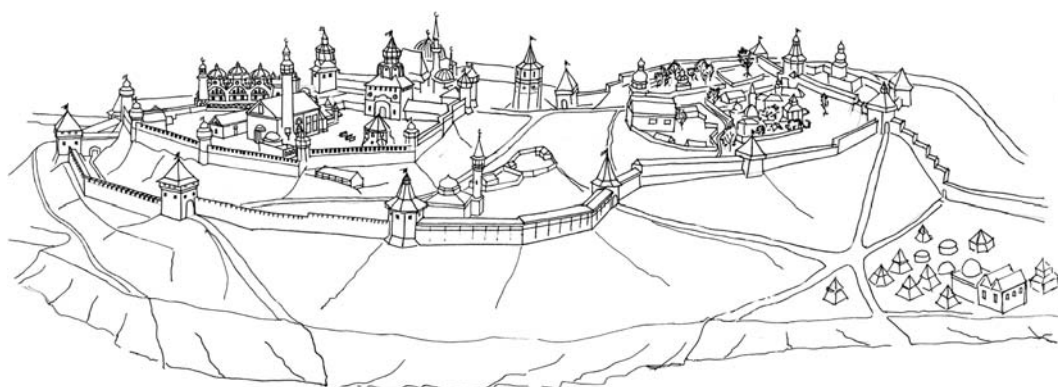
⁴ This can be seen, for example, in the ancient town of Uternyanskoe.

⁵ Sometimes khans (caravanserais) located in the city played the role of arcs. City kirmans had mostly the krim system, which included a ditch and a rampart, defensive walls, towers and fortified gates. City rebates were sometimes fenced off by wooden walls and had a krim and a lattice fence. Handicraft slobodas adjacent to the city (osta bistälari) had no fortifications, and during act of war people hid in kirmans, which also functioned as shelters.

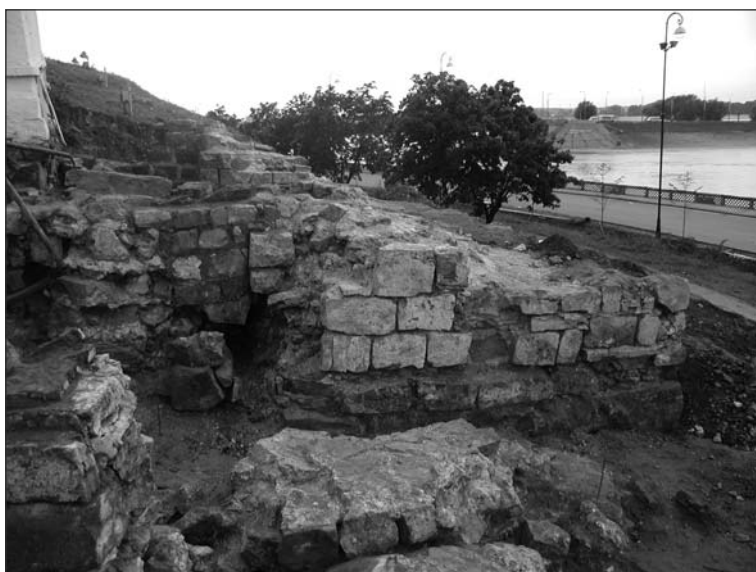
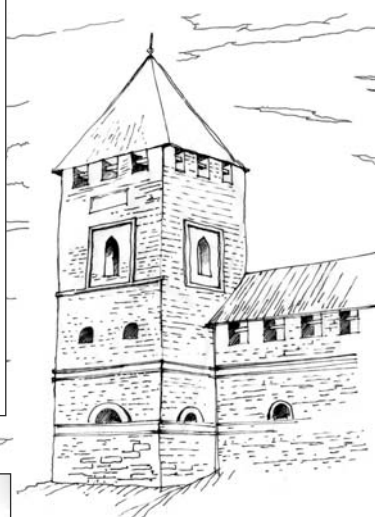
⁶ The Tatars often had two settlements located in close proximity to each other. One was fortified and the other had no defensive equipment. When an enemy attacked, the population went into combat mode and hid in the fortress. Chufut-Kale, Kazan, Kamaevskoe ancient town, Ferrah-Kerman are examples of such fortresses.

¹ Slopes of ramparts were sometimes fortified with a clay daub, sometimes together with straw, wooden facing, a grating made from wooden skids, stone ballasts or stone facing. The centres of ramparts were sometimes fortified by log-house constructions. Ditches were both of triangular and trapezoidal shapes. There are also examples of rectangular ditches. Sometimes spired logs were dug into a ditch's bottom or into the slopes in order to prevent an active storm. Beginning in the 13th century, ditches became wider and deeper to anticipate the rolling of siege equipment. Additional rows of ditches and ramparts are often found at the entrances to fortresses. These constructions also continued to function in the 15–16th centuries.

² Here is what the Russian chronicle says about the additional fortification of gates of the Kazan fortress: '... they (the Tatars) had huge tarasy [rolling blocks made for sieging] filled with earth placed in front of every gate; every night Kazanians crawled out of these tarases, like snakes, and fought our people'. Based on this description, we can say that holes were dug in the

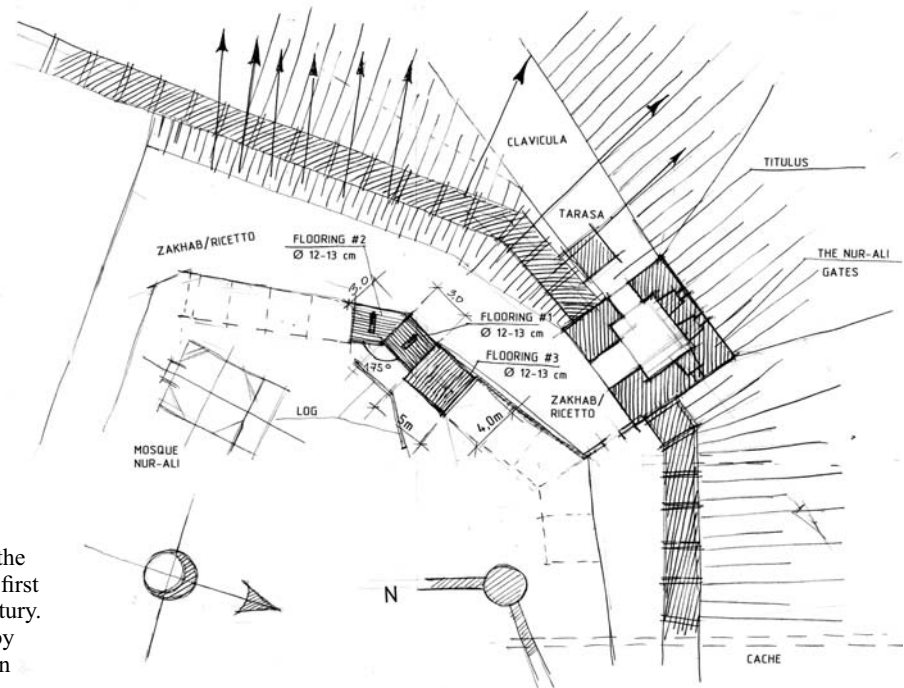


Kazan fortress dated back to the first half of the 16th century.
Reconstruction by N.Kh. Khalitov and A.N. Khabibullin

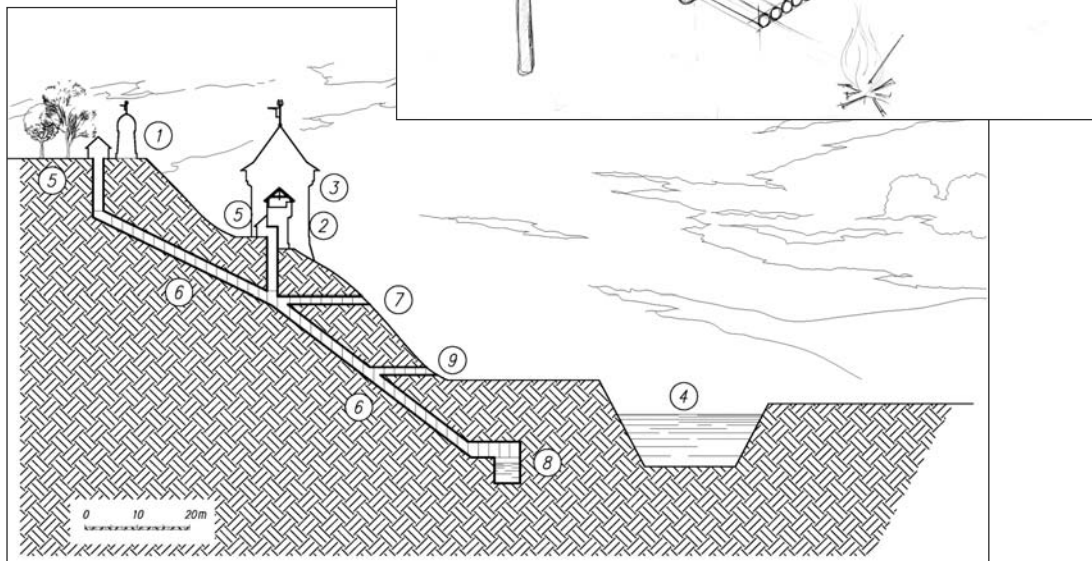


The "Northern" tower of the Tatar fortress, the first half of the 16th century (reconstruction based on the archaeological data, photo of the archaeological excavations, reconstruction of the tower by A.N. Khabibullin)

Nur-Ali tower of the
Kazan fortress, the first
half of the 16th century.
Reconstruction by
A.N. Khabibullin



Kahrez crypt and artillery
embrasure in the Kazan fortress,
middle of the 16th century.
Reconstruction by
A.N. Khabibullin



widely employed in Tatar fortification practices. Sometimes there was a reserve territory inside fortified strongholds which was prepared for the emergency accommodation of people from nearby villages.

Due to the fact that the existence of the post-Golden Horde states coincided with the beginning and development of the so-called 'gunpowder revolution' at the turn of the 14th to 16th centuries, some Tatar fortresses started to use firearms artillery together with innovations in fortress defence (extension of towers and walls, entrenchments, etc.).

Tatar fortresses were both regular and polygonal in configuration, often depending on local landscape features and the existing hydrography. On the plains, fortresses tended to be of regular form, following traditions with roots in Bulgar and Khazar fortification techniques. Regular layouts also appeared in the architecture of fortified Tatar caravanserais. On headland sites complex fortresses were built whose form was dependent on existing geographical conditions.

Tatar fortification exhibits the following typology, according to settlement function: the capital city, residences of begs and murzas (stationary and nomadic) and caravanserais. Fortress on the peripheries of the state formed a network of frontier fortresses, which were combined into the structure of a circular defence of the capital. Border fortresses also functioned as beacons for neighbouring fortified settlements. By function, towns serving as customs points provided with naval forces should also be noted. Another type—fortified castles of feudal lords—had also enjoyed a wide distribution in the Tatar khanates since the pre-Mongol period.

The most widely spread type, according to the materials used in construction, was that of wooden strongholds¹. Framed wattle and daub, earth-filled timber and stone types of defensive constructions should also be dis-

tinguished. In the Volga–Kama region, rich in forest cover, the Tatars usually constructed earth-filled timber fortresses with wooden walls. Sometimes the buildings were of a combined or mixed wooden-stone type. The Kazan fortress of the first half of the 16th century was in a stage of transition from a wooden fortress to one of stone. There are also accounts of emergency teams of builders in the Kazan Yurt who repaired breaches caused by bombardment or explosions, as well as being able to construct rapidly erected fortifications made up of preprepared elements. We should also note the snow and ice fortlets of the Tatars².

In the early and mid-Medieval period, linear defences protecting against the raids of neighbouring nomadic tribes acquired wide application. Abatis, consisting of felled trees, ice and snow, were used on these defensive lines, as well as in rivers and traps.

In the 14th to 15th centuries there emerged the so-called 'stone sacks' or gate-traps³. This technique was characteristic of the fortifications of the Bulgars and Khazars, who had likewise applied in earth-filled timber fortresses [Gubaydullin, 2002a, p. 43]. Urban planning solutions presupposed that gates would be constructed on major highways. The main gates of fortresses, residences, caravanserais and civilian suburbs often had symbolic significance⁴. They were often decorated with ornaments, and bore clan symbols or the names of their builders⁵. Rulers would often erect bunchuks (horsetails), gonfalons and banners on the loopholes, thus emphasising

² Ice fortifications near town of Belyov built by Ulugh Muhammad in the 15th century (1438) proved the existence of an art form involving snow and ice structures. When describing Hajji Tarkhan of the 14th century, Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi stated that inhabitants built walls of blocks of ice, poured water over them and put up gates between the walls. These facts probably prove the existence of snow/ice settlements among the Turkic-Tatars.

³ This method received the name of Clavicula (Latin), and had different variations.

⁴ As an example, we should mention the Gates of Cairo or those of Konya, which also had a symbolic meaning.

⁵ They could have been of a greater size compared to other gates.

¹ The fortress of Archa Kirmyane (Arsk or Arsk townlet) is considered as a well-known Tatar stockaded town of the Kazan Yurt. In 1552 it served as the Tatars' strategic fortress. Its walls were made up of gorodni or earth-wooden structures which, according to Tatar traditions, were filled with stones and mud. A spired paling was installed above gorodni.

the status of a fortress [Evliya Çelebi, 1996, p. 71]. In form the gates and towers were usually square, right-angled¹, circular or octangular in plan. Sometimes the gates were not given a separate tower, but were installed directly into the thickness of a wall. The Tatars also had double-tower gatehouses which were widely used in the Islamic world and Western Europe. Bridges and gates with hoist mechanisms were usually constructed at the approach to a gate. Tatar fortification was also characterised by tarases built in front of gates, protecting them from perpendicular attacks [Bogdanovsky, 1898, p. 8]. Several gates and portcullises were often installed in the arches through which the entrance ways passed.

Thin wooden walls constructed of a single row of logs were often used, and had been since the Bulgar era². Alongside primitive wooden walls, improved wall types of a more sophisticated structure were also employed. Mention should be made of the wooden tarases (mobile shields) and gorodni (constructions of wood and earth) which the Tatars also used widely. The spaces within these would often be filled with earth, clay and animal bones. Stone walled fortresses were commonly used for the fortified residences of the khans and for caravanserais.

The pavilions topping the towers, known from iconographic sources, were double-pitched, quadruple-pitched, hipped and tent-roofed. Sometimes there were sentinel towers set up on the roofs of gatehouses. Ceramic tiles and wooden planks served as the material for roofing towers and gates [Evliya Çelebi, 1996, p. 56].

Tatar citadels often had large signal towers. These towers served for signal transmission during the approach of an enemy, or to communicate with mobile cavalry units located near the fortress³.

Based on the above assertions, we can make the following conclusions: Over the course of its existence, the Kazan Yurt's fortifications reached quite an advanced level of development. With the development of artillery, the fortresses were modified and improved. It is also noteworthy that the typology of Tatar defence constructions varied both in functions and in construction materials. Besides their general features, Tatar fortifications also included elements specific exclusively to the Tatars (tunnels and tarases in front of gates). Fortification building in the Tatar states not only absorbed ideas of advanced technology, but also made its own great contribution to the development of the architecture of defensive structures.

¹ For example, towers of the Or Kapu fortress were square.

² In particular, we see a pillar construction on the engraving depicting the citadel of Khan-Kirman. According to the descriptions provided by Blaise de Vigenère, the castle in Kirk-Yer (Chufut-Kale) was built of wood and earth on top of the rock. The height of such walls usually reached 3–4 meters.

³ In A. Khalikov's opinion, in the 13–14th centuries, there was a stone watch-tower on the spot of present-day Syuyumbike (Söyembikä) tower, dating back to the 17th century. That watch-tower also had a passageway on the bottom level and could have been a signal tower as well. Signal towers were characteristic of Tatar fortresses. In case of their absence, signs could be given from the high minarets of mosques. A picture of a possible tall tower is present in the engraving made by A. Olearius, which depicts Khan-Kirman of the 17th century. Signs, or yasak, were given with the help of different banners. It is also possible that at night they were made through a system of bonfires or lights.

§ 5. Architecture and Art of the Crimean Khanate

Architecture of the Crimean Khanate

Vladimir Kirilko

The main obstacle for thorough examination of the Crimean khanate's architecture is an extremely poor condition of monuments and their insufficient study. To date, many buildings have been either irretrievably lost, or destroyed to such extent that we could only describe them based on brief documentary mentions and narrative messages in sources. At best, there could be found some photographs and iconographic materials. The majority of the extant constructions, due to multiple repair works, almost completely changed their original look and it is almost impossible to reconstruct their authentic exterior. Almost nothing is known about craftsmen and architects. There are very few monuments which were archeologically examined, and even fewer objects which were properly measured. However, it is still possible to obtain a general idea on the local architecture, as well as to outline its characteristics and stylistic features.

An invaluable source on the history of construction and, first of all, its initial stage, as well as the time of formation of the Crimean khanate is 'Book of Travels' written by Turkish author Evliya Çelebi who visited the peninsula in 1666–1667 and described its main settlement in quite a detailed way, devoting special attention to their architecture [Book of Travels, 1999].

Evliya Çelebi outlined a whole range of objects which he described as constructions of 'ancient form'. He also attributed several mosques to their list, as their architectonics undoubtedly reflects the earliest construction traditions of the Crimean Tatar state.

Evliya Çelebi saw one of them, erected by Sahib Giray-khan (1532–1551), on the territory of fortress Or: 'It is 150 ayaks [legs] long, and 100 passes wide. <...> On the left side of the mosque, there is a prayer-tower: a beautiful low minaret constructed of white stone. The very mosque is a low place of worship, of an ancient form, covered with turf' [Ibid., p. 12].

When describing fortress Taman, Evliya Çelebi also mentions a monumental building with a phreatic roof, which was constructed by Hajji Giray-khan (1441–1466), according to the *tarik*h: 'There is a cathedral mosque Kasym-pasha, a beautiful chapel full of light, built in an ancient form, roofed by soil which is as pure, as ambergris' [Ibid., p. 106].

The architectural legacy of the Crimean Tatars has at least one more construction of the kind—the so called mosque of Uzbek, located in the former capital of the *ulus*. Evliya Çelebi also saw it, though he discovered it already after an overhaul. The Turkish traveller informs us, as he describes sights and inscriptions on city constructions of Eski Kirim fortress: 'The best of them is a *tarih* [story] above the door of Ulu-Jami, written in neat handwriting: 'Thank God, God bless Mohammed, and the Creation, and Khalifs! The building of this blessed mosque was erected in the reigning days of great khan Muhammad Uzbek Giray-khan'. There is another *tarih* above the minbar of this mosque: 'Honorable descendant of sultans, Mengli Giray-khan, son of Hajji Giray-khan, ordered to construct this minbar. God, make his reign eternal, year 918'. There are 4 columns within this honourable mosque; it has a painted ceiling and it is roofed with tile; it also has a central [kyblovaya] door. The distance from the central door to the mihrab is 200 ayaks long and 150 ayaks wide. The minbar of its ancient form is adorned in such a beautiful way, that it is a pure magic' [Ibid., p. 83].

The mosque in Stary Krym is a representative example of how Tatar architectural traditions in the region developed at an early stage. Judging from archaeological research materials, it was constructed at the turn of the 15th to 16th centuries. [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 114]. An idea of its original appearance and changes made during repairs

has been generated by in-situ research on the building carried out during restoration works [Kirilko, 2009a].

The mosque was added onto the northern side of the madrasah building in 1332/1333 AD (733 AH), and is located on the axis of its lateral iwans (picture 1). In the plan, it is rectangular and longitudinally oriented. Its dimensions are as follows: the width is 13.37–13.64 m (diminishing to the south), and the length is 17,90 m. The wall thickness is 0,82 m. The northeastern corner of the building is taken up by the massive foundations of the minaret. There is one entrance to the mosque—from the north. The mihrab is opposite the secondary door. The windows are only partially preserved, on the south and the north of the building. In pairs, they framed the mihrab and the entrance, with a single pane. The lateral facades have almost totally been lost, the rest were significantly changed during the later repair works. The reconstructed height of the building was about 6,50 m.

The mosque was built up against the closed madrasah. During its construction, at the section where the buildings joined together, the northern wall of the madrasah was almost totally dismantled and replaced with new work, constituting the southern wall of the mosque (fig. 2). This is 0.15 m thicker than the primary construction and about 1 m in section. This thickening was caused by the addition of the 14th century carved mihrab, taken from another building, into the wall. Secondary use of architectural details is also seen in the doorway jambs and lintels and partially in the minaret.

On the photos taken at the turn of the 19th to 20th centuries (figs. 3, 4), the minaret appears relatively synchronous to the mosque. However, it is difficult to conclude definitively at present whether it was this way from the very beginning as, at the foot of the upper part of the cultural layer (construction waste accumulations) archaeological excavations and restoration works in the 1980s revealed numerous details of another sherefe—the remnants of a stalactite cornice and a carved parapet. The style features of

the minaret and portal pieces discovered are matching, and thus it is quite possible that they had all previously belonged to the Uzbek Mosque (1314). It is still unclear whether the minaret remnants were used in a new place while constructing the building or were left lying by its walls as unused construction supplies.

The external surface of the minaret base is made of carefully worked limestone blocks. The back part of the masonry is made up of rough masonry with external wooden booms. At 6,80 m above the modern ground level, the base ended in a pyramidal body protruding slightly beyond the wall surface. Its truncated peak was crowned by a minaret of circular section. The entrance is positioned in the inclined part of the base, from the building interior, at a height of 6,45 m above the floor.

The minaret's shaft is cylindrical, with a spiral staircase inside (fig. 5). Its upper and lower parts are girded with decorative roll moulding. The shaft is constructed of carefully worked limestone blocks and slabs laid in rows 0.2–0.4 m in height. The wall thickness is 0,13 m. Some stones are horizontally joined to each other by iron clamps with lead-filled sockets. The landing, the turret and the sherefe parapet are round in plan, at 14,25 m above ground level. The cornice supporting the small balcony is massive, with a curved profile and smooth surface. It was completed with a flat rim, flush with which there was a barrier. The opening leading out of the turret is rectangular with an arched top, facing southwards. The main diameters of the structure are as follows: the shaft—1.56 m, the sherefe—2.75 m, and the turret—1.43 m. The total reconstructed height of the minaret was around 23 m.

It is quite possible that the roof of the building was thatched with turves, with a surface incline of 6° (fig. 6). The thickness of the ground coating was about 0,35 m. Descending evenly to the side walls, it adjoined the minaret practically on the level of the entrance, thus providing a relatively acceptable access to the minaret from the roof.

Since the repair works at the beginning of

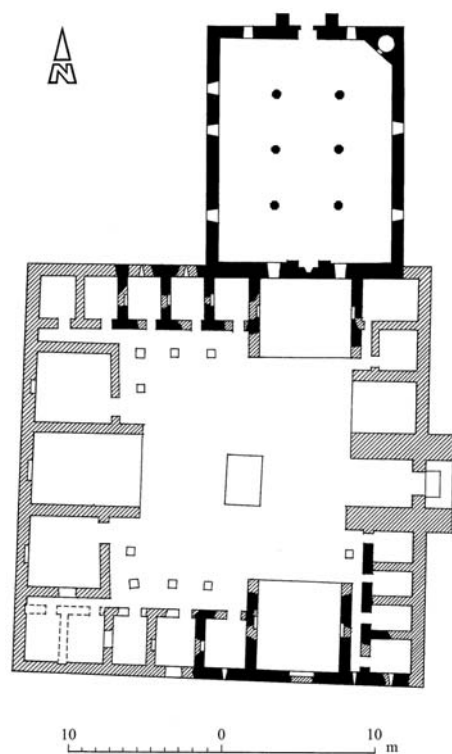


Fig. 1 Layout of madrasah and so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Sary Krym). Solid color denotes walls of the structures preserved at the same height, hatch denotes the lower laying parts [Kirilko, 2008b, fig. 1]

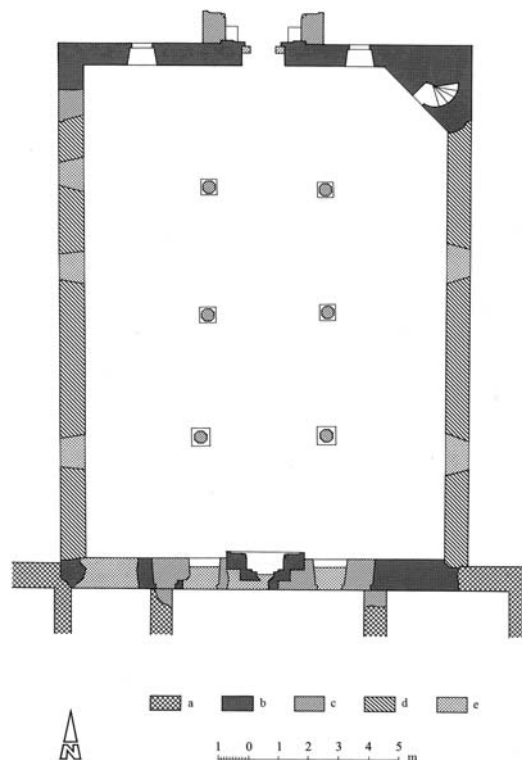


Fig. 2. Layout of so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Sary Krym). Cartogram of building periods. Notation conventions of laying: a—madrasah, b—the first building period, c—the second building period, d—the third building period, e—modern repairing additions [Kirilko, 2008b, fig. 14]



Fig. 3. Madrasah and the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Sary Krym). General view from the South-East. Photo from the archive of A.L. Bertier de la Garde. Circa 1912 (Tauris Central Museum, Simferopol)

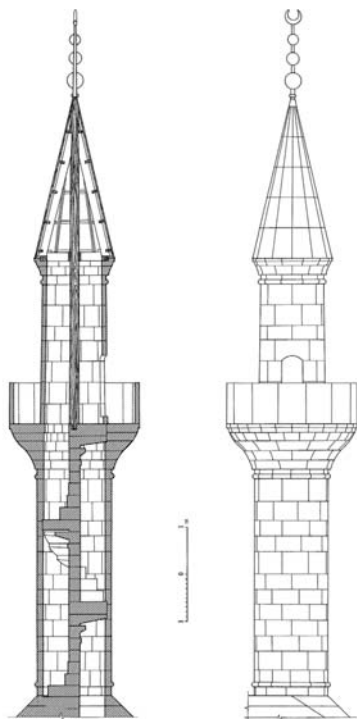


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the minaret of the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Stary Krym). 1—section along the N-S axis, 2—southern facade [Kirilko, 2008b, fig. 29]

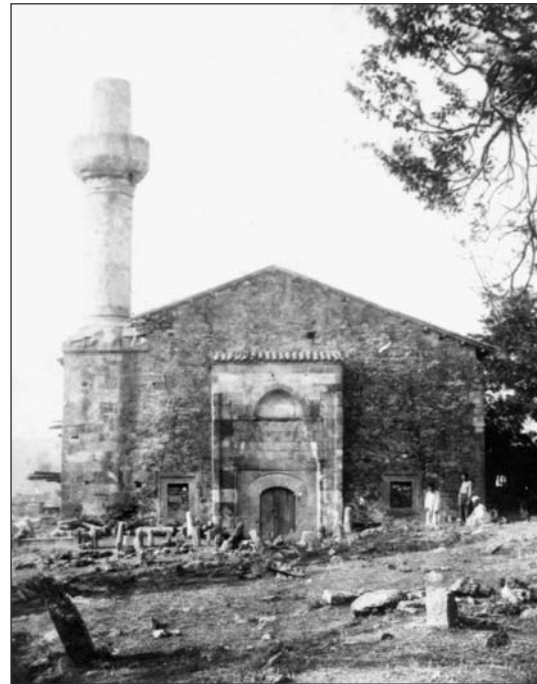


Fig. 4. The northern facade of the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Stary Krym). General view from the North. Photo from the archive of A.L. Bertier de la Garde. Circa 1912 (Tauris Central Museum, Simferopol)

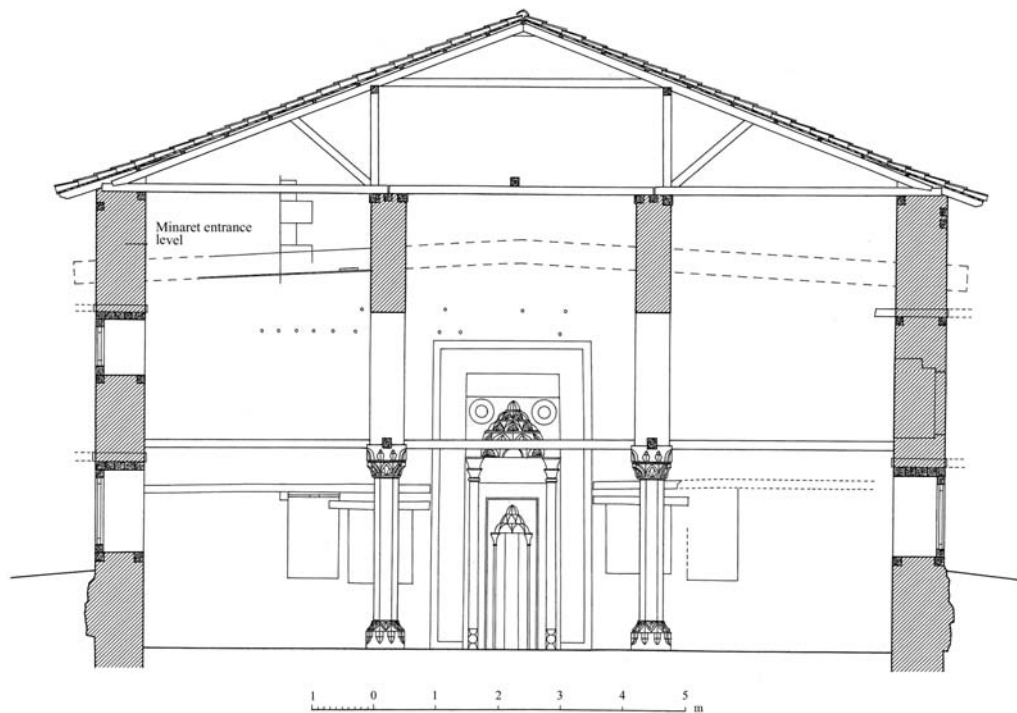


Fig. 6 The cross-section of the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Stary Krym). View from the North [Kirilko, 2008b, fig. 18]

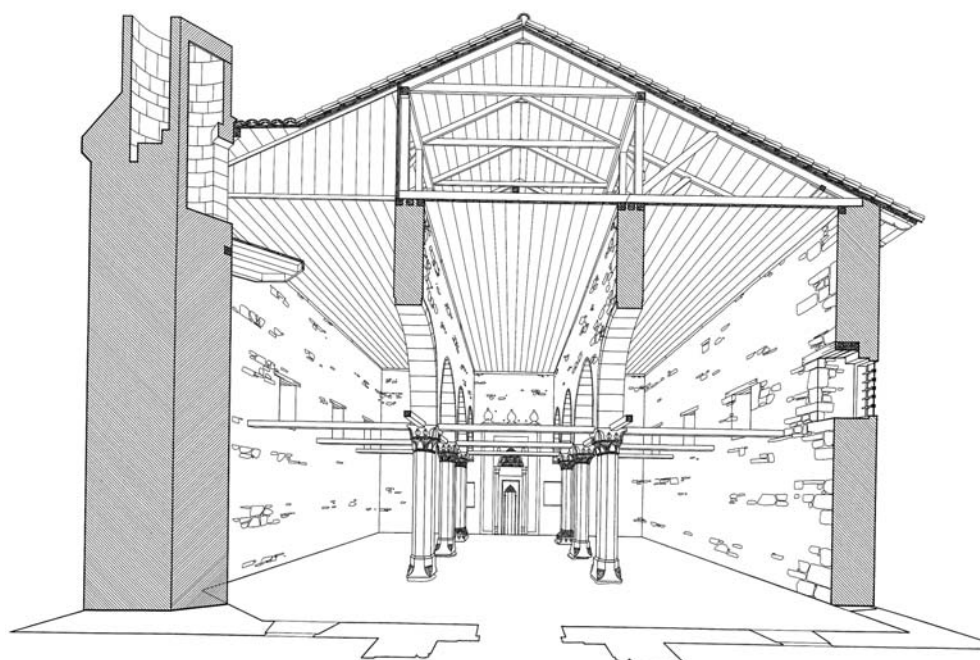


Fig. 7 Reconstruction of the interior in the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Stary Krym). Second construction period [Kirilko, 2008b, fig. 46]

the 16th century, the results of which were seen by Evliya Çelebi, the external outline of the mosque has remained the same, while the building interior has changed significantly (figs. 2, 6, 7).

All the walls of the building have been subject to complete reconstruction. The side walls have been thoroughly renovated, and the front and back walls have been given more height and topped with pincer-shaped finishings. The height of the facades was thus increased to 6.8 m (the level of the cornice on the minaret's base) and 9.9 m (the level of the ridge). The thickness of the masonry work has not greatly changed but the quality has been improved significantly, mainly, on account of the mortar, which formerly had been crumbly with a high level of loam, and which now is solid, composed of sand-lime with a vegetable-based mixture.

Two identical stone arcades with four lancet chords were added inside the mosque, dividing the building into three axial nave (fig. 2). The intermediate columns were reused octahedral pillars (three in each arcade) with cube-shaped capitals and bases

of different forms, decorated with stalactites. At the point where the imposts of the utmost columns join with the wall they were supported with brackets. The surfaces of the capitals and the tops of the columns were additionally decorated with plant ornament, executed in black pigment (fig. 8). Remains of painting were also noted here and there on the mihrab, meaning a possible shared date.

In the crowns of some arches, there are still iron rings for hanging lamps. One of the lamps—of Syrian origin, in glass, decorated with colourful enamels, mainly blue—was found inside the building during the excavations [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 113].

The mosque reconstruction coincided with major repair works in the madrasah, possibly due to its adaption for use as a tekke. In particular, the back abutting ends of the side walls of its northern iwan, destroyed during the first construction period, were completely restored (fig. 2). As a consequence, the original windows of the mosque's southern facade were bricked up. Instead, next to them (closer to the mihrab,

directly under the arch brackets), new windows were made, opening into the iwan.

Most probably, the lateral facades of the mosque had windows opposite to each of the arcade chords (picture 7). One of these has been preserved almost intact. It is sited 3,40 m above floor level. Its positioning was determined by functional expediency and, perhaps, architectural fashion. First of all, it provides the most efficient lighting for the corresponding internal part of the mosque. Having such an aperture, so high above the floor, also helped in saturating the most remote places on the opposite side of the building with overhead light. Secondly, the window is located on practically the same level as the wooden features connecting the arcade columns with the wall masonry, and so no other location would have been possible. Thirdly, the architectonics of the facade includes stylistic features of Ottoman architecture with the symmetry of the volumes and regular positioning of the apertures, peculiar to that period.

The northern facade of the mosque also went through some changes. A monumental portal, richly decorated with carving, was added to the current entrance (fig. 9). The portal was taken from the Uzbek Mosque. By this time some elements of the stalactite decoration are likely to already have been irretrievably lost. As a consequence, the craftsman who rebuilt it in its new site had to demonstrate considerable skill and tact in his work.

The construction and repair works on the building took place at the beginning of Muslim Crimean architecture's Ottoman period. Despite some typical features of the Seljuk style, determined, in particular, by the layout and dimensions of the primary construction, as well as the use of architectural details (the mihrab, portal and arcade columns) taken from earlier Golden Horde city construction, the mosque in general and in some details (the portal arch and minaret) already demonstrates the influence of new architectural tendencies, although presented in a somewhat adapted manner.

The closest analogy for the building, virtually having lost its original appearance

entirely following the repair works, is the mosque at Chufut-Kale (figs. 10, 11). According to Evliya Çelebi, the building was 'a cathedral mosque of ancient architecture'. The *tarik* above the entrance states that it was built by Ghazi el-Haji Giray-Khan in 859 AH (1454/55) [Book of Travels, 1999, p. 37]. It differs from the Uzbek Mosque in the position of the minaret (the north-west corner), in the entrance (on the side), in the number of columns (two rows), and in its generally smaller dimensions (external—13.8×10.65 m, internal—12×8.85 m, wall thickness—0.65 m). In the opinion of O. Aqçoqraqlı, the mosque was rebuilt several times. Taking into account the fragment of an inscription on reused masonry materials dated to 746 AH (1346), it may have been constructed during the reign of the Golden Horde Khan Jani Beg (1341–1357). In many aspects, it repeats the story of the Stary Krym building [Aqçoqraqlı, 1928, p. 168]. On the northern wall, there are still brackets and heel stones of the arches with mortises for wooden links. A.L. Bertier de la Garde also noted the two rows of columns inside the building, which had stalactite capitals [Bertier de la Garde, 1920, p. 112]. U. Bodaninsky and B. Zasyrkin suggest that, later, as alternate poles, lost Byzantine marble columns with turned impost capitals were used, and the building itself might, in the end, have a cupola [Bodaninsky, Zasyrkin, 1929, pp. 172–176]. In any case, the building by type and style is the closest and relatively synchronous analogy of the 'Uzbek Mosque'. The most similar are their architectonics and the active use of spolia.

A typical feature of external architectural decor in the Chufut-Kale Mosque is, certainly, it was not invented by the researcher during the reconstruction of the plan (figure 10), is a three-quarter column in the south-western corner. This decorative technique is also featured in the *durbe* of Hacı Giray in Salachik, 1501/02 (907 AH). Later, it was widely adopted in other monumental buildings of Bakhchysaray.

Both of the buildings are examples of the Basilica style for mosques. There are

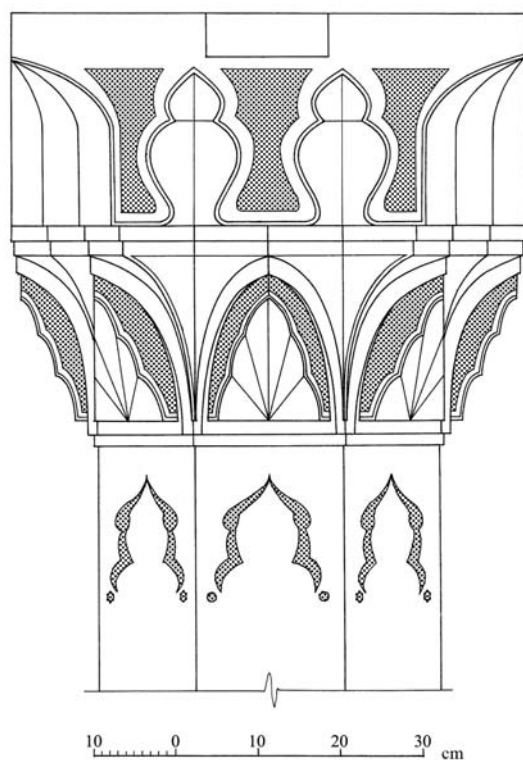


Fig. 8. Painting of column caps and heads in the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today Stary Krym) [Kirilko, 2008b, fig. 34]



Fig. 9. Portal of the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Eski-Kyrym (today, Stary Krym).

General view from the North.
Unknown artist, 1925 (BHCP, Bakhchysaray)

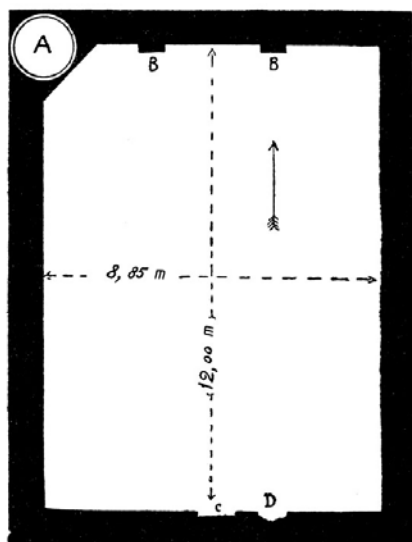


Fig. 10. Layout of mosque ruins in Chufut-Kale [Aqçoqraqlı, 1928, fig. 9]

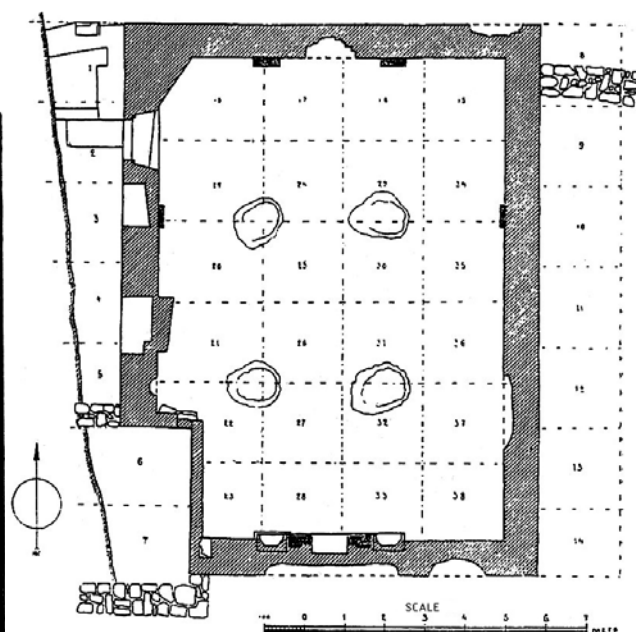


Fig. 11. Layout of mosque ruins in Chufut-Kale based on the excavations of 1928–1929 [Bodaninsky, Zasytkin, 1929, fig. 2]

also similar constructions of later times. The most famous is Şor-Jami in Karasu-Bazaar (picture 12). According to B. Zasyppkin, this was a rectangular building consisting of two parts: a vestibule and a three-nave hall. Wooden overhead covers were supported by six (three in each row) cyma recta arches supported by octahedral stone columns with 'geometrically highlighted' capitals and bases. Between these arches are windows reminiscent of Ottoman architecture. A carved mihrab is in the middle of the southern wall, the surface of which (like the secondarily used mihrab of the so-called Uzbek Mosque in Sary Krym) was painted and gilded. The choir balconies were located partially above the middle and lateral naves and had a complicated design. The mosque had a wooden ceiling and was covered with a four-slope tiled roof.

The building featured two entrances: from the north on the long axis and from the west next to the minaret extending to the wall from outside. The location of the windows is two-layered. The apertures of the lateral facades are correlated with the chords of the arcades. The framing on the lower windows was in the form of a flat rectangular stone above which was a lancet tympanum with iron bars with lobes. The shape of the external corners in the building is unusual. They all are sloped at 45° in the lower part, but at the level of human height they again acquire the

right angle due to a stalactite crossing. The architectural design often centered on erecting the edifice in tight spaces. In this case, however, there is also an ornamental function to the plan, in contrast to the designs of other monuments of the region [Zasyppkin, 1927, pp. 147–148, table V].

The idea of Şor-Jami and the architecture of the Crimean Khanate at that time can be expanded by one more city construction. This is Tekiye-Khan-Jami, which has also been thoroughly studied by B. Zasyppkin. According to U. Bodaninsky, it was constructed in 1140 AH (1727) by the Sheikhs of Konya, who founded a Sufi monastery in Karasu-Bazaar [Ibid., pp. 149–150].

The appearance of the main complex (picture 13) is well-known. The building in the plan was long and rectangular, and consisted of two main parts: a vestibule and a chamber. Its walls are constructed of quarystone on clay with adobe, and plastered both outside and inside. The roof is tiled. There is one entrance, located on the long axis of the building from the northern side. A double porch with a yard covered by a one-slope roof on four wooden columns led to the vestibule. To the left of the door was a service room. To the right, a corridor led to the minaret foundation, extending to the building from outside, and to the fireplace room, which was likely a kitchen. The entrance to the main part of the mosque, the dimensions of which were 8.10×14.50m,

is located on the main axis of the building. Inside the building, along its lateral walls are hudjras (eight from each side). Above them, the second floor comprised galleries which had windows with kaf-

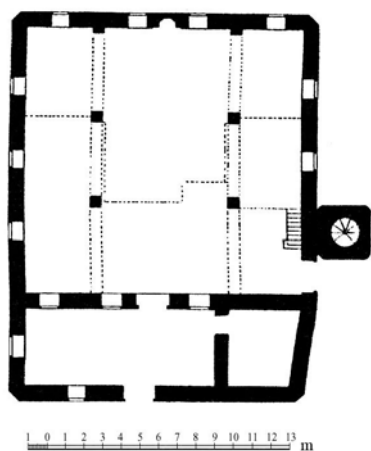


Fig. 12. Layout of the Şor-Jami mosque in Karasu-Bazaar [Zasyppkin, 1927, fig. 11]

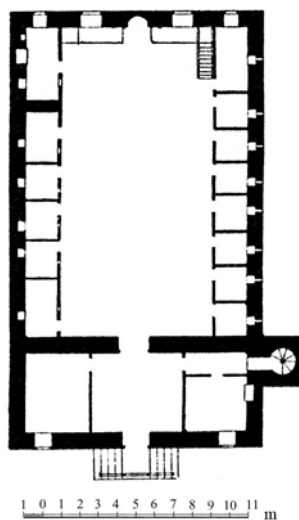


Fig. 13. Layout of the Tekiye-Khan-Jami mosque in Karasu-Bazaar [Zasyppkin, 1927, fig. 12]

esas that opened onto the hall. The cells lead out of the mosque through small doors and have natural lighting from the street thanks to the ports in small windows, which were could be closed with sash shutters from inside. The internal structures, overlays, ceiling as well as a painted mihrab and a kursu were wooden [Ibid., p. 150].

In the middle of the southern wall of the mosque, there was a carved ganch mihrab in the shape of a heptahedral niche, ending in an apsis comprising seven main rows of various relief arabesques. The base of the construction was tiled in high-quality majolica tiles with flower ornamentation. According to B. Zasytkin, with the exception of this decorative detail, the rest of the Tekiye-Khan-Jami mihrab is almost an exact replica of the Şor-Jami mihrab. The niche corners are decorated with thin, twisted, three-quarter columns with simple canonical capitals. The niche has a rectangular frame. The tympan has five flat rosaces, two of which are in relief. A peculiar feature of the mihrab is that its separate parts are no longer correlated in terms of the original architectural plan, and its decorative effect is highlighted mainly by colouration and rich gilding. The painting technique and gypsuming makes this construction closer to the monuments of Central Asia and Persia in the 16–17th centuries. The obvious resemblance of the interior in both of the mosques led B. Zasytkin to the suggestion that the masters of the Tekiye-Khan-Jami mihrab and paintings also worked in Şor-Jami, and, thus, the buildings could be from the same period [Ibid., p. 151].

The later date of these buildings is partially indicated by the fact that they were not mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. He described the sights of Karasu-Bazaar and, probably, was not impressed. That's why he simply mentions the number of mosques and limits himself to a few quick surveys [Book of Travels, 1999, p. 72]. Mihrabs that are unusual for the region, as well as the unique minaret Tekiye-Khan-Jami, the only such structure in Islmaic peninsular architecture with a double sherefe [Zasytkin, 1927, p.

155, table V] would doubtlessly have caught his eye.

Besides a Basilican type of mosque, temples in the Crimean Khanate are also famous for their domed buildings. Such architectonics are related to Ottoman architecture. Gezlev is a vivid example. It is the location of one of these buildings. The city itself played an important role in the region, as it was the only Tatar seaport for ships arriving from Asia Minor and Constantinople. It was accorded special status for many years, beginning from the reign of Ghazi Giray II (1588–1607/08). First, it was a residence of the Crimean khans and their courts, and it was also a centre of silver coin-minting. There were plans to turn it into the capital. It was the place where the Tatar khans arrived from Istanbul after the Sultan granted them their hereditary rights. Their enthronement would be announced in the Juma-Jami Mosque [Jakobson, 1964, p. 139; Kutaisov, Kutaisova, 2007, pp. 42, 44, 57].

After visiting Gezlev, Evliya Çelebi gave praise to this main landmark of the city, one of the finest domed constructions in the Crimean Khanate. 'And the most beautiful, highest and amazing is the cathedral mosque of Behadyr Giray Khan. In length and width, from the quibla doors to the mihrab, there are 150 steps. From the left side of the mosque, there is a place for the khans to perform namaz. There are also two high minarets. One of them was destroyed by earthquake. I, unworthy, climbed up the remaining minaret from the right side. I looked five times at all of the city buildings, their appearance and construction. Descending from the minaret, I counted 105 steps. This is really a high, well-built minaret. This is because it is the construction of Khoja Mimar Sinan-aga ibn Abd al-Mannan, who built the Mosque of Sultan Suleyman in Istanbul. Indeed, this construction is attractive and gladdens the soul. But the [external] haram of the mosque is small, because it is located in a crowded city place, in the middle of the bazaar. <... > In this city, there is no other mosque of this type, pure lead covered, bright, decorated and well-designed. You can see everywhere

sparkling lead from its cupolas' [Book of Travels, 1999, p. 21].

The masterpiece of the renowned Turkish architect, which is included in the list of his works as number 77 and titled 'the Mosque of Tatar-khan in Gezlev' has been preserved to this day, and it is still one of the main sights of the town. The construction can be dated to 1552–1562 [Zasytkin, 1927, pp. 140–143; Chepurina, 1927; Ponomareva, 1996a, pp. 198–204; Kutaisov, Kutaisova, 2007, pp. 61–91].

The mosque is a quadratic monumental building with a three-nave hall and an open gallery at the entrance (picture 14). The width of the construction is 26.86 m, and its length is 26.11 m. The wall thickness is 1.20 m. The apertures of the main construction is long, separated by two-layer arcades with massive poles in the octahedral section, with one pair flanking each side. The middle nave is higher and two times wider than the lateral ones. The central part, quadratic in the plan, is clearly delineated in the mosque. It is the highest and features a spheric cupola on the pendentives that is supported by massive arch walls. The diameter of the construction is 11.65 m. The height of the inner space is 22.40 m. The southern part of the middle nave, occupying a third of the aperture, is lower and has a semi-cupola. Lateral two-layer naves with the choir balconies on the second floor are slightly shorter. Opposite each of the arcade apertures, they formed quadratic cells, which are separated by responds with arch walls and ended up with small cupolas on the pendentives. The intermediate ceilings are wooden. In the middle of the long lateral walls from both of the sides, next to the minarets extending from outside, there are lateral entrances to the mosque. Inside the masonry in one of the them, the eastern, there is a staircase with a little balcony on the landing. This led to the choirs and was used by the khan.

The mihrab is located on the main axis of the construction on the southern wall. It has a view of a five-pointed niche with columns in the corners and a conic semi-cupola comprising eight rows of carved stalactites.

It is placed in a rectangular, graded plastered frame, and decorated with geometric and ornamental floral painting. On the right from the mihrab is a stone minbar with a wooden turret.

At the very bottom of the construction is the northern gallery, which opens from outside, and occupies a quarter of the area. Unlike the other rooms of the mosque, it is divided into five cells, each of which features a little cupola. In front, the cover was supported by a lancet arcade with poles in the shape of round marble columns, provided with stalactite capitals and a cube-shaped base with corner cuts. The northern entrance to the mosque is the main one, located strictly on the axis of the building. On both sides from it, there are external mihrabs in the wall, decorated with plaiting and stalactites. These are done in a style that is typical of the Seljuk constructions, but have extremely simplified forms and decorations. The door is two-shuttered, with a carved geometric ornament.

The internal structure of the construction is completely reflected in its external form, shaped in a clear pyramidal composition of the design. The central cube-shaped part of the construction is dominant. Its dimensions in the plan are 13.00×13.90 m. Outside, the pendentives are correlated with a double stepped corner cut, make possible the passage from the quadrangle to the octagon foundation of the cupola and its sixteen-pointed drum in shape of a frustum, forming the lower and external constructions, as well as half of the spheric construction inside. The building has a spherical construction, which echoes the inner surface of the vault. The ribs of the drum are in the form of flat responds with projections on the edges. Between them are arched windows on the borders. The arched walls of the main cupola on the facades are framed with the niches, and slightly embedded in the surface of the wall. The southern hollow is totally closed by the apsis. The other niches are cut by windows: three large ones with the arches on top, above them—two small ones in the same shape and three round ones.



Fig. 14. The Khan-Jami mosque in Gezlev. General view from the South. 2006. Photo by S.V. Pridnev



Fig. 15. Mosque in the village of Koleh.
The author of the photo and the date are unknown.
Private collection

Thus, from above, the mosque is exposed to light through forty apertures. This provides an unusual airiness to the entire edifice and is reminiscent of the cupolas of the Constantinople cathedrals, especially the unrivalled Hagia Sofia. The facades of the lateral niches are smooth and indiscrete. The rear wall of the construction is opposite the arcades, and the mihrab has flat responds. Their windows are placed in two layers: the lower is for rectangular windows with a flat tympan in a lancet form, the upper is for arched windows. The mihrab is also framed with two round apertures. The drums of the smaller cupolas, crowning the lateral naves and the gallery, are low and dumb, with eight and six borders. The reconstructed height of the minarets is 38 m. They are located practically on the same axis with the main cupola of the mosque. This feature highlights the main vectors of the composition.

The design features of the building are quite important. The depth of the foundation is only 0,90 m. It projects outside from

the wall at approximately the same distance. Thus, the width of its sole was at least 2.10 m, and it could reach 3 m if the substructures were expanded inside the building. The foundation had a stepped configuration constructed of three rows of tightly fitted limestone blocks. Relatively weak soils were designed to strengthen the foundation thanks to massive supporting walls (1.40 m by thickness) located relatively close to the construction. The building itself, as a system of mutually balanced vaults, allowed not only the efficient use of the mosque's interior, but also the rational distribution of the loads from the cupola cover of the central building part to the constructions of its external perimeter.

The Juma-Jami in Gezlev is a hallmark of the Constantinople architectural school and, like its famous predecessor, it is unique in the architecture of the Crimean Khanate. In terms of the rest of the peninsula, it was less unique, as the Mosque of Sultan Selim in the Ottoman Kefe had much in common with it. B. Zasytkin also associates it with the works of great Hodji Sinan. He believes that these two constructions influenced the subsequent development of the cupola mosques, and the main territories of their expansion in the region [Zasytkin, 1927, pp. 140–143].

The most vivid example of the adaptation of the classical compositions and forms of Ottoman temple architecture in the early architecture of the Crimean Khanate are two types of mosques. Koleh and Karagöz villages have what are currently the best preserved examples of these [Ibid., pp. 144–146, table IV, V].

Evliya Çelebi saw one of them but he noted it in passing, in a number of other constructions, although he probably had time to thoroughly investigate it, as he made a stop-over in Koleh-Salasy. He was extremely laconic in his impressions of the architecture of the settlement: 'In the town, there are 200 Tatar houses, the cathedral mosque with a high cupola and a stone minaret, a bath-house, and lead-covered buildings' [Book of Travels, 1999, p. 105].

The mosque in Koleh is a massive, cube-shaped building with a vaulted lean-to and,

possibly, a gallery at the entrance (picture 15). The inner space of the main chamber of the building is covered with a cupola on the pendentives, which is almost hidden with a high, dumb eight-border drum from outside. The external forms of the construction are heavy with disproportionately small apertures. The windows are in pairs and in two layers. The lower ones are rectangular with a lancet tympan, while the upper are arched, with one round window between them. The minaret is constructed from outside at the north-western corner of the building. It had a twelve-border section and was well-proportioned. Its sherefe was supported with a three-layer stalactite cornice.

The aperture of the door of the mosque has a lintel of the Seljuk type, which is placed in the niche with a cellular semi-cupola. The tympan and the rectangular frame at the entrance are covered in floral ornamentations. The mihrab is a double niche. Its interior is arched, while outside it is covered with a five-layer stalactite apsis. There are no three-quarter columns, which are traditional in constructions of this type. The mihrab framing is richly decorated with various geometric and floral ornaments, close to the arts of Central Asia, Persia, Bursa and Alhambra. Taking into account the saturation of the construction with typical architectural and decorative details, correlating with the Seljuk cultural traditions [Zasytkin 1927, pp. 144–146, table IV], the mosque likely belongs to a number of early Ottoman cupola constructions in the region.

In terms of its general forms and plan, the Mosque of Karagöz village is pretty close to the building in Koleh. The main difference is the drum, the facade borders of which are located on the same plane with the surface of the walls of the main body. The minaret is low and made of stone with a wooden staircase inside. It adjoins the north-western corner of the building from outside. The mihrab is a smooth semi-circular niche, crowned with a conic semi-cupola. There is no information about the interior decoration [Ibid., p. 146, table V].

A typical feature of both mosques, which is especially vivid in comparison with sim-

ilar samples of the classical compositions in Kaffa, is the absence of the windows in the drums, which is a sign (if it is possible to make a conclusion by unique examples), typical of the monumental cupola constructions of the Crimean Khanate. In this regard, there are two more significant, well preserved constructions built later. They visually demonstrate the peculiarities of the expansion as regards the traditions of Ottoman architecture in the region (in the other part of the peninsula: central and western) and its interpretation in the provinces.

One of them is the Mosque of Eski-Saray. According the sources from archaeological excavations, it was constructed as late as the beginning of the 18th century. It is located in the neighbourhood of Ak-Mosque, on the lands of the kalga-sultan. It is a monumental construction with complicated architectonics.

The building consists of two quadratic volumes of different sizes with in separate entrances and a common wall (picture 16). Its dimensions are: 17.52 m by width, 12.71 m by length. The thickness of the foundation is about 1,30 m. The main body is cube-shaped, the smaller is distinguish by slightly upwardly arching proportions. The height of their walls is, respectively, 9.55 m and 7.38 m. Both parts of the construction featured cupolas on the pendentives, and had low eight-border drums from outside. The entrances to the mosque are from the north. The minaret was added to the north-western angle of the construction from the external side, partially adjoining the lateral wall. It had a massive rectangular foot with a basement and a cornice. The foundation dimensions are 2.85 m in width, 2.75 m in length, and 6.50 m in general height. The entrance to the minaret is from the east, from outside. The building dimensions are 10.20×10.15 m and 3.83×3.75 m., their heights are, respectively, about 15.30 m and 7.80 m. The window apertures of the main body are located on three layers: the lower are rectangular with tympan in cyma recta shapes; the middle windows are arched, and the upper are circular. The

lighting of the side-altar was two-layered. The building had three mihrabs: one from outside, at the north-eastern corner of the main facade, and two inside each of the rooms on the entrance axis.

The construction of a lateral side-altar in the mosque was at first not planned. The architectural plan was altered at the moment that the walls of the main construction were erected at the level of the cover of the first-layer windows. In the plan, the lean-to was pretty well correlated with the main body of the building. Its entrance side coincides with the diametric axis of the mosque, and the backside walls are leveled along one line and form a united facade surface. Diagonally, the volumetric composition of the entire building was effectively well-balanced by the minaret.

The main mihrab of the mosque is a five-border niche with a multi-layer cellular completion (figure 17). The surface of the apsis is covered with a notched geometric decoration of triangles and diamonds. Decorative carvings are also featured in the upper part and on the lateral borders of the niche. Its dimensions are 1.20 m in width, 0.55 m in depth, 3.42 m in height.

The transformation of the section of the mihrab's cellular completion from prominent decagon in the lower part into asterial dodecagon in the upper part is made possible by seven projections. A typical feature of the architectonics is the absence of any lintel, excluding the contour frame of the apsis and the upper part of the extreme borders in a narrow, slightly sunken wall surface with a flat bandelet. A geometric decoration, totally covering the cellular completion of the niche, is created by the rhythmic interspersions of horizontal ornamental belts, formed by notched triangles and diamonds. The deeper parts of the decoration had a structured beginning, providing an organic combination of various volumes and projections. The prominent ones were designed to cover the background and decorate the surface. Although the carvings divide and somehow dematerialise the stalactite cascade of the vault, similar ornamental elements and a cer-

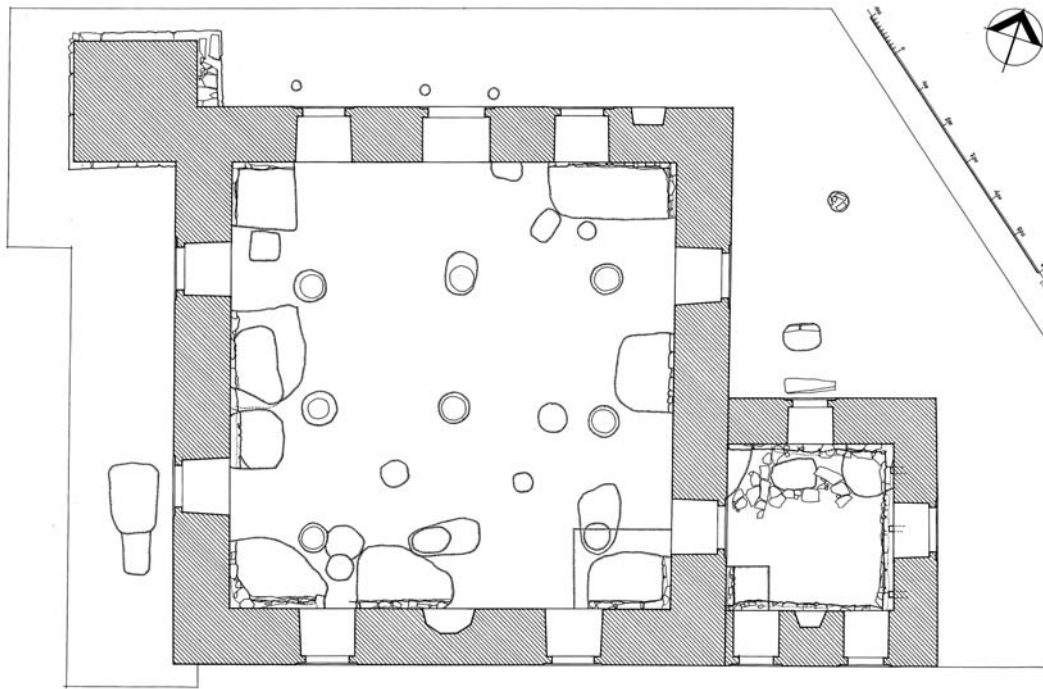


Fig. 16. Layout of the mosque in Eski-Saray based on the 1991 excavation results. Drawing by V.P. Kirilko

tain repetition of some combinations from these details provide the composition with a rare integrity and uniqueness.

The multi-graded surface of the completion of the mihrab niche is also unique, and is not to be found in other Muslim monuments of the region. However, the Seljuk roots in the main forms of the apsis are obvious. The decorative application of notched triangles and diamonds is, to a certain extent, correlated with the Golden Horde's tradition of bone carving, which in its turn is quite similar to carved ornaments of Russian woodwork. Parallels can also be seen in the architectural decorations of the buildings and applied arts of the peoples of the Caucasus.

The clear architectonics of the building, measured proportions and carved decorations of the mihrab demonstrate the highly developed skills of the builders of the Eski-Saray Mosque, which is one of the best examples of Ottoman architecture of the classical period. A totally different architectural image was crafted by the creators of the tekke in Gezlev. No doubt they were inspired by a local masterpiece created by great Hodji Sinan.



Fig. 17. Mihrab of the mosque in Eski-Saray, 2008.
Photo by V.P. Kirilko

The building of the dervish cloister is located outside the Gezlev fortress walls, immediately behind the gates of Odun-Bazaar Kapusi. It was constructed during the reign of the last Crimean Khan Shagin Giray (1746–1787) next to the renewed Shukurla-efendi Mosque, and is dated to the turn of the 18th century. Tekke is comprised of a double co-axial square with skewed external corners. Along the perimeter, there are 19 vaulted hudjras (totally 26 rooms) that completely frame the cupola hall (picture 18). There is only one entrance to the building, located on the western side. The cells are all connected to a central room with low arched apertures and outside light entering through small slit-like windows. The hall itself had two windows in each wall. These were located above the even-numbered entrances to the hudjras and were of the same form. The building's dimensions: general—17.50×17.26 m, main volume—11.85×11.80 m, main room—9.29×9.33 m, common cells—1.10×2.20 m, roof diameter—9.08 m, height of under-cupola space and hudjras—9.50 and 1.70–2.00 m respectively. Wall thickness: central part—1.20–1.26 m, external perimeter—0.60–0.65 m. The outward appearance of the building is formed by two volumes: a heightened middle—the hall, and lower external section—the hudjras, forming a pyramidal composition. From the external side, the pendentives correlate with a double stepped cut of the corners, similar to the one used in Juma-Jami. An eight-sided cylinder is high and deaf, its facade borders are in the same flat area with the wall surface. It ended up with a low tent-shaped roof with shallow pitches and, in fact, there is no evidence of the presence of the cupola outside. Clear geometric forms of some construction volumes are ascetic. They are brightened a little bit only by window apertures and the red pan tiles of the hudjra roof, all the projections and the cupola [Kutaisov, Kutaisova, 2007, pp. 92–106].

Taking into account the descriptions of Evliya Çelebi, the architecture of the Crimean Khanate at that time is variously presented by practically all the main types of the con-

structions, also known in other regions of the Muslim world. The exceptions are, probably, only covered markets for selling and storing high-value goods,—that is, bezistans (bedestans), one of the most typical constructions in Turkish trading and usually the most important component of the city core. It looks like the traveler only once came across this type of the construction on the peninsula, in Bakhchysaray, and it had only one cupola. He is constantly pointing at the absence of covered markets in settlements, at least, four times (while visiting the external suburb of the fortress Or, Gezlev, Karasu-Bazaar and even Ottoman Kefe): "However, here there are no cobblestoned bezistan with cupolas" [Book of Travels, 1999, pp. 13, 24, 50, 74, 93]. At the same time, Evliya Çelebi informs about numerous small shops, tells about their advantages and underlines the unusualness of some of them: in Ak-Mosque there are "special shops with doors from both sides, like a bezistan" [Ibid., p. 69].

A special place among the constructions, noted by Evliya Çelebi, is taken by different hotels and inns (hans). Being a traveler, he evaluated them fairly thoroughly. The example of Karasu-Bazaar is quite bright, as there were eight constructions of this type there. Pointing out a general number of hanas, Evliya Çelebi gives them the following description:

"The best of them is the Khan of Grand Vizier Sefer Ghazi-aga, located on the market in the city centre. It looks like the fortress of the city of Karasu. As there is no fortress in this city. By perimeter, this construction is around 400 steps. This is a beautiful fortress, made of stone, massive in Shaddad manner and very solid. There are two iron gates. Inside, there is a water source. There are 120 external and internal rooms on two floors. From all the four sides, there are gun ports, and on the four corners there are big towers, like guard-towers. In case of siege, this huge khan can turn out stronger than a fortress. However, around it, there is no moat as it was built up in a narrow city, in the middle of the market. <... > In this khan, there is built a two-floor cloister without a minaret.

<... > And above new iron gates, the following tarih is written: "Wise, as Asaf, Sefer Ghazi-aga / built up this han by the laws of geometry, / having seen the completion of the construction of this khan, / Fetkhi said: let it be the tarih "Built by Aga". / 1065".

Not far from this khan, in the rows of shoe-makers, there is a khan of Shirin-bey, which seemed to be built up according to the sketch of Sefer Ghazi-aga, but it is small. Besides these two, here are no other khans with iron gates, like fortresses. However, other khans are also well-arranged" [Ibid., p. 73]

At the moment, there are only ruins of the building of Sefer Ghazi-aga. They can only slightly add to the description of Evliya Çelebi. The gates are located from the western side. Above the entrance arch, at the level of the second floor, there is a rectangular window with an iron bar. From above and sides, its plat-band is decorated with carved rosettes. Between openings, in the middle, there is a slab with dedicatory writing. The rooms are vaulted. The lower part of the wall had no exit, the upper one had gun ports. The laying thickness at the level of the second floor is 1,50 m [Zasytkin, 1929, p. 159].

The second khan of Shirin-bey, which looked like the first one by Evliya Çelebi, was built up by Sefer Ghazi-aga, is preserved better and is being restored more thoroughly. The building in the plan is rectangular. The gates are located at the northern side. The entrance aperture ended with a cyma recta arch. Above it, there was a tarih (lost later). And a little bit above, at the level of the second floor, there was a square window with an iron bar. The rest of the upper rooms were exposed to light through gun ports: six were in the northern and eastern walls, and eight were on the western facade. The exceptions are the corner parts of the building, where the ruins of the towers can be seen. Each of the two layers had one barred window with dimensions 0.80×0.80 m. The rooms of the khan were vaulted. They are located on two floors, framing a spacious court along the perimeter. The lower ones were for animals and storing of goods, the upper ones were

for living and had fireplaces. They were connected with a covered terrace on wooden pillars. The roof of the construction was tiled [Ibid., pp. 159–160, table VII].

Unlike the constructions of Karasu-Bazaar, the khans of other settlements in the Crimean Khanate did not survive. Nowadays, they can be visualized only by the descriptions of Evliya Çelebi. It is noteworthy that the names of Sefer Ghazi-aga, vizier of the Crimean khans Islam-Giray III (1644–1654) and Muhammad Giray IV (1654–1666) and his relatives are referred by the traveler to some other best hotels, built in different places of the peninsula: in Bakhchysaray, Ak-Mosque, and even the Ottoman Kefe [Book of travels, 1999, pp. 49, 69, 93]. It is supposed to be not only a tribute to the hospitality of their kindly owner, but an obviously true fact. The status and fortune of the leading person in the government allowed him to employ the best specialists of that time to construct his caravan serais. The content of the tarih in the Karasu-Bazaar construction and Evliya Çelebi's impressions prove that they had mastered the secrets of geometry and draftsmanship.

Whenever possible in his book, the Turkish traveler tried to show the entire identity of settlements of the Crimean Khanate, relatively comprehensive descriptions of which allows us to get some idea about their planning pattern, landscaping and architectural aspects.

According to description by Evliya Çelebi of the northern steppe districts of the peninsula, where he had started his journey from, at that time they looked somehow wasted and did not have any structure refinements. For instance, after his visit to the Or Fortress and its suburbs "with no bridges", he tells about "mainly single-story turf houses" and even mentions a "decorated reed palace". Speaking about the Tuzla settlement, the traveler mentioned buildings with dirt roofs and "walls made of planks and bull's manure". Other steppe villages (Kishkara, Kenekes, Jelyairly, Kodzhamak) he had seen were not significantly more attractive either—"without trees, gardens and

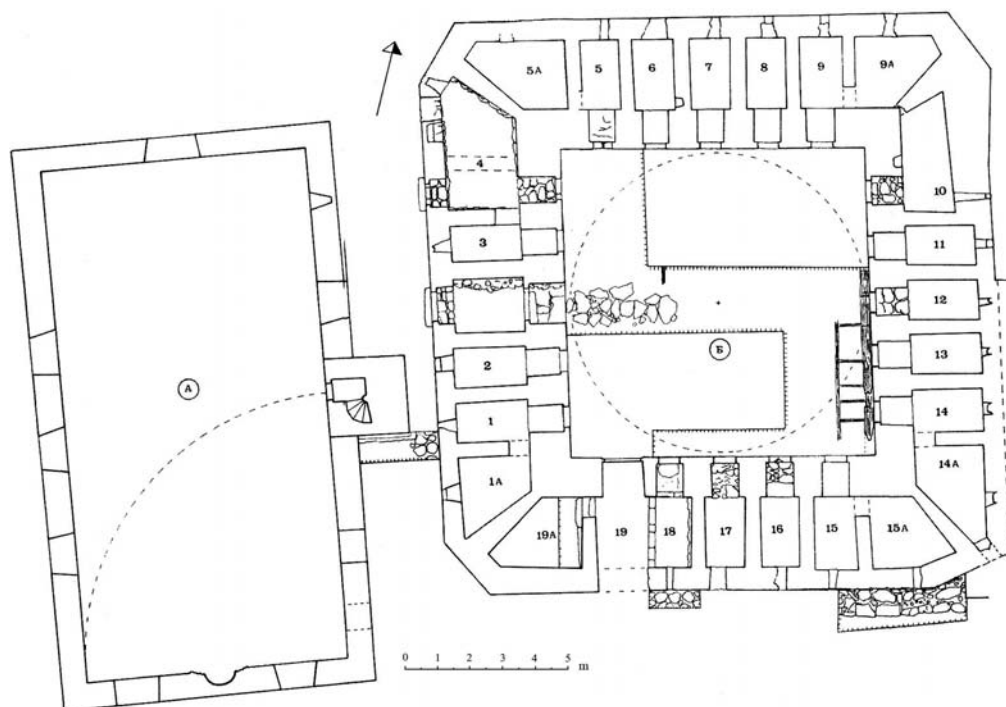


Fig. 18. Layout of the Shukurla-effendi mosque and tekke in Gezlev [Kutaisov, Kutaisova, 2007, p. 96]

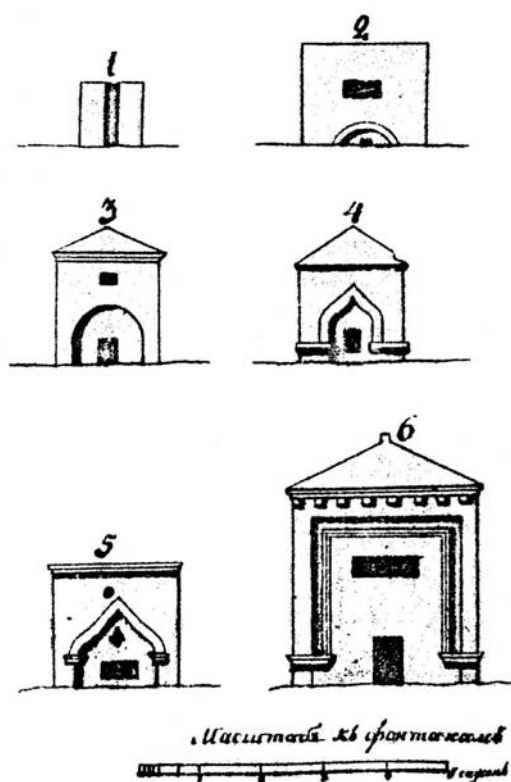


Fig. 19. Fountains of Gezlev. Drawing by lieutenant Zhukov, the late 18th century [Pridnev, 2004, fig. 9]

vineyards" but with the following buildings: "Walls of their buildings are made of mud bricks and wide bricks made of manure. And they are decorated with dirty straw". Just a bit further to the south, in villages settled by the standard bearers of the khan (Besh-Evli, Elkesen, Kodzhalak, Butash), he mentions vivid changes in their appearance—"One can see here turf houses, but their walls are made of stone", and later, during his stop in Buzyayshi, he provides a convincing explanation for his observation: "Their houses are made of stone, because the village is close to a rock site" [Ibid., pp. 12, 13, 18, 19].

After his long journey across the steppe, the Gezlev was considered by Evliya Celebi as a real city—with a fortress, port, several markets and many beautiful mosques, buildings of khans, bath houses, madrasah, tekke, schools for youths, shops, buza-hane and bawdy houses. The traveler tried to associate the toponym with some architectural features of the first houses, which like a caravan had only hole for light on the top—as if they were "with eyes" [Ibid., p. 19].

However, most of all, Evliya Çelebi was surprised by one building in the outskirts—"there are windmills on the top of ten stone towers, they look different, they remind of watermills", he did not see similar buildings in any other country visited before [Ibid., p. 21].

A well-thought out drinking water supply system of Gezlev provoked just as much interest. He mentioned seven well-organized springs in the city in total, out of which, in his opinion, the best one was a "big spring under a dome" located on the central market, built by Islam Girey in 1061 AH (1650/51). Evliya Çelebi writes that: "The spring water is pulled by horses from the wells, located in a four-hour-walk from the At-kapu gates. Great masters provided the city with water, and [water] goes from the springs to the khans, mosques, bath houses <... >. These wonderful and strange wells with water wheels are a very interesting sight. Due to significant donations, all city springs are under watchful control and there is no risk of their damage and harm" [Ibid., p. 23]. However, the city water supply system reliability was based on not only the continuous maintenance, but on the design features of the main units of the system, and, first of all, on the use of special underground galleries, similar to Iranian kahrezes. The peculiarity of Gezlev tunnels was that there was a ceramic water pipeline under the floor, in stone floored rectangular canals. Springs, mentioned by the traveler, were mainly representing an ordinary cheshme of different shape, decorated with arched niches and different cornices (Fig. 19) [Pridnev, pp. 56–88].

The second, equally important, city of the Crimean Khanate was Karasu-Bazaar, which was also later visited by Evliya Çelebi, it had significant differences from Gezlev, first of all, in infrastructure development and architectural environment, which are pretty eloquently reflected in descriptions given by the traveler: "The Karasu River flows through the city, buildings are located on both banks of the river. <... > House yards have wooden fences. <... > Springs flow

through the entire city. <... > There are no lead-painted houses in the city. All houses have ruby red-tiled roofs and are well constructed. <... > There is a small number of paved streets in the city. In the winter, when hundreds of thousands of Tatars come to city riding horses, as a result of their traffic, the city dust turns into sea, where people drown. But markets with wooden roofs have pavement. In order to keep the horse-riding Tatars from entering the market, poles are driven in from corner to corner. <... > A house without a garden is a rare view in this city. <... > There are many graceful and tall poplars" [Book of Travels, 1999, pp. 72–75].

Evliya Çelebi also mentions great numbers of water mills on the river, about stone bridges, that were leveled with the ground as a result of the Karasu overflow and about wooden structures that replaced them, about a great many mosques, out of which the cathedral mosques were made of stone, had a tiled roof and stone minarets". The traveler also mentions madrasah, tekke, khans, inns for single men, schools for boys, shops, bath houses, coffee houses and meyhanas. It is likely that the identity of architectural environment of Karasu-Bazaar was determined by the cultural traditions of the main part of population of the city—strong Armenian diaspora and refugees from "Tokat, Sivas and Amasya running from the Anatolian oppression" [Ibid., pp. 72, 74].

In comparison with other steppe districts of the peninsula, there is a difference even in the residential development of the city, which, according to Evliya Çelebi, consists of mainly "two-story tiled roof houses with gardens and vineyards" and only "sometimes one may come across turf houses", however, "many hundreds of houses do not have stone walls, they are made of wood" [Ibid., p. 72]. The ethnographic material shows a wide expansion of so-called "tur-luchny" type buildings in this part of the district, and a specific roof construction, slug ridges which are supported by thick wooden poles with a fork on the top or rafters in the form of a trestle ("makas") rest-

ing upon horizontal beams of the wall [Kuf-tin, 1925, pp. 28–31, table VI].

The most landscaped, well-groomed and green settlement in the Crimean Khanate was the capital city of Bakhchysaray. Evliya Çelebi keeps on admiring the almost paradisaical view of the city, which is fully consistent with its name. He starts his story with a description of Aşlama Garden: "All khans, their sons and sultans, their wives and daughters recreate themselves in this garden. It is a very beautiful garden, where, just like in the Garden of Eden—Gulistan, a murmuring water flows from one end to another, stops alongside palaces, located at the corners of the garden. <... > All highly-respected khans in different parts of the garden have built various gold-plated decorated wonderful palaces, pavilions, summerhouses, as if they are made of Chinese porcelain. There are different swimming pools, fountains and palaces-khavernaks, they are so beautiful, that if a person, who knows something about architecture, looks at them, will put his finger to his lips, and his mind will be amazed.

There are different fruit trees, which do not grow in any other place, neither in Crimea, nor in any other country. <... > There are thousands of flower types with wonderful scents, that were sent as gifts to the khans, fill the breath with fragrance. Especially wonderful are the bulbs of Anatolian bakiraza, similar to Rum musk, and grafts of Trabzon pink, Istanbul golden tulip "Monla Celebi", tulip "Chili Haji", tulip "Kagithane", different red peonies, Istantkoy hyacinth, and many hundreds of thousands of flowering types of bulbs, sent as gifts, are represented in this garden. Those, entering the garden, think that they appeared in eternal Paradise. All trees blossom in the summer, plum, apple, pear, cherry, sour cherry, and other trees blossom, other flowers bloom. <... > Brooks and springs-selsibili murmur in-between lawns and flower gardens in the shade of different tall trees, pure water is pumped to leaves and fruits from hundreds of water jets, water from fountains flows to trees as a Blessed rain.

Great specialists from many countries and many thousands of captives—specialists in Jamshid arts—constructed in this garden buildings in various architectural styles. Indeed, just as the city of miracles, Constantinople—that is, Istanbul, has the same buildings as the Ashlama Garden [Book of Travels, 1999, pp. 40–41].

It is entirely possible that right here—in the Ashlama Garden of Eden, the sophisticated portal "Demir-hapu" was located at one time, too, but later was moved to the khan's palace in Bakhchysaray. This was a unique building, that was built in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance with eastern motifs, designed by a famous master of Lombard-Venice School Aleviz Noviy in 909 AH (1505) [Ernst, 1928, pp. 39–54].

"The garden of desires" Ashlama was located in a wide gorge in the eastern suburbs of Bakhchysaray, alongside the Eski-Salajik—predecessor of the capital, the city was given an appropriate prefix, indicating its age, by Evliya Çelebi (Fig. 20). This settlement, surrounded at one time by a fortress, was identified by the traveler as an ancient city with many houses, "red tiled, with high pipes" and with "many rooms in caves under the rocks". He tells that: "All buildings are made of stone, with stone walls, wonderful and decorated, in an old architectural style". He had mentioned five districts in total, each of them had a mosque with an "old style minaret". According to Evliya Çelebi, just occasional reminders of onetime grandeur of Eski-Salajik are left in the city—"the big madrasah of Mengli Giray Khan", "a wonderful bright bath house", "the old palace of Jochi Giray Khan", which is used as an armory of "the great palace of justice", "the madrasah of Sahib Giray Khan and türbe of preceding khans, full of light, where the padishahs graves are located under the peaked domes" [Book of Travels, 1999, pp. 38–40].

Evliya Çelebi describes only one building—the palace of Jochi Giray Khan: "Now this palace represents a stone building, a small fortress. It is 200 steps around the perimeter. There are 4 towers, iron gates look to the west. There is a mosque with two short

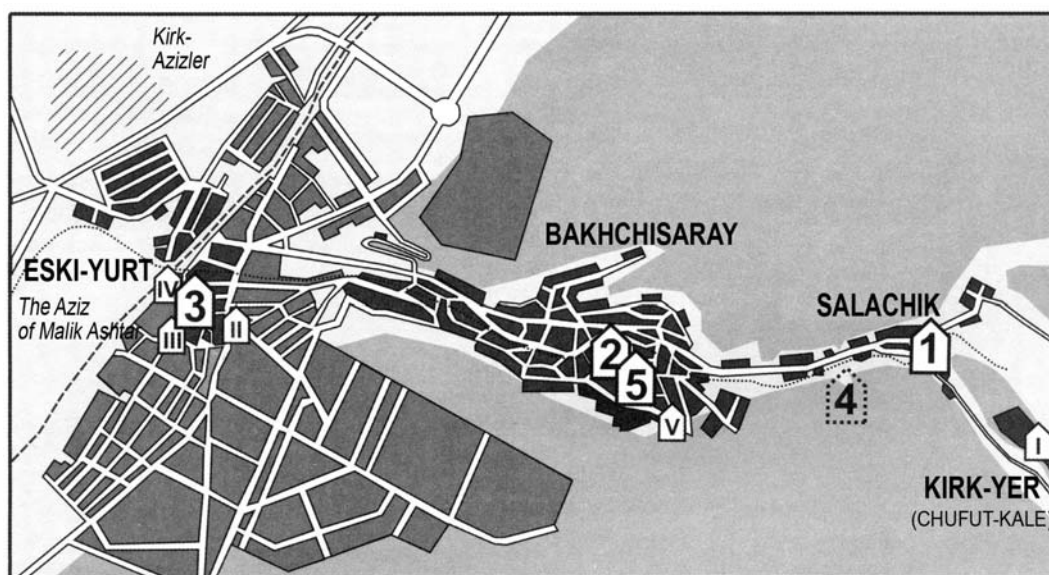


Fig. 20. Muslim mausoleums in Bakhchisaray's historical districts. Layout plan.

The khans' mausoleums: 1—Haci Giray's (latter half of the 15–early 16th centuries), 2—Devlet Giray's (northern) burial-vault in the khan's palace (16th century), 3—Mehmed II Giray's burial-vault (latter half of the 16–first third of the 17th centuries), 4—probable location of Selyamet I Giray's burial-vault (early 17th century), 5—Islyam Giray's (southern) burial-vault in the khan's palace (middle of the 17th century) Other mausoleums: I—Janyke-khanym's burial-vault (first half of the 15th century), II—Bey-Yude-Sultan's burial-vault (early 15th century*), III—Ahmed-Bey's burial-vault (14–15th centuries*), IV—Mehmed bey's burial vault (16th century*), V—Dilyara-bikech's burial-vault (latter half of the 18th century).

*—dates are presumed [Gayvoronsky, 2006, p. 47]

minarets. The minarets are so small that a person cannot get inside, and it is impossible to read Ezan" [Ibid., p. 39]. According to the description, appearance-wise, the palace was the same as one of an ordinary khan, and small minarets, likely, were decorative architectural forms in the shape of pinnacles, that were later widespread in architecture of the Crimean Khanate.

"The Big madrasah of Mengli Giray Khan", that was mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, was built in 906 AH (1500). It represents a square building with a rectangular courtyard, surrounded by an open gallery (Fig. 21). On three side, along the side walls and back wall, there are cells and classrooms. The entrance was on the south side. The madrasah had an arched door, with an iron chain suspended outside from the ends and in the middle, which made every person entering the madrasah to incline his head in a respectful manner. The gallery is covered with a dome set upon pendentives with wall

arches of vaulted form, resting on square piers of the courtyard and wall frame. Cells and classrooms ended with arches [Zasypkin, 1927, p. 158, table VI; Yakobson, 1964, p. 141, fig. 46, table XXXVI; Ibrahimova, 2005a, pp. 145–151].

The tomb of the first ruler of the Crimean Khanate Hacı Giray, which was also built by his son Mengli Giray, was located close to the madrasah. It is dated by the sign on the entrance, 907 AH (1501/02). The mausoleum was octagon-shaped inside and with Seljuk type monumental portal from outside. The building was covered with a dome set upon pendentives and had an octagonal cylinder. The entrance to the building above ground level was from the south, entrance to the chapel was from the north-east. Unlike completely ascetic exterior of the adjacent madrasah, the tomb had a richly decorated exterior. The top and bottom parts of the main walls are supported by cornices, whose corners are decorated with three-quarter col-

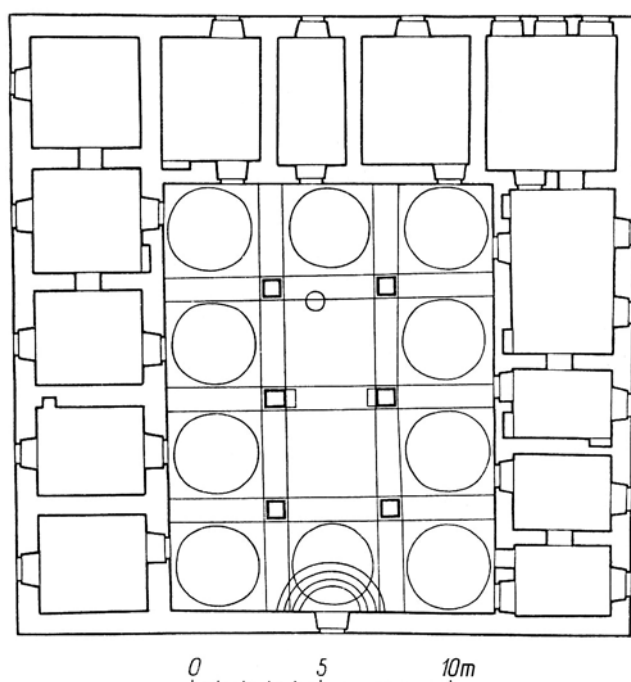


Fig. 21. The Mengli Giray Khan madrasah ("Zindjirly-madrasah") in Eski Salachik [Jakobson, 1964, fig. 46]

umns with cuts. There are two types of window apertures: rectangular—one each at the side walls and arched—three of them, at the back walls. All of them had corrugated window casings. The most decorated part of the building is the entrance. The exterior perimeter of the main facade of the portal is sur-

rounded by a relief of the "Seljuk chain". Its aperture had a keel arch at the end. The interior space of the building is covered with a dome set upon stalactite cloistered vault of a complex shape. There are five-sided niches of pylons with a cellular conch. The door is installed into a relief frame made of wicker bands. All background surfaces and some parts are covered with solid incised ornaments. According to B.N. Zasytkin, this tomb, having some common features with Seljuk-style buildings, generally is already under the influence of Ottoman art and Renaissance tendencies, which were reflected in over-decorated designs with partial loss of sense of proportion through derogation of architectural forms and proportions [Zasytkin, 1927, pp. 126–127, table III; Gavriyuk, Ibrahimova, 2010, pp. 29–65; Kirilko, 2012, pp. 214–217].

In his description of planning patterns of Bakhchysaray, Evliya Çelebi, objectively, twice had mentioned one major disadvantage of the location of the capital: "Since the water of the river Ashlama, flowing through the city, and flowing from the city of Salajik, is full of waste, its name is Churuk-Su. It is used to turn many mills and it carries lots

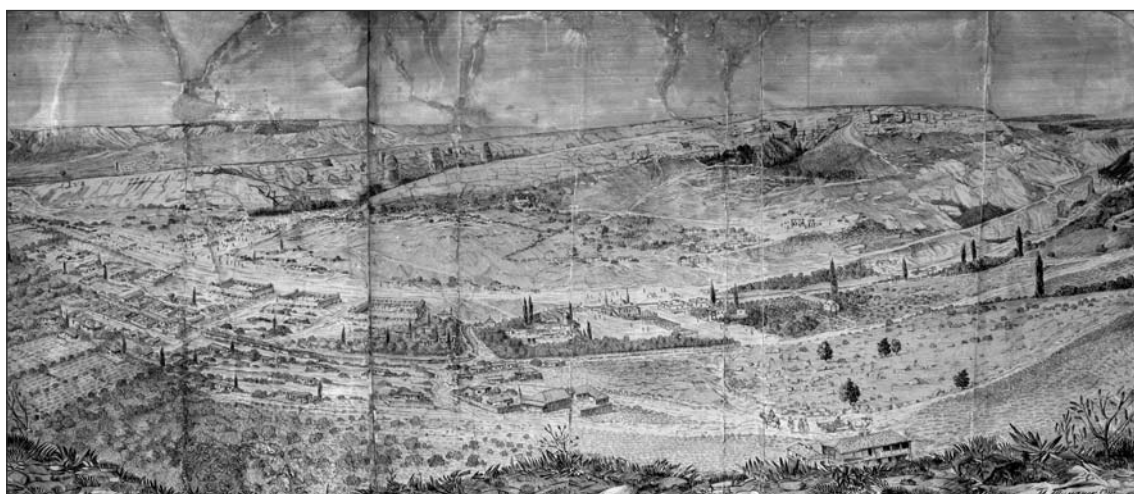


Fig. 22. General view of Bakhchysaray from the South. Drawing by P. Tumansky, 1933. Presumably, an engraving copy at the turn of the 16–17th centuries (BHCP, Bakhchysaray)

of waste, flows west and, going through the gunpowder factory and lots of water mills, through the fenced gardens, flows to Eski-Yurt. <... > It is water with a great deal of waste. It is not appropriate for human consumption. <... > There are 43 stone and wooden bridges in the city over this Churuk-Su River. There are two-story ruby-red tiled houses on the left and on the right hand side. Houses with gardens and vineyards go up to the foot of the hill and rocks" [Book of Travels, 1999, pp. 39, 42–43].

The aboveground level part of a traditional Bakhchysaray house usually was made of rubble with clay mortar and strengthened with wooden belts, and the street facing wall was very thick and protruded higher. The second floor was made of clay covered by wicker fencing or kalyb. In the most simple occasion, each level consisted of one room, with small halls and pantries. It is not infrequent that the upper story differs from the lower by size and shape, overhanging on one side or at the corner. The overhanging part of the building is supported by wooden bent supports, abutting against the wall. The gallery was arranged from the courtyard. Many houses had incised wooden ceiling, decorated with solid geometric ornaments, with a relief rosette in the centre. The impact of the Ottoman artistic style is especially clearly seen in the bright-colored ceiling lamps, decorative painting of walls and wooden structures, windows with window panes, arch doors, and the same style fireplace [Kuftin, 1925, pp. 7–12, table I–III, XI–XIII, XV; Zasytkin, 1927, pp. 163–166].

According to the book of the Turkish traveler, other buildings of Bakhchysaray were represented by many mosques, madrasah, schools for boys, tekke, khans, palaces of nobility, bath houses, bezestan, shops, coffee houses, buzahane, craftsmen dormitories, buildings for feeding beggar travelers and even by a hospital with "several rooms". By the way, the Greek and Armenian churches were mentioned as well. Evliya Çelebi mentions lots of "lonely cages", located on both sides of the city and used by travelers as a kind of hotel: "It is a wonderful

and strange caravanserai" [Book of Travels, 1999, pp. 48–53].

The main building of the city was the kyeryunush—the palace and meeting place of the Divan, it was located on the southern bank of the Churuk-Su River, right next to it. According to Evliya Çelebi, it was built by Sahib Giray Khan (1532–1551) in seven years, and, as far as it was surrounded by the "Gardens of Eden", it was called Bakhchysaray. The traveler says that: "From four sides this palace looks like a fortress and is surrounded by stone walls, similar to the buildings of Shaddad. However, the palace does not have battlements and towers. Its perimeter is 560 steps around, there are four strong and firm iron gates. The north gate is called as Zarb-khane-kapu. There is a key-kavus kitchen, basement and chashnegir and kyergy rooms on that side. The other gate, on the southern side, is called as Bakhche-kapu gate. One more gate, that opens in the direction of qibla, is called Eski-kyeryunush-kapu gate. And one more gate, Eni-kyeryunush-kapu gate, is an entrance to a harem. Black aghas stand there and [protect] the big Harem gate. There are 360 wonderful rooms behind this gate, they are located one above another, with niches, and big palaces with innumerable various paintings, similar to a chameleon. Each building is built by one of the padishahs [Ibid., p. 43].

During the entire period of its existence, the palace was continuously renovated and repeatedly rebuilt. In 1737, it was burnt down by troops of field marshal Münnich, later was completely reconstructed and modified, but in general, despite significant losses, preserved the initial structure and some early buildings (Fig. 23). The composite core of the palace is a big longitudinally extended courtyard, stretching from the north to the south. From the front and from the sides it is surrounded by groups of buildings, some of them are fenced by walls and form independent ensembles with in-house courtyards. The territory of the palace was divided into designated zones—there were ceremonial, administrative, residential and several utility zones [Markevich, 1895, pp.

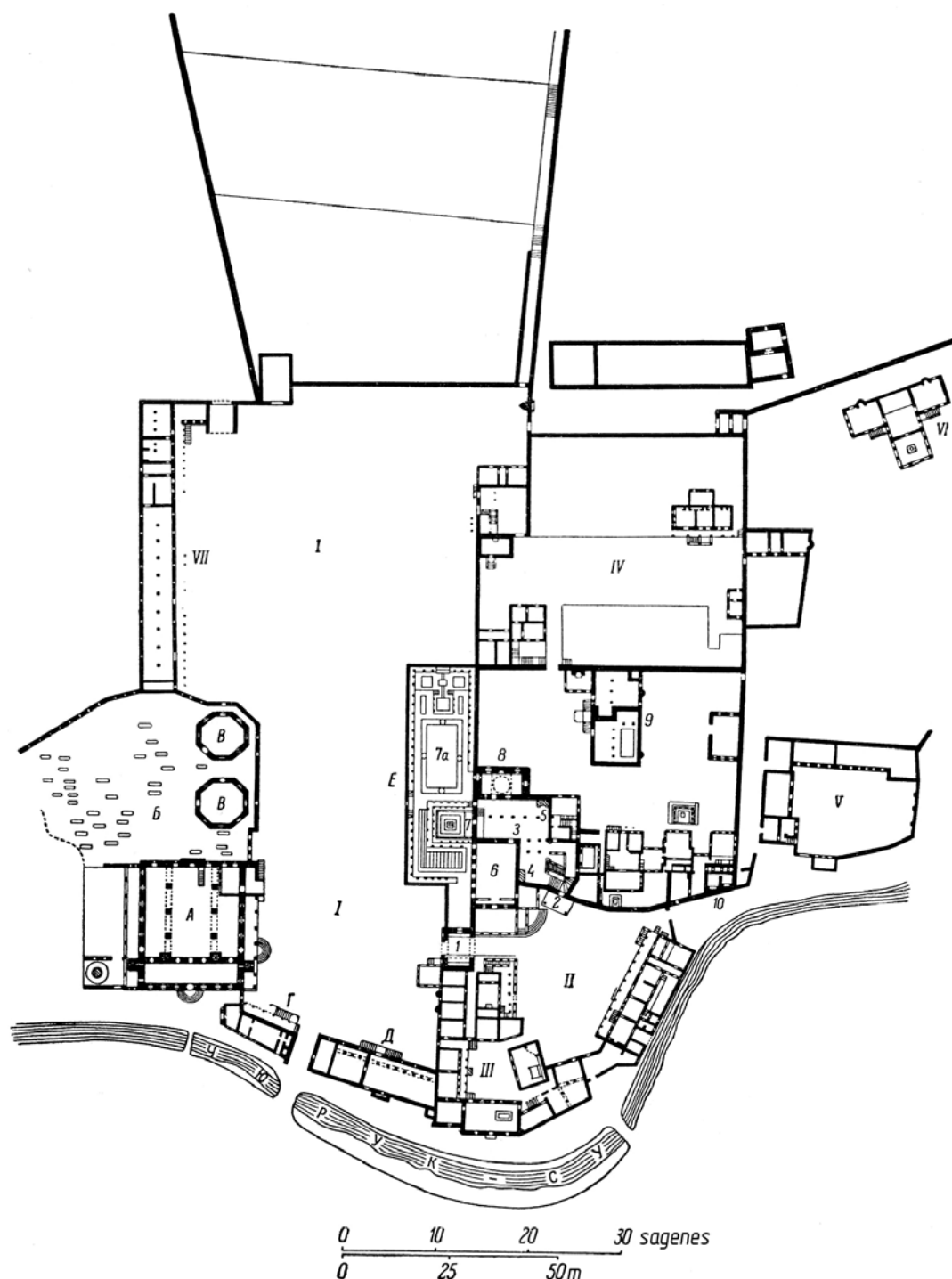


Fig. 23. Layout of the khan's palace in Bakhchysarai, created by V. Hastie in 1798: I—big courtyard; II—internal courtyard (ambassadorial); III—kitchen courtyard; IV—backyard; V—bakers' yard; VI—old palace; VII—stables. A—mosque of 1740; B—khans' cemetery; C—burial-vault of khans' cemetery; D—building of the suite; E—guest rooms; F—the main building. 1—gate; 2—"iron gate", 1503 r.; 3—fountain narrow courtyard; 4—"fountain of tears", 1763; 5—"Golden fountain", 1733; 6—Divan (Hall of Council and Court); 7—Golden or Fruit room, 1764; 7a—flower garden with a fountain and a pool; 8—mosque of 1741; 9—harem; 10—bath [Jacobson, 1964, fig. 47]

130–176; Gengross, 1912, pp. 3–32; Yakobson, 1964, pp. 142–146, fig. 47, table XXXVIII–XLI; Ponomaryova, 1996b, pp. 48–58; Ibrahimova, 2005, pp. 140–143.].

At the north gate, on the east side, Sahib Giray Khan (1532–1551) at the time built the cathedral mosque. About how it looked in the 1660s Evliya Çelebi tells: "Its walls are made of firm stone. This old construction is the house of God, it has a dome, it is a lath house [lath sticks out as needles] hedgehog. <... > This ancient mosque is 110 steps long from qibla doors to mihrab, and it measures 70 steps across. <... > Inside the mosque, there is a ceiling beam, rested upon 20 oak piers, on top of the beam—there is an old style ceiling. On the right, there is a worship place for families of fame-worthy khans. Various silver candle-holders and pendants are hanging above this high place. This mosque does not have the [external] harem, because the Churuk-Su River flows in front of the qibla doors. The mosque consists of qibla doors, khans doors, there is a low, old architectural style, minaret, there are windows on the left, on the right and on the qibla side—looking to the Tomb Garden" [Book of Travels, 1999, p. 48].

In 1740, the mosque was completely reconstructed by Selyamet Giray Khan, after the reconstruction, it took the form of a building rectangular in plan with a three-aisled hall and a porch under the hipped tiled roof with big eaves. Along the side walls of the building, located outside are open galleries with arcades on octagonal columns. The mosque has three entrances: the northern—from the river side, from the street, the western—from the main courtyard, the eastern—from the garden. On each side of the building, opposite to the southern part of porch, there is a symmetrical dodecahedral minaret of symmetrical proportions with exquisitely decorated incised sherf. There is a khan's box consisting of two rooms with a separate entrance from the outside in the south-western corner of the building at the level of the chorus (Fig. 24).

A small cemetery—"the Tomb Garden", surrounded by stone wall with two gates, ad-

joins the southern wall of the mosque. There are three buildings in the cemetery: two tombs—one of Devlet Giray (1512–1577) and the second one of Islam Giray (1604–1654), and a rotunda with a grave of Mengli II Giray (1678–1739) [Ibid., p. 48; Gayvovronsky, 2006, pp. 14–19]. Both mausoleums are of the same dimensional composition and size, but have some specific details. They are of octagonal shape inside and the domed structures outside with an octagonal cylinder, located at 45° from the axis. There were two-level windows: the lower—rectangular in shape with lattice, the upper—arched. Entrance to the tomb of Devlet Giray from both sides is ornamented with five-canted niches with cellular conches. The corners of the main part of the second mausoleum are decorated with round pilasters. There is an octagonal rotunda with features of traditional sufi commemorative architecture.

There is a Sari Guzel bath-house to the east of the mosque, it was also built by Sahib Giray Khan in 939 AH (1532/33) [Book of Travels, 1999, p. 51]. It stands a little



Fig. 24. Entrance to the khan's lodge in the Great Palace mosque of Bakhchysaray. View from the North-West, 2006. Photo by O.I. Sergeeva

apart—outside the palace complex, in nearest proximity to it although, as if being connected to it. The building has an asymmetric layout and consists of three domed halls for taking baths, several auxiliary rooms, and gallery at the entrance. The only words that Evliya Çelebi said about the building itself was that it is "a place for relaxation of the soul" and mentioned the words of the written statement "above the high door". In a similar way, using the appropriate epithets, he also usually describes the other bath-houses of the Crimean Khanate: the Or Fortress—"a small light bath-house with pleasant air and water", Gezlev—"their buildings, air and water are very pleasant, these are light baths pleasing to the heart", Karasu-Bazaar—"its air and building are charming", "wonderful bath house, well decorated, like a chameleon", Salajik—"wonderful light bath-house with excellent water, air and building", Bakhchysaray—"an old dark bath-house covered with low dome" [Ibid., pp. 12, 22, 39, 51, 74].

The only exception is a building, dated back to 1070 AH (1659/60)—"a big bath-house of Muhammad Giray Khan" in Bakhchysaray, the traveler gave a relatively detailed description of the architecture: "This is a wonderful domed ruby-red tiled bath-house. There is no similar, built on a beautiful place, wonderful bath-house in Crimea. Water, air, building and layout are incomparable. <... > The floor is covered with various unpolished marble. In six bathrooms, over the baths made of polished gold-plated [marble] of onyx and rust color, there are taps, faced with gold, and the same style basins, as if they are covered with pure gold. There is a small and octagonal podium at the centre. Fountains at the centre of the podium, splash [the water] up to the dome, covered with crystal clean glass. This podium is decorated like a chameleon, and a fountain has a wonderful bowl" [Ibid., p. 50].

Bath houses were an integral part of residents' lives, thus, of the architecture of the Crimean Khanate. According to examples, they preserve traditions of the Ottoman architecture and were built based on Constantinople patterns [Zasyrkin, 1927, pp. 160–163;

Pridnev, 1997, pp. 129–136].

One more mosque of the complex stands out from the other buildings of the Bakhchysaray palace, which were built during its major reconstruction, with its unusual architectonics. It is located in the administrative area, opposite to the building of Divan, with which it is connected via a courtyard. The structure is the only one among the well-known in the region, the Muslim place of worship located across from the ritual hall. Its central part was covered by a dome on pendentives with clipped arches, and had an octagonal cylinder. The painting of the internal surface of walls imitates a facing with marble plates. The only entrance is from the north. The mosque portal was decorated with relief ornaments and rosettes.

The courtyard in front of the mosque is decorated with two asynchronous springs—"The golden fountain", dated 1733, and "The fountain of tears", dated 1733—the sophisticated architectural structures with ornamental cuts in the spirit of Italian Renaissance and French Baroque.

The building of Divan, built in 1736, was a rectangular-plan double-height hall with chorus. The windows had colored glazing and open-work lattice. The internal surface of walls at one time was covered with tiles. There is a white marble fountain in the centre of the building, and sofas with bright coverings were set along the perimeter. Next to it, on the second floor, there was a hall for ceremonial receptions—luxurious and richly decorated room with two big niches, which were designed, accordingly, for the khan and court musicians.

On the east side of the courtyard, between the Divan and mosque, there is the "Golden room" of Krym Giray Khan, built in 1764—again double-height hall with 24 windows. Fine threads of wooden glue-laminated ceiling on the red background, crimson velvet with golden patterns of furniture cover and blue tones of wall painting, gave a particular smartness to the room, that was flooded with light from three sides.

Constructions of the palace complex, that were formed at the final stage of its existence,

display the changes, that occurred in the architecture of the Crimean Khanate, and, first of all, changes in the architecture of the capital, which was under the influence of Constantinople architectural trends more than any other city—at that time, it was representing the sophisticated combination of eastern and western European cultural traditions.

The ornamental finishing of internal space of the premises, filled with colorful pictures of bowls with flowers and simple bunches of flowers, trees with birds and various fruits, landscapes, in combination with marble fountains between the halls was turning them into some kind of continuation of a luxurious gardens, which everywhere surrounded the palace. Interior decoration was organically completed by floral designs and calligraphic patterns of the facades. According to lithography of Carlo Bossoli, even walls of the khan's tomb were painted in exotic colors from the outside.

Architectural decoration works of the palace, its main mosque (Fig. 25) and some houses are mainly associated with the works of a talented painter, architect and calligrapher Omer. At the order of Krym Giray Khan's wife, he built in Bakhchysaray in 1178 AH (1764) one of the main sophisticated and show-piece constructions of that time—Yemişli-Jami. This was a green tiled octagonal building with hipped roof. Walls were decorated outside with pilasters and ended with cornices. The entrance to the mosque was from the west side. The windows are double-height with alabaster stained-glass panels, edged with architraves and iron lattices. The minaret is built into the eastern wall. The perimeter of the middle part of the room is surrounded by a wooden colonnade, on the northern side at the level of upper windows a mehil is attached to it, it was added later. The Mihrab looks like a pentagonal vaulted stalactite niche. Paintings, demonstrating the style of a sensitive painter and first-class specialist, add a particular sophistication to the construction. The walls were stuccoed and painted in pleasant green color, which only occasionally was interrupted by picturesque raised panels and calligraphic inserts. Bells

and details of arches were made of alabaster and later painted. Flowers on the surface of arcades are painted in soft pink-straw color, legends on the walls, on the contrary, are painted to contrast perfectly with black paint on the white surface. An image of some mosque is painted with ornament script on both sides of the mihrab. A chandelier was hanging from a small decorated dome in the middle of the room [Zasyrkin, 1927, pp. 152–154, table VI].

Allegedly, Omer in 1763/64 built one of the most graceful mausoleums of the palace—the tomb of Dilyara-Bikech, which memorialized the most beautiful Rose from the khan's garden (Fig. 26:3). Octagonal building with octagonal oblique cylinder, located at 45° from the axis. The internal area is covered by a dome on pendentives. The volumetric composition of the building is typical of memorial structures of the palace, but differs from them significantly by the plastics of the facades. Walls had a clearly standing out cornices, high base and ended in the form of an attic. Corners of both parts were decorated to the full height with flat channeled pilasters with plaster side of horizontal profiles. Surfaces of walls and cylinder were decorated with arches of different shapes, the lower and middle of which are combined with lining of windows and the entrance.

Mausoleums of Eski Yurt, the western province of the city, composed a separate group of memorial buildings of Bakhchysaray. One of the most esteemed Muslim objects of worship in Crimea was the ziyaret of Malik-Ashter at the place called Aziz [Ibid., pp. 116–120]. Evliya Çelebi reports about three burial-vaults with "domes covered with lead" [Book of Travels, 1999, p. 60]. They are placed rather compactly, surrounded by numerous burial places (Fig. 27). The Mausoleum of Mehmed II Giray (1532–1584) dated back to the late 16—the first third of the 17th centuries is the most monumental of them [Gayvoronsky, 2006, pp. 8–9]. A burial-vault is an octagonal building with a sixteen-edged cylinder (Fig. 26:2). The internal space of the building is covered with a dome supported by pendentives. External corners are decorated



Fig. 25. Painting on the tympanum in the western facade of the Bakhchysaray's Great Palace mosque, 2008. Photo by V.P. Kirilko

with round pilasters and pilaster side at the cornice. Each of its sides was decorated with a rectangle profile frame, in which there were window embrasures at two levels: they were rectangle ones at the bottom with iron bars and arch ones with arched frames at the top. The entrance was from the North-East.

Two other mausoleums mentioned by Evliya Çelebi are smaller and less impres-

sive. One of them also has a polyhedral layout with a dome kind of covering, but without a cylinder (Fig. 26:4). Its corner pilasters are round, the surface of the walls is absolutely even, only embrasures of three windows and entrance diversify the view. The second burial-vault is cuboid and is covered with a dome on pendentives (Fig. 26:5). Its cylinder is formed by angle projections. The walls ended with cornices. The precise dates of both buildings are unknown.

There is mausoleum erected by a Muhammed-Shah-bey for his mother Bey-Yude-sultan, according to the inscription over the entrance. This is a cuboid building with oblique angles forming octahedral basis of the dome (Figs. 28–30). Compressed pendentives matched them inside. The entrance of the burial-vault was from the south and ornamented with a seljuk type portal with a plinth and niches decorated with stalactite, bold frames and carved rosettes. The building was highlighted by rectangular windows on each side. The vault of the mausoleum had a domical covering and a separate exit situated in the central part of the eastern wall. Numismatic materials suggest us to date this burial-vault to the last quarter of the 18th century (about 1778) [Kirilko, 2009].

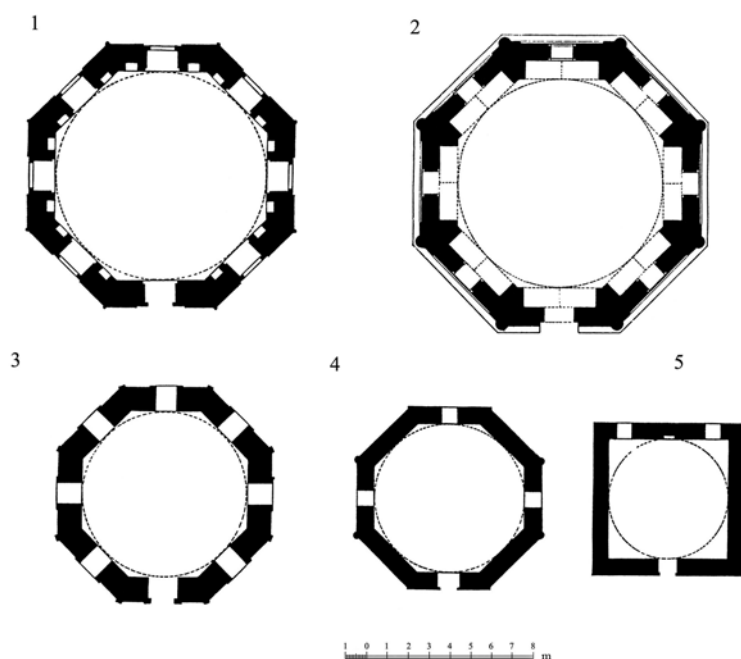


Fig. 26. Layouts of the Muslim mausoleums in Bakhchysaray: 1—Islyam Giray's burial-vault (middle of the 17th century); 2—Mehmed II Giray's burial-vault (latter half of the 16th century—the first third of the 17th century); 3—Dilyara-bikech's burial-vault (latter half of the 18th century); 4—"Small octahedron" burial-vault (16th century), 5—Ahmed-Bey's burial-vault (14–15th centuries) [Zasyupkin, 1927, Figs. 2–4, 6, 7].

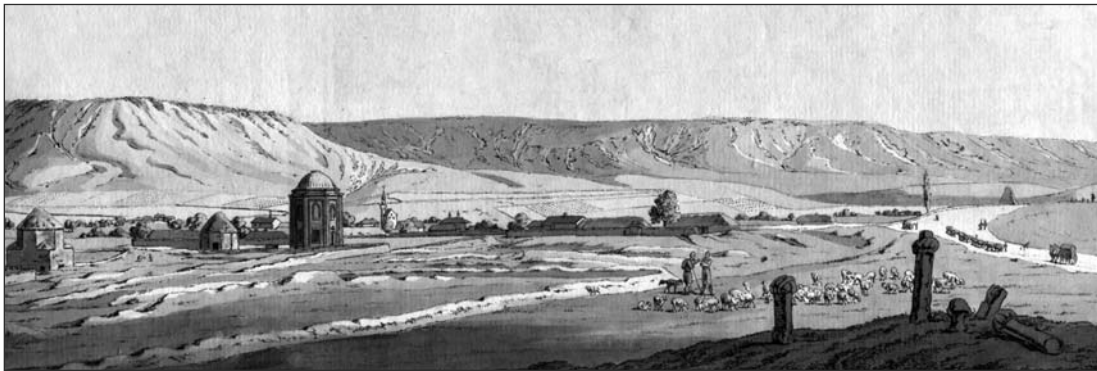


Fig. 27. View of Eski-Yurt from the album of painter G. Geijsler (Geijsler G. Voyages entrepris dans les gouvernemens méridionaux de l'empire de Russie, dans les années 1793 et 1794, par M. le professeur Pallas. Planches de l'imprimerie de Jacob. Paris, M.DCCL.V. T.2, Pl.3)
(Central Museum of Taurida, Simferopol)

Fig. 28 Layout of a tomb of Mohammed Shah Bey in Eski-Yurt
[Kirilko, 2008a, fig. 14]

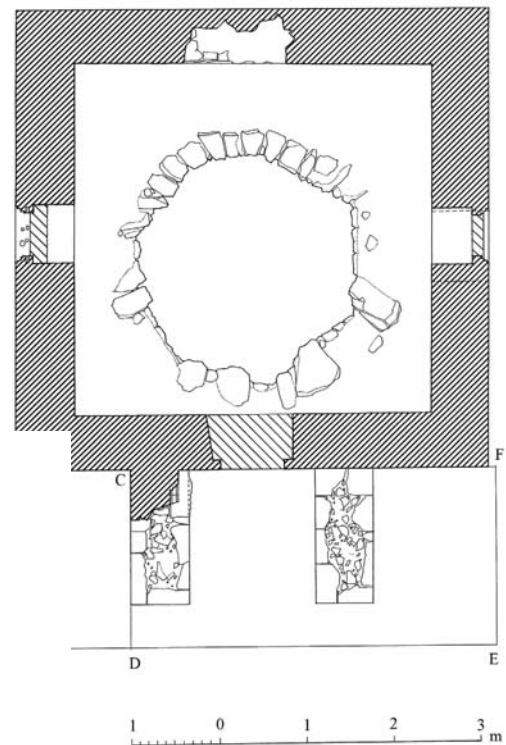
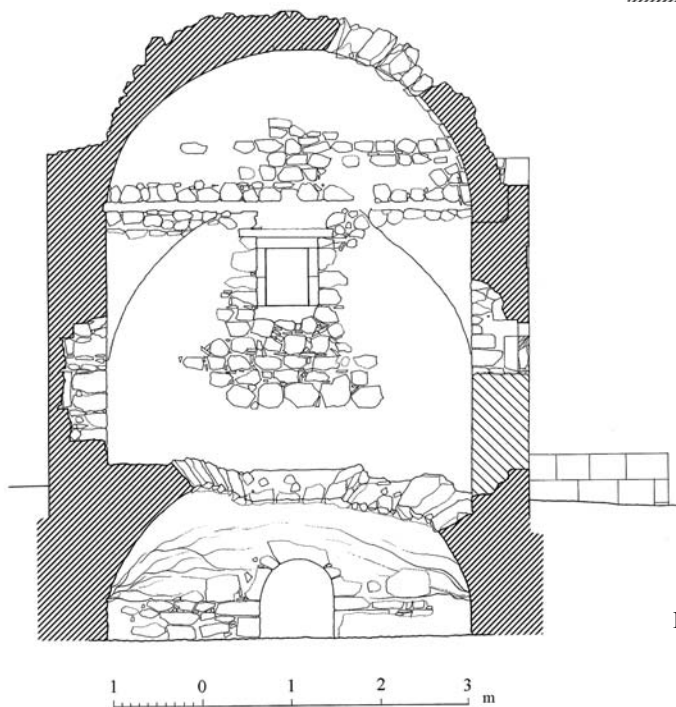


Fig. 29 Cross-section of Mohammed Shah Bey's tomb in Eski-Yurt [Kirilko, 2008a, fig. 16]

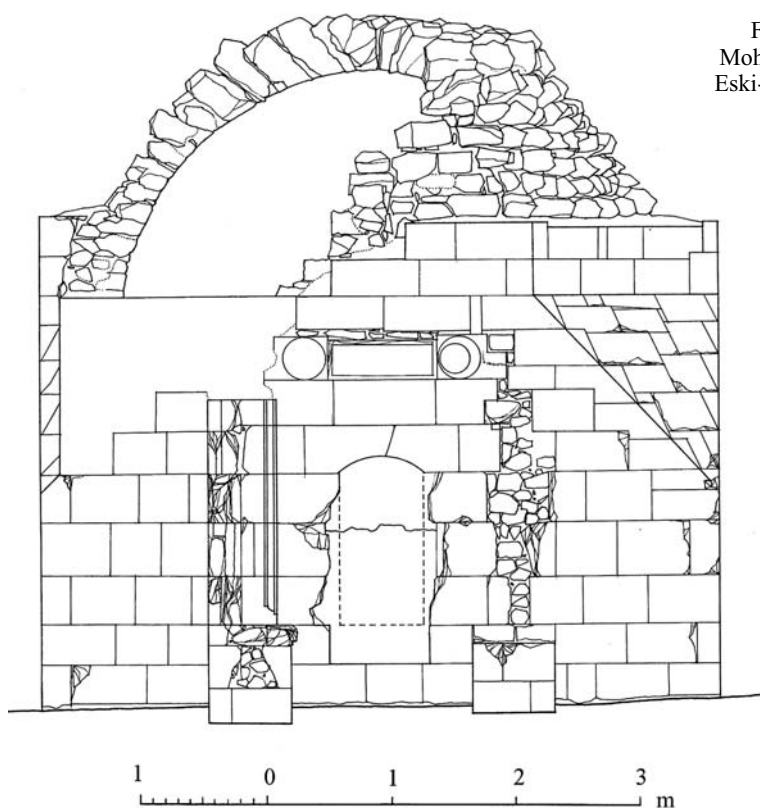


Fig. 30 Southern facade of Mohammed Shah Bey's tombs in Eski-Yurt [Kirilko, 2008a, fig. 19]

The mausoleum of Muhammed-Shah-Bey, being one of the latest monumental buildings of the Crimean Khanate, is especially interesting from the standpoint of its archaic forms and decor. As a matter of fact they were the return to the beginnings—Asia Minor architecture, which was supplemented with Ottoman building traditions and enriched with cultural heritage of peoples dwelling on the peninsula. Throughout the history of the existence of this state, it determined the character of its architectural environment.

Art of the Crimean Khanate*

Nuriya Akchurina-Muftieva

The 15th century was marked by the appearance of the Crimean Khanate in the Crimea and Black Sea Region. The Crimea became a special state, where changes in culture, art, architecture were occurring: new cultural centres, items of cultural and civil architecture were appearing. The founder of the Giray dynasty—Tash Temür's grandson, Gias-ad-Din's son Haji Giray became the ruler of the independent feudal state. He was related to the clan of Tokhtamysh on his father's side.

Art entered the times of splendid maturity and brilliant flourishing, became quite comparable with the European Renaissance and was often called the "Muslim Renaissance" by analogy with it. It is hard to fit it into the short period of independence of the Crimean

Khanate. The year of the Turkish conquest of the Crimea (1475) did not mark any turning point in the general history and development of Crimean Tatar culture. On the contrary, it revealed new horizons of common Muslim development that it had been striving towards since the early 13th century.

Solkhat (Staryi Krym) as the administrative and cultural centre of the Golden Horde Crimea was gradually losing its significance, Chufut-Kale became the new residence where the fortification of Kyrk-Yer tower was reinforced and the khan's palace Ashlama-Saray was being built in the village (or Salachik palace—its denotation derives from the name of Salachik village).

Time, wars and fires left nothing from former magnificence of the khan's summer residence. Apparently the palace complex consisted of wooden pavilions grouped in four pillars and situated separately in the

*See illustrations for the article on the colored inserts.

middle of a park, which was perfectly arranged and well-attended. Sharing his impressions after visiting the khan's garden and Ashlama-Saray palace, Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi reports that there were houses decorated with gilding in the garden as well as small palaces, numerous summerhouses and pavilions looking like palaces of the Chinese emperor. The remains of pools full of water, fountains, wells and palaces erected by different khans, remind of the Khavernak castle (in Iran).

Three components (Arabic, Persian and Turkish) are considered to be the main ones in the creation of Islamic culture, although the last one is questioned by researchers. Nevertheless, in the epoch of the Golden Horde, already in the early 13th century this component had left a significant trace in the stone architecture of preserved buildings. The special features of architectural decoration include relief stone carvings, distinguished by rigor and clarity of their composition. Unlike the architecture of the Near and Middle East dated back to the 13–14th centuries, which was characterized by a broad use of polychromy and carving in the decor of buildings (for example, architectural complexes of Samarkand completely tiled with majolica and mosaics, carved portals of mosques in Konya), the laconic brevity of layout and carved ornamental patterns on the major constructive parts (portals and mihrabs) were the main elements of religious buildings of the Crimean Tatars.

New features in the art of the Crimean Khanate period appear under the influence of trends dominating in Islamic art, their development in a more civil direction. Bakhchysaray became a centre of Muslim culture in the Crimea, which was going through a period of its peak flourishing during the 17–18th centuries. Written sources report on the flourishing of religious, spiritual and cultural life of the state, development of civil education, elevated Sufi poetry, monumental architecture.

The formation of large cities (Bakhchysaray, Karasubazar, Gezlev) in the 17th century, led to the development of urban handi-

crafts related to the production of felt, leather tanning, morocco, saddles, metalworking, jewelery making and others. "Without doubt, all this guild organization was formed on the basis of local pre-Tatar handicraft traditions of the Crimean cities. Probably the organisation of handicraft in Asia Minor as well as workshop system in Istanbul, which was extremely developed there in the 17–18th centuries, had significant influence in this respect" [Jakobson, 1973, p. 136].

The images of this period are characterized by generality, abundance of patterns, subordination to composition rhyme, conditional character of structures; abstract motifs start appearing in ornamental patterns of this period. Some of them, for example, a rosette, a trefoil and a semi-palmette become the most general and abstract expression of plant forms.

Abstracting as a form of artistic generalization in Muslim art supposed the plurality of contents of ornamental images, which was reflected in Crimean Tatar art. The former concrete sense meaning of motifs of ornamental patterns was substituted by new contents—elements of abstract floral patterns expressing the common comprehensive notion of the universe.

It is notable that the art of Muslim peoples of Central Asia, abstracting is typical for the 13–14th centuries, whereas it appeared in Crimean Tatar art only in the 15–16th centuries, because folklore bases, having no connection with religious ideology, were pronounced in it. At the same time, the originality of the stylistic features of art and ornament of the Golden Horde persist during the period of the Crimean Khanate.

After the conquest of the Crimea in 1475, the Genoese domination on the peninsula ended, the Principality of Theodoro went out of existence, all large centres passed to the Ottoman Empire. The recently formed Crimean Tatar state also became a vassal of the Turks. The patronage of Turkey led to the penetration of traditions of Ottoman art, to which priority was given in the Crimea. While the first seljuk sultans preferred a modest way of life, in the course of time,

spectacular gains achieved during military campaigns, formed another kind of consciousness. An inclination to surround themselves with richness became typical for the Turkish nobility. Luxury goods penetrated into mode of life, fostering the formation of fine aesthetic tastes.

Striving for luxury—imitating the Turkish nobility—became typical for the mode of life of the rulers of the Crimea. A new capital of the khanate was being formed—Bakhchysaray. The images of live creatures disappear from art for a long time, but geometric and floral ornamental patterns become very frequent. The khans ordered painters and architects from Istanbul, and not only for Bakhchysaray. Popular Turkish architect and engineer Khoja Mimar Sinan worked in the Crimea in the 16th century. He built many imposing mosques in the Turkish capital. In 1552, he built a mosque in Gezlev on the Crimean peninsula which, by the way, has been preserved to present day. It looks like small-scale monumental mosques in Istanbul.

The features of Muslim culture were undergoing significant changes in the Crimea. Rare books and manuscripts, fabrics, jewels and dishes were brought from Turkey and Persia. The Arabic inscriptions and quotations from the Quran on articles of Crimean Tatar decorative applied art become popular. They were applied as independent elements of the decor on household items and jewelry. The contents of Arabic inscriptions had religious and magical meaning and items with inscriptions were used as talismans, driving away "evil" forces, so they had the feature of talismans.

New artistic motifs arrived in Crimea and started spreading rather quickly. Ornamental compositions with realistic and stylized depictions of flowers, leaves, bunches in vases and even trees appeared. In some cases they were included in the decor along with "Seljuk" motifs. These ornamental patterns were used in the decor of architectural details (capitals, columns, bases, slabs covered with ornamental patterns, fonts) of headstones and Armenian khachkars, as well as embroi-

dery and wood carving. A new artistic style, characterized by the use of floral ornamental patterns, started spreading throughout the entire territory of the empire. The idea of a leaf or a flower, which was either simplified or rather intricate was broadly worked out in the Ottoman art, apparently, under the influence of Western European applied art, especially fabrics and Italian majolica.

The new style conquered many arts, its motifs were equally used by Muslim and Christian populations. This popularity can be explained not only by artistic advantages (delicacy and elegance of patterns, variety, compatibility with the best motifs of the old style), but also the absence of ideal-religious coloration, universality and general availability. At the same time, this style allowed creating expressive, luxurious, festive compositions, which matched the aesthetic tastes of the 16–18th centuries.

Items of applied art, particularly highly glazed pottery from Iznik, which started being imported to the Crimea in large numbers, contributed to the spread of the new style [Miller, 1972, pp. 132–136]. Turkish highly glazed pottery was both a household item and a work of art. The new decorative style was developed in the Crimea in woodcarving (a wooden door from the Armenian monastery Surb-Khach) [Dombrovsky, Sidorenko, 1978, p. 104].

A desire to imitate the tastes of Istanbul appeared in the khans' Bakhchysaray. As well as in the Turkish capital, they started erecting two-story buildings with protruding upper floors on wooden supports, set against the wall. Tiled roofs with hanging roundish sheds called "*sachak*", cornices decorated with geometric ornamental patterns made of thin wooden planks, prismatic high tubes, doors with metal massive rings attached to carved bronze plate become fashionable [Nikolsky, 1924, p. 15]. The layout of rooms, furniture and the use of apartments were applied in Constantinople style.

Distinct types of dwellings of the Crimean Tatars, reflecting traditions of the ethnos living on the peninsula since ancient times had already been formed in different dis-

tricts of the Crimea by the mentioned time. It can be seen from Ottoman terminology containing Iranian terms such as "*duvar*" (wall), "*takhta*" (board), "*dam*" (ceiling) and Greek ones such as "*kiramet*" (tiled covering), "*kamere*" (accessory building in the form of a niche), "*tereme*" (extension of the upper floor) and Roman ones such as "*furun*" (dome-like oven with a hole on one side) as well as many others. The influence of the Goths can be seen in the origins of some parts of dwellings of the southern Tatars and their verbal denotation, for example, a keller (an attic in the veranda), a soba (a covered room oven). The dome-like oven brought into the culture of the Crimea by the Greeks, and usually placed outside the house, was the Roman heritage.

A traditional steppe dwelling (Karasu-Bazaar) district had elements of ancient plain dwelling of the Black Sea steppes in the construction of its roof. The archaic patterns of the wicker dwelling of southern Tatars showed initial connections with the Caucasus and Asia Minor. The type of Tatar dwelling in Bakhchysaray district characterized by timbered walls and a roof with two sloping surfaces was formed as a result of Gothic influence. The alpine type of buildings influenced the spreading of bicameral houses with fireplaces.

The Byzantine heritage can be seen in the second floor going beyond in comparison with the first one, hanging balconies, tiled roofs with two sloping surfaces [Kuftin, 1925, p. 45], dominating in private residential quarters of the "house-court" type. This type of dwelling looked like a cobbled yard, surrounded with a high fence, transforming to the floor of the kitchen on the ground floor which often did not have even a threshold. The kitchen and the yard were a whole, because the summer oven and the well were inside the yard. The ground floor was made of stones, the first one could be made of either wood or air-dried bricks. Its windows and doors overlooked a long broad gallery with a roof and exterior staircase. An almost flat two-ramped roof with a high tube was covered with Byzantine tiling called "Tatar-

ka" (Tatar pattern) in the Crimea [Vozgrin, 1996, p. 34].

In spite of the variance of types of dwellings of the Crimean Tatars, the contents of rooms and their use were the same. Space fit to live in, consisted of two-three rooms in both one- and two-story houses. The outer entrance hall and the kitchen were the most important. The third space was a living room, and this was not heated as a rule. One or two doors placed in the centre of outer entrance hall led to either the kitchen or the sitting room. There was a loom in the outer entrance hall. The kitchen was the main living quarters. It had a hearth looking like a fireplace with a tube and a funnel, at a height of one meter over the floor. A cauldron would hang on a chain inside the fireplace. The hearth had tripods and jugs or a huge copper jug to boil water. There was a stone trestle-bed in old buildings near the opposite wall. Household pots and pans stood there. There was a big oval basket for grain near the trestle-bed. In later buildings, the trestle bed was replaced by a wooden bench. Since the middle of the 18th century, pottery and copper dishes were exhibited on wooden shelves, placed along the perimeter of the room under the ceiling.

Deep-rooted way of life of the people developed into fixed types of items, which were obligatorily used in any type of dwelling. The layout system of the average Crimean Tatar house, distribution and placement of items and utensils were based on traditions and ideas of the Muslim part of the population, formed under the influence of nomadic Turks. All the items were in full view and were mainly placed along the perimeter leaving the middle of the room empty. One could have lunch there with one's family, setting a small table in the daytime, and sleep at night, after spreading out the beds.

The interior of Crimean Tatar dwelling is characterized by a dwelling with a special niche inside the wall called "*kamere*". There was a trunk full of piles of blankets and pillows there. Mattresses and pillows to sit on were spread on the floor along the other walls on low clay elevations called "*set*".

There was a small closet for washing in one of corners of the room.

There was no fireplace in the living room. The floor was covered with colorful black mats and carpets made of sheep wool. Festive clothes and embroidered towels would be hanging on crossbars and beams which were in sight, due to the absence of a suspended ceiling. Living quarters were decorated with embroideries.

The walls of Bakhchysaray houses were densely covered with clay and whitened inside. There was a hearth in the form of a fireplace near the wall. The fire was lit right on the floor. The hearth was carefully decorated, often painted, reminiscent of fireplaces in Turkish houses of Istanbul. There were wooden cupboards to store dishes on either side of the hearth.

There was a short wooden dais at the opposite wall, intended to store blankets and pillows for a day. There were niches in stone walls serving as small cupboards. There was a clay dais with mattresses on its top, along the perimeter of the walls. The middle of the room was covered with felt and carpets or kilims on its top.

There were embroidered towels, calligraphic inscriptions with the statements from the Quran and names of Mohammed and khalifs Fatima, Ali, Asan and Husein hanging on the walls. There were wooden shelves called "raf" along the walls over windows on which one could find various copper dishes. The furnishings of a room included a bench, mirrors, a short quadrangular table with the Arabic name "sofra" (or a "kursyu" derived from Turkish). A tray with food would be placed on it for the meal. The rest of the time it was standing somewhere along the wall.

The windows were small, square and protected with iron or wooden vertical rods. They had double-wing shutters and usually overlooked the yard. Moreover there was a small square window in the back wall to observe what was happening outside.

The Ottoman influence in the area of homes conquered not only the Tatar population, but also all other peoples of the penin-

sula. This could be seen from the complete substitution of the central hearth with a fireplace at the wall, high furniture with low furnishings, the emergence of abundantly figured carpets, screens, trunks, sofas, fountains inside the quarters. There were small shaped windows made made of colored glass in wealthier houses, over the larger windows near the ceiling for decorative purposes. They were set in frames made of plaster like the ones widespread in the East—in Persia and Middle Asia. This type of window was preserved in several apartments of the Bakhchysaray Palace and in several mosques. These windows as well as small doors under semicircular arches and similar decoration of the fireplace are evidence of city style mixture, where the influence of the Ottoman artistic style is especially noticeable.

This testifies to the significance of the influence of Istanbul on the developing Crimean Tatar civil culture, which one way or another filtered through into the most remote corners of the Crimea, determining the appearance of material culture of the Crimean Tatars.

The Crimea, which was located where the east and west met, was under the direct influence of European culture.

Italian craftsmen, representatives of the Italian Renaissance, worked at the court of the Crimean khans. During the reign of Mengli Giray Fryazin Aleviz Noviy worked for him. It should be assumed that Fryazin had time to create many interesting things within a year of his work in Ashlama Saray, but only the Iron door (Demir-Kapu) built in 1503 has been preserved. It was removed to Bakhchysaray Palace and now it is called the Portal of Aleviz [Ernst, 1928, pp. 15–16]. Working in the traditions of early Renaissance of Lombardy–Venetian school, the master realized that his work of art must belong to the Muslim East. In this connection, he used carved and gilded inscriptions with picturesque and literature stylistics in the spirit of the Muslim Renaissance in the decor of the portal.

The fortress of Perekop was built in the early 16th century with the help of Italian

architects. According to a preserved picture dated back to 1637, one can judge that there was a palazzo with portals [Chervonnaya, 1995, p. 130] which was rather similar in character to the "Iron door". The craftsmen of the Italian Renaissance completely suited the tastes of the Crimean khans. This was not due to accidental circumstances, but logical development and rapprochement between Oriental and European cultures for which the Crimea was a peculiar contact area.

The influence of Byzantium on the Crimean Muslim architecture continued. There are many examples—beginning with cathedrals in Kaffa and ending with mosques and tombs in Bakhchysaray. For example, the Small Mosque of Bakhchysaray Palace from the 16th century was built according to Byzantine traditions. The rectangle building with a dome based on an octagonal cylinder had an untypical orientation for a mosque: its longitudinal axis looks at the east-west. Nevertheless, the mihrab was organized according to the rules of Islam at the southern wall and the entrance was from the northern wall. Graffiti, discovered during the restoration of ancient plaster, also go back to Byzantine traditions—scratched images of horsemen, horses and boats with sails. Apparently striped wall-painting also partly imitated Byzantine masonry, made in rows of stone plinths using cement-type mixtures.

Meanwhile Crimean feudal nobility were getting more and more involved in the sphere of economic interests of western European states, particularly France, in the 17th century and especially in the 18th century. In the course of time, its impact on the mode of life of the Crimean khans' court was becoming more and more perceptible: they ordered mirrors, expensive patterned fabrics from Italy and France, and imposed Western European decorative art in their motherland in every way possible. In this latest period (18th century) the dual and eclectic character of Crimean Tatar art, consisting of Turkish and western European elements, was only an external reflection of political instability and dependence of the Crimean khans.

The mixture of various influences did not mean the complete dependence of the Crimean Tatar national culture on them. One of the first researchers of Crimean Tatar art M.Ya Ginzburg, noting the mixture of the most different influences and impacts in it, wrote the following: "Istanbul, of which the Tatar khanate became a tributary since the time of Mengli Giray's capture, was the main source of these various influences. Nevertheless, explaining such perfect patterns of Tatar art as the khan's mosque in Yevpatoria and graveside structures of Bakhchisaray, only from the standpoint of Istanbul influence would mean not only underestimating, but radically missing their essence. Connected with all centres of world culture through its ports and having the heritage of artistic deposits of the whole range of ethnoses and artistic epochs, the Tatar artist could choose whatever he wanted from the artistic tool-set of the past, and it is evident that least of all, he accepted the ready formula from Istanbul. Naturally many things came from Istanbul, but first of all because this was necessary for the Tatar artist, matched his artistic demands and could be easily implemented in new and valuable works of art" [Ginzburg, 1992, p. 210].

Not all traditional values collected over the centuries remained whole under the conditions of urbanization under the Ottoman Empire. The system of figurative images, aesthetics of forms from the early Middle Ages was changing. As far as the flow of orders concerning pieces of furniture, jewellery, clothes and other categories of goods were increasing, eclecticism became inescapable. Nevertheless, this was not fruitless eclecticism of barbarians collecting all the treasures without distinction. The layer of own Crimean culture going back to the great past, uninterrupted in medieval ages, was too powerful for that. So their own traditional aesthetic principles were expressed in the free choice of a new style, particular central themes and figurative system" [Vozgrin, 1996, p. 33].

The main contents of decorative art of this period was determined by the important monuments of the Crimean Tatar artistic hand-

icrafts—embroidered articles, headstones, separate preserved metal pieces of art.

Probably embroidered articles took the most significant place in the domestic ensemble of a Crimean Tatar dwelling. The old examples of them are remarkable for their rich ornamental patterns, flawless technique, and they bear evidence of craftsmanship and excellent artistic taste of Tatar embroidery masters.

The Crimean Tatars mainly decorated household equipment with embroidery. The main part of these items was related to a particular decor of the interior. The typical minimum of furniture was compensated at the expense of a great deal of textile articles in the living quarters. Embroidery played a significant part in the bright decoration of the home, its placement had its traditions. Shelves for dishes, the central part of walls and piers between windows were decorated with towels. Cradle covers, piled bed-clothes, pillows for sofas as well as different kinds of tablecloths and towels for dishes were decorated with embroidery. The most valuable of them were stored at the bottom of the trunk for many years, waiting for a special occasion. The home became especially bright during wedding festivities, because everything was covered with embroidered and textile articles made by the bride. Embroidered articles were often given at weddings as presents, and they were given during funerals as a token of gratitude to those who put the deceased person in the grave.

Embroidery was a privilege of women's clothing for the Crimean Tatars. It could be seen on dresses, jackets, aprons, oversleeves, decorations on various types of head-dresses, shoes. Embroidery was rarely used for men's clothing. Fezes, sock garters and sometimes wedding belts were decorated with patterns.

Two-sided embroidery (for example, satin-stitch) when the right and the wrong side of an article were decorated and one-sided embroidery (golden embroidery, appliqué work, pearl and crystal embroidery, beading) decorating only the right side of embroidered surface were equally popular.

Chain-stitch embroidery which was wide spread in the Far, Middle and Near East, especially among Turkish-Mongol ethnoses definitely yielded to two-sided satin stitch for the Crimean Tatars.

The Crimean Tatar women reached perfection in embroidering in the two-sided satin-stitch—"tatr ishleme" made with silk lisle cotton thread as well as golden and silver thread on a thin piece of cloth, and including about 60 different types of stitches. The motifs were formed from parallel horizontal, vertical and diagonal stitches. Broken zigzags consisting of parallel lines crossing each other in different directions created reticulate square, rhombic and hexahedral patterns. As a rule, almost every element of ornamental pattern had a stitching structure, which was different from the others. All the combinations of stitches were growing more and more complicated at the expense of internal variety, creating difficult rhyme and more profound effect, even when it came to monotonous embroidery. The picture had to be visible from both sides. The effect was also emphasized by the contrast of texture of the basis (which was lusterless paper or flax cloth) and shining silk or metal threads. These complicated features were particular to Crimean embroidery. It is impossible to see "Tatar ishleme" type of stitches in Turkish embroidery.

In the era of the Crimean Khanate, golden embroidery was used for horse saddle-clothes, khan's tents, clothing of the khan and court nobility, wall carpets containing statement from the Quran, large pillows for sofas in the khan's palace. Making embroideries on such huge articles requiring forces and staying power was entrusted to men working in special workshops.

The embroidery of the period of the Crimean Khanate is characterized by high quality of fabrics and threads. The cloth was thin and even, silk thread was lisle and thick, which did not fade during washing, golden and silver thread had silk basis, golden and silver plates were made thoroughly and did not lose their brilliance in the course of time. The technique and design were so perfect

that it was impossible to distinguish the right side from the wrong side.

Metal working and production of jewelry were the most wide spread, after embroidery, among Crimean Tatars. In the 15th century, almost all methods of metal working were used in the Crimea while producing copper and silver articles—coinage, engraving, delicate carving, etc.

As for metal articles they were made among the Crimean Tatars by both handicraftsmen and individual specialists in workshops. There were smiths, armorers [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 57] producing bows, sabers and highly appreciating chain mails, in the Tatar army of the 15th century [Deluc Jean, 1879, p. 489].

The arms produced by Crimean Tatar masters were appreciated especially highly beyond the Crimea, among metal articles in the 16–17th centuries. Different arms (sabers, daggers, rifles, axes, etc.) produced in Karasu-Bazaar and Bakhchysaray, the largest centres of this craft were one of the important export articles. Masters producing expensive sabers with refined blades [Pallas, 1999, p. 178], rifles inlaid with bone, knives made of strong steel [Muraviev-Apostol, 1823], excellent copper dishes, worked here, in workshops of armorers, plumbers, braziers and tinsmiths [Nikolsky, 1927, p. 39].

Bakhchysaray knife manufacturers, producing in the 18th century about 400 knives annually, which were exported to Circassia, Russia, Poland, Moldavia, Wallachia and Turkey, enjoying great demand and popularity. The guns, which were highly appreciated beyond the Crimea, were also produced in large quantities.

Pots and pans made from metal were characterized by a variety of forms and denominations. Dishes were decorated in the following ways: with floral, geometric and epigraphic ornamental patterns in different techniques (engraving, stamping, niello, etc.) and with inlaid patterns combined with "chilter" delicate carving. More noble people of the Tatar society preferred silver articles imported from Turkey, Iran, or produced by local masters. Through carving,

which looked especially splendid in the shaft of light, was broadly used in the decor of illuminating equipment. Ornate pots and pans were an embellishment of interior, being an indicator of wealth of its owner.

The formation of jewelry art in the Crimean Khanate occurred on the basis of active development, creative adoption and processing of the best achievements of jewelers of other ethnoses, enriching the jewelry art of the Crimean Tatars in general, and meeting the artistic and domestic needs of that time. This art was connected with the creation of various sets of traditional jewels, which was reflected not only in continuity of various artistic and technical skills, but in fixed preservation of the most typical forms, motifs and patterns.

The workshops of jewellers, engravers and casters appeared in the era of the Crimean Khanate. The workshops satisfied the requirements of the Crimean Tatars in the domestic market, and only one the fourth of their production was exported beyond the Crimea [Bodaninsky, 1930]. Nevertheless, there were many independent jewelers, who also created articles for the domestic market. Jewellery workshops were widespread in Bakhchysaray and in Karasu-Bazaar; and were located on streets of the city centre.

Jewels were an integral part of festive men's and women's clothing and were evidence of the social belonging of their owners. Expensive jewels made of precious and semi-precious stones and pearls, testified about the fact that they were intended for wealthy people. Nevertheless, even poor people gave their daughters silver belts and other jewels when marrying them off.

The contact of the Crimean Tatar jewelers with different imported jewels from Turkey, the Caucasus and other places led to partial imitation. Some forms, motifs and patterns, liked by the Tatar masters, were transformed in their art according to their ideas and local artistic traditions. The profound influence of the Ottomans was felt in jewelry production from the middle of the 15th century until the late 18th century. However, there were features of national identity and peculiarity si-

multaneously preserved in these articles and forms for many centuries.

The Crimean Tatar jewelers mastered many ways of production and figuration of various jewels: artistic castings, coinage, stamping, engraving, granulation, different kinds of filigree, darkening, enameling, inlaying with semi-precious stones, gold, silver, mother-of-pearl. These different techniques, used since ancient times, made the artistic works more diverse and enriched.

Crimean Tatar masters achieved perfection at producing filigree jewelery. The earliest filigree articles are known due to articles from the Golden Horde period found on the territory of the Crimea. This technique combined with enameling was applied in the 15th century, and into the first half of the 17th century. Ajoure filigree appeared in the latter half of the 17th century.

It is known from written sources referring to the 15–16th centuries [Biyarslanov, 1890a] that earrings imitating the moon were considered to be deeply traditional, as well as the ones in the form of coins and flat ones with pendants decorated with precious stones. Similar earrings were widespread among the Kazan Tatars in the period of the Kazan Khanate.

Jewels were made not only for people. Sets consisting of cover straps and pendants decorated harnesses since the times of the Golden Horde. As a rule, they were made from gilded silver with engraved ornamental patterns. The relics of totemic cults of the Turk tribes formerly dwelling on the peninsula formerly were reflected in their ornamental patterns.

Epigraphic inscriptions were made on almost in all kinds of jewelery made of metal and stone impressed by the perfection of the Arabic script. The contents of inscriptions varied beginning with initials of the master, place of production (which is an extremely valuable source) and ending with wishing health, good luck, poems and traditional verses from the Quran. Medallions of different shapes and heraldic signs were included in the common composition of the pattern.

Probably stone plastic arts of the Crimea, referring to the 15–18th centuries (head-

stones, fountains, architectural structures) are the most interesting and unique in their peculiarity. They help to trace back the main milestones in the development of the Crimean Tatar embellishment of the indicated period.

By the early 15th century, curbstones and flat rocks with a tropeic or lancet top called "tekil-tash" or "mezartash" had been the most widespread types of headstones. They were set at the head-side of the grave and had a faceted (hecta-, octahedral) form. They usually had even or ribbed hemispheres at the top [Aqçoqraqılı, 1927]. Vertical men's headstones were usually set right on the ground between large stones, but they were also often set on special plates with carved holes. Women's monuments, looking like round faceted ornamented pedestals, were set on horizontal stabs or plinths with U-shaped profiles.

Pedestals, looking like long narrow boxes with high arched tops with two sloping surfaces covered with bold inscriptions, were transformed into a new type of monuments—a sarcophagus—by the beginning of the 15th century. It was reminiscent of a small monolithic rectangle burial-vault with the top looking like a roof with two sloping surfaces having ledges in the form of thickened flat slabs with inscriptions or small columns reminiscent of the architectural shape of a burial-vault. In the 16th century, sarcophagi became much larger in every respect, reminiscent of temporary wooden "sandyk" type headstones, which were widespread in mausoleums of Turkey in the 16–17th centuries [Akchurina-Muftieva, 2008].

Headstones of the 17–first half of the 18th centuries, preserving their form and size, were made from chopped limestone (marble was not used that frequently) or four slabs with two inserted steles, for which there were special nests there. Since the middle of the 18th century, rectangular butt slabs of sarcophagi became taller, transforming into a pole for men's monuments and a slab of curvilinear configuration for women's monuments. A pole ending with a head-dress in the form of a turban or women's hat is reminiscent of the silhouette of a person's figure.

In the 18th century, fezes and turbans situated over headstones became especially various. In spite of changes in shapes, ornamental patterns occurred rather slowly, all types of headstones coexisted for a long time.

The transition from geometrical rosettes (15–16th centuries) to "floral style" occurred in the decor (17–18th centuries). Almost all the headstones have epitaphs, which are becoming more and more expressive, contain passages from the Quran, information on the deceased, often touch with their poetry and eloquence. Arabian script—a sacred symbol of Islam—became an important artistic means. The meaning of the word can be seen in a union of architectural forms and carved decors. Apparently the carvers themselves were the authors of the engraved texts. The meaning of these texts and their outline played a major part in the general image-bearing expressiveness of monuments.

The headstones in the 17th century were often decorated: they had rosettes, separate floral motifs, items, ornamental patterns on blocks, and at the edges separating inscriptions, tiny floral patterns on steles, the background of the inscriptions. They mainly used crimson and golden colors, blue and green colors were not as frequent. The use of supplementary color in the Crimean Tatar headstones makes this art closer to the Northern Caucasian Muslim monuments of a later period, where we can see very bright coloration of items: arms on men's headstones and jewels and pots and pans on women's monuments [Chervonnaya, 1997a, p. 18]. Similar examples of painting marble headstones may be found in Ottoman monuments, particularly, in the mosque of Suleyman pashah (1528) [Badr, 1996, fig. 34].



Gravestone of Muhammed Qirimi,
1409.



Gravestone of Devlet Giray Sultan, 1631.

The general trend in the development of headstones and other monumental buildings of the 18th century follows the line of increasing baroque splendor. In the late 17th century and especially in the 18th century, Crimean khans maintained economic ties with Western European countries, especially France, imposing Western European decorative-applied art in their motherland in every way possible. The combination of Turkish and Western European elements, led to the fact that the shapes of monuments became more complicated, intricate and overburdened with ornamental and calligraphic decor.

In the 18th century, the number of monuments made from marble increased. They were decorated with magnificent carving imitating floral ornamental patterns. Depictions of a bush, bunch of flowers or transformed depictions of a palm tree in a vase, a rosette consisting of flowers with finely curved petals, cypresses and ornamental wicker-work could be seen on them. Apart from floral rosettes, one can also see images of weapons and palm tree branches.

The composition placement of ornamental patterns was also changing. Floral and geometric rosettes become the main motif on the side surfaces of sarcophagi. There were usually luxurious vases with flowers in vertical elongate medallions between them. The same medallions with a rosette were situated at the ends of a sarcophagus. Analogue depictions of vases can be seen in Turkey on the walls of springs and side surfaces of minbars and mosques [Barişta, 1993, fig. 141; Barişta 1998, Figs. 226, 227]. One can see intricate ornamental wicker-work on the surface of plates along the upper perimeter of the monument [Akchurina-Muftieva, 2008].

Crimean Tatar masters, when creating headstones, relied on the words of the Prophet: "Death is a cup, which everyone must drain" (inscription on the tomb of Khasin-Khatun (1397) as well as on the headstone of Selim II Giray khan (1748)). Thus, there was a peculiar cup carved in the upper part of the tomb, which was filled with rain

water. The combination of greenery grown over the tomb and water made it similar to the decoration of stone fountains which were widespread in the Crimea.

There were wall-attached or separate fountains arranged, depending on the location. Natural springs "cheshme" relate to traditional and the most widespread water springs. They were frequently the centre of social life in Crimean villages, and they were established not only in the interior of the peninsula, but also on the southern shore—along the roads at intervals measuring several versts. Such sources were decorated in extremely modest ways. Usually they consisted of a 1.5–2-meter-high stele with an arched niche and a gabled end. There was a small reservoir in front of it to store the water. There was often a stone slab over the niche with the engraved name of the creator of the spring. The front wall of the stone reservoir was sometimes decorated with carvings, imitating rosettes with geometric or floral ornamental patterns, similar to ornamental patterns of headstones of corresponding epochs. Two fountains with drinking water having tropeic arches-niches decorated with carving from the 17–18th centuries were set in Ambassadorial courtyard in Bakhchysaray Palace. There is a carved tree imitating a palm in the centre of the niche. Water ran down from its base. The ground which was the front side of the stone reservoir, revived and became covered with flowers and greenery. The fountain illustrates the words from the Quran according to which Allah gave people water, revived the earth and grew figs (palms) [Sacred Quran, 2004, p. 3].

Palace fountains of Bakhchysaray are similar to the ones established by the Turkish nobility (fountain of Uskunder III dated back to the 18th century In Ahmet's square in Istanbul) [Barişta, 1993, Figs. 14, 73]. Nevertheless, their more restrained decor and smaller scale, expresses the sense of the spring as the symbol giving life to everything, not a pompous construction praising its creator.

Another widespread type of fountains appeared in the Crimea along with the first ex-

amples of Muslim religious buildings. These fountains were intended for ritual washings called "abdest". They were built near mosques and sacred places. In general, they were built separately and had octahedral or hexahedral-shaped basins. A similar fountain situated on the left side of the mosque of Khan-Jami in Bakhchysaray can serve as an example. A small pool, which was about three meters in diameter, was covered with a dome and placed in a cobbled narrow courtyard. Its lower part was tiled with slabs made of white marble, containing metal tubes through which pure water came to a round marble trough.

Fountain yards and pavilions became widespread among the wealthy inside their buildings and houses. M. Ginzburg wrote that they "create special shade atmosphere around these life-giving drops, protecting this small oasis from rays of the sun and noise. Finding oneself in a fountain courtyard after the turmoil of city streets... at first you can hardly notice anything in this semi-darkness. You will not immediately get the full sensation of the place upon entering. Gradually you start noticing one detail after another. Everything is created here to affect our perception not only with images, but also with melodiousness of the movement of the drop, the charm of coolness, picturesque character of unclear gloom" [Ginzburg, 1992, p. 216].

All fountains were made from marble with carved ornamental patterns including borders with floral motifs. In the early 18th century, the central part of fountains were made in the form of a cypress, blooming bush, etc.

By the 18th century, a new type of fountains had appeared. It was called the "sabil". In the architecture of Arabic countries, the "sabil" is a public spring, a fountain with drinking water in the form of a separate or parietal construction with several niches and cups from which water falls into the sink-pool.

In Arabic that word means "a well" (source) intended for public use. It derives from the verb meaning "sacrifice for charitable purposes". As a rule, such fountains,

known in the Muslim world since the 14th century, were decorated with ornamental carvings, marble incrustation and ceramic mosaics, calligraphic inscriptions appealing to say prayers for the founder, including quotes from the Quran, statements and poetic couplets [Malinovskaya, 1993, pp. 175–176].

A typical example of a cascading fountains of the "sabil" type can be seen in the fountain in the pool courtyard of Bakhchisarai Palace, composed of a marble slab mounted in the south wall and having 12 trays carved into it. The fountain consists of vertical and horizontal planes. The circulation of water in them symbolizes birth, a stormy but short life consisting of bifurcations and generalizations, in contrast with eternal peace of the mirror-like surface of the pool, to which the water flows along a long canal, decorated with ornamental patterns in the form of cypresses—symbolizing life after death. There is also a snail here. This is the sign of eternity and doubts. The association appears of live and dead water. In the end the world is designed like this. The main module of the whole works is the flow of water proportionate to a person. The famous "Fountain of Tears" in Bakhchysaray Palace is also an example of a "sabil" type of fountain. The Crimea is a peninsula which is surrounded by sea water, but with small reserves of drinking water. Therefore wells and fountains were perceived as spiritual luminaries.

The epigraphy contains information of two levels—a fountain as a source of life and purification, whose sacred character goes back to the depth of archaic, lower layers of cultural traditions of Islam, and a fountain-book understandable for a narrow group of people. Its appearance is perceived as a page of the Quran with "unvan" crowned with "alem". The Quran script on fountains not only emphasizes the integral part of the book, but contains on itself the same inscriptions on buildings, armaments and household items. Inscriptions on fountains end with the word "salsabil", which has several meanings. It means the denotation of

the main source in paradise in Muslim mythology (Quran, 76:18). As for the architecture of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Andalusia since the 13–14th centuries, this is the system of cooling interiors with water based on the principle of thin layer of water running down a marble slab inserted into an inclined wall (15–30 degrees). Water falls down in decorative grooves, evaporates there and thus cools the room. "Salsabil" means a paradise drink, nectar in the figurative sense of the word.

Combining sacred basis of the Quran philosophy, poetic epitaph made of marble and covered with carved ornamental patterns, "sabil" type Crimea fountains played the role of a memorial reminding people of the fleeting joy of life, inescapable parting, paradisaical bliss of the afterlife for the righteous people. So they are similar to headstone monuments.

Stone carving also decorated separate objects of monumental architecture of the 17th century, not only headstones and fountains, although rather rarely. Here we mean the epigraphic inscriptions and figuration of entrance portals of mosques and mihrab niches, the structure of stalactites. Carved round rosettes with geometric and stylized floral ornamental patterns one could often see on headstones, were used as decorations of entrance portals and mihrabs. Three rosettes were usually placed on each side and in the centre above the keel arch of the portal. And all of them had different patterns. There were two types of round rosettes—ones protruding from the main volume of the wall, and the ones lying in the same plane with the wall. One can also see ornamental patterns in the form of five-pointed and six-pointed stars, moon, vases, concentric circles, etc.

The texts inscribed on graveside monuments became more complicated, in comparison with epitaphs of the Golden Horde period. The art of "khattats"—masters who were stone carvers and scribes simultaneously—is reflected in the decor in the form of masterly performed calligraphic inscriptions made with Golden Horde and classical "sulyus".

The art of creating headstones and fountains in the Crimea had its common sacred basis, leaning against fundamental layers of Islamic philosophy, and the common concept of synthesis of works of art and environment. First of all, it was reflected in the religious perception of the sacred tombs of ancestors and water as the source of life. It is expressed especially clearly in artistic and emotional form of the fountain of tears, which is the syncretic combination of a headstone and a fountain.

Thus, a Crimean Tatar artist was simultaneously an architect, a landscape designer, a decorator, a painter, a poet and an author of architectural-plastic headstones and structures over springs, applying the similar system of processing marble, carving decor, poetic epitaphs full of religious and mystical lyrics. That is typical to all historical periods of the development of culture of the Crimean Khanate until the late 18th century, inclusive.

Ornamental compositions in stone-cutting were characterized by lesser density and rather free interpretation, they had more contrast forms and they were less stylized, dependent on graphic canons and archaic trends, in comparison with the decor of the Near East and Central Asia. They almost lack abstract geometric elements, but one can often find motifs imitating natural forms of vegetation, flowers.

This ornamental system was typical for such types of decorative-applied art as artistic metal and embroidery. The artistic style of works referring to the 17–first half of the 18th centuries tended to be spectacular, rich in color and ornamental patterns. It was based on aesthetic criteria of Muslim art, which was characterized with the development of artistic language, beginning with principles of depiction, peculiar to Crimean art, of pre-Mongolian and early Golden Horde period, and ending with ornamental principles of decoration in the art of later epochs. The motifs of pagan culture and stylizations of real and fantastic animals (in jewelery, embroidery) start disappearing starting in the 14–early 15th centuries, yielding to floral and geometric ornamental patterns.

The significance of this period of the Tatar art is explained by the fact that it was the final one in the development of the Crimean Tatar feudal culture—the culture of dominant class, leaving us the most outstanding masterpieces. The achievements of culture of the Crimean Khanate were based on the

heritage of local cultures and new forms in art and architecture of the Golden Horde period. At the same time, a significant leap, connected with the flourishing of civil culture, the development of a new style in art, had taken place.

CHAPTER 7

Warfare and Military Culture

§ 1. Tatar Military Art

Iskander Izmaylov

Common trends of the development of warfare of Tatar khanates in the 15–17th centuries.

The period of later Middle Ages and early Modern History in Northern Eurasia was the time of radical changes in world economics, geopolitics, armament and warfare. From the military-political standpoint, it can be characterized as the final collapse of the Jochid Ulus, and emergence of new states on its ruins, which formed different coalitions striving for the elimination of the last remains of the Jochid Empire—Ulugh Ulus (the Great Horde), then they started struggling for hegemony. While the Tatar khanates were fighting amongst themselves, the Nogai Horde was gradually becoming dominant. It was the Nogais who were the most powerful military force of the Siberian, Astrakhan and later (in the 17th century) the Crimean khanates, affecting the destiny of the Kazan Khanate and the Great Horde. As soon as the Nogai Horde reached the peak of its power, ecological catastrophe and the attack of Dzungars put it at the edge of extinction and division into separate clans integrated with other Tatar khanates.

Serious alterations changing military-political situation in the radical way became apparent in the geopolitics of Eurasia. The formation of absolutist states took place in Europe. In Eastern Europe, this trend was expressed in the emergence of centralized powers related to the Jochi Ulus, according to their origins—Russia and Lithuania. New empires appeared at the southern borders of the Tatar world—Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran, and they began to exert their military influence. That led to the vassalage

of the Crimea to the Turkish sultans (1475) and the fall of the Uzbek (Shaybanid) Khanate in Transoxiana (1505). A bit later, the movement of Dzungars on the eastern borders of the Turko-Tatar world began, who sequentially destroyed khanates of the Kok Horde and the Nogai Horde. They almost approached the borders of the Crimea and Russia. Only the emergence of Manchurian Qing dynasty in China and its aggression in Eastern Turkestan hindered a new Mongol invasion of Europe. It should be emphasized that Dzungars had numerous armored cavalry and detachments armed with firearms, which were considered to be modern at that time.

Another factor bringing about radical changes in armament and soldiering of Tatar khanates were changes in economical state of the region. The great geographical discoveries redirected the trade interests of Europe from the Mediterranean to the Indian and the Atlantic Oceans. Transeurasian trade roads were in the state of neglect, because of political instability in Central Asia and discovering oceanic ways leading to India and China around Africa. Profits from the trade routes of the Great Silk Road going through the territory of the Jochid Ulus stopped supplementing the treasury of Tatar khans. The fact that trading fur and fur-skins, which were considered to be traditional goods of the Volga Region, bringing about 300% profit, became unavailable and less profitable after the conquest by Russia of Northern Kama Region as well as of Cis- and Trans-Ural Regions.

The decrease of demand on qualitative protective gear led to the displacement of

handicraft industry and movement of masters to large centres of arms production—to the Kremlin Armory (Moscow) and Topkapı (Istanbul). The Circassian and Dagestan workshops specialized in producing weapons for Turkic-Tatar states. Arms and armament were produced there even by special request of the state. In other centres—Kazan, Solkhat—they produced less qualitative and complicated armaments. Apparently firearms and powder were produced in Kazan by their own craftsmen.

All these military-political and geopolitical factors had an influence on military opportunities of Tatar khanates. The collapse of the Jochid Ulus led to abrupt reduction in the number of troops of each khanate. If in the 1470s, Khan of the Great Horde Ahmad proudly promised to field 200,000 horsemen against Turkey in the case of signing of a treaty during the negotiations with the Venetian Republic, then a hundred years later, no more than 20,000 warriors took part in the military campaign of Crimean Khan Devlet Giray against Moscow. It goes without saying that the relativeness of indications on the number of Tatar troops should be taken into consideration, but these data clearly demonstrate the reduction in the number of troops regarding each khanate. The growth in the number of troops could take place at the expense of the conscription of all adult cattle-breeders, but to the detriment of the quality of training and armament. According to European sources referring to the 17–18th centuries, sometimes the Crimean army assembled this way, looking like irregulars consisting of unarmed horsemen.

Meanwhile, the neighbors of Tatar khanates, especially Russia, increased the quantity of their troops, often using serving Tatars as supplementary professional warriors, as was the case in Muscovite Rus and Lithuania. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, serving Tatars (Lipkas) fielded five detachments of well-armed cavalry, which later became the basis of the ulans' regiments.

The decentralization of the Jochid Empire led to the fact that not only the number of troops was reduced, but also the number

of nobility, which was the basis of military organization, did the same. The number of separate clan irregulars (that is professional warriors—peculiar Tatar knights) was small and apparently varied from 500 to 5,000 horsemen. It could vary depending on different local conditions, but apparently irregulars of four ruling clans in Tatar khanates seldom exceeded 20 cavalrymen.

It should be noted that a relatively small number of armored cavalry in Tatar khanates was not a sign of its decline and lack of development. Actually the knight cavalry was about 5–10% of the total number of troops in medieval societies. For example, in the Lithuanian army, numbering 18–20 thousand warriors, armored cavalry could number 2–2.5 thousand horsemen, but it played the main role in victorious attack and defeat of Russian troops, which were larger in number, but traditionally did not have heavy armament. So it goes without saying that a small number of heavily armed cavalry was not a sign of the lack of development.

The reduction of its number and an abrupt decrease of their income led to qualitative changes in the structure of military class and military organisation. As the nobility was the very basis of the armored cavalry, the decrease in their number inevitably led to the decline of military power of Tatar khanates. In the course of time, other factors became influential. The reduction of incomes of relatively small elite of khanates could not keep the level of income required to keep armored cavalry up to date. Thus, by the late 16th century, the quality and the number of the army had abruptly decreased, and the main part of the troops consisted not of heavily armed professionals, but of irregulars from clans.

firearms and artillery also demanded significant state subsidies, cannon courts and professional masters. In Russia, this production was organized by Italian and German armorers. It is not surprising that these arsenals could only exist in rich and large Tatar cities, for example, in Kazan.

The armament and soldiering of Tatar states in the middle of the 15–17th centuries

continued the traditions of the Jochid Ulus, but in the 18th century, new traditions in warfare related to the use of regulars, armed with firearms, started developing in the Crimean Khanate.

Personal guards of the khans were the core of the troops of the Tatar Khanates in the 15–16th centuries. The Tatars from personal possessions of the khan or representatives of one of the clans were guardsmen in different khanates. Another major part of the army was irregulars of darugs (provinces) headed by oglans and Karachi-begs. They consisted of the "Tatars" as service class of different ranks, beginning with karachi-begs and ending with bakhadurs and Cossacks. All of them had their own plots of land (suyurgal) as a rule and were obliged to perform military service. The rulers of darugs also commanded the detachments of settlers, which were called out according to a special quota in every military-administrative unit of population, fielding dozens, hundreds and thousands of warriors. The indications on "hundreds" and "thousands" in preserved sources are evidence of this fact.

It can be claimed that the major military power of Tatar khanates was concentrated in the hands of clan chiefs, to a certain extent. It is especially illustrative for the Kazan, the Crimean and the Kasimov Khanates.

Judging by historical, figurative and archaeological data, the armament of warriors varied depending social classes. Nobility and professional warriors had more qualitative expensive and specialized arms and equipment (steel armors, chain coats of mail and armors, helmets, sabers, lances, daggers, flanged maces, etc.) and common military men usually mastered universal arms (axes, spears, pole-axes, bows, leather and quilted cotton armors). Sometimes khans and nobility armed common warriors and military servants using their own arsenals. There were no detachments armed in a similar way in the Kazan Khanate.

Tatar troops of the 15–16th centuries had cavalry as the main combat arm, and there was also infantry and navy playing episodic role in the Kazan Khanate. Armed caval-

ry was brought up to strength from among the aristocracy—professional Tatar warriors, mounted archers c from among serving nobility and military servants. The flotilla mainly consisted of unmounted irregulars, but it was often reinforced at the expense of serving nobility. The specific feature of this period, was the gradual reduction of number of heavily armed warriors and the increase in the number of lightly-armed warriors. These changes were definitely connected with the fact that Tatar horsemen could only struggle against troops armed with firearms, only through of speed and maneuverability.

The period between the 15th and 16th centuries was the time of changes, in the connection with the mastering and active use of firearms. These changes partly affected Tatar khanates. The formation of a new combat arms was taking place—to artillery and unmounted riflemen. They did not play the leading role in the system of warfare in field combats, but they were irreplaceable during the siege of fortresses and the defense of cities. The rate of fire of cannons and hand-cannons was insufficient, and the accuracy yielded to a bow, but the shooting range and destructive power exceeded them. The consequences of their application had an extremely destructive character. As soon as these kinds of arms were improved, this very circumstance radically changed, not only the character of armaments, but that of warfare in general. The firearms developed in the direction of specialization and division into city (siege) and field types. The data on the active use of artillery by the Kazan people and Crimeans were preserved in both Russian and Western European sources.

It should be mentioned that in this period, bows were also used and they were the main combat arm for distance combat. They used bows of two types in Turkic-Tatar states—common (wooden) ones and qualitative ones made in a complicated manner from different kinds of wood and sometimes having bone elements. The complicated bows were called "adirn" (edirne) according to the Volga-Turkic tradition. They had superior shooting range and power.

Apparently hand-cannons were a prerogative of professional warriors. Their number and how they were used is a point of contention. There are good reasons to believe that not the nobility, but military servants—the Cossacks—were armed with them. So their use depended on concrete circumstances, but in most cases firearms were used in the first part of the combat and mounted hand-cannons were used later as peculiar dragoons. After a whole range of volleys, these units were used as a common cavalry.

Firearms were much more significant during the siege and defense of cities. It is not coincidental that the Duke of Burgundy Charles the Brave called "artillery"—"The key to cities"—meaning its crucial role for storming and defense of fortifications. It is not surprising that the Nogais had almost never been able to conquer fortresses and the Crimeans required the Kazan fleet, artillery or Turkish janissaries and artillery to take part in a military campaign against Astrakhan. Artillery played an important part in the defense of Tatar cities which can be seen especially well when it comes to the defense of Kazan.

The Tatar tactics of field battle and operative military art were quite perfected for their time. That was mentioned by Russian and European contemporaries many times. The basis of battle tactic was about successive application of distant combat arms, then the use of spears and all types of close combat arms in the end. Each of these stages had its peculiarities, depending on the time and circumstances.

As a rule, the first phase of field battle included maneuvers of lightly armed cavalry, which passed adversaries at a gallop demonstrating a peculiar encirclement (S. Herberstein called it a "round dance"), shooting at them without interruption. When the enemy itself started attacking, the shooters retreated quickly, trying to exhaust him and disorder his rows and put then under the blow of armored companions, armed with spears. In the 12–14th centuries they used spears for ramming, which could be used only once but since the 14th century, they start being applied many

times, and specialized spears were replaced by wedge-shaped and foliate ones. If armored companions were successful in their actions, a new phase of the battle began. The third stage of the battle usually included all the set of military means and was divided into several transient combats.

The Tatar troops carried out rather successful offensives. These were usually impetuous invasions by significant forces of the cavalry organized into tumens, thousands and hundreds. The tumens usually headed off to military campaigns forming separate columns and the detachments of watchmen and scouts—yertouls—were at the front or at the flanks. As a rule, the aim of operations was to defeat adversaries in a field battle, with the use of flanking movements and tactical maneuvers, and devastating local provinces and inflicting damage to adversaries. The Tatar troops did not usually organize sieges and long attacks, and cities were conquered only via impetuous raids, which made it impossible for adversaries to organize resistance, for example, as was the case during the conquest of Moscow by the Crimeans in 1571.

Successful military operations of the Crimean Khanate against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russian in the 17th century were made possible mainly by the contribution of Turkish troops, especially the janissaries, and artillery. In general, one can say that the warfare of the Tatars was developing in the direction of adoption of the newly spreading firearms. The significance of lightly armed cavalry increased. At the same time, handguns and cannons were widespread and actively used only in the Kazan Khanate. The Turkish janissaries armed with guns and cannons played the role of infantry in the Crimean Khanate. The reduction in the number of heavily armed cavalry in the eastern part of the former Jochid Ulus led to severe defeats of the Tyumen, Uzbek and Kazakh Khanates, caused by Dzungars broadly using their armored cavalry. It should be noted that the Dzungars, facing the mass use of firearms, started adopting them quickly and implementing them in their de-

tachments, arming their warriors with muskets and artillery.

Meanwhile the warfare of the Tatar khanates had a significant impact on the development of Russian military art. Western contemporaries often indicated that armament and tactics of the battle typical for Russian troops are similar to those of the Tatars. The Russian vocabulary contains a great deal of Tatar words connected with warfare, for example, *khorigv*—a flag, *yertoul* and *karaul*—patrol and protective detachments, *yesaul*—a military rank, kinds of armor—*misyrka*, *yushman*, *tegilyay*, *baidana*, *tyufyak*—a light-weight cannon, etc. Under the influence of Tatar military tactics, the *ulans*—regiments of horsemen armed with spears—started appearing at first in Poland

and Russia, and then in whole Europe in the late 17–18th centuries.

Thus one can come to the conclusion that in the 15–16th centuries, the Tatars had a rather developed set of armaments and munitions. It should be emphasized that firearms, which were considered to be the most prospective at that time, were used rather actively by the Kazan people. Nevertheless gradual weakening of the economic power of Tatar khanates, the reduction in the number of handicraft centres, led to the stagnation warfare development, which especially became evident in the 17–18th centuries. All that predetermined the military defeats of Tatars in wars against the Dzungars in the East and the Russians in the West, gradual conquest of Tatar khanates and the establishment of foreign protectorates over them.

§ 2. Armaments and Military art of the Kazan Khanate

Iskander Izmaylov

The armament and military art of the Tatars of the Kazan Khanate inherited the military traditions of the Jochid Ulus (the Golden Horde). By the time of the Russian conquest, the Tatars had all kinds of cold steel, protective gear, their own military fleet, artillery and great fortresses. After the defeat of the Tatars and the conquest of Kazan the authentic Tatar military culture was destroyed. The military traditions of Turkic-Tatar peoples living in the lands of the former Golden Horde started stagnating and soon they became degraded. They were only the shadow of their great forefathers. As a result the European military science formed an opinion about the inferiority and 'primitiveness' of the armament and tactics of the Tatar army. Even such a serious and thoughtful historian as M. Khudyakov wrote: 'In the epoch of the Kazan Khanate the military art of the Tatars was in major decline' [Khudyakov, 1923, p. 228]. The myths, according to which the Tatars were unable to use fire-arms, did not have their own river fleet and protective gear, are rather widespread. [Bakhtin, 2008, pp. 201–208]. This opinion was replicated and developed in works by later historians.

In order to make correct judgements about the Tatar weaponry, it is necessary to collect and analyse a set of armours. The first such works, attempting to describe the items of the Tatars armament based on the collection of the Kremlin Armoury, began to appear still in the 1920s [Uspensky, 1927, pp. 1–14]. Nowadays, along with the collections of Moscow and Kazan museums, there are materials from archaeological digs of monuments of the Kazan Khanate epoch (Kazan, Kamaev, Arsk, Chaplyn ancient towns, Balynguz ancient settlement, etc.) available to us, which allows us to get a clearer picture of armament and military affairs development in the Kazan Khanate, based on a wider variety of materials.

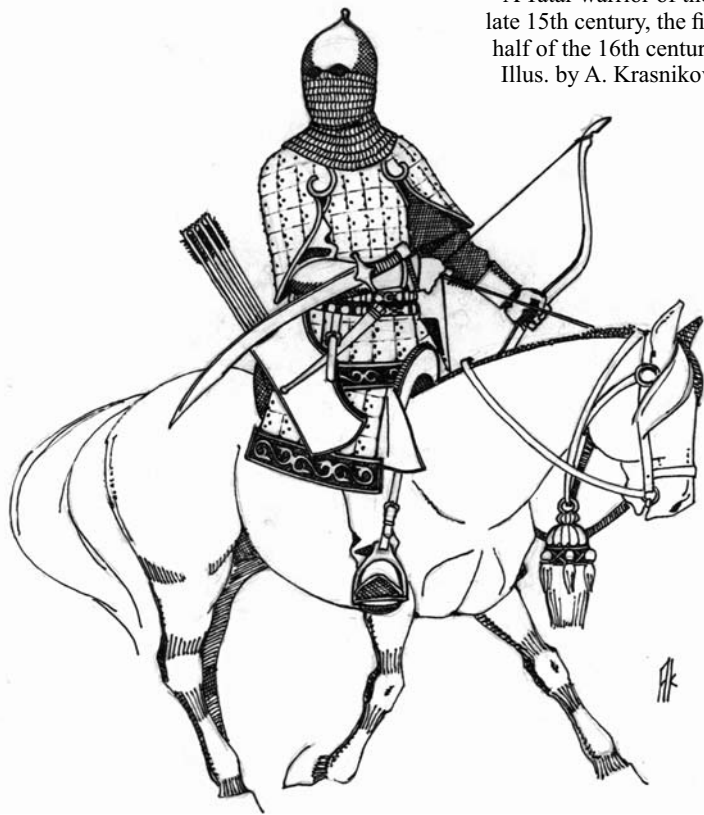
Now a significant historical-archaeological material is available, allowing us to get a better idea of the character of armament and the battle tactics of the warriors of the Kazan Khanate. First of all, these are new archaeological finds and analysis of written materials, which, along with studying the military culture of Turkic peoples of Europe and Asia, make us revise the former deteriorative ideas about the character of Tatar armament and military art. [Izmaylov, 1995, pp. 135–139; Izmaylov,

1997, pp. 105–108; Izmaylov, 2003, p. 71–74; Izmaylov, 2005, pp. 67–79].

Close combat armours of the Kazan warriors included a diverse set of warfare of the late Middle Ages: sabres, spears, battle axes, maces and knives. Sabres were a traditional kind of arms among the Turk-Tatars and became spread in the Volga Region since the 8th century. Since then they were modified and improved several times. At least two whole sabres and one fragment are known from the archaeological digs and museum collections represented on the territory of the Kazan Khanate. Judging by this finds, in the 15–16th centuries the sabre blades were usually 0.9–1-metre-long, they had an oval hollow called a *dol*, and the blade ended with an enlargement called *yelman*.

The handle of these sabres was cross-shaped with extensions at its ends. Similar finds were known due to the archaeological digs in the Kazan Kremlin and some other monuments of the period of the Kazan Khanate. The blade of some sabres of the 13–14th centuries had an iron plate near the handle to avoid the bite of scabbards. The blades of sabres of the 15–16th centuries were broader and more curved, than those of the earlier ones. They allowed to give a powerful chop and thrust. Sabres were usually worn in a leather scabbard with metal bindings along the edges. Rich warriors could afford a scabbard with silver or golden straps decorated with precious stones. Actually, sabres were traditionally the arms of nobility, a sign of knight dignity of a *batyr*. Their wearing and use had a special meaning. For example, in the event of a quarrel, a *batyr* should not have drawn more than one-third of the blade, as after that, he could put it back only after he had 'washed it off' in the blood of the offend-

A Tatar warrior of the late 15th century, the first half of the 16th century.
Illus. by A. Krasnikov



er. Losing one's sabre or giving it away meant losing one's face. They were usually handed down and kept at home arsenals. That is why they were so rarely found among archaeological collections.

Universal battle knives were essential in a campaign and they were often the last hope of a warrior. The chroniclers of the Middle Ages usually wrote that it came to knives to show the fierceness of a battle. It is characteristic that the Tatars are portrayed in many pictures holding knives. Judging by an engraving from the edition by S. Herberstein, the Tatars were armed with narrow long knives in leather scabbards, which were worn on the belt on the right.

Spears had different shapes and areas of applications although Kazan spears yielded to sets of the preceding period when it comes to the number of types. In this period a change in the spear set takes place. Narrow, elongated, often quadrangular arrowheads impaled on long (up to 3–4 metres) shafts—lances, with the help of which detachments of horsemen

could run into the rows of enemies, trying to penetrate their armours, dislodge them and, if possible, put to flight, are nearly disappearing. They were replaced by elongated foliaceous and wedge-shaped spears. Apparently in this period spars were used along with battling rams in a variety of techniques. Consequently, Kazan horsemen fought repeatedly with multiple use of spears at different stages of the battle—beginning with a battering-ram and ending with fencing technique. The use of missile spears—jerids (or sulitses in Russian) by the Kazan people is also plausible. They are known only due to later written sources but not archaeological materials.

Infantrymen had other spears. They had a wide blade and were attached to a two or even three-metre-long staff. They were irreplaceable under field conditions against cavalry and infantry, as well as during the defence of fortifications.

Despite the opinion of several historians, the use of spears by the Tatars was confirmed not only by numerous archaeological finds, but also by the data of written sources. It is noteworthy, that 'The History of Kazan' mentions of 'a spear battle', taking place among the Tatars. Apparently, warriors used spears regularly.

Different kinds of battle axes were used by the Tatars. Two groups of chopping instruments were clearly distinguished. A part of them is axes having long axe-handles and wide blades. No doubt these are the tools of infantry. Axes having an extensional head—coinages—belonged to the second group. The blades of majority of them exhibited in museums of Kazan (National Museum of Tatarstan Republic) and Moscow (State Historical Museum) are covered with intricate floral ornamental patterns. Most likely that was an armament of a noble warrior.

Maces-shestopyors (golden or silver tops with six military blades) and military teeth with a narrow wedge-shaped blade were supplementary arms of a knight. The tops of maces became much heavier in comparison with those in the 13–14th centuries (up to 0.6–0.8 kilos). They were irreplaceable during close combats and impetuous horse skirmishes,

when it was necessary to strike a hard and unexpected blow able to make a hole in armours and deafen the adversaries. In this period maces decorated with gold, silver and precious stones were signs of military power. The examples of similar maces of the 16–17th centuries are represented in army museum collections of Russia (the Kremlin Armoury) and Turkey (Istanbul) [Astvatsaturyan, 2002, pp. 185–187]. It is plausible that similar tops were also used by the Kazan military leaders.

A bow and arrows were the most widespread kind of arms of distant battle in the 16th century. Judging by the fact that there were no bone details of bows detected in monuments of the period of the Kazan Khanate, one can assume that the Tatar archers had complicated bows without bone details. Such bows were used by Central Asian nomads during a long historical period, since Xiongu-Xianbei times. Similar bows became widespread in the nomadic world of Central Asia in the epoch of the developed Middle Ages [Khudyakov, 1991, pp. 99–100, Khudyakov, 1997, p. 62]. Bows having similar construction and a great number of shoulder frontal strips were used by the Kyshtyms in Southern Siberia in the epoch of later Middle Ages [Nechiporenko, etc., 2004, p. 133]. The warriors of the Khanate of Siberia were also armed with them. Remains of complicated bows, the main part of which was made of wooden details without using bone strips, were found in a burial site called Abramovo-10 (Western Siberia). Judging by the preserved wooden parts, the main part of the bow had two layers, a wooden frontal strip and wooden ends. It was covered with an elm [Molodin et al., 1990, pp. 44–47]. They were preserved in the arsenal of the Siberian Tatars up to ethnographic contemporaneity. One such bow published by R. Karutz [Karutz, 1925, p. 70] was completely made of wood, it was arched and its middle was thickened and ends were declinate.

In the epoch of the late Middle Ages complicated bows remained common, convenient and rather efficient kind of arms in the hands of trained archers and that certainly referred to Siberian Tatar warriors. Sources have no exact data on how long-range the bows of the war-

riors of the Kazan Khanate were. A long range shooting record was registered in Turkey, where there are recorded notes in Okmeydani square (literally 'arrow field'), indicating that some archer shots were 850–870–metre-long [Markevich, 1937, pp. 18–19] but the common bowshots of Eurasian archers were 200–300–metre-long. It is considered that the distance of aiming shooting of Siberian archers was about 50 metres [Khudyakov, 2000, p. 73].

Apparently the destructive power and rate of fire of bows of that time was very high: a good archer could throw about 10 arrows a minute. Each of them at a distance of 50–100 m could kill a horse or impale the breast of a warrior protected by a chain armour, so that the tip could come out from the back. The sources of the 15–17th centuries contain evidence on the destructive power of their bows. It was noted in the message of Mengli Giray addressed to Ivan III, dated back to 1493, that one of Ahmad's children had been killed with an arrow during a struggle against serving Meshchera Tatars [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 175–176]. Another case was registered in 1616 when a serving man from Tula called Ostafy Kryukov gave a petition to get money to treat his wounds inflicted by the Tatars near Dedilovo. He wrote that his breast had been wounded 'on both sides' by an arrow. The commission investigated this petition and came to the conclusion that 'he was really wounded by an arrow in the chest, and the arrow stuck out of his back; the wound healed up by itself' [Acts, 1890, p. 138]. These petitions of the first third of the 17th century rather often indicate on the fact, that the war horses of serving people were killed by arrows. '... the horse I was riding was killed by an arrow' [Ibid., pp. 509, 511]. In 1634, Bolkhovian voivode prince Yuri Meshchersky claimed, that Timofey Dichkov 'had really been fighting against the Tatars... and Timofey was wounded by an arrow during that battle and his horse was killed outright' [Ibid., p. 634]. After examination the commission indicated that 'the wound hurts and it does not heal'.

The use of bows by great manoeuvre masses of horsemen literally pouring adversaries with a rain of arrows was especially ef-

ficient. They were successfully applied during the siege and defence of cities and during river battles.

The bow was a universal weapon of both common and noble warriors. The differences were about the quality and perfection of the construction of a bow and the decoration of a set including a quiver and a saadak. Made of morocco, stitched with golden and silver threads, decorated with precious stones, they were a sign of nobility and wealth. A saadak like this was discovered during the archaeological digs of the Kazan Kremlin. It was made from curried leather with ornamental patterns. Its exterior part was decorated with an image of a dragon in a circle. Several similar parade saadaks referring to the 16–17th centuries are a part of the collection of the Kremlin Armoury [Uspensky, 1927, pp. 7–8].

The protective gear was also rather diverse. The use of steel protective plates and chain-armour network in different combinations was typical for the 16th century. Armourers tried to make their armours impenetrable and light under conditions of short mobile combat of large cavalry masses, impetuous raids and skirmishes, which were getting more and more frequent in the combating practice. [Denisova, 1953, pp. 59–70; Kirpichnikov, 1976, pp. 33–43; see also: Uspensky, 1927, pp. 1–6].

The most widespread (as it used to be) were tegilyas—the light-weight fustian robes with mail armour nets or steel plates and mail armours (kyobe) in their lining, consisting of dozens of thousands of steel rings (new types of network and form of rings, high stand-up collar quilted with leather belts, significant wrap over of the collar and heavy weight (more than 10 kilos) were typical for the 16th century). Baidana was one of the kinds of armour looking like a big long robe with a cut at the front made of wide washers. It was discovered due to archaeological finds. It was usually put on common mail armours or quilted robes and, due to its wide wrapover on the chest, it was a very light and reliable protective means. The remains of these armours were discovered due to the archaeological digs in Kazan and the Kamaev archaeological site. The collections of the National Museum of the Republic

A Tatar warrior of the late 15th century, the first half of the 16th century.

Illus. by A. Krasnikov



Tatarstan also include whole chain armours referring to the 15–17th centuries.

Armours made of steel plates (yarak) were fundamentally changed in the 16th century. In this very period yushmans—the mail armours with big interlaced plates, kolontars—the combined sleeveless armours, made of large horizontal plates, connected with rings and bekhterts (deriving from Persian 'bekhter'—'mail armour') that consisted of narrow short steel strips, making up vertical rows on the chest and back, appeared along with traditional kuyaks (sleeveless armours, made of large steel plates attached to leather basis, which often had shoulder-straps, a visor and split lap). All these kinds of armour were often covered with fine floral ornamental patterns. They also used steel vambraces to protect a warrior's arms and greaves (buturluk), covering his shanks.

The Kazan people also had several sorts of helmets. Most warriors protected their head with a quilted paper or leather hat, doubled with a mesh made of steel rings or stripes.

Steel helmets were also used. The most popular were misyrkas (from Misr,—that is, Egypt)—the steel spherical hats with iron ear straps and a long mesh made of steel rings, protecting the face and the throat of a warrior and yerikhonkas—the tall conical nasal helmets with ear straps, neck-flaps and visors.

Most likely the body of a Kazan warrior was protected by a small (about 50 cm in diameter) prominent round shield made of leather or cane, with an iron plate in the centre. Unfortunately their details were not preserved and their construction can only be judged with the help of illustrations and analogues—the armament represented in Moscow collections of the Kremlin armoury and museums of Istanbul.

It goes without saying that only noble warriors could afford a complete set of protective gear, especially metal armours. Judging by reports of Russian chronicles 'chain mails and body armour', 'chain mails and helmets' were always considered as common armament of Tatar aristocracy. As a rule the set of a noble man included a sabre, a mace, an axe-coinage, a spear, a bow and arrows kept in an expensive saadak and a complete set of protective gear, including a metal helmet, one type of chain mail, a shield and forearm guards. Judging by Russian and Crimean materials, the horses of aristocracy had luxurious horse attires of high saddles—archaks, precious bridle and chepraks, and sometimes, apparently, a chaldar—an armour made of metal plates protecting breast and sides of a war horse.

The horsemen armed with heavy armament were the skeleton of the army of Kazan khans. They were formed from among Tatar aristocracy (oglans, emirs, murzas), petty serving nobility (Cossacks, Batyrs) and military servants. In total there were several thousands of them but their crucial role in military actions is beyond doubt. A certain number of armoured cavalry and horsed archers were integrated with Kazan troops due to alliances between the Nogai Horde and the Crimean Khanate.

Members of people's volunteer militia taking part in military campaigns in exceptional cases had universal and relatively affordable armours: wide spears, axes with broad blades, bows and arrows, as well as leather and fus-

tian armours. Their role was rather significant when it came to the siege of fortifications, as for field combat they almost did not have significant meaning. The infantry of the Kazan people were formed from militias of administrative-feudal districts (darugs) and 'allies'—the Cheremis (the Maris and the Chuvashes).

Firearms were used extensively by the troops of the Kazan Khanate. The opinion, according to which the Kazan people could not use them and Russian artillerymen stuck to cannons were shooting off the walls of Kazan, is false and dates back to Orthodox legends of a later period. Modern finds let us say that powder weapons have been known in the Volga Region since the 1370s. Only one hand-cannon referring to the 16th century was discovered due to archaeological digs in Kazan. Cannon-balls made of stone can be often found in Kazan. Russian and European sources preserved evidence on hand-cannons and cannons shooting off the city walls; the Kazan people used cannons and hand-cannons and bows [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, 1965, p. 99] which were typically at their disposal during military actions: during attack of a small Tatar fortification near Bulak in 1530 the Russian troops 'took their cannons and hand-cannons' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, 2001, p. 273]. The use of cannons and hand-cannons in field battles was registered for the first time in 1551, when a big detachment of rebellious murzas from Taw yağı came up to the walls of Kazan. Then 'all the Kazan people, the Crimeans and inhabitants of Kazan went out and started fighting and there were many victims among them. The Kazan people took out all the cannons and hand-cannons and started shooting at them. And mountain people, the Chuvashes and the Cheremis, got scared and ran away...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 29, 1965, p. 62]. Apparently, they used a diverse set of fire-arms in Kazan—beginning with light hand rifles and heavy machine-guns and ending up with light-weight cannons (tufenk) loaded with case-shots and heavy-weight field and tower cannons. They were effectively used during field battles and the siege of cities, where they applied heavy battering instruments like mortars, waging a

plunging fire. Apparently, most of those cannons were cast by the Kazan people themselves, a part of them was taken from the Russians during unsuccessful military campaigns (1506, 1524, 1530).

There is an evidence that there was a special zeughaus in Kazan citadel, where they stored gun powder and gun-park. There were skilled gunsmiths and experienced artillerymen affiliated to the arsenal. Experienced artillerymen were extremely precious military masters and their role in military actions was essential (the artillery and artillerymen of the latter half of the 16th century are represented in [Nemirovsky, 1982]). It is proved by the fact that, for instance, after the defeat of the Russian army near Kazan in 1506, the Grand Prince Ivan III was firstly indignant not about lost cannons, but because he had nearly been captivated by one of the experienced artillerymen. He said: '... I am not concerned with arms but with people who can cast and use them' [Herberstein, 1988, p. 172]. S. Herberstein told about good organisation of firing during the defence of Kazan in 1524, although there was only 'one artilleryman' there and the besieged defended themselves very bravely [Ibid., p. 178]. The death of prince Dmitry Mikulinsky, one of the rulers of the Kazan assault in 1552, killed by a cannon-ball, confirms the fact, that they were skilled and experienced shooters.

Discussing the inferiority of armament of the Kazan Khanate, Russian science often refers to the absence of regular army, such as infantry regiments armed with spears and guns. Nevertheless, it should be noted, that in Russia this type of shooter troops was created only after 1550 and they met their first combat challenge during the siege of Kazan [Rasin, 1957, pp. 330–338]. The permanent infantry troops of the same type were created at the same time in France, Sweden, Poland and Ottoman Turkey [Vvedensky, 2003; Nicolle, 1983]. We can say, that Kazan was at the edge of these military reforms and only the Russian conquest interrupted this logical process.

The river fleet was a special means of military actions [Izmaylov, 1994a, pp. 97–100]. The traditions of trading and military navigation in the Volga region date back to ancient

times. The particular parity between the Russian and the Bulgar ulus of the Golden Horde existed for centuries. The slackening of the central power in the Golden Horde led to the expansion of river piracy and raids of Moscow fleets in the Volga cities. The emerging Kazan Khanate needed its own river fleet. The trading ships sailing from Tver to Hajji-Tarkhan (Astrakhan) and southern shores of the Caspian sea were the basis of its establishment. Merchant navy provided the main part of captains, sailors and pilots. They transported troops and could serve as military vessels after some modifications.

The fleet of the Kazan people contained vessels of different types. There were undecked vessels like boats among them. They were of different sizes—beginning with small boats and ending up with large vessels, called 'ushkuy' in Russian. They had large sails and oars, which made them speedy, manoeuvring and convenient to land. Average boats could accommodate 30–50 people and some war horses. They were usually used as additional vessels used for military actions in shallow waters. Ushkuys were larger sailing oared vessels and they could transport heavy loads and landing troops of 100–200 warriors. The Kazan people might have seldom used sailing oared vessels called nasads, as military ships on the Volga. The constructive features of these largest Volga vessels plying the waters of the river till the 17th century, were the high 'impaled' boards and decks. Apparently, some of them looked like galleys of their Turkish opponents like kadyrga or bashtarda. Even light cannons and large crew or landing troops could be accommodated there. Their common carrying capacity was about 2 thousand tons. Military vessels, unlike trading ones, usually had special superstructures over on the deck, at the stern and at the head part. Archers and light-weight cannons (tyufenk) were housed there.

All the Kazan vessels were produced in local dockyards. The most famous one was situated in Bishbalta village (currently Admiralteyskaya Sloboda) [Sultanov, 2004, pp. 164–166]. Its inhabitants not only built vessels, they also made all the necessary stuff—

resin, ring ropes and sails. Navigators, sailors and pilots lived here as well. It is no wonder that by those ancient traditions, the slipways of Kazan Admiralty were laid there by the order of Peter I. In the 18th century it produced more than 100 vessels for the Russian fleet. The Kazan fleet numbering up to 200 galleys and boats in different years, was based here at the mouth of the Kazanka River.

The tactics of river battles were about shooting at adversaries in order to defeat them and even burn down their vessels and destroy their crews. A river battle in 1469 can be an example of these manoeuvres, when the Kazan fleet attacked Russian boats, after a brief exchange of fire retreated and then attacked them again, 'beating and shooting' as stated in the Russian chronicle. All these manoeuvres usually ended with the approach of vessels and attempts to involve in a hand-to-hand combat on the deck of the adversaries' ship and board it. Besides the crew, landing forces were placed on board for this purpose. In the very 1469 a Russian chronicler mentioned 'the best princes and people' on the board of Kazan vessels [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, 1949, pp. 282–283].

One of the brightest episodes of the river war between Moscow and Kazan fleets took place in 1469, when the flotilla of vessels of Prince Ukhtomsky from Ustyug, were heading down the Vyatka and the Kama Rivers in order to unite the Russian fleet, was attacked by the Tatar fleet near Kazan. The battle was conducted according to standard rules of engagement. At first, the adversaries would shoot at each other, and then they started hand-to-hand combat. Prince Ukhtomsky was completely defeated in this fierce battle. According to the chronicles, "the Tatars were fighting against the inhabitants of Ustyug and captured the noblemen; Nikita Yaroslavsky was killed then, and voivode Yuri Pleshcheev and his comrades were captured." In total, about 500 Russian warriors were killed and nearly all the fleet was destroyed in that battle. Prince Ukhtomsky managed to break through with only several vessels [Ioasafov Chronicle, 1957, p. 60; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 30, 2009, p. 136; Complete Collection of

Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, p. 92].

The main goals of the Kazan flotilla was to support the offensive and defensive actions of the main troop formations, and defend the of river approaches to Kazan. For example, the flotilla was rather successful in blockading the Russian army besieging Kazan in 1524. They defeated not only the ground forces, but also the flotilla of Prince Paletsky, who had no reinforcements, provisions or siege artillery. As a result, the Russian troops not only lost more than ninety vessels and all their cannons, but were completely encircled, which predetermined their complete defeat [Herberstein, 1988, pp. 177–179].

Certainly, the actions of the Kazan fleet were not successful all the time. There were cases when it suffered defeats and misfortunes, but it had always demonstrated great fighting skills and training, fighting on equal terms against Russian flotillas. Unfortunately history did not preserve the names of Kazan naval commanders, such as Beg Tulyazy, but it is doubtless that there were many of them and their military skills were comparable to those of Russian navigators. The decline of the Tatar military fleet started in the 1540s, when the main part of the vessels was destroyed or passed to Moscow.

The military organization of the Tatars was related to the preceding traditions of the Golden Horde. It included militias from different regions and cities, individual detachments of nobility, as well as the troops of allies—the Cheremis and the Nogais.

The ruling highest ranks of society were represented by the khan, members of his family and four additional classes: Muslim clergy, princes and murzas and the Cossacks living at the court (*ichki*) and beyond it. It is plausible that *ichki* had a higher status and were themselves the begs [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 61–80].

The social organization of the nobility in the Kazan Khanate had a hierarchic system connected with the rights to own land (or levy a certain kind of taxes) as a conditional (*soyugal*) right, for which a nobleman had to serve his suzerain, and conditional-unconditional one (*tarkhan*), that is relief of duty (partial or

complete) in favor of the khan. The highest representatives of nobility were represented by *oglan*s, *karaches* and *emirs*, then came *murzas*, and the layer of knights, represented by *bagaturs* and Cossacks. Waging war was the main activity of the service class. It is not a coincidence that one can often read in epitaphs referring to the 16th century that *imyarek* "was martyred by an infidel" (see: [Rakhim, 1930, pp. 164, 169].

The term "*chura*" which was preserved in authentic written sources and Tatar narratives is especially noteworthy. As we have already mentioned above, this term has nothing in common with the denomination "*kol*", it denoted military servants which can be clearly seen from epic literature "*Chura-Batyr*" or "*History of Kazan*" describing the escape of Chura Narykov. Basically the term "*chura*" could be combined with such well-known oriental military terms as "*gulyam*" or "*mamluk*." *Gulyams* and *mamluks* were slaves, young boys often bought in slave markets, they were trained at special military camps, turning them into professional heavily armed warriors who were able to fight against European knights. As for their social status, they often obtained quick promotion becoming the rulers of the whole states (for example, the state of *Mamluks* in Egypt or India). Nevertheless most likely the term "*chura*" means the general name of the class of military servants—the knights. The indications of historians (for example, the one according to which Edigu was the "*chura*" of Khan Tokhtamysh [Usmanov, 1972, p. 94], and Tatar narratives about military servants—*churas*—and also the earlier Turkic khaganates going back to the epoch of Turkic khaganates are evidence of that. It was known in the Volga Region where it was registered at least since the latter half of the 12th century and broadly used in the set of titles between the 13th and the 15th centuries, denoting the representatives of the military class, the knights [Izmaylov, 1997a, p. 145]. In the Volga Region it was used in its dialectal form *yori/churi* [Khakimzyanov, 1978, pp. 80–82]. Later after the Russian conquest this term, was displaced from social practice by another name of military class—the "*serving Tatars*."

In spite of the opinion of separate researchers [Khudyakov, 1990, pp. 201–203] in the khanate the landlords, receiving land for service, most likely these were not the representatives of the nobility—these owned estates—but the lower classes, i.e., the Cossacks (common soldiers, *desyatskie* and *sotskiye*). Probably up to one the fourth of the land estates of the state belonged to them [Ibid.]. This conclusion is evidenced by the fact that, during the first decades after the Russian conquest, the so called "serving Tatars" were rewritten as groups dispersed in many villages as landed classes (see: [Scribe's Book, 1978]).

The structure of land legal relations in the Kazan Khanate and the structure of military and service class nobility based on it, was described in detail in works by Sh.F. Muhamedyarov and R.N. Stepanov (see: [Muhamedyarov, 2012, pp. 93–142; Muhamedyarov, 1958; Stepanov, 1966, pp. 94–110]). The examination of sources allows us to make a conclusion that the typical form of land relations in the Kazan Khanate was a military-retainer system in the form of hereditary possessions (*soyural* or *tarkhan*). The owner of such a possession was usually obliged to serve his suzerain (generally this was the khan, but it can be assumed that his power was mediated by the headmen of Tatar clans) and in return he obtained hereditary support (possession), a certain tax and administrative-judicial immunity. Thus, military service was the major and the most important duty of the owner of a *soyural*, although its order and duration, dictated obviously by the custom, are not clear in the details. A fragment of the "History of Kazan" may serve as an illustration for such an assembly: "And Kazan Tsar Sapkirey, listening to the great voivodes of Moscow, decided to send princes and murzas to all Kazan uluses ordering them to gather in Kazan, get ready for the siege, and wait for the enormous Russian forces" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 2000, p. 252].

All serving class aristocracy and clergy, to a large extent, in the Kazan Khanate were representatives of Tatar clans and tribes. This thought can be formulated more precisely: there was no military service class in Kazan

except for the Tatars, just as in the Jochid Ulus, that means nobody could become a part of nobility unless he belonged to a Tatar clan, and accordingly all representatives of this class belonged to one or another clan in view of their blood-kinship and family ties. Four clans (and their rosters, for example, in the state of Shibaniids, numbered up to one hundred titles) of the Kazan Khanate were especially outstanding from the standpoint of nobility and power—the Shirins, the Arghyns, the Kypchaks and the Baryns. These were the same four ruling clans, whose traditions (exactly four, while the names of certain clans varies from khanate to khanate) went back to the state structure of the Jochid Ulus and further to the times of the Ancient Turks (See: [Schamiloglu, 1993, pp. 44–60]).

Judging by the total population size, the total number of warriors in the Kazan Khanate could reach 50 people, but it could hardly exceed 20–30 thousand people during serious military actions, which correlates with the notes of S. Herberstein that "the tsar of this land (that is, Kazan land.—I.I.) can post an army numbering thirty thousand people, mainly consisting of infantrymen among whom one can find the Cheremis and the Chuvashes. They are rather skillful archers". Nevertheless the number of armed cavalry in the whole khanate (including the detachments of the Nogais and Crimeans) hardly exceeded 5–10 thousand people, and most likely there were fewer of them, because the number of feudals was smaller than 10% of the population. It is therefore clear that during the wars and turmoils of 1546–1552, the best representatives of the Tatar nobility were killed, which became the reason for the defeat of the khanate.

The Kazan people were rather skilled warriors. The very belonging to the Tatar clan aristocracy itself dictated specific requirements of its representatives, such as honor, courage and bravery. These features of the Tatar warriors were noted even by their enemies. Italian traveler Giosafat Barbaro, who was in the Azov and Volga Regions in the early 15th century, gave the following description of Tatar troops: The warriors are extremely valiant

and brave, so much so that some of them, for their excellence are called "Ghazi bagater", which means "an insane brave man". Wherefore there are many of them that in fights of arms esteem not their lives, fear no peril, but push forward to demolish the enemy without thought, so that the weak can take courage in them and also become valiant themselves [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 146]. Russian chroniclers mainly perceived the Tatar warrior as extremely fierce and rude when it comes to fighting, showing no mercy to both his own and his rival's life. For example, the author of the Russian novel "History of Kazan" respectfully wrote about a Tatar who struggled against fifty Russian warriors [History of Kazan, 1954, p. 70].

The Tatars used flags and banners to manage troops and help them orientate themselves. The main flag of the khan (tug, elem) was a symbol of dignity of the khanate, and usually looked like a rectangle attached to a flagstaff. In the 15–16th centuries, these flags were blue, green or red (or the combination of these colors) with embroidered inscriptions from the Quran or arabesque patterns (apparently sometimes the tamga of the Jochids was portrayed on them). Several noblemen and their troops had big triangle or rectangle flags (khorunga, elenge) and some warriors had small flags on their helmets and the staffs of their spears. The poles with ponytails attached to them were often used as a flag of military leaders. Their number bore evidence of the rank of the commander.

The tactics of field battle and operative military art of the Kazan people were rather complicated. This was mentioned by Russian and European contemporaries many times. The battle combat included maneuvers of the light cavalry, which rushed passed the rows of adversaries at a gallop, making a peculiar circle (according to S. Herberstein, it looked like a round dance [Herberstein, 1988, p. 168]) shooting at them continuously. When the defenders started to retreat, the heavy cavalry armed with pikes joined the battle. If the adversaries attacked themselves, the archers retreated very fast, trying to wear down and disorder their ranks, and then place them in a

position where the cavalry could charge. Usually such an encounter attack was divided into several transient combats and maneuvers of the cavalry.

In the context of multi-stage military operations, the Tatars used a variety of theaters, including rivers, using tactical and operational maneuvers and movements.. The tactics used in the defense of Kazan is the most illustrative in this respect. Having no forces to resist Russian troops, exceeding them in number, the Kazan people allowed them to come up to the city walls, intending to encircle them and deprive of fortifications and provisions. Such tactics of active fighting basing on powerful fortress defended by artillery, allowed wearing down of the adversaries in local struggles, depleting them of vitality and defeating them completely. The wars of 1467–1469, 1506–1507, 1524 and 1530, 1549 were the most successful military operations of this sort.

The Russian army which was extremely large in number (according to chronicles, sometimes it numbered about 100 warriors) was usually divided into two parts as it headed towards Kazan. The first part disembarking from ships near Kazan started to besiege the city and the other one later disembarked on the right bank of the Volga River, consisting the main part of the army and the cavalry. Sometimes the cavalry had to engage in battle against the Tatar cavalry, and this was not always successful. Meanwhile, near Kazan, battles started for field fortifications, which were built beyond the city walls by the Kazan people. These were designed to force the Russians to do battle in open fields, where they would be subject to bombardment from the side of walls and towers of the city. Simultaneously, the cavalry and infantry started to concentrate in the rear of the besiegers. They would attack the Russian encampment together with defenders of the city, and separate the troops in a coordinated way, and sometimes they would completely strip their adversaries of provisions and ammunition, as it occurred in 1524. In case of a direct storming of the city's fortifications the Kazan people organized counter-attacks and the cavalry pressed hard on the rear areas of their adversaries. For example,

during the siege of 1487, the detachments of karachi-beg of Ali-Ghazi acted this way, as well as the detachments of murza Yepancha in 1552. Most frequently this double blow led to defeat and flight of the besieging troops. Such tactics that were used repeatedly, is evidence of the high level of training and steadfastness of the Tatars.

The Kazan people also succeeded in offensive operations—usually they sailed to Nizhny Novgorod via the Volga River (1505, 1523, 1536) and once even to Moscow—in 1521 (being an ally of the Crimean Khanate). Operations like these were usually a reply to hostile actions from the side of Muscovite Rus, and had as their aim to make it conclude a peace treaty.

Thus, the Kazan Tatars had rather well-developed and varied armaments and equipment, in no way inferior to those of its neighbors. It is rather important that even artillery—the most prospective weapons of that time—was actively used by the Kazan people. An analysis of the armaments and military art of the Tatars allows us to reject the imperial myth about "the primitive tactics of raids" and the absence of the ability to struggle against Russia. It shows that since 1487, Kazan resisted Russia successfully for seven decades, and defeated its troops several times. This success was only possible in the presence of weapons of war and combat tactics.

§ 3. Military Art of the Crimean Khanate in the Late 15–Early 17th Centuries

Vitaly Penskoy

The collapse of the Golden Horde led to radical changes in the political situation and distribution of forces in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Muscovite state plunged themselves into a struggle for domination in Eastern Europe, but they were not alone in this struggle. The rulers of the Crimean Khanate, formed in the latter half of the 15th century, also made a claim on the heritage of the Golden Horde. Their claims were based not only on the fact that the clan of the Crimean khans descended from Chinggis Khan himself, but also on a mighty army, this "ultima ratio regis" which was used by the Girays without hesitation, to solve foreign policy problems after diplomacy had turned out to be powerless.

It cannot be said that the issue of studying the peculiarities of the formation and development of the armed forces of the Crimean Khanate was not in the realm of interest of domestic and foreign researchers (see, for example, [Dmitriev, 2003; Ishchenko, 1989; Ostapchuk, 2001; Collins, 1975; Inalchik, 1979–1980, etc.]). Nevertheless, the research of this issue, as well as the history of the khanate in general, after a long time of being consigned to oblivion, is only beginning. As a result, unfortunately, we do not have a clear notion about

what the Crimean army of the late 15–17th centuries looked like. The opinion represented in popular literature, according to which they were an enormous army of poorly armed horsemen, who were only able to rob, kill, and capture defenseless Ukrainian and Russian settlers is definitely contrary to the important role the khanate played in the history of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe on the late Middle Ages—the early period of Modern history. This controversy is especially notable, if we take into consideration the fact that at that time, the real political weight of the state in the system of political relations directly depended on the number and the degree of perfection of the war machine. It would be logical to assume that the Crimean Girays—carrying out an aggressive foreign policy (its final aim being at least to unite the Tatar yurts emerging on the ruins of the Golden Horde under their aegis)—were dangerous adversaries of the Moscow Rurikids and the Polish-Lithuanian Jagellons. Consequently they had a rather efficient and powerful instrument for continuing political relations by other means" [Clausewitz, 2002, p. 47]. Three khans can be called the creators of this instrument—Mengli Giray I, under whom the basis of the Crimean statehood (including armed forces) were laid; his son Sahib Giray I, under

whom the Crimea army went through large-scale reforms inspired by the Ottoman empire; and Mengli Giray's grandson Devlet Giray I, under whom the Crimean army and military affairs had reached the zenith of its development.

So what was the army of the Crimean Khanate like, and which were the main features of the military affairs of the khanate under these rulers? Let us try to answer this question basing on scanty evidence of contemporaries and few documents which are available to us.

American researcher S. Huntington, characterizing the military power of any state, wrote that it has four dimensions: a qualitative one—the number of people, arms, technical equipment and resources; a technological one—the efficiency and the degree of perfection of armament and technical support; an organizational one—coherence, discipline, training and morale of the troops, as well as the efficiency of command and management; and a social one—an ability and desire of the society to apply military forces efficiently [Huntington, 2003, p. 126].

We will begin with an approach to define the quantification of military potential of the Crimean Khanate. The attributing of the ability to field an army equaling 100 thousand or even 200 thousand horsemen, if necessary, to the Crimean khans literally became common place in many historical compositions (especially in popular literature) (see, for example: [Boplan, 2004, p. 227; Horsey, 1990, p. 56; Madaryaga, 2007, p. 364; 172; Fletcher, 1991, p. 90; Yavornitsky, 1991, p. 320]). Nevertheless, in our opinion, it is necessary to distinguish such notions as "mobilization potential" (that is human resources which could be used by the Girays provided that everybody who is able to hold arms would mount a horse) and a "field army", which was raised for some particular military campaign.

As for the mobilization potential of nomadic communities, the majority of modern specialists believe that, in the case of total mobilization, the ratio between the number of fielded warriors and the general number of the population was 1:5 (see, for example: [Kradin, 2002, pp. 71–72; Pletneva, 1990, pp. 9, 114 etc.]). Modern assessments of the total population of

the Crimean Khanate vary greatly—they range from 250–300 thousand to 600 people (see, for example: [Iskhakov, 2004b, pp. 34–36; Roslavl'tseva, 2008, p. 32, etc.] taking into consideration that, according to A. Khoroshkevich, "the absolute figures of the population of the Crimean Khanate are hard to calculate accurately" [Khoroshkevich, 2001, p. 92]. Thus, the number featuring in many sources (about 100 horsemen or even more), who were alleged to be raised by the Crimean "tsar" against his enemies can only be considered as an approximate (sic!) and very optimistic estimation of the mobilization potential of the Crimean Khanate at its best times. There is no doubting the fact that such a population size under the Girays was achieved only many decades after the khanate had been established, as well as the impossibility of assembling troops that would be so large in number, from the technical point of view, taking into consideration the level of infrastructure and development of the management machinery, as well as providing such an army with all necessary supplies.

"Countless" Crimean armies found it convenient to frighten intractable adversaries during negotiations in Moscow and Vilnius, based on wishful thinking (as Sahib Giray did, for example, in 1538 when talking to teenage Ivan IV and the boyars surrounding him: "I will collect more than one hundred thousand of my army and head off to your lands and cause much damage to your lands and my treasury will become fuller. It would be much better if you sent gifts willingly, and then there will not be any war". And I will only conquer your land and your state so that my people could be satisfied [Florya, 2001, pp. 238–239]. In real life, the khans could only rely on forces which were far smaller in number. For example, the Venetian traveler, entrepreneur and diplomat G. Barbaro, who had been to Northern Black Sea region at the dawn of Crimean statehood, wrote that the Tatars dwelling on the island of Kaffa (sic!) can field 3–4 thousand horsemen [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 155]. In the summer of 1501, the Russian ambassador in the Crimea I. Mamonov reported to Ivan III that the number of the armies of the tsar had increased to 1501 warriors (V.P.) [Written mon-

uments, 1884, p. 368]. This sudden change can be also explained by the fact that after Mengli Giray had defeated the khan of the Great Horde Sheykh Ahmed, the majority of regions, which used to be subordinated to the adversary, passed to the victor (see, for example: [Zaitsev, 2004a, pp. 100–105; Khoroshkevich, 2001, pp. 92–93, 153–158, 162–163]).

The Nogai massacre of 1523 had a negative influence on the military potential of the Crimean Khanate. According to Moscow ambassador in the Crimea I. Kolychev, after the Nogais had left the Crimea, there were hardly 15 battle-worthy men, and only one the third had horses, and all the rest could only rely on mares and colts [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 58]. The consequences of this catastrophe were felt even two decades later. In the early 1540s, according to Lithuanian publicist Ventseslav Mikolaevich, better known as Michalon Lituanus, the khan could only rely on 30 horsemen, provided that every person who is able to sit in the saddle should set off on a military campaign, including shepherds who could not wield arms [Lituanus, 1994, pp. 65–66].

The Crimea had managed to restore and even overcome its former might only by the middle of the 16th century, in the declining years of Sahib Giray I's reign and under his successor Devlet Giray I. In these years setting off on military campaigns, the khans headed troops numbering 40–50 thousand people, including infantry and detachments of vassals. Anyways, in 1555, Devlet Giray attacked Moscow heading an army numbering approximately 30–40 thousand warriors and in 1571, according to Ivan the Terrible, the khan arrived in Russia at the head of 40,000 horsemen. It should be emphasized that it was not profitable for him to reduce their number after his troops had been defeated and the capital had been burnt down. According to Ottoman chronicler Ibrahim Pechevi, Ghazi Giray II brought approximately the same number of warriors to the Ottoman encampment in 1594. However, those were large-scale military campaigns, real invasions which were described by Frenchman G.-L. de Beauplan and Turk Evliya Çelebi so impressively [Beauplan, 2004, p. 231; Evliya Çelebi, 2008, pp. 43–44]. The Crimean army

was usually smaller in number. For instance, in 1543, Sahib Giray sent his warriors, numbering 15,000 horsemen in total, to support the Turkish sultan in his expedition in Hungary. The Russian ambassador in the Crimea, Ivan Sudakov, reported that in February 1588, the khan and his troop numbering 18,000 horsemen and 500 Turkish janissaries from Kaffa set off for Ukraine [Lituanus, 1994, pp. 65–66; Smirnov, 2005, p. 333; Stateyny, 1891, p. 68; Tolstoy, 1848, p. 298].

Now let us consider the technological aspects of the military power of the Crimean Khanate. The cavalry was a powerful force of the Crimean army, so let us begin with it. Imperial diplomatist and memoir writer S. Herberstein gave a classical description of an average Crimean horseman in the early 16th century. "Their arms (belonging to the Tatars—V.P.) are a bow and arrows, a spear is a rare thing among them", he wrote in the early 16th century, emphasizing that the Tatars avoided close combats, because they had neither shields, nor spears and helmets to resist the adversaries [Herberstein, 2008, pp. 400–401, 403]. Similar statements can be found in other sources referring to a later period (see, for example: [Boplan, 2004, pp. 219–221; Lituanus, 1994, p. 66; Fletcher, 1991, p. 91]).

Thus, all contemporaries emphasized the extremely light-weight armament of an ordinary Tatar warrior, and the striving of the noble and rich Crimean warriors to follow the Turkish tradition of using armor. Englishman J. Fletcher wrote: "murzas and noblemen imitate the clothes and the armament of the Turks"). Apparently by the 16th century, the Crimean Tatars had almost refused to follow the military tradition of the late Horde directly, and in the first quarter of the 16th century, their defensive and offensive armory set was absolutely similar to the common Western Asian one (according to L.A. Bobrov, it was Russian-Muslim one). The characteristics of this set can be found in, for instance: [Bobrov, 2004; Bobrov, 2003; Pink, 2004, etc.]. The only difference was that the Crimean Tatars did not have armored cavalry, which would be large in number and the army was based on mounted archery. Everything seems to indicate that, at that time, the stan-

dard armory set of an ordinary Tatar horseman consisted of a saidak (a bow and a quiver full of arrows), a saber and a knife as offensive armaments. As for defense, most likely they used soft quilted armor like the Russian tegulyais and analogue head gears (Michalon Lituanus wrote about them: "... their (the Tatars"—V.P.) white pointed felt hats are made not for appearance; their height and shine are intended make the Tatars look more numerous and so terrify their adversaries..."? [Lituanus, 1994, p. 75]. The nobility and selected warriors from its suite (the latter were described by [Bronevsky, 1867, pp. 362, 367]) were armed like the Turkish Sipahis, as it was mentioned above, which means they used the most varied types of ring and plate armor, metal helmets produced in Turkey and Iran, vambraces (forearm guards), knee-caps, buturlyks and greaves. In general, they had more significant offensive armament than ordinary warriors (on the armory set of rich Tatar warriors, see, for example: [Ibid., p. 366]). Probably in some cases, noble and rich Crimean warriors could also use horse armor.

Apparently light-weight armament of the Tatar warriors did not appear by accident (in comparison with the Turks, not to mention the Middle and Central Asia warriors). In the beginning, when the Crimean-Tatar state was being formed, the khans and nobility had to face the grand problem of providing the majority of ordinary warriors with qualitative and cheap armor and arms. The crushing defeat of the Golden Horde by Temür and the degradation of urban culture following this, resulted in significant reduction of the arms and armor production in the Horde itself (A. Contarini had noted this indirectly, in characterizing the armaments of the Horde warriors in the late 15th century [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 224]). The importation of weapons from abroad remained limited. The last stage of the formation of the Crimean Khanate and the establishment of urban culture inside it, characterized by developed handicrafts, literally coincided with the impetuous development of firearms and the decline in the use of armor. That led to its becoming lighter and eventual complete disappearance. Counting on the so called "small wars" and mobility, the Crimean



A Tatar warrior of the late 15th century, the first half of the 16th century. Fig. by A. Krasnikov

armies achieved, through all available means, the best kind of defense from the growing fire power of the main adversaries of the Tatars: the Russians, the Polish and the Lithuanians.

The physical qualities of the Tatar horses also played their role in the refusal to use armor. Contemporaries unanimously praised the Tatar horses for their endurance, unpretentiousness and adaptation to local conditions (see, for example: [Herberstein, 2008, p. 401; Lituanus, 1994, p. 75]). However, the advantages of the Tatar horses were the reverse side of their shortcomings. They differed from the European ones in their lower height (on average -131.9 cm at the shoulder, see: [Kozhevnikov, Gurevich, 1990, pp. 14–15]), and due to this fact. were not able to bear an armed rider, wearing solid armor. The Tatars had very few good, powerful horses. Thus, in 1555, the Russian warriors captured a Khan's train-"kosh", 60,000 quick-moving horses and only 200 Argamak horses [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 2000, p. 257]. The Argamak

horses were three-four times more expensive than ordinary horses, according to the testaments of Russian military men from the first half of the 16th century (see, for example: [Acts, 1975, pp. 8, 174–175, 198, 253–254]).

Firearms were not widely spread among the Tatars in the period under consideration. Of course, supposing, like J. Horsey [Horsey, 1990, pp. 70–71], that the Tatars were not familiar with them at all, would be a mistake. Fighting with the Russians and Lithuanians and having close contact with the Turks, the Crimeans were perfectly aware what guns, arquebuses and muskets were, and how they can be useful. Apparently, the first attempts to obtain their own artillery and infantry armed with firearms were made during the rule of Mengli Giray I. Back in the winter of 1490–1491, the Khan borrowed from Sultan Bayazid II one thousand janissaries [Written Monuments, 1884, p. 105]. It is obvious that the infantry was among those Khan's "people" who "guarded" "founded" "on Tovan" the "Isl'am town" and for whose maintenance Mengli Giray demanded from Sigismund I 4,5 gold pieces per year [Lietuvos, 2011, p. 92]. The Khan's artillery is mentioned, for example, in 1502. Back then, according to the Russian ambassador I. Mamonov, when Mengli Giray equipped his campaign against the Khan of the Great Horde, he took cannons, along with everything else [Written Monuments, 1884, pp. 378, 379, 417].

The Nogai pogrom of 1523 accelerated the re-organization of the structure of the Khan's troops. Learning about the huge loss "in people and horses" in the Crimea, Sultan Suleiman I sent to the Crimean throne his protegee Saadet Giray with an escort of not only horsemen, but also 500 "musketeers/pishchalniks" to "protect the new Tsar until he gains ground" [Dunaev, 1916, p. 57]. And, probably, together with the "pishchalniks", the Sultan also gave Saadet Giray cannoneers with cannons. "Pishchalniks" and cannoneers "with their equipment" of the Sultan (in 1532 the Khan had at least 8 guns shooting with "great sacks") became the striking force of the Khan, which he used against his enemies, both domestic and foreign, without long hesitation, as it happened, for example, in 1531 or 1532 [Gayvoronsky, 2007, pp.

178–179; Malinovsky, 1863, p. 258; Ostrozhs-ky, 1951, p. 239; Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 59; Cherkas, 2000, p. 109; Bielski, 1856, p. 1059; Inalchik, 1979–1980, p. 454].

The experience of utilizing firearms and communicating with the Turks, gained in those years, was fully considered by Sahib Giray I, who re-organized the Crimean army. Backed by the Sultan's escort, consisting of the cavalry and one thousand janissaries, the new Khan took strong hold of the Crimean throne and managed to stop, at last, the conflicts storming in the Crimea after the murder of his father Muhammad Giray I by the Nogais. He set up an analogue to the Sultan's kapykulu by having formed a permanent hired infantry corps at his court (it is curious that Evliya Çelebi calls it khan-kulu [Evliya Çelebi, 2008, p. 101]). The court chronicler of Sahib Giray, Remmal Hoja, reported that this corps totaled up to at least one thousand people and consisted of three components—Ottoman janissaries, tat-tufenkji (recruited among the settled non-Muslim population of the southern coast of the Crimea—first of all Greeks and Goths) and tufenkji-kullar (the warrior slaves recruited from the Abkhazians, the Georgian and mountain dwellers of the Caucasus) [Ganina, 2011, p. 95; Inalchik, 1979–1980, p. 459]. In addition, according to the Ottoman example, in those years appeared a custom of a short-term set recruitment of hired ulyufeli-tufenkji from the "infidel dhimmi" of the southern coast of the Crimea (with the Sultan's permission) [Documents, 2008, p. 124; Inalchik, 1979–1980, p. 460].

From that time on, the infantry armed with firearms and artillery became an indispensable component of the Crimean army, without which the Khans never set off any big campaign (see, for example: [Bronevsky, 1867, pp. 365, 367; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 2000, pp. 139, 257, 258; Ostapchuk, 2001, pp. 402–403; Smirnov, 2005, pp. 307, 313]). One of the Circassian princes said an interesting phrase in 1551, when he learned about the preparation of Sahib Giray's campaign: "The Khan, as they say, is coming to plunder us ... *His strength is in his guns* (emphasis added. — *V.P.*), while my guns and hand cannons are steep mountains and fast horses

..." (quote after: [Nekrasov, 1990, p. 110]). However, what else could the Circassians do, not having firearms at their disposal? Possessing firearms gave remarkable advantages to the Crimean Khans over those without them. Thus, the same Sahib Giray, using his tufenkji and artillery, defeated the people of Astrakhan and captured the city in 1546, and then crushed the Nogais in the winter of 1548. Devlet Giray used artillery and infantry in his campaigns against Russians on a regular basis—for example, in 1552, 1555, 1565, 1569 and 1572. He sent his tufenkji and cannons to the aid of the Astrakhan Khans Yamgurchi and Dervish-Ali, when they tried to defend their independence from Moscow [Zaitsev, 2006, p. 140; Nekrasov, 1990, p. 107; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 2000, p. 399; Ostapchuk, 2001, p. 406; Ambassadorial books, 2006, p. 109].

However, firearms were not widely used by the Crimeans in the 16th and in the most part of the 17th century. The Tatars did not favor it, moreover, as Evliya Çelebi wrote, "the Tatar people cannot shoot from the guns. They are scared of the guns. If there are guns somewhere, they say: "Mylytk kop", and do not go there..." [Evliya Çelebi, 2008, p. 31]. Guns and muskets were considered, probably, as a "mean" weapon, unworthy of a real Tatar, unlike the traditional bow, in the wielding of which they had no rivals. Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, mentioning the skillfulness of the Tatar shooters, wrote that they "... shoot so accurately from the bow, that they do not miss the target from at distance of 60–100 steps", and in plunging volley shooting they send the arrows to a distance, twice as long as the reach of the Cossack muzzle-loaders [Beauplan, 2004, pp. 245, 251].

Having analyzed the technical aspect of the Tatar military science, we cannot but give attention to its organizational component. Eventually, however perfect a weapon it might be, it is the people who fight, and if they are not ready or not willing to do battle, if their commanders act incompetently, then even the most perfect weaponry will not rescue the most externally brilliant army from a crushing defeat.

The structure of the Crimean army, apparently, remained quite traditional. Based on the available data, the army of the Crimean Khanate included several components. First of all, the Khan's "court" and his personal guard, *khan-kulu*; then the "courts" of the "sultans", "uhlans", "princes" and *murzas*; the irregulars, recruited in case of a big campaign from ordinary male Tatars aged from 15 to 70 years. It is possible to estimate the number of the latter by the surviving data, according to which the strongest Crimean clan, the Shirins, could put 20,000 horsemen on the battlefield, and in 1543 a crack cavalry of four major clans, the Shirins, the Arghyns, the Kypchaks and the Manghits, consisted of 10,000 warriors. The proper Tatar army was joined by the troops of the Khan's vassals, mercenaries, soldiers of fortune, who volunteered for a campaign hoping to gain some profit, and also auxiliary Turkish contingents [Bronevsky, 1867, pp. 365, 367; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 2000, p. 138; Ostapchuk, 2001, p. 402; Smirnov, 2005, pp. 307, 313, 345; Inalchik, 1979–1980, p. 448]. The organization of the army was apparently based on the decimal principle, at the same time, the Russian sources mention the division of the Crimean army into "regiments" during a campaign and in battle (see, for example: [Beauplan, 2004, p. 223; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 2000, p. 257]).

What were the tactics of the Crimean Tatars? The analysis of the available sources shows that they were more complicated, than it is commonly believed, and to a certain extent moved away from the former model of the Horde of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries. Therefore S.A. Ishchenko's phrase that the Crimean Khans preserved the Horde's traditions, connected with the specifics of military operations, almost unchanged [Ishchenko, 1989, p. 138], appears to be not entirely correct. The changes existed, and they were quite substantial at times. And they primarily concerned the battle plan. The traditional plan of actions of a nomadic cavalry in the battlefield, that had been honed by centuries and included three main phases—archery attack, shock assault of heavy and middle-weight cavalry "with spear" and finishing off the enemy, overthrown

and running in disorder, by cold steel (see, for example: [Bobrov, 2002, p. 96; Gorelik, 1995, p. 381]), did not work any more, since the composition of offensive and defensive arms of the Crimean Tatars had changed. At best, from the three phases remained only two—the first and the last. And the Tatar cavalry itself, most likely, acted in the battlefield in mixed battle orders—the first battle line was occupied by the better armed and protected soldiers, and other Tatars formed behind them (compare the description of the battle orders of the cavalry of the East Asian nomads during the late Middle Ages and early Modern times: [Bobrov, 2007, pp. 77–79]).

At the same time, under the influence of the Turks, the Crimean Tatars in the second quarter of the 16th century took advantage of the classical Ottoman "Destur-i-Rumi"—a battle order, having in its core a *wagenburg*-*tabor* of wagons—"zarbuzan arabalary" equipped with light artillery (*falconets* "zarbuzan"), inside of which there were gunners-*tufenkji* [Ostapchuk, 2001, pp. 402–403, 405–406]. The following quote from I. Mamonov's charter gives an idea about the size of the Crimean wagon-train in big campaigns, it says that preparing for the campaign against the Great Horde, Mengli Giray "... ordered all his people to be ready,... to feed the horses, and five people would have a cart, and three horses for a man, and besides other forage, five men would have two oxen..." [Written Monuments, 1884, p. 378].

These changes led to the fact that the tactics of the Crimean Tatars had changed, in comparison with the classical Horde model, and they also varied depending on the enemy to be dealt with and on the campaign's purpose. "Destur-i-Rumi" in the 1540s was successfully utilized by Sahib Giray against the Nogais and the Circassians. However, in campaigns against Russians, Lithuanians and Poles, Tatars seldom used infantry and artillery, and if they did appear on the battlefield, they usually failed, as in 1541 and 1552 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 2000, pp. 138–139; 189–190]. In the same campaign of 1552, according to the Russian documents, the Khan took with himself 18 artillery pieces, which were lost during an unsuccessful attempt to capture

Tula [Acts, 2008, pp. 222–223]. Technical and numerical superiority of the Tatar enemies, relying on much more developed industry, made it pointless for the Tatars to compete with the Russians, Poles and Lithuanians in these types of military forces, which were new to them. Besides this, the Ottomans, engaging the Tatars to take part in their campaigns from the latter half of the 16th century, assigned them a role of light-armed riders-*akyndzhi*, whose tasks included first of all reconnaissance and plunder of the enemy territories. "Destur-i-Rumi" and a big wagon train were not necessary for this purpose. Probably, it was not without reason that at the end of the 16th century, the stakes were placed on speed, maneuverer, exhaustion of the enemy, and simultaneous evasion of hand-to-hand combat until the enemy ran in retreat.

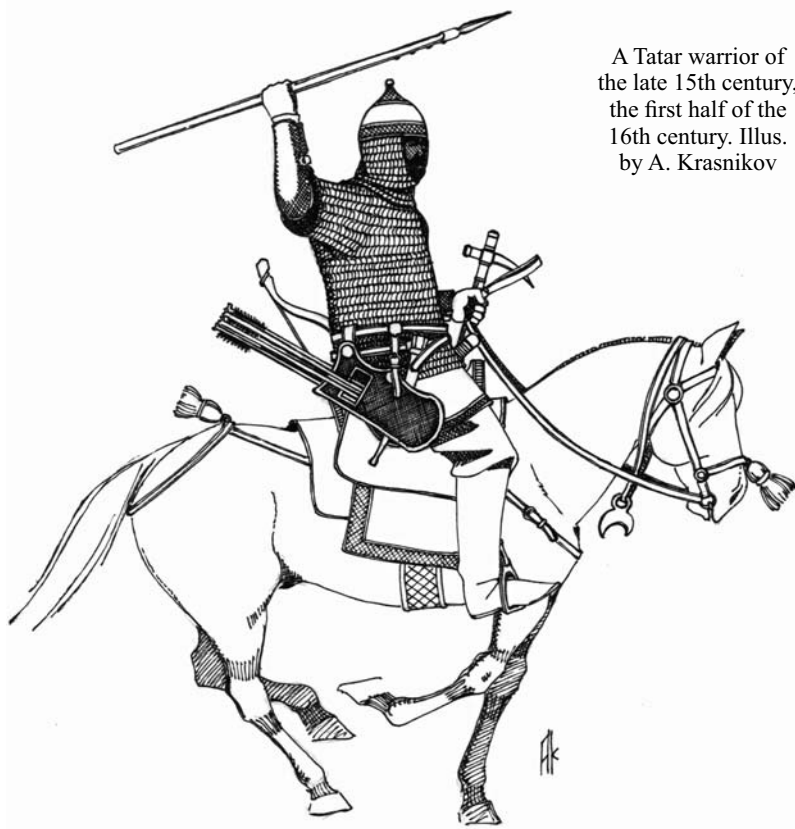
Having the plunder of enemy goods and lands and the capture of *yasyr* as their main goals, and evading direct combat with the enemy, the Tatars paid much attention to reconnaissance—both preceding the campaign and in the course of it (see, for example: [Bronevsky, 1867, pp. 361–362, 363; Blaise de Vigenère, 1890, pp. 81–82]). Many testimonies of contemporaries remain about the organization and carrying out a typical Tatar campaign for *yasyr* to the "North", to Ukraine or to Russia. It was described by M. Bronevsky and Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan (the description of the Tatar campaign by the latter became classical) [Bronevsky, 1867, pp. 362–363; Beauplan, 2004, pp. 227–235].

However, if the Crimean commanders felt that they had an advantage, the terrain favored the actions of their light cavalry and there were high chances of a victory (or the enemy compelled the Tatars to engage in battle), they would choose to fight. Nevertheless, they sought to use their trump cards with the greatest efficiency—speed, maneuverer and massed firing from their bows. "They begin the battle with the enemy from a distance and very bravely. though do not stand it for long, and make a feigned flight. When the enemy begins pursuing them, [at the first opportunity] the Tatars start firing back at them with arrows; then, having suddenly turned the horses, again attack the disordered lines of the enemy. When they have

to fight on open flatland, and the enemy is at an arrow's flight distance, then they enter the battle not in line, but bend the army and race around in a circle, so as to shoot at the enemy more accurately and conveniently" [Herberstein, 2008, p. 401].

In this fragment the main and most characteristic tactical moves of the Tatars are perfectly described. And if we analyze the testimonies of the contemporaries, about the organization of campaigns and the actions of the Tatar troops on the battlefield, no trace will be left from the commonly assumed opinion about disorganization and disorder of the Tatar army. Indeed, exceptional training and discipline not only of common warriors, but also of the commanders, starting from decurions, are required to maneuver on the battlefield in the way described above, to attack at the proper time, and then to retreat, re-organize and attack again, and to do so several times in a row. The discipline of the Tatars and their readiness to obey the orders of their commanders were emphasized by many contemporaries [Bronevsky, 1867, pp. 366–367; Blaise de Vigenère, 1890, p. 82].

However, not only the cast-iron discipline turned the Tatars into dangerous enemies. They all, except, maybe, for the tufenkji, did not know the regular military training and drills, that were being gradually implemented in the European armies in those times. However, the lack of the latter was well compensated for by vast experience of regular raids and "involvement" of both common Tatar warriors and command corps in battles. Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan wrote about it vividly and figuratively, for example, emphasizing the



A Tatar warrior of the late 15th century, the first half of the 16th century. Illus. by A. Krasnikov

coordination of actions by even the smallest groups of the Tatar warriors [Beauplan, 2004, pp. 245, 249, 251]. This "involvement", "habit" to wage war, reducing the risks of damaging the fighting capacity of the army by avoiding "general battle", the Prussian military theorist C. von Clausewitz saw as uncoordinated work of the military machine and its single elements [Clausewitz, 2002, pp. 116–117].

The habit to wage war and discipline, extensive experience, readiness to suffer all hardships of war, excellent skills in managing their main weapon, the bow, outstanding skills in horseback and trick riding, made of the Tatars extremely dangerous enemies. It is also worth adding that the Tatars lived in a natural fortress. Hundreds of kilometers of waterless and deserted steppe were much better protection for the Crimeans against the Russians, Poles and Lithuanians, than fortress walls and ramparts. For a long time it was the Tatars, and not their enemies, who chose time and a place for the attack, the Tatars, and not their enemies, had

the initiative and imposed their will and battle plan on the enemy. And if the Crimeans made no mistakes in the beginning of, and during their military actions, it was extremely hard to fight against them. As Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan smartly noticed, the war against the Tatars could be won by the most cunning, not the strongest, and to compete with the Tatars in guile and ability to wage small war was very difficult [Beauplan, 2004, p. 249].

And now about the last, about the ability and willingness of the Tatar society to effectively use military force. The belligerence of the Tatars, their desire and readiness to be at war was emphasized by all contemporaries. Thus, Blaise de Vigenère wrote that "... they (i.e., the Tatars.—P. V.) do not recognize any other occupation except war, i.e., sudden raids accompanied by murders and plunder..." [Blaise de Vigenère, 1890, p. 81]. Founded by the saber, the Crimean Khanate supported its existence by the saber as well. However, was the warlike character of the Crimean Tatars their inherited quality, or a necessary condition for the existence of their society and state? Interesting observations, allowing us to answer this question, were made by N.N. Kradin. He wrote that "ecological and economic adaptation of nomadism was far from being complete. On the one hand, climatic stress, extensiveness of cattle breeding, impossibility to introduce technological innovations and other causes ... made the received surplus product unstable in many ways. On the other hand, having adopted nomadic cattle breeding, the nomads nevertheless did not lose the need to consume vegetable agricultural foods..." Besides this, the historian noted, though "the nomadic cattle breeding in itself is a rather independent and balanced type of adaptation in arid zones", still, "... such adaptation compels one to do without many things. The way of life of "pure" nomads is always poorer, than of the nomads using additional means of subsistence..." Transition to other ways of living, first of all to crafts and agriculture, was a serious problem for the nomads, because "... the refusal of a pastoral way of life was considered by the nomads as an extremely undesirable alternative ..." [Kradin, 2002, pp. 95–96].

Dependence of the nomads on farmers was also emphasized by some other experts, for ex-

ample, T.J. Barfield, A. Khazanov, T.D. Hall [Barfield, 2006, p. 429; Khazanov, 2006, pp. 470–472; Hall, 2006, p. 451]. Meanwhile, agricultural societies, differing from the nomadic as more autarchic and self-sufficient, had very little desire to engage in economic and other contacts with the world of the nomads. The latter, needing farmers, considered their attempts to be fenced off from the nomadic world as an intention to encroach on their independence, ethnic and cultural authenticity. Considering the militarized character of nomadic societies and a specific "barbarous" ethos, inherent to it, as to, however, many other peoples on a similar "barbarous" development stage, (as Tacitus wrote, characterizing the relation of the Germanic peoples to labor, "... it is much more difficult to convince them to plough a field and to wait for a whole year for a crop, than to incline them to fight an enemy and suffer the wounds; moreover, according to their ideas, getting later that which can be acquired by blood, is laziness and cowardice"), it is easy to foresee the behavior of the Tatars towards their neighbors. Attacks on the latter, especially on the northern ones, provided them with what they lacked, satisfied their appetite for "predation", and ensured the survival of the Tatars in case of economic crisis. In this regard, it can be noted that, apparently, after Sahib Giray forced the Tatars living in the Crimea to switch to semi-settled and settled ways of life (see, for example: [Smirnov, 2005, p. 312]), their battle efficiency began to decrease, and the first place was overtaken by the Nogais, who roamed in considerable quantity over the steppes of Taurida in the beginning of the 16th century. They preserved the former way of life and the glory of the most furious Tatar warriors [Fletcher, 1991, p. 97]. It is no coincidence that Devlet Giray's son, Muhammed Giray II, having learned about the death of his vassal, Bey of the Lesser Nogais Ghazi, was extremely grieved as Ghazi "was a stone wall to the Crimean yurt and to Azov", and "kazyev" warriors—"in any war are the first men" (quote after: [Trepavlov, 2005, pp. 286–287]).

Concerning the ideological component of the wars, waged by the Crimean Khanate, we will note that the opposition of the Crimea

against Russia, Lithuania and Poland also had a religious character. All of this contributed to an especially cruel hostility in relations between the Crimea and its northern neighbors. As a prominent Russian military theorist and historian N.P. Mikhnevich noted, "the wars of the peoples of one culture are always more or less indecisive; the wars of those from different ones—always fatal ..." [Mikhnevich, 1911, p. 38].

This is how we see the main and most characteristic features of the development of the art of war in the Crimean Khanate in the end of the Middle Ages—beginning of the Modern times. Characterizing, in general, the development level of the military arts in the Crimean Khanate in the 16th and partly in the 17th centuries, we cannot but agree with the opinion of V. Ostapchuk, who highly appreciated the level of development of the art of war in the Crimean Khanate during the considered period [Ostapchuk, 2001, p. 392]. And though the image

of a Tatar warrior and army of the end of the 15—beginning of the 17th centuries differs from the commonly accepted one, nevertheless, in our opinion, it corresponds to historical reality more accurately and allows us to more or less satisfactorily answer the question: "Why were the Crimean Tatars a serious enemy for their adversaries, possessing larger human, technical and production resources, for so long?". The Crimean Tatars as a society were "organized for war" (after the apt expression of the Russian historian M.V. Nechitaylov used in relation to Medieval Spain), succeeded in creating an effective military machine, which posed a serious threat to its neighbors up to the beginning of the 18th century. And only after the countries of Europe, as a result of military revolution, had acquired mass regular armies, well equipped with modernized firearms and excellently trained, the military power of the Crimean Khanate was overcome, and the Khanate itself lost its independence.

§ 4. Warfare of the Astrakhan Khanate

Ilya Zaitsev

From the scanty information available today, the Astrakhan khans had little armed forces at their disposal (and sometimes, none at all). We always see the Nogais as the army core in all important military campaigns of the Astrakhan khans. On the one hand, the Astrakhan Chinggisids by themselves actively took part in the Nogai infighting. On the other hand, they were employed as allies by competing rivals. For example, when the Astrakhan throne in 1514 was taken by Jani Beg b. Mahmud, he, according to a certain Kiyat Kara-Chura, said to the Moscovite diplomat B. Korobov: "... sent... a person with a missive letter to Chagir-murza¹ to Shiydyak, and to Mamai, and to Kelmamai, to ask them to fight with him against Shigim-murza. And Chagir with his brothers came to him to Astrakhan. And Tsar Zanebek, and Tsarevich Mustofar with his children, and Sultan Hozyak², without waiting

for them, that summer defeated Shigim-murza and took from him an ulus with ten thousand people, but he ran away [Collection of Russian Historical Community, 1884, p. 144]. According to Kara-Chura, the insulted murza Chagir "with his brothers" besieged Astrakhan and demanded from Jani Beg to take the spoils of war from Mustofar, and to send "his children" and "Sultan Hozyak, away from him" [Ibid.]. Jani Beg did not agree with Chagir murza's demand—he did not share the spoils nor did he chase Mustofar and Hazyak out of the city. Chagir "with his brothers" headed for the Yaik, where he was joined by Shigim, defeated by Jani Beg. Shigim tried to make peace with Chagir, but the latter enchained and arrested him in Saray-Jük. By the words of Kara-Chura, murza Mamay, who had 50 people with him, found out about those events and rescued Shigim and set him free. At that time, Hozyak and two sons of Mustofar "from Tsar (Jani Beg. –I.Z.) retreated" and left Astrakhan, "by taking with them only those 10,000 people that had been taken from Shigim, and they went to the field to wan-

¹ Nogai mirza Alchagir

² Chinggisid, brother of Shaikh-Akhmed, son of Ahmed.

der" [Ibid., pp. 144–145]. Soon Shigim himself joined them. Hozyak, Shigim and Mustofar's sons headed for Tyumen (Dagestan), where Murtaza (Ahmed's son) and "Tyumen Sultans" put Hozyak on the throne, and Shigim became his emir. Murtaza allegedly relinquished the throne by his own will, referring to his old age. Probably, in Tyumen, a split had occurred between Mustafa's children, Shigim and Hozyak. Hozyak and Shigim "robbed one of Mustofar's sons and sent him off, and Mustofar's other son Sultan Muselem was captured by Prince Shigim" [Ibid., p. 145].

Under those conditions, Jani Beg decided to attack the coalition of Hozyak, Shigim and the "Tyumen sultans". Again he decided to negotiate with murza Chagir. At the end of the winter in 1515, Chagir "with his brothers, came to Astrakhan on blue ice (i.e., possibly before the ice started flowing.—I.Z.), and said to the Tsar: "I come to you again for my brother, and you armor me, to rob Sultan Mustofar with his children and send them off." But Jani Beg did not listen; and Murza Chagir with his brothers quarreled with the Tsar, came up to the town, stayed there for one day, got into a fight, and then went away to their places in Yaik". Siege of Astrakhan by Chagir failed: Jani Beg made a sally and captured about 300 people of retreating Chagir. Later, according to Kara-Chura, "the Volga flowed away" [Ibid.],—that is, the ice started flowing.

From this message, it is clear that the siege of Astrakhan without any support from the river (without the "ship host") was possible for the Nogais (and not only for them) only in the winter, and it was not always successful (the besieged in the fortress could make successful sallies).

That was why the rivaling Nogai aristocrats often chose winter in their plans to conquer the town, when the river was frozen. For example, the Nogai bey Seyyid Akhmed planned his attack against the town, where his enemies, the sons of murzas Agish and Alchagir, settled down in the late autumn of 1536, when "the Volga stops" [Ambassadorial Books, 1995, p. 153].

Volga served as a natural line of defense for the city also from the Crimea. Upon a Crimean threat, the Astrakhan troops could rapidly

move to the left bank of the river. For example, in the summer of 1515 (probably, in June—July), Muhammad Giray arranged a huge campaign against the Nogais and Astrakhan. In letter dated August 3, he wrote to Vasily III: "... this year we went against our enemy in Astrakhan... when we reached the Don, we were met by people who were chasing the horses. They told us that after getting to know about us, the Astrakhan Tsar and murza Shirim crossed the Volga. And we, with the uhlans and the princes discussed it, and the uhlans and the princes said: though they crossed the Volga now, but in winter they will be on this side when our horses are fat and we would have rested" [Collection of Russian Historical Community, 1895, p. 150]. Mehmed Giray decided to postpone his campaign until the end of autumn. On August 30, Moscow received new letters from the Crimea. The Khan's ambassador informed that after the campaign, the Nogais crossed the Volga (to the left bank). However, the delivered letter from Appak, a person close to Muhammad Giray, stated that "Shigim crossed the river, and the Astrakhan troops crossed the river, too..." [Ibid., pp. 151, 169].

Meanwhile, the Astrakhan khans not only successfully resisted the aggression from outside, but also made significant attacks against their rivals. The Astrakhan tactics to oppose the Crimea was to wait when the Crimeans went to Rus, and then to attack. Three months of absence of the host troops was enough time to plunder the Crimean uluses and go away calmly. According to the Crimean "grand tsaritsa", "our Astrakhan enemies are just waiting", for the Crimeans to start a campaign and leave Perekop, "and they say: we know that the Crimeans go to Rus and it takes them three months to go there and back, but this is enough time for us to do what we want. This summer the Astrakhan troops came to us, and murza Asan¹ was defeated and robbed, but at least he managed to escape" [Ibid., pp. 364–365, 361]. The same thing happened in 1521, when the Astrakhan troops needed only 580 men to plunder the peninsula during the absence of the main troops of Mehmed Giray, who was engaged in

¹ Son of Temür, brother-in-law of Muhammad Giray.

a campaign against Rus. They took the Crimean cattle and captured many people. Escaping from the invasion, the Crimeans ran to Kaffa to seek Ottoman protection. On October 8, 1521, Moscow received missive letters from Azov, including the letter from the Moscow diplomat Gubin. His informer Turk Mustafa arrived from Kaffa in Azov on the eve of the Obzhynki Day (the harvest festival) and informed Gubin about the Astrakhan campaign and the death of the Astrakhan khan¹. "And that Turk tells about how the Crimean Tsar, with warriors and children, and all the people left the Crimea a month before the Obzhynki Day. And in the Crimea he left Prince Halil and Murza Nogai Kushmerden. And after that, many Astrakhan people came to the Crimean uluses and plundered them and took many prisoners. And many other people have come running from the uluses to Kaffa" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 89, inv. 1, file 1, sheet 191]. Some better detailed news was provided by the Azov Borhan: "And, Sire, when the Crimean Tsar went to Rus, three Astrakhan battalions (stanitsas) invaded the Crimea: the first had three hundred men, the second—two hundred men, and the third—eighty men. And, Sire, from the Crimean uluses those Astrakhan took many prisoners² and camels and other animals" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 89, inv. 1, file 1, sheet 192].

After coming back from Rus, Mehmed Giray decided to take revenge upon Astrakhan for the damage done. However, to conquer the Astrakhan fortress, without the artillery arm and a river fleet was obviously difficult. Yet, in 1517, Mehmed Giray developed a wide coalition plan (the Crimea—Moscow—Kazan) against Astrakhan, which included conquering the town simultaneously from the river with a ship army. "Murza Avleyar with the army of the Grand Prince from Moscow and with the cannons and muskets on ships went to Astrakhan. Prince Beryuchek went from Moscow to Kazan

to the Tsar in order that the Kazan Tsar send his ship army to Astrakhan, and Beryuchek had to go with that Kazan army to Astrakhan" [Collection of Russian Historical Community, 1895, p. 372]. Also in 1518, Mehmed Giray continued directly connecting the success of the Astrakhan campaign with the participation of Moscow in it. Ilya Chelischev, in his letter from the Crimea (which arrived in the capital in March 1519), informed: "Sire, and Tsar told us: my brother Grand Prince give me help in the Astrakhan campaign, and there will be nowhere for the Astrakhans to hide from us" [Ibid., p. 631].

Mehmed Giray's efforts ended in success. As a result of the campaign in 1523, he conquered Astrakhan. However, soon he was killed there together with his son by Hajji-Tarkhan's Mangits. Obviously, the Nogais were the main power that was chasing the Crimean troops from the city. The situation in the year 1521, when the peninsula was deprived of protection, was subject to Nogai Astrakhan ravages on a much larger scale. While drawing back from Astrakhan, the Crimeans sustained huge losses. Moscow Cossacks, in the latter half of June in 1523, going from Azov to Moscow, according to I.S. Morozov, witnessed the consequences of the Crimean defeat and the unprecedented retreat of the troops from Astrakhan. The Cossacks saw "the Crimean Tatars running away from the Astrakhan Nogai murzas and crossing the Don" and "drowning in the Don" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 89, inv. 1, file 1, sheet 194 reverse; Dunaev, 1916, p. 56; Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 57]. Probably, they witnessed that escape already in spring. The Moscow Ambassador in Turkey, I.S. Morozov arrived in Azov on May 19, 1523 and informed: "And, Sire, we saw the crossings when going to Azov for five, and six, and ten days³, the places where the Crimeans had crossed the Don. And, Sire, there are many drowned horses and camels on the bank and in the field, and many scattered wagons. And, Sire, a lot of the Crimean Tatars drowned during the crossings" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 89, inv. 1, file 1, sheet 257 reverse—258; Dunaev, 1916, p. 56; Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 57].

¹ Ospozhin' (Sir's) Day—15 August or the Dormition of the Mother of God. Since Gubin's informer, Mustafa arrived in Azov a day before, the Astrakhan campaign and Janibek's death should be dated to a time before 15 August.

² i.e. the captured: "yasyr" is captivity.

³ i.e. on 10–14 May [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 57].

The "Postnikov Chronicler" informed about the figures of Mehmed Giray's losses: the Crimeans lost 130,000, "and by 130 Nogais, the condemned proud tormentor was defeated" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 34, 1978, p. 14].

Some of the Crimean troops managed to get to Perekop. According to the information of I. Kolychev from the Crimea (his letter arrived in Novgorod Seversky in March 1524), as soon as the Nogais crossed the Don, "those Perekop Tatars started running away from the Nogais from Peter's... days before Christmas to Perekop, some of them were going on foot" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123, inv. 1, file 6, sheet 48],—that is, the escape of the Crimeans lasted until the end of 1523. Pursuing the sons of Mehmed Giray, the Nogais and Sheikh Haydar (the son of Sheikh Ahmad) moved towards the Crimea. On "Thursday... during Easter Week", Sheikh Haydar with the Nogais came up to Perekop and, probably, not facing any resistance, moved into the depth of the peninsula [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123, inv. 1, file 6, sheet 3]. Azov's Muhammed Beg informed about a three-day battle of Kazy (Ghazi) Giray and Bibey Giray against the Nogais at Perekop and the victory of the Nogais [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 89, inv. 1, file 1, sheet 260]. The Nogai–Astrakhan troops were divided into two parts: one besieged Kyrkor (Chufut-Kale, the old khan's residence on the plateau near Bakhchysaray), and the other one besieged Shirin's citadel—the city of Krym (Solkhata). According to Ivan Kolychev, the Moscow Ambassador in the Crimea, the Nogais "stood around Crimea and Kyrkor and took all the horses and other animals" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123, inv. 1, file 6, sheet 3–3 reverse].

A week later, after Easter of 1523 ("the second Saturday after the Great Day"), from Astrakhan to Perekop came "Memesh, Devlet Bahty¹ and Mamysh Zezevudy and other

princes, murzas², the Tsar court with around twelve thousand", i.e. the rest of the Crimean troops defeated near Astrakhan. On the way to the Crimea, they defeated Murza Kumush³ and Murza Udem⁴ (the first ran away, and the second was beheaded). At Perekop, there was a battle between Sheikh Haydar who came back from Krym, and the Crimean princes. The Crimeans were defeated [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve f. 123, inv. 1, file 6, sheet 3 reverse]. Sheikh Haydar with the Nogais were 10 versts away from the town for two weeks, capturing people and taking the cattle. The Nogais managed to capture four Crimean princes: Islam (the son of Mehmed Giray), Shakh Giray and Shakh Islam ("Magmet's children"⁵) and Meret Giray, "the son of Bete-Kiray"⁶. Shakh Giray and Shakh Islam were killed, Meret Giray was set free in Perekop, and Islam was taken hostage [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123, inv. 1, file 6, sheet 4]. Sheikh Haydar "with the Mangits and the Nogais moved to the Don".

However, not only the Crimea, but also Astrakhan itself was under the Nogai threat. The Astrakhan fortress was, probably solid enough to resist the Nogais, who did not have artillery. In March 1524, the Moscow Cossacks informed, from the statement made by the Crimean Tatar, who went to Astrakhan together with Tsarevich Choban and came back five days before their arrival, that Murza Mamai was besieging the town for seven days, "and he was accompanied by Murza Yusup with an oprichnina regiment." And Murza Koshum with Mamai did not go to Astrakhan, as they were not in agreement. And the Crimean Tsarevich Choban came out of Astrakhan and defeated the troops of Murza Yusup and killed even Yusup himself. And Murza Mamai went away from Astrakhan, and is wandering... along that bank of the Volga" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 89, inv. 1, file 1, sheet 270 reverse]. In March 1524, the couriers with the letters from I. Kolychev arrived

² I.e. "ichki"—the domestic servants.

³ I.e. Koshum (Hajji Muhammed), an ordinary prince from a land beyond the Volga.

⁴ According to the Lithuanian birth records, he was a son of Temür ibn Mansur ibn Edigu.

⁵ It is most likely that they were also sons of Muhammad Giray.

⁶ I believe it was Fetkh Giray's son.

¹ Prince Memesh and Devlet Bahty are two different people, not the same as it may appear in the text. See, for example, the letter from Abd ar-Rahman to Vasily III [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 123, list 1, file 6, p. 13]. Memesh is Shirin and Devlet-Bahty is Baryn.

from the Crimea in Moscow. The Russian ambassador informed that five days before Christmas, Saadet Giray at Perekop hosted "the Nogai Murza Tinish, and said to the tsar: The Nogais were besieging Astrakhan for seventeen days, but did not conquer it, and went away over the Volga" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123, inv. 1, file 6, sheet 49 reverse]. Although these two pieces of news differ in the number of siege days (17 and 7, respectively), this was likely the same event. The siege of Astrakhan by Mamai and Yusuf took place in the autumn of 1523. The crucial factor in the Nogai failures to conquer the Astrakhan fortress was the absence of artillery. Exactly, the need of artillery to conquer the town explained the numerous requests from the Crimean khans to send them cannons and muskets in order to fight against the Astrakhan troops. For example, in the mid 1530s, in the "memoir" to the ambassador Prince Vasily Semenovich Mezetski, sent to Islam Giray, we read: "And the Tsar asked Grand Prince to help with Astrakhan and give me cannons and arquebuses. And said to Prince Vasily: "what the Sire tells me for my Tsar, I will tell him"" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 123, inv. 1, file 8, sheet 131 reverse].

The Astrakhan khans could most probably manage some part of the troops by themselves (mostly, the Nogais) and even gave some military assistance to their neighbors, to whom they were bound with obligations. The letter of the Kazan Khan Safa Giray to the Polish King and Lithuanian Grand Duke Sigismund I the Old, written between 1539 and 1544, mentions some military assistance, provided by Abd ar-Rahman to the Kazan Khan Safa Giray. "I will tell you, Sire, that Murza's son Mamai came to us with 10,000 men with an intention to help me against your enemy, Your Majesty. The Ochtarkhan Tsar Avragman sent me a 1,000 men for support; and they are here now... and it would be nice, from the permission of Your Majesty, to have all the Nogai and Osharfian army at our disposal, and you have to know it" [Mustafin, 1997a, pp. 33–34]. However, taking into account, that Safa was exiled from Kazan at the very beginning of 1546, it is possible to claim that the Astrakhan Khan, who helped him, was Akkubeg. In 1551, this was re-

membered by the sons of the Nogai Murza Yusuf, Yunus and Ali: the Kazan troops kicked the Crimeans out of the town, "but left Safa Giray with a few people. At that time, Mansir Sayyid came from Astrakhan. Some days later, Safa Giray with Mansir Sayyid ran to Astrakhan, took the forces from the Astrakhan Tsar and Prince and besieged Kazan". After an unsuccessful siege, Safa Giray was forced to run to Yusuf [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheets 43–43 reverse].

In those cases, when in the 1540s—the early 1550s, the Astrakhan fortress was conquered by enemy troops, most of the time this was a result of prepared and well-organized campaigns (the Crimean and Moscow ones). For example, in 1546, Astrakhan was conquered by Sahib Giray. According to Remmal Hoja, the Crimean troops during the campaign numbered from 200 to 1000 tufenkji (fighters armed following the Ottoman model with guns—tufenk), the khan's forces reached 10,000 men (including beys' divisions), and the tribal levy supposedly reached 250,000. After Crimean troops crossed the Don River during an entire day, the city's fate was sealed. Astrakhan was captured thanks to field artillery and tufenkji forces. Yamgurchi escaped, but a part of his escort and entourage were captured and brought to the Crimea with a promise that no harm would be done to them [Tarih-i Sahib, 1973, pp. 97–105; Ostapchuk, 2001, pp. 399–405].

However, it happened so, that the city could have been conquered also as a result of a sudden rapid attack. Probably, this happened at the end of 1549 or at the beginning of 1550, when the town was taken by Moscow Cossacks and occupied for some time [Zaitsev, 2006]. About the Astrakhan garrison, in the late 1540s—early 1550s, we have almost no information. From the charter of the Nogai Murza Ismail, which was delivered to Moscow at the of May in 1552, it is clear that there could have several hundred men. In the missive letter, Ismail asked to have Yusuf's daughter Syuyun-Bike released from Moscow, and among other things wrote: "And the people left Astrakhan and joined Kazi-Murza. And there were about four hundred people. And we do not know if they will go to you, or we will meet them. Guard the Volga up to

Perevoloka, and we—down the river" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 127, list 1, file 4, pp. 103–103 reverse].

Some additional data about the defense of the fortress could be found in the events of the early 1550s. In April 1554, Dervish-Ali was sent to Astrakhan from Moscow. He was accompanied by voivode Prince Yury Ivanovich Pronsky-Shemyakin "with comrades." The campaign was organised traditionally: three regiments were moving towards the town. A large regiment was led by Pronsky himself and Mikhail Petrov, Golovin's son¹, a front one—by the chamberlain Ignaty Mikhailovich Veshniakov and Shiriay Vasiliev, Kobiakov's son, a guard regiment—by Stefan (Stepan) Grigoriev, Sidorov's son, and Prince Andrey Bulgak Grigoriev, Bariatinsky's son. Yu.I. Pronski was also accompanied by the Vyatke people with Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich Vyazemsky [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1904, p. 236; Razryadnaya kniga, 1966, p. 144].

The Moscow troops numbered 30,000 warriors. Yu.I. Pronsky was the first who left for Nizhny Novgorod, where all the forces were supposed to assemble. From there, the voivode, "awaiting... all the people", became the head of the united troops at the Apostles' Fast, i.e., before June 29, Peter's Day. On 29 June, the troops on the ships came up to Perevoloka, the presumable border of the khanate. Prince A.I. Vyazemsky and "Danila Chulkov" with the Cossack atamans were sent forward (as the Cossacks were likely to have joined the army on the way). They had to "look for Astrakhan people and catch prisoners for interrogation" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1904, p. 241]. The meeting of A.I. Vyazemsky and the first Astrakhan squad took place upstream of the Black Island (near modern Volgograd): the Astrakhan people rowed the boats (or ushkirs) to find out about the army of the tsar and grand prince". The squad was headed by Sakmak (sometimes written as Sakman, or Sakaman)².

¹ In the List of Noble Families, or Razryadnaya Kniga of 1550–1636 his surname is written incorrectly as "Polovin" [Razryadnaya Kniga, 1975, p. 35].

² His name is included as 'Salman' in the manuscript of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, which is most likely the correct variant [Russian State

The Astrakhan squad was defeated, and its leader was captured. The captured informants said that Yamgurchi was downstream of the town five versts away, and all the people "were on the islands with their ulus". The voivodes left behind large ships and went down on smaller ones. Meanwhile, this information was confirmed by statements from new prisoners (on the Black Island). Moving forward, the troops reached "Bolshie Sarai, the location of the Great Horde"; the informants said the same [Ibid.]. Then they decided to split their forces. A.I. Viazmesky's squad was enlarged with elected leaders: Prince David Gundorov, Prince Timofey Kropotkin, Grigory Zhelobov, Danila Chulkov, and some nobility, residents and their children. That squad was headed directly to the camp of Yamgurchi, the "Tsar's camp".

The rest of the troops moved towards the city. Hajji-Tarkhan was captured without a fight on June 2. "There were not many people there at that time". When the voivodes reached the bank upstream, disembarked and left for the town, the residents ran out of it [Ibid., p. 242]. A.I. Vyazemsky, probably setting off little bit earlier than the main troops, arrived at the "Tsar's camp" the same day, June 2. However, he did not find Yamgurchi there. Having found out about the conquest of the town, the khan ran away on horse, and sent his wives and children by boat to the sea. Escaping, the Astrakhan people were running away from the Moscow army by ship and on foot.

Meanwhile, Yamgurchi did not become resigned to the loss of the city. On April 13, 1555, Dervish-Ali's son Yantimer (i.e., Dzhan-Temür, who was probably the khan's kalga at first) sent a letter to Moscow through his messenger Tinbulat (Din-Bulat). The letter informed that Yamgurchi came up to the town with Murza Yusuf's sons Yunus, Aley and Ak Murza. "All those murzas, sent off from the Nagai, Murza Kazy and Crimean Tsar sent together with them, Shigay Bagatyr Aytuvov, the Crimeans and the Yanychans, as well as Tsar Derbysh and all the Astrakhan people. They prepared the squad on the mountains and the Cossacks of the tsar and grand prince with muskets. They fought against

Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 187, list 2, file 124, p. 6 v.].

them and defeated many of them with cannons and muskets and drive them away". Dervish sent Dzhan-Temür to chase the running enemy. He sent his man to Moscow from the "pursuit" [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, 1914, p. 551; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 30, 1965, p. 45]. Despite the fact that there were janissaries in the detachment of Yamgurchi (i.e., the regular Ottoman troops), he failed to reconquer the fortress. The reason was, probably, the absence of artillery. On the contrary, Dervish-Ali made use of artillery very skilfully ("the squad on the mountain").

In May 1555, P. Turgenev informed from Astrakhan about a new attack by Yamgurchi and Yusuf's sons against the city. Dervish-Ali started negotiations with Yusuf's sons, and succeeded in talking them into taking his side. They defeated Yamgurchi ("together with the brothers, Tsarevich Nagaila and his brother Krym Giray, they defeated the Tsarevich")¹, and Dervish brought them onto the left bank of the Volga [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, 1914, p. 560; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 30, 1965, p. 255]. The khan had water vehicles and controlled the Volga crossings. On the left bank, Yusuf's sons attacked Ismail. For a short time, the brothers managed to conquer Saray-Jük, and together with it, power in the Nogai Horde.

In the summer of 1555, by Ismail's request, Grigory Kaftyrev, the head of Streltsy, with the Streltsy squad, and Fyodor Pavlov, the Cossack ataman, were sent to the Volga. Their tasks included control of the Volga crossings, and guarding them from Yusuf's sons. Kaftyrev was to contact Dervish and to assist him in case of necessity [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20, 1914, p. 560]. In August 1555, Moscow received new information from Astrakhan: a messenger arrived from G. Kaftyrev, who was his sotnik captain Stepan Kobelev. The Head with P. Turgenev and F. Pavlov came to the city, but it was empty again. The residents

and the khan ran away, "because they were told a lie that the tsar and grand prince sent the army to kill them all, and they ran out with fear". The Crimean Khan sent three tsareviches and Prince Chegilek "with cannons and muskets" to Dervish, probably, for defending the city.

On May 24, 1555, the Moscow ambassador Leontiy Mansurov was sent to Dervish-Ali. A very interesting piece of information, from the *Razrjadnaja kniga* of 1550–1636, refers to the period of his staying in the lower Volga. According to this source, the Moscow squads faced not one town fortification, but two: "When the tsar's voivodes... came to Astrakhan, there were two towns fenced with reed and covered with ground in Astrakhan". These fortifications were not damaged during war actions. When the main Moscow forces went away, the region acquired the so-called ethno-political division: Dervish-Ali with his followers started living in one town, and the Moscow representative Leontiy Mansurov—in the other one ("Tsarevich Derbysh with Tartars settled down in one town, and in the other town—Levontei Mansurov with the tsar's people" [Book of Noble Families, 1975, p. 36]).

This evidence helps clarify a set of problems: first of all, the complicated question of searching for the pre-Russian city—Hajji-Tarkhan of the 15–16th centuries. Now it is clear that the fortifications of this type (reed fences, covered with soil) simply could not remain preserved until our days. To ruin such a steppe fortress with artillery and fire was very easy. It is clear, why the Astrakhan "conquests" were easily achieved by the well-prepared Crimean troops (of Muhammed Giray, Islam Giray, Sahib Giray) and by the Cossack and Moscow regular troops. Often, there was no siege at all: the residents ran away, and the invaders took the loot and acquired a beneficial strategic position at the delta of the Great River Volga.

Astrakhan, at least, in the first half of the 16th century, could be not just one city, surrounded by stone walls and moats, but a quite primitive annually restored (not necessarily on in the same place all the time) little fortress, which was the khan's residence in winter and a market in other seasons. The Russian stone fortress, the Astrakhan Kremlin, did not have predecessors of

¹ It is undoubtedly Krym Giray (son of OzTemür, grandson of Murtaza and nephew of Akkubeg) who wanted to depart from Astrakhan in 1552 together with Moscow ambassador Sevast'yan to serve the grand prince. We have found out from a chronicle tiding that his brother's name was Nogayli and that neither sultans left Yamgurchi.

the same scale in the delta before. That is why it is relevant to mention the message of P. Nebolsin about the existence of some ancient fortifications around the modern town. He wrote the following about the town on the right bank of the Volga, "On the seventh mile above the settlement of Solianka, exactly there, where now there is a place called Streletskaya Vataga... The Tatar name of this place is Kuyuk-Kala, which means Burnt Townlet¹. They say that Yamgur-chi had his summer residence here" [Nebolsin, 1852, p. 58]. It is quite tempting to identify this town with the place L. Mansurov lived.

An actual diarchy (Mansurov-Dervish) in the lower Volga, expressed so vividly in the presence of two residences, two Astrakhan settlements, the khan's and the Moscow governor's, could not but result in open confrontation. The governor, in his letter to Moscow, delivered on March 5, called his little fortress "Little Town on the Volga". Does it mean that Dervish's residence, the "Great City", was not at the Volga? According to the *Razrjadnaja kniga*, the first fights between the supporters of Dervish and the Moscow "Tsar people" took place again in that same year of 1554, immediately when the main Moscow forces went away. However, this is most likely a mistake, and the events should be shifted one year forward. In autumn, Dervish-Ali "talked to the Nogais in order to proceed with them to the tsar people, to Levonty Mansurov. And the Tatar Nogais came to Astrakhan and besieged the mountains. When the wind started blowing towards the city, the Tatars brought oil to the town and burnt the mountain. And all the tsar people ran out of the town from smoke to the ships, but the ships were damaged. And Levonty with seven people went to the Upper Burg" [*Razrjadnaja kniga*, 1975, p. 36]. The Nogai tactics were quite intelligent and, the most important, traditional. Later, in 1587, asking the Sultan to arrange the campaign against Astrakhan, the ambassador of the Nogai Prince Urus in the Ottoman Empire said: "...and we, all the Nogai Horde will start coming to Astrakhan and bring wood and reed". Did that fortification not received the name

"Gorely Gorodok" ("Burnt Townlet") exactly after besieging L. Mansurov in it?

Besides that town, S. Gmelin and P. Nebolsin mention one more town, called Chungur, located half a verst away from the settlement of Mashaik, seven versts from Astrakhan, behind the Cossack Knoll. The silver and golden "Tatar" coins, decorations, etc. were found also in that place [Nebolsin, 1852, p. 59]. It is easy to imagine the size of the little fortress of L. Mansurov, if it was possible to simply smoke people out of there. Interesting is also the mentioning of one more fortification within the conquered khanate—"the upper burg". Probably, it is an intermediate foothold, made by Pronsky, for example, in Perevoloka.

Thus, the military history of Astrakhan (as well as political) is tightly connected with the Nogai military history and military science. Not once the Astrakhan and Nogai troops reached the Crimean peninsula and plundered it by capturing people and the cattle.

In general, some scanty data of the sources give us some grounds to say that the pre-Russian Astrakhan fortress could resist short Nogai sieges (for example, the one of Murza Chagir in winter of 1515 or the one of Mamai and Yusuf in autumn of 1523), arranged by the Nogais in winter months, when the Volga was frozen and the town could be totally blocked. However, the fortress was not able to resist regular troops with artillery. Astrakhan was especially vulnerable when the rival made use of a river fleet. That was why the Crimean khans were often eager to get the support of Moscow and Kazan ship armies during their campaigns against Astrakhan. At the same time, as a rule, the Crimean expeditions were also successful, in which ships were unlikely to be actively involved. Moscow campaigns against the town in 1554 and 1556, when the residents simply ran out of the fortress, prove that the town could not resist well-organized sieges. The garrison of the Astrakhan fortress could be approximately estimated at several hundreds of people. It is also possible to surely claim that: besides some scanty troops on the ground, the Astrakhan khans had some kind of river fleet, consisting of galley boats, similar to Russian ushkuis.

¹ Kōek [Koek] indeed means "burnt" in the Tatar language, which when paired with the word "kala"—"fortress", means "a burnt townlet".

§ 5. Warfare and Military Art of the Nogai Horde

Vadim Trepavlov

The Nogai neighbors were interested in them first and foremost as trade partners, possessing political influence, and military power with a mighty cavalry. It would hardly be an exaggeration to speak of the mounted Nogai warriors as being a standard of typical nomadic warriors for their settled neighbors. In the Muscovite state in the latter half of the 16th century G. Fletcher heard the opinion the Nogais "were best warriors of all the Tatars, but only more savage and ruthless than the others". A century and a half later, the same opinion was expressed by Russian field marshal B.K. Münnich [Fletcher, 1905, p. 83; Thunmann, 1991, p. 47].

Extensive raids of the Nogai cavalry were far from being chaotic movements of pillaging gangs (thus might be characterized only minor attacks of nomadic desperadoes on the outskirts). Major campaigns were preceded by corresponding preparations. Equipping forces against Russia in September 1553, Yusuf bey tried to find out from captive Muscovite messenger S. Tulusupov whether 'he, the bey, could cross the Oka, and subsist near Moscow'. Tulusupov, wanting to dissuade the Nogai potentate, responded to the latter that it could not be done, since in the autumn "the crops would be brought to the towns, and hay would be burned" upon approach of the enemy troops. Then, Yusuf ordered his warriors 'that each of them had various provisions, including 3 old sheep and dry cheese as much as they could carry' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheet 190 reverse].

During a march, the whole modest way of life of the nomads was defined by military goals. Even spending the night in the steppe, the Nogais thrust the spears in the ground and hitched their horses to them sleeping with their heads resting upon these spears to be able—according to Jean Deluc—to jump promptly on the horses in case of an attack [Jean Deluc, 1879, p. 486]. As a rule, each warrior participating in a campaign had a spare horse with him. Should military actions be in a winter season, each warrior had to bring two to three camels with themselves to the point of assem-

bly (poor ones could have only one camel for two) "so that they would tread the path before the horses, and could easily bear hunger" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheet 190 reverse].

The people of the Nogai Horde did not have ship-navigating skills, and this absence of ships at their disposal was often used as a pretext by murzas to decline joint participation with the Russians. However, with time, there had appeared some navigational means of ferriage, and Evliya Çelebi in the description of the Dniester's crossing by the Budjaks in 1657 testified that they had been sailing "using ships, rafts, inflated wineskins with lightning-like promptness" (the wineskins also contained weapons and ammunition) [Evliya Çelebi, 1961, p. 52]. Although, in general, the nomads tried to do without ships, especially during surprise attacks.

A detachment usually consisted of members of one el. If, however, murzas at their meetings resolved to defend the borders by forces of the entire Horde, some of them were assigned at the head of their els in a guarding troop—*karaul*—and in case of expected enemy attacks, a vanguard troop was also formed—*chardaul* (*yartaul*).

Military detachments were subdivided into centuries (centurions were mentioned in the documents), and, probably, the tens headed by proper ten's commanders, the Yurt Tatars near Astrakhan were further subdivided into the fives—*tabuns* (from the Mongolian *taban* 'five').

A banner denoted participation in a campaign. In 1632, Russian military leaders sent to wage war with the Poles reported to the tsar that murzas in a regiment formation had joined their vanguard regiment with their proper banners [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, 1632, file 1, p. 197]. The banners were carried by specially assigned banner-bears (*bairakchi*? *tugchi*?). Judging from the epic, the Nogais had a banner consisting of white and yellow colors [Sikaliev, 1994, p. 125]. In the 18th century, the Crimean Nogais had on their banners a sign of the Horde's predominant family [Felitsyn, 1886, p. 13], i.e., probably, a senior murza's

family tamga. As an act of particular benevolence, the Ottoman sultans sometimes sent over the Volga their imperial banner, sandzhak.

The Nogai armament set was not particularly original compared to other medieval nomads. Travelers noted an ordinary armament set describing them bearing swords, quivers, whips, riding horses with a sword and a quiver attached to a belt, and armed with swords, spears, and bows with arrows [English travelers, 1937, p. 250; Evliya Çelebi, 1979, p. 54]. S.Sh. Gadzhieva noting the scarce and recent (late 19–early 20th centuries) nature of existing ethnographic data in this respect, wrote that the same quiver, arrows and a big cedar bow had been mentioned in the folklore [Gadzhieva, 1976, p. 162]. The main source in this case was represented by laconic descriptions in missive letters and notes.

Apart from that, an exhaustive and generalizing description of the armament used by the Nogai warriors was accomplished by A.I.-M. Sikaliyev. According to his information, the warriors wielded wide bows (*ken ai*) in special sheaths (*sadak*) and damask arrows (*bonlat ok*) in quivers (*kalshan*, *kandavyr*, *karamsak*). Each type of arrows required a specific bow [Sikaliyev, 1994, pp. 123, 124]. According to the Nogai written affairs, the Nogais used Crimean and a Yadrin bows (the Crimean bow was finished with gold, having in *saadak* the Yadrin bow and 30 arrows, and the Yadrin bow was made of black buffalo bone, and a golden quiver had thirty arrows) [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1616, file 2, sheet 4, 1628, file 3, sheet 68, 1641, file 4, sheet 121].

An interesting source has been provided by inventories of the property confiscated in 1628 from the Moscow tower-rooms of princes Vasily Araslanovich Urmametev and Petr Kanmurzich Urusov accused of intending to leave for the Crimea. Amid other objects, there were mentioned a broadsword finished with silver and with removed rim, a common saber, a rimmed saber with a damascus strip, and 27 arrows [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1628, file 3, sheets 68, 75, 76].

Epic cold steel arms included a curved sabre (*kaiky kylysh*), a sharp sword (*otkir aldaspan*), a sharp knife (*otkir pyshak*), a dagger (*kynzhal*)

and a *baldak*—a certain type of a cold steel arm, and all these weapons were kept in sheaths (*kyn*). Besides, there were included a steel lance (*bolat syungi*), a cloud-reaching spear (*bulytka etken naiza*), and a pole with a hook for dragging enemy horsemen off saddles (*sapaldas*); all these weapons were provided with safety caps put on the tips. For close-combat fighting, other arms were used, including hammers, hooks and hatchets. Legends mention a crescent-shaped axe with a golden handle (*altyn saply ai balta*) and a mace (*soiyl*). The Nogai old men recall the wide use of a curved swords and a moon-shaped axes in the ancient times.

Protective armour of the legendary batyrs included helmets (*tuylga*), various types of chain-mails with metal sleeves (*temir kon, kyube, aimavyt, beren, savyt*) and without sleeves (*ensiz*), scapulars (*kuyavke*), shields, (*kalkan*), felt shirts worn under chain-mail (*tegelei, tegelei kebenek*). Metal armor was fabricated of steel, rarely of iron.

This list may be completed by cuirasses which, of course, only very rich murzas could afford. Among the armor confiscated from Urmametov and Urusov, there were Circassian cuirasses, worn armor, and two cone helmets. Uraz Muhammad bey owned and demised a cuirass called *iyubat*, and his nephew, Karagöz Mamai, in his promises during negotiations with Kazaevs mentioned a very expensive cuirass [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 168, file 1, sheet 90; 1630, file 3, sheet 7]. Aristocrats possessed also other attributes that differentiated them from the common people. Thus, a "damascus shield" of murza Aka b. Baiterek was lined with silk and black velvet [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1641, file 4, sheet 121].

Objects of everyday use in a nomadic life applied in warfare included a six-girth hair noose (*alty kulash kyl arkan*), leather ropes for binding of captives (*esirs*), and a whip (*kamshi*).

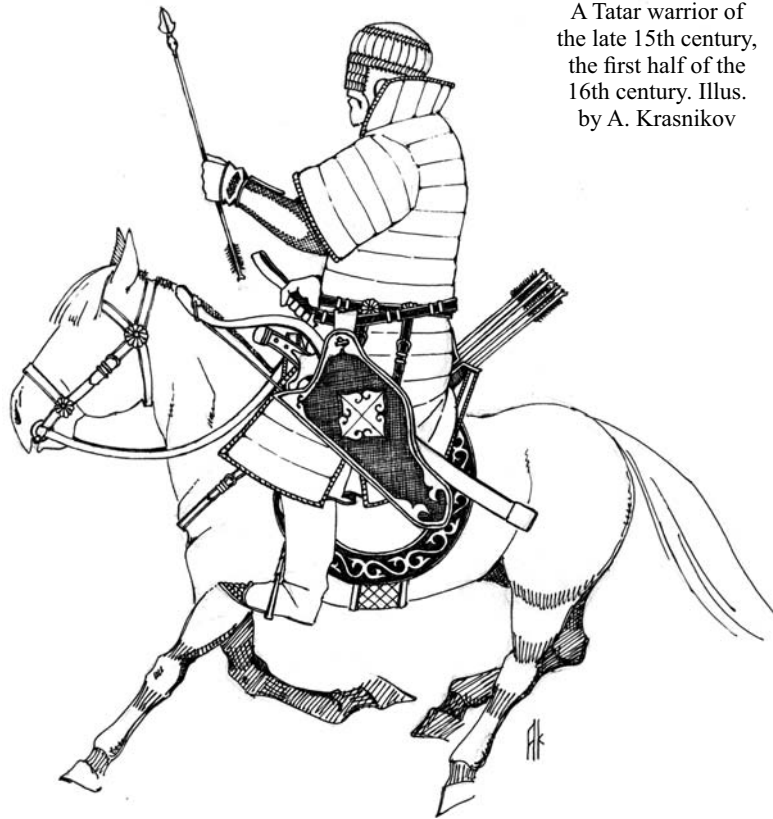
Armor and weaponry on a par with a war-horse were regarded by the epic warriors as their dearest property, which had been sometimes inherited from the father. The price of good weapons was very high—a good bow was equal in worth to a horse, and a quiver of good arrows—to a foal. The warriors practically nev-

er made their ammunition by themselves preferring to purchase it from the specialists, in particular, from bow- (yaishi) and arrow-makers (okshi).

The Nogais knew very little about firearms. In the 16th century, beys and murzas several times asked from the Ottoman sultans and Moscow tsars for cannons and muskets together with gunners. It is hardly unlikely that only the Russian state inducted the Nogais into the art of firearm fighting, as it is claimed by some authors. Even before the active help given by Moscow to Ismail, the latter commanded several musket gunners [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 5, sheet 20 reverse] coming, apparently, from such Muslim countries as Turkey, and Transoxania or Iran. In the Altyoul uluses in the 1620s, there were tens of people armed with muskets, which can be explained by active relations of the Altyuls with the Uzbek Khanates. Although, of course, most of the warriors practiced archery. The same insignificant use of firearms among Nogais continued also in the 18th century.

It is obvious, that with such armament set, the Nogai army triumphed in steppe battles, but was powerless before fortified walls. This was gloatingly mentioned by the Kazan chronicler describing Sahib Giray's campaign to Kazan accompanied by the allied Nogai troops in 1546: "Having fought and taken captives in many lands, we have no battering rams at all. Who can conquer this place solely with arrows without guns, if not with the help of God?!" [Complete collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 1903, p. 50]. Nogais of course understood this, and in 1551, in reply to a proposal made by Ivan IV to take part in the wars with Astrakhan,

A Tatar warrior of the late 15th century, the first half of the 16th century. Illus. by A. Krasnikov



Ismail frankly stated: They could not take it, since they had neither guns, nor muskets, nor ships. [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 4, sheet 37 reverse].

The population of the Nogai Horde totally lacked urban development skills. Saray-Jük, as well as almost all known towns of the Golden Horde, was built in the traditions of the Central Asian Muslim architecture. These traditions were lost to the Nogais. Foreigners—hirelings—constructing palaces and mausoleums for them adhered to the construction canons of Khwarezm and Transoxiana. Whereas, when the murzas decided to build towns by themselves, they hired not stonemasons from Urgench, but Russian carpenters and wood construction masters, preferring construction of stockades to the erection of cob walls, and building of log towers instead of marble palaces. Waiting for the supplies, they tried to make fortifications as they saw it fit—with wattles and delimitation mounds [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 2, sheet 223; file 5, sheets 4, 84 re-

verse]. Ismail openly declared to the tsar that the Nogai people were unskilled in urban construction [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 5, sheet 48].

Nevertheless, when a need presented itself to siege and assault fortifications, the strategic thinking of the steppe warriors succeeded in finding solutions. In 1554, the Nogais came to Astrakhan, gathered large amounts of wood, and then, when the wind blew towards the town, the Tatars brought oil and set fire to the town. The people fled from the town "because of the smoke" [Razrjadnaja kniga, 1975, p. 6]. Thus certain siege practices were used in Desht-i Qipchaq, but, apparently no special siege mechanisms, let alone significant artillery, existed. Certain fortification stratagems were also used in purely nomadic wars, when one of the sides of the conflict, with a view of overwhelming enemy forces, surrounded their own positions with a wagon ring putting the covered wagons/kibitkas edge to edge together (this is what the Altyoul murzas did in 1628, when they had learned about the approaching Kalmyk cavalry).

The information regarding military actions with participation of Nogais is very scarce. One of the surviving records concerns a quite detailed description of their conflict with the Yaik Cossacks. Its direct cause was a Cossack raid in 1586 on the nomads near the ruins of the Nogai capital Saraychyq on the Yaik (Ural) River with mass killings of people and plundering of cattle. During the attack, two hierarchs-sayyids (high priests) were killed, and Urus bey's sister was taken captive. The bey called out the irregular nogai troops to attack the enemy with maximum force ("together we shall show the Cossacks what we are worth!"). Nuradin (governor of the Volga Region) Sayyid Akhmed instantly obeyed and went with the troops of the right wing from the West. The plan was for the army of the Urus to approach from the other side. Both of the Nogai leaders detained the Russian ambassadors until the end of the campaign. The campaign was aimed not only to defeat the Cossacks, but also to destroy their Goluboy Gorodok. The nuradin came to Yaik River significantly earlier than the Urus. For eight days together with the sons of bey Khan and Dzhan Arslan he skirmished with the

Cossacks, but failing to wait until the arrival of the forces of the left wing, he retreated. After a while, the bey himself with a large army came to Goluboy Gorodok. The insular township had been blockaded, but its inhabitants were not about surrender ('they were surrounded by water and ships, and had horses and cattle, so they were not afraid of hunger'). The Cossacks fought successfully, firing from wooden, hastily made guns, using in them stones, bones and other weights as ammunition. The Cossack legends add that at night, the Nogais tried in vain to get to the enemy by boats. When he realized that it was not possible to starve the fortress into surrender, Urus ordered firewood be brought in, to set the wooden walls on fire. But a heavy rain foiled this plan. The rain was such that both parties were reluctant to fight. The Nogais "became wet and started to dry themselves". At this moment, the Cossacks, divided into six groups, attacked the bey's troops, defeated them, and drove away his herds to the steppe. Admitting defeat, Urus retreated [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, 1585, unnumbered file, sheet 3, 1586, file 1, sheets 21, 22, 32; file 5, sheets 2, 3]

Despite comparative drawbacks and objective limitations in their weapons and armor, the outlook of the Nogais in the 15–16th centuries in the world perspective of military development was quite deserving. Their mobile cavalry, consisting of matchless archers, spear and saber warriors, presented itself as a serious force for all nearby rulers to consider and exploit. The striking example of this constituted in persistent persuasion of the Nogais, on the part of the Russian government, to take part in wars against the Poles and Germans.

Most often, the troops from the Nogai Horde went to the Muscovite state in an organized manner based on the decision of a bey, senior murzas, or nobility meetings. Initiative of non-noble Nogais willing to fight together with Russians was a rare thing, and usually came from the Nogai ambassadors. The ambassadors performed their diplomatic duties (entrusted charters, attended the audiences and held negotiations) and then, presented themselves to go to war accompanied by a retinue of tens of horsemen. The Russian side could

not find any reasons for objection, although this practice, consisting in the disappearance and later appearance of the ambassador delegations, caused irritation at the bey court.

Apparently, the first mass participation of the Nogai cavalry in the military actions of the czarist troops was in January 1563, when in an extensive campaign on Polotsk (in the course of the Livonian war) Ismail-bey's ambassadors and four murzas, grandchildren of kekovat Uraz-Ali took part¹. Before that, military collaboration between Russians and Nogais consisted mostly in coordination of actions in fighting against third countries—above all, the Crimean and Astrakhan Khanates. The periods of most intensive use of warriors from the trans-Volga steppes by Moscow dated back to the 1560–1570s during its tense confrontation with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Following enthronement of Urus-bey in 1578, relations between Russian and Nogais suddenly deteriorated, and the latter practically ceased to send their people to the tsar. In the first third of the 17th century, i.e., during a period of the Horde's vassal dependence on Russia, the bey's cavalry was sometimes asked to help in settlement of local political tasks, mainly in the North Caucasus.

In the process of active military collaboration during the most dramatic phase of the Livonian War, a certain format was developed regarding engagement by the Russian government of military aid from the Nogai Horde. The demand stated the number of militants needed, date of their arrival to Moscow, and involved scene of military activity ('Germans', 'Lithuanian king's land', 'Swedish king's land') with a standard formula in the conclusion—"As soon as they get back from the war, we reward them and send them to you" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 8, sheet 93, 93 reverse, 116–117, 293–294 etc.] The worse the situation was at the Lithuanian front, the more persistent became the demands for sending in new troops. Using increasing infighting in the Horde of the Great Nogais, the Ambassadorial Order

addressed the most influential murzas individually. More often than not, these inquiries were accompanied by dissident and clearly instigator caveats: ('Even if the prince (i.e. the bey) refuses to send troops, you might still send your people without the prince') [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 9, sheets 242, 252, etc.]. The same motifs were behind frequent exemption from all the trade duties on the goods brought in by the Nogai merchants.

The Russians usually asked Nogais to send two to three thousand horsemen, but Nogai authorities never sent to Russia more than two thousand men simultaneously. The highest number found by me in the archive documents is 1957 men, including murzas, Cossacks, and other military men [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 14, 1910, p. 391].

However, it can be assumed that insignificant (compared to enormous number of state mobilization) Nogai detachments were rather a moral than military factor on the western fronts. Regardless the number of sent militants, it was desirable that the men were brave and with their horses, so that 'both you and tsar's enemies could see this clearly' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 8, sheet 257 reverse]. The very fact of nomads' participation in the Muscovite army, as well as rumors in this respect, created psychological discomfort and brought confusion in the enemy ranks. The Russian side intensified the effect of Nogai's involvement, exaggerating tenfold their number during negotiations with their western partners. In May 1566, the clerks were told to announce to the arrived Lithuanian ambassadors that murzas served the tsar on a permanent basis in a number of twenty to thirty thousand, and even more, in whatever number was necessary. In three years, the ambassador going to the Polish-Lithuanian King Sigismund-August was instructed to mention the same phrase but already with clarification: "The number of forty to fifty thousand", and the same was repeated in 1571 [Monuments, 1892, pp. 344, 470, 782].

European observers paid much attention to the Turkic component in the Muscovite army. Western visitors had been the first to notice the fundamental difference consisting in that the trans-Volga warriors largely served

¹ However, the first case of the Nogais' participation in a war was apparently a result of Ivan IV's satisfaction of the request from Ishterek, Ismail's ambassador, who asked to take part in the campaign against Lithuania in October 1562.

in Lithuania, Poland, Livonia and on the Sweden's borders, since Russian authorities used Tatars against Poles and Swedes, considering it irrational to use them on the opposite border (i.e., on the border with the Tatar yurtas, with Crimea, above all) [Fletcher, 1906, p. 64; Staden, 1925, pp. 61, 62, 116]. These precautions were caused by mass migration from the Nogai Horde to the Crimea Khanate. By the end of the 16th century, the Crimean cavalry consisted mostly of Nogais. Bringing Nogai troops into Russian service against their fellow countrymen from the enemy camp on one battlefield seemed to the government and voivodes as too risky.

All the abovementioned political factors, tactical reasons, as well as foreignness of murzas, with respect to the Russian nobility, determined their place in the military hierarchy. In most cases, murzas with their troops were included in the acting army outside the regiments' list. There are only solitary mentions of Nogais' participation in battles, and campaigns with vanguard or yertoul regiments. Due to a strict parochial system of assigning commanding duties, no place was found for the Nogai noblemen. Only baptized Nogais possessing a title of a prince (by the time of the Livonian War, these included Kanbarovy and Sheidyakovy Princes¹) could be in charge of

large tsarist troops.

The Nogais' interest in the military actions pursued by voivodes lay in the right of free-looting, and a possibility of gaining trophies and captives accorded by the Russian administration. Mercantile sentiment increased proportionate to the sharpened crisis in the Nogai Horde with shrinking of nomad territories and number of cattle resulting in empty trade ways. More and more murzas were getting poorer, becoming unable to exist in habitual conditions of the cattle-raising economy. Mounted raids in Polish-Lithuanian lands under a formal guidance of tsarist commanders gave the murzas a chance to get rich, and hence attract more subordinate ulus people. In the period of political collaboration between the Russians and Nogais, beys did not object to these aspirations of murzas and sent them to Russia without any reservations, sometimes mentioning to the tsar the real reason of their participation in the war—"the Ahmed murza is very poor, and he asked me to send him to your war" [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, inv. 1, file 6, sheets 219–219 reverse].

Tutayevich Shiydyakov of the Nogai' [Karamzin, 1989, p. 112]. In that campaign Sheydyakov led the advance regiment. He occupied this same voivode position during the Baltic expeditions of the 1570s. During the conquest of the city of Cēsis in 1577 the prince's colleague-in-arms in command over the regiment was Nikita Romanovich Yuryev, who was also a voivode and the forefather of future monarchs. In 1576, after returning from the Livonian campaign, tsar Ivan appointed P. Sheydyakov as governor of Pskov. His career ended approximately at the beginning of the 1580s: the *Razrjadnaja kniga* contains recorded information from 1580 about disputes between Sheydyakov and prince M. Katyrev about voivodeship in the regiment of the right-hand.

Another notable character of this epoch is Afanasy Sheydyakov. Similar to Pyotr Tutayevich, his Nogai name is not known. He is mentioned for the first time in the *Razrjadnaja kniga* in a recording from 1574 as N. Yuryev's partner in voivodeship in the large regiment during the Livonian campaign. He took part in the Baltic campaigns, and in 1577–1580 he was governor of Yuriev-Livonian. In 1585 he was the commander of the left-hand regiment of the army of grand prince Simeon Bekbulatovich, which was sent to fight Bathory. The last mention of him is dated 1598 when B. Godunov was sent to Serpukhov to repel the Crimean khan's raid, he remained 'in the tsar's camp, near fires' as a commander [Razrjadnaja kniga, 1974, p. 134; Razrjadnaja kniga, 1994, p. 34].

¹ In fact, only one member of the Kanbakharovs is known—Ivan IV's fellow soldier during the Livonian War, who was especially active in the latter half of the 1550–the beginning of the 1570s. His Nogai name was Uraz-Ali, and in Russian he went by Ivan. The first-ever case of a parochial dispute between the purely Russian aristocracy and the Nogai migrants is actually related to him. In 1565/66 Ivan IV deployed his army at Velikiye Luki and Toropets in preparation for the campaign against Lithuania. Princess I. Shuysky, G. Kolychev-Loshakov, and 'Ivan Okhmetovich Kanbarov' were appointed to a large regiment. The voivode of the right-hand regiment of A. Shein refused to obey Kanbarov, 'did not accept his orders,' and did not come to the meeting he had organised as he did not consider Kanbarov noble enough. So the latter had to come to Shein himself and ask him to deploy his troops in Toropets, according to the approved disposition [O sluzhbakh (About services), 1826, p. 412].

The earliest mention of prince Pyotr Tutayevich Sheydyakov is found in the description of Ivan IV's campaign against Novgorod in December of 1571, during which the campaign Duma of the tsar consisted of boyars and princes, 'the most noble among them being Pyotr

§ 6. Warfare and Military Culture of the Siberian Khanate

Yuli Khudyakov

Warfare of Siberian Tatar Khanate warriors in the late Middle Ages.

In the late Middle Ages, the Siberian Tatar Khanate played a crucial role in the military and political history of Western Siberia. After the Golden Horde's collapse, the Siberian Yurt became the largest Tatar state in terms of territory, and covered the steppe and forest-steppe areas of Western Siberia from the Urals to the Altai mountains. The Siberian Khanate controlled the vassal states of Ob-Ugrians and Selkups in the northern taiga of Priobye and Pritomye. Major trade routes from Eastern Europe and Central Asia passed through the territory of Siberian Khanate. By the time the Siberian Khanate was formed, the Siberian Tatars were divided into their main ethnic groups. The settlements and cities located on the territory of the Siberian Khanate became both trade and craft centres. Siberian Tatars followed one of the major world religions, Islam, and adopted the Arabic script. The leaders of the Siberian Khanate were in close contact with the ruling elite of the Kazan Khanate in the Volga region, the rulers of the Nogai Horde in the steppes of Cis-Ural region and Kazakhstan, and the related dynasty of the Khanate of Bukhara in Central Asia. They pursued an active foreign policy on the western borders of their state. During a certain historical period the Siberian Khanate rulers of the Taibugid dynasty were in vassalage to the Moscow Tsar and agreed to pay tribute in fur. However, when Khan Kuchum from the Shaybanid dynasty returned to the throne he stopped paying tribute, and the Siberian Tatar military troops began conducting raids throughout the Ural mountains on the border-lands of the Muscovite state. Due to impassable roads across the Ural mountain range, these raids did not result in any major military conflicts [Khudyakov, 2007, p. 238–239]. According to existing sources, in the late Middle Ages the Siberian Khanate had certain opportunities for progressive growth,

as well as noteworthy human and economical resources and a strong military presence [Bobrov and others, 2010, p. 30–31].

One of the main factors that kept the Siberian Khanate in existence was its comparatively well-developed warfare for the late Middle Ages. Information about how the Siberian Khanate's warriors fought is mostly compiled in Russian written historical records and graphic sources, as well as in materials from the excavations of Siberian Tatar monuments [Miller, 1999, p. 335–353; fig. 8, 11–13; Dergacheva-Skop, Alekseev, 2006, p. 99, 124, 152, 157; Siberian chronicles, 2008, p. 469, 471–474, 479, 492–505; Pignatti, 2010, p. 212; Molodin and others, 1990, p. 43–78; Konikov, Khudyakov, 1981, p. 184–188; Khudyakov, 2001, p. 252–263].

Previous knowledge gleaned from the analysis and classification of the weapons excavated from archaeological monuments demonstrates that the most important Siberian Tatar weapon was ranged, i.e. the bow and arrow [Ibid., p. 252–273]. Tatar warriors were armed with composite bows of various types. These included bows with a single frontal oar-shaped backing common to the Mongols (Fig. 1, 1, 10). They also used bows with shoulder and middle frontal backing that were known to be used by the nomads of Southern Siberia. Along with composite bows, the Siberian Tatar warriors also used all-wood bows made of several parts glued together and without any bone or horn backing [Khudyakov, 2007, p. 240]. Tatar archers used metal or bone-tipped arrows to hit the target in combat. Siberian Tatars preferred using flat asymmetric rhombic arrowheads with an obtuse tip, as well as sharp-tipped warhead arrows with separate penetrating warhead and extended neck (Fig. 1, 17–20). These types of arrows were widely used by the entire nomadic world of the Eurasian Steppe belt in the High and Late Middle Ages [Khudyakov, 2001, pp. 256–257]. Arrows with other shapes of flat

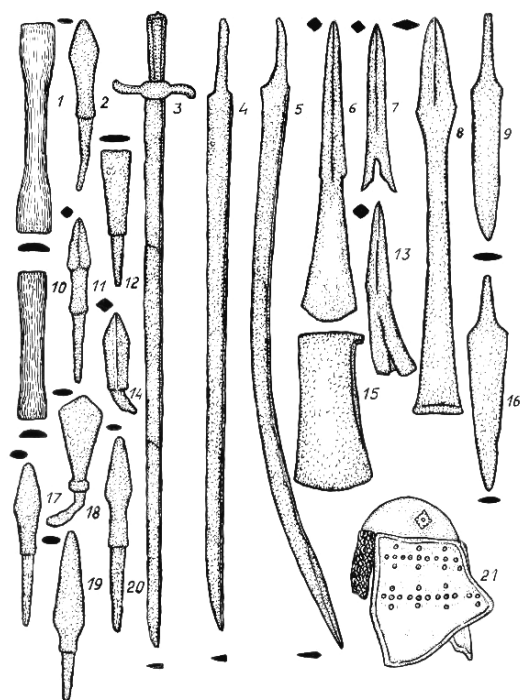


Fig. 1 Weapons of Siberian Tatar warriors:

- 1, 10—bow grips; 2, 11, 12, 14,
17–20—arrowheads; 3, 4—pallashes;
5—sabre; 6–8, 13—spearheads;
9, 16—daggers; 15—axe; 21—helmet

metal tips, such as extended-rhombic with an obtuse tip, long rectangular with an obtuse tip and parallel sides, section arrowheads with a rounded tip, double-tipped fork-heads and tomars with a blunt tip, were less common. These arrowheads were designed to inflict deep bleeding lacerated wounds that would quickly disable the enemy (Fig. 1, 12). In order to pierce special metal shields, armour and ring mail, Tatar archers used small piercing arrowheads with a rhombic cross-section (Fig. 1, 11, 14). These featured either a long pentagonal feather, separate warhead, or extended neck. These arrowheads were designed to pierce armour and ring mail. Arrows with various arrowheads, lens-shaped in their cross-section, were multipurpose and could be used against enemies protected by metal or light armour [Khudyakov, 2007, pp. 242–244]. There were quite a lot of bone arrowheads found among the archaeolog-

ical monuments of Siberian Tatars, and they are generally considered to be hunting weapons. However, the discover of these arrows in human skeletal remains from different historical eras prove the fact that they could be used in war as well as for hunting [Molodin and others, 1990, p. 62]. The Siberian Tatar supply of metal arrowheads was much more versatile than those of other nomadic people at war in the late Middle Ages and was surpassed only by the Mongol one [Khudyakov, 2007, p. 242]. The main supply of the Siberian Tatar armaments consisted of smaller-sized flat arrowheads. They were common for the Tatar archers and quite an effective weapon against lightly armed enemies. However, these arrows were not effective enough to defeat a well-trained and heavily armoured enemy armed with firearms on the battlefield. In the Russian sources, Siberian Tatar arrows were called 'tmochislennyi', which means countless [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 22]. As one of the first historians to study these sources, G. Miller believed bows and arrows to be a 'common Tatar weapon' along with spears and sabres [Miller, 1999, p. 225].

The Siberian Tatar warriors stored and carried their arrows in leather cases called saadak or canted quivers. Bow cases and quivers were made of leather. The surface of these cases was decorated with ornaments and metal hardware. The bows could fit into these cases entirely with the string still attached. Arrows were stored in quivers with their arrowheads inside and their feathers hanging out. They wore these saadaks or quivers on their belts or over the shoulder with a shoulder belt.

The Siberian Tatar melee weaponry consisted of spears, sabres, battle axes and daggers. The spears had four-sided and rhombic iron spearheads with a long sharp tip, long pentagonal feathers and an open-ended bushing (Fig. 1, 6, 8). The miniature pictures of the Remezov Chronicles portray many Tatar warriors holding spears. Some of the spears had Colours with one or two swallowtails attached to the shafts [Ibid., fig. 8, 13]. Large solid spearheads were used

as striking spears, and smaller spears could be used as throwing weapons (Fig. 1, 7, 13). In hand to hand combat Tatar horsemen used edged weapons, such as backswords and sabres (Fig. 1, 3–5). Backswords had a long, straight single-edged blade and a straight hilt with a curled crossguard featuring bent spikes and a faceted lining, or with no crossguard at all. Sabres had a long, slightly curved blade with a sharp tip and double-edged elman without a crossguard, and a hilt that bent towards the blade [Khudyakov, 2007, pp. 244–245]. The miniature pictures of the Remezov Chronicles portray some Tatar warriors with sabres in their hands. Some of the warriors are also shown with sabres hanging from their belts in sheaths [Miller, 1999, fig. 8, 11, 13]. Based upon the findings of edged weapons, Siberian Tatar warriors could face enemies in close and hand to hand combat while being either horse-mounted or dismounted.

As a cutting weapon they used socketed battle-axes with a low poll and an eye that widened towards the blade (Fig. 1, 15). Siberian Tatars most likely adopted these axes from Russians during the reclamation of Siberia, as they were common among the Russian people. The excavation of archaeological monuments of Siberian Tatars in the Baraba forest-steppe unearthed iron tanged daggers with double and single-edged blades (Fig. 1, 9, 16). Generally, the close ranged melee weapons of the Siberian Tatar warriors were quite diverse and were no worse than the weaponry of other Turkic and Mongol people [Bobrov and others, 2010, p. 43].

The Siberian Tatar warriors had their own means of individual armoured protection. Rectangular ironclad plates found in Siberian Tatar monuments were typical for lamellar armour [Molodin and others, 1990, p. 77]. A fragment of ring mail was also found in the Isker archaeological site [Bobrov and others, 2010, p. 43]. Tatar warriors protected their bodies with ring mail crafted in Bukhara with a wide collar and short front cut along with short sleeves and a short hem. In order to protect their heads,

Tatar warriors wore spherical helmets with an aventail, ear guards and a neckguard (Fig. 1, 21) [Bobrov, 2009, p. 251–254]. Some of the warriors used shields to protect themselves, as shown in some of the Remezov Chronicle's miniatures [Miller, 1999, fig. 8]. Certain illustrations picture Tatar warriors holding oval weapons with two belts and a circular shell resembling a slingshot [Ibid., fig. 8, 13; Dergacheva-Skop, Alekseev, 2006, ill.182].

Aside from cold weapons traditionally used by nomads, the army of the Siberian Khan Kuchum also had two cast iron cannons firing 40 pood cannonballs that Kuchum purchased previously from Kazan. However, as the battle of Chuvash Cape demonstrated, Siberian Tatar warriors were not good artillerymen. The Tatars could not fire a single cannonball, so Khan Kuchum had to dump his cannons in the Irtysh River so they would not fall into Cossack hands [Miller, 1999, p. 225]. Perhaps murza Begish had cannons as well, but the reliability of this information is doubtful [Ibid., p. 254]. Based on these sources, Tatar military leaders and warriors were familiar with firearms and artillery, yet they were unable to use the weapons they had.

The army of the Siberian Tatar Khanate consisted of detachments led by military leaders and the Tatar murzas,—that is, the rulers of different appanages. Apart from Tatar detachments, the Siberian Khanate army also included militias from dependent vassal Ugor and Selkup principalities. It is possible the Siberian Khanate used the Asian decimal system to divide its armies, as the sources mention troops of 10 thousand warriors [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 159]. The most battle-worthy part of Khan Kuchum's Tatar army was the Nogai troops, which helped him return to the throne of his ancestors [Bobrov and others, 2010, p. 45].

Based on the weaponry and description of the military showdowns, the Siberian Tatar warriors might have used specific loose line formation techniques. Lightly armed horsemen would spread across the front line and try to get around the enemy's forma-

tion and take it from the opposite direction. They would open brisk fire upon enemy troops from their bows once they reached an appropriate distance.

Such tactics, which were common among many nomadic peoples, allowed the Siberian Tatar troops to remain victorious during military showdowns with the Turkic nomads and Ugor and Selkup tribes inhabiting the taiga area of Western Siberia. However, they were not efficient enough in combat with the heavily armoured troops of Russian Cossacks armed with firearms and the German and Lithuanian soldiers fighting along with them. Tatar archers had a relatively small supply of armour-piercing arrows to hit heavily armoured enemies from an arrow's distance away. As their means of protection were not as advanced, the Siberian Tatar soldiers rarely got in close combat with Cossacks. During this type of combat, the opposing sides would 'fight hard' hand to hand. They hit their enemies with their spears, backswords, sabres and battle axes. In hand to hand combat Tatar warriors yielded to the better armed, armoured and more experienced Russian Cossacks. Siberian Tatar warriors were skilled in fighting in dismounted formations. Miniatures from the Remezov Chronicle display battles where Russian and Tatar warriors are fighting not on horseback. Tatar warriors fire at the enemy from bows and attack them with spears and sabres [Miller, 1999, fig. 11, 13]. The decisive factor that led Russian soldiers to success was their military technological superiority and the use of firearms.

Given these circumstances, the warfare of Siberian Tatars largely relied on disinformation tactics and unexpected attacks. They used their knowledge of the land and ambushed Cossack troops with unexpected attacks in the middle of the night. The military success of Tatar troops in the war with Cossacks was achieved thanks to such sudden attacks. They often used disinformation to lead the enemy to the wrong path or draw them into an ambush. As a result of disinformation, a band of Cossacks led by Yermak was lured into a trap, where he was killed [Ibid., pp. 257–258].

The Siberian Tatar warriors knew how to use their knowledge of the land for militaristic purposes. They blocked roads with fallen trees to create obstacles for the enemy. The Siberian Khanate warriors were skilled in holding down their own fortresses. Their fortifications, fortified settlements and cities were all located on naturally fortified sites, highlands and steep capes along the river bank. They were always fortified along the perimeter or the field side with ditches, ramparts and wooden fences. The defensive potential of these forts relied mostly on the terrain of the land they were built on. The Kullary fortress on the Irtysh riverbank turned out to be unassailable for the Cossacks. Yermak's forces assaulted the fortress for five days, but ultimately failed to capture it. At the same time Khan Kuchum fled from the capital of Khanate Qashliq, or Isker, after his defeat at Chuvash Cape, and the city was taken without any bloodshed [Ibid., pp. 226–227].

The military efficiency of the Siberian Tatar troops and their ability to successfully fight against Russian Cossacks were weakened by the fragile central authorities and internal conflicts and feuds among the Tatar nobles of the Siberian Khanate. Khan Kuchum overthrew the Taibugid dynasty and seized power with help from the rulers of the Bukhara Khanate and the Nogai Horde. He was supported by faithful Tatar nobles, along with his relatives and attendants. Many Tatar murzas and Ugor princes did not approve of his regiment. After losing a few battles and Kyshlyk, they switched sides and deserted to Yermak. As a result of the Tatar murza Senbakht-tagin's betrayal, Cossacks managed to attack the army led by the best commander of the Siberian Khanate, prince Makhmet-kul, destroy his warriors and capture him. The watchmen of Makhmet-kul's detachment did him a disservice, but perhaps he was unaware that Yermak would find out his location. During the war, some Siberian Tatars served the Cossack troops as guides and interpreters and were later accepted into Russian military service. Sayyid Khan from the previous

ruling dynasty of Taibugids and murza Karacha acted openly against Kuchum[Ibid., p. 236].

Regardless of the advantages of having more troops, knowledge of the land where the battles took place and significant human resources, the Tatar commanders were unable to properly use them in the war with Yermak's Cossack troops. They could not match the Cossack abilities to cross rivers on high-sided boats or shoot accurately out of firearms and artillery. They also failed to protect themselves from the enemy's bullets with their ironclad and ring mail armour.

Cossack superiority in the use of firearms combined with effective protection and river transportation played a crucial role in their military success. Cossacks were more experienced in combat and successfully withstood the military tactics of the Siberian Tatar army. Stroganov merchants supplied Yermak's army with 'three hundred Germans and Lithuanians' captured during the Livonian War. At that time Western-European military specialists were highly regarded in Russia and all throughout the next century they were invited to serve in Siberia [Borisenko, Khudyakov, 2011, pp. 293–298].

The Siberian Tatar warriors and commanders had some experience conducting warfare with Russians as well. Some of the Tatar commanders captured by Yermak and sent to Moscow, for instance Makhmet-kul, continued their military career in the Muscovite state and served the Moscow tsars. Military forces composed of Siberian Tatars and Voguls-Mansi conducted numerous military campaigns across the Urals in the lands of the Stroganov merchant family, which was the whole reason behind sending Yermak's forces to Siberia. During that time, the Tatar army led by Kuchum's son Ali was in a similar campaign in the Urals. However, their only goal was to acquire the spoils of war. The Tatar commanders tried to avoid military confrontations, so there were no massive battles. Instead, they preferred robbing rural unfortified settlements of Russian peasants. Khan Kuchum and his

commanders failed to learn from their defeats during the first years of warfare and withstand the successful military tactics of the Cossacks. All of their defeats only made them question their own power and weakened their will to fight.

Even after Yermak's death when he was ambushed with a small group of soldiers and the following departure of his army across the Urals, the situation did not improve. During the last decade of the 16th century Khan Kuchum's army faced two major defeats by the Russian voivodes. Despite the poor conditions he found himself in, he refused to surrender till the day he died. Throughout the same period his rivals from the Siberian Tatar side, Sayyid Khan and murza Karacha, were captured.

Although the battle for the Siberian Khanate continued up to the latter half of the 17th century, the fact that some of the Siberian Tatar nobles had pledged their allegiance to Russia determined the outcome. Siberian Tatars were enrolled in Russian service, accepted into Cossack class, kept guard on the borders and contributed to the acquisition of new lands. This was the deciding factor that the Siberian Tatar regions would join Russia.

The level of warfare in the Siberian Khanate corresponded with the warfare of other nomadic peoples of the late Middle Ages. The weapons for ranged and close range combat and the protection of Siberian Tatars was almost as advanced as among the nomads from the cross-border regions of Southern Siberia and Central Asia. However, the lack of means to pierce metal armour and hand to hand combat with a heavily armed enemy limited the Siberian Tatars' choices of tactics. At the time, Siberian Tatars were only starting to assimilate firing weapons. Their military efficiency was also influenced by the lack of military experience of the warriors and commanders, who were unprepared to battle in unfamiliar conditions against an enemy heavily armed with firearms and utilizing new combat tactics.

The warfare of Siberian Tatars during the attempted reclamation of the Siberian Khanate (during the third quarter of the 17th century)

Khan Kuchum's descendants and followers fought to reclaim the Siberian Khanate for many decades in the 17th century. The warfare of the Siberian Tatar warriors and the history of military events in Western Siberia during the century when Russian Cossacks and servicemen were confronted by the forces of Khan Kuchum's descendants and the Turkic and Mongol nomads deserve special attention and interest.

The death of Kuchum in 1601 did not end the opposition [Skrynnikov, 1982, pp. 216–220]. The oldest son of Kuchum, Ali, was pronounced the new Khan, but the Russian authorities did not acknowledge him as the true ruler,—that is, 'tsar'. His nomadic camp was initially located on the banks of Ishim and was later moved to the Tobol river. The new Khan had about 300 Tatar warriors and a number of Bashkirs at his command. The Russian authorities in Siberia tried to convince Ali to become a vassal to Russia, but all of their attempts eventually fell flat [Trepavlov, 2011v, pp. 96–98]. After being pronounced Khan, Ali tried to make an agreement with the Russian authorities himself and sent his ambassadors to Tobolsk. But they ultimately failed to see eye to eye. Khan Ali's brothers, Ishim and Kubei Murat, who arrived for negotiations, were then sent to Moscow. Perhaps, this was perceived as imprisonment. In 1603, Khan Ali's camp was joined by the Nogai troops led by Urus Murza and later by the Tatars and Bashkirs, which significantly increased his military forces. During that time the Siberian Tatars were cooperating with the Nogais and Bashkirs and planning to resume the hostilities. However, these plans never came to fruition.

By that time Russia had expanded its territory to include Middle Priobye. In 1604, Russia granted citizenship to Eushtin Tatars and built the Tomskiy ostrog on their land. However, after being assaulted and robbed by Tomsk voivodes, the local people of the

'Ostyaks and Tatars' started to rebel [Miller, 1999, p. 309]. This presumably came to the knowledge of Kuchum's descendants. In 1607, Tatars led by Kuchum's sons Ishim, Azim and Kanuchvar were joined by the Dzungars and started a military campaign in the Tyumen district. They quickly took over the town of Kinyr, which was occupied by Tatar servicemen. In order to rescue them, Tyumen sent a troop of servicemen led by Kazaryi Izyetdinov that destroyed Ali's camp, freed Kinyr Tatars and captured the mother, wives and children of the Khan's brothers. All of the captives were then sent to Moscow [Faizrakhmanov, 2002, p. 209]. Judging by these events, the Russian authorities both enlisted groups of Siberian Tatars for military service, and also entrusted them with firearms and Tatar commanders to lead campaigns against their own kinsmen and fellow believers. His military campaigns and the defeat of his camp on the Ishim riverbank prevented Ali from continuing the battle for the Siberian Khanate. After his defeat, he fled to the Nogais. In 1608, Khan Ali was presumably captured and sent to the European part of Russia [Trepavlov, 2011v, p. 99]. This happened at the height of troubled times in Russia, when the Russian authorities in Siberia were at their weakest. Nevertheless, they managed to maintain and even expand the Russian lands, as Khan Kuchum's followers failed to take advantage of the situation. In the early 17th century the Prince of Teleuts, Abak, agreed to become a vassal to the Russian authorities, but without paying the Yasak. Some of the Dzungar taishi counted on gaining support from Russia as well [Miller, 1999, p. 310]. These events left Kuchum's descendants with significantly smaller chances of getting help from the Teleuts and Dzungars.

According to some sources, when Ali was captured, one of Kuchum's son, Ishim, was pronounced the new Khan [Miller, 2000, p. 42]. In 1618, Khan Ishim's camp was confronted by the Russian military troop led by A. Velyaminov. The Dzungars were unable to lend him the necessary support, and as a result Ishim's army suffered heavy losses

[Faizrakhmanov, 2002, p. 210]. That same year a troop of Russian servicemen led by O. Kharlamov and the "Tatar Head" O. Kokorév started a military campaign in the upper reaches of Tom and founded the Kuznetsk Ostrog [Miller, 1999, p. 315]. The territory populated by people who might support the reclamation of the Siberian Khanate was progressively decreasing in size. In the following decade Kuchum's descendants made no attempts to attack the Russian lands in Western Siberia.

However, the situation changed radically at the end of the second decade of the 17th century. Increasing oppression and abuse of power by the Siberian voivodes created an active opposition among the Siberian Tatar population, which rekindled the will of Khan Kuchum's descendants to fight.

In 1628, Baraba Tatars started a rebellion as a result of their outrage over tyranny and the numerous instances of illegal extortion. The rebels destroyed the Cossack troop that was sent to stop them, killed the Yasak collectors, burned one of the forts down, robbed the Yurt Tatars who kept their allegiance to Russia, and migrated to the Teleut lands in Upper Priobye [Umansky, 1995, p. 20]. Following the Baraba Tatars, in 1629 Tara Tatars started a rebellion as well. They ravaged a few Russian villages, held some people captive, stole livestock and migrated to the Baraba forest-steppe. After realizing the danger a united front of rebels could cause, in 1629, the Russian authorities sent out a troop of servicemen and Yurt Tatars that managed to defeat the Tara Tatars near lake Chany [Miller, 2000, pp. 417–418]. The remnants of the dissipated rebel army, about 150 people, fled to 'Baraba prince Kogutaik' [Ibid., p. 418]. These rebellious outbreaks occurred spontaneously, but Kuchum's descendants led by tsarevich Ablaykerim, son of Ishim and grandson of Kuchum, tried to take advantage of the situation. In 1629, the Russian authorities "received information, that Kuchum tsareviches and Kalmyks have also joined the fight" [Ibid., p. 114]. Ablaykerim managed to enlist the Dzungar taishis by promising

them the right to collect yasak from the Baraba, Yurt and volost Tatars [Ibid., p. 418]. Later on, the leaders of the reclamation supporter group were joined by tsarevich Davlet Giray, or Kiray, son of Chuvak and cousin of Ablaykerim. The rebellions of different groups of Siberian Tatars occurred at the same time when the Dzungars came in as reinforcements, a part of which migrated to the Tobol river near the borders of the Russian territory. The Russian military troop that was sent against them 'drove them away from the Russian borders' [Ibid., p. 115]. In 1629, tsarevich Ablaykerim and an army of the 'Kolmak people' marched out into the Baraba forest-steppe. He asked the local princes there for people and managed to enlist the rebelling Baraba and Tara Tatars [Umansky, 1995, pp. 14, 22]. After that, he moved on to the lands of the Teleuts. According to the information sent to Tobolsk by the native Tatar Kudaishugurk Senitkulov, Ablaykerim was planning to seek additional support from the Teleuts and Kourchaks to make way 'to Tara city and the volost to start a war' [Miller, 2000, p. 418]. It is likely that his plans included uniting as many Western Siberian Turkic ethnic groups as possible against the Russian authorities. In August 1629, tsarevich Ablaykerim led his united army, composed of Baraba, Tara, and Terenin Tatars, Dzungars and Kourchaks to Middle Priobye, the lands of the Chat Tatars. From Chat townlet he planned on 'unleashing war' in the 'city of Tomsk' [Ibid., p. 116, 419]. By managing to get the Chat murza Tarlav on his side, Ablaykerim increased the number of his allies. Murza Tarlav hosted not only Kuchum's grandson, but also the Eushtin Tatars who rebelled against the Russian authorities [Umansky, 1995, p. 29]. Yet Tarlav was cautious to stand up against the Russians and join the united Tatar army on their way to Tomsk, so Ablaykerim and his army returned to the Baraba forest-steppe [Miller, 2000, p. 420]. Voivode P. Pronsky sent a troop of servicemen and Yurt Tatars from Tomsk that eventually destroyed the Tatar army on the Shegarka riverbank and captured many of the

insurgents [Ibid., pp. 420–421]. According to other sources, Ablaykerim's army, which included Baraba, Tara and Chat Tatars, made a detour to the lands of the Ostyaks up to the mouth of the Tom river, where he set up his camp [Umansky, 1995, p. 30]. From that camp site they managed to take over the townlets of Murzin and Nandrin, and 'thrash' the Yurt Tatars and Ostyaks, who kept their allegiance to the Russian authorities. Afterwards, they made their way to Tara [Miller, 2000, p. 425]. As a result of these military campaigns, Ablaykerim's army significantly increased in size, and he now had more than two thousand warriors. The main purpose of these campaigns was arguably Ablaykerim's aspiration to get the Tatar groups that pledged allegiance to the Russians back under his authority. The previous events had an impact on Tatars from the Tyumen and Turin counties and their attitude towards Russian authorities. Rumours that Russians would soon 'disappear' and their place would be taken by Dzungars spread across the land. One of the sources mentions a Tatar man with a 'wide arrow' and no bow, riding across the Turin county [Ibid., p. 126]. Perhaps he was using that arrow to agitate local Tatars to join the fight for the Siberian Khanate's restoration. Some of the Tatars would openly threaten Russian people. In 1630, Chat Tatars led by murza Tarlav migrated to the south through the Ob river valley and to the lands of Teleuts in fear of repression on the part of Tomsk voivodes. There on the Chingizka riverbank they founded a "small town" fortified with barrows, which became their new residence [Umansky, 1995, p. 32]. Tomsk voivodes tried to persuade the fleeing Yasak Tatars to return to their places of residence, yet they failed to reach an agreement. In April 1630, the army of Teleuts and Chat Tatars led by prince Abak and murza Tarlav made its way down the Ob river to the town of Toyanov, which was located nearby the Tomsky Ostrog. Tomsk voivodes that were notified of this sent over a troop of servicemen that occupied the Toyanov townlet before the arrival of Teleuts and Chat Tatars. Abak and

Tarlav did not take their chances in a showdown fight, instead opting to turn to the lands of the Chat Tatars that stayed loyal to Russian authorities. There they took over and burned down the townlet of Burlak and their crops, 'thrashed' the local Tatars and 'made war' in the Shegar yasak volost [Miller, 2000, p. 430]. Tomsk voivodes learned about the plans of prince Abak and Chat murza Tarlav to unite with tsarevich Ablaykerim, rebel Baraba Tatars and 'mountain Kalmaks',—that is, Telengits, and then march against the Tomsk and Kuznetsk Ostrogs. This was arguably the most critical point for the Russian authorities in Western Siberia throughout the entire period of rebellions among the Tatar people and actions taken by tsarevich Ablaykerim to reclaim the Siberian Khanate. Tomsk voivode P. Pronsky decided to attack the rebels outside his territories, and sent G. Chernitsin and his troop composed of Russian servicemen and Chat Tatars led by murza Burlak, who remained faithful to Russian authorities. The G. Chernitsin troop caught up with the rebels while they were crossing the Ob river, and destroyed them. The combat killed off the leaders of the rebellion Chat murza Kazgul and 'the best man of Tuliman, Murat' as well as many 'Tarlav Tatars' [Ibid., p. 431]. Meanwhile, Ablaykerim attempted to reach an agreement with the Russian authorities. In May 1630, the son of Tunus prince Ya. Mamet arrived to Tara to deliver Ablaykerim's message suggesting that they send ambassadors to negotiate. At the time, Ablaykerim's camp was located on Yazymyk lake in Prioby. He currently had around 300 warriors with him. Separate from him, the army of the Teleuts, Chat and Baraba Tatars, numbering up to 700, set up their camp on lake Sargul. The attempt made by Ablaykerim to negotiate proves that he presumably tried to make an agreement with the Russian authorities after realizing his lack of military forces to reclaim the Siberian Khanate with its initial borders. After his failed attempt, he once again tried to organise a campaign to Tara, but that was never actually fated to take place, as none of the

other rebels supported the idea. The Russian authorities set out to send back the groups of Tatars to their own lands. In 1631, Tomsk sent Ya. Tukhechensky's troop of 1631 Cossacks and a hundred Chat and Tomsk Tatars led by murza Burlak to the townlet of Chinggisov to fight against Chat murza Tarlav. The troop, armed with guns and field cannons, travelled on skis and sledges at a high speed, in order to catch the enemy off guard. Although they kept it a secret, Chat murza Tarlav managed to find out about the troops coming for him and he sought help from the Teleuts, Kourchaks and tsarevich Ablaykerim. However, the help did not make it there in time. The Russian-Tatar detachment laid siege to the townlet of Chinggisov and later stormed it. Ya. Tukhachevsky managed to take the townlet and establish defences against Kuchum's supporters, who suffered great losses. As a final result, murza Tarlav was killed [Umansky, 1995, p. 35]. This battle showcased the superior arsenal and military skills of the Russian military in comparison to their enemies. The defeat of the Chat Tatars and the united army of insurgents and their allies proved to other Tatar ethnic groups fleeing from the Russian authorities, that neither Kuchum's descendants, nor the Teleuts, nor the Dzungars could truly protect them. Eventually, the Teleuts had no choice but to turn the Chat refugees in, as they had accepted Russian authority and agreed to pay yasak [Ibid., p. 6]. The opposition of different ethnic groups of Tatars was significantly weakened and the number of insurgents drastically decreased. After their final de-



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feat, the followers of Kuchum were left to merely rob the Tatar settlements in the Russian lands. In 1631, a detachment of 70 warriors led by Ablaykerim and Davlet Giray set off to Tatar settlements based in the Kourdaks and Tebendin volosts within the Russian borders of Priyrtyshe. The settlements were plundered, some of the residents were drawn away and some of them fled and sought help from the Russian authorities. Kuchum's descendant were chased by E. Zabolotsky's troop composed of 'military people from Lithuania', Cossacks and Yurt Tatars [Miller, 2000, p. 446, 448]. The Russian army acted as defenders of the Tatar population from the Kuchum's descendants. The rebels were disaffected with Ab-

laykerim, as he collected large tributes from them in favour of the Dzungar taishis. The Tatar people started to return to their Russian residences, which weakened Kuchum's descendants even more. The number of insurgent military detachments significantly decreased: when in 1633 Davlet Giray raided the Yasak Tatars on the Iset riverbank, he had only 60 warriors [Ibid., p. 474]. In the meantime, Kuchum descendants were confronted by Cossacks, which further complicated matters for insurgents. Despite all of his failures, Ablaykerim stubbornly continued his fight to reclaim the Siberian Khanate. In 1635, he led a detachment of 40 warriors to attack the yasak Tatars on the Iset river [Ibid., p. 493]. The decreased number of warriors in these military campaigns proves that the Kuchum's descendants were becoming weaker as time went on. That same year, Tara and Tyumen Tatars along 'with the children of Ishim' attacked and burned down the Chubarov suburb and settlement on the Artabanov Cape [Ibid., p. 499]. In 1636, tsarevich Ablaykerim was captured, and in a few years died in prison [Faizrakhmanov, 2002, p. 211]. Davlet Giray took leadership over the Kuchum's descendants and, together with the Dzungars, attempted to organise a military campaign against Siberian towns [Miller, 2000, pp. 510–511]. However, conflicts that Dzungars were having among themselves turned into internecine feuds that weakened the pressure on Russian lands. In 1637, Davlet Giray sent his envoy B. Bugonakov to Tara with a message that stated his willingness to accept the Russian regime [Ibid., p. 518]. Nevertheless, they did not manage to reach an agreement, as the Russian authorities were incredulous at his suggestion. A number of Tatars departed to the Russian lands, as they refused to take part in the Dzungar–Khalkha war. According to some Tatar refugees, in 1641 Davlet Giray and Dzungar taishis planned to set out for the 'Siberian towns' again [Ibid., pp. 555, 559–560, 563]. However, his intentions were never put into effect. A few years later, 'Kuchum's grandson' asked the Dzungar Mergen-taishi for

military support in his crusade in the Siberian cities [Ibid., pp. 571–572]. The reports of these plans refer to 1644 and 1645. Apparently, these threats were taken seriously, and in 1645 the Russian authorities sent their troops to the steppe against Davlet Giray, Tara and the Tyumen Tatars and Dzungars. The detachment of boyar children, Streltsy, Cossacks and Yurt Tatar servicemen led by Tyumen Tatar Head I. Baksheev defeated the Dzungars and Tatar insurgents [Ibid., pp. 578–579]. Later on, Davlet Giray and his nephews Bugai and Kūchūk made another attempt at negotiating [Ibid., pp. 591–592]. But as this attempt also fell flat, Bugai and Kūchūk made an effort to continue their fight with support from the Dzungars [Ibid., pp. 601–602, 613]. The possibility of new attacks were a constant threat to the authorities up to the 1660s, which could be the reason they invited foreign military specialists to organise troops of a new formation. According to the sources, the new Tatar tsarevich, whose name is still a mystery, 'is still calling himself their enemy and refusing to obey the Russian tsar'. The Tatar tsarevich 'has a small number of people', relies on the support of Bashkirs and 'every year' during harvest time raids the Russian lands in Siberia and 'takes away a lot of people and cattle' [Alekseev, 1941, pp. 347–348].

The specifics of the weaponry and warfare of the Siberian Tatar warriors during the period of the Kuchum's descendants' fight for the reclamation of the Siberian Khanate are little-known. Russian written sources say that the battle between the Russian military detachment composed of Russian servicemen and Yurt Tatars, and the Siberian Tatar detachment led by tsarevich Ablaykerim on the Shegarka river in 1629, took the lives of many Tatar warriors 'in kuyaks and brigantines' [Miller, 2000, pp. 420–421]. The description of the battle for Chinggisov townlet mentions arrows as the main defence weapon of the Tara Tatars against the Russians [Umansky, 1995, p. 23]. According to this information, there was a significant number of heavily armed

and armoured warriors protected with brigantines and ring mail among the Siberian Tatar followers of Kuchum. The miniatures of the Remezov chronicle created in the late 17th century portray Tatar warriors in everyday outerwear with different types of weapon in their hands or hanging from their belts, as supporters of the Siberian Khanate reclamation were no longer a threat. They are shown shooting from composite bows with their arrows either on load or flying towards a target. Tatar arrows feature heavy arrowheads with an elongated triangle-shaped studded feather. Some of the flying arrows or the ones lying on the ground are shown with double-eyed shafts and pentagonal or oval-shaped feathers. In one of the illustrations, a warrior, shooting from a bow has a quiver on his belt with arrow shafts sticking out from it. One of the rarest projectile weapons of Tatar warriors pictured in the miniatures is a slingshot. The majority of Tatars are shown holding spears in their hands that have elongated rhombic spearheads and long shafts. Separate miniatures show Tatar banners on a rectangular cloth with double swallowtails tied to long shafts with large heads. Some Tatar warriors are pictured with sabres in their hands or in sheaths hanging from their belts. The pictures also show Tatar warriors attacking the enemy in horse-mounted and dismounted formations [Miller, 1999, fig. 11, 13; Dergacheva-Skop, Alekseev, 2006, fig. 216]. Judging by the available data, Siberian Tatar warriors of the 17th century were equipped with the usual types of cold weapons for both distant and close combat. They were capable of attacking enemies in a dispersed formation, shooting arrows from a distance, or engaging in close combat with spears or sabres [Khudyakov, 2007, p. 247; Bobrov, et al., 2010, p. 45]. There is no evidence that they ever used any firing weapons, although the Russian authorities indeed trusted service Tatars with them. The superiority of Russian troops in the use of firing weapons compared to Siberian Tatar troops seems to have increased in that period, which can be observed in the results of

the clashes [Zinner, 1968, p. 47; Slovtsov, 1995, pp. 88–89].

The military strategy for the restoration of the Siberian Khanate was identical to the one Kuchum Khan employed after he lost Isker, the capital of the Siberian Khanate. Kuchum's descendants tried to establish their headquarters in the open steppe a certain distance away from the Russian borders in Siberia. In some places they established small towns and set up fortified points. However, they could not save themselves from the unexpected attacks of Russian troops for the entire duration of confrontations in the 17th century. It is probable that they simply could not manage to keep watch to alert troops about the coming enemy. At the same time, they conducted reconnaissance missions during the rebellion and agitated Tatars to join them. As can be determined from the sources, the main goal of Kuchum's descendants and successors was to gain control over the yasak Tatar people who became Russian subjects by moving them into the steppe and away from Russian borders.

However, those intentions of Kuchum's descendants went awry because of their shortsighted policy in relation to former subjects. It was mainly the Tatar people living in Russian lands who were subject to periodic assaults, destruction and pressure put on by Kuchum's descendants and their allies for tribute. During this entire period of military activity, adherents to the restoration of the Siberian Khanate never made any true attempts at laying siege to any Russian burghs; there was nothing more than 'hostile intentions'. Restoration of the statehood only became possible during the course of the rebellion of several Tatar ethnic groups in 1628–1631 caused by the arbitrary behaviour of Russian authorities. This allowed Kuchum's descendants to form a wide coalition of Turkic and Mongol nomad tribes that might have resulted in the success of the rebellion. However, the policy of robbing and capturing Tatar peoples and moving them into the steppe outside Russian borders, as well as the in-

crease in tribute pressure to the benefit of the Dzungars, clearly resulted in a level of dissatisfaction that persuaded the rebels to return to Russia. As Russian authorities had no significant military forces, they tried to return escaped people by means of negotiations. It was only when this approach failed that they turned to military measures. It was remarkable that all such military campaigns

involved service Tatars, sometimes even as commanders employed directly by the Russian authorities. The allegiance of some Tatars and their rulers to Russian authorities and the changes in the political and military situation in the steppe of Western Siberia decided the outcome of the fight for the restoration of the Siberian Khanate in Russia's favour.

Section IV

The Formation of Turkic-Tatar Ethnic Groups



CHAPTER 1

Ethnopolitical and Demographic Processes in the 15–18th Centuries

Damir Iskhakov

Interaction of Tatar ethnopolitical communities in the 15–16th centuries.

By the middle of the 15th century, the break up of the Ulus of Jochi (the Golden Horde) into independent political units was almost complete, which was reflected precisely in the Turkic-Tatar epic 'Edegu':

Idel-yortni dau aldi,
Yau östenä yau kilde,
Idegäy äytkän kön kilde,

.....

Kirim, Kazan, Acdarxan
Başli-başli il buldi,

Altın Urda taraldi [Idegäy, 1988, 244 b].

However, gradual crystallisation of new Turkic-Tatar yurts in the political space of the late Golden Horde did not automatically imply the disappearance of the medieval Tatar ethnic community that had formed during the previous stage in the history and which still existed as local ethnosocial organisms ('narodnost'), despite the existence in each of them their own ethnic features associated with differences in clan composition of the political elite, as well as in ethnic substrata having much in common.

This was explained by the fact that Turkic-Tatar states and their population continued to keep numerous ethnocultural and political contacts among themselves, including those based on certain institutional arrangements [Iskhakov, 1995; 1998]. In the 15–16th centuries, the Golden Horde successor states were characterised by a complex system of relationships (see, for example: [Bazilevich, 1952]). Even the gradually growing Grand Principality of Moscow was no exception. Among the Tatar states vying for the heritage of the Golden Horde, it looked an equal party not least due to the existence of the Tatar yurt (the Kasimov Khanate) within its ranks. The Tatar ethnopolitical communities, formed after the collapse

of the Golden Horde, interacted based on institutional arrangements, the most important of which were: the rule of representatives of the house of the Chinggisids in the Turkic-Tatar yurts; the community of dominant feudal clans in such yurts; family ties between supreme Muslim officials (the Sayyids), and the Tarikats' unity being common in these states. The most intensive contacts during the 15–16th centuries were held between three khanates: Crimean, Kazan and Kasimov, which is explained by the identity of their governing clan structures. However, the Nogai Horde was integrated into this system as well, both through Manghit yurts existing in almost all of the Tatar khanates, and through own clan formations (Kipchak, Baryn, and, perhaps, Arghyn) that made it possible to interfere with all khanates' affairs.

The general thesis about the Chinggisids' role in the Tatar ethnopolitical unions needs clarification. First of all, three khanates (Crimean, Kasimov and Kazan) were governed by very close relatives: Hajji Giray, founder of the Giray dynasty in Crimea, and Ulugh Muhammad and his children were cousins [Iskhakov, 2002a]. After the suppression of the Ulugh Muhammad's dynasty in the Kasimov and Kazan Khanates, they were also ruled by the Girays. The last ruler of the Kazan Khanate, Edigur (Yadegar)-Mohammad, was Sultan of Astrakhan. The Shibaniids who ruled the Tyumen Khanate were the rulers of the Kazan Khanate for some time as well, while holding certain rights to the throne due to earlier events. Matrimonial ties between the ruling houses of different khanates are fairly eloquently evidenced by the author of 'History of Kazan', revealing information on the wives of Safa Giray of Kazan: the oldest of them was the daughter of the Siberian Khan, the second—daughter of Khan of Astrakhan, the third—Crimean Shirinsky Princess, the four—daughter of a Russian prince, and the fifth was Nogai

Princess Süyümbike [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 83]. Wives of the Kazan khans Halil and Ibrahim, as well as Muhammad Amin, were Nogai princesses (Nursultan who subsequently married the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray).

Representatives of the ruling feudal clans had the right to free movement between the separate khanates. This concerned Mishar Yurt as well. In particular, the treaties letters of Grand Princes of Moscow and Ryazan, dated 1434 and 1447, contain the following record: '...And if the Mishar princes are not submitted to me (Grand Prince of Moscow.—*D.I.*), and you don't have either to accept them, or to keep them in your patrimony...' [Dukhovnye, 1950, pp. 86–114]. The same formula was repeated in the contractual letter of the Grand Princes of the same principalities, dated 1483: '...and as for our Mishar princes who live in Meshchera and under our hand, you are not to welcome them in your homeland; and should they manage to escape us, you are to be fair to take them for us and to return them to us' [Ibid., p. 127]. The latter document shows that even in the 1480s, the Moscow Grand Princes were forced to struggle against the Tatar nobility's right to leave the Kasimov Khanate to other Turkic-Tatar states, i.e. actually against a custom of replacing a suzerain. However, with preservation of the independent Tatar states, such right was impossible to completely liquidate. For example, in 1474 Ivan III spoke of the Khan of Kasim as follows: '...he has many uhlans, princes, and cossacks: many people come to serve him, and many of them leave him'. Thus, Prince Mardan, who resided in Mishar Yurt, then departed to Crimea and his right to depart raised no doubt in Mengli Giray, the Khan of Crimea—he wrote to Ivan III in his message: 'Shall Mardan want to go to you, and thus shall we let him go' (quoted from [Syroechkovskiy, 1940, p. 48]) Likewise, in 1481 Ivan III in his message to Mengli Giray, while addressing via him to Dovletek murza, son of Prince Imenek Shirin, wrote: '...and when you come to me... from us shalt thou go whence thou wilt, and once you saw our hospitality shalt thou go on thine accord, and no one of us shall keep you from it' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 28]. In his 'shert' before the Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasily Ioannovich (1508),

Abdyl Latif Khan also described the following situation: 'And you (i.e. the Grand Prince of Moscow.—*D.I.*) Tsarevich Yanay in Meshchera town and Tsarevich Sheikh Avliyar in Suri-ozhik... is with you in your lands... Also we will receive from you no Tatars, and you shall not receive none of my people but from the kin of the Shirin, and Baryn, and Arghyn, and Kipchak' [Ibid., p. 251]. In another 'shert' from the same Khan concerning his being granted the Town of Yuriev (1508), he assumed the following pledge: '...And if you accept Tsarevich Yanay in Meshchera town, and Tsarevich Sheikh Avliyar in Suri-ozhik, or if any other tsar or tsarevich arrive, ...I shall not receive their uhlans, nor their princes, nor their cossacks, although some of those uhlans, and princes and cossacks might fall from them, and go to the Horde, or to Kazan, or elsewhere, but shall these want to go to me, I...shall not accept them, and they shall not receive any of my people. ...And you shall not receive any of my people but from the kin of Shirin, and Baryn, and Arghyn, and Kipchak, and I shall not send my people to Kazan and the places of Kazan without letting you know of it...' [Malinovsky, p. 247]. Such transitions among the Tatar nobility together with their squads (the tributary people who pay 'yasak' had no right to do so) were of an institutional nature—the representatives of specific clans moved to the yurts of their kinsmen—and can be clearly seen from the epic Chora Batyr. According to this epic, spread among Kipchak-speaking nations, the protagonist called Chora (Chura) Batyr and his relatives from the Arghyn clan, moved 'from Kazan' to 'Crimea' and back again, and found themselves either in 'Khadzhi-Tarkhan' 'in the borough of Atil', or in 'Ak Kala region' near Syr Darya, or 'among the Bashkirs and Kazakhs' [Iskhakov, 19976, pp. 24–29]. In some versions of the dastan, 'on his way to Kazan', Chora Batyr met 'Kulunchak Batyr' with whom he moved further [Obraztsy, 1896, p. 183] Meanwhile, the princes of Kulunchak were known in the late 16–early 17th century within the territory of Mishar Yurt [The Tatars, 2001, p. 4] which is yet further proof of the Kasimov Khanate having been included into the system of institutional transitions of the representatives of the ruling clans, together with their men

(squads). A number of eloquent items of evidence in this respect can be found in historic sources, for instance, in Tatar dastans and historic lore that were recorded in Turkic-Tatar written sources. Thus, in the 'Chura Batyr' dastan, the protagonist Chura beg, an undoubtedly real person (murdered in the Kazan Khanate in 1546), while being a karachi beg from the Arghyn clan, arrived in Kazan from Crimea, or to Crimea from Kazan, and then returned, and stayed in the Dagestan Yurt on his way (it is likely a definition used in dastan for a part of the Nogai Horde) and in Khadzhi-Tarkhan, while he had also a relation to the lands of the Kazakhs, in which lands the nomadic groups of Arghyns still remained [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 71; 2002]. The Tatar chronicle *Fi Beyani Tarihi*, which included the historical oral tradition, preserved a plot about the sons of Abdullah, the ruler of Bulgar, Altun Bik and Ali Beg, known also from other sources, with a notice that 'the representatives of the kin of Altun Beg [and] Ali Bik are in Crimea... [and] When a khan in Kazan was needed, the Khan was summoned from Crimea' [Mustakimov, 2008, p. 157]. As the named persons actually belonged most likely to a noble Horde lineage of Kiyat [Iskhakov, 2009], then, in this case, we are dealing again with the institutional ties between the separate parts of a once-unified ethnosocial organism of Medieval Tatars that had broken up. Actually, what really remained uniform for the Turkic-Tatar states was the ethnic superstratum of the state-forming unities represented by the 'Tatars', despite the specific regional differences between the clans, while the system of karachi begs that had been established within the Ulus Jochi, still prevailed. This system allowed the nobles and their squads, formed quite often by their own clansmen, to move from one Tatar yurt to another, especially if a principality formerly led by a representative of one clan or another existed there. For examples please refer to: ([Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 105–107; Iskhakov, 1998]). Among other things, several Tatar chronicles on the aforementioned Altun Beg and Alim Bik who undoubtedly were historical figures, are mentioned in the pretext that once the former 'with the rest of his kinsmen kept his yurt in the city of Kazan', the latter 'loathed Kazan and came to Tobol-Tura. As he came there, he kept

(there) his yurt. The old Tobol-Tura was built by him' [Iskhakov, 2002, p. 14]. This legend, firstly, coincides with a mention in other sources of the Kiyats' departure from the Volga region [Utemish Hajji, 1992, p. 108] which obviously began during a trail of defeats of Mamay Beg who originated from that clan, and, secondly, it corresponds with the data concerning the presence of Shibanids in Bulgar wilayah [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 128] in the first third of the 15th century, the principal domain of which was in Western Siberia, and partially in Cisurals [Akhmedov, 1965]. It is evident that the claims of Shibanids for the territory of the Kazan Khanate in the second half of the 15th century, which resulted, as it is known, in a temporary enthronisation in Kazan in 1496 of Mamuq, the Shibanid Khan, date back not only to the times of Hajji Muhammad, the founder of the Tyumen Khanate (1420/21—1428/29(30)), and the ruler of nomadic Uzbeks Abu'l-Khayr Khan (1428/29–1468/69) who, as it is known from historic sources, held the Bulgar wilayahin their subordination [Iskhakov, 2002, p. 13], but to still earlier times, when the originator of the Shibanids—Shiban—among the Mongol troops participated in the conquest of Volga Bulgaria and, obviously, was granted some rights for this territory [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 69]. It should be particularly emphasized here that the territory of Ulus Jochi, and the territories of the late Golden Horde states were viewed by the Chinggisids as the collective property of the entire 'Golden Family' (Altyn uruk) of Chinggis Khan's descendants and, thus, the representatives of all branches of this kin could claim the rule in any late Golden Horde yurts. Thus it is not coincidental that we come across multiple cases of rule by the descendants of a specific branch of Chinggisids, first in one khanate, then in another. In fact, this was yet another institutional mechanism of maintaining the ethnic unity of the 'Tatars' in the late Golden-Horde political space, for the coming of the ruler from one yurt into another always entailed the transition of persons from a feudal class of Tatars. We may say that the Girays were followed from Crimea to Kasimov and Kazan Khanates by the Tatars [Iskhakov, 1998], and such movements are well known. Likewise, the departure of an entire group of Tatar nobles to the Tyumen Khanate

after 1487 [Iskhakov, 2002, pp. 37–38] is known. The reverse migration from the Tyumen Khanate to the Kazan Khanate was observed at approximately the same time [Ibid., pp. 47–51].

Finally, the unity of the Tatar world in the late Golden-Horde political space was also maintained by the common institution of sayyids that existed in all Turkic-Tatar states and was closely related to Yesevi tariqa since the times of Islamisation of the Ulus Jochi under Uzbek Khan [Iskhakov, 2011]. Although an issue of affinity between the supreme sayyids of the Khanate has still not been studied sufficiently, the sources revealed to date allow us to assume the existence thereof (for more information refer to: [Iskhakov, 2011]). It is most prominent in one of the published versions of genealogy of the Shakulov kin, the descendants of the Kasimov sayyids. This genealogy, in particular, says: "...the kin of Shakhbay sayyid dwelled in the Bulgar wilayah, in Khan Kirman (i.e. in Kasimov.—*D.I.*), in Khadzhi-Tarkhan and in the Volga Region'; 'the kin of Shahkhan sayyid ... in the Crimean wilayah, near Kuban and in Dagestan'. At the same time, this document contains a reference that these two sayyids were brothers [Ähmätcanov, 1995]. Thus, the Muslim structures in a number of Khanates were controlled by the descendants of one family line, dating back to the Prophet Mohammed. In their turn, these Muslim institutions were connected with specific tariqas.

Now, let us turn to a more detailed consideration of the contacts between the Tatar ethnic and political communities in the 15–16th centuries. It must be stipulated in advance that despite this problem being further analysed as per separate Khanates, as these were extremely closely related to each other, the material presented here partially extends beyond the limits of these Khanates, thus reflecting the supranational nature of ethnic and political cooperation between the said formations.

Kazan Khanate. In 1494, the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III received a message from the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray in which a possibility of enthronement of Sultan Abdyl Latif was discussed. With this, the khan wrote: '... You should appoint Mamysh Baryn to assist Abdyl Latif, he would teach him good tradi-

tions and help him gather the taxes' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 211]. The document referred to the transition of Mamysh murza of the Baryn clan from the Crimean Khanate to Kazan Khanate. Soon Abdyl Latif was enthroned in Kazan, having thus possibly accomplished the above mentioned item of the message from Crimea. In any event, several pieces of data for 1516–1517 witness in favor of such assumptions. Thus, in 1516 the Crimean Khan addressed Vasily Ivanovich in Moscow with a request to let 'the Tsar Abdyl Latif go visit his brother again in Kazan, who was afflicted by a grave ailment, so that the dwellers of Kazan could not adopt someone of the tsareviches of Astrakhan as a ruler upon his death' [Malinovsky, p. 158]. The next message of the Crimean Khan to Moscow (dd. 1517) regarding the same request contained several certain ideas in relation to the conveyance of the Khan Abdyl Latif to Kazan: "...the only one will be accepted in Kazan (be the Khan—*D.I.*), is Baryn or Kipchak. Apak spoke of Memesh murza, and of Osan murza, and of Avleyar murza' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 500]. Considering the fact that Prince Apak (Appak) of Crimea belonged to the Kipchak clan [The Tatars, 2001, p. 126], it should be easy to understand that this document revealed a mechanism of institutional location within the yurts—the principalities of the Kazan Khanate (Memesh murza here is clearly the Mamysh of the Baryn clan who was mentioned before).

Crimea attentively monitored the destinies of individual members of clans that ruled the Khanate, even after their departure to other states. For instance, as Shirin Begish and his son Utesh were outside the Kazan Khanate in 1487 (this will be described afterwards), Ivan III, at the request of Muhammad Amin, his protégé, lured the former two into his lands [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 131]. But even years and years after that, the Khan Mengli Giray, in his message to Moscow (1509), still mentioned: '...Utesh, the son of Shirin Begish, is my, your brother tsar's, karach and serf, ... you ordered to capture him; ...and you should honor him, but he should not be with you, but here, among us, even if he shall take no big post here while he must

not, but still, he will be honored here, with his ulus and people; my son Bakhtyyar Mirza (Shirin—*D.I.*) as a head, and other mirzas interceding for him' [Ibid., p. 131; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 73].

Together with the Crimean princes who took the Kazan throne after the suppression of Ulugh Muhammad's dynasty, a significant number of Tatar nobility moved from Crimea. In 1521, the Moscow observers in Azov informed: '...past us went the Kazan Tatars to the Tsar (i.e. the Crimean Khan—*D.I.*), to ask for a prince to rule in Kazan, and the Tsar gave them a prince for Kazan (it was Sahib Giray—*D.I.*)..., and with them, 300 people moved, and Meretyak murza likewise' [Ibid., p. 678]. The History of Kazan also refers to the coming of Sahib Giray and 'many Crimean uhlans, princes, and murzas' [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 65] to Kazan. These 'Crimeans' later became a sustainable factor in the Kazan Khanate. As early as in 1531, when the Kazan Khan Safa Giray of the Giray dynasty was 'expelled from Kazan', together with him 'the tsar's councilors, Crimeans and Nogais' were partially 'expelled' and partially 'slain' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 57; Malinovsky, p. 206]. But even after that the 'Crimeans' still were present in the Khanate, and their position was especially solid in the years of the consequent rule of Safa Giray (1536–1546, 1546–1549). Describing the situation in the Kazan Khanate after 1536, Nogai nobles reported to Moscow: '...and at that time the Tsar Safa Giray came, with a few men, and the following year he brought many men, hungry and naked, from Crimea' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, pp. 269–274]. This information is confirmed by the Patriarch's (Nikon) chronicle, which states, under the date of 1541: '...the people of Kazan suffer badly from the Tsar (Safa Giray—*D.I.*)..., he took away the yasaks of many princes, and gave those to the Crimeans; for the common people is a great loss: he collects the exchequer, and sends it to Crimea' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 134]. The same chronicle states later (1546): '...the Kazan people expelled Safa Giray from Kazan, and many Crimean men were slain' [Ibid., p. 447]. The same year, khan Safa Giray reclaimed the throne

of Kazan, and the 'Crimeans' appeared in the khanate in considerable numbers: this was the time when an indication of the khan's 'slaying' of many representatives of the nobility and having become 'the Lord of Kazan, and the Crimean princes with him' [Ibid., p. 149] appeared in the Russian chronicles. In 1549, Robey, son of the prince Bulat, beklaribek of Shirin, as well as several other princes of the Kazan Khanate, stated: '...we have united with the Crimeans, and are not free to fall away from them' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, p. 216]. This attitude of part of the Kazan nobility was due to the fact that they originated from the clans of Shirin and Manghit, i.e. of the clans which at that time were also the strongest in the Crimean Khanate. After the death of Khan Safa Giray (1549), 'the kingdom of Kazan' was given to an underage Utemesh Giray Khan, again by the 'Kazan people and the Crimeans' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 459]. As the author of The History of Kazan wrote, the 'Crimeans and the Nagais' joined the Crimean Sultan, who was a favorite of the Tsarina Süyümbike, regent of the underage Khan [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 91]. In 1551, a 'discord' sprang up between the 'Crimeans' and the 'Kazan people', and 'the Chuvashes of Arsk fought against the Crimeans'. Although the Crimeans won that battle, they decided to leave Kazan: '...the Crimeans ... 300 men, the uhlans, and the princes, and azeys, and the murzas, and the fine cossacks, without their wives and children...have fled' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 166]. As it can be seen from this record, the number of the Crimeans greatly exceeded 300 persons. Their total number, which included their 'men', can be found in The History of Kazan, which tells the story of the Crimeans' escape in more detail: Koschak Ulhan was released 'fairly' by the Kazan people, and when he 'joined with the Crimean barbarians', they amounted to 5000 men. When Russian troops overtook the fugitives on the portage between the Volga and the Don they 'beat' the fugitives, and captured 300 'good' people (including Koschak, 7 princes and 12 murzas) [The History of Kazan, 1954, pp. 93–94].

Generally speaking, the contacts between

the Kazan and the Crimean Khanate were very multifaceted. The sources preserved unique information on this subject. In particular, the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray in 1508 wrote to Moscow, indicating that the Kazan Khan Muhammad Amin sent to him 'his man Abdyla, to ask for a leopard, he lived with us for a year, and at that time... the leopard was not found... now he was again sent to the Tsar of Kazan... together with our man' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 30]. In another message from the Crimean Khan Saadat Giray (1526), there was a request addressed to the Grand Prince of Moscow to 'let Usein Sayyid visit Safa Giray in Kazan and to take some books out there' [Malinovsky, p. 196]. The sayyid mentioned here was obviously the same Shausein Sayyid referred to in the message of the Russian envoy from Crimea, dated 1524. This message stated that Shausein Sayyid who broke his vow before Moscow was forced to flee to Crimea and 'allegedly married in Crimea' [Dunayev, 1916, p. 62; Iskhakov, 1997, pp. 26–27]. Natives of the Kazan Khanate in Crimea were noticed in the second half of the 16th century: during the 'duma' of the nobility of the Crimean Khanate held in 1564, two 'Kazan people' took part in it—Yamgurchi Azi and Ahmet Uhlan [Novoselsky, 1948, p. 20].

Similarly, the group of nobles and their people moved between the Kazan and Kasimov Khanates. As early as during the first reign of the Kasimov Prince Shah Ali in the Kazan Khanate (1519–1521), many Tatars came with him from the Mishar Yurt, since during his expulsion in 1521 from Kazan, according to The History of Kazan, 300 'barbarians, his servants', could leave with him, and 5000 were killed [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 65]. Even if we assume that the last figure may be overstatement, we should believe that the total number of people of Shah Ali, who came with him to the Kazan Khanate, was still quite significant. The consequent short-lived sitting of the Khan Shah Ali on the Kazan throne in 1546 was accompanied by the arrival of 100 of his princes and murzas with him [Ibid., pp. 64–65]. Shortly before his last reign in the Kazan Khanate (1551–1552), before the Khan's entering Kazan, the people of Shah Ali were sent there: a Shabas butler

Prince Shamov and a equerry Prince Bitekey 'along with all his koshma (camp)' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 168, 171]. This finding is confirmed by the further reference to the presence of the 'yesaul of Gorodets Muraley Mirza' among the envoys of the Khan Shah Ali in Moscow (1552) [Ibid.], which together with the expression 'kosh' indicates a military detachment of cossacks. And in a message about the departure of the Khan Shah Ali from the city of Kazan that happened that same year, many 'princes and mirzas, of Kazan and Gorodets' are mentioned [Ibid., p. 174]. The following year, in Kazan, another 'Prince of Gorodets', Kutlubulat, was mentioned [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, p. 143].

The reverse migration from Kazan to Mishar Yurt also took place. As a typical example of this kind should be seen in the attempt in 1546 to leave to Shah Ali—to the Kasimov Khanate—of Prince Chura Narykov from the clan of Arghyn (a historical prototype of Chura Batyr) with 1000 people, 500 of whom were his 'serving slaves' [The History of Kazan, 1954, pp. 80–82]. When many noble Tatars fled from Khan Safa Giray, the departure to the territories controlled by Moscow was very characteristic for a period of internal strife in the Kazan Khanate in the 1540s: in this period, Ivan IV held 300 'uhlands, and princes, and the murzas, and cossacks' from Kazan [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 149, 172, 174, 450, 472, 474; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793 pp. 144–146, 162–164, 210, 214–215]. Many fugitives could find refuge in the Kasimov Khanate—no wonder that the separate documents concerning the lands of the Mishar Yurt in this period mention the representatives of the Kazan nobility [for example, 'the Kazan Prince Malish's son', who owned one of the Mordovian 'beliak' (i.e. beylik—the district) [Safargaliev, 1963, p. 75].

There is no doubt that the relationship between the Kazan Khanate and the Nogai Horde was built upon an institutional basis—the presence of the representatives of the Manghit clan which controlled the Manghit Yurt in the Khanate [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 16–31]. As early as in 1490, Prince Kanymet, the brother of Ityak,

mentioned in 1496 among the 'Kazan princes', appeared in the warrior host of the Kazan Khan Muhammad Amin which sent in alliance with Moscow to fight against the Great Horde [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1894, p. 116; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 1965, p. 248; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28, 1963, p. 328]. According to some sources, the Prince Kanymet (Kalimet' Qulahmet) and his brother Ityak (Idyak) were the children of the Prince of the Nogai Horde Musa, who died between 1502 and 1507 [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 27–28]. In 1503, the name of 'Mustafar Mangit', 'his own prince' of the Khan Muhammad Amin appears in the chronicles [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 504]. Nursultan who was successively a wife of the Kazan khans Khalil (died in 1467), his brother Ibrahim (died in 1479) and the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray, was the daughter of Prince Temir from the clan of Manghit, who was a beklaribek in the Great Horde [Ibid., p. 54; Malinovsky, p. 53; Khudyakov, 1990, p. 35]. Her brother, Prince Usein, resided in Crimea until 1515, then moved to the Kazan Khanate; in any case, in 1538 the Prince Usein was known there, he was called 'his own man' of the Khan Safa Giray [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 50; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 122]. In 1553, some Russian chronicles mention the son of this prince, Kamai murza [Ibid.; Iskhakov, 1998, p. 28]. A chronicle entry about the 'Badraks who live in Kazan' dates back to 1549 [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, p. 146]. Meanwhile, in the Crimean Tatar version of the epic 'Edigu', this term is used to refer to the descendants of Edigu, i.e. Manghit nobility [Krymtatar, 1991, p. 43; Iskhakov, 1998, p. 28]. It is not by accident that the ruler of the Nogai Horde Prince Yusuf stated in 1549: 'And now in Kazan, there is my daughter there, and my tribe is there' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, p. 205]. In 1552, together with the khan Edigur-Muhammed, "Zeinesh, the Nogai prince" was in the Kazan Khanate, and the latter with "all Nagais", whose numbers reached 3000 [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 150], participated in the defense of the city of Kazan [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 202,

212, 498; Iskhakov, 1998, p. 21]. It is most likely that the last wave of arrival of the Nogais to the Kazan Khanate shortly before its fall initiated the numerous requests from Nogai nobility to Ivan IV in the 1550s and 1560s concerning the return of their own men to the Nogai Horde who still remained in the conquered territories of the Khanate [Ibid., p. 28]. All these data suggest the presence of a significant group of the Manghit nobles and their men within the Kazan Khanate.

The Kasimov Khanate. In the 15th century, the earliest mention of the arrival of a Turkic group from outside to Meshchera refers to a report on the resettlement of Sultan Kasim with his princes and people (there could have been up to 500 people—[Library, 1836, p. 106]). Apparently, it was a part of the Horde of Khan Ulugh Muhammad, a core group of which was consolidated in the Kazan Khanate. Later, during the reign of the Girays (1486–1512), the Kasimov Khanate was in intensive contact with the Crimean Khanate (see above). In addition to the above data, there are also other materials on this subject. Thus, in 1483 Kara Khoja Prince died in the Kasimov Khanate [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 89]. This name matches the name of the head of the clan of Arghyns in the Crimean Khanate [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 50]. One of the ancestors of Chura Batyr bore the same name. Due to the fact that the epic Chura (Chora) Batyr had relatives in the Mishar Yurt, and given the coincidence of names and lifetimes of Chora's ancestor and the historical Kara Khoja, the latter should be regarded as the prince of the Arghyn clan who bore a certain relation to the Crimean Khanate. From the time of the rule of the Girays in the Kasimov Khanate, it was perceived by the nobility of the Crimean Khanate as their own yurt. When, for example, in about 1512 or a little earlier, the Kasimov throne was given to a native of the Great Horde, Sultan Sheikh Avliyar by the will of the Great Prince of Moscow, the Crimean nobility voiced its disagreement with this act. The letter of Shirin Bakhtiyar murza to Moscow (1515–1516) stated: '...you know yourself (Great Prince Vasily—*D.I.*)..., the Mishar Yurt, which belongs to my Lord Tsar... was given (by Vasily) to the tsarevich from Namogan Yurt (within the Great Horde—*D.I.*)... do you think it will be acceptable?' [Collection of the

Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 251]. The same is referred to by the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray (1516): '...to our foe, the prince Sheikh Avliyar, the Mishar Yurt was given' [Ibid., p. 296]. The same year, in his message to Moscow, he justified his dissatisfaction in considerably more detail: '...the princes, and particularly those of Shirin (the Shirins were also the beklaribeks in the Kasimov Khanate—*D.I.*) and the murzas do not agree to vow before the Great Prince, while Shah Ali, the kinsman of the kings of the Horde, was made a ruler of Meshchera town, which formerly belonged to Crimea [Malinovsky, p. 158]. Two years later (in 1518), the Crimean Khan once again wrote to Moscow: '...the royal family is gravely offended by the presence of Shah Ali, the son of Shah Avliyar in Russia, who owns the appanage and the people formerly owned by the Tsar Nurdovlat' [Ibid., p. 164]. The relocations of the population between the Crimean and the Kasimov Khanates during the reign of the Girays in Mishar Yurt are expressly stated in the message of Muhammad Giray (1517): '...once that our kin was in Meshchera, ...the people of Meshchera came to our service, and from us people went to Meshchera' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 377–378]. There would have been more than enough grounds to make such an assertion, as has already been mentioned. Nevertheless, more information on this subject should be demonstrated. Ivan III wrote to Crimea: '... This year, the Prince Azika (of the Manghit clan—*D.I.*) sent to me his relative, Kambar, son of Mamalay' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 385]. In 1506, this murza was already with the 'Gorodets Tatars' [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 201]. In 1504, the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray wrote to Moscow that 'the dead Nurdovlat Tsar's... elder wife Kouratya, the daughter of Madyk... should be sent' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 544]. This evidently referred to the daughter of Yemadyk, the prince of the clan Khongirad, because it is known from another source that his wife and children dwelled 'in Meshchera' [Ibid., p. 529]. In 1502, the Crimean Khan informed Ivan III, that 'Manghit Udem Mirza's son went to the town (Meshchera—*D.I.*), and now thinks to come here... and Udem... lives with me' [Ibid.,

p. 421]. In 1509, a message to the Grand Prince of Moscow from Crimea requested that he released a certain Kazi Mansyr '...to the tsarevich in town' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 68]. The cemetery of Kasimov town is where Djikhansha murza Suleshev, who left Crimea in 1590 'for Russia', was buried in 1600. On another tombstone the name of Habit murza Suleshev could be read. These Suleshevs originated from the Yabak Bey Kudalak, who 'migrated to Crimea under the order from Nogai' [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 217]. The documents show that even in the early 17th century, the Crimean ambassadors could petition for individual representatives of the Shirin clan who were in Meshchera [Ibid., p. 196]. Therefore, contacts with Crimea still remained.

Natives of the Nogai Horde penetrated the Kasimov Khanate as well. For example, the message of the prince of the Nogai Horde Sheydyak to Ivan III (not later than 1505) contained a letter of Uraza Berdiy to his son Esen Berdiy, who lived in the lands of Prince Munmysh in Meshchera [Scherbatov, 1786, p. 488]. Half a century later another Nogai prince, Ismail (1553), refers to Ivan IV concerning 'Elair Kaybullin, the younger brother of Prince Koshkaydar' (i.e. the members of the clan Djalair—*D.I.*), who dwelled on the territory of Dervish Khan [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, pp. 113, 281, 287]. In 1556, the Nogai prince again addressed Ivan IV with a request to let two Nogai murzas from the clan of Cathay (China)—Semen (Sain) and Chomash, son of Kochman murza, visit him. The former of these was definitely in Meshchera [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 289]. The same year, Arslan murza of the Nogai Horde, asked Ivan IV to send him 'the old Bahteyar's wife, Devlet Soltan is her name', who lived in the settlement of Azevevo (vicinity of the town of Kasimov—*D.I.*), 'and also, in the tsar's town, there is a daughter of Ustabegishev Abyz Yanguvat, her name is Karakiz' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 295]. Evidently, the requested women were Nogai women. In 1559, Ivan IV wrote to five Nogai murzas and proposed them to serve him by promising to give them 'lands on the edge, in Meshchera' in return' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795, p. 49]. In

1562, the Nogai Prince Ismail wrote to Ivan IV: '...Tsarevich Bekbulat (in the Kasimov Khanate.—*D.I.*) keeps my lad Karakiz, the son of Khozyagul'. Then he tells the addressee that Saltan Gazi, the son of Koshum murza, visited him and asked to send them both to the Nogai Horde [Ibid., pp. 262, 268]. In 1560, he again asked Ivan IV to release 'the wife of Asanak Mirza', that was held by Khan Shah Ali [Ibid., p. 131]. In 1564, the prince asked again Ivan IV to let 'the son of Khuday Bateshev, Aziy Utemish, held by Shah Ali Tsar' go to the Nogai Horde [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1801, p. 181]. There is a record on Arzamas uyezd, dated 1595, about Aydes murza Saltaganov, whose father was Saltagan Mustafin, likely one of those five murzas invited by Ivan IV [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795, p. 99, 111, 156; Arzamasskye, 1915, no. 442]. Generally, in the second half of the 16th century there was considerably more information about Nogai murzas serving the Moscow ruler. They had come back to the Nogai Horde and got back to service several times staying, likely, with Khan Shah Ali, in Mishar Yurt [Ibid., pp. 45–46, 49, 110, 113, 156, 166, 177, 224, 227, 243, 255; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1801, p. 101, 145; Iskhakov, 1998, p. 217]. For this reason, it is no wonder that even in the first quarter of the 17th century the Kasimov Tatars had relatives in Astrakhan and its uyezd. For instance, in 1622 a Russian voivode (military commander) saw a suspicious Tatar, dressed in 'Nogai dress', in a palace of the Kasimov Khan Araslan. It was discovered that he was living in Kasimov at the court of Yan Magmet Dzhanyayev, whose uncle the Nogai murza Abdul Tenikeyev was also living in Kasimov as well. The Tatar, whose mother was also living in Kasimov, was sent by Yan Magmet murza to go with his uncle to Astrakhan, 'to the tsar's aunt', who lived in 'Astrakhan Yurts beyond murza' [Shishkin, 1891, p. 62]. This fact fits well into the generic range of information, showing that many owners of the Mishar Yurt were married to Nogai princesses [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 166; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795, pp. 93, 279]. For this reason, nationals of the Nogai Horde were concentrated in the courts of khans and sultans of the Mis-

har Yurt. For instance, in his charter to Ivan IV (1555), Kasay murza of the Nogai Horde asked the Moscow ruler to release 'the wife Syuyumbike, Bozum Princess, wife of Akmagmet uhlan, tsar's servant Sultangul,...our servant Yavgacht, the son of Karaduvanov' and let them go to the Horde [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 172].

It is also worth noting a charter, dated 1539, which contains information about 'Tatars from Tarkhans and Bashkirs' within the territory of Meshchera. The Turkic congeneric groups, controlled by the Manghit nobility, likely should be seen by this. For instance, traces of the Tabyns, (Irektins) who had come from Western Siberia and will be reviewed below, are observed between them [The Tatars, 2001, p. 131]. In the last quarter of the 16th century, noble Tatars from the Siberian Khanate found themselves in the Kasimov Khanate: in 1582 a close relative of Kuchum Khan—Sultan Mametkul—was captured by Russians and as a result found himself in the Kasimov Khanate in 1586. Sultan Mametkul, known as the 'Siberian Tsarevich', died in 1618 in Kasimov [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, pp. 3, 47]. In 1588, together with the 'Tsarevich of the Cossack Horde' Sultan Uraz Muhammad, 'Karacha Dumnoy' Qadir Ali Bek was captured by the Russians in the Siberian Khanate. He was from the Djalair tribe. The 'Siberian Prince' Seydyak was captured together with them. They were all sent to Moscow. The fact that in 1600 Uraz Muhammad was enthroned as khan in Kasimov, including the involvement of Qadir Ali Bek, shows that they had settled in the Mishar Yurt [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, 1987, pp. 35, 59, 64; Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 100]. In 1598, Khan Kuchum's grandson Sultan Arslan and members of Kuchum's family were captured by the Russians and also sent to Kasimov, where in 1614 Arslan became the ruler of the town of Meshchera [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, pp. 2–3, 14–16].

The Astrakhan Khanate. The territory of the future Astrakhan Khanate was not completely separated from the Great Horde until 1466 [Safargaliyev, 1960, pp. 264–265]. For this reason, the earliest records of relations of the Kazan Khanate with the Tatar population of the Lower Volga region, dated to the 1440s, should be ap-

plied to the entire community which was within the Great Horde, even though there is a separate reference to Astrakhan and its surroundings. In this case, it is folkloric data that is referred to, according to which the third son of Khan Ulugh Muhammad, Yakub, after his father's death, 'together with his Horde' left 'Kazan and went down the Volga', where he joined 'the Astrakhan Khan' and settled in 'Astrakhan and its surroundings'. According to the legend, the group which had gone together with Yakub, was later named 'Kara Nogai' [Bulatov, 1974, p. 189]. As the matter in question is Yurt Tatars, their other name is 'Karile Nugailars',—the mentioned folkloric data do deserve attention. First of all, because, despite information inconsistency about Sultan Yakub (see, for example: [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 53]), when he arrived in Meshchera in 1446 together with Sultan Kasim, he came up 'from Cherkas' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 72], i.e. from a location in the immediate vicinity of the Lower Volga region. Besides, Yakub is not mentioned later in the Kasimov Khanate, and that leaves room to conclude that he might have returned to the southern regions. One must also consider that a part of Ulugh Muhammad Khan's Horde, headed by one of his sons in 1444, was still living in the steppe regions. While a son of this khan—Murtaza, well-known in 1472, came to Russian service from somewhere in the south, perhaps, from the Astrakhan Khanate or the Great Horde. Incidentally, the group of 'Alatsky Nogais' that at some point was ruled by Sultan Mustafa, was also known in the Kazan Khanate [The Tatars, 2001, p. 132]. For this reason, the statement of the author of The History of Kazan about the rallying of nationals from different 'countries', among which he mentions 'Astorokhan' as well, around Ulugh Muhammad khan is hardly accidental [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 53].

In 1502, after the rout of the Great Horde, one khan of the Horde, Sheikh Avliyar, began serving for the Russian military. But he came 'from Astrakhan'. His sons (Shah Ali and Yan Ali) later ruled both the Kasimov and Kazan Khanates [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 26]. The ruling houses of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates were also bound by matrimonial ties—one wife of the Kazan Khan Safa Giray, as mentioned be-

fore, was an Astrakhan princess [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 83]. The contacts between two states are also mentioned in a message about Seyyid Mansur, dated 1545: '...from Astrakhan arrived (to Kazan.—*D.I.*) Mansir Seyyid. And several days after that Safagiray Tsar with... seyyid fled to Astrakhan. They got troops from the Astrakhan Tsar and the Tsarevich, and occupied Kazan' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, pp. 271–272].

In 1552, as mentioned before, the Astrakhan Tsarevich, Yadiger Muhammad, was invited to the Kazan throne. It appears that there were earlier attempts to enthrone Astrakhan sultans in Kazan (see message of the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray, dated 1516). Sultan Yadiger Muhammad, on the day before his arrival in Kazan, was in the Nogai Horde [Khudyakov, 1990, p. 112]. He arrived in the Kazan Khanate with a group of between 200 to 500 people [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 33; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 179]. However, the History of Kazan, likely with exaggeration, stated that then 'from the Nogai land... 10,000 barbarian nomads came to Kazan' [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 112]. However, as mentioned before, there is a grain of truth in the message—a reasonably large number of Nogais had moved to the Kazan Khanate with Sultan Yagider Muhammad; there might have been up to 3,000 people [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 21–22, 26].

The Tyumen (Siberian) Khanate. Ethnopolitical contacts between the predecessor of the Kazan Khanate, Bulgar wilayah, and the predecessor of the Tyumen Khanate, 'Chimgi-Tura wilayah' already existed in the earlier decades of the 15th century. Based upon the work of 16th century historian Ötemish Hajii, they were described by A.-Z. Validi Togan. He believed that the founder of the Tyumen Khanate Hajii Muhammad (ruled from 1420/21 to 1428/29 or 1430) together with other territories had also ruled 'Alatyr, Moksha and the town of Bulgar with surroundings' [Väliidi, 1994, pp. 24–26]. This information is suddenly backed up by other sources, from which it appears that at the beginning of his rule, Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the ruler of the State of nomadic Uzbeks, that had also conquered the Chimgi-Tura wilayah, was

ruling the lands 'on the right bank of the river Volga, including up till Bulgar and Derbent'. For this reason, the 'Nusrat-name' states that: '...residents of Zhanga (Chinga~Chimga)—Tura and Bulgar... were paying tributes to the Khan's treasury' [Akhmedov, 1965, pp. 71, 94].

The contacts of the same period are also mentioned in a half-legendary form in so-called 'chronicles', preserved among Tatars of the Volga-Ural region. One of their copies tells that 'Mir Timur (i.e. Amir Timur.—*D.I.*) came and, had conquered the city of Bulgar, ravaged (it)'. At that time, one of the sons of the ruler of Bulgar, Abdullah (Gabdulah) Khan—Altun Bik, 'with the rest of his people kept a yurt in the city of Kazan'. While his brother—Alim Beg, 'didn't like Kazan and moved to Tobol-Tura. As he came there, he kept (there) his yurt. The Old Tobol-Tura was built by him' [Rahim, p. 70].

In the second half of the 15th century, especially starting from the 1480s, we again can see intensive cooperation picking up between the Tyumen and Kazan Khanates. Trade relations between them are confirmed by notes of Russian chronicles. The Patriarch's (Nikon) Chronicle, dated 1475, states the following: '... the Kazan Tatars beat 40 Ustyug people on the River Kama while going to trade to Tyumen' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 1965, p. 158]. Six years later, an entry appeared in Russian chronicles (dated 1481) about Ustyug people, fighting near Cherdyn: 'they were going to the River Kama and came across guests and Tyumen Tatars', whom they 'plundered' or 'flogged' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, p. 95]; Documents on the History of Komi, 1958, p. 263]. Apparently, Tatar traders that were going either from the Tyumen to Kazan Khanates or vice versa, are meant here. It is noteworthy, that one of the eastern gates of Kazan during the khanate period was named the 'Tyumen Gate', which also sheds light on the relations of the two ethnopolitical formations.

It would be appropriate to think that legends of Siberian Tatars had certain foundations. Indeed, Shibanid Ibrahim Khan in the 1480s—early 1490s was conducting active military campaigns in the Volga region (in particular, his involvement into the rout of the Golden Horde

in 1481 is known), including campaigns against the Kazan Khanate [Malinovksy, p. 223]. In turn, the intensification of military campaigns of Shibanids in the Volga region was related to the events of 1487, when, supported by Russian troops, Muhammad Amin was enthroned in Kazan, while followers of the former khan, 'Tsar Ilham people', had to flee to the Nogai Horde. From there, part of them left for the Tyumen Khanate as well. Yamgurcha murza from the Nogai Horde wrote the following to Ivan III (1491) about the latter: '... You are asking about Algazi: I did not see Algazi, he had gone to Tyumen together with Ibrahim Tsar,... he lives with Ibrahim Tsar in Tyumen' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 94]. Meanwhile, Prince Algazi, who is also mentioned in some Russian chronicles (see: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, pp. 50, 96]), was a rather significant political figure in the Kazan Khanate. For this reason, the Tyumen Khan Ibrahim, having around himself a group of Kazan nobles, was trying to intervene in Kazan's affairs. For instance, in 1489 he sent a note to Ivan III which stated: '...My brother Alegam Tsar... is in your hands,...let him go to me. If you don't want him to come to me, let him go to his patrimony' [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 19]. He sent one more message with the same content to Moscow in 1493 [Ibid., p. 47]. The answer of Ivan III to the first note (1489) proves that the Tyumen Khan had Kazan people with him: '... Alkazi and Tevekkel Seyyid, and Kasim, and Begish with Utesh (the last two were Shirins.—*D.I.*) and other their friends, and those people are kept by Ivak Tsar..., mirzas,... were fighting against Muhammad Amin Tsar's and our land' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 84]. It is known that Shibanid Khan Ibrahim had close relations with the Nogai Horde and after a rash of joint attacks on the Kazan Khanate (in 1490 and 1491), in 1493, he found himself in 'his father's yurt, on the river Volga'. From there he sent a missive to Ivan III with a request to release the former Kazan Khan Ilham (Aleham) [Ambassadorial books, 1995, p. 46].

Finally, with the support of Nogais in 1496, Shibanid Mamuq—brother of Tyumen Khan Ibrahim—was enthroned in Kazan [Complete

Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 242–243]. After a short stay, Mamuq Khan had to leave the Kazan Khanate and apparently died on the way. He did not leave alone, but with a group of Kazan nobles, which is proved by the note of Kazan Khan Abdyl Latif (1499). He wrote that 'Agalak Tsarevich, brother of Mamuq, and Urak Prince of Kazan princes were starting a military campaign against him' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 1965, p. 250]. The latter, being a beklaribek, was mentioned in the Kazan Khanate in 1489 and 1496 [Ibid., p. 243; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, pp. 50, 96]. Apparently, the Nogais were also involved in the 1499 campaign, as a year later the Russian chronicles tell that 'near the city of Kazan... the Nogai Tatars... with many people' came [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 1965, p. 253]. Several years later—in 1505 or 1506 'the Tyumen' troops of Kuluk Sultan, son of Mamuq Khan, were fighting near Cherdyn, coming up to the River Sylva [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37, 1982, p. 99; Documents on the History of Komi, 1958, p. 264]. Meanwhile, the area around the River Sylva was already a part of the Kazan Khanate.

However, the last quarter of the 15th century was marked also by a reverse movement from the Tyumen to Kazan Khanate. On the basis of well-documented information, it was already shown that at that time a large group of representatives of the Tabyn tribe, who, after the migration were called Irektins, had migrated to the North-western Cisurals and from there to the central regions of the Kazan Khanate. This group, that prior to migration was living in the Tobol and Irtysh river basin, later became a part of the Kazan Tatars and Bashkirs [The Tatars, 2001, p. 134].

From the work of G. Miller, a story related to Kuchum Khan is worth noting. He, referring to the 'Remezov Chronicle', writes that Kuchum Khan 'two years after his arrival (to Siberia.—*D.I.*) went to Kazan, married the daughter of Murat Khan and together with her took a large number of Russian and Chuvash prisoners of war'. Later, referring to the same chronicle, he says that Kuchum 'took to Siberia many cler-

gy from Kazan' [Miller, 1999, pp. 197, 199]. G. Miller, meaning that Kuchum completely consolidated his power in the Siberian Khanate only in 1563, even though he started his military campaign against Taybugid Prince Yadegar ('Siberian prince') back in 1556–1557, pointed at the anachronism of the note: by 1563 there were no khans left in Kazan for sure. For this reason, the author made an assumption that Murat could have been just one of a number of candidates for the Kazan throne [Ibid., p. 197]. Thinking over this point from the 'Remezov Chronicle', we should note that Kuchum could have married even before the fall of the Kazan Khanate, when he was a sultan. This might be possible for one further reason: the elder wife of the Kazan Khan Safa Giray was a daughter of the Siberian Khan [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 83]. Hence, the conclusion: it is indeed possible that people from the Kazan Khanate, including Muslim clergy, could have settled in the Siberian Khanate at the time of Kuchum's rule. Especially since one of the handwritten Tatar 'chronicles' contains information about the migration of Kazan Tatars after 1552 toward Kazakhstan: 'to escape from Russians, fled in different directions... Many people migrated to the rivers Dzhim and Guan. Integrated with Kyrgyz people' [The History of Tatarstan, 1937, p. 123]. In this case, the term 'Kyrgyz people' probably means Kazakhs. This migration direction of Tatars was also indirectly mentioned in the note of Ivan IV to Ismail, the Prince of the Nogai Horde (1556): '...Some Kazan fugitives will come to you or they will tell you something... and you should say they be beaten and not allow to live' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 217]. Since Kuchum had arrived in the Siberian Khanate 'from the Cossack Horde' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 36, 1987, p. 48], some fugitives from the Kazan Khanate might have joined Kuchum long before his arrival in Siberia. At any rate, information about Kuchum Khan's 'Chuvash prisoners of war' is also confirmed by data about the defence of Kuchum Khan at a place called 'Chuvash-tura' [Ibid., p. 52–53]. Meanwhile, in Russian sources of the second half of the 16th century, the term 'Chuvashes' was used to name part of the Kazan Tatars.

The Siberian Khanate had enhanced its ac-

tivities in Cisurals after the fall of the Kazan Khanate. The 'Vichegodsko-Vimskaya chronicle', dated 1573, tells that 'Mametkul, the son of the Siberian Tsar, had gone with his army to the Great Perm' [Documents on the History of Komi, 1958, p. 266]. According to some other data, the sultan, who was fighting near 'Chusovsky townlets', found himself on the former territory of the Kazan Khanate—in the interfluvium of the Sylva and Iren rivers [Siberian Chronicles, 1821, p. 11]. Such campaigns had happened before. For instance, the Stroganovs, trying to justify the need to build Chusovsky, Sylvinsky and Yayvinsky townlets, as early as the 1568–1570s, mentioned that it was needed for defence from 'Siberian and Nogai people' [Ibid., pp. 6–7]. In fact, in 1581 'the Siberian Tsar (i.e. Kuchum Khan.—*D.I.*) together with Vogulichi and Yugortsy went to the Great Perm, Sylvinsky and Chusovsky townlets, plundered Stroganov's patrimonies' [Documents on the History of Komi, 1958, p. 267]. Indeed, Russian authorities, trying to prove to the Nogais the need to build the city of Ufa in 1586, put forward the following argument: '...Kuchum Tsar, a fugitive from Siberia, arrived to state patrimony, the Kazan uyezd, to Bashkirs (i.e. this is about the former territory of the Kazan Khanate.—*D.I.*), taught them to lead a nomadic life and collect yasak...' [Pekarsky, 1872, p. 20]. It is hardly possible that campaigns of the Siberian Khanate troops passed off without consequence—components, common with Siberian Tatars, were found in the ethnic composition of the Turkic population at the sites of their campaigns [The Tatars, 2001, p. 135].

They pretty clearly realised the community of multi-divisional feudal strata of 'Tatars', politically prevailing in Turkic-Tatar yurts. For instance, the Nogai Horde Prince Ismail, in his charter to Ivan IV, dated 1555, wrote the following: '...Astrakhan can not be without tsar and Tatars, and you (Ivan IV.—*D.I.*) should appoint Kaybullu Tsarevitch as a tsar and let him go. But if you would like Tatars, we will find other Tatars. Tatars are generated from us' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 209]. In this case, it seems, the ruler of the Nogai Horde by the term 'Tatars' meant military-service groups from his state [The Tatars, 2001, p. 103].

It should be also remembered that the Tatars, divided into clans, being ethnic descendants of the Golden Horde Tatars, for a long time, almost up to the beginning of the 16th century, continued their 'maternal' union—the Great Horde (Olug Urda), known as 'Tähet yorti', acting as a kind of ethnic and political 'core' of all Tatar communities. This is proved by, for instance, the words of the Russian author of The History of Kazan (1564–1565), who lived for a long time in the Kazan Khanate and well understood the facts of that time. In his description of events, related to the great stand on the Ugra River of 1480, when allied troops of the Kasimov Khanate, together with Russians, laid waste to the defenceless 'Horde' of Akhmat Khan, i.e. the Great Horde in particular, and the author of this writing quotes the following somewhat telling statement of one of the uhlans of the Kasimov Khan Nurdavlet from the Girays: '... What are you doing, to the tsar, it is a nonsense to lay waste to such a great tsardom—you are descended from it, and we as well. And our land is your native land' [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 56]. Even though in this case we are dealing with Russian late reminiscences of events that actually happened in 1480, the extract obviously contains the reflection of self-consciousness of Tatars, who were aware of their common ethnic identity. Attempts to revive the Ulus Jochi in the 16th century by bringing all disintegrated parts back should be interpreted in the same way. For instance, when in 1502 the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray defeated the Great Horde and annexed the main part of ulus-es of the state to the Crimean Khanate, he tried to declare himself 'The Great Tsar of the Great Horde' (Ulug Ordu/niñ/ ulug xan/ i/~ xakan/i/ [Usmanov, 1979, p. 62]. Evidently, the khan, being the head of a state that was quickly intensifying its military presence, was claiming the central 'common-Tatar' position of the Crimean Khanate among other Turkic-Tatar ethnopolitical formations of that time. It is seen even more clearly in the yarliqs of himself and of his son and successor, the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray. For instance, in the Mengli Giray Khan's yarliq of 1514, preserved in the Ruthenian, we read: '...tsar Mendly Kirey, by the grace of God, is the Great Khan of the Great Horde, of all the Kipchaks, Turkmens, and Tatars'. His son—Mu-

hammad Giray, in his *yarliq* dated 1520 was called 'Ulu ordanung ulu hani Deştü Qıpçaq barşa Mogul padişahı' (in Tatar) or 'By the grace of God... Tsar of Desht-i Qipchaq, the ruler of all Tatar lands' [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, pp. 345, 350, 360]. It is no coincidence that during negotiations with the Polish ambassador in the Crimean Khanate in 1654, he was shown a note from the Kazan and Astrakhan Tatars, asking the Crimean Khan 'to free them from the tsar (i.e. Russian.—*D.I.*) governance' [Kolodziejczyk, 2011, p. 164]. Certainly, this shows that the Tatars were still recognizing their common ethnic identity. The same was seen during the time of strengthening in the 16th century of the Nogai Horde which had human resources (at the best of times—up to 200 thousand soldiers) allowing it to receive payments from the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates and intervene in the affairs of almost all the late Golden Horde Turkic-Tatar states, using, as mentioned before, the so-called 'Manghit Yurts' that existed there, i.e. the Nogai principalities [The Tatars, 2001, p. 102]. In addition, the population of the Nogai Horde, therefore, as well as of the Manghit Yurt-Principalities existed in other Turkic-Tatar states, were viewed exactly as the Tatar ones. For instance, in addition to the already mentioned statement of the Nogai ruler Ismail about the ethnic marking of Nogais as the 'Tatars', the missive of another Nogai prince, Urus, to Moscow (1586) can be cited: '...It is said among us, the Tatars' [Pekarsky, 1872, p. 9].

This all shows that despite the statements of some Russian researchers about the lack of a single 'ethnic base' of Tatars, about their allegedly complete dissolution as a result of deconsolidation of the Ulus Jochi (see: [Gumilyov, 1992, p. 372]), indeed, the Tatar ethnic identity, even though it had become a 'constellation' of estranged local ethnosocial and ethnopolitical unions, was still existing in the 15–16th centuries, as well as in the form of some super-ethnic formation which was self-conscious about its affiliation with 'Tatars' in particular, expressed in the ethnonym 'Tatars', famous all over the world then and later. Not all the historical successors of the Golden Horde's ethnopolitical identity, however, preserved the Tatar vector of ethnic self-consciousness: in the eastern part

of the former Ulus Jochi, on the lands of Kok Horde, starting from the 15th century, Kazakh, Uzbek and, partially, Nogai ethnic formations were evolving, which over time lost the Tatar component of their ethnic self-consciousness.

In the end, the Tatar super-ethnic identity, consisting of a range of sub-ethnic groups (nations), finally jelled mainly in the western half of the former Ulus Jochi—mainly in the territory of Ak Horde. The matter of why such a split happened in a once-single ethnic formation is a matter for further research.

Overall, the late Golden Horde period of Tatar history is viewed as ethnogenetic only to the extent that it helped to establish local Tatar ethnic communities (nations) after the collapse of the early Golden Horde ethnopolitical entity. However, this historic period can be also determined as a continuation of the ethnic history of the Golden Horde Tatar community, formed earlier and in relation to which, as a kind of super-ethnic formation, the local ethnosocial formations, evolved in Turkic-Tatar states, acted as sub-ethnic groups. For this reason, this super-ethnic unity had preserved its tribal name of 'Tatars' everywhere. When, in order to identify the location of its local divisions, this community was subdivided into sub-ethnic groups, it was marked by the geographical nomenclature ascending to the names of the capitals of Turkic-Tatar yurts—Crimean, Kazan, Meshchera, Kasimov, Astrakhan, Siberian Tatars or directly by indication of the regions of residence (the Lithuanian/Lipka Tatars, the Buzhak Tatars).

Demographic development

The study of the demographic development of the population of the Turkic-Tatar states, of its Tatar part in particular, is based on indirect data which is mainly related to the military capacity of the yurts, because no demographic data whatsoever was found related to any of them. The only exception is the Crimean Khanate, whose population and ethnic composition is known, but only at the time it was integrated (1783) into the Russian Empire.

Despite limited sources, in one form or another, the population reconstructions, including that of the Tatar population, were performed almost in all of the late Golden Horde Tur-

tic-Tatar states (see: [Safargaliyev, 1960; Khalikov, 1978; Tomilov, 1981; Kochekaev, 1982; Sultanov, 1982; Alekseev, 1989; Ishchenko, 1989; Vozgrin, 1992; Iskhakov, 1983; 1992; 1993; 2002; 2004; 2009; Yalbulganov, 1998; Nesterov, 1999; Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000; Turkic Population of Crimea, 2003; Dmitriyev, 2003; Isin, 2004; Zaitsev, 2004; 2006; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007; Syzranov, 2009; Tychinskih, 2010; Pensko, 2010; Matveev, Tataurov, 2012]).

However, these reconstructions need to be cross-checked, as well as based on sources that have not been considered before, and by using new methods for counting the Tatar population of certain late Golden Horde states. Later, that sort of analysis will be performed on some of the Turkic-Tatar yurts.

Kazan Khanate. For now, it is impossible to reconstruct the population of the Kazan Tatars in the 15th century. Nevertheless, we can say that the role of the Golden Horde-Tatar ethnic component of this community was clearly previously underestimated [Iskhakov, 1998]. According to information from some later sources, when the Kazan Khanate was being established in the place of the Bulgar wilayah, the Bulgars, to be specific, the groups ethnically ascending to them were relatively small in number, which is also evidenced in the statement of the author of *The History of Kazan* saying that 'lean Bulgars' were happy to see Ulugh Muhammad Khan [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 53]. Apparently, the word 'lean', used in this source, may mean both 'weak' and have the demographic meaning of 'small in number'. The conquest of the future khanate territory by the khan with the 2,500–3,000 strong army [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, 1965, pp. 64–65], once there could have been around 10–12 thousand people in his entire Horde, likely highlights the small demographic capacity of the Bulgar wilayah by the 1440s. Having said that, one can not exclude the possibility that for various reasons Ulugh Muhammad simply did not face any resistance there [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 8].

As for the Tatar population of the Kazan Khanate in the middle of the 16th century, literature shows A.Khalikov's point of view, who believed that the 'Turkic' population of the state

was between 0.5 and 1 million (it is possible that the latter figure reflects the population of the entire khanate, but the researcher made no such stipulation in his work) [Khalikov, 1978, p. 122]. A.Khalikov's calculations were based on historian E.Chernyshev's conclusions about the population of localities in the Kazan Khanate closer to the middle of the 16th century, who believed that there were around 700 localities [Chernyshev, 1971]. Furthermore, his calculations were based on the assumption that there were 40–50 houses in an 'average village' and 10 people per each house. Since at that time (even now) there was no research performed into the reviewed indicators, he extrapolated the data about the population of Tatar localities of the 16th century based on the example of the middle of the 19th century, which is unacceptable. Moreover, Khalikov had estimated the urban population of the Khanate in a totally random way—without any validation he came up with the figure of 100 thousand people [Khalikov, 1978, p. 121]. It is obvious that these figures cannot be used and a new evaluation is needed of the population of the Tatars in the time of the Kazan Khanate. We believe this evaluation can be performed in several ways.

First, we can proceed from information about the number of troops in the khanate. We have already gone through sources, enabling us to identify the military-demographic capacity of the Kazan Khanate in the 16th century—these are the works of foreigners (M.Miechowita, A.Campense, S.Herberstein, Fr. Tiepolo) and a few Russian written sources of the 16th century [Iskhakov, 1993; 2002]. A further document, dating from the 17th century, can be added to this list; it was introduced by Turkish historian A.Kurat [Kurat, 1966], based on which we can imagine the approximate population of tribute-paying people at the turn of the 16–17th centuries, which allows us to use these data to identify the demographic features of the Kazan Tatars. A review of these sources shows that, in general, their information may be useful only when using special methods, which have been already described [Iskhakov, 2002]. Based on these methods, we will further attempt to estimate the number of Kazan Tatars in the mid-16th century.

The analysis of information in the works of foreign authors allows us to make an assumption that all their estimates on the number of troops of the Kazan Khanate most likely originate from data provided by M. Miechowita, who believed that the Khanate had 12 thousand 'fighters' but, in difficult situations, it could field up to 30 thousand warriors [Mekhovsky, 1936, p. 93]. These figures are close to those provided in the 'The History of Kazan'. Its author points out that, in this state, the number of troops from actual 'residents of Kazan' reached 30–40 thousand. [The History of Kazan, 1954, pp. 61–62, 70, 84, 126, 148. This figure is the result of averaging the data from the source]. One might think that this number does not include the cavalry of 20–30 thousand, which consisted mainly of Nogais and Crimeans (see [The History of Kazan, 1954, pp. 60, 67]). In addition, a 40-thousand-strong army was most likely gathered at the expense of all settled population in the khanate, that is, by mobilising the warriors from all peoples living in the state, while the army of 12 thousand described by M. Mekhovsky was 'tribal' and consisted only of service-class Tatars, and had a clan-based division. In extreme cases, the number of the khanate's troops could be significantly increased—according to 'The History of Kazan' and A. Kurbsky, during the siege of Kazan by Russians in 1552, the town was defended by 30–50 thousand warriors, and another 83 thousand, including the cavalry, were positioned outside the city [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 132; Tales, 1833, p. 24].

Based on this information, we can first determine the total population of the Kazan Khanate. If we assume that, in extreme circumstances, the troops included the entire adult male population, i.e., a quarter of the total population, then the total settled population of the khanate could range from 200 thousand (50 thousand warriors \times 4) to 400 thousand (50 thousand + 83 thousand = 133 thousand—30 thousand cavalry men = \sim 90–100 thousand \times 4). In our opinion, the last figure is accurate, since the number of troops in the Kazan Khanate without cavalry men was about 100 thousand. These calculations can be yet further revised by using other methods.

According to the second version of calculations, we should first determine the number of indigenous peoples of the Middle Volga region at the earliest date available in large-scale demographic sources on this subject. Such data is available for early 18th century, when the number of these peoples stood at 0.7 million. [Bruk, Kabuzan, 1980]. If we consider that, in the 16–late 17th century, Russia doubled its population [Vodarsky 1973], then by accepting the same rate for the peoples of the Volga region in that period, we can estimate their number at 350 thousand. However, in this case, the figure would be a 'crude' estimate that does not take into account the military losses during the conquest of the khanate. According to the author of 'The History of Kazan', the loss of people in Kazan during this period amounted to 190 thousand. [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 159]. The resulting figure of total settled population in the Kazan Khanate by the mid-16th century is about 540 thousand (350 thousand + 190 thousand). We can probably settle on a figure of 0.5 million people, which is close enough to the number derived above. In general, however, the total population of the Kazan Khanate in the mid-16th century was somewhere around 450 thousand.

Now we will make an attempt to determine the number of the Tatar population proper in the Kazan Khanate. In this case, we may suggest several methods of calculation.

First, it is possible to make calculations based on the share of Tatars in the total number of indigenous people of the Volga region, which was 35% by the early 18th century [Iskhakov, 2002]. If we assume that, in the mid-16th century, this share was roughly the same, then the number of Tatars in the Volga region at that time would be close to 140–170 thousand (median figure \sim 150 thousand). However, these calculations have one drawback, as they do not take into account the possible reduction in the share of Tatars among the indigenous population of the region following their great human losses in the mid 16th century. In addition, this would be the total population of Tatars in the Volga region (i.e., including not only Kazan Tatars, but also Meshchera Tatars). Nevertheless, when we take into account the fact that the proportion of the

Kazan Tatars and Meshchera Tatars by the early 18th century was 3-to-1 [Iskhakov, 1980], we can estimate the number of Kazan Tatars in the mid-16th century as close to 100 thousand (not counting military casualties).

Another variant for retrospectively estimating the size of the Tatar population in the Kazan Khanate can rely on direct demographic figures of the early 18th century, when the Volga-Ural region had 261 thousand Tatars [Ibid.]. Based on the above Russian population dynamics in the 16-17th centuries, we can estimate the possible size of the Tatar population in the Volga region by the mid-16th century at 130 thousand, including about 90 thousand Kazan Tatars.

And if we base our estimates on the number of all local peoples of the Volga region (excluding Tatars) by the early 18th century standing at 440 thousand (data from S.Bruk and V.Kabuzan), then, by the mid-16th century their demographic potential could have been about 220 thousand (440 divided by 2). This figure can be verified in a document originating in first thirty years of the 17th century and mentioned by A.Kurat [Kurat, 1966, p. 058]. This source points to the number of peoples in the former Kazan Khanate as follows: Cheremises—40 thousand, Chuvashes—20 thousand, Ars—15 thousand, Bashkirs (Ishtyaks)—10 thousand 'houses', i.e., 85 thousand 'houses' in total. Since it is not excluded that this information relates to the period of the Kazan Khanate (it was received by the Ottomans through the Crimean Khanate), they can be used to calculate the number of tribute-paying people in that state. In this case, they will number more than 420 thousand (85 thousand 'houses' x 5). In such case, the above figure of indigenous people in the Volga-Ural region by the mid-16th century could be an underestimate, most likely because in these calculations we did not previously take into account the number of Bashkirs [Iskhakov, 1980]. On the other hand, however, this source could have included representatives of the tribute-paying estate among Kazan Tatars in the total number of tribute-paying people, especially the Chuvash. However, overall, the group of tribute-paying people in the Kazan Khanate could be about 300-350 thousand (the median of the

above numbers). As a result, by the mid-16th century, the number of actual Kazan Tatars ranged from 100 to 150 thousand people (450 thousand—300 ~ 350 thousand).

The last variant for a retrospective demographic estimate of the number of Kazan Tatars is as follows. Based on the total number of service-class Tatars estimated at 48 thousand (12 x 4 thousand) and information on the ratio of tribute-paying and service-class Tatars in the Kazan Khanate which, in our opinion, was 4-to-1 (see [Iskhakov, 1993]), we can obtain numbers for the total population of the Kazan Tatars in the mid-16th century. Without military and demographic losses, this figure comes to about 200 thousand people. However, the problem is that the proportion, used as a basis for these calculations, was derived from data originating from the second half of the 16th century, when the service-class Tatar population of the Kazan region had greatly diminished.

To conclude, it should be noted that, in the mid-16th century, the Kazan Khanate could have had a Tatar population ranging from 150 to 200 thousand (the median figure is 170-180 thousand). Following the demographic losses of the 1540-1550s, this number could have diminished to 100-130 thousand [Iskhakov, 2002].

The Kasimov Khanate. Even the comprehensive works on the history of the Kasimov Khanate [Rakhimzyanov, 2009] provide no information on the size of the Turkic Tatar population in this yurt, which is associated with the condition of the corresponding sources. Nevertheless, based on some indirect evidence, we can propose a retrospective estimate on demographic parameters of the Tatar population in the Meshchera Yurt in the 16th century. For the 15th century, all we have is a comment by A.Contarini that, in the 1470s, the Muscovite grand prince 'paid an allowance to a Tatar with 500 cavalry men on the Tatar border to protect the Russian lands from attacks' [Puteshestviye, 1836, p. 100]. Apparently, this refers to the part of the Horde ruled by Ulugh Muhammad Khan who happened to be in Meshchera Yurt. Even if we take this figure as the total number of warriors who arrived with Kasim Sultan to Meshchera yurt, while bearing in mind that, from the second half of the 16th century, the army of the Kasimov Khanate was

very actively involved in defending the borders of the emerging Muscovite state [Rakhimzyanov, 2009; Iskhakov, 1998], such a figure would most likely represent, even by probably including children and women, a rather significantly understated number (about 2 thousand people) of the Turkic-Tatar population in that state. This is especially since we do not know the demographics of the tribute-paying population in Meshchera Yurt, which also had a Turkic component [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 218–223].

However, for the mid–16th century, based on calculations from 'The History of Kazan', we can try to estimate more accurately the size of the Turkic-Tatar population in the Kasimov Khanate. According to the author of that historical writing, in 1552, Khan Shah Ali, 'out of his confines, from Kasimov', led against the Kazan Khanate 'his barbarian force' of 30 thousand men [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 123]. As we can see in this work, at least 10 thousand of these men could have been Mordovians [Ibid., p. 124]. Although among the remaining 20 thousand warriors, some were most likely the Nogais participating in the campaign (given the significant role of the latter in the ethnic formation the Meshchera Tatars (including the Kasimov Tatars themselves), we think that this figure could be accepted as the number of the entire adult Tatar population in Meshchera yurt. In this case, the total size of this group in the Kasimov Khanate in the mid–16th century could have reached 80 thousand people (20 thousand X 4). However, we must bear in mind that some Nogai groups that participated in the conquest of the Kazan Khanate among the troops of Shah Ali could have afterwards returned to the Nogai Horde. This suggests that the real number of warriors at the disposal of the Kasimov khans in the mid–16th century was lower. The above figure can be validated with data originating in the early 18th century and estimating the number of Meshchera Tatars in the mid–16th century at no more than 35–40 thousand. As a result, the latter figure appears to be closer to the truth. Therefore, for the mid–16th century, the Tatar population in Meshchera Yurt should be estimated not at 70 thousand, as we suggested earlier [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 39], but at a much smaller figure of about 40 thousand people.

The Great Horde and the Astrakhan Khanate. Given that the final separation of the Astrakhan Yurt from the Great Horde, most likely, occurred only in the early 16th century [Zaitsev, 2004 pp. 39–40, 52–53], separate demographics for these states can be considered only for the period after 1502 [Iskhakov, 2009, pp. 22–23].

For the number of 'Ulus people' of Kichi Muhammad, the Khan of the Great Horde, at about 1438, we know the estimate of G. Barbaro, who believed that this yurt had up to 300 thousand people [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 269]. Somewhat later, in the 1460–1470s, the number of troops at the disposal of Ahmad, the son and successor of that Khan, ranged, according to various estimates, from 100 to 150 thousand people [Alekseev, 1989, p. 73; Trepavlov 2010, p. 89], even though, in 1472, Ahmad mentioned, perhaps in exaggeration, a figure of 200 thousand [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 89]. According to V. Trepavlov, these data on the period of the Great Horde's might in the early 1470s mean we can talk of the population of that state standing at 400–600 thousand [Trepavlov 2010, p. 19]. However, we should bear in mind that the Great Horde also controlled a number of ethnic groups in the North Caucasus. Therefore, the above figure may include the non-Tatar population [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 43]. However, towards the end of the 15th century and, especially, in the early 16th century, the population of this domain ('Takht Eli') had decreased dramatically for environmental reasons—the number of warriors from that state mentioned in the sources ranged from 60 to 100 thousand, while the number of women and children was estimated at 100 thousand. Overall, this provides a figure for the Tatar population of the state in the range of 160–200 thousand people [Trepavlov 2010, pp. 19–20]. Apparently, such a decrease in the population in the Great Horde was associated both with the political decline of the Great Horde accompanied by natural disasters, people moving to the Crimean Yurt, and the separation of the Astrakhan Khanate, which included some Turkic-Tatar groups that were previously a part of 'Takht Eli'.

For the Astrakhan Khanate, there are only some rough estimates of its population during the conquest of that yurt. Its Tatar part could

basically have ranged from 10 to 25 thousand 'families' or 'bows' [Iskhakov, 1992, pp. 22–23]. Overall, this gives at least 40–100 thousand people [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 45], or slightly more. In fact, the latter figure is close to the population of the Great Horde shortly before its fall. However, in reality, after the political collapse of their state between 1502–1504, the population of the Great Horde mostly was included in the Crimean Yurt and Nogai Horde, and not in the Astrakhan Khanate [Trepavlov, 2010]. Therefore, the 100,000 people of the last Khanate should be considered as the demographic potential of that particular yurt. However, this figure could fluctuate as a result of movements, primarily by the Nogai groups that played a major role in this Khanate, right up until its fall [Iskhakov, 1992; 2009, p. 45; Syzranov, 2009]. The problem, however, is that, after the conquest of the Astrakhan Khanate by the Russians towards the end of the 1570s, there were actually only 7 thousand Astrakhan Tatars (they were later known as the 'Yurt Tatars') in that region [English Travelers, 1937, p. 266]. It appears that much of the Turkic-Tatar population in the Astrakhan yurt, still classed as nomads, left the Lower Volga region during its conquest and became a part of the Nogai Horde, Kazakh Khanate, and possibly the Shibanid states in Central Asia. In any case, some clans, known in the Astrakhan Khanate (Alchyn, Kongrat) later emerged among the Nogais, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks.

Nogai Horde. Despite little being known about the demographic potential of the Nogai Horde (Manghit Yurt) during the period of its formation under the reign of Edigu, there is still a famous testimony of Ruy González de Clavijo that it had 'more than two hundred thousand cavalry men' [Ruy González de Clavijo, 1990, p. 144]. Of course, given the position of Edigu, the Manghit Prince, as the head of the entire left wing of the Ulus Jochi [Trepavlov 2001, pp. 78–86], this figure can also be seen as describing the entire population of the Golden Horde's left wing. However, bearing in mind that similar data on the population of the Nogai Horde were also known in the 16th century, we cannot exclude that the above number has some historic justification. Moreover, because

in the late 16–early 17th centuries, the Nogais believed that they numbered 'forty sans' [Trepavlov 2001, pp. 495–496]. Since 'san' means 'tumen', or a 10,000-strong military unit, this refers to 400,000 Nogais, although not in the late 16th century but much earlier. Therefore, we can assume that in the first half of the 15th century, the population of the Nogai Horde ranged from 400 to 800 thousand.

During the reign of Prince Yusuf in the Nogai Horde in the early 1550s, the sources mention the figure of 300 thousand 'registered warriors' at the disposal of this ruler and, in addition, 10 thousand warriors for each of his 8 sons, i.e., 80 thousand in total [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, p. 303]. However, given that Ismail, the next Nogai Prince, had a number of warriors estimated at 200 thousand [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, pp. 101, 110], it appears that the figure of 200–300 thousand warriors, most likely, was genuine. Therefore, in the mid-16th century, the population of the Nogai Horde was not 300–350 thousand, as thought by B-A.B. Kochekaev [Kochekaev, 1988, p. 34], but significantly larger, ranging from 700 thousand to nearly 1 million (see the calculations of V.Trepavlov [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 497]).

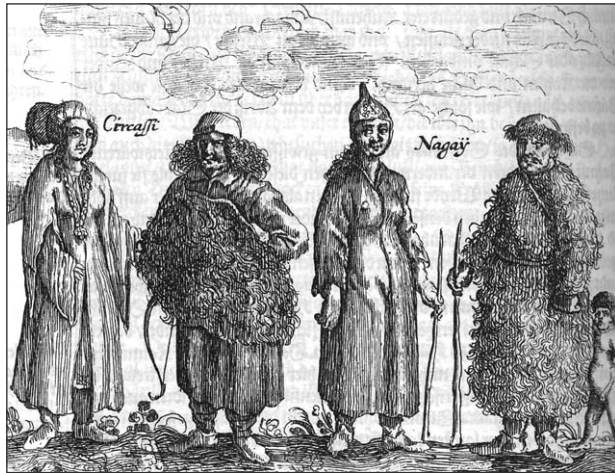
However, later, this figure began to decline sharply following the military and political upheavals and environmental disasters of the 1550s. As a result, by the end of the 16th century, the Nogai Horde was able to field only 80 to 100 thousand warriors, which gives a total population of the state of 240–400 thousand (the median figure is about 300 thousand people [Trepavlov 2001, p. 498]).

By the early 17th century, the demographics of the Nogai Horde had deteriorated further and the number of military men in the Great Nogai Horde fell to 40–60 thousand [Isin, 2004, p. 27], i.e., there were no more than 160–240 thousand people left in this part of the Nogai state (the median figure is about 200 thousand people). Before the final collapse of the Nogai Horde in the 1630–1640s into a number of smaller hordes, the Nogais were able to field no more than 30–40 thousand warriors (see [Yalbulganov, 1998, pp. 29–80]), which means we can estimate the total number of Nogais at

120–160 thousand (the median figure is fewer than 140 thousand people). Other researchers provide even lower figures of 100 or 80–120 thousand people [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 499]. The gradual decrease of the Turkic Tatar population in the Nogai Horde in the second half of the 16–mid-17th century can be explained not only by mass-scale deaths during the fratricidal wars and environmental disasters, but also by the withdrawal to Crimean and Kazakh Khanates, and deep into Central Asia to the domains of the Shibanids (Khanates of Khiva and Bukhara).

Tyumen and Siberian Khanates. To date, documented literature provides only a few estimates for the number of Siberian Tatars, whose ethnopolitical entities were the Siberian yurts, including the Tyumen and the Siberian khanates.

N. Tomilov believed that, at the end of the 16–first decades of the 17th centuries, there may have been from 13 to 17.7 thousand Siberian Tatars. [Tomilov, 1981; Valeev, Tomilov, 1996, pp. 17–18]. We suggested a figure of 10–12 thousand people for the second half of the 16th century [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 52]. In both cases, these calculations did not take into account the demographic losses of the Siberian Tatars during the conquest of the Siberian Khanate. However, such losses could have been significant. For example, a report of Russian diplomatic clerks for 1585 informed that 2000 warriors of Mehmet Kul Sultan, a nephew of Kuchum Khan, had been killed [Skrynnikov, 1982, p. 158; Trepavlov 2012, p. 14]. This was far from being the only loss on the Tatar side. In particular, another report with instructions to the Russian envoy for 1598 mentioned that, during a battle with the forces of Kuchum Khan, the Russians 'killed more than six thousand' [Tychinskikh, 2010, p. 128]. As we can see, these documents show that, in the last quarter of the 16th century, at least 8 thousand Siberian Tatars were killed, most of them evidently military and service-class people. Although some opinions stated these reports to be somewhat exaggerated [Skrynnikov, 1982, pp. 158–159; Trepavlov 2012, p. 14],



Circassians (left) and Nogais (right). Print from 'Description of my travel to Muscovy...' by A.Olearius, 1630–1640.

we have no reason to doubt their authenticity. Therefore, we can agree with A.Matveev and S.Tataurov, when they estimate the number of warriors at the disposal of Kuchum Khan as 10–15 thousand [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, p. 162]. Moreover, there are direct indications in the sources that Mehmet Kul Sultan, a nephew of Kuchum Khan, commanded a detachment of 10,000 warriors [Trepavlov 2012, p. 14]. Most likely, these were not all the troops of the Siberian Khanate [Matveev, Tataurov, 2012, p. 160]. The question is how many of these 10–15 thousand warriors were Tatars. According to A.Matveev and S.Tataurov, their number could have ranged from 5 to 7 thousand [Ibid., pp. 161–162].

In general, one cannot exclude that, in the 1560s, the total population of the Siberian Khanate could have been up to 50 thousand and, after successful campaigns led by Kuchum Khan, it could have reached up to 100 thousand by the 1580s [Ibid., p. 92]. Some estimates provide an even higher figure of 150–180 thousand people [Nesterov, 1999] based on reports about the size of the tribute-paying population of that state population in the second half of the 16th century at 30–40 thousand people, apparently, all men [Tomilov, 1981, p. 42; Iskhakov, 2009, p. 52]. In these calculations, the reported numbers are multiplied by a factor of 5, introduced by N.Tomilov. However, we should not forget in this instance that these figures also include

the non-Tatar population.

If we use the above estimate of A. Matveev and S. Tataurov, the number of Siberian Tatars, before the demographic losses during the conquest of the Siberian Khanate by Russians, should have been no less than 30 thousand, including about 6,000 service-class Tatars. The actually repeated number of 10 thousand 'Tyumen Tatars' in the 16th century gives a close figure (if this is the number of adult men, it should be multiplied by 4, which gives a figure of 40 thousand people). However, when N. Tomilov mentioned the figure of 2 thousand service-class Tatars at the end of the 16–first half of the 17th centuries for the central areas of the former Siberian Khanate [Tomilov, 1981, p. 42], he described a different demographic reality that had emerged after the mass death of the Tatar population, especially those of the service class, during the conquest of that state by the Russians.

The above figures on the number of Siberian Tatars in the 16–early 17th centuries display a certain correlation with the statement of S. Herberstein, who estimated the population of 'Tyumen Tatars' in the first quarter of the 16th century at 10,000 [Herberstein, 2007, p. 289]. However, it is rather disquieting that this figure matches the reports on the number of warriors in the tribal militia at the disposal of Sheibani Khan in 1503 [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 136–137]. On the other hand, however, the writings of Herberstein show that he did not confuse 'Tyumen Tatars' with 'Sheibanids'.

For the earlier period (late 15–early 16th centuries), we should bear in mind that the territory of the Tyumen Khanate was actually the area of residence of the Turkic population of the Shibanid state, which left this area for good only in 1510–1511 [Maslyuzhenko, 2008, p. 114]. The number of nomads who then left for Central Asia is estimated at 240–360 thousand [Sultanov, 1982, pp. 19–21]. Therefore, the number of 'Tyumen Tatars' reported by Herberstein should be regarded as the demographics of a population group in the Tyumen Khanate that probably remained in Western Siberia after this large wave of migration by Shibanids subjects to Central Asia. Clearly, the remaining 'Tyumen Tatars' were only those who, in the Tyumen Khanate, occupied the lands of the future core

of the Siberian Khanate as early as at the time of the Tyumen Khan Ibrahim (it was he who in 1481, during a joint campaign with the Nogais against the Great Horde, was described as having one thousand of his own 'cossacks' [The Tatars, 2001, p. 123]).

Therefore, the actual number of the Tatar population in the Siberian Yurt towards the mid–16th century could have been about 30 thousand and, following the military losses of the 1580–1590s and withdrawal of the Tatar population to other regions [Trepavlov, 2012, pp. 23, 53–54], it could have fallen, according to various estimates, to 17–18 thousand or, even lower, to 12–13 thousand.

The Crimean Khanate. Modern recorded literature on the history of the Crimean Khanate is focused primarily on determining the size of the Tatar population in that state at the time of its annexation to the Russian Empire in 1783. The figure of 120 thousand [Turkic Peoples, 2003, p. 154] is usually mentioned, or 55 thousand Tatar men [Lashikov, 1886, p. 103]. However, by this time, many Tatars had already left Crimea for Turkey. Emigration is estimated, in various sources, to range from 80 to 300 thousand [Turkic Peoples, 2003, p. 154]. A more accurate figure of 200 thousand people was provided by a group of researchers in Moscow [Vodarsky et al., 2003, p. 86]. Therefore, before the annexation of the Crimean Khanate to Russia, the population of the Khanate was at least 300–310 thousand Tatars [55 thousand \times 2 = 110 thousand + 200 thousand].

Some authors suggested a figure of 411.5 thousand Crimean Tatars for the 1760–1770s [Ibid., p. 120], which is hardly likely to be accurate. In this regard, we note that the book of J. Thunmann, a German author, on the Crimean Khanate, published in German in 1774, estimates the approximate size of the population in the Crimean Khanate, although without any reference to sources, at 400 thousand [Thunmann, 1991, p. 21], which means we can talk of the demographic parameters of the Tatar population itself (including the Nogais, who had already become its ethnic component) at 350–360 thousand (for the calculation method, see below).

However, since there are no accurate data on the number of Crimean emigrants to Turkey in

the 18th century, the above calculations are approximate. This is the reason why we suggested earlier to estimate the Tatar population of the Crimean Khanate on the eve of its annexation to the Russian Empire at 160–180 thousand and, for the mid-18th century, at 150–160 thousand [Iskhakov, 1983, pp. 55–56]. Other researchers estimated the total population of the Crimean Khanate in the 18th century at 200–300 thousand [Vozgrin, 1992, p. 163] which, given the fact that Tatars represented more than 90% of the total population in that state [Vodarsky et al., 2003, p. 85] allows us to estimate the size of the proper Tatar population in the 18th century at 180–270 thousand (the median figure is about 225 thousand)

It appears that the number of Crimean Tatars in the second half of the 18th century was even higher and reached 300–350 thousand. Most likely, the same approximate number can be obtained using the figure provided by J. Thunmann, who was referring to Kantemir, the ruler of Moldavia, when he wrote about 70 thousand 'kazans', i.e. families or households, in the Crimean Khanate. [Thunmann, 1991, p. 21], who most likely were Tatars. If we assume that each family/household included, on average, 5 persons, we have a population of 350 thousand, which matches the above number. However, when we describe such demographic data, we must remember that this number also includes the Nogais who, as a result of their semi-nomadic way of life, could sometimes leave the sphere of influence of the Crimean Khanate.

As indicated by J. Thunmann, in addition to Tatars, the Crimean Khanate had a population of Armenians, Greeks, Italians, Georgians, Vlachs and Karaites, as well as Gypsies [Ibid., p. 27]. In the 1760–1770s, their number is estimated as follows: Greeks and Italians—18.6 thousand; Armenians—13.6 thousand; Georgians—219 people; Vlachs—161; Karaites—1.6 thousand; Gypsies—1.4 thousand (as at 1795) (see [Vodarsky et al., 2003, pp. 120–121]). Among these peoples, those who professed Christianity (i.e., except the Karaites) had left in 1779, at their own request, for the Russian Empire, even before the fall of the Crimean Khanate and, at that time, their number reached 30–31 thousand [Ibid., pp. 85–86, 195].

A more difficult task is to analyse the demographic data on the Tatar population in the Crimean Yurt of the 15–17th centuries, which is mostly based on the estimates of the military potential of that state.

Our analysis of sources and literature shows that, in the 16th century, the Crimean Khanate had from 15 to 100 thousand warriors and, on average, the number of warriors was 50 thousand. The largest number of the khanate's warriors, recorded by the sources, was 250 thousand. However, the khanate could field such an army only after the annexation of the uluses of the defeated Great Horde in the early 16th century. Given that all men over 15 years old could participate in major campaigns, the number of Crimean Tatars at the beginning of the 16th century can be estimated at 300–350 thousand. After the victory of the khanate over the Great Horde, this figure could temporarily have reached 500–600 thousand, including later with the Nogais who, in the second half of the 16–early 17th centuries, became partly the subjects of the Crimean Khanate [Iskhakov, 2009, pp. 40–41].

Recently, V.Penskoy made an independent analysis for the demographics of the Tatar population of the Crimean Khanate [Penskoy, 2010], which deserves attention because he combined the material on the military forces of that khanate, included in other studies [Ishchenko, 1989; Dmitiriev, 2003]. According to this researcher, in the second half of the 16–mid-17th centuries, the army of the Crimean khans had 40–60 thousand men [Penskoy, 2010, p. 210], which puts the figure of the Tatar population in the Crimean Khanate during this period at 240–250 thousand [Ibid., p. 208]. Therefore, the above estimate of the Crimean Tatar population in the early 16th century (before the annexation of the uluses of the Great Horde) should be regarded as exaggerated. Most likely, the figure of 200 thousand is closer to reality [Penskoy, 2010, p. 209]. For the mid-16–17th centuries, we believe the estimate of the Tatar population in the Crimean Khanate proposed by V.Penskoy is understated. To field a 250-thousand-strong army—this is the number sometimes provided in the sources—the Tatar population of the Crimean Khanate had

to be no less than 500–600 (100–120 thousand of them could have been Nogais) or even more.

For the 15th century, we should proceed from the fact that the core of the Crimean Tatars, who in the initial formation of the Crimean Khanate consisted of 4 clans (Shirin, Baryn, Arghyn, Kipchak), was 1 tumen. With a fully-weighted calculation (10,000 x 4), this figure allows us to estimate the population in the mid-15th century at about 40 thousand [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 41]. However, it is indicative that for the 1430s G. Barbaro was inclined to estimate the group of Tatars associated with the steppes on the 'island of Kaffa' at only 3–4 thousand cavalry men [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 55], which gives an even smaller total figure of 12–16 thousand people. Nevertheless, this represents roughly the number of people in one tumen. Given that a 'tumen' might not have been always full, the number of Crimean Tatars mentioned above was possible in the mid-15th century. Over time, however, the number of 'native' Crimean Tatars clearly increased. For example, in the early 16th century, the Shirin clan alone already had 20 thousand people in the khanate [Iskhakov, 2009, p. 41].

Non-Tatar groups of the population (by the 18th century, all of them were already Tatar-speaking) lived in the Crimean Khanate from the time of its creation by concentrating in the cities (Gözleve, Karasubazar, Ak-Mechet, Caffa, Bakhchysarai and Chufut-Kale [Fisher, 1978, pp. 30–34]), as well as in a number of rural settlements [Vodarsky et al., 2003, pp. 86–87]. After the successful campaigns of the Crimeans in 1510–1515 against the Circassians (Adyghe), some of them also became a part of the population of the Crimean Khanate [Iskha-

kov, 2009, p. 40]. However, for the 16–17th centuries, the size of these groups still remains unknown.

* * *

The study of demographic data on the post-Golden Horde Turkic-Tatar states suggests that, in the 15–16th centuries, they had a considerable human potential, ranging from 1.5 to 1.8 million people (late 15–mid-16th centuries). Until the late 15th century, the Volga region was dominated by the Great Horde, which had considerable human resources and, in fact, replaced the right wing of the collapsed Golden Horde, while the east was dominated by the Nogai Horde, which had a larger rather than smaller demographic potential that allowed it to take on the role once played by the Turkic-Tatar groups in the left wing of the Ulus Jochi. However, after the victory of the Crimean Khanate over the Great Horde in the early 16th century, the dominant position in the western part of post-Golden Horde political space was taken by the Crimeans, who soon had to face the Nogai Horde. In varying degrees, the alternating dominance of different Turkic-Tatar yurts in this space during the 15–16th centuries was affecting the ethnic composition of the population in other Tatar khanates (Kazan, Kasimov, Tyumen/Siberian, and Astrakhan). However, by the mid-16th century, none of these states individually could match the emerging Muscovite state in demographic terms, but their joint action that would have allowed the combination of their demographic potentials proved to be impossible for a number of reasons, which in the end determined their historical destiny.

CHAPTER 2

Great Horde Tatars and Their Successors

Vadim Trepavlov

It is believed that the common name of the Turkic-speaking population of the Golden Horde was the gentilic 'Tatars'. In the 14th century, the right wing of the state featured a developed urban civilization, thriving interregional ties, and powerful pockets of the old sedentary culture (Volga Bulgaria, Crimea, Moldova). As a result, tribal patriarchal norms of life were gradually withering away. Ethnic consolidation was in evidence, the formation of the Golden Horde Tatar nation. However, this process was interrupted first by the plague in the middle of the century, and later by wars and migration of nomads from the east.

These newcomers brought with them archaic social and cultural norms: as members of the Horde's left wing, they piously observed the tribal norms in their life, as the social order in the steppes east of the Yaik River were much more conservative. Although residents of the eastern regions of the Golden Horde in the 14th and 15th centuries are frequently referred to as the 'nomadic Uzbeks' by historians, there was no single ethnic group.

Nevertheless, the beginnings of a common identity, one which was not Tatar but 'Uzbek', can at times be seen in the 'post-Horde' era. The last Khan of the Great Horde, Sheikh Ahmad, noted similarities between the tribal nomads of Desht-i Qipchaq and migrants from Ulus Jochi in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the beginning of the 16th century, speaking about 'our Uzbek people' (*bizniñ özbäg ta'ifisi*) [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, pp. 96, 124, fig. XII]. It should be noted that the ethnic identity of the residents of the Desht in those days was manifested primarily in the awareness of belonging to a certain tribe (*el*) and clan (*urug*). Being a part of broader communities did not entail proximity in terms of kinship and descent. Those communities were nomadic, they pledged their allegiance to one monarch and—later—to the Muslim religion.

Therefore, one should not interpret the Khan's words about the Uzbek people as the evidence of their existence as an ethnic group. The word 'Uzbek' could have a different meaning in this case. In the 18th century, a Djungar Khong Tayiji told the Kazakh Khan Abu l-Khayr: '... in front of this crow (Russian empress—V.T.), we will not stand on our knees, because they (Russians—V.T.) are with horse carts and we are Uzbeks (i.e. nomads—V.T.)' [Kazakh-Russian, 1961, p. 306].

It is not possible to determine the exact composition of the Great Horde based on fragmentary information sources. U. Schamiloglu believes that the basis of population of the Khanate was a confederation of four tribes: Kiyats, Manghits, Saldzhiuts, Kungrats [Schamiloglu, 1986, pp. 196, 203; The History of the Tatars, 2009, p. 690]. In addition, there is information about other tribes.

Manghit. The Manghits ranked first in terms of influence and, probably, number. The leading role of the Magnyt begs was consecrated by the tradition of beklaribeks, initiated by their ancestor Edigu. This tradition was transformed in many ways in the Kazan, Astrakhan, Crimean yurts of the Great Horde. These khanates (with the possible exception of Kazan) included the Manghit aristocratic clans, which in varying degrees affected the policies of local Chinggisids and the management of their domains. It seems that most of Edigu's tribesmen's influence applied exactly to Takht ali. The Manghits lived there from the time of Edigu and tried to settle as far as possible in the camp of every khan who succeeded to the throne. We will return below to the Manghit begs in the Great Horde.

Kiyat. Since the beginning of the 14th century, this tribe played a crucial role in the history of the Golden Horde. The Kiyat begs playing an active role in political events related to the accession and the overthrow of the

khans (especially during the Time of Troubles—'Zamyatnya' in the 1360s and 1370s), were engaged in the government, and occupied the highest administrative posts (see [Trepavlov, 2007a]. Mamay was the most famous of them. The Kiyats were represented in the Great Horde as well but did not hold any significant positions. However, Khan Sheikh Ahmad spoke very highly of them: '... I have no better or more dedicated servants than the Kiyats' [Lietuvos, 1994, p. 180]. In 1515, the Russian delegation met one Karachura near the Seversky Donets River, who was 'said to be of the Kiyats from the (already non-existent—V.T.) Great Horde' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 144].

Kipchak. In the aforementioned clash between Mohammed Sheibani with Khan Ahmad's troops, Konush Kipchak (chief of 1,000 warriors) fought on his side [Materials, 1969, p. 20, 101; Sheibaniade, 1849, LVII]. His troop likely consisted of his fellow tribesmen.

Kitai. At various times, Sheikh Ahmad sent 'Kitai Baibosov's son Mahamet murza' and 'Bulgair-Kitai' with ambassadorial assignments; a defector, who fled to Crimea—'Kirey Menglishikov, Kitai's son', also was mentioned in the company of a 'Kitai Kireyev's man' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1882, p. 432; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 70, 323; Lietuvos, 1994, p. 181].

Alchin. 'Tokhtamysh Alchin' was in Sheikh Ahmad's inner circle [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1882, p. 432].

Ming. Saray-ming It is possible that the tribal name 'Ming' traces back to the name of a Great Horde ambassador to Lithuania 'Min Bulat Bogatyr' [Lietuvos, 1994 p. 181]. The list of people 'who were captured by the Great Horde warriors' in 1487 included 'Ikim Subuev... of the Saray Thousand' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 70]. I believe that 'Saray thousand' is the distorted Saray-ming. This division of the Mings existed in the Nogai Horde and included components of independent Saray and Ming tribes [Trepavlov, 2001, p. 502].

Naiman. Uishun. The existence of those tribes in the Great Horde is proven by information about a parochial dispute between a judge's

marshal and a clerk, Ibrahim Temirchiche, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1517, Ibrahim humbly asked Sigismund I, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, to recognise the nobility of his family, referring to the position occupied by his relatives in Crimea, as well as at the court of Sheikh Ahmad, Khan of the Great Horde (at that time in Lithuanian hands). In addition, Ibrahim's family was 'brothers to the Prince of Tyumen and Uishen' (in the text: bratrya—V.T.). Ibrahim submitted supporting documents based on which Sigismund commanded Ibrahim and his children and brothers 'to keep the status, as confirmed by those documents, signed by Mengli Giray, Ts(a)r of Perekop, and Shig Ahmat, Ts(a)r of convent Trans-Volga lands' [Lietuvos, 2003, p. 369]. Thus it became clear that Ibrahim was of the Tatar Uishun tribe.

In 1522, Ibrahim received a special royal privilege. It referred to a yarliq of Sheikh Ahmad that confirmed, firstly, Ibrahim's right to 'take the place of his ancestors—princes of Yushin'; secondly, 'that place to be higher than the one of princes of Naiman, Petrovich and Alchin'. The King granted Ibrahim and his family the right to 'the position of his ancestors, higher than the Naimans and Alchins, equal to the status of his ancestors in the Yushin lands (in the ancient Great Horde—V.T.)' [Lietuvos, 2001, p. 169].

The Princes of Petrovichev (of Naiman origin) were indignant and wrote to the king that Ibrahim Khan and Sheikh Ahmad had misled him: the Uishuns had never held a higher position than the Naimans. The issue was dealt with by noblemen in the Rada of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the Beresti Seim. Sheikh Ahmad admitted that he had unjustly inflated the rank of Ibrahim's relatives (the reasons for such a lie to the King are not mentioned in the sources). In 1525, Sigismund announced that 'we did this due to the lack of our knowledge' and cancelled the privilege [Lietuvos, 2001, p. 383].

In general, the whole story unfolded in Polish-Lithuanian possessions, and the Tatar nobility determined their positions in the local hierarchy, based on the realities of their new home instead of their Tatar yurts. In particular, the discussion of the precedence between the Ui-

shuns and the Naimans was related not to their position regarding each other but regarding the Assanchukovich-Sanchukovich family—the only one representative of the Jochids in Lithuania, the most noble among the Lithuanian Tatars. Their ancestor was one Khasanchuk who settled in Lithuania in the first half of the 15th century. The Assanchukovichs were the only ones who had the right to the title 'Uhlán' from (*oglan*—'Prince'), while the rest of major Tatar princes had to do with 'begs' [Sobczak, 1984, pp. 55, 75].

However, the echoes of the hierarchy of tribes in the Golden Horde, including its successor Takht Eli (referred to at the beginning of the dispute by Ibrahim, citing procedures in the Crimean Khanate and the Great Horde) still remained in place. It is known that the tribes of Naiman and Uishun, participating in the local scandal, were viewed as the tribes of the right wing of the Ulus Jochi (with the Kungrat and Jalair people) [Shajrat, 1838, p. 238]. However, little was known about their mutual ranking. Traces of this phenomenon showed up in Ibrahim's (representative of the Uishuns) unsuccessful attempt to take an inappropriately high place among the Tatar nobility of Lithuania.

The emergence of the Cossacks became an indicative sign of the degradation of the Golden Horde and the gradual extinction of its statehood. In the second half of the 15th century, they started to appear in the sources as a significant element of the social structure and a party to political events. The Cossacks of that period were a marginal group of the steppe people, which could nominally be viewed as subjects to the Great Horde but behaved more and more independently.

The information about their way of life proves that they were nomads, i.e., initially the Cossacks had the Tatar ethnocultural nature. In 1518, Crimean Beg Appaq informed Grand Prince Vasily III that he had received a request from the Belgorod and Azov Cossacks. They asked the Beg to put a good word for them and ask Vasili Ivanovich to 'allow them and their wives **to live near** Putyvl and serve the Prince, helping him to fight against his enemies'. The Muscovite Tsar sent his approval to Appaq. The beg summoned Meretek, Mirza of the

Azov Cossacks, to Crimea and told him that 'he asked the Grand Prince to give them a place to **spend summers and winters** at'¹ and informed him of the Prince's approval of the Cossacks' moving to Putyvl [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 165, 613]. Consequently, the Azov Cossacks of the Lower Don led a nomadic (not wandering!) way of life and had superiors in the rank of mirzas.

In those days, the Cossack communities were ordinary nomadic groups, migrating in the steppe. Along with cattle breeding (see the data on seasonal migrations), their main occupation was to take part in wars. The Cossacks, obviously, belonged to different tribes but lived in mixed communities. The name 'Azov' indicates that the natives of the Horde uluses kept close to the Turkish fortress of Azak/Azov (from 1471, the former Tana was in the Ottomans' possession). Some of them lived in the town. However, there is no indication that they depended on the Turkish authorities in any way. In 1515, a Muscovite ambassador there tried to find people who would agree to travel with him to Istanbul, he received the following answer: 'Those Cossacks that had lived here, they left to make their living somewhere else; now there is no one in Azov to travel with you' [Ibid., p. 142]. It turned out that the entire Cossack population had left on a raid. I believe that a major part of the Azov Cossacks of that time were the Tatars of the vanished Great Horde, who did not want to obey the victorious Girays.

Former residents of the Great Horde flocked to Azov even during its existence. This peculiar social stratum of free steppe daredevils, mostly independent and difficult to manage, was formed right in the final throes of the Great Horde. Descriptions of raids on the southern Russian frontiers at the end of the 15th century leave no doubt as to the ethnic affiliation of the Cossacks: 'The Tatars came, the Cossacks from the Horde and from Azov'; 'the Tatars came, the Cossacks from the Horde and from Azov'; 'the Tatars from the Horde came along with the Cossacks, their chief was Timish be the name, two hundred people with him and 20 Cossacks, they came to Aleksin',—and after the fight with

¹ The highlights in the quotes here and below were made by us.

Russians 'some Tatars left for the Horde, being wounded, and died on the way there' and so on [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, 1853, p. 44; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 2000, p. 251; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, 1921, p. 210; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26, 1959, p. 292]. It seems that participants of such raids acted independently, authorities in the Takht Eli and Azak were not aware of it. However, the defeated Cossacks returned to the Horde, i.e. to their home. It is no accident that the texts of that time contain such expressions as 'Trans-Volga Cossacks' and 'Trans-Volga Tatars', they are often used interchangeably; the Azov and Horde Tatars were robbers on trade routes (a typical Cossack 'line of profession') (see for example: [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 321, 322, 324, 349]).

However, they cannot be regarded as members of the Horde due to their semi-independent position. Already at that time they were a formidable force, which local rulers tried to use to their own advantage. In 1496, Khan Sheikh Ahmad wrote to the Grand Duke Alexander Kazimirovich that Mengli Giray, being in hostile relations with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Great Horde, 'sent his people to the Azov Cossacks' and Cossacks staged attacks on Lithuanian and Great Horde ambassadors in the steppe [Lietuvos, 1994, p. 119].

A similar raid of 1469, led by a son of the Trans-Volga Horde Khan, is described by Jan Długosz: '... a lot of Tatars, assembled from **fugitives, robbers and outcasts**, who are called the Cossacks in their own language... invaded the land of the Polish kingdom' [Joannis Długosii, 2005, pp. 243–244 (frequens Tatarorum exercitus ex **fugitivis, predonibus et exulibus**, quos sua lingua Kozakos apellant... terras Regni Polonie... irrupit)]. The Polish chronicler makes it clear that, firstly, the Cossacks were, in his view, anti-social rabble, people outside

of a stable social hierarchy, even as part of the Horde; secondly, they were involved in raiding as subjects to the Great Horde, fighting under the command of a tsarevich; thirdly, the very notion of 'Cossack' was new to Długosii¹, and he confidently ascribed the Tatar origin to it (which was right).

The situation in the 1460–1500s, when the Golden Horde finally collapsed, with the Great Horde steadily progressing in a similar direction, turned out to be favorable for the formation of free Cossack communities in the steppes of Eastern Europe. At that time, they most likely included almost exclusively Tatars, primarily from the Great Horde ('almost' because we cannot exclude other ethnic inclusions—for example, Russians and Circassians). As it is known, later, in the 16th century, people from the Slavic countries began to migrate to those regions. Settling with the Tatar long-term residents, they formed well-known communities of the free Cossacks—the future 'troops' of the Don and the Zaporizhia.

During the weakening of the Great Horde and after its defeat by the Crimean Tatars, the territory was divided between more successful rivals and neighbours. The steppe, adjacent to the Black and Azov Seas, was governed by the Crimean Khanate; the independent Astrakhan Khanate formed in the Lower Volga; Trans-Volga nomad tribes were integrated into the Nogai Horde; former crop lands of the Tatars in Pyatigorye were transferred into the ownership of Kabardian princes; in the North-East Caucasus, there was a little splinter of the Horde in the form of the Tyumen ulus; communities of the free Cossacks settled in secluded areas along the banks of the Don and the Dnieper. Accordingly, the Great Horde Tatars settled within those domains, as well as among the free Cossacks. Obviously, most of the former Great Horde Tatars became part of the Crimean and Astrakhan Tatar communities.

¹ Jan Długosz wrote his chronicle between 1455 and the 1480s.

CHAPTER 3

Polish-Lithuanian (Belarus) / Lipka Tatars in the 14–19th Centuries

Ilya Zaitsev

The first Tatar communities in Lithuania appeared, according to a common belief, at the beginning of the 14th century, when the Grand Duke Gediminas (1305–1341) used the Tatars in the fight with the Teutonic Order and invited Tatar squads into his service. It is possible that some of these Horde members would choose to remain in Lithuania for permanent residence. Mass migration of the Tatars to Lithuania began during the reign of Grand Duke Vytautas (Witold, 1392–1430). It was at that time that the greatest number of Tatar settlements appeared in Lithuania. In Lithuania, the Grand Duke provided the Tatars with tax benefits, as well as land, for the use of which they were obliged to perform military service [Abrahamowicz, Reychman, 1983, p. 765]. Tatar squads as separate military units took part in all the wars led by Vytautas and his successors. Tatar noblemen received family tamgas as coats of arms for their noble origin, they had rights equal to those of Polish and Lithuanian aristocrats [Dziadulewicz, 1929]. Names of military banners for units of the Lipka Tatars lead to the conclusion that they retained their clan affiliation in Lithuania: *Naimans*, *Jalairs*, *Baryns*, *Kungrats*.

The main occupations of the non-noble Tatars were trade (mainly with the East), carting and leather craft. Some of the Lithuanian Tatars served as interpreters and translators [Abrahamowicz, Raychman, 1983, p. 765].

At that time, Lithuania was one of the most tolerant countries in the world in religious terms, and several dozen languages and religions coexisted in the country. The Tatars who settled in the country enjoyed all the rights of the Russian-Lithuanian boyars, guaranteed freedom of religion and respect for their traditions. However, this

was true only for those Tatars who resettled voluntarily: Tatar prisoners were baptised and often found themselves in a dependent position. The situation deteriorated during the reign of Sigismund III but all the privileges of the Tatars were returned in 1662. However, hostility on religious grounds was not unprecedented. The mosque in Troki (Trakai) was destroyed in 1609, and several Tatar women were accused of witchcraft and burned. In 1616, a canon from Vilna, Peter Chizhevsky, published his famous anti-Muslim book that would be republished several times 'True Tatar al-Furqan' ('Alfurkan tatarski prawdziwy: na czterdzieści części podzielony, który zamyka w sobie początki tatarskie y przygnanie ich do Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego'), in which he negatively assessed the policy of authorities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth towards Muslims and called for all their privileges to be revoked and that they convert to Catholicism. However, this written monument of Counter-Reformation thought was probably influenced by personal motives: in retaliation for the slaying of the author's father by a Lithuanian Tatar.

The resettlement of the Tatars in Lithuania continued much later than the reign of Vytautas, particularly in the 15–16th centuries. The bulk of the Nogai Tatars left for Crimea after the Muscovite forces had conquered Astrakhan, a smaller part of them fled to the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to Volyn and Podolia [Baranowski, 1950, p. 133; Borawski, 1977, p. 300].

A number of the Horde tsarevichs and even khans also arrived in Lithuania [Dumin, 1989]. This number includes the last Khan of Golden Horde Sheikh Ahmad. In Lithuania the khan was officially considered not a captive, but a 'guest' of the king. This status

did not allow him to receive any grants in the form of land in Lithuania [Zaitsev, 2003; Zaitsev, 2004a].

There is an opinion in the literature that the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars represented the *Lipka* people mentioned in different sources. More than 120 years ago, a Russian Turkologist V. Smirnov wrote about the Lipka Tatars in the preface to his edition of the Turkish historical manuscript about relations between Russia, Turkey and Crimea: '... the issue with this ethnic community has not been resolved yet, probably it would help to carry out studies in the field' [Collected studies, 1881, p. 38].

Sources. Until now, researchers have been guided by only one Tatar historical text of Lithuanian origin, which focuses on the origin and history of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars—'Risale-i Tatar-i-Lech' ('Treatise on the Polish Tatars')¹. The work is thought to have been written in 1558 by an unknown Tatar during his Hajj for Rustem Pasha—a vizier of Sultan Suleiman²—and Istanbul nobles, who were interested in the position of their fellow Muslims in Poland and Lithuania. The text was introduced as an academic source by A. Mukhlinsky³, Professor of St. Petersburg University, the second dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies. The original Turkish text has not survived, and we can look at it only in a lithographed edition (a 23-page booklet that was published in an extremely small print run in 1858). The authen-

ticity of this text has not been questioned from the start: no works on the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars have not included quotes in the Polish or Russian translation by Professor A. Mukhlinsky.

V. Smirnov was the only one who urged caution regarding the *Risale*: 'the author of this work... a true Muslim and Tatar patriot, sincerely grieving the loss of purity of the faith and nationality by his fellow tribesmen'. He continued: 'The *Risale* is written in the Ottoman dialect, but through his style of speech the author reveals to be a man, unaccustomed to think and to express his thoughts in a purely Turkish language: the entire work is strongly reminiscent of the European way of thinking, including concise phrases, more typical of European languages' [Smirnov, 2005, p. 147, Note 1]. However, V. Smirnov stopped at that remark: he frequently quoted the *Risale* and, apparently, did not consider it a forgery.

More recently, the authenticity of the work was (also very cautiously) questioned by Stephen Rowell. He did not venture to claim that the *Risale* was an outright fake, however, but gave one of his chapters a provocative title 'Risale-i Tatar-i Lech' or 'Risale-i professor-i Lech'⁴. Rowell's doubts are based on the following factors: The *Risale* is the only non-religious text of the Lipka Tatars; the style of narration is not 'Asian' but European; all information in *Risale* has parallels either in the texts of Lithuanian metrics, or the chronicle of Ibrahim Pechevi; finally, the essay focuses on Poland, although, in reality, we are talking about Lithuania, it is also strange that a person, so patriotically inclined towards Lithuanians and Vytautas, does not use the term 'Lipka'⁵; finally, regarding the ancestors of Lithuanians, the author implicitly points to the Sarmatians, that is unlikely to reflect the knowledge of a Tatar author of the middle of the 16th century. These remarks by S. Rowell can be supplemented by a few more.

¹ See: [Muchliński, 1858]. Several works of the same author written in the Russian language [Mukhlinsky, 1857].

² Rustem Pasha, a Croatian, was born in Bosnia (his last name was Opuković, though there is an opinion that he was Albanian), and is known as the author of a historical work devoted to the Ottoman dynasty. He served as a grand vizier of Suleyman the Magnificent twice: from 951 to 960 AH (1544–1553) and 962–968 (1555–1561). He died on 28 Shawwal 968 AH (11 July 1561). For more information see: [Süreyya, 1996, p. 1402; Babinger, 1927, p. 81 et seq.].

³ About him: [Stanisz, 1935, pp. 302–326]. I transcribe the name of the orientalist as 'Мухлиньский' [Mukhlins'kiy] on purpose, instead of the conventional Russian manner of writing it 'Мухлинский' [Mukhlinskiy], as it corresponds to the Polish pronunciation.

⁴ i.e. "Treatise on Polish Tatars" or "Treatise of a Polish Professor" See: [Rowell, 1998, pp. 123–137].

⁵ Details about him: [Zaitsev, 2006, pp. 70–77].

The circumstances under which the manuscript appeared and disappeared. The manuscript, copied at the beginning of the 18th century (according to the print, the original came from the collection of an Ottoman bibliophile Ragib Pasha, who died in 1763¹) in the handwriting of talik, was seemingly sent to A. Mukhlinsky a few years after his trip to the East (1834) by a bookseller Emin Efendi and immediately disappeared. No collection in the world contains any manuscripts of the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars dating before the 17th century (the oldest manuscript is dated 1631) [Drozd, Dziekan, Majda, 2000; Suter, 2004; Hofmann, 2005 pp. 357–359]². Moreover, all surviving manuscripts have a pronounced religious nature (prayers and the so-called tefsirs—translations of the Quran with commentary). There are no historical texts or chronicles in this tradition.

Language of the work. There is almost nothing to add to the words of V. Smirnov and S. Rowell. Indeed, the language of the work does not resemble the known samples of the Ottoman or Crimean (as well as post-Golden Horde) historical prose of the 16th century. In addition, the author of the *Risale* uses certain toponyms in a very atypical manner. For example, Wilno is called 'kursi-i memleket' ('the throne of the state'), Novahrudak is represented by a Turkic loan translation 'Yeni shehir'.

Text. The resemblance between the text and Ibrahim Pechevi's works deserves special attention. The manuscript of the 'History' by the latter author was kept in Mukhlinsky's library, the professor often quoted

Lithuanian Lipka
Tatar, 1676
[Zaitsev, 2003a]

the text of it [Muchlinsky, 1857, pp. 55–56, 60–61]³.

Ideological orientation. Doubts about the authenticity of the *Risale* also exist because the ideas expressed in this treatise are very close to those of the



professor. The basic idea of the treatise and A. Mukhlinsky's research is as follows: 'The wise foresight of Lithuanian rulers endowed the Tatars with lands, favoured their faith, and, in the latter days, equated them with the native nobility, relieving them of almost all taxes. For that age, it was a matter of great courage and the higher, strong mind'. The Tatars 'for their part, were able to repay such kindness with their goodness and faithfulness to the land, where they were admitted to not as captive slaves but as brothers' [Ibid., pp. 3–5].

A devout Catholic and an ardent Polish patriot, Mukhlinsky was involved in the issues of national minorities in the region and wrote about it: in 1851, 1852 and 1856, he was commissioned by the government to inspect Jewish schools in Minsk, Vilna and Kovno provinces; in 1860 he was a member of the State Commission for the Karaims' Affairs [Stanisz, 1935, p. 315]. He did not believe in the success of the Empire's assimilation policy in relation to the Jews and proposed a project for their religious edu-

¹ Raghib Muhammad-pasha ibn Shawki Muhammad-efendi [1699–1763] is the grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire who served at the court of Mahmud I (1730–1754). In the library, see: [Babinger, 1927, pp. 288–290; Hammer, 1833, p. 171, #22; Bazili, 1836. Part 1, p. 144; Part 2, pp. 221–224; Kaya, 2007, pp. 185–196]. A brief of the collection was printed in the Ottoman Empire in the latter half of the 19th century [Raghib, 1285]. It is clear that this list does not contain the manuscript we are interested in.

² These publications contain references to almost all the literature that touches upon this issue. See also: [Рукапісы, 2003].

³ 18 Arabic manuscripts from Muchliński's collection are currently kept in the library of St. Petersburg State University [Deryagina, Frolova, 1997, pp. 45–51; Deryagina, Frolova, 1998].

cation. In his works devoted to the Tatars, A. Mukhlinsky constantly stressed their commitment to Poland and the loss of their language. The author of the *Risale* also covered the Jewish topic, claiming that Lithuanian Tatars were getting poorer while the Jews got richer. Moreover, the treatise gave excellent material to show Poland and Lithuania as a bastion of tolerance in comparison with the Muscovite state.

Thus, we can judge the history of the Tatars in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus mainly by Polish-Lithuanian and Russian sources. However, the ethnonym 'Lipka' is mentioned in several Eastern works. V. Smirnov believes that it is a mistake to identify the Lithuanian Tatars with the Lipka Tatars. Although the scientist himself quoted the text of a state report by Moscow diplomats, stolnik V. Tyapkin and clerk Nikita Zotov (1681), which leaves no doubt that the Lipka Tatars are the same ethnic group as the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars: 'those Tatars that are called 'Lipka' in Poland' [List, 1850, p. 646].

The etymology of the word '*Lipka*' presents a number of difficulties. The 'l' at the beginning is not typical for Turkic languages (except perhaps Chuvash), and words starting with this letter mainly originate from Persian or Arabic (as well as Greek, Italian, Russian etc.¹). Thus, it is obvious that the word in the Turkic languages must have been borrowed. From Slavic, most likely². It is believed that this word comes from the old Crimean Tatar name of Lithuania [Abrahamowicz, Reychman, 1983, p. 765], however, the spelling of Lithuania in Arabic script in the titles of Polish kings, as it is used, for example, in Crimean or Ottoman letters to Poland, is quite different (لطاوا), in addition, the consonance of the first syllables of the two words does not answer the question. V. Smirnov stated that,

according to the Crimeans themselves, this word means 'tempted', 'enticed' [Smirnov, 2005, p. 149]. The Polish-Lithuanian Tatar authors suggested that the etymology of the Polish '*Lipka*' meant 'a small lemon tree' [Tuhan-Baranowski, 1932, pp. 96–98; Abrahamowicz, Reychman, 1983, p. 765].

However, some texts of eastern origin may still be related to the subject. I distinguish two traditions that in one way or another reflect the existence of the ethnic group of Lipka: Iranian and Central Asian (in Persian and Turkic) and Crimean-Ottoman³.

The first is represented by several texts. 'Muntakhab al-Tawarikh-i Mu'ini' by Mu'in al-Din Natanzi (the so-called 'Anonym of Iskander', written in Persian in Shiraz in 816/1413–1414). According to this work, after the death of Nogai, the Ulus Jochi was divided into two parts: the right wing and 'Kok Horde' got the country of Urus, Circassian, As, Mkhshi, Bular, Majar, Avkek, Bashgyrd, *Libkai* (emphasis mine—I.Z.), Khadzhi-Tarkhan and Ak Saray, and other received the areas of Jend, Barchkend, Sygnak and called itself 'Sol Kol and Ak Horde' (i.e. Left Hand and White Horde). In another place, Natanzi writes that to the right wing, which included Ibir Sibir, Rus, *Libka* (لبقا emphasis mine—I.Z.), Ukek, Majar, Bulgar, Bashgyrd and Sarai Berke, were appointed to the descendants of Toktai. In fact, the term 'Kok Horde' was applied to the camp of Jochi in the upper reaches of the Irtysh River, and later became used to denote possessions of descendants of Jochi's son, Orda Ichen (from the upper Irtysh River to the west, near the rivers of Il and Syr Darya). The Jochids of Kok Horde were the tsarevichs of the left wing. In turn, the

¹ There are a number of other ethnonyms that contain the initial letter 'l'. For example, 'Lezgi' [لزيگي] or the Polish — 'Lekh' [له].

² V. Smirnov once supposed in passing: 'Is there anything common between the word "Lipka" and Polish "Lipsko", the geographical name of several places in Old Poland where Tatar migrants might have been seen for the first time?' [Smirnov, 2005, p. 149, remark 8].

³ A small fragment about the Polish Tatars in "The History of Astrakhan" written by Jahan Shah ibn Abd al-Jabbar al-Nijgaruti al-Hajji-tarkhani may refer to Eastern texts about the Lipkas [Hajji-tarkhani, 1907, pp. 28–31]. In fact, this is an extremely popular interpretation of Poland's geographical position, [پولشه] the history of Muslims (since the time of Witold) and their modern conditions (mainly including a description of their insufficient loyalty to Islam and service as officials). See also: [Frank, 2001, pp. 305–306]. See also J. Validov's opinion about the Polish Tatars [Samoylovich, 1916, p. 73].

term 'Ak Horde' was used to refer to possessions of descendants of another son of Jochi, Shibān (between the possessions of Orda Ichen and a personal domain of the first khans of the Golden Horde in the Lower Volga). The army of the Ak Horde tsarevichs was part of the right wing in the Jochid army¹. 'Libka' is mentioned by the 'Anonym' in a story about the confrontation between Timūr Qutluḡ and Tokhtamysh: the latter fled to this area and then returned with his army [Tiesenhausen 1941, pp. 238, 133]². The 'Anonym' in the part that we are interested in served as a source for the 'List of organiser of the world' by Qazī Ahmad b. Mohammad Ghaffari Qazvīnī, who also mentioned the ethnonym in the form of (لبقا) [Tiesenhausen 1941, pp. 269, 211]. V. Bartold already noted that the 'Anonym's' stories were often epic in nature and seemingly based on a non-Muslim environment that probably indicated a chronicle, composed by Uigur scribes (while he almost literally rewrote the text of Rashid al-Dīn for the early period of the Mongol history).

Apparently this tradition also includes a quite confusing and obscure text of an epic work 'Khan-name' (a manuscript of the late 1650–early 1660s, created during the reign of 'Abd al-Azīz). As it seems to me, it also contains a vague mention of the *Lipka*. Some *Lebna* (لبنه)³ are mentioned in the list of

Turkmen clans, in which you can easily trace the distortion of (لبقه).

The Crimean-Ottoman tradition is richer in detail on this topic. The Collections of documents, published by V. Smirnov, includes an entire chapter on the *Lipka* (لبقه or لببقه). 'Explanation of the name *Lipka*'. Villagers from the Tatar tribes, who had long been dissatisfied with the Khan and his murzas, leaved their place of residence, taking most of their possessions and livestock with them, as well as their families and children, without warning they mounted their horses, moved to Russian territory in the night and took citizenship of Muscovy. The latter allowed the fugitives to live in empty ravaged lands of his; allowed them to build houses, mosques and cathedrals, with the condition to pay one gold coin (of tribute) per year and if they sold anything—cooking butter, livestock, vegetables or other things—sold it for coins circulated in Russian villages. In the same village, he settled several Russians and built a church there, so that children of the Tatar Muslims could mix (with Russian children); their eyes would get used to Russian customs, and they would forget their previous manners. With this trick, in a short time he changed the spirit of them, so that from the Muslimism among them remained only the pretension: children inherited the Muslim religion of their parents, however, they learned Russian customs from their peers and neighbours; in the Russian environment, they were like Russians, in the Islamic one, they were like Muslims. These that are called *Lipka* [Collected studies, 1881, pp. 35–45].

An Ottoman historian, Ibrahim Pechevi (early 17th century), wrote about the Lithuanian Tatars: 'When the terrible Timur came to Kipchak, many of the Tatars were captured and killed; but some Tatar tribes fled to Poland, where they settled, so that today there are sixty Tatar villages'. According to Pechevi, there was a Jami (Friday mosque—I.Z.) in every village, 'khutbah (sermon—I.Z.) in the name of the King is given there. These villages are very crowded and prosperous; but neither of them had several Jami and

¹ See: [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 1992, p. 195; Tiesenhausen, 1941, pp. 232, 127].

² In this case, both manuscripts of the 'first edition' contain a peculiar misprint (?). لبقا Can it be the initial form of distorted 'Lithuania'? Another possible mention of the ethnonym in both manuscripts of the first edition in the form (لبقه) is also doubtful based on the source's orthography and geographical context [Tiesenhausen, 1941, pp. 240, 136]. It is possible that this text became the origin of the term لبقه in the story about Tokhtamysh written by Munnejim-bashi and Ahmed Nedim. Ahmed Nedim translated the world history 'Jami ad-Duwal', originally written in Arabic (which covers events through the year of 1672) by famous Turkish historian Ahmet bin Lyutfullah (Munnejim-bashi) (died in 1702). Nedim worked on this translation over 10 years, from 1720 to 1730, and titled it 'Sahaif ul'-ahbar' ('Pages of tidings') [Müneccimbaşı Sahaif ul'-ahbar (صحائف الاخبار). Cild II. İstanbul, 1285/1868/69 (Arabic font), p. 694].

³ Once even Lenbe [Gökyay, 1968, pp. 300, 294].

mosques, the unfaithful do not allow them to be built there'. The Tatars, according to Pechevi, 'do not pay taxes to the kingdom but only assign three hundred people among them to serve the Tsar, also necessary correspondence and letters of kings are sent and delivered through them'.

The Ottomans considered themselves natural protectors of the rights of the Tatar Muslims living in Christian lands (not all sources refer to them as the *Lipka*). In mid-October of 1591 (the first ten days of Muharram 100 AH—19–28 October of 1591), Sultan Murad III from Istanbul informed Sigismund III that two Muslim Tatars had arrived to the Ottoman capital together with a royal ambassador. They said that in Poland, near the border with Muscovy, there were 15,000 Tatars—the orthodox Sunnis, who did not have a mosque (*Jami*) and could not celebrate religious festivals and Friday worship. The Tatars asked the Sultan to allow them hold these services. In his letter to the King, the Sultan asked him to build a mosque in a certain place and not to impede the performance of such worship by the Tatars [Katalog, 1959, p. 227; Abrahamowicz, Reychman, 1983, p. 766].

Evliya Çelebi also mentioned the Lipka Tatars. According to this Ottoman traveler, the Lipka Tatars, like many other nations, descended from the Tatars [Evliya Çelebi, 1983, pp. 48, 301]. At the same time, Evliya referred to the authority of Muhyi al-Din Ibn Arabi (1165–1240) in this matter: it was said that the latter named 70 different peoples in 'The Book of Treasures', including the 'Muslim people' of the Lipka Tatars (by the order, it is mentioned between 'Muscovites, Lechs' and 'Magyar people') [Evliya Çelebi, 1999, pp. 7–8]. According to Evliya, the Lipka Tatars spoke a language close to Polish (as well as Bosniaks, Herzegovinians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Voynuks, Slovaks, Rus, Muscovites and other Slavic peoples) [Evliya Çelebi, 1961, p. 73]¹.

A reverse movement also took place: the Lipka Tatars moved to the Ottoman Empire

and probably the Crimea. During the events in the Ukraine in the times of Hetman P. Doroshenko, there was a revolt of the Lithuanian Tatars, who then left to serve the Ottoman sultan [Dumin, Kanapatsky, 1993, p. 83; Grishin, 1995, p. 29]. According to Chapter 1 of the Treaty of Buchach (signed on 25 Jumada II—18 October 1672), the Polish side was forbidden to do any harm or cause losses to families and property of the Lipka Tatars who defected to the Ottoman side and joined the Ottoman army; the Poles were also forbidden from obstructing the movement of those Lipka Tatars who decided to relocate to the lands of Islam, as well as prevent them from taking their families and property with them [Katalog, 1959, p. 358; Uzunçarşılı, 1988, p. 185]². This condition was repeated in the *Akhd-name* sent by Mehmed IV on the 23 of October 1672, and fixed in the Polish-Turkish treaty of Zhuravno on the 17 of October 1676 and later—in *Akhd-name* sent by Mehmed IV in the first half of April 1678 [Kołodziejczyk 2000, p. 497, Fasc. XX, doc. 51; p. 502, Fasc. XXIIb, doc. 52, the first line; pp. 521–522, Fasc. XXII, doc. 54; p. 530, Fasc. XXIIIa, doc. 55]. Curiously, the report on the division of (the *governorate* of Kamenets Podolsky of Ahmad Pasha) of October 1680 referred to mirzas of the Lipka Tatars together with some local Agas (yerlü agaları ve Lipka mirzaları) [Kołodziejczyk, 2000, p. 556, Fasc. XXIVa, doc. 57]. We can get some idea of these agas and other titles of the Lipka Tatars (for example, *odabashi*) from a defter of Kamenets Podolsky (about 1681) [Kołodziejczyk, 2004, p. 204].

Part of the Lipka Tatars returned to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1691 (Tyszkiewicz, 2002, p. 20), but most of them remained in the Ottoman lands. A direct con-

¹ Before the 19th century, the Crimean Tatars called the Tatars inhabiting western Russian guberniyas 'Lupki' [Evliya Çelebi, 1961, p. 254].

² I. Uzunçarşılı incorrectly dated it 20 Jumada I 1083 AH, which is 13 September 1672. As is known, according to his conditions, Podolia was annexed to Turkey, while Right-Bank Ukraine fell into the possession of hetman Doroshenko, who recognized his dependence on the sultan. Rzeczpospolita was obliged to pay a ransom to the Turks so that they stopped the siege of Lviv and had to pay tribute annually. However, the Polish Seim did not accept peace, and in autumn 1673 the war was renewed.

firmation of this lies in a *deft* of the Khotyn neighbourhood (*nahie*) for 1715–1716, recorded shortly after the separation of the suburbs after the war in 1710–1711 from the so-called 'Bogdan' (i.e. Moldavian Principality) and assigned to the Khotyn Fortress. After the conclusion of the Treaty of the Pruth in 1711, several thousand Moldovian and Ukrainian peasants left those lands, having moved to the north with Russian troops. Many villages were left without residents, and the Ottoman government insisted that the Khotyn authorities should persistently return those who had fled (they even provided tax breaks for one year to peasants who decided to come back). At the same time, the resettlement of the Lipka Tatars in those lands was encouraged. The empty villages of Lobatneshna, Molozhina, Sherol, Istakan, Gremeshta, Kopozheshta and Serbichena¹ were 'entrusted to the Lipka Tatars, located near the White Mosque' on 6 Rabi I 1128 AH, i.e. March 30, 1716 [Dimitrov, 1969, p. 148].

Perhaps this process is reflected in the text of the 'Statements of Moldavian History' (1809): '1716. Near the Monastery of St. Archangels Michael and Gabriel—Rakovica, another part of the land near Bessarabia was given to the Tatars to feed their livestock under the written condition to give owners of the villages a tithe of the seeding and 10 pairs from a household. Twelve more villages were conquered and brought into the possession of the Bendery fortress, as well as many other parts, thus dividing the poor principality' [Semyonov, 1998, p. 153]. The source of 1740 mentioned these Lipka people as follows: 'With regard to the Lipkans, 6,000 of them emigrated once from Poland to Khotyn, where they enlisted in military service under the command of their bayrak agas' (banner bearers) [Guboglu, 1964]. This passage incidentally shows that sometimes sources contain the word 'Lipka' in the form of an animated Persian plural—*Lipkan*.

This form is reflected in the toponymy as well. On 29 Jumada II 1237 AH (March 22,

1822), the *divan* signed a *tezkere*, prescribing the commander of the Ottoman army in Moldavia, Beylerbey (*mirimiran*) Osman, to prevent his officers from violating the possessions of a Nikolai and his companion Savva from the village of Libkan [Catalogul, 1965, p. 449, doc. 1584]. According to their names, residents of this village were Christians.

A great many Lipka Tatars moved to the Ottoman Empire after the Turks had left Podolia. However, this resettlement was sometimes opposed by the Ottomans.

The author of a historical work on the history of the Crimean Khanate 'Seven Planets', Sayyid Muhammad Riza, tells about the siege and capture of Kamenets by the Turks and also wrote about the Lipka Tatars: at the beginning of the war between Poland and the Ottomans, they sent a deputation to Selim Giray, asking to allow them to move to Budjak [Bessarabia]: 'The Lipka Tatars, who took citizenship in the land of the unfaithful Poles with the condition to pay taxes, but Muslims in their nature, inasmuch as some of them lived near the Islam lands, sent a letter to the Crimea, containing a request to rescue and release them from the humiliating citizenship and allow to settle near Budjak. The insightful Khan refrained to give them a direct answer and, after consulting with Khalil Pasha, governor of the Silistria governorate, made a presentation and a statement to the Threshold of Happiness [Porte] together with him. But since it was against the will of the above mentioned Pasha, what he secretly confirmed by writing a note, which said that 'the execution of this deed is associated with adversity and difficulties', the higher vizier ruled to postpone the matter. People, who arrived with such [a paper], were greeted with such an unexpected response, they returned back home' [Asseb 1832; Collected Studies, 1881 pp. 38–39].

In the Crimea, it was well known that the Lipka Tatars were Muslims. Selim Giray wrote to Peter and Ivan Romanovs that the Esteks were the same Muslims as the Lipka Tatars, and Muscovy was treating them with violence [Collected Studies, 1881 p. 40; Ma-

¹ The village of Serbichany, Sokiryany District, Chernivtsi Oblast, Ukraine. The rest of the villages are identified approximately.

terials 1864, pp. 719–720].

The accession of the Polish lands in the Russian Empire did not infringe property rights of the Lipka Tatars. Catherine II's decree stated that the Tatars swear their allegiance to the Russian throne, they should 'receive all the rights to their property and benefits'. Many of the Lipka Tatars then faithfully served the Russian state. We can recall the families of Bazarevsky, Sobolevsky, Krichinsky, Khaletsky, Sulkevich, Bugatsky, Koritsky, Belyakov, Tugan-Baranovsky, Yanushevsky, Yuzefovich, Adamovich et al. The baptism of representatives of noble Tatar families and mixed marriages between the Lipka Tatars and local Christians were not uncommon already in the 16th century. Both contributed their cultural assimilation with the Polish-Belarusian majority.

The Tatars in Poland and Lithuania lost their native language and started using the Belarusian and Polish languages relatively quickly. However, they recorded their texts in Arabic script [Antonovich, 1968].

The repertoire of manuscripts by the Lipka Tatars is divided into several varieties¹: handwritten Qurans², tefsirs (in some areas

it is pronounced 'tapsir')³, kitabs⁴ and h-mails⁵, supporting literature (tedjvids, sufras and dictionaries), amulets (the so-called dalawars⁶, hramotkas and nuskas) and all sorts of tables. Special consideration should be given the so-called muhirs (from Arabic 'muhr'—print), quite original pictures with calligraphic sayings from the Quran, the

³ *Tafsirs* (Arab. "exegis, commentary") are books including the Quran's full text with interlinear, broken written translation into the Polish language [the text is the same in all extant copies]. The translation into Polish [almost verbatim, with elements of interpretation] was made from an Arabic original with the use of the Turkish translation at the end of the 16th century—or at the beginning of the 17th century, and was thus one of the oldest translations of the Quran into a European language. The oldest extant copies containing Polish text are dated 1723 and 1725. There is information about a copy of a tafsir from the collection of the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Bashkortostan Republic in which surahs 1–18 have the Turkish translation and the rest is Polish. This *tafsir* is dated 1658–1659 (1069 AH). The most ancient copy with the Turkish interlinear translation is dated from the end of the 16th century. Similar to handwritten Qurans, tafsirs included prayers and explanations of rituals that opened and finished readings of the Sacred book. They are often books containing 400–500 sheets, with a 35x20 format.

⁴ *Kitabs* (Arab. "book") are the main type of Polish-Tatar writing, a kind of a religious encyclopaedia of manuscripts in the form of a codex of various volumes (from 150 to 300 sheets and even longer, the most common format is 35x20 or 20x17 cm—the so-called half-kitab) and made up of diverse, often chaotic content which mostly depended upon the tastes of the compiler (scribe). As a rule, kitabs included stories about prophets and Islamic saints, stories from Islamic history, Quranic and Biblical tales, apocryphas, eschatological visions, works of an ethnic character, homilies, hadiths, prayers and dedications, commentaries to the Quran's surahs and the fragments of its translation, elements of Islamic law, descriptions of Islamic rituals and customs, fragments of polemical stories, magical texts, Turkish and Arabic dictionaries, etc. *Kitabs* also contained a small number of non-religious texts (certain fables of Eastern or Polish origin). As a type of handwritten book, *kitabs* appeared in the 17th century (which is proven by the oldest known copies).

⁵ *Khamail* (Arab. "what is born close at hand", "private amulet")—despite the etymology, they are prayer books (this definition of a prayer book is found only among the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars). The content of a khamail usually includes the texts of prayers accompanying different stages of a Muslim's life, prayers for any life occasions, etc.

⁶ Distortion of the Turkish 'dualar', that is prayers.

¹ The terminology of the Polish-Tatars' written culture is different both from the accepted scientific and classical Islamic versions. However, it is acceptable to us because it is traditional for the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars and took root in their environment.

² Qurans were the most popular manuscripts (along with khamails) among the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars. Most often, they are scarcely illuminated books of approximately 20x17 cm that typically consisted of 200–300 sheets. The text could be divided into two or several volumes. The text was often accompanied by appendices: popular prayers, explanations of the rules of reading the Quran and its separate surahs, intonations and pronunciation (which most often reflected the Ottoman tradition), as well as related rituals. In addition to local copies, Ottoman hand-written Qurans, Kazan printed editions of the Sacred book of Muslims, as well as 'haf-tiyaks' (the seventh part of the Quran, which would be convenient to read according to the days in the week) also became widely spread in the latter half of the 19th century. The oldest Polish-Tatar copy of the Quran (1682) with commentary in Polish was kept in Pskov library (which came from the library of the Pskov School of Theology and had also belonged to Pskov bishop Simeon Todorsky, who was a professor of Hebrew at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy) [Krachkovsky, 1924, pp. 165–168].

images of the Kaaba, Mecca and Medina, local Tatar mosques or views of Istanbul, which decorated the interior of houses and mosques—a synthesis of several arts: written culture (calligraphy), painting, and arts and crafts (handicrafts). Unfortunately, no absolutely identical written records of the Lithuanian Tatars (except for a small circle of texts, wandering from manuscript to manuscript) have been identified so far.

The largest collections of manuscripts by the Polish-Lithuanian Tatars are stored in Lithuania (National Museum of Lithuania in Vilnius, Vilnius University Library, Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences); Poland (Museum of History in Białystok, libraries of the Department of Turkic and Iranian Studies, as well as the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw, Gdańsk library of Polish Academy of Sciences); Russian Federation (Library of

the Department of Oriental Studies of the St. Petersburg State University—the collection of A. Mukhlinsky; Library of the Kazan University; Pskov State United Historical, Architectural and Fine Arts Museum-Reserve¹); Republic of Belarus (Library of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Belarus; Belarusian State Museum of Religion History in Grodno²); and the United Kingdom (the British Library, Francis Skaryna Belarusian Library in London). Some manuscripts are also stored in Ukraine (State Public Library in Lviv) and Germany (Leipzig University Library).

Currently, such manuscripts are rarely found in Tatar families. Preparations are currently underway for the publication in Vilnius of a joint collection of Tatar manuscripts, stored in the manuscript department of the National Museum of Lithuania, as well as in the libraries of the Vilnius University and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

¹ There are no data about the manuscript kept there before the war.

² So far, we know about three Polish-Tatar manuscripts from this collection. In 2003, new written records supplemented the collection of the Belarus State Museum. Among them was a kitab of 161 pages, three prayer books and a handwritten Quran.

CHAPTER 4

Formation of Siberian Tatar Ethnic Community

Zaytuna Tychinskikh

The ethnopolitical community that was forming in the 16th century as part of the Tyumen and Siberian Khanates was of certain integrity, and the stability of its names attests to this [Tatars, 2001, p. 124]. According to the Russian sources of the 16th to 17th centuries, it was known as 'the Siberian country', 'the Siberian land' or 'the whole Siberian land' ('the Siberian lands'), 'the Siberian realm', 'the Besermyan realm in Siberia', 'Isker yorty'. The root of its name originates from the capital of the realm—'the city of Siberia' (Isker). Most sources call the ethnic group that formed the state and dominated the politics in the Khanate as 'Tatars'. Sometimes the Russian documents refer to it as the Muslims: 'Bosurmans', 'damned Busormans', 'pagans', 'impious Tatars'. Although certain communities of Siberian Tatars only partly adopted the Islamic religion at the time of the Khanate, the above description suggests the Islamic appearance of that community.

The governmental organisation of the Siberian Yurt was fundamentally similar to the political structures of other post-Golden Horde states—the Kazan and the Crimean Khanates, the state of the Shibanids, and the Nogai Horde. The Siberian Khanate was one of the fragments of the Golden Horde, and like other Tatar khanates it inherited the main features of the administrative and political order of the Golden Horde state, which was ruled by a khan who had the supreme power in the country and sovereignty over its territory. The medieval Siberian Tatar community, just like the population of other Tatar states, consisted of two ethno-class strata—yasaks and serving people.

S. Bakhrushin was one of the first to pay attention to the division of the Siberian Khanate population into two strata. The Khanate consisted of a small privileged group of

Tarkhans, feudals, and yasak payers, so called 'black people' [Bakhrushin, 1955, p. 155]. Z. Boyarshinova also mentioned social class division into feudals and yasak people, whereas the relations in the Khanate were referred to as patriarchal and feudalistic [Boyarshinova, 1960]. According to E. Vershinin, the Tatar population of Siberia split into two categories after it had been annexed to the Russian state [Vershinin, 1998, p. 61]. It should also be noted that after the Russian colonisation of Siberia, the natives did not split into two categories, but instead, the existing social class stratification of yasak 'black' population and Tatar feudals was preserved, although in some other capacity. This involved not the social, but rather the ethno-class stratification of the Siberian-Tatar population.

The yasak Tatars of the Siberian Khanate seemed to be the earlier population of Turkic and Turkified Ugric origin ('Ishtyaks', 'Sypys'). As for the serving people, this stratum originated in the Tatar Golden Horde [Iskhakov, 2002a, p. 8]. Notwithstanding certain differences in the structure of the leading feudal clans of the Siberian Khanate from other Tatar states, the governing stratum dated back to the Tatar military feudal class of the Golden Horde. The Tatar elite of the Siberian Khanate consisted of a khan, sultans, beys, murzas, yesauls, Islamic clergymen (sayyids, sheiks, mullahs, abyzes and others), noblemen of the khan's court—vizier, karacha, atalyks, karacha beys, as well as common Cossacks. All of them formed the 'Tatar layer of the Siberian-Tatar ethnopolitical community' [Iskhakov, 2006, p. 66]. A system of karacha beys existed. Among the khanate's ruling clans, the Manghits, Saljiguts, Jalairs, and Burkuts are known [Ibid., pp. 134–135]. The Arghyn clan could also be found.

Karacha beys in the Siberian Yurt remain in the historical memory of Siberian Tatars.

Up to the second half of the 20th century Tobolsk and Vagay Tatars of the Tyumen region carried on the wedding tradition of four groomsmen, nukers, holding a cloth above the bridegroom as he was escorted to his bride. F. Akhmetova-Urmanche, a folklorist, thinks this tradition had been observed since the Siberian Khanate, when 'karachis held a sacred koshma when the new khans were raised on it'. The last time she saw this tradition observed at a wedding in 1959, in Kukranda aul (Cheburga), Tobolsk region. According to F. Akhmetova-Urmanche, when the koshma was lifted, a male choir sang the ritual song 'Kiyau Tipseu' (Bridegroom Farewell Ceremony), that implied escorting the bridegroom accompanied by the medieval cone-shaped 'tip' drums [Akhmetova-Urmanche, 2002, p. 343].

Just like many other Tatar states, the Siberian Khanate had a Tarkhan institution. This term was quite widespread in the Siberian Yurt, and it points to the existence of especially privileged people known as 'Tarkhans'. Tarkhans are also mentioned in the dastan 'Ildan and Goldan': 'Irteshak killed the Tarkhans who crowned Changi Bey, and he then became a Khan in Kyzyl Tore again' [Ildan belän Göldan, 2002, p. 29]. The toponymy of Siberian Tatars still retains such names as Tarkhan-kala, Tarkhany village and others. According to S. Bakhrushin, the Siberian Tatar service class emerged from the feudal Tarkhans [Bakhrushin, 1955, p. 163]. There was even a separate Tarkhan volost. 'Tarkhan Ostyaks say their ancestors descended from Tatars. Their ancestors live in Tobolsk, one of them used to be a Tarkhan there' [Atlasi, 2005, p. 67]. The name of the Khanty Tarkhan volost suggests certain Tarkhan relationships between the Tatar Khan and Ostyak princes, and points to the northern border of the military and political influence of the Siberian Khanate [Miller, 1937, p. 222; Martynova, 1998, p. 94].

So based on factors such as uniformity of the ethnonym referred to Siberian Tatars, the formation of their name according to the samples used in other Tatar khanates, recognizing that community as an Islamic one, we can

determine that in the 16th century the Siberian-Tatar nation already existed, despite the ethnic differences of the two strata and 'their peculiarities' [Iskhakov, 2003, pp. 113–116].

There are no exact data as to the size of the Turkic population of Siberia before the mid-16th century. The approximate size of the population of the Siberian Khanate in the mid-16th century can be extrapolated, however. According to the charter of Edigur to Ivan IV, where he mentions 30,700 (the number of sable skins to be paid to the Moscow state by the Taybugids), this number can be regarded as such. Based on the fact that yasak was imposed by taxable men over 18 years of age, the population of the Siberian Khanate is supposed to be 120,000–150,000 people (including the non-Turkic population).

At the end of the 16th to 17th centuries among the population of Western Siberia, there were serving, yasak-paying and zahrebetnik Tatars. Islamic clergymen formed a small group. This division was determined by social differences that were evident in their state duties. At the same time, the division of the Siberian-Tatar community into social groups was still of an ethno-class character, inherited by the previously existing stratification that transformed into ethno-class groups of yasak-paying and serving Tatars amid the new historical circumstances.

After the Muscovite state had conquered the Siberian Khanate at the end of the 16th century, the major part of the survived Tatar feudals started serving the new government as service class 'yomysheles', just like in other Tatar khanates. While they did not assimilate with the Russian feudals, they did not become part of the native yasak class either. This ethno-class group subsequently retains its unique features for a long time due to both external and internal factors [Tychinskiy, 2010, pp. 44–45]. They acted as military serving elite of the Siberian Khanate before the annexation of Siberia. Notable examples include Prince Enbulat, who served in Tobolsk in the 1590s, his son Prince Kutuk and his grandson Allagur murza, murza Kaydaul Bayseitov, his sons Mamet, Chitey and Aitkul Kaydaulovs, Tara Prince Tynmamet Berde-

ley-Mirzin, his son Küchük Tynmametov and his grandson Talayka Küchükov [Bakhrushin, 1955, pp. 164–165]. Among the Tatar murzas of the early 17th century were Tyumen serving Tatar 'Prince Atkacharko Akhmanaev' [Russkaya, 1875, p. 349], Tyumen 'Yurt serving Tatar best men' Devey Irtyshov, Buydak Emachtaev, Tugoka Kelementeyev, Moyumas Azekhmatov, Kazad Engildeyev, Ustemir Kanchurin [Miller, 1941, p. 159] and others.

The title of serving Tatar becomes hereditary in the 17th century. For instance, in 1622 upon the petition of Tobolsk serving Tatars, the Tsar's edict read as follows 'to grant the Tatars' children and nephews with new estates' [Bakhrushin 1955, p. 165]. In 1629 Tara serving Tatars managed to receive more lands than was normally granted. But due to the fact that there was a fixed number of estates, the young were granted lands as vacant places appeared.

During the 17th century the service class grew in number, sometimes due to the influx of noble foreigners. One Tabyn, one Sart and two Bukharians are mentioned in a Tyumen estate book of 1626–1627. In Tara in the 1760s, there was a 'visiting serving Tatar Cholbar Kochashov, Zaysan's son' (a Kalmyk nobleman), and his son ItKüchük Cholbarov, Zaysanov's son was his successor [Ibid.]. Starting from the mid-17th century, Kasimov murza Semeney Aganin appeared among the Tyumen and Tobolsk serving Tatars. The growing number of serving Tatars also included spiritual elite, including its higher members, as, for example, Tara Yurt Tatar Sayyid Teneley Bereleev, a son of Khoja Miraly Sayyid Din-Ali. Sometimes natives of Central Asia, known as Bukhiarans, were numbered among the serving people. Their number constantly grew in West Siberia due to the protectionist policy of Moscow regarding the Central Asia immigrants.

In the late 16th century, serving Tatars formed squads concentrated in Tobolsk, Tyumen and Tara. Similar divisions later appeared in Tomsk, Kuznetsk and Krasnoyarsk. After winning the Tatar nobility to its side, Moscow now had professional military forces that were inexpensive to train and arm, and that

played an important role in the subsequent colonisation of Siberia. In the 17th century, serving Tatars successfully performed their duties related primarily to the cavalry service. According to S. Bakhrushin, Tatar military nobility 'smoothly exchanged one lord for another, and painlessly shifted to serving the tsar' [Ibid.]. In the late 16th and the early 17th centuries, serving Tatars retained their privileges. They are regarded as 'best men', and they preserve their 'patrimonial lands'. In the 17th century, there were 250 serving Tatars in Tobolsk, 75 in Tyumen, and 36 in Tara [Ibid., p. 163].

Zahrebetnik Tatars. Zahrebetniks or Zahrebetnik Tatars were a specific group of the Siberian population in the late 16th to 17th centuries. Together with serving Tatars, this category was singled out from the Tatar population of Siberia after it became part of the Muscovite state. In the Russian state of the 15th to 17th centuries, zahrebetniks were feudal-dependent people who did not have any households and worked for peasants in their households or posad people. Similar to Russian people dependent on feudals, zahrebetniks were the population previously dependent on the nobility of the Siberian Khanate. According to researchers, zahrebetniks were an ethnic community integrated with the serving Tatars of the uyezd they lived in [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 62].

Like their suzerains, serving Tatars, zahrebetniks did not pay yasak, because serving Tatars managed to get exemption for themselves and zahrebetniks as well under the rule of Boris Godunov. In exchange, zahrebetniks had to fulfill certain duties imposed on serving Tatars. 'When serving Tatars were away for service, they guarded their houses' [Bakhrushin, 1955, pp. 170–171]. Zahrebetniks seemingly worked on the fields of serving Tatars, because the latter did not have much time for it due to their service. Serving Tatars placed their cart duties on zahrebetniks' shoulders that until then were imposed upon themselves.

Some poor relatives of the serving Tatars, who for whatever reason failed to join the service class, became their zahrebetniks. 'Our

fathers and uncles served, sire—said children, brothers and nephews of the Yurt serving Tatars of Tyumen—to Tsar Mikhail, but we are left stranded wandering among yurts and living on unskilled labor'. Furthermore, many foreigners living in the settlements of serving Tatars became zahrebetniks too. F. Valeyev reports that in the 17th century zahrebetniks of Siberian serving Tatars included Volga Tatars, who worked on the fields of their landlords and fulfilled cart duties [Valeyev, 1993, p. 154].

Originally, there were separate volosts of zahrebetniks, because Tatar volosts were linked to traditional native communities. According to B. Dolgikh, 'the Turkic-speaking Tatar population of the Tobolsk uyezd could be divided into two major parts: the serving Tatars of the yurt together with neighbouring southern volosts of their former zahrebetniks, and other Tatars, presumably tatarised Voguls and Ostyaks, who lived in the northern part of the uyezd near the Voguls and Ostyaks' [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 58].

The majority of the population of Tobolsk uyezd belonged to the volosts of the zahrebetniks of the Tobolsk serving Tatars: Ashla (Layma), both Babasansk, Krechatnikov, Inder, Uvat and Supra volosts. In the early 17th century, a yasak was imposed on these zahrebetniks volosts. After annexation to Russia, the murzas' appanage formed some volosts of Tobolsk and other uyezd. These zahrebetnik volosts were governed by Khan Kuchum's vassals. Babasan murza's lands formed Babasan volost. Other volosts in Tobolsk uyezd seemed to be of the same origin. They had been governed by murzas and beys since the 17th century. For example, Supra volost in 1629 was allegedly governed by murza Gultaev Taber, the Tara uyezd of Oyaly volost, Turash, Terenya, Kirpitskaya, Barabinskaya, all being former parts of the Siberian Khanate.

In the late 16th to 17th centuries, serving Tatars and their zahrebetniks lived in Tobolsk, Tyumen, Tara and Tomsk uyezds. N. Tomilov reports on the number of serving and zahrebetnik Tatars in the uyezds in the 17th century. He refers to the following figures in

Tobolsk uyezd in the late 16th and early 17th century—there were 261 serving Tatars and 200 zahrebetniks. In the mid-17th century (1650–1652), there were 250 serving Tatars and 200 zahrebetniks; by the end of the century (1697–1700) there were 263 serving Tatars and 200 zahrebetniks [Tomilov, 1981, pp. 82–83]. According to B. Dolgikh, the Tobolsk serving Tatars were 'direct descendants of the prevailing Tatar core of the Siberian Khanate' that made an ethnographic entity with their zahrebetniks. The total number of serving and zahrebetnik Tatars at the beginning of the 17th century was 460, when their families are included, this rises to 2350. The number of serving Tatars and zahrebetnik Tatars by the end of the 17th century remained the same. Tobolsk Yurt serving Tatars and their zahrebetniks were spread out across the territory where the Tobol meets Irtysh and along the Irtysh to the borders of Tara uyezd [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 61].

Tyumen Tatars were some of the first Turkic inhabitants to inhabit that territory among Tatars of Tobolsk and Irtysh. One of the earliest state formation of Siberian Tatars—Tyumen Khanate—is related to them. They remained more or less isolated within the Siberian Khanate [Tomilov, 1981, p. 17]. In the early 17th century (1627), the number of Tyumen serving Tatars was 117, and zahrebetniks 106. In addition, there were carrying Tatars among the Tyumen Tatars. There were 61 of these Tatars. In the middle of the century (1644), there were 108 serving Tatars and 105 zahrebetniks; at the end of the century (1699), there were 119 serving Tatars, and 105 zahrebetniks [Ibid., p. 44].

N. Tomilov shows that Tara serving Tatars and their zahrebetniks had their own settlements along the Irtysh up and down from Tara. 'While mapping yurts of Ayaly Tatars, there was a gap between them and Sargatsk and Utuzu Tatars in Irtysh region, a place not inhabited by Tatars. This territory was located along the Irtysh up and down Tara. This was the territory inhabited by serving Tatars and their zahrebetniks' [Ibid., p. 139]. In the 18th century, Podgorodnaya volost appeared when many of them became part of yasak Tatars. In

the late 16th century, there were 57 Tara serving Tatars and 60 zahrebetnik Tatars; in the mid-17th century (1645–1646), there were 45 serving Tatars and 45 zahrebetniks; and in the late 17th century (1698), there were 57 serving Tatars and 61 zahrebetnik Tatars [Ibid., p. 147].

In the first half of the 18th century, all zahrebetniks were turned to yasak Tatars. In the subsequent period this group is scarcely mentioned, however a number of documents refer to the categories of old yasak and new yasak Tatars.

Yasak Tatars. In the late 16th to 17th centuries, the majority of the Turkic population of Tobolsk and Irtysh were yasaks, the former 'black' taxable population of the Siberian Khanate. D. Iskhakov suggests they should be regarded as the earlier population of the Turkic and Turkified Ugrian origin [Iskhakov, 2002a, pp. 9–10].

According to the archives (1598), the following volosts existed during the governance of Khan Kuchum: Kurpitskaya (Kirpitskaya), Turashskaya, Lubarskaya, Choyskaya, Kuromskaya (Kuroma), Barabiskaya (Big Boroba), Yalynskaya, Kaurdatskaya, 'Chatskaya' (Chaty) and 'Komakskaya' (Kolmlaki). The previous volosts and uluses of the former Siberian Khanate became part of the new administrative and territorial units—uyezds—in the form of yasak volosts.

The yasak population, as before, was obligated to pay taxes (yasak). In Siberia yasak was collected in the 17th century in the form of furs, sometimes of bread, fish, ironwork, etc. The yasak population swore shert, i.e. they swore an oath not to evade yasak. The system of amanat was used to force the population to pay yasak. The community also had to pay yasak for the dead, fugitives, or crippled.

Yasaks differed between volosts. Yasak was measured in sable furs—from one or two up to 10 furs a year. As a result of sable overhunting, other furs were permitted for yasak. Yasak was imposed on men aged between 18 and 50 in the 17th century. There were two types of yasak—an estate and non-estate. An estate yasak was collected from any yasak

man listed in the yasak book. The non-estate yasak was not standardized, and was imposed on nomads. Gradually, non-estate yasak payers became estate yasak payers. The government carried out censuses to record the yasak population. The lands and estates of yasak Tatars were considered state property that was transferred to foreigners for their use in exchange for yasak payment.

According to B. Dolgikh, there were 872 yasak payers (males) among the natives of Tobolsk uyezd at the beginning of the 17th century. The total number of yasak Tatar population was presumably about 3500. In the late 17th century, the number of yasak Tatars was 1243, whereas the total yasak population numbered 4970 [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 59].

The great numbers of yasak Tatars made the Tara uyezd different from other uyezds in West Siberia. According to researchers, the distinguishing feature of the Tara Tatars was their preservation of cattle breeding, which is why there is every reason to think that the community was partly settled during the Siberian Khanate period. Furthermore, the tribal nomenclature of the Tara community (*Kourdak, Tav, Karagay, Ayaly and others*) shows their connection to the nomads of Desht-i Qipchaq (special ethnic affinity can be found with the Northeast Bashkirs—*Ay* tribe, and others). If among the yasak Tatar population there were groups of other (Ugrian, Samoyed) origin, by the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries all of them appeared to have been Turkified. B. Dolgikh cites the following figures: at the beginning of the 17th century, there were 1262 yasak payers in Tara uyezd, and the total yasak population was 5050. By the end of the 17th century, the number of yasak payers was 762, together with their families they totaled 3050. By the end of the century, there were 985 yasak payers. The total yasak population of Sargach, Kourdak, Ayaly, Baraba and 'Kalmyks' volosts was 3940. It should be noted that a drop in the yasak population of Tara uyezd in the middle of the 17th century as compared to the beginning of the century was due to the outflux of Tara Tatars to Kuchumovichs, the results of the rebellion of Tara

Tatars in 1628–1629, the constant military skirmishes with the Kalmyks, and the migration of part of the population due to the yasak imposition [Ibid., p. 49, Tomilov, 1981, pp. 148–149].

According to B. Dolgikh, 293 yasak Tatars lived in the eight volosts of Tyumen uyezd (Kynyrsky townlet, Bachkyskaya, Tersyatskaya, Ilensky townlet, Shikchinskaya, Kaskarinskaya, Pyshminskaya and Isetskaya) at the beginning of the 17th century, whereas the total population was 1170 people. Regarding the population of Tyumen uyezd in the middle and the end of the 17th century, B. Dolgikh reports the following data: the number of yasak payers in nine volosts including the above, as well as Iskinskaya, was 389 people, whereas the total yasak population together with their families was 1550 [Dolgikh, 1960, p. 43].

The semi-nomadic lifestyle of the military stratum of the Siberian Yurt caused the instability of the Yurt's interstate relations. In other Tatar states the social power of the feudals was based on land ownership and military service to the khan, whereas land ownership in the Siberian Yurt meant owning hunting grounds and engaging in raids to impose tributes on neighbouring tribes. That is why Russian colonisation resulted in the feudal nobility of the Siberian Khanate losing their economic basis and becoming the obedient weapon of the Muscovite state. On the other hand, Siberian feudals (unlike feudals of other conquered Tatar khanates) avoided direct economic and religious pressure.

After losing their sovereignty, the feudal class was no longer a unifying political force. The yasak population was now directly subordinated to the Russian state. The Siberian Tatar ethnic community changed from its vertical structure of ethno-class strata to a horizontal one based on territorial ethnocultural divisions. The collapse of the vertical social structure of the Siberian Tatar ethnos laid the foundation for erasing the boundaries between the strata.

Serving Tatars was an integrating force in the formation of the Siberian Tatar ethnic community; centers of the territorial groups

self-designated as 'Tobolyk', 'Tumannek', 'Tarlyk' were forming around the settlement centers of the stratum. Various groups of Siberian Tatars were closely interrelated, and this made their consolidation possible. However, the significant geographical distances between them prevented this process from being completed. Ethnic consolidation was complicated by the active integration at different stages of the Bukhara and Volga Tatar groups into the Tatar community.

The process of converting Siberian begs and murzas from a military to a taxable class in Siberia took longer than in the Volga region, and nominally the outcome was the abolition of the Tobolsk Tatar Cossack regiment in the late 1860s. In fact, although the former Siberian murzas remained in the military class, from the beginning of the 18th century their rights and status were similar to that of Russian Cossacks and yasak Tatars. The only difference was military service instead of yasak payment.

Serving Tatars gradually lost their privileged status, rendering social differences between serving and yasak Tatars irrelevant. This contributed to further interethnic consolidation of the Siberian Tatar community.

Despite the fact that up to the late 19th century the Tatar serving nobility still retained certain traditional cultural traits specific to the Golden Horde elite, the core of the serving Tatars were on the same level as the yasak Tatars, and their economic order and lifestyle became similar. Yasak and serving Tatars both had a common economic order, the prevailing areas of which were determined by natural geographic conditions and not by class origin.

The analysis of marriage ties of Tobolsk and Tyumen Tatars in the 18th century shows that serving and yasak Tatars were not isolated within their classes, and intensive integration processes were happening between serving and yasak Tatars and Bukharians. The classes were closely interrelated. Additionally, while external class boundaries were fixed, internal boundaries were blurred. Due to the small number of serving Tatars, the yasak 'black' population—'kara khalyk' of

the Siberian Yurt—played an important part in the ethnic development of the ethnic community of Siberian Tatars. Later the growth of the yasak population exceeded the growth rate of the service class, which slowed due to external factors: the number of Tatar Cossack squads was fixed.

One of the most important factors in the long preservation of the ethno-class stratum was religion. Since Siberian serving Tatars retained their Islamic faith, they could avoid amalgamation with Russian Cossacks, as happened to newly baptised Tatars, 'Lithuanians' and other serving people. Serving Tatars played a leading role in advocating for the economic, political and spiritual interests of the Siberian Tatars. It was serving

Tatars who spearheaded the fight against forced Christianisation in the 18th century. By the 18th century, Siberian Tatars were generally homogeneous in terms of religion, and their confessional denomination was 'Moselman'.

On the whole, despite certain unique features, the development of the Siberian Tatar ethnic community was similar to the processes of other ethnic communities of post-Golden Horde Turkic states and the ethnic communities of Tatars. Moreover, it is true as much for the Khanate period as for the period of Russian colonisation. The Muscovite state served as something of a catalyst for ethnic processes, shaping, in a certain sense, the Siberian Tatar community as in the Volga region.

CHAPTER 5

The Nogais

Vadim Trepavlov

Researchers previously recognised the ancestors of the Nogais in the ancient Turks, the Oghuz people, the Pechenegs, and the Mongols¹. Today, the prevailing academic point of view is that the Nogais (including the more recent Nogais) were primarily of Kipchak origin. The main, and certainly the most compelling argument for this idea is the fact that the Nogai language, possibly together with the Kazakh language, has preserved the archaic character of the Kipchak language to the highest degree of purity (see: [Baskakov, 1940, pp. 237, 250]). Most modern historians and linguists adhere to the Kipchak version (see, for example: [Kalinovskaya, Markov, 1990, p. 15; Kalmykov and others, 1983, p. 12; Kuzeyev, 1978, p. 196; Trofimova, 1949, p. 50; Usmanov, 1982, p. 59]), sometimes quite specifically: for the most part the eastern Kipchaks formed the population of the Nogai Horde [Viktorin, 1991b, p. 11].

However, it is worth mentioning here the opinion of L. Gumilyov: whether it is the Nogais, the Volga Tatars or Kazakhs, 'none of these ethnic groups is a direct descendant of the Cumans (i.e. Kipchaks.—V.T.), but each of them contains a distinct Cuman substrate' [Gumilyov, 1976, p. 37]. However, L. Gumilyov himself later denied the Kipchak origin of the Nogais, suggesting instead a stronger genetic relationship with the Oghuz people. His only argument was the pre-Mongol occupation of the Yaik steppes by the Oghuz tribes and feuding between the Nogais and the Tatars, the latter being, according to L. Gumilyov's later version, true descendants of the Kipchaks [Gumilyov, 1989, p. 673; Gumilyov, 1992, p. 178].

Indeed, the involvement of the Oghuz people in the emergence of the Nogai ethnic group is quite possible; this can be deduced from both the presence of Oghuz epic traditions in the Nogai dastans (see: [Sikaliyev, 1994, p. 174], and the long nomadic migrations of the Oghuz

people to the north of the Caspian region during the early medieval period. But their political domination of the region came to an end towards the middle of the 11th century [Kriger, 1986, p. 117], and a possibly more accurate version is the one by researchers who consider the Oghuz population of the region in the 12th and later centuries as one of the main components of the Kipchak world [Ahmetzyanov, 1991, p. 82; Ahmetzyanov, 1994, p. 40; The History of Karakalpak ASSR, 1974, pp. 98, 99].

A number of historians have proposed a strong link between the ethnonym 'Manghit' (the ruling el of the Horde, sometimes used as a synonym for all the Nogais) and the Mongols-Manguts, known to exist from the 12th century, suggesting a Mongol component within the Nogai ethnic group. The reasoning behind this is broadly as follows: the Manguts had moved to Desht-i Qipchaq, where they became Turkified (some historians maintain that this happened in the ulus of Chinggisid Nogai in the late 13th century), then gathered all the Kipchak tribes under one banner and together came to be known as the Nogais, creating the Horde of the same name (see, for example: [Bachinsky, Dobrolyubovsky, 1988, p. 87; Gardanov, 1960, p. 77; Kereytov, 1996, p. 14; Essays, 1967, p. 142; Cherenkov, 1989, p. 45]). In fact, none of the sources contains a single reference to Mongols being among the ancestors of the Nogais. It seems clear that a certain number of Manghits received pasture-lands in Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq under Chinggis Khan, or soon after his rule, but this was negligibly small compared to the bulk of indigenous Kipchaks; and the Manghits were the Kipchaks who had moved to the lands allocated to the Manghits, but not the Manghits themselves or their Turkified descendants (see: [Trepavlov, 2001, chapter 1]).

In any case, it appears that the ethnic roots of the Nogai Horde population can be found in the age of the Golden Horde. During the 13–14th centuries, the steppes between the Volga and Emba rivers were used as periodic migration routes by

¹ A collection of opinions on this issue was compiled by B. Kochekaev [Kochekaev, 1988, pp. 23, 24].

the various groups of Kipchaks, including the Manghits (see: [Ivanov, Kriger, 1988, pp. 58, 59; Kuzeyev, 1992, p. 75]); these lands were also the habitual campgrounds of the Eastern Kipchaks, who had been able to preserve their distinctive features even throughout the Golden Horde period. This territory later saw the establishment of the Manghit Yurt which, over time, expanded towards the south-east, to the traditional Oghuz campgrounds (see: [Kostyukov, 1995, pp. 41–43; Fedorov-Davidov, 1973, pp. 61, 62]).

Historians seeking to trace the ethnic history of the Nogais also tend to locate their early origins in the 13th century. The most detailed pattern seems to be the one suggested by E. Alekseeva. Kipchaks and Manghits (who, in her view, are not Kipchaks) consolidated into a nation within the collapsing Golden Horde by the middle of the 15th century: this nation had a common language an ethnic designation, a vague form of shared material and spiritual culture, and the ulus system, meaning it was already feudal, not tribal. E. Alekseeva has defined this stage as the genesis of 'ancient Nogai nation', who actually populated the Nogai Horde [Alekseeva, 1971, p. 20; Essays, 1967, pp. 141–143; Essays, 1986, p. 117].

A. I. M. Sikaliyev, who views the Jochid Nogai as eponym for the Nogais (as do many other historians), considers the presence of 'different tribes' in its ulus, on the west of the Golden Horde, as the initial stage of the formation of the Nogai ethnic group. The subjects of Nogai became, according to this view, Nogais (Nogails) and extended this term to nomads living both to the west and east of Volga. By the end of the 14th century, the first stage of ethnic formation was complete and a second one, involving the name of Edigu, began. In the second half of the 14th century, the 'Eastern Nogais' became stronger and, as part of the next stage of their ethnic history, in 1391 they withdrew from the Golden Horde by establishing their own empire [Sikaliyev, 1994, pp. 30, 33, 34].

None of these theories are backed up by the analysis of medieval documents. Because of the historical gaps researchers (including the author of these lines) have to base their views either upon speculative conclusions or later (19–20th centuries) records of Nogai folklore. The ideas of the Nogais about their own origins and history were, however, fragmentary and vague. According to legend, they moved to Desht from Bukhara (Uz-

beks' land) or from India [Bentkovsky, 1883, p. 3; Kornis, 1836, p. 5, Pashin, 1912, p. 39, Russian State Military Historical Archive, f. 405, op. 6, d. 3076, l. 30]. However, the affinity of the Nogais with the Uzbeks from the Abu-l Khayr Khanate in particular lies in the names of tribal unions (els), while their connection with the Kazakhs is based on Kazakh and Ural Cossack legends (see: [Zhelezov, 1888, p. 261; Shakarim, 1990, p. 109]). However, Turkic folklore contains evidence (direct and indirect) pointing towards a Kipchak origin of the Nogais. The Crimean Nogais spoke about their ancestral mother Tok-Saba [Smirnov, 1887, p. 77], a name connected to the pre-Mongol Kipchak tribe Toksoba; a Bashkir shejere (genealogy) states that long ago 'all the Nogais lived in the country of Kipchak' and were descendants of Yamgurchi Bey (Yamgurchi-Kipchaks) [Bashkir shejeres, 1960, p. 95].

As for the information contained in the records, it is extremely scarce. It is very difficult to find clues as to the fate of subsequent els of the Nogai Horde in the 13th and 14th centuries. For example, Mahmud b. Emir Vali provides tentative evidence that Batu moved the tribes Ming, Tarkhan, Ushun and Oyrat under the control of his brother Tuqayy Timur as a reward for heroism [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 1992, p. 188]. But these ethnic designations were not exclusive to the Nogais either, as they were spread among various Desht-i Qipchaq ethnic groups, from Siberia to Crimea.

Some authors have gone beyond mere arguments about the ethnic roots of the Nogai Horde's population, attempting a thorough identification of its tribal structure. The comprehensiveness of the lists of els developed by these authors relied on the sources available to researchers. For example, M. Vyatkin put forward the following names: Alach, Alchin, Argin, Kangli, Kipchak, Kitay, Konrat, Manghit, Naiman and Tama (Vyatkin, 1941, p. 43). P. Butkov stated that there were no less than thirty-eight tribes in the Nogai Horde, although of these he mentioned only the Kangli [Butkov, 1824, p. 291], it is therefore unclear what ethnic designations the famous specialist in Caucasian studies used to calculate this number. In the current literature, the most widespread calculation is that of M. Safargaliyev, who mentions eighteen tribes: Alchin, As, Baygur, Borgasm (Borgan? Borlak?—V.T.),

Gublak (?—V.T.), Kangli, Keneges, Kerey, Kipchak, Kitay, Kiyat, Kolgin, Kungrat, Manghit, Naiman, Tayjut, Tanguchin, Turkmen [Safargaliyev, 1938, p. 35; Safargaliyev, 1960, p. 230].

In the 19th century, the Stavropol Nogais would mention the Manghit, Kipchak and Naiman els among the 'many clans' making up their origins, when recounting their legendary 'exodus' from 'Bukhara' [Bentkovsky, 1883, p. 3]. Also, the population of Desht-i Qipchaq recalled the presence of the Kiyat el on this (western.—V.T.) side of Volga, long before the arrival of the 'Chinggis Tsar' [Russian State Library, f. 256, file 349, sheet 280]. The Karanogay dastan 'Edigu' mentions, among the subjects of Tokhtamysh Khan (late 14th century), the Buyrabas, Isun, Kanli, Keneges, Konirat, Kupshak, Manghit, Min, Naiman, Hiryuv, Shirin and Yuz els [Nogaydin, 1991, pp. 24–26]. These episodic and casual fragments of information can hardly be sufficient in outlining a comprehensive picture of the tribal structure of medieval Nogai society.

For a more detailed description we need to study any references to specific els to be found in the correspondence of the Nogais and Astrakhan voivodes with the Ambassadorial order (Posolsky Prikaz) (see: [Trepavlov, 2001, pp. 499–504]). It turns out that sixty-six els are directly mentioned as being part of Nogai Horde and the existence of at least four more (Kulachi, Teleu, Uyghur, Chimbay) can be retraced based on indirect data. There were altogether 139 names in the 16–17th centuries, including their subdivisions. In the 17th century, the Nogais regarded themselves a nation of 140 uluses, i.e. els [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, 1630, file 3, sheet 3]; speaking about the time before the arrival of the Kalmyks to the Volga region, i.e. around the 16th century, an Ottoman author, Evliya Çelebi, also mentioned 'the one hundred and forty tribes of the Nogai nation' [Evliya Çelebi, 1979, p. 162]. This was most likely the initial number of tribal subdivisions in the Horde, because by the beginning of the 17th century the Great Nogai Bey already maintained control over just fourteen els (the Burlak, Kipchak, Kitay, Kungrat, Ming, Naiman, and Turkmen, the rest seven not being mentioned in the source) [Akti, 1914, p. 179].

During the first third of the 17th century, the most widely ramified Nogai tribal unions were

the Az, Borlak, Kipchak, Ming, Naiman and Uyshun. At that time significant changes were already happening which evidenced a weakening of the until-then orderly el-ulus structure of the Nogai nomad empire. Els began to amalgamate and mix with elements of one el passing to another one, etc. Thus, the later Nogais comprised groups such as the Kangly-Borlak, Alchin-Min, Kangly-Min, Buyrabas-Min, Saray-Min, Yaby-Tama, and Kangly-Yuz.

The earliest evidence of this amalgamation appears the integration of the Kitay and Kipchaks. The first time their co-existence in the same ulus is mentioned in documents dating from the late 16th century, while the Kalmyks had already been treating them as one nation (distinct from the Nogais, it is worth noting) [Batmayev, 1993, p. 34; Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, 1586, file 3, sheet 1; 1627, file 1, sheet 303]. Over time, in the course of their migrations over the southern steppes, the Nogais had blurred the original subdivisions even further. The Naimans began to share the same tamga (official stamp) with a part of the Burkuts, a part of the Kangly with the Manghits, the rest with some clans of the Burkuts, etc. (see: [Yakhtanigov, 1993, pp. 179–185]). Some subdivisions moved from one el to another (see table: [Ibid.]). From the 16–17th centuries until the arrival of modern ethnographic methods, very few of such subdivisions survived: the Kara Kipchak, the Buyrabas as part of the Mings, and possibly the Bagali Uysun.

The monopolisation of control over all the els by the Manghit mirzas, at the beginning of the 1520's, was apparently the last step in the formation of an integrating ethnic self-awareness by the Nogai Horde population, transforming the word 'Nogai' from an ethnically blanket term into a single ethnic designation. Previously, the term 'Nogai' had primarily been a geographical and political notion identifying the Horde. Documentary evidence of such a transformation is, however, non-existent, because our main source—diplomatic correspondence—involved mostly beys and mirzas, who would refer to themselves and their subjects as 'Manghits', in line with the name of their el.

Epic folk heroes from the dastans may represent indirect proof of the ethnic cohesion of the Nogais. The Bogatyrs consider themselves Nogais, while still preserving a certain affilia-

tion to certain Nogai tribes (see, for example: [Sikaliyev, 1980, pp. 15, 16; Sikaliyev, 1994, pp. 34, 91]).

It seems clear that the inhabitants of neighbouring states had considered the nomads from the left bank of Volga river a single nation. The persuasion of Kanay Bey and Nuradin Kara Kel Mukhammad by Astrakhan governors to refrain from the campaign against their Tinmametev enemies speaks for itself: 'The Nuradynovy, their brothers and the children of the ulus people of those murzas (Tinmametevy.—V.T.)—are one and the same people, they are tribesmen to one another (the bey.—V.T.), and ought to be feared' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, 1628, file 2, sheet 108]. In the original text, the phrase 'one and the same people' was most likely written as 'bir halk' (one nation). The Urmameteves and Tinmameteves governed different els, while in the eyes of Russians they were one nation, 'they are tribesmen to one another'. Indeed, in relation with their neighbours these els would identify themselves by the generic name of 'Nogai'.

The correlation between the Nogais and Tatars hasn't been fully clarified yet. Authors hold views both contrasting (L. Gumilyov, see above) and linking them (see, for example: [Arslanov, Viktorin, 1995, p. 339; Ähmätcanov, 1993, p. 157; Ahmetzyanov, 1994, p. 32; Ahmetzyanov, 1995, p. 51; Shennikov, 1987, pp. 86, 87]). Such a wide range of views can be explained by the multiple meanings of the term 'Tatars' between the 13th and 17th centuries.

Kazan was far away from the tumultuous events resonating out from the collapse of the 'Throne Empire' (Great Horde), and even from the beginning it did not have very close contacts with the Nogais. There have also been suggestions in the literature of an earlier influence and even presence of Nogais in Kazan, going back almost to the time the khanate was established (see, for example: [Burganova, 1985, p. 16]). Among the strongest arguments on this subject are those put forward by M. Safargaliyev: 'When the Nogais let themselves be known to their Western neighbours, the Khanate of Kazan had already been established. The relations of Ulugh Muhammad (the first khan of the Khanate of Kazan.—V.T.) with Edigu's children could not have been friendlier after the treason of Nowruz. Nowruz, being a com-

mander of Ulugh Muhammad, betrayed him by going over to Kichi Muhammad, and as a result Ulugh Muhammad was exiled from his lands and sent to Kazan. Because of this, the participation of the Nogais in the conquest of Kazan by Ulugh Muhammad was out of the question. During the time of the early khans, the Khanate of Kazan was quite strong and did not need any support from its neighbours' [Safargaliyev, 1938, pp. 126–127].

The extent of the penetration of the Nogais into the Khanate of Kazan is still as of yet undetermined. We have already mentioned the unlikely probability of their initial presence in Yurt during the time of Ulugh Muhammad. However, the presence of Nogai among the population of the state can hardly be brought into question. First of all, this is clearly highlighted by toponymy: The Nogai gates in the capital fortress, the Nogai daruga—one of five provinces of the Yurt, etc. (see, for example: [Garipova, 1980, p. 149; Garipova, 1982, pp. 123–128; Zarinsky, 1884, p. 74; The History of TASSR, 1968, pp. 84, 85]). Secondly, the stream of migrants from the Nogai Horde is mentioned in Bashkir and Tatar shejeres or genealogies (see: [Ahmetzyanov, 1991a, pp. 51, 150; Ahmetzyanov, 1994, p. 39; Sokolov, 1898, p. 51]).

But it is still difficult to say to what extent the Nogais mentioned in folkloric sources match up with the historic Nogais originating from the Nogai Horde. Neither the larger number of Kipchak elements in the language compared to the local population, nor coincidences in the names of clans (els) allow us to identify the foreign Kipchaks with the Nogais. Kipchak migrations continued for hundreds of years, while the Nogais did not consolidate themselves in the Manghit Yurt until the second half of the 15th century and, even though they spoke the Kipchak language, they cannot be seen as representing all the movements of the Kipchak-speaking population in Eastern Europe. It is entirely a different matter that from time to time Nogai troops would come to the lands of the khanate to resolve political issues and, sometimes, stay there for long periods. For instance, it is known that during the second rule of Muhammad Amin (1502–1518), twenty thousand Nogai cavalry settled in his land [Mardzhani, 1884, pp. 49, 57].

There is no doubt that this proximity also contributed to the penetration of Nogai Horde nomads into the lands of the Kazan Yurt. The area

to the south of the Kama River, from the point it flows into Volga until the Belaya estuary, appears in the 'Kazan Chronicler' (Kazansky Letopisets) as a territory of the Khanate of Kazan. 'That was initially the land of the Little Bulgars starting from beyond the Kama river, between the great rivers Volga and Belaya Volozhka, up to the Great Nogai Horde' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, 1903, p. 12]. One must therefore assume that between the camping grounds of the Nogais near Kazan and the Nogai Bashkiria there was an 'protrusion' governed by Kazan and populated by Bashkirs. However, in 1552 Ismail had summer pastures 'on the Ik river five days from the Kama river' [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 127, file 4, sheet 137 reverse], i.e. he was travelling to Ik from Kama all the same. Furthermore, Bashkir-Yurmaty folklore contains information about earlier settlements of Nogais on the Zay and Sheshma rivers—in the interfluvium of the Volga and Belaya rivers [Ishakov, 1985, p. 45]. D.Ishakov's view of a joint Nogai-Kazan governance over this land [Ibid.] would appear to entirely explain the inconsistency in the sources.

As a result of the dramatic events of the 16–17th centuries, groups of people from the Nogai Horde settled well beyond the borders of their steppe empire and were involved in active ethnic interactions with local nations. The folk literature of the Karakalpak people, an offshoot of the Nogai Horde, contains a number of recollections about their time as part of the Nogai state; close matches in the names of ethnic subdivisions also highlight the Nogai-Karakalpak ethnohistoric community. The Nogai nation is mentioned in a heroic epos of the Kyrgyz people, the *Manas*, as being friendly to Kyrgyz people, making up one state or ulus with them; the bogatyr *Manas* himself was a descendant of the Nogai people.

As a result of two large waves of migrations in the 16th century, the Nogai element was consolidated within the Kazakh ethnic group as well. Its presence was particularly noticeable on the west of Kazakhstan, where groups of Nogais and Manghitays survived until the early 20th century. The fact that the entire Kazakh Lesser Zhuz settled down on the former territory of the Nogai Horde was also an apparent push for assimilation. Groups of people under the name 'Nogai' were even more common among the Bashkirs, especially the south-eastern Bashkirs.

There is also evidence of a Nogai settlement in the lands of the Sibirsky Yurt¹.

The influx of Nogais brought with it an increase of Mongoloid traits in facial features, together with number of Kipchak elements in language, and nomadic features in local cultures. People bearing the 'Nogai' ethnic designation had thus assimilated into almost all the local nations. It is not a coincidence that their neighbours recognised the Nogais as a polyethnic community, while this designation was used generally to refer to representatives of different ethnic groups. The term Nogai was used to refer to the Northern group of Crimean Tatars who lived in the steppes beyond the Crimean peninsula; for Kazakhs, the Nugay meant Bashkirs and Volga Tatars; for Bashkirs and Kazakhs in the past, the Nogai meant Siberian Tatars; for Kalmyks, the Ishtig Mangad (i.e. Ishtyaks-Manghits) meant Bashkirs, and the notion of 'Uulun Mangad' (Mountain Manghits) meant Balkars and Karachaevs, etc.

¹ See the following works about the Nogai component in the ethnogeny and ethnic history of the *Kazan Tatars*: [Arslanov, 1993; Ahmetzyanov, 1991a, p. 51; Ähmä tçanov, 1993, p. 146, 153, 155; Ahmetzyanov, 1994, p. 39; Burganova, 1985, pp. 15, 16; Gallyamov, 1994, pp. 175, 176; Iskhakov, 1993; Makhmutova, 1978, p. 15; Urazmanova, Sharifullina, 1991]; *the Astrakhan Tatars*—see: [Arslanov, Viktorin, 1988, p. 13; Viktorin, 1991, pp. 48, 49; Viktorin, 1992, p. 182; Izherdeev, 1994, p. 38; Iskhakov, 1992, pp. 6–10, 27, 28; Mukhametshin, 1992, p. 63; Sadur, 1983, p. 11]; *the Siberian Tatars*—see [Valeev, Tomilov, 1996, pp. 25, 30, 31; Katanaev, 1893, p. 31; Kuzeev, Moiseeva, 1987, p. 101; Kuleshova, 1995, p. 43; Seleznev, 1994, pp. 78–80; Tomilov, 1995, pp. 31–34; Frolov, 1995, p. 120]; *the Crimean Tatars*—see: [Georgi, 1799, p. 36; Iziddinova, 1980, p. 246]; *the Kazakh*—see: [Adjigaliev, 1994, pp. 30, 31, 96; Amanzholov, 1959, p. 9; Arginbaev, 1991, pp. 76, 79; Aristov, 1896, p. 376, 380; Valikhanov, 1886, p. 233; Voenno-statisticheskoe obozrenie (Military-Statistical Review), 1848, p. 12; Vostrov, Mukanov, 1968, pp. 98, 107, 108, 238, 246; Vyatkin, 1941, pp. 43, 51, 52; Erofeeva, 1999, p. 215; History of the Kazakh SSR, 1979, p. 250; Kereytov, 1993, p. 23; Logutov, 1929, p. 48; Masanov, 1993, p. 108]; *the Bashkirs*—see: [Bashkir Shejar, 1960, pp. 174, 187; Kuzeev, 1974, pp. 109, 111; Kuzeev, 1978, pp. 180 (map), 196; Kuzeev, 1991; Kuzeev, 1992, p. 130 (map), 1974, pp. 109, 111; Kuzeev, 1992, p. 130 (map); Rakhmatullin, 1988, p. 178; Trepavlov, 1997, pp. 5, 10–12]; *the Kalmyks*—see: [Avlyayev, 1984, p. 381; Tsuryumov, 1991, pp. 34, 35], *the Uzbeks*—see: [Aristov, 1896, p. 422], *the Don and Ural Cossacks*—see: [Avlyayev, 1984, p. 382; Bekmakhanova, 1993, p. 86; Milykh, 1940, p. 35; Chernitsyn, 1995, pp. 51, 52].

CHAPTER 6

Astrakhan Tatars

Ilya Zaitsev

The Astrakhan Tatars is a generic ethnic designation commonly referring to the Tatar population of the Astrakhan Oblast of the Russian Federation (about 7% of the current population)¹. The term is also used to identify the Turkic population of the Astrakhan Khanate (1502–1556). Many researchers (D. Iskhakov and others) consider the Astrakhan Tatars to be descendants of the Golden Horde and even earlier ethnic groups, possibly of Khazar and Kipchak origin. Between the 15th and 17th centuries, they were mainly under the influence of the Nogai Horde, while in some occasions they assimilated directly with groups of Nogai origin (for example, the Karagashes)². It seems that the Astrakhan Tatars did not form a distinct nationality during the Astrakhan Khanate's existence.

A large number of Turkic peoples moved from the Upper Volga to the lower reaches of the river already after the fall of the Astrakhan Khanate. This process gained momentum particularly in the 17–18th centuries, resulting in the amalgamation of Astrakhan Tatars with the Volga-Ural Tatars. In the 19th century, local Tatar migrants in Astrakhan still had a clear memory of the migration: for example, a copy of the poem 'Yusuf and Zulaikha', rewritten in the city in 1823, contains a mark indicating that the book was rewritten in 'Kazan quarter'.

There seem to have been several groups of Nogai origin among the Turkic population of the Astrakhan area, most importantly the so-called Yurt Tatars. There is, however a theory that proposes that the Yurt Tatars are descendants of the Astrakhan Khanate Tatars. The Karagash Tatars (calling themselves the Karagash-Nogailar), who were first mentioned in

the second half of the 18th century as Kundrov Tatars, are also associated with the Nogais. Astrakhan ethnographers currently use the term Kundrov people (as a kind of transition group between the Yurt and Karagash people) to refer to people mainly living in the village of Tuluganovka, Volodarsk district of Astrakhan oblast.

A special group of Astrakhan Muslims (who no longer exist) were the so-called Agrizhan Tatars—half Tatars-half Indians [Ozeretskovskiy, 1804, p. 301; Shperk, 1898, no. 52³; Yuht, 1957, p. 138; Zaitsev, 2008, pp. 164–171]. The name derives from the Tatar dialectic *egrish/egdish* (*egrizh/egdizh*). Having a Persian marker of the plural -an, this word became the source of the ethnic term 'agrizhansky' in the Russian language. The word *Igdish* (*Igdich/Igdidzh*) as a designation of the offspring of a Turkic man and an Indian woman can be found in the dictionary of the Astrakhan born L. Budagov: 'a Turk, whose mother was Indian, born from these two nations, is a cross;... a word used to describe underbred, castrated animals...' [Budagov, 1869, p. 71].

The first documentary mention of the Agrizhans dates from 1661 in an edict record of the Chancery Chamber (Prikaznaya Palata) of Astrakhan (September 7, 1661) describing the daily feeding of a hostage named Alyadink Ayupov. In the text, the hostage is mentioned as an 'Agrizhenian', but the name in the text is an assumed one: the text, according to the publishers' notes, was 'inaccurately corrected'. However, by the middle of the 17th century, there is already undeniable evidence of the existence of this word in the local vocabulary.

The time when an Agrizhanian suburb or estate emerged in Astrakhan (no later than 1710) can be identified based on a note in a Senate case dated 1745 about providing Ar-

¹ The third largest ethnic group of the Astrakhan Oblast. According to the census of 2002—70,590 (7%); 2010 — 60,523 (6.6%).

² See [Viktorin, 2014] for the Nogai issue in Astrakhan and its study today.

³ There is a separate impression as well.



Nogais in Astrakhan. Print from 'Description of my travel to Muscovy...' by A. Olearius, 1630–1640.

menian, Indian and other Eastern merchants in Astrakhan with equal rights and obligations as Russian merchants. This report, by the chief magistrate to the Senate reads: 'Starting from the year 710, besides customs duty and ground rent, every estate is to pay income tax to the Astrakhan customs office: 100 Rubles from Bukharian estate, 14 Rubles from Gilan estate, 20 Rubles from Agrizhan estate, 134 Rubles in total...' Agrizhan estate (as well as Gilan and Bukharian) was located in a Tatar suburb, south of the Russian suburbs in the south-western part of Zemlyanoy Gorod. These were suburbs consisting of separate estates surrounded by fences.

'Russian historical, geographical, political and civilian vocabulary, developed by Lord Privy Councillor and Governor of Astrakhan Vasily Nikitich Tatischev' (SPb, 1793), written in 1744–1746, mentions the existence of Agrizhan suburb in Astrakhan: *'The Agrizhan suburb* and estates in Astrakhan with a prevailing population of Muslim Indians. This name is Tatar for 'young person' or 'runt', with the

Slavic word for 'lad' deriving from it. In 1667, when the rebel Razin conquered Astrakhan, plundered all foreigners and attacked many people, many Indians, trying to save their skin, went under the patronage of Tatars, accepted their religion, married their daughters, and became Russian nationals, but then Persians, becoming Russian nationals, integrated with them and Tatars are now the best merchants in Astrakhan' [Tatischev, 1979, pp. 238–239]. In 1769, Samuil Georg Gmelin, having visited Astrakhan, almost repeated the words of V. Tatischev (even though he was hardly familiar with his thesis): 'Then there are three Tatar suburbs called dvori (estates), the first of which is called Agrizhan. Agrizhan is a Tatar word and in Russian it means 'abomination', i.e. there are some Tatars that descend from Indians, because these Indians had moved to Astrakhan and married Tatar women, had babies and their population grew so much that it formed a separate suburb; that's why because of its mixed origin this new race of Tatars was called Agrizhan, and their houses were called in the same way—Agrizhan

estate' [Samuel George Gmelin, 1936, p. 304]. The suburb was populated by emigrants from other eastern countries, as well as Bukharians.

Based upon the names which circulated at that time, in the first third of the 18th century not all of the Agrizhan people were Muslims. But already towards the middle of the 18th century, the Agrizhan people were Islamised. A census of residents of the Agrizhan estate (1744) proves that most of them were married to Tatar women. Some residents of the yard were deeply in debt to Indian entrepreneurs and merchants, and Agrizhan people formed quite a large and influential class of Astrakhan merchants. In 1743, the governor of Astrakhan V. Tatishev reported to the Trade Board as follows: '... and in Astrakhan excellent goods belong to Indians, Armenians and Tatars, as well as Gilan, Agrizhan people and Bukharians' [Tatishev, 1990, p. 365].

The first indication as to the number of residents of the estate is mentioned in a Senate case dated 1745: 'In line with the edict dated Aug. 31, 1738, of former Cabinet, a census was carried out in Astrakhan which has identified... 49 Agrizhan people'. In 1744, there were 109 men in Agrizhan estate, 53 of which were of 'Indian origin'. Some 'were merchants', the others were 'earning their living by working' [Russian-Indian Relations, 1958, p. 135; Russian-Indian Relations, 1965, pp. 70, 77, 107, 201, 203, 208, 238–239, 249–250]. Several Agrizhan people

lived in Bukharian estate. All residents of the suburb were already Muslims.

A close correlation between inhabitants of three estates was recognised on the official level as well. A certain Tatar Abdul Abdulzhalilov was representing Tatars of Bukharian, Gilan, Agrizhan estates as a Muslim deputy in the Commission of Laws (Ulozhennaya komissiya).

Since 1799 the Tatars of Bukharian, Gilan and Agrizhan estates were given the same rights as Russian merchants, although without a membership of a guild, but according to an edict by the emperor issued on March 1, 1835, the aforementioned Tatars, besides the existing duties, were to pay a special tax on profit to the treasury 'until they are equalised with native Russian people by five rubles per head' and also 'to pay a recruiting duty in kind'.

As a result of ethnic amalgamation, primarily with Yurt Tatars, Agrizhan people blended into these other groups. In the middle of 1850s, probably neither the estate, nor the Agrizhan people existed anymore, but they were still remembered. But the Agrizhan mosque had remained, and in 1830 a madrasa was even established by the mosque, funded by a certain Tatar named Sultanov. There weren't many students: in 1843 there were a total of 175 students across all eight madrasas in Astrakhan (including the one by the Agrizhan mosque).

CHAPTER 7

Crimean Tatars

Ilya Zaitsev

Crimean Tatars are a Turkic-speaking nation who emerged on the territory of Crimean Peninsula as a result of the amalgamation of local Turkic western-Kipchak tribes (the Polovtsians), remnants of other (including Turkic-speaking) nomadic groups, Indo-European population (Alans, Greeks, Goths, etc.), as well as Turkic and Mongol tribes which populated Crimea after the Mongol Conquest of Eastern Europe. The formation of Crimean Tatar ethnic community appears to have started in the 13th century, when most of the peninsula (steppes of Crimea and part of lands in mountains) was included in the Golden Horde possessions. In his narration about the Nogai raid of Crimea at the end of 13th century, the Byzantine historian Pachymeres writes the following about the population of countries conquered by Tatars (i.e. Mongols): 'Over time, by mingling with them [Tatars], nations that were living in those states, by which I mean Alans, Zikhs and Goths, and other nations with them, learned their traditions, adopted their language and clothes and became their allies' (Quotation from: [Herzen, 2005, p. 14]).

The integration of Crimea into the Golden Horde resulted in the repartitioning of peninsula steppes in favor of foreign Mongol and Turkic clans (Shirin, Birin, Arghyn, Sedzhiut, Kipchak, etc.). These clans in particular formed the core of Crimean Tatar nobility.

Key points in the ethnic history of the Crimean Tatars were the establishment of the Crimean Khanate (after 1441), the Ottoman conquest of Southern coast of the peninsula (1475), as well as the declaration of Islam as the official state religion. The establishment of a khanate and islamisation were drivers of the process of ethnic homogenisation, while the existence of an Ottoman administrative unit on the Southern coast (with a prevailing Christian population and Ottoman military

posts in fortresses), on the contrary, had delayed the assimilation of the population until the 18th century.

It is highly likely that until the Ottoman conquest of the Southern coast of Crimea in 1475, Islam in Crimea had been under significant influence of the traditional and new urban centres of Central Asia, as well as the old Islamic cities of Asia Minor and the Middle East. This can be observed, in particular, in the migration of people from these places to the peninsula. In the winter of 1665–1666, Evliye Çelebi saw a mosque near the market in the Old Crimea district which had been built in 1263 by a native of Bukhara. Coin findings clearly show that in the first half of the 14th century there was close correlation between regions of the Golden Horde to the west of Volga and its Central Asian regions. It is difficult to measure the scale of this relationship because of the lack of broad statistics on the various categories of artifacts found but it is indisputable that these contacts were not only trade related, but also migration related. This single area, besides being common state territory, is also united by a Islamic tradition: in particular, by the circulation of common popular religious texts, as well as by migrations of religious authorities (sheikhs) within the borders of a single state (from Central Asia) and from outside (Asia Minor) to Crimea and the Middle Volga region. An excellent example of that is the geographical ancestry of people nisbas buried in the cemeteries of Solkhat and Otuzy: Khaleb, Tokat, Tabriz, Konya, Sivas, Jand, Akhlat, Kastamonu, Barchkend. A tomb dated 760 (1358) with an epigraph (probably a construction related epigraph about the building of a well by a certain Idris b. Hajji Yahya b. Muhammad Iraki), found by O. Aqçoqraqlı in Otuzy proves that in the 14th century emigrants from Islamic regions like Iraq migrated to Crimea. The ledger stone of



Crimean Tatars.
Print. France,
1830s.

Sheikh Yakup Koniysky (El Konevy) dated 729/1328/29, also comes from Otuzy. Among the ledger stones of Eski Yurt we can also see the epitaph dated 793/1390/91 of Mevlan Ahmad ibn Mahmud, who, according to his nisb (Bardzhinlygy), came from the city of Bardjinlyk on the Syr Darya river. These connections were perhaps as a result of established hajj routes: some pilgrims travelled to Mecca from Central Asia and back through Crimea. Thus, at that time Crimea had close contacts with Central Asia.

At the beginning of the 16th century, after the defeat of the Great Horde by Mengli Giray, the Golden Horde people had largely migrated to the peninsula.

At the end of the 16th century, in European literature (Marcin Broniowski's 'Tartariae Descriptio') the epithet 'Crimean' was already being used to refer to the Tatar population of the peninsula (according to the name of the city, Solkhat-Krym). Thus, we can say that the Crimean Tatar ethnic group came into being specifically during the 16th century. This process happened in the steppe region of the peninsula and involved groups of Kipchak-dialect speakers. At the same time, the high culture of the khanate is marked by the use of Arabic and Persian as the languages of religion, science and literature, with a significant influence of the old Ottoman language as

well (in particular in the literary and chancellery languages).

The Crimean historical works and chancellery documents of that time, with regard to the population of the khanate, show a preference for confessional, rather than ethnic definitions (describing the main bulk of the population as Muslims), even though already in the 16th century there are texts where we come across the term 'Tatar' with regard to Crimean troops¹, Saadet Giray calls his Crimean circle 'Tatars' (see: [Zaitsev, 2009a, p. 20])².

At the same time, according to Ottoman censuses, the South coast of Crimea was still mainly populated by Christians (descendants of Greeks, Italians and Armenians united under the common Crimean-Ottoman designation oftat³). No early Islamic artifacts have been found on that territory to date, which probably means that the majority of population were Christians [Herzen, 2005, p. 17]. Ottoman military presence on the South coast (military posts

¹ 'The History of Sahib Giray'. Manuscript of the Eastern Department at St. Petersburg State University (# 488, p. 3).

² We cannot exclude, however, that in both cases we deal not with an internal self-identification, but with a look at the ethnic picture in the Crimea from the outside (an Ottoman perspective on this case).

³ Its origin takes root back in the Old Turkic time: the ethnonym itself is mentioned in the monuments of the Old Turkic runic writing.

in fortresses) had determined the dominance of the Oghuz dialect on this territory as the *lingua franca* of its residents.

The process of ethnic consolidation of the Crimean-Tatar people continued up to the end of the 18th century, when it integrated assimilated groups of people from the South coast (after 1774), who spoke the Oghuz dialect of the *Türki*.

Observations by Turkologists and linguists (V. Radlov, A. Samoylovich, B. Çoban-zade) tell us that from the linguistic point of view Crimea had been divided into three areas: a steppe region (in fact Kipchak), with a southern border along the line of Eupatoria, Buyuk-Onlar (Oktyabrskoye), Feodosia, and Kerch peninsula; a southern region—in fact Oghuz (coast and mountain areas, approximately from Baydar Gate to Feodosia) and a central area marked by the amalgamation of Oghuz and Kipchak features leaning towards

the southern dialect [Sevortyan, 1966]. The middle dialect, because of its middle ground location, became the basis of the Crimean Tatar literary language.

This linguistic data has a firm anthropological basis: the Tatars who lived on the coast and in mountains had prevailing Southern Caucasian component while steppe Tatars had clear Mongoloid features [Khit, Dolinova, 1995].

It seems that the Crimean Tatars reached their peak towards the middle of the 18th century. According to the Official description of Crimea (*Kameralnoye opisaniye Kryma*), by 1784 the number of Muslim men in the peninsula (including a few Jews) was just over 55 thousand. Later waves of migration into Asia Minor and the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire formed the basis of the Crimean Tatar communities in modern Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria.

CHAPTER 8

Kazan Tatars

Damir Iskhakov

Even in researching for a major book 'The Middle Volga and Ural Tatars' (1967), the outstanding Kazan ethnologist N. Vorobyev, in a chapter about the history of formation of Tatar nation, came to the conclusion that the 'Kazan Tatars' had gradually become a 'nation' as a result of the amalgamation of Bulgars with 'Turkic migrants from the Golden Horde', and in his opinion, the 'amalgamation' process of two aforementioned ethnic components carried on within the Khanate of Kazan as well [Tatars, 1967, pp. 9, 11, 13]. But as at that time in Tatarstan the theory of the Bulgar origin of Kazan Tatars prevailed, this point of view didn't find any support from other researchers from Tatarstan.

For instance, in his special work on the ethnic history of the Volga-Ural Tatars, published in 1978, famous Tatar archaeologist A. Khalikov insisted that the 'Bulgar nation' still existed after the fall of the Golden Horde, by forming a 'nation' of Kazan Tatars within the Khanate of Kazan [Khalikov, 1978, pp. 106, 125]. Other researchers from Tatarstan held similar views [Alishev, 1985; 1990, pp. 55–56; 1995, p. 26; Kärimullin, 1991, pp. 36–46 b; Zakiev, 1986, pp. 457–472]. But, in the 1990s, when academics in Tatarstan began to research the history of the Ulus Jochi and its state-building ethnic groups, a subject which had been prohibited in the USSR, a new theory about the content of ethnic processes in this medieval empire began to develop according to which the Tatar ethnopolitical community was formed in this state, but after its collapse became fragmented [Tatars, 2001, pp. 85–180; The History of the Tatars, 2009, pp. 349–365]. The integral part of this vision was a theory about the social stratification of the Medieval Tatar ethnic community, where upper feudal stratum, which had been taken over by the Tatars of the Golden Horde, divided into clans, and the bottom stratum, consisting of other ethnic groups in the Middle

Volga region, according to some researchers, consisted of strongly transformed descendants of the Bulgar population of the Golden Horde Bulgar vilayet who continued to interact with the 'Tatar' part of society within the Khanate of Kazan as well [Ishakov, 1998; Tatars, 2001, pp. 101–135; Ähmätcanov, 2011, pp. 219–221].

There are historical grounds to believe in the existence of two ethnic strata of Kazan Tatars: the 'chern' (kara khalik), identified in Russian sources of the 16th and 17th centuries as 'yasak Chuvashes', and upper social stratum, who were descendants of the Golden Horde Tatars divided into clans, and from the second half of the 16th century began to be known as 'servile Tatars' [Ishakov, 1980; 1988; 1995]. For this reason, the completion of the formation of the Kazan Tatar ethnic community crucially depended on the consolidation level of the two aforementioned ethno-estate groups, even though it is quite difficult to identify the percentage of 'completion' of Kazan Tatar community formation in the Khanate of Kazan because of the scarcity of sources. Even considering the existence of these estates and a lack of marked ethnic boundaries, this picture still is rather typical of the feudal age, and the ethnic situation in the Khanate of Kazan and Kazan Krai between the 15th and 17th centuries is no exception. However, despite the fact that it is hardly possible to speak about an exact evaluation of the level of consolidation of the Kazan Tatar ethnos, surviving sources allow us to identify a wide range of objective indicators based on which it is possible to speak about not only a chronological framework, but also the main results of the formation of a distinct Kazan Tatar ethnic community (nation) in the Khanate of Kazan.

For external observers, the formation of ethnic subject known as 'Kazan Tatars' (people of Kazan) was already evident in the second half of the 15th century: the community known as

the 'Kazan Tatars' (Tatarovia Kazanskiye) are mentioned in Russian chronicles dated 1468, 1469 and 1475 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1965, pp. 118, 120, 122, 158; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 27, 1962, p. 128; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28, 1963, pp. 118, 142; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1982, pp. 46, 90]. In 1491, the same community was referred to by Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray by the word 'Kazantsi' (Kazan people) [Malinovsky, fol. 61v]. And in the first half of the 16th century, the term 'Kazan Tatars' (Kazan people) was widely used to refer to a state-building ethnic community within the Khanate of Kazan. That appears to be typical in both Russian and European sources. Moreover, the term 'Kazan Tatars' (Kazan people) was a central element in a rather complicated system of ethnic designations. It was based upon the term 'Kazan land' (zemlya Kazanskaya) or 'Entire Kazan land' (Vsya zemlya Kazanskaya) frequently used in Russian chronicles (see, entries of 1519, 1523, 1529, 1534, 1536, 1541 and 1546 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 31, 44, 46, 81, 88, 99, 148]). This term was used in the 16th century by some Russian authors as well [The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 68; Iz poslaniya, 1914, pp. 72–73; Sochineniya, 1914, p. 220]. The synonym of this expression in Muscovy was the term 'Kazan Kingdom' (tsarstvo Kazanskoye) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 226; Iz poslaniya, 1914, pp. 72–73], which was much more rarely used. The latter term, sometimes substituted by the phrase 'Kazan Tatars Horde' (Orda Kazanskiy tatar) or 'Kazan Horde' (Kazanskaya orda) was prevalent among European authors [Mehovsky, 1936, p. 116; Herberstein, 1908, p. 145; Albert Campense 1836, p. 16; Blaise de Vigenère, 1890, p. 83]. The evidence suggests that the Khanate of Kazan was being referred to in all of these occasions.

This is clear, particularly with the term 'Kazan land' (zemlya Kazanskaya) ('Entire Kazan land', 'Vsya zemlya Kazanskaya'). For example, describing a discussion which happened between a Kazan nobleman and Russian boyars about the 1551 annexation of the mountain regions of the khanate, it is said that Tatars

declared the following: '...you can't do anything to them, **but divide the land**' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 12, 1965, p. 430] (highlighted by me.—*D.I.*). A similar understanding was implied in a message from Ivan IV to the Nogai prince Ismail (1553), in which 'Kazan land' (Kazanskaya zemlya) was identified as a 'yurt' controlled by Moscow [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 120]. The same meaning was implied by this term even in a 1469 message written by Kazan Khan Ibrahim on mobilisation, stating the following: '...and the Tsar of Kazan Ibrahim gathered with his entire land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 71].

In my view, ultimately the term 'Kazan land' (Zemlya Kazanskaya) amounts to the official name of the Khanate of Kazan. At least, two documents from the first half of the 16th century contain data supporting this fact. The first one—*yarlyk* granted by Sahib Giray Khan (1523) contains a phrase '*gomum vilayate Gazan*' [Sähip Gäräy yarligi, 1936, p. 354], i.e. 'the entire vilayet of Kazan'. The source refers to the Khanate of Kazan. Another document, a message from Sahib Giray Khan to the King of Poland Sigismund I (dating from between 1538 and 1545), the only copy of which has been preserved in Polish, speaks about 'Kazan land' (zemlya Kazanskaya) and 'Kazan kingdom' (tsarstvo Kozanskoye) [Mustafina, 1997, p. 32].

The expression 'Kazan Horde' also meant the Khanate of Kazan, as European authors generally used the word 'horde' to refer to the established nation-state [Lituanus, 1890, p. 6; Pavel Ioviy Novokomsky, 1836, p. 24]. And in the aforementioned message from Sahib Giray Khan to the King of Poland, the Khan writes the following: '... our Kozan Horde swore allegiance to me' [Mustafina, 1997, p. 34]. For this reason, the term 'Kazan Horde' (Orda Kazanskaya) may be of Tatar origin as well. Although we cannot exclude the possibility that in this occasion the khan may have used a more understandable 'European' expression, referring to the Khanate of Kazan, in his message to the king.

Apparently, the words 'Kazan land', 'Kazan kingdom', 'Kazan Horde' are centered around

the name of the capital, the city of Kazan. European authors have directly identified it [Mehovsky, 1936, pp. 63, 92; Campense, 1836, pp. 16, 26]. Russian chronicles contain the expression 'city and kingdom of Kazan' as well [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 55], and in some 17th century sources the city of Kazan is identified with the 'kingdom of Kazan' [Kniga Bolshomu Chertezhu, 1950, pp. 137, 182, 184].

The following set of words can be derived from the terms we have reviewed: 'Kazan people' (Kazanskie Lyudi), 'all Kazan people' (Vse Kazanskie Lyudi), 'all Kazan land people' (Vse Kazanskia Zemli Lyudi), 'all the people of the land' (Vse Zemskie lyudi) (see: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 31, 32, 44, 48, 55–57, 67–68, 81, 88, 166, 434, 439, 446, 458, 459, 468, 470]. This information relates 1519, 1523, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1541, 1542, 1545, 1548, 1549, 1551). A shortened version of the expression was the term 'Kazan people' (kazantsi) [Ibid., pp. 116, 129, 166, 425, 446, 458, 459, 470, 472, 501, 504; The History of Kazan, 1954, pp. 66, 77, 80–81, 83, 89, 112; Sochineniya, 1914, pp. 180, 226, 250]. This group of terms meant the entire population of state. But in some occasions they were also used to refer to the Tatar part of population of the Khanate of Kazan [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, p. 215; The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 78. Although in the latter case this is less evident]. For this reason the term 'Kazan people' (kazantsi) was an obviously vague or blanket ethnic designation. Its usage as an ethnic designation seems to be associated with the fact that Tatars, as the politically dominant ethnos in the state, were perceived by many Russians and Europeans as the core of the 'Kazan people' (kazantsi), and that fully corresponded to the ethnopolitical situation at the time of the Khanate.

An ethnonym which circulated in this complex system of ethnic designations was the name 'Kazan Tatars' (Kazanskiye Tatarovya, Tatarovya Kazanskiye), which was part of the Russian vocabulary, as it mentioned before, already in the second half of the 15th century [Complete Collection of Russian Chroni-

cles, 13, 1965, pp. 90, 107, 113–114, 427–428, 440, 463, 490; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28, 1963, p. 142; Sochineniya, 1914, p. 294; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 678.] Even when using simply the term 'Tatars' (Tatarovya), in this context it meant the Kazan Tatars in particular (see: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 501, 404; The History of Kazan, 1954, p. 58; Sochineniya, 1914, pp. 181, 196, 199]). Europeans who were also using this term in the first half or 16th century [Mehovsky, 1936, pp. 116; Herberstein, 1908, p. 137, 157; Blaise de Vigenère, 1890, p. 83], had likely borrowed it from the Russian language. In Muscovy, the term 'Kazan Tatars' fundamentally referred to a specific language, i.e. ethnic group. Let us look at two examples of this. The Regal Book (Tsarstvennaya kniga), dated 1552, mentions the 'pagan language of the Crimean and Kazan Tatars' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 83]. A. Kurbsky writes the following: '...apart from the Tatar language in that (Kazan.—*D.I.*) kingdom, there are five different languages: Mordvinian, Chuvash, Cheremis, Votyak (Arsk), and Bashkir' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 83].

It is important to note that Russians also tended to mark the name 'Kazan Tatars' by showing its relation to the Muslim Ummah. For example, the Regal Book (Tsarstvennaya kniga) mentions the 'godless Kazan Tatars' or 'godless Kazan Saracens' (Sratsyns) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 162, 463]. A message from Metropolitan Makarius to Ivan IV (1552) speaks about the 'pagan language of the Crimean and Kazan Tatars' [Ibid., p. 490]. In the Patriarchal (Nikon) chronicle, dated 1553, the expression 'pagan Tatars' is used to refer to Kazan Tatars [Ibid., pp. 211, 218–219]. Another message from Ivan IV to A. Kurbsky speaks about the 'godless Kazan language' and 'Besermyan language' [Iz poslaniya, 1914, p. 64].

The aforementioned, fully self-sufficient system of ethnic designations was linked to the political collective of 'Tatars' prevailing in the Khanate of Kazan. However, in Russian, the ethnic stratification of the Kazan Tatar community

admits the possibility of another system of ethnic designations which this time was developed on the basis of terms reflecting the existence of 'black' stratum of Kazan Tatars. Research on this issue has revealed an interesting finding: this system really existed, but it was based not on the term 'yasak Chuvashes', but on the ethnic designation 'Bolgars' or 'Volga Bolgars'. Firstly, in the Nikanor Chronicle, in its copies of the 17th century, specifically in a story 'On the conquest of the city of Kazan and its entire land on the Volga and Kama rivers' the following is said about the population of that 'land': '...the Volga Bolgars appeared'. They are later referred to as 'Volga and Kama Tatars and Bolgars' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 27, 1962, p. 143]. A later source, 'The story of the fair life of the Tsar and Grand Duke of all Russia Fedor Ivanovich', also describing the conquest of the Khanate of Kazan by the Russians, speaks about the 'wicked Bolgars who live near Russia, on the river Volga'. The author of 'The story...', describing the Kazan campaign of 1552, mentions the following: '... the entire Kazan land was captured and a great many of the wicked Bolgars were killed'. The source later gives an account of the reign of Fedor Ivanovich, when 'the wicked... Bolgars' rose up and by order of Fedor Ivanovich, it was decided to send Boris Fedorovich with 'many... troops... strong, and armed against the Bolgar... Troops...'), which 'arriving in the Bolgar regions... captured...' As a result, 'the entire Bolgar state' was 'reduced to servile obedience' 'and still is now', added the author [Povest, 1910, pp. 3–4].

Of course, these later depictions of the Bulgars in the Khanate of Kazan and Kazan Krai in the second half of the 16–17th centuries could well be attributed to chronicle-writing conventions. For instance, the author of a 16th century source, the History of Kazan, while describing events in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, clearly describes the future Khanate of Kazan as being populated by 'Bolgar princes and barbarians', 'the language of the cruel and pagan Bolgar chern with their princes and elders' [The History of Kazan, 1954, pp. 44, 48]. The same group of people is identified as 'Saracens' [Ibid.]. Finally, the author describes them as 'thin Bolgars, Kazan people' [Ibid., p. 53]. But

when referring to the second half of the 15th and mid-16th centuries, the author of the History of Kazan prefers to refer to them as 'Kazan people', or 'Kazan Tatars'. For this reason, the Russian chronicle book tradition, which maintains the continuity of Bulgar and Kazan Tatars, needs to be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind the deliberate 'preparation' of Russian chronicles by the Muscovite state ideologists using the 'Bulgar' factor for political purposes [Pelenski, 1974; Izmaylov, 1992, pp. 52–62; Izmaylov, 1997, pp. 33–34].

All the same, we should look beyond the interplay between this tradition of naming conventions and the writing of chronicles. As a whole, in all the data from the 15th and 16th century chronicles and other documents from the 16–17th centuries, the sporadic appearance of the ethnic designation 'Bulgars', and terms such as 'Bolgar oblast', 'country of Bolgars' (strana Bolgarskaya) referring to the population of the Khanate of Kazan, Kazan Krai and to the state (Krai) itself, can be explained by the existence in this area, from the late 15th to the early 17th centuries, of an ethnic community, associated with the Volga Bulgars by origin, and specifically with the Turkic yasak-imposed population of the Bulgar vilayet of the Golden Horde. This can also be confirmed by the independent character of the system of ethnic designations used in Russian documents to indicate this ethnic stratum of Kazan Tatars from the 15th until the early 17th centuries.

The first category of this system recorded the religious identity of the observed representatives of Kazan Tatars—'Besermyans', or 'Bosormans' (15th century), 'barbarians', 'wicked', 'pagan language', 'Saracens' (16th century). The second group paid closer attention to notions of ethnicity: 'Bolgar chern', 'thin Bolgars' (16th century). The third structural element, the 'core' part of the system of ethnic designation, is actually the ethnonym 'Bolgars'. The latter was intimately linked to the terms of the first two categories. On the one hand, the name 'Bolgars' was always used with the adjective 'wicked' or 'pagan', which in a particular context meant Muslims. On the other hand, the use of expressions such as 'Bolgar chern', 'thin Bolgars'

in the History of Kazan implies that 'Bolgars' were taken as 'black', i.e. a yasak-imposed population. Thus, these terms become synonymous with the term 'yasak Chuvashes'.

Still, one should take into consideration that the name 'Bolgars' (Volga Bolgars) is not only an ethnic designation, but also a blanket term like 'Kazantsi' (Kazan people). This is suggested by the expressions 'Bolgarskiya Oblasti' (Bolgars regions), 'vsya strani Bolgarskiya' (all Bolgar countries). Besides the ethnic designation 'Bolgars', these expressions may be based on the name of the city of Bulgar, the center of the Bulgar vilayet at the time of the Golden Horde. The latter circumstance must be taken into consideration for several reasons. First of all, up to the middle of the 15th century, on the coins, which since the beginning of the 15th century were already being minted in the city of Kazan, the coin mint was stated as being located in 'Bulgar', or in some occasions as 'Bulgar al-Jadid'. The latter referred to the city of Kazan [Mukhamadiyev, 1972, p. 117. See especially the comments by this author on the text of 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' regarding this issue]. Secondly, as mentioned before, some of the people who in the 1360–1370s bore the title of 'Bulgar Princes', in the late 14th and early 15th centuries could live in the city of Kazan (for further detail see: [Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 44–46 b]). Thirdly, some European maps from the 15th, and also the first half of the 16th centuries feature the city of Bulgar and the Bulgar 'lands': 'Borgar Tartarorum' by Albertino de Virgi (1411–1415), 'Borgar' by Fra Mauro (1459), 'Borga' by Martin Waldsmüller (1507), 'Bulgaria Magna' by the same author, different map (1516), John Schooner (1523), Oronce Fine (1531). Moreover, M. Waldsmüller and John Schooner use 'Bulgaria Magna' alongside with the words 'Casana', 'Casan'. Some other maps contain only the latter name: 'Casanum tartarum' (Battista Agnese—1525), 'Casana' (the updated version of the map of Oronce Fine—1534), 'Kassanorda' (Antonius Wied—1542) (examples taken from: [Tardy, 1982, pp. 180, 190, 193–195, 197]). Thus, the terms 'Bolgarskiya Oblasti' (Bolgarskiye oblasti), and 'countries of Bolgars' (strany Bolgarskiya)—are the second name of the Khanate of Kazan. Another

authentic source, the 'Zafärnamä-i vilayete Kazan' (1550) proves that as well. Here, the Khanate of Kazan is called not only as 'Kazan ölkäse' or 'Kazan vilayate', but also as 'Bulgar vilayate' or 'having Kazan as a seat of power of the Bulgar vilayah' ('Bulgar vilayeteneñ paytähete bulgan Kazan') [Zafärnamä-i vilayete Kazan, 1997, p. 77 b]. Likely, the identification of 'the Khanate of Kazan' as 'Bulgar vilayet' had been preserved since the existence of this administrative political unit ruled by 'Bulgar Princes' within the Golden Horde. Similar definitions are also used in the poem 'Nury sodur' (1542) by Kazan poet Mukhammadyar, who wrote that his work was completed in '*Bulgar şähre Kazan dāruazāsēndä*' [Ibid.], which should be understood as '*Bolgarniñ/Bulgar ileneñ Kazan şähäre kapkasında*' [Yahin, 2009, 203 b.], i.e. 'in the gates of Kazan of Bulgar [country]'.

But in general, both systems of ethnic designation and their ethnic 'cores', the notions of 'Kazan Tatars' and 'Bolgars', by the middle of the 16th century were actually used interchangeably to refer to the same ethnic group. The proliferation of descriptions used with the names of both groups speaks for itself: 'godless', 'godless Saracens', 'pagan language', 'godless language', 'Besermyan language' (characteristic of 'Kazan Tatars'); 'barbarians', 'language of pagans', 'Saracens', 'wicked' (characteristic of 'Bolgars'). As for the use of two groups of names to refer to one and the same ethnic group in Russian sources, it is quite explainable. The designation 'Tatars', which had been more commonly used among the feudal lords, was used at times when the attention of Russian sources was mainly focused on this particular estate or state affairs involving the prevailing stratum of 'Tatars'. The second name, more explicitly used as a blanket term, had likely been circulated among the peasantry and used to refer to the masses or the region (Krai). This is supported by the fact that 'Tatars' had the right to move from one Tatar khanate to another by being an extraterritorial group to a certain extent [Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 105–107], while 'black' people (chern) were 'tied' to a specific state-managed 'land'. In the context of the preservation of the ethnic-state strata of the Kazan Tatars,

social confrontation of 'upper stratum' and 'lower stratum' could have had the character of an ethnic/class division. The same conclusion can be reached, for instance, by reading the following extract from the poem 'Töhfäi märdän' (1539–1540) written by Kazan born Muhammadyar [Möhämmädyar, 1997, pp. 119–120 b], where one of literary characters of the poem attempts to humiliate the other:

(translated into modern Tatar language)

Allah-mäzhäben belmäüçe tatar sin,
Bu dö dönyada häm ettän dä naçar sin.
....I şökätsez, di, tatar,
Asrama et balasin—asilina tartar.
Imansız, şomli yazmış bädbäxete sin,
Yözeñ kara, cähännämneñ ete sin.

.....

Äşäkeseñ, yözeñ yämsez—kararga,
Eçeñ-tişñ tulgan gaybät satarga.

(word-for-word translation into English)

You are a Tatar that doesn't know his Allah
and madhhab,

You are worse than a dog in this world.

... O ugly one, he says, you are a Tatar,

Don't bring up a puppy—it will look like
you.

You don't have a faith, you are a creation of
evil fate,

With a black face, you are a dog from hell.

.....

You are dirty. It is sickening to see your
face,

Your insides are filled with gossip.

Even though some researchers have expressed the view that this extract shows a rejection of the designation 'Tatar' by the people of Kazan [Khalikov, 1989, p. 163], it more likely describes the attitude of the peasantry towards the class of feudal lords ruling the Khanate of Kazan. I. Izmaylov notes one more aspect of this 'evil invective' of the Muhammadyar towards the 'Tatars': '...for a righteous educated citizen... the representa-

tives of the military establishment' had 'an image of barbarity and savagery, not because of being 'Tatars', but because they were 'bad Muslims' [Izmaylov, 1997, p. 38. See also: Izmaylov, 1996, p. 76]. Such a treatment is possible, although I wouldn't exaggerate the gap between 'Tatars' and the settled-agrarian 'black' population in terms of their level of Islamisation. For example, a message from Shibanid Khan Ibrahim (Ivak) to Ivan III dating from 1489, i.e. during the time when Ibrahim was ruling the Nogai Horde or was closely related to it, reads: '...I am a Besermyan ruler, and you are a Christian ruler' [Ambassadorial books, 1984, p. 19]. It would appear that Ibrahim Khan felt like a Muslim ruler. And in the Khanate of Kazan, representatives of both estate strata were using the generic confessional designation of 'Muslims'. For the 'black people' ('cherny lyudy') of the khanate this well documented in Russian chronicles, which have recorded, as mentioned before, the term 'Besermyans' as being quite widespread. However, this name clearly circulated even among feudal lords because S. Herberstein, referring to Tatars in general, comes to the following conclusion: 'The name Besermyans (Besermen) makes them (i.e. Tatars.—*D.I.*) happy' [Herberstein, 1908, p. 141]. The 'Zafärnamä-i vilayete Kazan' also mentions an opposition of the Muslim vilayet as a whole to 'kafirs', i.e. Russians [Zäfärnämäi vilayete, 1997, pp. 76–84 b].

Based on available data, we can thus conclude that the formation of the feudal nation of the Kazan Tatars happened within the Khanate of Kazan and was fully completed by the middle of the 16th century. It is hardly possible that the ethnic/class division of the Kazan Tatars ethnic group into 'upper stratum' and 'lower stratum', observed within the whole period of existence of the Khanate, had gone beyond the distinction between 'noble' (*akşöyak*) and 'chern' classes typical of nations of the feudal age (*kara halik*).

CHAPTER 9

Meshchera Tatars

Damir Iskhakov

For a long time, researchers expressed different opinions regarding the formation of the Turkic-Tatar population of the Meshchera Yurt—the Kasimov Khanate. So, in 1968 Sh.Mukhamedyarov presented a summary report at the 8th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, dealing with questions of the roots and ethnic history of the 'Tatar people', in which he called the Tatar-Mishars 'another major part of the Tatars', indicating that the formation of this ethnic group (community) had taken place under different conditions compared to the Kazan Khanate, with the Kipchak groups playing a critical role in its emergence. However, the author did not raise the question of the specific content of the ethnic processes that had led to its formation [Mukhamedyarov, 1968]. In the 1970s, A.Khalikov, under the view that the 'unified Bulgar nation' persisted in the Golden Horde until the late 14th and early 15th centuries, stated that the process of formation of the Mishar nation began after the collapse of the Bulgar nation and lasted until the 16th century. This researcher believes that the Mishar Tatars were not able to 'fully take shape as a particular nation but developed a number of its features' [Khalikov, 1978, pp. 106, 135–136, 146]. He makes no connections between the Kasimov Tatars, who lived surrounded by the ethnic group of Mishars and had close ties with it. Khalikov is inclined to believe that those were independent ethnic entities (he does not describe them as having any particular status), which developed from the mixing of different ethnic elements, mainly from the Kazan Tatars [Ibid., pp. 106, 135–136, 146]. R. Kuzeyev also tried to determine the distinctive features of the Mishar ethnic community. In his opinion, the Kazan Tatars can be identified as a 'feudal nation' during the Kazan Khanate period, while the Mishar Tatars of that time should be considered as an 'early feudal nation' [Kuzeyev, 1987, pp. 130; 1992, pp.

315–321]. It seems that in this case the author follows the lead of A.Khalikov, who notes, as it has been pointed out, a certain 'immaturity' of the Mishar Tatars as a community. Later historical research has led to a view that the Mishars in the 15th and 16th centuries were, similarly to the Kazan Tatars, just an 'ethnic group' of the Tatar nation, depending on the overall position of researchers on the formation of the Tatar ethnic group, in one case, the 'Bulgar-Tatar nation' [Alishev, 1985, pp. 113–115], in the other case, the 'Golden Horde ethnic group' [Fakhrutdinov, 1985, p. 102; Ähmätcanov, 1993, p. 157; Izmaylov, 1993, pp. 27, 29]. In fact, to solve the rather difficult question of the formation of the ethnic community of the Meshchera Mishar-Tatars, it is necessary to analyse sources of information again and apply different conceptual approaches.

As for the sources, most of the ones relating to the population of the Kasimov Khanate date from the 16–17th centuries. The source base for earlier periods is quite small (see: [Iskhakov, 1998; Rakhimzyanov, 2009]). Therefore, let us begin with the ethnic situation in the Meshchera Yurt in the 16th century.

In the 16th century, Turkic groups living in the Meshchera Yurt were called differently. The ethnic designation 'Tatars' was the most commonly used term, for example, Moscow business documents usually referred to 'Gorodets Tatars', which could be deciphered as follows: tsar (tsareviches), uhlans, princes, murzas and the Cossacks [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, pp. 197, 201, 286, 405, 410, 421, 458; part II, 1864, pp. 13, 50, 81, 86, 94; Rozryady (1576, 1578), 1790, pp. 292–324, 351–353]. In some cases, the 'Cossacks' were replaced by: 'and all Meshchera people' [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 405]. The general pattern of development for this formula is as follows: up to the mid-XVI century, it was used to refer to all the 'Tatars of Meshchera'; in the second half of the 16th cen-

tury, 'Gorodetsk Tatars' began to imply the service class of the Tatars in the town of Kasimov and the uyezd [Ibid., pp. 50, 81, 94; p. 199]. It must be noted that a group of 'Temnikov Tatars' (worded as follows: 'Prince Yenikei with all Temnikov Tatars and Mordovians') was singled out of the 'Gorodets Tatars' in 1552. Later, other groups received a nomination according to the uyezds which they lived in. This was obviously related to the process of 'splitting' the territory, occupied by the Meshchera Yurt, into individual uyezds. In the 16th century officials from Moscow occasionally used the expression 'Meshchera Tatars' [The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 38].

In the 16th century, the Crimean Tatars and Nogais preferred a number of different names. Some sources suggest that in the early 16th century residents of Meshchera were called 'Meshcherins' (sing.—'Meshcherin'), 'Meshchera people', or 'Besermyanian Meshchera'. The following wordings were also used: 'Besermyanian people in Meshchera', 'Besermyans in Meshchera'. [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 11, 209, 378]. The Nogais used a similar form: 'Meshcherians', 'Meshchera people' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793, p. 249; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, pp. 33–34, 50], although in some cases, they wrote about the 'Cossacks of Meshchera' [Scherbatov, 1786, p. 487], or even the 'Gorodetsk Tatars' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1791, p. 240]. A letter dated 1514–1516 which was sent from Azov shows that the 'Azov Tatars' called the Turkic population of Meshchera 'Mordovian Tatars', considering them 'peripheral Tatars', living 'in the Meshchera periphery' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, pp. 224, 231, 292]. However, the term 'Mordovian Tatars' is just a form of the name 'Gorodetsk Tatars', because in this case the generic concept is 'Tatars' [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 190–192].

The terms 'Gorodetsk Tatars' and 'Meshcherins' ~ 'Meshcheryans' are inherently related, since the first term can be decrypted in the form of 'Meshchera Tatars' ('Gorodok' (town) is not only a town of Kasimov but also 'Meshchera Gorodok'). It is nevertheless impossible

to fully equate the terms. Such a conclusion can be drawn from the content of a charter addressed to Prince Yenikei in 1539. The charter reads as follows: '... the Tatars from the Tarkhans, and the Bashkirs and Mozherians who live in Temnikov ought to be judged and managed as in the old days, in the same way as they were judged and managed by Father Tenish' [A copy of the charter..., 1889, p. 31]. It is evident from the charter that the 'Tatars', located in the vicinity of the town of Temnikov in the late 15–early 16th centuries were divided into 'Tarkhans', 'Bashkirs' and 'Mozherians'. 'Mozherians' most likely meant the 'black people' of Meshchera, since a charter, dated 1483, included the following people among the 'black people that pay yasak (tribute) to Prince' Daniyar: 'Besermyan,... Mordovian,... Machyarin' [Dukhovnye, 1909, p. 140]. Apparently a 'Machyarin' (plural 'Machyarens', 'Machyaryans' or 'Mozherians'), as seen in a contractual charter from 1483, was a representative of a social and ethnic group, referred to as 'Mozherians' in 1539. According to the definition of 'Tatars', as it applied to 'Mozherians', they were to be considered Turks by the beginning of the 16th century.

The same social status—payers of yasak (tribute)—allows us to raise the question on the possible shared meaning of 'Burtases—Posop Tatars' in 17th century sources (for more about them see: [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 213–214]) and 'Tatars from Mozherians' (Meshcheryans) in the documents from the 1480–1530s. However, to reach such a conclusion, it is necessary to deal with the ethnic origin of the 'Tatars from the Tarkhans and Bashkirs', which, in the view of P. Chermensky, were of the same nationality as the Burtases [Chermensky, 1970, p. 90]. In addition, the contractual charter from 1483 also mentions the 'Besermyan' along with representatives of the two distinct ethnic groups—Mordovians and Mozherians (Macheryans). Was that 'Besermyan' just a Muslim or was he mentioned in the charter's text by association with the presence of another ethnic group in Meshchera, residing, as it is well known, in the territory of the Bulgar vilayet of the Golden Horde? This question also needs to be addressed.

The existence of the 'Tarkhans' in Mesh-



Tatar women of Meshchera. Print by N. Thomas from the atlas to a French edition of *Journey to Various Provinces of the Russian State* by P. Pallas. 1794.

chera is confirmed by place-names: according to some 18th century sources, there were the villages of Syup Tarkhan and Tarkhan (the latter inhabited by Tatars) in the Shatsk uyezd (near the Tsna River), and the village of Tarkhany (residents: murzas and Tatars) in Temnikov uyezd [Statement of 1895, pp. 104–117]. In the latter uyezd, the 'Tarkhans' are mentioned in 1683, along with the murzas, in the village of Atanovy, as a social group [DM, 1950, p. 429]. In 1732, Prince Kudashev is mentioned as residing in the village of Tarkhany in Temnikov uyezd [Register, 1893, p. 32]. The Kudashev lineage can be traced back to Bekhan [Materials, 1904, p. 271; Safargaliyev 1963, p. 69], hence, they were relatives of Prince Tenish, known from the charter dated 1539. Other data also confirm the relationship between the place names of 'Tarkhan' in the basin of the Tsna River and Temnikov uyezd. It is known that Prince Tenish's land was located in the basin of the Tsna River in 1529, in the Podlesnaya volost [Register, 1889, pp. 30–32]. Prince Tenish got to Temnikov much later. It is the basin of the Tsna River, including the village of Tarkhan of the Shatsk uyezd, where Nogai linguistic traits are most concentrated.

The issue of the 'Tarkhans' may be clarified after the establishment of a connection of this group with the 'Bashkirs', mentioned in Meshchera beyond the 1539 charter. Late 17th

century sources show that there was a Bashkir Mountain in the Shatsk uyezd [Smirnov, 1892, p. 313]. In addition, one of the villages in 'Mansyrov Stan' of Kadom uyezd, the residents of which were evicted in the second half of the 17th century 'from the parish churchyard of Mansyrov Stan', was called Bashkirtsy [Book, 1897, p. 221]. The name of two 'belyaks', mentioned in the territory of Meshchera,—'Irekhte (Erekhte)' and 'Kereshin' Belyaks—are also worth noting [Heraclitus, 1927, p. 105; Safargaliyev 1963, p. 71]. Prince Akchura's lands were located in the first of them; Prince Tenish's—in the second [Heraclitus, 1927 pp. 105–106]. The names of these Mordovian 'Belyaks' coincide with the names of two Bashkir tribes—Irekhte and Karshin. The connection between 'Tarkhans' and 'Bashkirs' in the 1539 document can be justified by data on the Kazan Khanate as well, from which it follows that the term 'Tarkhans' in this state was closely associated with the concept of 'Bashkirs', in fact, the terms were synonymous [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 113–114].

The available materials allow us to propose a hypothesis that the 'Tatars' from 'Tarkhans and Bashkirs' should be viewed as Turkic tribal groups, subordinated to the Manghit (Nogai) nobility. Some parts of the Irekte tribes might be included in these groups, i.e. the Taby groups (see about it: [Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 129–

131]), together with the Karshins. The following fact proves the inclusion of the Irekte people into the Turkic groups of Meshchera: it is stated in the census book of Kasimov for 1646 that Urazmamet murza Nurushhev, son of Prince Maksutov [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1866, p. 455], was a resident of the town. At the same time, 'Nurush Bey' appears in the genealogy table, associated with the Mishars and starting from 'Bayki or Maiky Bey' [Ahmetzyanov, 1991, pp. 42–43; Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 81; Geraklitov, 1927, p. 105]. Bayki Bey's shejere (genealogy) mentions that Nurysh Bey had a son, Ramazan (a variant of Sh. Marjani). A certain 'Prince Romodan' is recorded in 1489, not far from the 'Kirda Mordva' and 'Sakons'. The 'Kirda Mordva' and 'Sakons', mentioned in the document, were located near the river of Tyosha, to the south-east of Arzamas. In this case, 'Prince Romodan' lived close enough to Meshchera, if not in Meshchera itself (but most likely in the area of Sarakalych). At the same time, we know that Maiky Bey was considered to be the ancestor of the Irekte (Tabyn) people [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 129].

The appearance of the Nogai nobility with subordinated groups of people in the Meshchera Yurt can probably be dated as the late 15–early 16th centuries [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 385, 421; Malinovsky, p. 183; Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 216–217]. But later the Nogai continued to penetrate into Meshchera in various ways, as evidenced by multiple sources given below. The missive from Nogai prince Sheydyak to Ivan III (written no later than 1505) contained a letter from Uraz-Berdi to his son, Esen Berdiy, who lived in the lands of Prince Munmysh in Meshchera [Scherbatov, 1786, p. 488]. Another Nogai prince, Ismagil, wrote to Ivan IV in 1553 regarding 'Elair (Djalair—*D.I.*) Kaybullin, the younger brother of prince Koshkaidar', taken from 'Tsar' (Khan) Dervish; Ismagil raised the question of his return to the Nogai Horde [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, p. 113]. In 1556, Ismagil appealed to Ivan IV once again to ask him to let go the two Nogai murzas—Kitai (Katai) Semyon (Sain) murza and Chomash murza, son of Kochman mur-

za [Ibid., pp. 281, 287]. The former of these was definitely in Meshchera [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 289]. In the same year, Arslan murza of the Nogai Horde asked Ivan IV to 'grant him an honour' and send 'Bakhtiyar's old wife under the name Devlet Saltan', living in the village of Azeyevo (it was in Meshchera), 'a daughter of Yanguvat Abyz Ustabegishev by the name of Karakiz, in Tsarev Gorodok' [Ibid., p. 295]. It is obvious that these women were Nagais, otherwise he would have sought to buy those women [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1801, p. 52]. In 1562, the Nogai prince Ismagil informed Ivan IV that 'Tsarevich Bekbulat (i.e. in Meshchera.—*D.I.*) now has my son, Karakiz, the son of Khozyagul'. He went on to inform Ivan IV that Sultan Gazi, son of Koshum murza, had visited him and asked to send them both to the Nogai Horde [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795, pp. 262, 268]. In 1560, the same Ismagil writes to Ivan IV and asks him to let 'the wife of Asanak Mirza', who was at Tsar Shah Ali's place, leave for Ismagil's place [Ibid., p. 131]. In 1564, the prince asked Ivan IV again to let 'the son of Aziy Utemish, Khuday Bateshev, kept by Shah Ali Tsar', go to the Nogai Horde [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1801, p. 181]. It is known that the second half of the 16th century was marked by the arrival of a number of Nogai murzas to serve Moscow ruler. They returned to the Nogai Horde and went back to the service several times [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795 pp. 45–46, 110, 113, 156, 166, 177, 224, 227, 243, 255; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1801, pp. 101, 145]. Obviously, most of them stayed in the Meshchera Yurt at Khan Shah Ali [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, p. 289]. This, for example, is proved by Semyon murza's stay among these murzas in 1562, whilst at the service of Tsar Shah Ali. It is also known that Ivan IV wrote to five Nogai murzas and proposed them to serve him by promising to give them 'lands in periphery, in Meshchera in return' [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795, p. 49]. Both folklore and research findings confirm the settling of the Nogais in Meshchera and adjacent areas. So, in popular memory the founding

of Penza and the settlement of Cherkassy were associated with Ivan IV's campaign in Kazan, which allegedly was '... in a deserted place... where Penza is located, he found a station of the Kuban Tatars, with their wives and children, 30 of whom were caught, baptised... and settled here as tributaries' [Khokhryakov 1903, p. 19]. In the late 19th century, the Tatars of the village of Mitryaly in the Temnikov uyezd of Tambov province considered themselves descendants of the three princes—Urusov, Ilishev and Nuraev [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 98]. The first of these was clearly a descendant of the Nogai murza Urus (who lived in 1530–1590) [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 469; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1791, p. 316; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1801, p. 225]. The Urusovs are still known in some Tatar villages in the basin of the Tsna River [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 148]. In 1595, Aydes murza Saltaganov was mentioned as living in the Arzamas uyezd. His father was Saltagan Mustafin, who founded the village of Saltagan [The Arzamasskiye, 1915, no. 442]. At the same time, in 1559, there was a Saltanga murza among the Nogai murzas, whom Ivan IV called to his service. It is stated in the documents that he was a grandson of Sheydyak, a Nogai prince [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, p. 10, 1795, pp. 99, 111, 156].

The Nogai component can be traced quite clearly for the Kasim Tatars as well [Sharifulina, 1994, pp. 71–72, 78–80; Ahmetzyanov, Sharifulina, 2010, pp. 172–211]. Until the start of the 17th century, the Manghit noblemen continued to live in Kasimov as well. For example, there is a grave of a certain Djikhansha murza, son of Sulesh Beg, in a local cemetery. He was buried in 1600, after he had left the Crimea 'for Russia' in 1590. Another tombstone bears the name of Khabit murza Suleshev [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864 pp. 489–492; Lashko, 1884, p. 73]. These Suleshevs descended from Yabak Bey 'Kudalak', who 'migrated to the Crimea by order of the Nogais' [Ibid.]. Vail murza, son of Yusuf Beg, was also buried at the same cemetery in 1610 [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 496; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation 1801, p. 101], he was obviously a member of the Nogai prince Yusuf's family. In 1622, in

King Arslan's courtyard in Kasimov, a governor came across a suspicious Tatar, dressed in a 'Nogai dress'. It turned out that he lived in the town, on the estate of murza Yan Mamet Dzhanayev. The uncle of the latter, Abdul Tenikeyev, a Nogai murza, lived in Kasimov as well. Yan Mamet murza ordered that Tatar, whose mother was a resident of Kasimov, to leave with his uncle for Astrakhan, 'to the tsar's aunt', who lived in the 'Astrakhan Yurts behind mirza' [Shishkin, 1891, p. 62]. Since many landowners of Meshchera Gorodok were married to Nogai princesses [Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1793a, pp. 166, 172, 193; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795, pp. 93, 279; Dukhovnye, 1909, p. 127], this fact was not surprising.

So, one of the components of the Turkic population of the Meshchera Yurt at the end of the 15–17th centuries consisted of natives of the Nogai Horde. In some documents from the first half of the 16th century, they were called 'Tarkhans and Bashkirs', but generally considered 'Tatars'.

Another aspect of the problem of the Turkic population in Meshchera is associated with the 'Besermyans'. Due to the fact that a representative of this group is mentioned only in a contractual charter from 1483, the overall context of this document is important, in particular the social sense in which the term 'Besermyan' was used in the source. In particular, the charter reads: 'And do not accept the tributaries of Tsarevich Danyar or any other Tsarevich who may be in his place, or his Princes, sent to you, Great Prince Ivan, or to your nobles and your people. And those people that left for Ryezan from the Tsarevich and his Princes after the death of your grandfather, Great Prince Ivan Fyodorovich, besermyans or Mordovians or Machyarins, the rabble, who paid tribute to the Tsarevich: and to you... let those people go voluntarily to their places, where they had lived; and also those who refuse to go to those places, unless by force, and let them pay their duties and fees to the Tsarevich' [Dukhovnye, 1909, p. 127]. Two peoples from the list of Daniyar's tribute-paying people—'Mordovian' and 'Machyarin'—were clearly members of ethnic groups. This is proved by writing these con-

cepts with an initial capital letter, the customary way to write names of ethnic groups. However, the term 'besermyan' is written entirely in lower case letters, which sets it apart from the rest. To deal with this name, we should consider the cases where it has been used in various forms in the territory of Meshchera. There is one such case in 1517, when a Crimean Khan by the name of Mehmed Giray, who resisted the transfer of the throne in the Meshchera Yurt to Shah Ali, sent a letter to Moscow, noting that: '... no besermyan people in Meshchera, no one's place to stay... Has it been heard that a besermyan should another besermyan...takes prisoner, because our people caught besermyans in Meshchera but we do not have it here in writing that a besermyan has been sold, while our people sold Meshchera besermyans...' [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 378]. The extract from the letter indicates that the concept of 'besermyan' or 'Meshchera besermyans' refers to Muslims in general, rather than an ethnic group. Thus, Ivan IV wrote in his charter to the Turkish Sultan Selim in 1570: '... in Kadom uyezd, there are a lot of clerks... of the Muslim law and in those towns of Meshchera Muslim people have... mizgits (mosques) and coshins (cemeteries)' [Dubasov, 1887, p. 95; Soloviyov, 1989, p. 586]. In this case, the Turkic population of Meshchera is directly referred to as Muslims (Muslim people). Therefore, the term 'Besermyan' in the contractual charter from 1483 most likely means a Muslim. However, in this case, it is not clear why this term is opposed (by using the conjunction 'or') to 'Machyarins' (Mordovinans were pagans, so in the relation to them the structure of the phrase is justified). In religious terms, the 'Tatars of Mozherians' as a whole could not be different from other Turkic groups of the 'Meshchera Yurt', since they were Muslims. But at the same time, some of them might have been Christianised simultaneously with Prince Beklemish, because it is stated in the genealogical tree of Bahmet Shirin that Beklemish baptised 'many people', having been Christianised himself [Smirnov, 1904, p. 170]. If Beklemish's people were not assimilated by the end of the 15th century with Russians—which is quite possible, as the 'Desyatnya' of 1590 for Meshchera states that

many 'Meshchera people' with Russian Christian names still had Turkic surnames—it becomes clear why tributaries included not only 'Machyarins' but 'Besermyans' as well: some 'Mozherians', not being Muslims, clearly did not fit in the concept of 'Besermyans'. Nevertheless, we cannot completely rule out another explanation of the presence of 'Besermyans' in the text of the treaty—it could be a representative of an independent ethnic group, most of which was localised in the region of the Bulgar vilayet [Iskhakov, 1993, p. 84; Iskhakov, 1998, pp. 95–96]. Due to family relations between the ruling houses of the Kazan Khanate and the Meshchera Yurt prior to the 1480s, as well as Prince Kasim's participation in the campaign against Kazan in 1468, this assumption does not seem improbable. If we accept any of these two hypotheses, there is no reason to see the Burtases as 'Besermyans'.

As a result, the only ethnic group in the late 15–early 16th centuries which could be identified with the Burtases in Meshchera was the 'Mozherians'. This view has already been outlined in a number of studies [Vasiliyev, 1960; Chermensky, 1970]. But it remains unclear why one and the same ethnic group was called 'Mozherians' in Russian-language sources of the 15–16th centuries and 'Burtases' since the beginning of the 17th century. Different solutions to this problem have been proposed. F. Chekalin believed that members of this 'tribe' called themselves 'Meshchera' or 'Mozhars', while 'Burtases' was the name given to them by their nomadic neighbours—the Khazars [Chekalin, 1892, p. 70; Chekalin, 1897, p. 23]. B. Vasilev proposed a similar hypothesis but developed it further. He believed that the names 'Burtases' and 'Meshchera' were used in Russia in parallel until the 18th century. But the first of these ethnic designations appeared earlier and was of Eastern origin, while the second came a little later, based on the Russian language and following the self-designation of the nation as 'Myashar', 'Mishar' or 'Mozherians' [Vasiliyev, 1960, pp. 205–206, 208]. Therefore, what we have here is an endogenous ethnic designation (Mishar—Mozhar—Meshcher) and an exogenous one (Burtases). P. Chermensky and A. Popov have a different view. Broadly speak-

ing, P. Chermensky stated that the Meshchera people had ceased to exist as an identifiable nationality, by the beginning of 12th century, having been assimilated by the Slavs and having adopted the Russian language [Chermensky 1962, p. 47]. In turn, the Burtases, as well as the Bashkirs, came to Meshchera from 'beyond the Volga' as 'members of Nogai princes' and murzas' families' [Ibid., p. 50]. A. Popov shared this opinion, noting that 'the quite numerous (in Meshchera—*D.I.*) geographical names of Burtas, Burtases, etc. appeared in the 16–17th centuries at the earliest' because of the fact that the Burtases as 'foreigners' stood out from the general mass of the indigenous population (Mordovians and Meshchera people) [Popov, 1973 pp. 118–119].

These last two theories have not been sufficiently proved. First, a group of the population, called 'Meshchera people', known until the end of the 16th century, quite often had Turkic surnames, even combined with Russian Christian names. In addition, it is stated in the sources that the term 'Meshcheryans' (Mozheryans) was applied to a clearly Turkic community (see the formula 'the Tatars of Mozheryan'). Secondly, there is no single source that would prove the arrival of the Burtases to Meshchera along with the Nogai noblemen. Therefore, F. Chekalin and B. Vasiliyev's hypothesis that the word 'Meshchera' is based on a self-defined ethnic community ('tribe'—for F. Chekalin and 'nationality'—for B. Vasiliyev) seems to be more convincing today.

In order to solve this issue the approach I propose is fundamentally different to the views of the researchers mentioned above. I believe that the Mishar ethnic community should be regarded not as a direct continuation of the 'Mozheryans' (Burtases) but instead as a result of the interaction of several ethnic components, among which the 'Mozheryans' were a very important, but not exclusive element. The heterogenous nature of the Turkic population of the Kasimov Khanate can be clearly traced by analysing the traditional culture of the Kasimov Tatars and Mishars, direct descendants of the Turkic groups of the Meshchera Yurt of the 15–16th centuries. Based on an extensive set of data, collected for the publication of the

Historical Atlas of the Tatar People, it emerged that the former Kasimov Khanate included three main ethnocultural areas (districts): Kasimov, northern and southern [Iskhakov, 1993, Chapter 2, § 2, 3; Ethnoterritorial groups, 2002, pp. 110–131]. The first of these is associated with a sub-ethnos of the Kasimov Tatars, the latter two areas reflecting the existence of two genetically distinct ethnic groups within the Mishars: the northern group, or Sergach, and the southern group, or Temnikov. The formation of the Mishar northern group took place with a higher proportion of the 'Mozheryan' (Burtas) population, while the southern group included more Golden Horde and Turkic (Kipchak-Nogai) components. It turns out that the Kasimov Tatars and Mishars were formed from the same components but with different proportions thereof. The Kasimov Tatars displayed both of the above-mentioned components but they had a higher concentration of the Golden Horde and Turkic ('Tatar') elements because of their ethnic formation in the capital 'district'. That is why they formed an ethnocultural community independently from the Mishars.

Since we have established the fact that in the 15–16th centuries the Turkic population of the Meshchera Yurt was referred to by two major names—'Mozheryans' (Meshcheryans) and 'Tatars', the key question to determine the level of consolidation of the Turkic ethnic group in the Kasimov Khanate is whether the first of these two names was an ethnic designation in the 15–16th centuries or whether it had become (or was becoming) a gentilic or blanket term. With regards to this issue, it is useful to recall the short discussion that took place at the beginning of the 20th century between G. Akhmarov and B. Kuftin. G. Akhmarov believed that the ancient name of the town of Kasimov, 'Meshchera', or 'Meshchera Gorodok', was applied to 'the people and the area around it', then the Kazan Tatars 'assumed... that it referred to all the Volga Tatars without distinction, if they spoke the same language (i.e. Mishar—*D.I.*)' [Akhmarov, 1903, p. 73]. G. Akhmarov was therefore inclined to believe that the name 'Mişär' should be considered as a gentilic or blanket term. B. Kuftin, however, objected pointing out that if it was 'geographical' by nature, the

name 'would hardly have obtained any offensive connotations, as was evident in some places' [Kuftin, 1929, p. 138; Iskhakov, 1993, pp. 48–50, 99–103]. Recently G. Akhmarov's view has been supported by I. Vászary, who opines that the Mishar Tatars got their name from the name of the territory—Meshchera [Vászary, 1976 p. 40]. To resolve the dispute and find an answer to this question, we need to refer to the documents.

It has been noted that the earliest form of the name 'Mozheryans' (Meshcheryans) is 'Meshchera'. In terms of the specifics of ancient Russian ethnic designations, this term, as evidenced in Russian sources, may be regarded as a designation relating to a particular group of collective tribe names, formed by the ending a (-a) [Kovalyov, 1982, p. 25]. Some linguists believe that in the Russian chronicle tradition ethnic designations were used only with a preposition at, and the prepositions of, to were used jointly with names of territories (place-names) [Kovalyov, 1982, p. 27]. From this perspective, documents of the 15th century, referring to 'Meshchera', indicate the use of the preposition at [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, p. 87 (1489)] and to [Dukhovnye, 1950, pp. 162, 330, 346; Dukhovnye, 1909, p. 127 (documents for 1449, 1483, 1494, 1499)]. In the 16th century, the situation remained the same [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1895, p. 378; Register, 1889, p. 32; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, 1965, pp. 88, 105; Ryazan Memorability, 1889, p. 40; Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation, 1795, p. 49; Granted Charter, 1897, p. 147; Gautier, 1910, pp. 2, 25]. Hence, the conclusion is that in the 14th century, the form 'Meshchera' could still be considered as an ethnic designation [Dukhovnye, 1950, pp. 17, 20, 33; Lyubavsky, 1929, p. 50; Withdrawal Charter, 1854, p. 40], while in the 15th century it became not only the ethnic group, but also gentilic and even a blanket term (until the middle of the 15th century, when it became the name of the Principality, and then the Meshchera Yurt—a khanate).

Another form, appearing from 1483, is 'Machyaryans' (sing.—'Machyaryan'), or 'Mozheryans' (1539). The suffix -yane (-ane

~ yan) generally expressed the plural form of ethnic designations. In this case, however, the use of the singular form—'Machyarin' ~ 'Mozherin' as a root indicates a form, different from 'Meshchera'—obviously an older and relatively more developed ethnic designation with a distinct category of the plural form via the suffix -ans (-yans), i.e. 'Mozheryans'. It is the latter type that can be both a gentilic and a blanket term [Kovalyov, 1982, pp. 27, 40, 66, 69]. Therefore, such a derivative from the root 'Meshcher' (from 'Meshcherya' ~ 'Meshchera') as 'Meshcheryak' (used in the 17th century) with the suffix -yak (-ak), used in the era of the Muscovite Rus to form some ethnonyms (e.g., 'Ostyak " Votyak '~Otyak ') [Ibid., p. 67], may also be considered a gentilic, in fact (known as 'Meshcheryaks' from Mordovians, Turks, and Russians). Consequently, the two other names, used to refer to part of the Turkish population of the Meshchera Yurt—'Mozheryans' (15–16th centuries) and 'Meshcheryaks' (17th century), cannot be considered pure ethnic designations. Although it is recognised that the first of them resembles an ethnonym very much (especially in the phrase 'Tatars from Mozheryans'). Therefore, despite the fact that recently I. Vászary has cast doubt on the possibility of identifying the designations of 'Mozhars' (Mozars) and 'Meshchers' (Mers or Milyers) [Vászary, 1976 p. 38], referring to the existence of such a variant as 'Machyar' (the root of 'Machyarin'), on the one hand, and on the other, the fixation of such spellings as 'Meshchyora' (end of the 16th century), 'Meshchyorka' (late 15–early 16th centuries) [Gauthier 1910, p. 25; Withdrawal Charter, 1854, p. 40] in the secondary sources, I am inclined to think that it is possible to see the result of the development of the older ethnic designation of 'Meshchera' (Meschora) in the form of 'Mozheryans' or 'Machyaryans' based on the Russian language.

The entire body of available sources leads us to the conclusion that the Turkic ethnic group, forming within the boundaries of Meshchera Yurt in the 15th and 16th centuries and up to the early 17th century, consisted of two ethnic class strata: the 'black people' (tributaries or the yasak population) consisted mostly on the 'Mozheryans' or 'Meshcheryans' (Burtases,

Mountain Tatars), and of the upper classes of the 'Tatars' (including the Cossacks), i.e. the Kypchak-Nogai groups with their clan division [Collection of the Russian Historical Society, 1884, pp. 529, 544; Malinovskiy, fol.132, vol. 258]. The tribal nomenclature of the Tatar population of the Meshchera Yurt requires further study (see : [Iskhakov, 1998].

The first one, the Mozheryan-Burtasian layer, dates back to the pre-Mongol period and was clearly ethnically very close to the Bulgars [Alikhova, 1949, p. 48; Polesskikh, 1971; Polesskikh, 1977 Chapter 5; Khalikov, 1978, pp. 74, 78; Khalikov 1989, pp. 104–105; Belorybkin, 1986, pp. 89–97]. Its ethnosocial transformation is identical to the development of the Bulgars in the Golden Horde period: the meaning of the concepts of 'black people' and 'mountain Tatars' (Burtases), applied to 'Mozheryans', is the same as that of the term of 'Chuvash-yasak tributaries'. Political processes in these two regions developed along similar lines. The Kazan Khanate appeared largely on the basis of the Bulgar vilayet of the Golden Horde, while the immediate predecessor of the Kasimov Khanate was, presumably, the Narovchat (Mokshin) ulus [Korotkov, 1928, p. 77; Safargaliyev, 1963, pp. 70, 71; Lebedev, 1958, pp. 8, 15, 35; Yegorov, 1985, p. 107; Mukhamadiyev, 1983, p. 19; Malov, 1885, p. 20; Polesskikh, 1977, p. 76; Iskhakov, 1993, pp. 97–98].

The second component of the Turkic ethnic community, formed in Meshchera, was a superstratum of Golden Horde origin, which retained its independence until the early of the 16th century. An indicator of the incomplete consolidation of these two ethnic classes in the Kasimov Khanate by that time is the use of several ethnic designations in the sources when referring to the

Turkic population, in addition to 'Tatars' (such names as 'Mozheryans', 'Burtases' and 'Bashkirs'), as well as a certain degree of isolation of the Kasimov Tatars—a Turkic population of the capital of the Kasimov Khanate and its immediate neighbourhood, which was preserved until later. Nevertheless, in the 16th and early 17th centuries, all the Turkic groups of Meshchera were increasingly referred to by the name of the most integral designation—'Tatars' [Iskhakov, 1998, p. 212]. This fact is indicative of a qualitatively new level of consolidation of the Turkic components within the territory of the Meshchera Yurt by the end of the 16th and early 17th centuries. It seems that A.Khalikov's view was therefore not entirely accurate, and that the formation of the Mishar ethnic group preserved interethnic stratification; an especially marked isolation was evident in a small group of the 'capital-based' Tatars, living in Kasimov and nearby, taking place at the turn of the 16–17th centuries. Until the mid-17th century, a group of the Kasimov Tatars continued to grow at the expense of members of the Nogai Horde, Kazakh khanates and Siberia, so, a complete integration into the Mishars did not take place.

As a record of real ethnic processes among the Volga-Ural Tatars, the second half of the 16th century was marked by a fairly clear opposition between the 'Tatars' from Kazan and Gorodetsk' [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 450]. At the same time, these two ethnic communities were very close to each other. No wonder the author of the History of Kazan (Kazanskaya Istoriya) pointed out, referring to the Shah Ali Khan, that he had 'the same barbaric features, and the same language, and the same faith' as the Kazan Tatars [The History of Kazan, 1954, 66].

CONCLUSION

Ilnur Mirgaleev

Unfortunately, no full-scale academic study of the history of the Tatar states has been carried out yet. This volume, however, is the first to cover the period under review in such detail and in a single edition. It offers its readers a means to study the history of the Tatar khanates at a sufficiently thorough academic level. Researchers will be able to get a clearer idea of what topics are in greatest need of further attention.

Several good works on the Tatar khanates have been published recently, including books by V. Trepavlov, I. Zaitsev, D. Iskhakov, I. Izmaylov, A. Belyakov, B. Rakhimzyanov, A. Matveev, D. Maslyuzhenko and others. However, not all issues have been covered yet, as confirmed by a number of authors in this volume. The challenge of a scant availability of sources and a lack of specialists have prevented us from covering certain topics and stories in sufficient depth. Nevertheless, they are here presented as academic challenges to be addressed.

The Tatar khanates, especially in the 15th century, were engaged in a protracted struggle to pool their resources for the preservation of a unified state, including Ulugh Muhammad, Ahmad Khan, the Shibanids and the Girayids. In fact, the Tatar khanates were ruled by a single dynasty. The idea of a main state, the Takht Eli (Domain of the Throne) continued to exist. Until 1502, that role was asserted by the Great Horde (the Astrakhan Khanate was a direct successor to the Great Horde). Descendants of the last khan of the unified Golden Horde, Ulugh Muhammad, ruled in Kazan and also viewed themselves as successors to the Golden Horde state. The Crimean Khanate later also attempted to perform that role, becoming in turn a satellite of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, especially in the 16th century, the Tatar khanates also made attempts to emulate Ottoman greatness, firstly in the cities of Kazan and Astrakhan. Even in the face of major external rivals, the Ottoman Empire and the Muscovite state, the period of fragmentation would have

been overcome and the Tatar khanates (or part of them) might have merged into a single state, possibly under the leadership of members of the Girayids. But Muscovy soon began to conquer the Tatar khanates, including the Crimean Khanate.

The second half of the 16th century was marked by the destruction of most of the Tatar khanates: Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberia. Once the main territory of the Siberian Khanate was conquered, a gradual conquest of the remnants of the Siberian Khanate and the Nogais continued up to the 18th century, the 'appropriation of the wild lands', remnants of the Great Horde, including the elimination of the Kasimov Khanate. Finally, the Crimean Khanate itself lost its independence in 1783. All the Tatar states were conquered by Moscow, one of the fragments of the Golden Horde state, which was fated to become a political heir of the Golden Horde and the unifier of its lands. The Tatars turned into active, though coerced aides in the construction of the Russian state, as at the time it already had a completely different ideology, based on the Orthodox Church and Byzantine philosophy, aimed at creating a global empire.

For a number of reasons, Tatar states began to weaken, affected by political fragmentation and dynastic crises, especially in Kazan and Siberia. The emergence of strong external factors, especially the rapid growth of the Muscovite state, also played their role. Of course, the elites of the Tatar states were always looking for ways to strengthen their states. From the 17th century, part of the elites began to rely on an external factor. Siberian rulers began to form alliances with Central Asian ones, and Crimean rulers with the Ottoman Empire. Kazan and Astrakhan tried to follow a neutral course but they were eventually forced to choose. The Ottoman direction was preferable, besides, the elites of those two khanates did a lot to get closer to Crimea and the Ottomans, but this failed to bring the desired result. When representatives of the Girayids came to pow-

er in Kazan, it led to long bloody battles with Moscow. The absence of active support from the Ottoman Empire, coupled with the aggressiveness and proximity of Moscow, resulted in the Kazan elites trying to temper the claims of Moscow. The throne of Kazan was thus occupied by Girayids, as well as representatives of the Kasimov Yurt, who in fact were supported by Moscow. However, it was not possible to negotiate with Moscow, since the latter was seeking to completely destroy the Kazan Khanate. All of this resulted in a terrible catastrophe, the destruction of both the state and a large proportion of the residents of the khanate. Shortly after that, when the Astrakhan Khanate was conquered as well, the role of the Kasimov Khanate changed completely. A long and systematic conquest of the Siberian Khanate and wars with the Crimea began. A lot of the

Tatars, particularly the Chinggisids and representatives of the Tatar elite, got involved in the political system of Moscow from the 16th century. A number of Tatar clans were the founders of well-known Russian noble families. The Tatar factor in Russia's political history had been an integral part of the Muscovite state until the reforms of Peter I. But this is a story for another time, covered in Volume 5 of the History of the Tatars.

This fascinating period of Tatar history is the time of the Tatar khanates, the last fragments of the Golden Horde. Volume 3 of *The History of the Tatars* is devoted to the period of the Golden Horde, while Volume 4 explores the era of the Tatar khanates, with both books presenting a wide-ranging panorama of the entire medieval Tatar world and an outline of its ethnic and political history.

Appendices



Table

Tatar States (15–18th centuries)

Tatar states	Active period	Capital	Ruler, dynasty	Ruling clans	Ulus division	Aristocracy – taxable estate
Ulug Ulus (Great Horde)	1440's–1502	Sarai (modern Volgograd)	Khan, Jochids: Tuka Timurids	Kiyat, Kipchak, Alchin, Nayman + Mangyt	Two wings?	Muslim Tatars
The Siberian (Tyumen) Khanate	1420–1598	Chimgi-Tura, Isker modern Tyumen)	Khan, Jochids: Shibanids	Jalair, Kungrad, Sidjeut, Naiman	Two wings	Tatars — Yasak Tatars
The Kazan Khanate	1437/45–1556	Kazan (modern Kazan)	Khan, Jochids: Tuka-Timurids, Shibanids, Girayids	Shirin, Baryn, Argyn, Kipchak	Four Darugas + "Mangyt place"	Muslim Tatars = Yasak Tatars (and/or Sokha Chuvashes)
The Kasimov Kingdom (Khanate)	1450's – 1681	Tsar's Gorodok, Khan Kermen (modern Kasimov)	Khan (Tsarevich), Jochids	Shirin, Baryn, Argyn, Kipchak	Two wings	Serving-Tatars — Muslims
The Astrakhan Khanate	1459/1502–1556	Hajji Tarkhan (modern Astrakhan)	Khan, Jochids: Tuka Timurids	Khatai, Kungrad, Mangyt, Alchyn	Two wings	Muslim Tatars
The Kazakh Khanate	1469–1718	—	Khan, Jochids: Urus Khanids	Ming, Yuz, Kyrk, Jalair	Three Zhuzes	Cossacks — Sarts
The Uzbek Khanate(the State of Nomadic Uzbeks)	1469–1718	Urgench (modern Konye-Urgench); Bukhara (modern Bukhara)	Khan, Jochids: Shibanids	Ming (Mangyt), Kungrad, Jalair, Alchin, etc.	Two wings (the right and left places from the Khan)	Uzbeks (Tatars) — Sarts, Taziks (Tadjiks)
The Nogai Horde	1480–1613	Saraychyq	Biy, Ediguids	Mangyt	Two wings	Tatars (Nogais) — nomadic Turkic-Tatar tribes
The Crimean Khanate	1441–1783	Bakhchysarai (modern Bakhchysarai)	Khan, Girays	Shirin, Argyn, Baryn, Seljeut (Yashlav); and later Nogais	Two parts — the steppe and the coastalparts, four uluses	Tatars, Karaims — Muslim Tatars, Greeks, etc.

Drawn by *Iskander Ismaylov*

Sources Related to the History of Medieval Tatar States

1. Giosafat Barbaro 'Journey to Tana'

This text has been reproduced from the following publication: Giosofat Barbaro, Ambrogio Contarini. *Travels to Tana and Persia* / Thomas W., Roy E.A., Stanley H.E.J. (trans.). London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1873.

[...] § 4. In 1436, I began my voyage to Tana, where I stayed for sixteen years. I traveled through all those territories, both by sea and by land, and studied them thoroughly and with great curiosity.

§ 5. The Tartary plain¹ has the following borders if one stands in the middle thereof: the river of Ledil² to the East; Poland to the West and Northwest; Russia to the North; the regions of Alania³, Cumania⁴, Gazaria⁵ in the South, with its territory stretching all the way up to the Maggiore sea⁶ and all the latter countries bordering the Tabacche sea⁷. So, this plain lies within said boundaries.

§ 6. In order for you to understand me better, I will tell my story moving along the Maggiore Sea, partially along its coast and partially along inland territories, up to the Elice river⁸, which is located within forty miles from Capha⁹. After crossing the river, it moves towards Moncastro¹⁰. There we can find the Danube¹¹, a river familiar to all. I will not tell anything about the places beyond this point, because they are already well known.

§ 7. The name 'Alania' is derived from the name of the Alani people, referred to as 'As' in their own language. They are Christians that were expelled and devastated by the Tatars. This country lies on hills, rivers and plains; there are many smaller hills made by humans as sepultures. Each of them has a large stone with a hole on top where a cross is located made from another single stone. These little hills are infinite in number, and as we learned, a great treasure was hidden in one of them.

§ 8. At that time, when Mr.¹² Pietro Lando was a Consul in Tana, a man named Gulbedin¹³ came to him from Cairo. He said that when he was staying in Cairo he had heard from a Tatar woman that in one of these little hills known as Contebe¹⁴, the Alani people had hidden a great treasure. And to prove her words, this woman described some features of the hill and surrounding land to him. So, Gulbedin thus started to dig these holes/pits like wells into the hill in various places. He kept on with his pursuit for

¹ This refers to the steppe territories which Persian and Arabic sources call Dasht-i Kipchak.

² That is, the Itil, Edil—the Turkic name of the Volga river.

³ The territory of the Eastern coast of the Azov and Black Seas to the Caucasian mountains. The Crimean Alania was located on the Western side of the peninsula.

⁴ The Northern coast of the Azov Sea.

⁵ That is, the Eastern part of the Crimean peninsula, the title comes from the name of the Khazar people. The power of Tatar khans extended to Alania, Cumania and Gazaria.

⁶ The Italian name of the Black Sea. The Great Sea—the medieval name of the Mediterranean, which the Black Sea was considered to have been a part of.

⁷ That is the Azov Sea. It is possible that the name originates from the Tatar word 'chabak'—'a bream', 'a roach'.

⁸ That is, the Dnieper.

⁹ Kafa (Kaffa, present-day Feodosia), a city on the Southern coast of the Crimean peninsula. From the 1260s to 1475 it was the centre of the Genoese colonies in the Crimea. It paid tribute to Tatar khans.

¹⁰ Moncastro is the Italian name of Akkerman (present-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi), cities on the right bank of the Dniester Liman. A Genoese colony existed in the city from the 13–15th centuries. In a year, a trading route passed from the Caucasian and Asia Minor's coasts to Poland, Germany and Italy. The name 'Akkerman' in Turkic means 'White fortress'.

¹¹ That is, the Danube.

¹² Messer was an appeal to an eminent citizen in medieval Italy. Church hierarchs, knights, judges, doctors of medicine and law were addressed this way.

¹³ The second part of the name 'edin' hints at the Islamic origin of the name (ad-Din).

¹⁴ Perhaps, here the ancient town of Kobryakovo is being referred to here, where one of the Don-side settlements of the ancient epoch was located. It had a non-Greek and Scyth-Sarmat population involved into farming and fishing.

two years, and then died. People decided that he never managed to find the treasure simply because he lacked the required ability¹. [...]

§ 13. The Mohammedan faith became common among the Tatars about one hundred and ten years ago². Indeed, some them were Mohammedans before, but in general every man was free to choose the religion they liked most. So that means there were some people who worshiped wooden or rag idols they carried about with them on their carts. They were forced to accept the Mohammedan faith at the time of Edigu³, a commander of the Tatar Khan known as Sidahameth Khan⁴. This Edigu was the father of Naurus, of whom I will now tell you.

§ 14. In the steppes of Tartarie, in 1438 there reigned an emperor named Ylumahumeth Khan⁵, that is to say, the great Macomett emperor. He had already been in power for a number of years. While he was in the steppes located towards Russia with his orda (that is to say, his people), he had this Naurus as his captain, the son of Hedighi (Edigu), by whose means Tartaria received the faith of Macomett (Mohammed). Between this Naurus and the emperor, a disagreement broke out. Naurus left the emperor with the people who wanted to follow him. They set off towards the river Ledil into Chezimameth⁶, that is to say Little Macomett, one of the blood lines of the Tartar emperor. They came together in their intentions, as well as their forces, and decided to go up against Ylumahumeth.

§ 15. Then they set out on their way past Citerclian (Astrakhan), went around Circassia and headed towards the river Tana (Don) and towards the gulf of the Tabacche (Zabache) seas⁷, which along with the river of Tana, were both frozen. And because their people were great and their beasts innumerable, it therefore behooved them to create a large front so that those who went out in front did not destroy the grass and other such things that served to refresh those who came after. That is why the foremost of these people and cattle were at a place called Palastra⁸, and the hindermost were at a place called Bosagaz (which means 'gray wood'), on the Tana River. The distance between these two places is 120 miles. The foresaid people occupied this land thoroughly, though indeed not all the places were apt for travel.

§ 16. We received news of their [the Tatars'] coming four months before. But a month before the Lord's [Chezimameth's] arrival, there began to come towards the Tana certain sentries⁹: three or four young men on horseback, each of them with a spare horse in hand.

Those that came into Tana were called before the counselor and were well treated. But when they were examined and questioned about where they went and what their business was, they answered that they were young men that were travelling about as a pastime. And more could not be had from them. And they stayed for no more than an hour or two, and then were gone again. And so it continued on this way daily, except for their number, which increased more and more with every visit. But when the Lord was within five or six days away from Tana, they began to come in groups of fifteen to fifty together, well armed and in good orda, and as he drew nearer, they increased by the hundreds.

¹ The description of the excavation of this mound is omitted.

² The Islamisation of the Golden Horde's population occurred gradually. It is necessary to take into consideration that some areas (for example, Khwarezm and the Middle Volga) were inhabited by Muslims before the Mongol invasion. The first of the Golden Horde rulers who adopted Islam was Berke (around 1257–1266). As scientists note, a new impulse of Islamisation came from the rule of the Uzbek khan (1312–1342).

³ Edigu, despite the fact that he was not Jochi's descendant, was de facto sovereign of the Golden Horde between 1395–1419. Technically, at that time the Jochids, Edigu's appointees, reigned: Temür Qutlugh (1395–1399), Shadibek (1399–1407), Bulat (1407–1410), Timur (1410–1412), Chekre (1414–1416), Dervish (1417–1419).

⁴ Sayid-Ahmad khan began his rule only in 1432/33—that is, significantly later after Edigu's death (1419).

⁵ Ulugh Muhammad was the Golden Horde khan (1419–1436 with breaks) and the khan of Kazan (1438–1445).

⁶ Kichi-Muhammad was the Golden Horde khan (1428–1459 with breaks).

⁷ The present-day Taganrog Bay is meant here.

⁸ Palastra is a settlement on the Northern coast of the Azov Sea which was marked on European portolan charts [navigation maps] (for example, on Beninkaz's portolan chart of 1474) near Berdyansk Bay.

⁹ Here the avant garde patrol squad (sentry) is referred to.

§ 17. At last the Lord¹ arrived and was lodged in an ancient mosque, within an arrow's shot of Tana. The consul decided to send him presents immediately, and sent him a Nouena, one more to his mother, and one more to Naurus, the Commander of his army. A Nouena is a present consisting of nine diverse things, including silk, scarlet and other such things for a total of nine. For such was the manner of welcoming the Lords of those areas.

So there was carried to him bread, wine made of honey, ale and other diverse things for a total of nine items: and I was the one chosen to deliver it all. Thus entering the mosque, we found the Lord lying on a carpet, leaning his head on Naurus, he himself being the age of twenty two and Naurus — twenty five.

When I presented the things we had brought, I recommended the town and the people to him and told him that they were all at his commandment. Whereupon he answered with the most gentle words, and after looking towards me started to laugh and to clap his hands together saying: 'Behold, what a town is this where three men have three eyes! What he said was true, as Burin Taia Pietra², our interpreter, had one eye; Zuan Greco, the counselor's servant, also had one eye; and he that carried the wine and honey likewise had one.

And then we took our leave and departed.

§ 18. And because some would scarcely think it is likely that, as I have said earlier, the sentries travel in groups of four, ten, twenty and thirty through those plains, riding ten, sixteen and sometimes twenty days away from their people, you might inquire whereof they might eat. I answer that every one of them who departed from the people carried with him a bottle made of goat's skin, full of meal, of the grain called Miglio, made into a paste with a little honey. And also has several little dishes of wood. So that when he misses to take any wild game (whereof there is a great amount in those steppes which they can kill, especially with their bows), then he takes a little of this meal, and putting a little water into it, he makes a certain potion³ on which he might feed.

For when I have asked some of them what thing they might eat in the steppes, they asked me again: 'Why would a man die of hunger?' As if saying: 'If I may have with me something to sustain life, it suffices me'. And indeed, they pass their lives well enough with herbs and roots and such other that they can gather, the only thing they need is salt. For if they lack salt, their mouths will swell and fester, and some of them will die thereof; in that case they commonly fall into flux⁴.

§ 19. But let us return to where we stopped. When the Lord departed, the people with their cattle followed. First, herds of horses by sixty, one hundred, two hundred and more in a herd. After them followed herds of camels and oxes, and after them came smaller beasts. This went on for six days, so that as far as our eyes could see the steppe, every direction was full of people and beasts following their path. And this was only the first part; it is easy to see how a much greater number of people and beasts was in the middle part with the soldiers.

We stood on the walls⁵ (for we kept the gates shut) and by evening we were weary of looking. For the multitude of these people and beasts was such that the diameter of the plain they occupied seemed to be a Paganea of one hundred twenty miles.

¹ Calling Kiziakhmet a prince—not an emperor as was traditional—Giosafat Barbaro showed his own attitude towards Ulu-Mohameth's rival.

² It is unclear what the words 'Taia Pietra' meant in this case—the sculptor (or simply stonecutter) or a last name. It is most likely that Buran was a stonecutter.

³ Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi (1413–1482) in his work 'The Rise of the Two Happy Stars and the Junction of the Two Seas' informs that in 1391, before Timur's army was to march out against the Golden Horde, an order was issued 'so that when they march from Tashkent, each warrior would eat 1 man of granary weight of flour and so that no one baked bread or pancakes or cooked noodles, but was content with soup' (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde. Vol. 2. p. 192). Giosafat Barbaro in his letter to the bishop of Padua Piero Barocci dated 23 February 1491 wrote that the Tatars who departed on a long journey through desert steppes chose the time when the grass 'baltrakan' grew which could maintain people's power—that is how nutritious it was.

⁴ Chloride ions (penetrating the human body, usually with salt) are needed to produce hydrochloric acid—an important component of gastric juice. Their deficit leads to patches on the tongue and cracked lips. A symptom of low sodium (a component of table salt) in the body especially during times of hunger can be diarrhea.

⁵ These walls of Tana were erected after 1395, when Tamerlan destroyed Azak (Tana).

Paganea is a Greek word that I learned in Morea¹ in a certain gentleman's house that brought 100 plowmen with him²; everyone of them had a staff in his hand. They walked in a particular manner, each one ten steps away from the next, striking the earth with their staffs, and someone was shouting some words to raise the game [from the forest], which the hunters and fowlers, some on horseback and some on foot, with their hawks and dogs, waited in the manner they thought best. And when their time came, they let their hawks fly and their dogs run as was fit for the game.

§ 20. And among the other game that were hunted there, there were partridges and certain other birds that we call hethcockes (turkeys)³ which have short tails like hens and hold up their heads like cocks, being almost as great as peacocks, which they resemble altogether in colour, but not at all in the tail.

And because Tana stands between those little hills and has many ditches for ten miles in its circumference stretching as far as where old Tana was⁴, a great number of these fowl and game animals fled among those little hills and valleys. In a word, around the walls of Tana and within the ditches were so many partridges and liethcockes (bustards) that all those places seemed rich with men's poultries. The boys of the town took some of them and sold two of them for an aspre apiece⁵, which means eight of our baggatims⁶.

There was a frate at that time in Tana named frate Thermo, of Saint Frauncs' order. Using a birding net, he took two hoops to make one great hoop and stuck it out on a crooked poll behind the city wall. Like this, he caught ten to twenty birds at once. Selling them, he got so much money that he bought himself a little boy, Circasso whom he named Pertriche (Partridge), and made him a frate (friar). And all night they of the town would leave their windows open with a certain light in it to allure the fowls to enter.

Sometimes the harts and other wild beasts would run into the houses and in such numbers that it almost cannot be believed. But that did not happen near Tana.

§ 21. From the plain through which this people [the Tatars who had come to Tana] passed, it did well appear that their number was very great. There were so many that [the following happened] at a certain place (called Bozagaz) where I had a fishing spot about forty miles away from Tana. The fishermen told me that they had fished all winter and had salted a great quantity of moroni (morainic matter) and cauiari (caviar), and that when a certain number of these people came there they had taken all their fish, both fresh and salty, and all their cauiari, and all their salt, which was piled as high as that of Sieniza⁷, in such an amount that there was not a grain of salt to be found after they were gone. They also broke the pipes and barrels, and took the barrel staffs with them, perhaps to use them for their carts. And later they broke three little mills there made to grind salt, only for that covetousness little bit of iron that was in the middle of them.

But what was done to me was done to all the others as well. And also to Zuan Da Valle, who had a fishing spot there also. Hearing of the Lord's coming, he dug a great ditch, and put therein about thirty

¹ Giosafat Barbaro came to know Morea when he was a proveditore in Albania and was organising resistance to the Turks in 1465.

² Villeins were in medieval Italy personally freed peasants carrying out labour conscription in exchange for land territories that their landlords had granted them.

³ Literally the word 'galinaccia' (correctly - 'gallinaccia') means a big or old, bad chicken. Giosafat Barbaro either did not know the local name of this steppe fowl, or decided not to transcribe it in the Italian text. A bustard is most likely meant here.

⁴ From the 3–2nd to the 4th centuries BC, ancient Tanais, a city of the Bosphoran Kingdom which was the most northerly, was located on the right bank of the Don river. The Italian colony of Tana was situated on the left bank of the Don. The traces of defensive structures, abandoned and covered with soil, are attributed not to ramparts and ditches of ancient Tanais, but Tana of the 14th century which occupied a wider territory and was completely destroyed by Timur's army in 1395. The new fortifications which arose around Tana after Timur's demolition already covered a smaller territory; the city became narrower and the remnants of former fortifications appeared to be outside of its walls.

⁵ Aspra was a silver coin which circulated in the Italian colonies of the Northern Black Sea region and Trap-ezund. Aspras were minted in Kaffa from the 14th century to 1475.

⁶ Bagattin (in Venice) is the vernacular for a small denarius, a small silver coin.

⁷ Sieniza (Ibiza) is one of the Balearic islands in the Mediterranean, known in the Middle Ages for salt mining.

barrels of cauiari (caviar) and so that it was not revealed, he covered it with earth and burned wood above it. But it availed not, for they [the Tatars] found it and left not a trifle.

§ 22. These people carry with them innumerable carts of two wheels that are higher than ours. They are covered with mats made of reed and draped with felt, and partly with cloth if they belong to men of eminence. Some of these carts carry houses upon them which are made like this: they take a circle of timber with a diameter at a step and a half crossed in the centre with other half circles, and between these they lay their mats of reed, and then it is covered with felty cloth according to the person's means. When they get prepared to set up camp for the night, they take down these houses to sleep in.

§ 23. Two days after this, the Lord departed and certain townsmen of Tana came to me, willing me to go to the walls where one of the Tartares tried to speak with me. I went there and found one that told me that Edelnugh, the Lord's brother-in-law, was not far from here, and desired (if I would be so contented) to enter into the town and be my guest. I asked license of the consul, and after obtaining it I went to the gate and accompanied him in with three of his companions. For the gates were all this while kept shut. I had him to my house and made him good cheer, specially with wine, which pleased him so well that he stayed two days with me. Being disposed to depart, he entreated me to go with him, for he had become my brother, and where he went, I might also go safely. And so he said something similar to the merchants, whereof there was none there that did not wonder at what he said.

So being determined to go with him, I took with me two Tartariens of the town on foot, and I myself rode on horseback. About three hours after noon we set forward, but he was so drunk that blood ran out of his nose; And when I would persuade him not to drink so much, he would make moves like an ape, saying, 'Let me drink; when shall I find any more of this?'

On our way we soon needed to pass a river which was frozen over, and I endeavored myself to go where there was snow on the ice, but he who was overcome with wine went where his horse led him, and fell upon ice where there was no snow. By reason thereof the horse continuously fell and got back up again, and he began to whip it with a lash (because they do not wear spurs), and the horse went on falling and getting back up. He continued in such a manner for the third part of an hour. Finally, having crossed that river, we came to another and passed it, with much ado, as a result of the same reasons. So that being wearied, he rested himself with certain people that were camping there already, and we stayed the whole night with as little comfort as you might imagine.

The next morning, we set foot on the path, though not as lustily as we had done the day before. When we passed another arm of said river, we followed the way that the people traveled (who resembled as many ants). Within two days of the journey, we approached the place where the Lord himself was. And there my conductor [Edelnugh] was much honoured by all men, and flesh, bread and milk, with other things of the like were given him, so that we were never wanting of meat.

§ 24. The next day, coveting to see how this people rode, and what order they observed in their everyday lives, I did see so many wonders that if I would write them all here I should make a great volume.

We went to the Lord's lodging, whom we found under a pavilion with innumerable people about him. Those that desired audience all knelt separately from each other, and left their weapons at the distance of a stone's throw from their Lord. Unto some of them the Lord spoke, and demanding what they desired, he always made a sign to them with his hand that they should arise. Whereupon they would arise, but not approach eight steps [closer to the Lord] till they knelt again and asked what they wanted. And so nearer and nearer till they had his audience. The audience lasted all the way in such a manner.

§ 25. The justice used throughout their camp in any place at all is very sudden. This is how it is conducted: when there is a disagreement between two parties and words are exchanged (not in the manner of our quarters, for these do not use violence), the two or more (if they are more of them) arise and walk towards the way they think good, and to the first man of eminence that they meet they say: 'Master, do us right, for we are here in a controversy'. Whereupon he stops and hears what both parties might say, and determines thereupon what he thinks best without any further writing. What so ever he determines, this is accepted without any contradiction. In these judgments many persons assemble, and he that makes the determination, says: 'You shall all be witnesses!' Such judgments continually occupy the camp. And if any differences occur along the way, they observe the very same order.

§ 26. I did see one day (being in this orda) a wooden dish overturned on the earth, under which I found a little boiled millet: and demanding of a Tartarien that was by me what thing it was, he answered it was put there 'hibuth peres', that is, by the idolaters. 'Why,' asked I, 'are there idolaters amongst this people?' He answered: 'O, oh, oh here there are many, but they hide'¹.

§ 27. To number the people surely, in my judgment, it is impossible. But to speak according to my estimation, I believe, undoubtedly, that in all the orda when they come together, there are no less than three hundred thousand persons. This I say because Ylumahumeth also had part of the orda, as I have said before².

§ 28. The warriors are very valiant and brave, so much so that some of them for their excellence are called 'Tulubagator', which means 'a valiant fool'. Being a name of no less reputation amongst them than the surnames of wisdom or beauty with us, was Peter the Wiseman, or Paule the Goodly Man. These have a certain preeminence that all things they do (though partly this is against reason) are reckoned to be done well, as actions that originate from bravery, it seems to all men that they do as best suits them. Wherefore there are many of them that in fights of arms esteem not their lives, fear no peril, but push forward to demolish the enemy without thought so that the weak can take courage in them and also become valiant themselves. And this surname, to my mind, is very convenient for them because I see none that deserve the name of a valiant man who is not a fool indeed. For, I pray you, is it not a fool that would fight one man against four? Is it not a madness for one with a knife to dispose himself to fight against many that have swords?

§ 29. To this purpose I shall write about a thing that happened once while I was at Tana. Being one day in the street, there came certain Tartariens into the town and said that in a little wood not further than three miles from here, there were about a hundred Circassian horseman hidden, intending to make a raid to the town itself, as they were used to doing. Hearing this, I happened to be in a fletcher's shop, where there was also a Tartarien merchant that came there with *semenzina* (wormseed)³. As soon as he heard this, he rose up and said: 'Why do we not go to take them? How many horses have they?' I answered: 'A hundred.' 'Well,' said he, 'we are five, and how many horses will you make?' I answered: 'Forty'. And he said: 'The Circassian are no men, but women. Let us go take them!' Whereupon I went to seek Mr. Frauncs, and told him what this man had said. And he, always laughing, followed me, asking me whether I had the heart to go. I answered, yes.

So we took our horses and ordered certain men of ours to come by water. And at about noon we assaulted these Circassians. They were in the shadows, and some of them were sleeping, but by mistake a little before our arrival our trumpet had sounded. By reason whereof many of them had time to escape. Nevertheless, we killed and took about forty of them. But the entire beauty of this victory lies in these valiant fools, as the Tartarien who asked us to follow him to take them, having seen no man fond of doing it himself, ran after those that were escaping alone, and we were crying to him: 'Mahe torxa!' ('You will never return, you will never return!') And about an hour after he returned lamenting and complaining much that he could not take a single one of them. Behold for yourself whether this was a madness or not, for if four of them had returned against him, they might have hacked him to pieces. For the which when we reproved him, he laughed at everything as at a joke.

§ 30. The sentries here (the men whom I described above)⁴ that came before the camp into Tana, always moved before the camp in eight directions to find out if there were dangers on the way, staying many days away from him and acting in accordance with his needs.

¹ The fact that pagans existed in Tataria is proven by the announcement of Arabic writer Ibn Arabshah (d. 1450), who visited Astrakhan, Sarai, the Crimea and Central Asia: 'Some of them [the local people] still worship idols' (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, vol. 1. p. 457).

² See § 14.

³ *Santonica* seed, a widely-spread medieval vermicide, was an imported item in all large cities of the Levant and Western Europe from the Black Sea and Azov Sea steppes. *Santonica* seed was extracted not from seeds, but the trusses of wormwood containing *santonica*.

⁴ See § 16.

As soon as the Lord is lodged, they unlade their baggage, leaving large ways between their lodgings. If it is in the winter, the beasts are so many that they turn the earth into mud, and if it is in the summer they spread much dust. Then after they have untrussed their baggage they make their ovens, roast and boil meat, and then dress it with milk, butter and cheese. And most commonly they are not without some venison or wild flesh, especially red deer.

In this army, there are many artisans, such as clothiers, smithies, armourers, and those for all other items and things that they need.

And if it should be asked of me whether they travel 'like the Gypsies or not?' I answer no. For (except for the fact that they are not walled in) they seem [to us to have] very great and beautiful cities. And to this purpose, as I returned one time to Tana, on the gate whereof was a very beautiful tower, there stood a Tartarien merchant that was in my company who earnestly beheld this tower, 'how think you, is this not a thing of beauty?' I asked him. But he, smiling, again answered: 'Ha! He that is afraid, builds towers!' Wherein to me it seems he spoke truly.

§ 31. I have spoken of merchant men, so now I return to my purpose of the army. I said thereby that there are always merchants who carry their wares via diverse ways, though some of them solely pass through the Orda intending to go overseas.

§ 32. Tartariens are good fowlers, have many jerfalcons, and they catch birds on Cammeleons/*this-les*¹ (which is not done with us). They hunt deer and other great beasts also. These hawks they carry on their fists, and in the other hand they have a hock that when they are weary, as these birds are twice as large as eagles, they use to lean their hand upon. Sometimes there flies over the army a flock of geese, at which some of the camp shoot certain crooked unfeathered arrows. In their ascent, the arrows hurl and break all that is in their way: necks, legs and wings: And sometimes there pass so many that it seems the air is full of them: and then the people shout and cry with such extreme noise that the geese, astonished and deafened, fall down.

§ 33. And because I began talking about birds I shall share here one thing that I consider notable. Riding through this horde I found myself on the bank of a little river, and I found a man that seemed to be of reputation. He was talking with his servants, then he called me and made me dismount my horse, demanding whereabouts I went. I answered as the case required and, looking aside, I saw beside him four or five bushes of teasel on which there were several goldfinches. He commanded one of the servants to take one of those goldfinches. He took two threads of horsehair, made a snare, which he put on the teasel, and having caught one bird, brought it to his master. The latter told him: 'Go and roast it.' The servant quickly pulled [the goldfinch], made a skewer of wood, roasted [the bird] and brought it [to the master], who took it in his hands and, beholding me, said: 'I am not now in the place where I may show the honour and courtesy that you merit, but let's make the most of what I have and of what God has sent me'. Then he tore the goldfinch into three parts, gave me one, ate another himself and gave the third one, which was very little, to the one who caught it.

§ 34. What shall I say of the great and innumerable multitude of beasts in that horde?² Shall I be believed? But be that as it may, I have determined to say it.

I will start with the horses. There are horse dealers among this people; they take the horses out of the horde and drive them to different places. In one caravan that had come to Persia even before I departed from there, there were four thousand heads. Don't marvel at this. Actually if you are disposed to buy in the horde one thousand or even two thousand horses on one day at once, you will find them there, for the horses go in herds like sheep. Usually one goes in the herd and says to the owner that a hundred horses is needed. He has a cudgel with a collar on the top end, and he is so good at it that as soon as the customer asks: 'Catch this one or that one', he casts the collar on the horse's head and drives it out of the herd, putting it aside. In such a manner he catches one by one as many horses as the customer needs, and exactly those he had been bade to capture. I have met merchants that were driving such a number of horses that they covered all the steppe.

¹ The plant with its spikes sticking into birds' feather prevent them from flying.

² Proving Giosafat Barbaro's words, Ibn Arabshah writes: 'This area is exclusively Tatar, abundant in various animals and Turkic tribes (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, vol. 1. p. 459).

But here's the real wonder: this country's horses are not very well-bred, as they are little, have large bellies and don't eat oats. When they are driven to Persia, the greatest praise you can give them is that they eat oats, otherwise they will not endure the labour if necessary.

The second kind of beast these people have is a kind of great big oxen, which are so numerous that they can even serve the slaughterhouses of Italy. They are driven to Poland and some go through Valachia into Transilvania; some first to Germany and then from there to Italy. In these places [in the steppes], the oxen carry loads and packs when it is needed.

The third kind of beast this people has are tall, shaggy two-humped camels. They are driven to Persia and sold there for 25 ducats¹ each. The camels from the east have only one hump and they are short; and they are sold for 10 ducats each.

The fourth kind of beast these people breed are enormous sheep with long legs, long fleece and such tails that they may weigh around 12 pounds each. I have seen such sheep that drag a wheel attached to their tail after them. [The Tatars] dress their food with fat from these tails; they use it instead of butter and it does not cool down in the mouth.

§ 35. Only a person who has witnessed it could say what I am going to tell you. For you might have asked: 'What does such a number of people eat if they spend days travelling? Where does the bread they eat come from? Where do they get it?' I, who have seen it all, shall answer you in this way.

Around the new moon in February a call is issued across the horde that anyone who wants to sow should prepare everything necessary, because the sowing will take place at the new moon in March in such-and-such a place, and everyone will set out on such-and-such a day. Afterwards, those who plan to sow themselves or who want to charge somebody with this duty, load their carts with seeds, take the animals they need and, together with their wives and children or with a part of the family, set out for the appointed place, which is as a rule a two-day journey from where the horde was camped at the moment the call to sow made. They plough and sow and live there until they finish what they have come for. Then they return to the horde.

The khan treats his horde as a mother treats her children on a walk: keeping an eye on them. That's why he rides around these sowing places now here, now there, never going [away from his people] farther than a four-day journey. This continues until the corn ripens. When it has ripened, he doesn't go there with his horde, but sends there only those who had sowed and those who are willing to buy the wheat. They go with their carts, oxen and camels and other things they need, as they do in their village.

The earth there is fertile and brings a fiftyfold yield of wheat, which is as high as Paduan wheat, and a hundredfold yield of millet. Sometimes the harvest is so abundant that they leave it in the steppe.

§ 36. To this purpose I will tell you about the following. There was a son of one of Ulu-Mohameth's sons² here; he ruled for several years being afraid that one of his cousins who dwelled on the other side of the Ledil River would take away from him that part of his people³ that usually sowed there and were therefore at a particular risk. He didn't let them sow there for 11 years, and during this period they ate nothing but meat, milk and other like things; at the market they could still buy some flour and millet but they were very costly. When I asked them how they were doing without corn, they just smiled, saying that they had meat. Nevertheless, this prince was driven away by his cousin.

Finally, Ulu-Mohameth (mentioned before)⁴ — after Khezi Mohameth arrived in his lands — finding himself unable to resist, left the horde and fled with his children and others. And Khezi Mohameth announced himself the Khan of that people⁵.

¹ A ducat is a Venetian golden coin.

² The following grandchildren of Ulugh Muhammad are known: Murtaza (earlier than 1444—after 1475, son of Mustafa), Khalil (earlier then 1460–1467, son of Mahmud), Ibrahim (earlier than 1465–1479, son of Mahmud), Daniyar (earlier than 1469–1486, son of Kasim). It is possible that Ulugh Muhammad's son was also mentioned in the Russian chronicles as Aslam Bakhmetyev (that is, Aslan, son of Mahmet).

³ It was important for Tatar leaders not only to defend the territory where they nomadised, but also how many people were subordinate to them.

⁴ See §§ 14, 27, 36.

⁵ The events of 1436 are possibly meant here.

§ 37. He came to the river Don in June and crossed the river for almost two days with all his numerous people, carts, cattle, and belongings. It is a marvelous thing to believe, but even a more marvelous thing to see! For they crossed without any noise, with such confidence as if they were walking on the ground. The way of passage is as follows: the superiors send their people ahead and tell them to make rafts out of the dry wood the river bank abounds in. Then they are told to bind the soft reed and put it under the rafts and under the carts. In such a manner they pass, with the horses swimming and drawing all these rafts and carts after them and with some naked men guiding the horses.

A month after [the crossing], I went up the river to a fishing place and saw such a number of rafts and fascines left behind that we could scarcely pass. On the banks in these places I saw a great number of rafts and fascines too, and was struck by the sight. When we arrived at our fishing place we found out that even greater harm (than the one mentioned before)¹ had been done.

§ 38. And also then (I will tell you this case so as to not forget about my friends) the khan's relative Edelmugh who came back to cross the river (which was described earlier) arrived in Tana. He brought one of his sons to me and, embracing me, said: 'I have brought my son to you and I want him to become yours'. Immediately he took the caftan from his son's back and put it on me. Besides, he gave me eight Russian slaves, saying: 'This is part of the yield that I have taken in Russia.' He stayed at my place for two days and was given the appropriate gifts.

§ 39. Sometimes there are people who, saying goodbye to the others, do not intend to come back to these places; they easily forget about their friendships, thinking that they will never see each other again. And from this fact stems behaviour that is not, surely, appropriate. They certainly do the wrong thing; there is even a saying that the mountains never greet but the men may meet.

It happened so that on my return from Persia together with the ambassador of Assambei I wanted to go through Tartary and through Poland to come to Venice. But in the end I did not go that way. There were many Tatar merchants among us then. I asked them what happened to Edelmugh and they said that he had died and left a son named Ahmet. They described his face to me so that by his name and features I recognized him as the very man his father had once given me as a son. As these Tatars said, his position at the khan's court was high and, if we went that way, we would certainly have fallen into his hands. I am sure that I would have been received in the best way because I have always received him and his father well. But who could think that thirty-five years later², in two countries widely separated, a Tatar would meet a Venetian?

§ 40. I will add another story here (though the event refers to another time), because it concerns the same matter I described above. In 1455, being at a vintener's cellar in Rialto³, as I walked about here and there I noticed two men tied in chains. By their countenance, I thought them to be Tartariens. I asked who they were, and they answered that they had been slaves of the Catelaines (Catalans)⁴, and that they fled away in a little boat, and that then they were taken by this vintener. Whereupon I went immediately to the signori di istotte (heads of the night watch)⁵, and declared this matter. Who poste-haste sent officers there, brought them to the court, and in the vintener's presence delivered them, and sentenced the man.

Thus I had them freed, and had them taken to my house, and asked them who they were and of what country. One of them answered he was of the Tana, and had been servant to Cazadahuch. This man I had known well, for he was the customs inspector of the khan⁶ over all things that came into Tana. So that looking at him more closely, I seemed to remember his face, for he had been many times in my house.

¹ See § 21.

² The first story about Edelmugh's son dates back to 1442.

³ The Rialto is a trading quarter in Venice.

⁴ It is possible that the Tatars were enslaved by Catalanian pirates who contested the control over the Mediterranean Sea against the Genoese in 14th century.

⁵ This refers to the collegium existing since the 13th century and including six members each of whom watched the order in one of six regions of Venice. During the night, public security in the city was guarded, criminals and violators of public order were arrested.

⁶ Kommerkiari or a customs officer. Apparently, tamgaches are referred to here—collectors of purchase tax in the form of an interest from merchant operations.

I asked him what his name was. He answered, Chebechzi, which signifies 'a bolter of meal'. And when I had beheld him well, I said unto him, 'Do you know me?' He answered: 'No'. But, as soon as I mentioned Tana and Jusuph (for so they called me there), he fell to the earth, and would have kissed my feet, saying unto me: 'You have saved my life twice, and this is one of them, for being a slave I reckoned myself dead; and the other was when Tana was on fire; you made a hole in the wall through which so many creatures escaped, amongst whom was I and my master'. And that is true. For when Tana was set on fire, I made a hole in the wall against a certain sandlot where many persons were assembled, through which there exited about forty, and amongst them this fellow and Cazadahuch.

I kept those two Tartariens in my house for about two months, and when the ships departed towards Tana I sent them home.

Wherefore departing one from another with the opinion never to return to those parts again, no man ought to forget his friendship as though they shall never meet again. For there may happen a thousand things whereupon they chance to meet again, and perhaps he that is more able shall have need of whom is less able.

§ 41. Now, to return to Tana, I shall describe it from the west and northwest, coasting the sea of Tabacche, and then going forth turn towards the left; afterwhich I shall go over the Maggiore Sea, even to the province named Mengleria (Mingrelia).

§ 42. Departing then from Tana, from the foresaid coast of the sea, after a three-day journey far from land, I found a region called Cremuch¹. The Lord there was named Biberdi, which means 'given to God'. He was the son of Chertibei, which means 'true Lord'. He has many villages under him which at his need can produce a thousand horses, and there the steppe is vast, and there are many good woods and rivers plenty. The noble men of this region live by robbing on those plains, and they especially rob the caravans that travel from place to place. They are well horsed, valiant and craft men, and their visage is similar to that of our own men. They have plenty of corn, meat and honey, but no wine.

Beyond them are countries of diverse languages, though not much different one from another. These are Elipehe, Tatarcosia, Sobai, Cheuerthei, As, i.e. Alani, of which I have spoken here before². And these run along right up to Mengleria at a distance of a twelve-day journey³. [...]

§ 45. Returning back to the Tana, I pass the river where Alama (Alania) was, as I have said before⁴, and I advance by the sea of Tabacche on the right hand, going forward even to the Isle of Capha (Kaffa)⁵, where there is a straight of land that connects [this] isle with the main land, like the isthmus of Morea called Zuchala⁶. There [near the isthmus towards 'the Isle of Capha'] are very great salt springs that when they dry out, become perfect salt. Along this island, the first place on the Tabacche sea is the country named Cumania, of the Cumani people⁷. After that, there is the edge of the isle where Capha stands in the same place where Gazaria used to be. And yet to this day, the Pico⁸, that is to say the yard where they measure [fabrics] at Tana, and in all those parts it is called 'Pico de Gazaria'.

§ 46. The steppe of this Isle of Capha is under the Tartariens' dominion⁹, who have a Lord named Ulubi¹⁰, son of Azicharei. They have a good number of people able at a moment to make three or four thousand horses. They have two places that are walled, but they do not have a fortress. One whereof is

¹ The Kuban area is possibly referenced here.

² See § 7.

³ The description of Mengrelia follows.

⁴ See §§ 5 and 7.

⁵ This is how the Italians defined the Crimean peninsula; sometimes only its Eastern part, where Kaffa was located, was referred to in this way.

⁶ 'The Island of Kaffa' was linked to the mainland via an isthmus.

⁷ The Cumans (Comans) is the Byzantine and Western European name of the Kipchaks—a Turkic-speaking nation inhabiting in the 11th-15th centuries the territories of Eurasian steppes from the Danube to the Irtysh areas.

⁸ That is, measure of cloth length. Pikes were mostly used to measure woolen clothes, but also linen, some types of silk and even sailcloths in the following cities: Tana, Kaffa, Constantinople and Tabriz. In Tana, apart from 'picco', such measures as 'brazo' or 'braccio' ('elbow') were also used.

⁹ That is, were directly governed by Tatar khans. Genoese colonies paid tribute to them.

¹⁰ This name of the Crimean khan Hacı Giray is not found in other sources.

called Solgathi (Solkhat)¹, which they call Incremin, meaning 'a fortress', and the other is called Cherchiarde², which signifies 'forty places'.

The first at the mouth³ of the Tabacche Sea on this island is a place called Cherz (Kerch), which we refer to as Bosphoro Cimerio. Next to that are Capha (Kaffa), Saldaia⁴, Grasui⁵, Cymbalo⁶, Sarsona⁷, and Calamita⁸, all of which at the present are under the great Turkish sultan. I need say no more, as they are already known well enough.

§ 47. And yet, I consider it necessary to speak on the loss of Capha (Kaffa) as I learned of it from one Antony da Guasco, a Genowaie (Genoese) who was present there and fled by sea into Giorgiana (Georgia), and from there into Persia, the same time that I happened to be there. Now it may be known after what manner this place had fallen into Turkish hands.

At that time there was a Tartarien lord in the steppe named Eminachbi⁹ who collected of the Capha (Kaffa) a certain yearly tribute, as was the custom of the country. Between him and the people of Capha there occurred a disagreement, insomuch that the Consule of Capha (Counselor of Kaffa), being a Genowaie (Genoese), decided to appeal to the Khan¹⁰ to send someone of the blood of this Eminachbi [to reign], by whose favour he thought it possible to expel Eminachbi out of his estate. And having thereupon sent [from Kaffa] a ship into Tana¹¹, this ambassador went into the Orda. There he obtained of the Khan a relative of that Eminachbi named Menglieri, promising to lead him to Capha, and that if the town would not accept this appointment, then to send Menglieri¹² back again. Eminachbi, mistrusting this matter, sent an ambassador to Ottomanno¹³ and promised him that if he sent an army by sea to assault the town, he would assault it by land, and would make it so that Capha belonged to the Turkish, as he had wanted to possess it himself.

Ottomanno, desiring this plan as well, sent his army and in a short span obtained the town in which Menglieri was taken and sent to Ottomanno, who kept him in prison for many years¹⁴.

§ 48. Not long after the Turkish occupied the city, Eminachbi started repenting himself of giving the town to Ottomanno, and thus prohibited the passage of all vitals into the town. By reason thereof they had such a great scarcity of corn and meat that they reckoned themselves in a manner besieged. Whereupon the Turkish were persuaded that if he sent Menglieri to Capha, keeping him within the town in courteous ward, the town should have plenty, for Menglieri was well beloved by the people. And so Ottomanno, considering this advice to be just, did exactly that. As soon as it was known that he arrived [in Kaffa], the town was flooded with all things, for he was also a beloved of the townsmen. This man thus remained in courteous ward, and went where he would like within the town. And one day amongst the people there happened a game of shooting for a prize.

¹ Solkhat (Solkhad) is the Italian name of town of Krym (Eski Krym), the antiquities of which are on the site of present-day city of Sary Krym. During the epoch of the Golden Horde, it was the centre of the Crimean ulus of the Ulus of Jochi. The Tatar name of the city—Krym—is known according to written sources and coins were minted with it.

² Qırq Yer (Chufutkale) is meant here. It was a town near Bakhchysaray, the residence of the first Crimean khans.

³ The estuary of the Sea of Zabak is the Kerch Strait.

⁴ That is, Sudak—a Golden Horde city in the Crimea, on the Black Sea coast. It was an important trading centre. In the 13–15th century there was a Venetian and then a Genoese colony in the town.

⁵ Gurzuf is a city on the Southern coast of the Crimea, where a Genoese colony existed.

⁶ Chembalo was a Genoese fortress in the Crimea, today it is the territory of Balaklava.

⁷ Kherson (Khersones, Kersona, Korsun) is a city in Southwestern Crimea, present-day city of Sevastopol.

⁸ Inkerman is a city in Southwestern Crimea, a port of the Principality of Theodoro.

⁹ Eminachbi (Eminak-bey or beg) was a Crimean karachi-beg from the Shirin clan. He strove to usurp the throne in the Crimean Khanate and entered into an open conflict with Mengli Giray khan.

¹⁰ At that time, the khan of the Great Horde was Ahmad (not long before the fall of Kaffa which occurred on 6 June 1475).

¹¹ Tana, according to its geographical position was the closest city to the Great Horde (the Azov Sea steppes, the Lower Volga region) and therefore the Genoese, when clashing with the Tatars, sent their ships to Tana to be able to penetrate into the khan's headquarters.

¹² Mengli Giray was the Crimean khan (1467–1515 with breaks).

¹³ That is, to Turkish sultan Mehmed II Fatih (the Conqueror) (1444–1446, 1451–1481).

¹⁴ Mengli Giray was held captive for less than three years, till spring 1478.

The game was played as such: on two polls set up like a gallow they hinge a bowl of silver tied only with a fine thread. Competitors shoot at the thread with forked arrows¹ and are on horseback. First they must gallop under the gallow so that riding in the opposite direction and passing a certain distance they turn their body and shoot backwards (while the horse continues to gallop), and he who in such a manner severs the thread, wins the game.

Menglieri, finding upon this occasion a chance to escape, appointed a hundred horsemen (with whom he had conspired with earlier) to hide themselves that same day in a little valley not far from the town. He pretended to gallop as part of the game, flew in all haste and made his way to his company. Whereupon knowing what had happened, the force of the entire island followed suit. With forces as such, he went straight away to Surgathi (Solkhat) — a town six miles away from Capha — and took it². And so having slaid Eminachbi, Menglieri made himself the Lord of all those places.

§ 49. The following year he determined to go to Citerchan (Astrakhan), a place sixteen days journey from Capha and under the dominion of Mordassa-khan³, who at that time was with his orda on the Ledil River. He [Menglieri] fought with him, captured him and took his people from him, a great part whereof he sent into 'the Isle of Capha', and so stayed the winter on that river. At that time, by chance there was another Tartarien lord lodged a few days' journey away, who hearing that he wintered there when the river was frozen, came upon him suddenly, assaulted him and so recovered Mordassa, who had been kept prisoner.

Menglieri, having suffered such a defeat, returned to Capha with his orda.

And Mordassa with his orda came the next spring even to Capha and made certain raids in order to damage the island. But seeing that he could not get the island to yield to him, turned back. Nevertheless, I was informed⁴ that he was making a new army to come again to the island and chase Menglieri away.

§ 50. It was proved after in deed, but hereof emerged a false rumour through the ignorance of those who did not understand whereof the war amongst these lords proceeded, or what the difference was between the great Khan and Mordassa khan. For they, hearing that Mordassa khan made a new army to return to the island, bore gossip that the Great Khan should come by Capha, against Ottomanno by way of Moncastro to enter Valachia and Hungarie, to any place where Ottomanno would also be⁵. All this is false evidence, though it was obtained from letters from Constantinople.

§ 51. And so behind the island of Capha, which sits upon the Maggiore sea, is Gothia, and after that is Alania, which goes by the island towards Moncastro, as I have said before.

The Gothes speak dowche (German)⁶. This I know from a dowchewan (German), my servant, that was with me there; for they understood one another well enough, just as we understand a Furlane or a Florentine⁷. Of this neighbourhood of the Gothes and Alani, I suppose the name of Gotitalani (Gotha-

¹ Giosafat Barbaro's work describes the three types of arrows: 1) arrows for a bow—the most widely-spread weapon among the Tatars (§ 29); 2) arrows with which they killed flying geese (§ 32); these are short and crooked, without feather; they change their direction during the flight; 3) arrows for competitions in archery; they have a metal ferrule in the form of a semi-moon—aimed at cutting the rope on which the silver bowl is hung (§ 48).

² Here Ramusio added the following: 'The amount of people ready to obey him increased, then he marched against Kyrk-Yer (Cherchiarde) and conquered it'.

³ Apparently, it is about Murtaz—the son of Ahmad khan.

⁴ Giosafat Barbaro, already in Venice, did not lose interest in the situation in the Azov Sea Region and the Northern Black Sea Region (in the 1480s) and noted that data which he had recorded, had been retold by someone.

⁵ It is possible that Sheikh Ahmad, son of Ahmad is meant by the great khan. After the death of his father in 1481, Sheikh-Ahmad began a struggle for power in the Great Horde against his brothers.

⁶ The Crimean Goths were a German-speaking nation inhabiting the Crimea up to the end of the 18th century.

⁷ It is understood from Giosafat Barbaro's essay that he visited the Goths' place of residence in the Crimea. Although he did not speak German, Barbaro was a witness to a conversation in this language between his servant—German in origin—and the Goths; Giosafat Barbaro's peremptory declaration that 'the Goths speak German' is based upon his own observation. However, Giosafat Barbaro noticed a difference between the accent of his German servant and the one spoken by the Crimean Goths and at the same time—a familiarity between them. To illustrate it, he compared two different, but mutually understandable Italian dialects: the Florentine regular language and a

lans) to be derived. For the Alani were the first in this place. But then came the Gothes, who conquered these countries and mixed their name with the Alani. And so being mixed together, they called themselves Gotitalani, who in effect followed all the Greek rituals along with the Circassians.

§ 52. And because we have spoken of Taman and Cithercan (Astrakhan)¹, I consider it worthwhile to write down the things there which are worthy of mention. Travelling from Taman east-northeast about a seven-day journey there is the Ledil River, whereon stands Cithercan (Astrakhan). At this point it is but a small town to a certain degree destroyed, albeit in time passed it used to be great and of noteworthy fame. For before it was destroyed by Tamerlano², the spices and silk that pass now through Soria (Syria)³ came to Cithercan. Giosafat Barbaro speaks of the shift in trade. After Timur's crushing campaigns, spices and silk travelled to the Mediterranean through Syria, and not via Tana. Six or seven large galeys would be sent specifically from Venice ⁴to fetch those spices and silks from Tana. So at that time neither the Venetians, nor any other nation on this side of the sea coast used to sell their wares in Soria.

§ 53. The river Ledil is great and large, and falls into the sea of Bachu⁵ about twenty-five miles from Cithercan (Astrakhan). In that river, as in the sea, innumerable fish are taken.

The sea yields much salt and you may sail up that river on a three-day journey almost as far as Musco (Moscow), a town of Rossia⁶. And they of Musco come yearly with their boats to Cithercan for salt⁷.

There are many islands and woods on that river [Ledil], and some of those islands are up to thirty miles in circumference. In those woods there are great trees, which when they are grown and made hollow become perfect for boats made from a single log, and are so big that they can carry eight or ten horses at a time and as many men.

§ 54. Passing this river and travelling east-northeast towards Musco, keeping at the river's side for a fifteen-day journey, there are innumerable Tartarie people⁸. [...]

§ 57. It may be twenty five years ago now that the Rossians have stopped paying tribute to the Khan of Tartarie for sailing on the Volga river⁹, as now they have conquered a town known as Cas-san (Kazan)¹⁰. In our tongue this signifies 'cauldron'. [The town] stands on the Ledil River on the left hand as you move towards the sea of Bachu, and is a five-day journey away from Musco. This is a great trade town out of which comes the majority of furs that are carried to Musco and into Polonia, Prusia, and Flandres. Furs come out of the north and northeast from the regions of Zagatai¹¹ and Moxia (Mordovia).

dialect from Friuli district located to the north of Venice.

¹ Astrakhan and Taman were mentioned in § 15.

² Consequences of Timur's campaign of 1395–1396 are referred to here.

³ Giosafat Barbaro documented a shift in trading routes; after Tamerlan's campaigns the route of spices and silk flowed towards the Mediterranean not through Tana, but Syria.

⁴ Galea is a wind-driven rowing boat with the width reaching 10 meters and the length up to 50 meters.

⁵ That is, the Caspian Sea.

⁶ In the conditions of the 15th century it was almost impossible to reach Moscow (from Astrakhan?) in three days. Compare with the information from § 57 about the distance between Kazan and Moscow.

⁷ Ramusio, a publisher, added here: 'It is an easy road, because the Moscow river debouches into another river called the Oka which flows down into the Erdil river'. Lake Baskunchak is located near Astrakhan. It is the main salt mine in present-day Russia.

⁸ A description of the Russian lands follows.

⁹ It is unclear from what exact date Giosafat Barbaro counted the approximate period of 25 years he indicated. Judging by the fact that immediately after it the Russian conquest of Kazan (in 1487) is described, his memories of a payment for sailing down the Volga referred to Kazan.

¹⁰ Kazan was conquered by Ivan Third's voivodes after the siege which lasted from 18 May to 9 July 1487. Kazan Khan Ilkham (Ali khan) was captured and was replaced by Muhammad Amin. The Kazan Khanate became independent from Moscow. An embassy with the message that Kazan had been conquered which was supposed to visit Rome, Venice and Milan. The Muscovite ambassadors were received by the Venetian Senate on 6 September 1488. They declared the success of the Muscovite State at a ceremonial meeting. Through this embassy, Barbaro could learn of the conquest of Kazan; then he added this last piece of news in his work.

¹¹ The Chagataid region should be understood as the territory of the Great Horde.f

These northern countries were mostly inhabited by the Tartariens¹, who for the most part are idolaters, and so also are the Moxii (Mordvins).

§ 58. And because I have had some experience with the Moxii before, I therefore intend to speak somewhat of their faith and manners as I have learnt.

At a certain time of the year they are known to take a horse, which they buy together, and bind its four feet to four stakes and its head to another one. All these stakes are driven into the earth. As soon as this is done, one person with a bow and arrow comes and, standing at a convenient distance, shoots at the heart until he kills the horse. And when the horse is thus dead, they flay it and make a bag of its hide, performing certain ceremonies with its flesh and then eating it nevertheless. Then they stuff the hide so full of straw that it seems whole again, and in every one of its legs they put a piece of wood and so set it afoot again as if it were alive. Finally, they go to a great tree and cut branches in such a way as they think best and thereof make a scaffold whereon they set the horse standing, and proceed to worship it, offering sables, ermines, gray squirrels, foxes and other furs which they hang on the same tree, similar to how we offer up candles [in the church]. By reason whereof these trees become full of such furs.

This people for the more part live on meat, the greatest part thereof being wild meat and fish they have caught in local rivers. This is all I have to say about the Moxii.

§ 59. I have no more to say of the Tartariens except that they are idolaters and worship images that they carry on their carts. However, there are some that worship the first beast they see daily or that they happen to meet the first time they leave their house. [...]

§ 63. This is all that I can say about my travel to Tana and the surrounding countries, as well as about the things worthy of memory [and seen by me] there'.

2. Maciej Miechowita 'Treatise on the Two Sarmatias'

This text has been reproduced from the following publication: Maciej Miechowita. *Traktat o dwux Sarmatyiach*. Moscow, Leningrad: Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1936.

Book One

Treatise One. On the Asian Sarmatia.

Chapter One. On the fact that there are two Sarmatias

The ancients distinguished between two Sarmatias which were neighboring and adjacent to each other, one in Europe and the other in Asia.

The European one has the following regions: those of the Russes, the Ruthenians², the Lithuanians, the Mosks³ and others adjacent to them between the Vistula river in the west and the Tanais⁴ in the east, whose inhabitants were once called the Getae⁵.

As for the Asian Sarmatia, located within the territory from the Don or Tanais River in the west to the Caspian Sea in the east, many Tatar tribes live there now.

Their system of government, their origin, faith and customs, the vastness of their lands, the rivers and neighboring areas will be discussed below. [...]

Chapter Six. On the Tatars' customs and what is found in their lands

Most Tatars are of average height, broad-shouldered, broad-chested and unattractive.⁶ They have wide faces with flat noses, and their skin is dark in color. They are strong, courageous and easily endure hunger, cold and heat.

¹ That is, located to the north of Tana.

² 'The Ruthenians' is a Latin name for the Russians.

³ The Moscs are inhabitants of Muscovy.

⁴ 'Tanais' is the Greek name of the Don river.

⁵ The Getae were ancient tribes inhabiting BC the territory from the Balkans to the Danube.

⁶ The notion of beauty was different among representatives of different cultures and civilisations. For example,

They are taught horseback riding and archery from an early age. They carry all their belongings with them, and moving from one place to another, they live in the fields with their wives, children and livestock. They have neither towns, nor villages, nor houses.

Mocking Christians, they say to each other: 'Do not sit in one place, so as not to be dirty as a Christian, and not to soil yourself'.

When the winter is coming, to escape from the cold they go to the Caspian Sea, where the sea moderates the temperature, and in the summer they return to their region.

Some of them plough one, two or three strips of land three or four jugera¹ or more in length and sow them with millet. They use millet to prepare meals and bairam, i.e., dough. They have no wheat or vegetables, but have a lot of sheep and cattle, especially horses and mares that serve as means of transportation and food. They cut and wound horses and consume the blood, with millet or separately. They eat the meat of sheep, goats, cattle, and horses half-raw. They readily eat horses that died the day before, even if they died from a disease, only cutting out the infected place. They drink water, milk and beer brewed from millet. The Turks and Tatars call water 'su'; the Tartars sometimes say 'suha', which also means water. Beer made of millet is called 'buza' by the Tatars, and 'braha' by the Russians. They especially appreciate milk called 'komiz'², which means sour milk, because it supposedly strengthens the stomach and acts as a laxative. At feasts or when receiving guests, they drink araka i.e., fermented milk, which is surprisingly and quickly intoxicating.

They do not steal and do not tolerate thieves in their midst, but for them it is the greatest pleasure and virtue to live by looting and ravaging their neighbours. They know neither crafts nor money, and exchange one thing for another. However, aspras³ — silver Turkish obols⁴ — have entered into circulation in the Trans-Volga Horde⁵, and ducats⁶ are accepted in the Perekop Horde⁷. In the Nogai Horde, they exchange things.

The Tatars are sly and perfidious to strangers, but very honest among themselves.

Their clothes are usually made of felt or white wool and are crude and simple. They like oponchi most of all, and when saying this word, they put 'i' in the beginning, saying 'ioponchi' instead of 'oponchi'⁸. This is a thick white one-piece cloak, which is very convenient to wear on a river or when it rains.

Their country is a plain without any mountains or trees, rich only in grass. They have neither roads nor boats, and they count their way by days. For example, the expanse of the territory of the Trans-Volga Tatars, from the Volga River to the Caspian Sea, is approximately a 30 days' fast ride on horseback.

They can ride 20 great German miles⁹ a day, and they never travel or go on foot.

The animals living in their territory include deer, fallow deer, goats, and svak. The svak is an animal the size of a sheep that does not inhabit other countries, has gray hair and two small horns, and runs very fast. Its meat is very tasty¹⁰. When a herd of svaks is seen somewhere in the grass in the field, the Tatar Khan or Emperor rides there with a number of horsemen and they surround the animals hiding in the high grass from all the sides. They start beating tambourines, and the frightened svaks run out from

William of Rubruck noticed that among the Tatars a girl 'who has the smallest nose is considered to be the most beautiful', see: William of Rubruck. *The Journey to the Eastern Parts of the World*. Chapter VIII. About men's shaving and women's clothing. - M., 1997, p. 100.

¹ Yugerum is a Roman unit of square measurement. 1 yugerum was 2518.2 square meters.

² It is about kumys.

³ Aspra was a silver coin which circulated in the Italian colonies of the Northern Black Sea region and Trapezund. Aspras were minted in Kaffa from the 14th century to 1475.

⁴ Obol is an ancient Greek silver coin.

⁵ The Lithuanian name of the Great Horde.

⁶ A ducat is a Venetian golden coin.

⁷ The Lithuanian name of the Crimean Khanate. Comes from Perekop, a defensive ditch on the Crimean isthmus which then gave the name to the city of Or-Kapi or Ferkh Kermen, as the Turks called it.

⁸ Most likely this is about the chapán.

⁹ A German mile amounted to over 7 km.

¹⁰ Apparently, this refers to the saiga antelope.

various directions and rush from one end of the roundup to another until they become completely exhausted. Here the Tatars rush on them screaming and kill them.

Chapter Seven. On the borders of the Trans-Volga Tatars' possessions

The territory of the Khan and the Trans-Volga Tatars is bounded in the east by the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea, in the north by steppes stretching over huge expanses in all directions; the Tanais and the Volga rivers in the west; and in the south — partially by the Euxine Sea or the Pontus¹, and partially by the highest mountains of Iberia² and Albania³.

The Russians call the Caspian Sea the 'Khvalyn Sea' (Chwalenskie morze). It is formed not by the ocean, but by the rivers flowing into it. Many major rivers flow into the basin of this sea, and as if jumping from the high banks into its centre, leave a pass under them for those traveling along the bank. Therefore, the Persians and Medes⁴ try to escape from the heat there in the summer, and in the winter the climate is more moderate there due to evaporation. According to the Russians, the long-haired Tatars live near this sea and further to the east. Other Tatars call them the 'Kalmuks'⁵ or heathens, because they do not observe the Mohammedan ritual and do not shave their heads as all Tartars do; among the Tatars only youths do not shave their heads completely, leaving two locks of hair falling from the right and the left ears to the shoulder as the sign of a virgin or an unmarried man.

The Tanais and the Volga rivers are located in the west. The Tanais is called the Don by the Tatars. It originates from the Principality of Ryazan (Rzesensko, Rzesensi), ruled by the Prince of Muscovy⁶, and first flows to the north, then turns to the south and flows into the Maeotis Swamp⁷, or rather forms it, with its three mouths. There are trees near the Tanais, there are apples and other fruit; there are also some beehives on oaks and rarely on pines. The Tatars call the Don sacred, because they find ready food there: fruits, honey and fish.

The Volga River, called 'Edel' in Tatar, flows from Muscovy. Its source lies farther northwest than that of the Tanais. At first it flows to the north, skirting the Tanais at a large distance from it, then turns to the east and south, and finally flows into the Euxine Sea with its twenty-five mouths or arms⁸.

The distance between the Tanais and the Volga is equal to a five-week journey, or a three-week journey if one rides fast. The Volga is three times larger than the Don, and its twenty-five arms are big rivers themselves, and even the smallest of them are equal in size to Rome's Tiber or Vistula beyond Krakow. These rivers are very rich in fish, such that the Tatars or other travelers can catch a fish swimming down the river with a sword and pull it out while standing on the bank.

Near these rivers, the Tanais and the Volga, there is a lot of air⁹, i.e., sweet flag, also called 'brostworce'. Rhubarb also grows there, which is called by the Tatars 'czynirewent'¹⁰ (a Persian word) or 'kuczylabuka', or, differently pronounced, 'kylczabuga', which means 'raven's eye'; this is a strong warming substance¹¹.

I will tell about the source of the Don and the Edel Rivers in the Treatise on Muscovy.

¹ That is, the Black Sea.

² That is, Eastern Georgia.

³ That is, Caucasian Albania, the territory of present-day Azerbaijan.

⁴ The Medes (Medians) were Iranian-speaking inhabitants of the Kingdom of Media (670 BC—550 BC) who subdued vast territories from Asia Minor to India's borders to their control and power.

⁵ Apparently, Maciej Miechowita's Kalmuks (Turkic 'the rest') are possibly not the ancestors of present-day Kalmyks who in the 16th century lived between the Altai and Tien Shan and between the Gobi Steppe and Lake Balkhash, but they are steppe inhabitants who preserved a pagan faith and did not adopt Islam.

⁶ The Principality of Ryazan since the mid 15th century was under the control of the Muscovite grand princes. However, it was annexed only in 1521.

⁷ Meothida is the Greek name of the Azov Sea.

⁸ The Euxine Sea is the Greek name of the Black Sea. The Volga falls into the Caspian Sea.

⁹ Air or sweet flag (*acorus calamus*), a fragrant reed; there is an aetherial oil and amarines in its rootstock; it is a medicine for the stomach, but may also be used for other purposes.

¹⁰ Czynirewent consisted of two Persian words: 'Czyni' means 'Chinese' and 'Rewent' is a pieplant or rheum.

¹¹ Kuchilabuga possibly consists of two words: 'Kuchalak' (Chagat.)—a milvus and bug'a, bog'a (Ottoman., Cuman.)—that is, a bull. The meaning 'oculus cornicis'—that is, a raven's eye, remained unclear.

Whenever the Volga Tatars go looting to our countries, they cross these and other rivers without boats: they tie their belongings to their horses, seat their wives and children on the horses' backs, and hold the horses' tails themselves. Thus they cross the river and go to loot and do all kinds of misdeeds.

To the south, towards the Caspian Sea, there lie the mountains of Iberia and Albania which the Russians call by the name of the people living there—the Pyatigorsk Circassians (Pietihorscij czyrkaczy), which means approximately 'the Circassians of five mountains' (Quinquemontani)¹. Among these same mountains live the Gazar tribes who, according to your Moravian legend, accepted the Christian faith from the brothers St. Cyril and Methodius sent by Michael, the Emperor of Constantinople.

The Gazars still follow the Greek faith and rituals. These are bellicose people who have connections throughout Asia and in Egypt; the Trans-Volga Tatars acquire weapons from them. In our time the Greeks call these tribes the 'Abgazars' or 'Abgazels'².

Near them live the tribes of the Circassians (Circassi) and Mingrelians³ (Mengrelli). All of them are Christians of the Greek rite converted by St. Cyril⁴. [...]

A large river called the Terek (Tirk) in the Tatar language originates from the Pyatigorsk Circassian mountains. It has such a fast current that it carries along rocks and a lot of fish. It flows into the Caspian Sea. The Kuban (Coban) river originates from the same mountains; it is smaller than the Terek, and also flows into the Caspian Sea⁵.

Chapter Eight. On the genealogy of the emperors living beyond the Volga

There are four Tatar hordes, and their emperors number the same. These are: the Horde of Trans-Volga Tatars, the Horde of Perekop Tatars, the Horde of Kazan (Cosanensium) Tatars, and the fourth is the Horde of Nogai Tatars. There is a fifth one having no emperor, and it is called the Kazakh (Kazacka) Horde. They will be described below. The Horde means a crowd or a multitude in Tatar. The most important one is the horde of the Chagatais or the Trans-Volga Tatars, who call themselves 'Tak ksi'⁶, that is, the main horde or the leading and free people, partly because it is not dependent on anybody, and partly because other hordes originated from it. For the same reason the Muscovites call the Trans-Volga Horde the 'Great Horde'. That is why their emperor is called 'Ir tli ksi'⁷ in their language, which means a free man. He is also called 'Ulugh Khan' (Vlucham), that is, the great lord or the great emperor; 'Ulugh' means great, and Khan (cham) means a lord or an emperor. Some people, interpreted incorrectly, have called him a 'big dog' (magnum canem), but Ulugh Khan does not mean a big dog; the word 'Khan' with aspiration in Tatar means a lord or an emperor, and Kan (Cam) without aspiration means blood, and never a dog.

According to Tatar legends and tales⁸, a widow became pregnant and gave birth to a son named Chinggis⁹, and when her other sons wanted to kill her as an adulteress, she invented an excuse and told them that she had conceived him not from a man, but from the sun's rays. The sons believed this fiction and released their mother. Her son, Chingos or Chinggis, having been born to a miserable fate, grew into a great and courageous man and was the forefather of all the Chagataid or Trans-Volga emperors. His

¹ The Circassians (the self-name is 'the Adzyh'—'people') were tribes in the 15–16th centuries inhabiting the Kuban Region and ravines of the Northern Caucasus.

² Maciej Miechowita possibly means the Abkhazians here.

³ The Megrelians are a tribe in Western Georgia.

⁴ The Circassians, before adopting Islam in the 16th century, professed Christianity.

⁵ The Kuban river falls in the Black Sea.

⁶ It is possibly a distortion of the Tatar phrase 'Täxet keşese'—that is, 'the man of the throne'. In the 15th century, the rest of the Golden Horde (the Great Horde) bore the Tatar name of Täxet ile.

⁷ It is possibly a distorted Tatar phrase 'irekle keşe'—literally: 'a free man'—that is, 'the ruler'.

⁸ The further telling of the history of Asian Sarmatia before the 16th century, according to Maciej Miechowita himself, is based upon oral Tatar legends. The narrative is abundant in historical inaccuracies.

⁹ Chinggis khan is referred to here.

son was Iokukhan (Iocucham)¹, who was still a heathen. Iokukhan begot Zainkhan (Zaincham), the third Emperor, who throughout the world, but mainly in Poland, Hungary and Russia, is called Batu. He ruined Gothia² and Russia and devastated Poland, Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary, as it was mentioned at the beginning. This Batu was a heathen at first, but later accepted the Mohammedan faith³ together with all the Tatars, and they adhere to it to this day. Batu's son, Temir Kutlug⁴, was the fourth emperor, whose name in translation from the Tatar language means happy iron (Temir means happy, and Kutlug means iron⁵). He was happy and loved war. This is the famous historical Temerlane, who devastated all of Asia and reached Egypt. He first clashed with Bayezid (Pesaitem), the Turkish emperor, took him prisoner and put him into gold chains, but then soon released him. He had an army of one million two hundred thousand men.

At that time, there was another Tatar emperor, Aksak Kutlug, which means lame or lame iron⁶; he was lame, but cruel. He led many successful wars; he seized a large town in the land of the Chagataids, i.e., the Trans-Volga Tatars, called Kumumedtsar, and destroyed it and turned it into a desert. Now the stone houses in this town stand abandoned, and three hundred churches which belonged to the Goths have been turned into Mohammedan mosques empty of residents. The Trans-Volga emperors are buried in the castle of this town.

Temir Kutlug's son, Temir Tsar, was the fifth emperor⁷. As they say, he was called by Vytautas, the Duke of Lithuania, and Władysław, the King of Poland, to help in their struggle against Prussian crusaders, and fighting bravely, he was killed in the battle⁸.

The son of Temir Tsar, Mahmet Tsar, was the sixth emperor⁹. He was the father of Ahmet Tsar¹⁰, the seventh emperor; Ahmet means 'compliant' in the Tatar language¹¹. Ahmet was the father of Shiahmet, the eighth emperor. Shiahmet means approximately 'God-fearing Ahmet', and the Tatars called him Sahmet, that is, 'martyred Ahmet', because he was taken prisoner by the Lithuanians and was held in prison in Kaunas¹².

He was called by Albert¹³, the King of Poland, and Alexander, the Grand Duke of Lithuania¹⁴, to help in their struggle against Mengli Giray, the Emperor of the Perekop Tatars¹⁵, and in 1500, at the beginning of winter, he came with 60, 000 men and more than one hundred thousand women and children. It was a severe and very cold winter. Unable to endure the cold and hunger, and following a secret summons from the Perekop Emperor, his wife fled to Perekop from her husband Shiahmet, along with a great part of the army. This outflow of fighters, severe cold and attacks from Mengli Giray of Perekop resulted in Shiahmet's army being scattered and in his defeat, and he fled to Bayezid, the Turkish emperor, with three hundred horses. When he arrived in Belgorod on the Black Sea, which means White Castle¹⁶, he learned that by order of Emperor Bayazet he was to be taken prisoner. Then he

¹ Here, Maciej of Miechow merged two historical personalities in one name—Chinggis khan's successor Ögei and Batu's father Jochi.

² That is, the Crimean Peninsula. The name originates from the German tribes of Goths inhabiting the Crimea in the Middle Ages.

³ The first among the rulers of the Ulus of Jochi who adopted Islam was Berke (1257–1266).

⁴ In this fragment, the khan of the Golden Horde Temür Qutlugh (1395–1399) and Central Asian ruler Tamerlan (1370–1404) are mixed.

⁵ It should be vice versa: 'temir' means iron, 'qutlugh'—happy.

⁶ Here, as earlier there is the same mistake in the translation of the word 'qutlugh'.

⁷ Timur was the khan of the Golden Horde (1410–1412).

⁸ Tokhtamysh's son Jalal al-Din took part in the war against the crusaders.

⁹ Kichi Muhammad was the khan of the Golden Horde between the 1430s and 1450s.

¹⁰ Ahmad (Ahmat, Ahmed) was the khan of the Great Horde from the 1460s to 1481.

¹¹ Amad (Ahmed, Ahmet, Ahmat) in Arabic means 'the one who constantly thanks God', 'the most worthy of favour'.

¹² It is about the last khan of the Great Horde, Sheikh Ahmad (1481–1502).

¹³ Jan I Olbracht (1492–1501) is being referred to here.

¹⁴ Alexander Jagiellon ruled Lithuania between 1492 and 1506.

¹⁵ This is about Mengli Giray, a Crimean khan (1467, 1469–1475, 1478–1515).

¹⁶ Akkerman (present-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi) is a city on the right bank of the Dniester Liman. There was a Genoese colony in the city between the 13th and 15th centuries. In Tatar this name means 'White fortress'.

quickly fled back with fifty horses and went out to the fields near Kiev. The ruler of Kiev, who had learned about him through his scouts, surrounded him, captured him and sent him to Vilnius to the Lithuanians. He tried to escape from there several times, but every time he was caught, captured and brought back.

When Alexander, the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, headed the General Sejm of the Russians in Brest¹, Shiahmet came there at his suggestion from Vilnius and was officially received by King Alexander, who went out to meet him a mile away from the town. Then the Poles in Radom decided to send him back to Tataria beyond the Volga with several thousand lightly-armed warriors, and to make his return more comfortable and acceptable to his countrymen, they sent Kazak Soltan, Shiahmet's brother, ahead of him². He arrived in the territory beyond the Volga and, together with Tsar Albugerim³, Shiahmet's uncle, started waiting in their native Chagataid land.

Meanwhile, when going to Lithuania to accompany his soldiers, Shiahmet was again captured by the Lithuanians on the order of Mengli Giray, the Perekop Emperor, and was imprisoned in Kaunas, a fortress near the Baltic Sea. Shiahmet is fairly called a martyr by his countrymen.

Chapter Nine. On the fact that the peoples of Scythia are restless and are always inclined to looting

The Tatars cannot live in peace without raiding or attacking their neighbors, capturing loot or taking prisoners and cattle. This has been equally characteristic of all the Tatar hordes, since their very emergence and up to this day.

[...] The Tatars never live without looting and trouble neighboring nations with their attacks. Thus the Perekop Tatars often attack Wallachia, Russia, Lithuania and Muscovy in our day as well. The Nogai and Kazan Tatars invade Muscovy, killing people and looting property.

Treatise Two

Chapter One. On the tribes and the peoples living in Scythia, called Tataria

As the Tartars came and seized the Asian Sarmatia, or Scythia, 306 years ago⁴, the question may arise as to what people inhabited the above-mentioned Asian Sarmatia that is now, as in ancient times, called Scythia. [...]

Treatise Three

On the gradual dissemination of the Tartars by clans

[...]

Chapter Two. About the Uhlans or the Perekop Tatars

The Uhlan Tatars are another offshoot and ancestral branch originating from the Trans-Volga Tatars, who are named so after Uhlan, the conqueror of the Tauric Island⁵.

Uhlan means a girl or a virgin, and he was so named because he was born of a girl out of wedlock. He passed this name on to his descendants in Chersonesos Taurica⁶.

It is not uncommon for a Muhammadan girl to get pregnant and give birth to a child out of wedlock; it happens often and is not prohibited⁷.

¹ From 8 February until 15 March 1505.

² That is, Kujak—Sheikh Ahmad's brother.

³ Abd al-Karim (Abdul Kerim) was a cousin of Ahmad (Ahmet), Sheikh Ahmad's father.

⁴ Therefore, Maciej Miechowita dates the first mention of the Tatars to 1211.

⁵ Maciej Miechowita supposed that the Crimea was an island.

⁶ 'Ulan', 'oghlan' means a child, an infant. In the Golden Horde, potential candidates for the khan's throne were called oghlans.

⁷ This declaration made by Maciej Miechowita does not respond to Islamic ideas of marriage, see, for example: The Quran, 14, 2.

The Tauric Island is located amidst the Maeotis Swamps. It is 24 miles long and 15 miles wide. It has three cities: Solat¹, Kirkel², and Kaffa³, and two castles, Mangup⁴ and Azov⁵. Solat is called Krym by the Tatars, and therefore they call the Perekop ruler the Emperor of Krym.

The houses in this city are wretched, and most of it is abandoned.

Kirkel is another, smaller city. A castle built of logs and clay stands above it on a high cliff.

They say that in this cliff lived a dragon that killed people and cattle, so that the residents of neighboring territories fled and abandoned their houses.

The Greeks and Italians who lived on the island prayed to Holy Mary, the Mother of God, that she would save them from the dragon. And after a time they saw that a candle was burning inside the rock. They cut and carved steps in the cliff to climb, reached the burning candle and saw an image of the Holy Mother of God, a light burning in front of it, and the dragon torn in half below.

They gave thanks for this miraculous deliverance, and having cut the dragon into pieces, threw it down from the cliff.

As the residents, glorifying the Holy Virgin, began to venerate her image, following their example, Atsigeri⁶, the Perekop Tsar, who was fighting against his brothers, began asking the Holy Virgin Mary to help him and vowed to repay the Blessed Virgin.

It must be noted that the Muhammadans honour the Holy Mary, and recognize that she was a virgin who conceived and gave birth to the great and blessed prophet Jesus without a husband⁷.

When Atsigeri defeated his rivals with her help, he sold two of his best horses and bought wax, and made two enormous candles and ordered that they should burn in front of the image year in and year out, which has been observed by all subsequent emperors to this day.

The third city, Theodosia, which is now called Kaffa, was taken by storm from the Genoese by Mehmed II, the Emperor of Turkey⁸.

Having seized Mangup Castle located to the west of Kaffa as well, the above-mentioned Turk Mehmed killed with his sword two princely brothers, the lords of Mangup Castle and the last representatives of the Goths, as they say⁹.

He also fortified Azov Castle near the mouth of the Tanais River, which is controlled by the Turks to this day. The Uhlán Tatars have lived in the meadows of the island since they came there, according to their age-old habit, and outside the island they possess similar meadow territories in European Sarmatia near the Maeotis Swamp and the Pontic Sea up to the White Castle.

They made a passage and opened access to the island from the west, having laid a mile-long earthen embankment in the form of a bridge, but rough and imperfect, so that the sea waves flow over the embankment in some places.

In ancient times the island was called the Tauric Island, and now is called Perekop, which means a ditch, because water surrounds it from all sides and protects it like a moat full of water protects a city.

But enough about that. Let us now look at their genealogy.

¹ Krym (Solkhad, Solkhat, Eski Krym) is meant here. It is an ancient city which was located on the site of modern-day city of Stary Krym. It was the centre of the Crimean Ulus during the era of the Golden Horde. The Tatar name of the city—Krym—is known according to written sources and coins were minted with it. The Genoese called the city Solkhat.

² Qırq Yer (Chufutkale) is meant here. It was a city near Bakhchysaray.

³ Kafa (Kaffa, Feodosia) is a city in Southern Crimea. In the second half of the 13th century the settlement of Kaffa—the centre of Genoese colonies in the Crimea—was founded here. In 1475 it was conquered by the Ottoman Turks.

⁴ Mangup is a city in Southern Crimea, the capital of the Principality of Theodoro. Between 1475 and 1774 it was under the control of the Ottoman sultans.

⁵ Azak is meant here. It is a large city on the Southern branch of the Don delta. In Italian sources it had the name Tana.

⁶ The founder and the first khan of the Crimean Khanate Hacı Giray (1441–1466) is referred to here.

⁷ The Quran, 3, 59; 19, 23–26.

⁸ Ottoman sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (Fatih) ruled between 1444 and 1446 and between 1451 and 1481.

⁹ The Crimean Goths were a German-speaking nation inhabiting the Crimea up to the end of the 18th century.

Uhlan was succeeded by Tsar (czar) Tokhtamysh on the Tauric Island, who, together with Vytautas, the Prince of Lithuania, fought against his brother, Tsar Temir-Kutlug, the Trans-Volga Emperor, and was defeated¹.

Tokhtamysh's son, Tsar Shidahmet², planned to reign after him, but Tsar Ajikerey expelled him and reigned in his place.

Shidahmet went to Lithuania for help, but was captured by the Lithuanians together with his wife and children and imprisoned in the Kaunas Castle, where he died with his wife and children³ during the reign of Casimir III, the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania⁴.

When Tsar Ajikerey died, his seven sons remained, and the eldest of them, named Hayder, took power, while Mengli Giray, one of the younger sons, fled to the Turkish Emperor, and having received help and a wife from the Turks, defeated and overthrew Hayder and Yamurtsi with his other brothers. They fled to Ivan Vasilyevich (Vasilowicz), the Prince of Muscovy, who received them and gave them the principality of Kazan⁵.

Tsar Mengli Giray had nine sons: the first was Mahmet Kerey, the second Ahmet Kerey, the third Makhmut Kerey, the fourth Bety Kerey — he drowned carrying loot down a river in Wallachia in 1510; the fifth Burnas Kerey, the sixth Mubarek Kerey, the seventh Sadekh Kerey, and as to the eighth and the ninth, I do not know their names. Tsar Mahmet Kerey is now reigning in place of his father⁶.

Note that although the Perekop Tatars ought to become more cultured and less severe under the influence of the sixth climate in which they live, they have not lost their old rapacity and savage cruelty, more inherent to animals living in the fields and forests rather than to the residents of cities and villages⁷.

Sometimes they attack, devastate and loot Russia, Lithuania, Wallachia, Poland, and from time to time Muscovy.

Chapter Three. On the Kazan Tatars and the Nogai Tatars

The third horde — that of the Kazan Tatars — was so named after Kozan Castle⁸, which stands above the Volga river near the borders of Muscovy, where they live.

They originated from the main Tatar Horde, namely the Chagataid or Trans-Volga Tatars, like all other Tatars.

This Kazan Horde has about 12, 000 warriors, and if necessary they can gather up to 30, 000 warriors if they call other Tatars.

It is not appropriate to write about their tsars, deeds and genealogies, because they are tributaries of the Prince of Muscovy and depend on his will in peace and in war, as well as in the matter of electing a ruler⁹.

Therefore, what will be said about the Tsar of Moscow can be attributed to them as well.

The Okkass or the Nogai Tatars are the fourth horde, which is young and newly established, and which emerged later than all other Hordes as a branch of the Trans-Volga Tartars.

¹ In 1395, khan of the Golden Horde Tokhtamysh, who had been defeated by Central Asian ruler Timur fled to Lithuania. With the help of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas, he attempted to return to power in the Golden Horde, but was defeated by Temür Qutlugh and Edigu in the Battle of the Vorskla river on 12 August 1399.

² Sheikh Ahmad lived significantly later and could not have been Tokhtamysh's son.

³ Sheikh Ahmad died around 1528.

⁴ Casimir III reigned in Poland between 1333 and 1370. It is probable that Casimir IV who ruled Poland-Lithuania in from 1440 (1447) to 1492 is being referred to here.

⁵ The representatives of the Crimean dynasty in Kasimov were Nur Devlet (1486–1490), Satylgan (1490–1506) and Janai (1506–1512).

⁶ Muhammad Giray reigned between 1515 and 1523.

⁷ According to medieval ideas, the seven climates are connected with the seven heavens; each of them owns one of seven planets, while people living in these belts by their character correspond to the characters of planets. The sixth climate of Maciej Miechowita belongs to Hermes; people influenced by him are inclined to have intellectual interests. These people inhabit the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas.

⁸ That is, Kazan.

⁹ From 1487 to 1521 (with breaks), the Kazan Khanate was dependent on Grand Princes of Moscow in the questions of external policy-making and appointment of new khans.

After Okkass, an outstanding servant and warrior of the Great Khan who had 30 sons, was killed, his sons separated from the main Trans-Volga Horde and settled near the castle of Sarai approximately 70 years or a little less before the current year of 1517. Soon afterwards they expanded greatly, such that today they have already become the most numerous and largest Horde.

They are closer to the cold north than all other Tatars and are adjacent to the eastern edge of Muscovy, which is often subject to their attacks and robberies.

It is ruled by Okkass's sons and grandsons. They have neither money, nor coins, but rather sell things for things, that is, for slaves, children, cattle and pack animals.

Book Two

Treatise One. On the description of upper European Sarmatia

[...]

Chapter Two. On Lithuania and Samogitia¹

[...] Having established peace all around, he [Vytautas] penetrated into the east, attacked the Tatar Horde, brought a lot of Tatars to Lithuania and settled them there in a particular territory, where they remain to this day².

After that, having gathered a strong army, he again went to Tataria, crossed the rivers and on 14 August he reached a wide and open plain near the Vorskla river. There he was met by Temir-Kutlug, the Trans-Volga Tatars' Emperor, who is called Tamerlane by writers, with a huge innumerable multitude of Tartars. Both sides began peace negotiations, but the Tatars refused to accept the agreement. Therefore, on the advice of his people, Vytautas moved to the rear with his bodyguards and fled to Lithuania, and his army, defeated by the countless mass of Tatars, was completely destroyed. [...]

Chapter Three. On the vastness of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and what is found there

[...] In addition, there are Tatars in the Duchy of Lithuania near Vilnius. They have their own villages, and they cultivate fields as we do; they ply trades and sell goods; they go to war on the order of the Grand Duke of Lithuania; they speak Tatar and revere Muhammad, as they belong to the Saracen faith.

[...] When the noble and rich begin to feast, they celebrate from noon to midnight, continuously filling their bellies with food and drink; they leave the table when nature calls to relieve themselves, and then eat again and again to the point of vomiting, until they lose their reason and senses, and they can no longer tell their heads from their backsides.

This pernicious habit exists in Lithuania and Muscovy, and even more shamelessly in Tataria.

There is another custom in those countries — Lithuania, Muscovy and Tataria — of selling people: slaves are sold by their masters like cattle, as well as their children and wives; moreover, poor people born free, having no food, sell their sons and daughters and sometimes even themselves to get some food, however crude, from their owners.

Treatise Two

Chapter One. On Muscovy

[...] There are many principalities in Muscovy. [...]

The Principality of Suzdal and many of its neighboring principalities have been devastated and ruined by the Tatars.

There is even a Tatar territory subordinate to the Tsar of Moscow, called the Kazan Horde, which can muster an army of 30 soldiers. It is situated in the steppe near Kozan Castle, which belongs to the Prince of Muscovy and is bathed by the great Volga River. [...]

They [the Russians] adhere to a single faith and religion after the fashion of the Greek faith. [...]

¹ That is, Zhmud (Žemaičiai) is a historical region in the Northwest of modern-day Lithuania. The name originates from the Lithuanian tribe of the Zemaitians.

² The description of the Battle of the Vorskla river follows.

The Kazan Tatars are an exception. While recognizing the Prince of Muscovy, they honour Muhammad along with the Saracens and speak Tatar [...].

3. Sigismund von Herberstein. From 'Notes on Muscovite affairs'

This text has been reproduced from the following publication: Sigmund Herberstein, Freiherr von. Notes upon Russia Being a Translation of the Earliest Account of That Country, Entitled *Rerum Zapiski o Moskovii* (Notes on Muscovite Affairs). London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1851.

[...] [Ivan III] even appointed and deposed the kings of Casan at his own pleasure; sometimes he threw them into prison, but at length, in his old age, received a severe defeat at their hands¹. [...] But although this Grand Duke was so powerful as a prince, he was nevertheless compelled to acknowledge the sway of the Tartars, for when the Tartar ambassadors were approaching, he would go forth from the city to meet them, and make them be seated while he stood to receive their addresses, a circumstance which so annoyed his Greek wife² that she would daily tell him she had married a slave of the Tartars, and to induce her husband to throw off this servile habit would sometimes persuade him to feign sickness on the approach of the Tartars. There was within the citadel of Moscow a house in which the Tartars lodged for the purpose of learning what was going on at Moscow, and as this also gave great offense to his wife, she sent messengers with liberal presents to the queen of the Tartars, begging her to give up that house to her; for that she had been admonished in a dream from heaven to build a temple upon that spot; at the same time she promised to allot another house to the Tartars. The queen granted her request; the house was destroyed and a temple was built on its site, and the Tartars thus driven out of the citadel have never been able to obtain a house from any subsequent Duke³.

[...] At that time also the grand duke attacked the kingdom of Kazan both with a naval and military force, but returned unsuccessful, and with the loss of a large number of his soldiers⁴. [...]

Every second or third year the prince holds a census through the provinces, and conscribes the sons of the boyars, that he may know their number, and how many horses and serfs each one has. Then he appoints each his stipend, as has been said above. Those who have the means to do so, fight without pay. Rest is seldom given them, for either they are waging war against the Lithuanians, or the Livonians, or the Swedes, or the Tartars of Kazan; or if no war is going on, the prince generally appoints twenty thousand men every year in places about the Don⁵ and the Occa, as guards to repress the eruptions and depredations of the Tartars of Perekop⁶. [...]

When the King of Perekop⁷, on his return from investing his nephew⁸ with the sovereignty of Kazan, had pitched his camp at thirteen miles⁹ distance from Moscow, the Prince Vasiley¹⁰ pitched his camp by

¹ After the conquest of 1487. In Kazan, Ivan III managed to have a key influence in questions of the throne succession in the Khanate. The Events of 1505 are possibly implied under the defeat—when Kazan and Nogai troops besieged Nizhny Novgorod

² That is, Sophia (Zoe) Palaiologina (d. 5.06.1503), Ivan Third's wife (from 1472). The mother of twelve children, including Vasily, the future Grand Prince of Moscow (1505–1533).

³ In the 17th century, people said that on the site of the Horde courtyard in the Kremlin (where a yard with stables was located) between 1473 and 1477 St. Nicholas of Gostun Cathedral was erected.

⁴ It is possible that the campaign of 1520 is referred to here—when A. Bulgakov's troop moved 'on boats' and I. Ushaty's army marched by land against Kazan.

⁵ Tanais is the ancient Greek name of the Don.

⁶ That is, the Crimean Tatars.

⁷ Obviously, Crimean Sahib Giray khan (1532–1551) is referred to here. Before this, he ruled in Kazan (1521–1524).

⁸ That is, Safa Giray who reigned in Kazan between 1524 and 1531, 1536 and 1546, 1546 and 1549.

⁹ A German mile amounted to over 7 km.

¹⁰ The lapsus linguae which was not corrected during the final editing shows that the text had been written before 1533.

the River Occa, and then for the first time made use of infantry and artillery, perhaps with the view of displaying his strength, or to blot out the disgrace which he had incurred the year before from a most disgraceful flight, in which he was said to have hidden himself some days under a hay stack; or possibly he may have done so with the intention of ridding his territories of a king whom he thought likely to invade his throne¹. [...]

There is a great difference and variety of conduct amongst men in fighting as well as in other things. The Russian, for instance, when he once takes flight, thinks there is no safety beyond what flight may obtain for him; and if he be pursued or taken by the enemy, he neither defends himself nor asks for quarter.

The Tartar, on the contrary, if he be thrown from his horse and stripped of all his weapons, and be even very severely wounded, will generally defend himself with his hands, feet, and teeth, when and how he can, as long as he has any breath in his body.

[...]

On their money

[...] Into Tartary, moreover, are exported saddles, bridles, clothes, and leather; but arms or iron are not exported to other places towards the east or north, except by stealth, or by the express permission of the officers. [...]

Fox skins, and especially black ones, which they usually make into caps, are valued very highly, for sometimes ten of them are sold for fifteen gold pieces. Squirrel skins also are brought from different parts, but the greater number from the province of Siberia; but those of the finest quality from Schwaii, not far from Kazan. These skins are brought also from Permia, Viatka, Ustyug, and Vologda, always bound up in bundles of ten; in each of which bundles there are two best, which they call Litzschna; three, somewhat inferior, which they call Crasna; four, which they call Pocrasna; and the last one, called Moloischna, is the worst of all. These skins are sold for one or two denga a-piece². [The merchants take the best and picked ones into Germany and other parts, and derive great profit therefrom.]

[...]

I shall now undertake the 'chorography' of the principality and lordship of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, taking Moscow, the principal city, as the starting point; and proceeding thence, I shall describe the surrounding and more famous principalities only, for in so great an expanse I have not been able to trace exactly the names of all the provinces. The reader shall, therefore, content himself with the names of the cities, rivers, mountains, and some of the more remarkable places.

[...] Lower Novgorod is a large wood-built city, situated on a rock at the confluence of the Volga and Occa, with a stone fortification, built by the present monarch, Vasiley³. They say that it is forty German miles east from Murom; and if so, Novgorod will be a hundred miles from Moscow. The country equals Vladimir in fertility and abundance. It forms the boundary, in this direction, of the Christian religion; for although the Prince of Muscovy has beyond this Novgorod a fortress named Sura⁴, yet the intermediate people, who are called Czeremissi, do not follow the Christian, but the Mahometan religion⁵. The Czeremissi live northwards beyond the Volga, and to make a distinction from them, those that live above Novgorod are called the Upper or Mountain Czeremissi; not, indeed, from any mountains, for there are none, but rather from the hills which they inhabit.

¹ The joint Crimean-Kazan campaign against Moscow in 1521 is meant here.

² The difference in prices may be explained by the fact that in the 1530s two currencies circulated in the Grand Principality of Moscow: the one of Novgorod (Novgorodka, kopeck, 1/100 of ruble) and the one of Moscow (Moskovka, Sablyanitsa, 1/200 of ruble).

³ The construction of Novgorod's Kremlin made of stone with participation of Italian architect Pietro Francesco (Pyotr Fryazin) was completed in 1515.

⁴ The city, established in 1523 as an outpost in the struggle against the Kazan Khanate consequently received the name of Vasilsursk.

⁵ Many contemporary Tatar localities have a Finnish etymology in their names.

The river Sura divides the dominions of the Prince of Russia and the King of Kazan¹. Coming from the south, it bends its course eastward twenty-eight miles below Novogorod, and flows into the Volga. At the confluence of the two rivers, Prince Vasiley has built, on the further bank, a fortress, which he has named after himself, Vasilovgorod which has subsequently become the hotbed of many misfortunes². Not far hence is the river [Moksha], which also flows from the south, and falls into the Occa above Murom, not far from the town of Cassimovgorod, which the Prince of Moscow has given up as an abode for the Tartars³. The women of the latter people, by a certain art, stain their nails a black colour, for the sake of beauty, and constantly go about with their heads uncovered and their hair dishevelled⁴. Eastward and southward of the river [Moksha] are immense forests inhabited by the Mordwa people, who have a dialect of their own, and are subject to the Prince of Moscow. Some maintain that they are idolaters, while others say that they are Mahometans..⁵ They dwell in villages scattered here and there, and cultivate the ground. Their food is game and honey, and they abound in valuable skins; they are especially hardy men, for they have often bravely repulsed those Tartars who rove about in quest of plunder. They are nearly all foot soldiers, remarkable for their long bows, and very skillful in archery. [...]

The Don flows out of the province of Moscow up to this fortress [Ryazan]⁶ and nearly twenty-four German miles beyond it; it passes near a place called Donco⁷, where the merchants going to Azov⁸, Caffa, and Constantinople, load their ships. This they do generally in autumn in the rainy season, for the Don is not full enough of water at other times of the year to bear laden vessels⁹. [...]

The very famous river Don, which divides Europe from Asia, rises nearly eight miles south and a little by east from Tula [...] the Don in its first course flows due east, and runs between the kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan, six or seven German miles from the Volga; It then takes a southward course, and forms the marshes which have received the name of the Palus Moeotis. The nearest city to its source is Tula, but on the shore nearly three miles above its mouth is the city of Azov, which was originally called Tanais¹⁰. Four days' journey above this is the town of Achas¹¹, situated on the same river (called in Latin, Tanais), which the Russians call the Don. This place is so remarkable for its abundance of excellent fish, and also for its pleasantness — each side of the river being laid out and cultivated with considerable industry in the fashion of a garden, with a variety of plants and most delightful roots, and a great number of fruit-bearing trees — that it is impossible to praise it too highly. There is also such an abundance of game there which they kill with their arrows without much trouble, that persons travelling through the country want nothing else to support life, except fire and salt for cooking¹². In these parts they do not reckon by miles, but days' journeys. So far as I could form a con-

¹ Vasily III was called tsar for the first time in the agreement of 1514 with the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. Sigismund von Herberstein was inconsistent with the use of Vasily Third's titulary.

² The Kazan people twice (in 1536 and 1539) attempted to return their lands and conquer the city.

³ It is about the Kasimov Khanate (the Tsardom of Kasim, from 1445 (1452) to 1681) founded by Ulugh Muhammad's son Kasim.

⁴ Apparently, it is about henna body painting which only wealthy Tatar women could afford. From the time of the Golden Horde, Islamic Tatar women did not hide their faces (see: Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde-I, pp. 290–295).

⁵ The ancestors of the present-day Mishar-Tatars who professed Islam lived in the Mordvin lands.

⁶ To be more exact, in Pereslavl-Ryazansky.

⁷ Here, Dankov is most likely meant, a city on the Don river near the Vyazovka river's fall in it, present-day Lipetsk oblast.

⁸ Meothic swamps—the Azov Sea. Meothida was the name of the Azov Sea among the ancient Greeks and Romans beginning with the 7th BC who attributed it to the name of local tribes—the Meothes.

⁹ According to Russian sources, such sailings were carried out along the spring floods.

¹⁰ From the 3–2nd to the 4th centuries BC, ancient Tanais, a city of the Bosphoran Kingdom which was the most northerly, was located on the right bank of the Don river. The Italian colony of Tana was situated on the left bank of the Don.

¹¹ The location of Akhas city is not exactly known. It was possibly located on the site of present-day village of Starocherkasskaya or near the hamlet of Starozolotovskiy in Rostov Region.

¹² Compare with information provided by Russian sources: N. Baklanova. The description of Russian nature is found in 'The Journey of Metropolitan Pimen to Tsargrad in 1389' and is reflected in miniatures of the Illuminated

jecture, the Don is nearly eighty German miles from its source to its mouth, going in a straight line. Nearly twenty days' sail from Donco, where, as I said, the Don is first navigable, we come to Azov, a city which is tributary to the Turks¹; and, according to them, is five days' journey from Isthmus of Taurica, otherwise called Perekop². Here is a famous emporium of many nations, who come thither from different parts of the world; And as free access is permitted to all people of every country, with abundant liberty of buying and selling, so also on going out of the city are all permitted to do what they please with impunity. As to the altars erected by Alexander and Caesar, or their ruins, which several writers describe as being in these parts, I have not been able to learn anything for certain, either from the natives, or others, who have very frequently travelled in those places. The soldiers also, whom the prince is accustomed to have there in garrison every year to reconnoitre and repress the excursions of the Tartars have told me when I have made inquiries upon the subject, that they have neither seen nor heard anything of the sort³. They confessed, however, that about the mouth of the Lesser Don⁴, four days' journey from Azov, near the site of Velikiprevos⁵, in the holy mountains, they have seen some statues of marble and stone⁶. [...]

Misceveck is a marshy place, in which there was formerly a fort, the remains of which yet exist⁷. There are still some people who dwell in huts near this place, who in times of danger take refuge among those marshes, or flee into the fortress⁸ [...].

Coluga is a town on the river Occa, thirty-six miles from Moscow [...]. The prince is accustomed to place garrisons every year in this spot, against the incursions of the Tartars.

Worotin is a city and a fort, bearing the same name as its principality. It lies three miles above Coluga, not far from the bank of the Occa. The principality was formerly possessed by the Knes Ivan Worotinski, a warlike man, and excelling in various accomplishments, through whose generalship the Prince Vasiley had often won distinguished victories over his enemies. In the year 1521, however, when the King of Taurida crossed the Occa, and, as has been already said, invaded Russia with a large army, the Knes Dimitry Bielski, a young man, was sent with an army by the Prince to check and repel him; but he, neglecting the wise counsels of Worotinski and others, disgracefully took to flight at the first sight of the enemy. After the departure of the Tartars, the Prince made diligent inquiries respecting the authors of the flight, but acquitted Andrew, the prince's own brother⁹ (who really had been the cause of it), and others; while Ivan Worotinski not only fell under the prince's severest displeasure, but was seized and driven out of his principality. He was, it is true, finally discharged from custody, but only on the condition that he should never leave Moscow. I have myself seen him at Moscow among the principal men at the prince's court¹⁰.

Chronicle of 16th century. // Works of the Ancient Russian Literature Department, 1969, vol. 14, pp. 124—125.

¹ The Ottoman Turks established their control over the city in 1471.

² Perekop is a ditch on the Crimean isthmus which then gave name to the city of Or-Kapi or Ferkh Kermen, as the Turks called it.

³ The legends about the altars (stone constructions above which sacrifices were made) of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar in the Middle Ages were supported by the influence of 'Geographical Guidance' of Claudius Ptolemy (Book 3. Chapter 5. The Location of European Sarmatia. § 26).

⁴ That is, the Siverskiy Donets.

⁵ Veliky Perevoz was located on the Donets river south of the estuary of the Toropets river.

⁶ Apparently, Kipchak stone balbals ('babs') are being referred to here.

⁷ Mtsensk is a city in Northern Orel Region. It was founded as a fortress in the 16th century.

⁸ Evidently, it was a defensive fortress against attacks by the Crimean Tatars.

⁹ During Muhammad Giray's campaign, Andrey Ivanovich Staritsky along with Vasily III, in 1521 escaped to Volokolamsk from Moscow. In 1522 he was in Kolomna.

¹⁰ Ivan Mikhailovich Vorotynsky (Peremyshlsky) was prince of the Vorotynsk Principality and an active participant in military actions in Ruthenia: in 1507 he defended Belev, in 1508 he provided help to Glinsky, in 1512 he supported the campaign against Smolensk, in 1512 and 1514 he defended Tula and Mstislavl, in 1517 he defended Aleksin, in 1521—in Tarusa, but he did not march against the Crimeans during Muhammad Giray's raid. He was arrested on 17 January 1522, in February 1525 he took an oath to Vasily III, in 1531 and 1532 he was rehabilitated as a commander.

Sewera is a great principality, whose citadel, Novogrodek, not long since was the seat of the Sewerian princes, before they were ejected from the principality by Vasiley¹. [...] The people are very warlike, through their constant engagements with the Tartars. Vasiley Ivanovich, however, reduced this principality, like many others, into subjection to himself, in the following manner: Vasiley had two nephews, sons of his brothers, one surnamed Semetzitz, who possessed the fortress of Novogrodek, while the other held the city of Staradub. At the same time, a certain prince named Dimitry possessed Potivlo². Now Vasiley Semetzitz, who was strong in arms and a terror to the Tartars, was so strongly infected with the lust of power that he coveted the whole principality for himself, and could not rest until he had brought Vasiley of Staradub to a most abject condition, and then driving him away, he took possession of his province. After succeeding in this attempt, he attacked Dimitry in a different manner. He traduced him to the Prince as one who was plotting treachery. The Prince, indignant at this, ordered Vasiley to seize Dimitry by any contrivance, and to send him forthwith to him to Moscow. Vasiley accordingly contrived to have Dimitry waylaid while hunting; and stationed horsemen at the gates of his town to seize him if he should endeavour to flee thither. And being thus captured, Dimitry was taken to Moscow and thrown into prison. His only son, Dimitry, took this injury so much to heart that he immediately fled to the Tartars, and with the view of effecting a more speedy and heavy revenge for the wrong done to his father, he abjured the Christian faith, was circumcised and became a Mahometan. During his stay amongst the Tartars, he chanced to fall violently in love with a very beautiful girl, and as he could not gain possession of her by any other means, he privately carried her off without the consent of her parents. The servants who were circumcised with him, made this known to the girl's relations, and they suddenly attacked him one night, and put both him and the girl to death by a discharge of arrows. When Prince Vasiley heard of the flight of Dimitry's own son to the Tartars, he ordered the father to be placed in still closer confinement, and when the old man shortly after heard of the death of his son in Tartary, he died worn out with grief and imprisonment in that same year, 1519. All this was done through the agency of Vasiley Semetzitz, at whose instigation the prince had previously seized his relative, the lord of Corsira, and slain him in prison. But as it often occurs that they who lay snares for others fall into them themselves, so it happened to this Semetzitz. For he also was accused to the Prince of the crime of rebellion, and was summoned on that charge to Moscow, but refused to go thither unless he first received letters of safe conduct, ratified by the oath of the Prince and the metropolitan. Upon his receiving these, which were formally made out and sent to him, he went to Moscow on the 19th of April 1523, and was honourably received by the Prince, who even offered him presents; but a few days after, he was seized and thrown into prison, and was still kept in confinement [at the time that I was there]. They say that the reason of his being imprisoned was that he had sent letters by the governor of Kiev to the king of Poland, expressing a wish to desert to him; and that the governor, when he became acquainted with his base intention towards his prince, resigned his charge of the letters, and sent them immediately to the Prince of Moscow. Others, however, ascribe a more likely reason, viz., that as Semetzitz was the only one in all the empire of the prince of Muscovy who now remained in possession of fortified towns and principalities, the latter, in order the more easily to eject him, and for the greater safety of his own government, invented against him the charge of treason, as a means of removing him. In allusion to this, a certain jester went about carrying brooms in the streets at the time that Semetzitz went into Moscow³. And on being asked what he meant by this, answered, that the prince's dominions were not yet cleansed, but that now the fitting time was come for sweeping all garbage out of the empire. Ivan Vasileivich first added this province to his dominions after he had routed the army of Alexander, the grand-duke of Lithuania, at the river Vedrosch. The princes of Sewera, moreover, derive their race from Dimitry, Grand-duke of Muscovy. Dimitry had

¹ In 1523.

² Up to 1500. Putivl was a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, its governor was prince Bogdan Fyodorovich Belsky. Since 1500 the city was annexed to the Grand Principality of Moscow. The eldest Dmitry was possibly the son of Yuri Putyatich, who was married to the sister of Vasily Ivanovich Shemyachich.

³ Traditionally the image of 'sweeping out' enemies and adversaries from the country arose during the period of the oprichnina.

three sons, Vasiley, Andrew, and George. Of these, Vasiley, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the kingdom; and from the other two, Andrew and George, the princes of Sewera have derived the origin of their race.

[...] In going through the desert of Potivlo into Taurida, one meets with the rivers Ina¹, Samara, and Ariel², the two last of which are rather broad and deep, and travelers are sometimes detained a long time in crossing them, on which occasions it will often happen that they are surrounded and captured by the Tartars. Next come the rivers Koinskawoda and Moloscha³, the passage across which is effected by a novel kind of ferry boat. They bind together bundles of small wood into faggots, and place themselves and their goods upon them, and thus by paddling and availing themselves of the stream, they are carried to the opposite side. Others fasten faggots of this kind to the tails of horses, which, by a plentiful use of the whip, they force to drag them over to the opposite shore. [...]

I now return to the principalities of Moscow

[...] The province of Viatka lies beyond the river Kama, at a distance of nearly a hundred and fifty miles south-east of Moscow [...]. It was formerly under the dominion of the Tartars⁴; and, indeed, up to the present day, the Tartars hold rule over the country on both sides of the Viatka, especially about its mouths, where it falls into the Kama⁵. Journeys in that country are reckoned by czunkhas⁶. The czunkha is equal to five versts. The river Kama empties itself into the Volga twelve miles below Kazan. The province of Siberia is watered by this river.

[...] The province of Siberia borders upon Permia and Viatka; but I have been unable to learn whether it contains any cities or fortresses. In this province rises the river Jaick, which empties itself into the Caspian Sea. They say that this region lies waste on account of the neighbourhood of the Tartars; or, if it is cultivated in any part, it is where the country has been taken possession of by the Tartar Schichmamai⁷. (This country is regularly sacked by the Tartars and others, especially Schichmamai.) The natives use a dialect of their own. They trade principally in squirrel skins, which surpass in size and beauty those of other provinces; but we have not been able to see any great plenty of them in Moscow.

The people of Czeremissi dwell in the woods below Lower Novogorod. They have their own dialect, and follow the tenets of Mahomet. They are now subservient to the King of Kazan, although the greatest part of them were tributaries of the Duke of Muscovy, whence they are still reckoned as Russian subjects. The Prince had several of these people brought to Moscow on suspicion of rebellion, whom I saw when I was there⁸; but as they were afterwards sent back to the borders towards Lithuania, they at length dispersed themselves into various parts. These people, who have no fixed abodes, inhabit a region stretching far and wide, from Viatka and Vologda as far as the river Kama. All of them, both men and women, are exceedingly swift in running, and very skillful archers, never laying down the bow out of their hands; and so great is the delight which they take in this exercise, that they will not give their children food until they hit a mark with their arrows. (The women wear headdresses made of bark looking like diadems such as those with which saints are depicted, tucked into a round hoop, covering them with a veil. When I asked them how they are able to fit between trees and bushes wearing such high headdresses, which they must often do, they answered, 'And how does the deer fit here if his antlers are even higher?').

¹ Possibly, the Sosna, though it flows significantly farther to the East.

² The Orel' river flows through the present-day regions of Kharkov, Poltava and Dnepropetrovsk in Ukraine.

³ The Molochnaya river flows through the present-day Kiev region in Ukraine.

⁴ The Vyatka land was dependent upon the Kazan khans at the end of the 1460s till 1480s.

⁵ The possessions of Kazan khans spread up to the mouth of the Cheptsra river—the largest left tributary of the Vyatka river.

⁶ Chunkas was a measure of length which was preserved in Perm up to the 19th century. Borrowed from the Finno-Ugric language, from the verb 'to stop'.

⁷ Shih-Mamai (Mamai murza) was a Nogai murza; in 1516 he was in the Crimea, and ruled the Nogai Horde for some time.

⁸ That is, in 1526.

Two miles from Lower Novogorod is a settlement of several houses, having the appearance of a municipal town, where salt used to be prepared¹. These houses were burnt some time since by the Tartars, but afterwards restored by order of the prince.

The Mordva are people situated on the southern shore of the Volga below Lower Novogorod; They resemble the Czeremissi in all things, except that they are more frequently found dwelling in houses. And here let us terminate our digression as well as our description of the Muscovite Empire.

I shall now subjoin some details respecting the neighbouring and surrounding nations, observing the order in which they came under my notice in travelling from Moscow eastwards. In this arrangement, the Tartars of Kazan come first; of whom, before I proceed to their peculiar characteristics, it is necessary that I should first make some general observations. .

Of the Tartars

Concerning the Tartars and their origin: besides what is contained in the annals of the Poles, and in the little books upon the two Sarmatias², much has been written by various authors, which it would be more tedious than useful to repeat here. I have, however, thought it right briefly to write down such things as I have learned from the Russian annals, and from the accounts given me by a great number of persons³. They say that the Moabites⁴, who were afterwards called Tartars, and who differed from the rest of mankind in language, manners, and dress, came to the river Calka; but that no one knew whence they came, or what religious doctrine they held. Although they were called by some Taurimeni, by others they were known as Pieczeni⁵, and by others under another name. Methodius⁶, bishop of Patanczki, says that they wandered out of the deserts of leutriskie⁶ lying between the north and east, and gives the following as the reason of their emigration. He says that a certain man of the highest rank amongst them, named Gideon, filled them with terror, by saying that the end of the world was at hand; and that they being led away by his preaching, and anticipating the destruction of the boundless wealth of the globe, made expeditions with an innumerable multitude to plunder the surrounding provinces, and cruelly ransacked the whole territory westward as far as the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. And thus, after ravaging the provinces which lay in their way, routed at the river Calka, A.M. 6533⁷, the nations of the Polovtzi, who alone, with the assistance of the Russian forces, dared to arrest their progress. On this subject, it is evident that the author of the little book, *De Duabus Sarmatiis*, was in error in speaking of the people of the Polovtzi, when he interpreted their name as meaning hunters; for Polovtzi means men of the plain; poli signifying a plain — lovat, and lovtzi both signifying hunters, the termination tzi and ksi (sic!) not changing the signification, which does not depend upon the last, but upon the first syllables. But as it is a general custom with the Russians to add the generic syllable ski⁸ to this kind of words, the man has been deceived by this circumstance, so that Polovtzi ought to be interpreted 'men of the plain', and not hunters. (there almost all names of lords and possessions derived from cities, castles and lands contain this affix). The Russians maintain that the Polovtzi were Goths, but I do not agree with that opinion. He who attempts to describe the Tartars will have to describe many races; for they derive this name from one sect alone, while they consist of various nations lying wide apart from each other. And now I return to the task I proposed to myself. Bathi, proceeding with a strong force northwards, took

¹ Balakhna is possibly being referred to here. It was burned down in 1521 during the campaign launched by Sahib Giray, a Kazan khan.

² Maciej Miechowita's work 'Treatise on the Two Sarmatias' (1517) is referred to here.

³ A short description of the history of the 13–15th centuries (the Battle of the Kalka river, legendary data about the origin of the Tatars, about Batu and the political history of the Golden Horde) is obviously borrowed from the Ermolin Chronicle.

⁴ The people of Moab were inhabitants of the ancient country of Moab which appeared approximately in the second half of the second millennium BC on the Eastern bank of the Jordan river and the Dead sea coast. According to the Bible, the people of Moab are descendants of Abraham, Lot and the latter's elder daughter.

⁵ Methodius of Patara (of Olympus) (around 260–312) was a Christian ecclesiastic author.

⁶ The Etriv Desert was located to the northeast of Palestine, it is often understood as the Syrian Desert.

⁷ That is, in 1024 according to the Julian calendar. It might be a lapse of the pen, because the Russian chronicles date the Battle of the Kalka river to 1224.

⁸ The suffix '-sk' is characteristic of anthroponyms of Belarus and Poland, not Ruthenia.

possession of Bulgaria, which lies on the Volga below Kazan. In the following year, A.M. 6745¹, following up his victory, he advanced into Muscovy and took the royal city, which surrendered to him after a siege which lasted a considerable time. He afterwards, however, broke his faith with respect to the terms upon which this surrender had been made; and proceeding onwards, carrying slaughter wherever he went, he desolated the neighbouring provinces of Vladimir, Pereaslav, Rostov, and Susdal — comprising many towns and fortresses — with fire, slaughtering the inhabitants or reducing them to servitude. He routed and slew the Grand Duke George², who had come out to meet him with a trained army; he also took Vasiley Constantinovich prisoner, and put him to death³: all which took place in the above-mentioned year 6745. From that time, nearly all the princes of Russia were inaugurated by the Tartars, and paid allegiance to them, until the time of Withold, Grand Duke of Lithuania⁴, who valiantly defended his own provinces and those which he had taken possession of in Russia against the arms of the Tartars, and was a terror to all around him. The Grand Dukes of Vladimir and Muscovy, after they had once yielded allegiance and submission to the Tartar princes, continued therein up to the time of the present Duke Vasiley. The annals say that this Bathi was killed in Hungary by Vlaslav, king of the Hungarians (who on his baptism was named Vladislaus, and was enrolled amongst the number of the saints); For he had carried off the king's sister, whom he had accidentally met with during the spoiling of the kingdom, and the king, moved by love for his sister, and by the indignity of the deed, pursued him; but when he made his attack upon Bathi, his sister took up arms in the cause of the adulterer, against her brother, Which so enraged the king that he slew his sister together with the adulterous Bathi. These things were done A.M. 6745⁵.

Bathi was succeeded in the empire by Asbec, who died A.M. 6834⁶, and was succeeded by his son Zanabeck, who, after slaying his brother in order that he might reign alone without apprehension, died in the year 6865⁷ (6868⁸). He was followed by Berdebeck, who after in like manner killing his twelve brothers, died in 6867⁹. After him came Alculpa, who did not reign more than a month; for immediately after assuming the reins of government he was slain, together with his children, by a certain prince named Naruss. As the latter now became the possessor of the kingdom, all the princes of Russia came together to him, and did not depart till each of them had obtained the power of ruling independently in his own province. Naruss was slain in the year 6868. He was succeeded in the kingdom by Chidir, who was slain by his son Themerhoscha, who, gaining the kingdom by a crime, scarcely enjoyed it for a week; for being driven out by Tenmick Manais, and fleeing beyond the Volga, he was slain by the soldiers who pursued him, in the year 6869. After these, Thachamisch obtained the empire, A.M. 6890¹⁰, and going forth on the 26th of August with an army, he laid waste Muscovy with fire and sword¹¹. Being routed by Themirkutlu, he fled to Withold, Grand Duke of Lithuania. Themirkutlu reigned over the kingdom of Savai, A.M. 6906¹², and died 6909¹³. His son Schatibeck succeeded him in the empire, after whom came Themirassack, who led an immense army into Retzan with a view of depopulating Russia, and inspired such terror into the princes of Muscovy, that, despairing of victory, they threw down their

¹ That is, in 1236 according to the Julian calender.

² Grand Prince of Vladimir, Yury Vsevolodovich, died on 4 March 1238 in a clash with the Tatar-Mongols on the Sit river.

³ Rostov's prince Vasilko Konstantinovich was captured on 4 March 1238 and then executed.

⁴ This refers to Vytautas who ruled between 1392–1430.

⁵ The legend of Batu's assassination was included in the Russian chronicles from the latter half of the 15th century: in the Moscow Chronicle of 1479 under 6755 (1246) and briefly in the Ermolin and similar chronicles under 6754 (1245). Sigismund von Herberstein's inaccurate date possibly emerged as a result of a shift in literal numbers of the date of 6754 in the chronicle of the Ermolin type.

⁶ That is, in 1325. Uzbek died in 1341/42.

⁷ That is, in 1356.

⁸ That is, in 1359. Jani Beg died in 1357.

⁹ That is, in 1358. Berdibek died in 1359.

¹⁰ That is, in 1381.

¹¹ The siege of Moscow lasted from 23 to 26 August 1382.

¹² That is, in 1397.

¹³ That is, 1400. Temür Qutlugh died in 1399.

arms and betook themselves to the protection of the saints. They immediately sent to Vladimir for a certain image of the blessed Virgin Mary, which was celebrated for having performed many miracles; and as this image was being brought into Moscow, the Prince went out to meet it with all the multitude, to give it an honourable reception; and first most humbly imploring it to repel the enemy, he brought it into the city with the greatest respect and veneration: and they say that by this act of worship they obtained grace from the Virgin, so that the Tartars did not advance beyond Retzan. And for a perpetual memorial of this event, a temple was erected on the spot where the image was waited for and received; and that day, which is called by the Russians *stretenne*, that is the day of meeting, is solemnly celebrated every year on the 26th of August. These things took place in the year A.M. 6903¹.

The Russians relate that this Themirassack was of obscure birth, and rose to this high degree of dignity by plunder; they say also that he was an extremely clever thief in his youth, and that it was by one of these exploits that he derived his appellation; for having once stolen a sheep, and being caught by the owner, he received a violent blow from a stone which broke his leg, and as he bound it up with a piece of iron, the name he afterwards bore was given to him from the iron and from the lameness, for "Themir" signifies iron, and "Assack", lame. At the time that the people of Constantinople were sorely besieged by the Turks, he sent his son thither with auxiliary forces, who, after routing the Turks and forcing them to raise the siege, returned victoriously to his father in the year 6909².

The Tartars are divided into hordes, amongst which the horde of Savolha stands first in numbers and in fame; for all the other hordes are said to have derived their origin from it³. The word "horde" among them signifies a concourse or multitude⁴. But although each horde has its peculiar name, such as the horde of Savolha, Perekop, Nahaisa, and many others, and all are of the Mahometan religion, yet they are highly offended if they are called Turks, and consider it a reproach⁵. But delight in being called Besermani⁶, a name which the Turks also are pleased to be called by. But as the regions inhabited by the Tartars are scattered far and wide in various directions, so do they differ from each other considerably in manners and mode of life. The men are of middle stature, with a broad, fat face, with eyes turned in and hollow, wearing no hair but the beard, shaving the rest of their hair. The more distinguished persons only wear their hair, which is very black, and curling down to their ears; they are strong in frame and of a daring courage, preposterously depraved in the indulgence of their passions, and feeding contentedly on the flesh of animals in whatever manner they may have been killed⁷, except pork, from which they are obliged to abstain by law. They are so patient under the want of food and sleep, that they will sometimes endure these privations for four days together, without in the least relaxing any needful exertion. Again, when they by chance have lighted upon something to eat, they gorge themselves beyond measure, leaving nothing uneaten; and with this kind of surfeit they make amends for their previous fasting. When thus overcome by food and labour they sleep continuously for three or four days, and while in this state of deep sleep the Lithuanians and Russians, into whose country they are accustomed to make sudden irruptions and carry away much booty, fall upon them, and, defenceless as they are, having no sentinels nor any order amongst them, by degrees overwhelm them. (This is why when they are tired or burdened with trophies after raids in Lithuania and Russia they are pursued, and the pursuers, knowing approximately what place would be convenient for them to stop, do not make fires at their camp so that the Tartars will think they are safe. The latter pitch their tents, slaughter cattle and eat their fill, put their horses out to graze and fall asleep. In such a state, they are

¹ In 1394.

² In 1400.

³ Sigismund von Herberstein uses the Lithuanian name of the Great Horde. The Tatars did not differentiate between the Golden Horde and the Great Horde, its khans considered themselves the supreme rulers of the whole Ulus of Jochi.

⁴ The etymology of the Turkic word 'the Horde' presented is correct; in the Russian language, it originally meant 'a tent', 'the khan's main camp', 'the ulus's centre' and then—the centre of the entire state.

⁵ The reluctance to be called 'Turkish' could be related to ambitions and attempts by the Ottoman sultans to subdue the lands of the Black and Caspian Seas.

⁶ That is, Muslims.

⁷ Muslims are prohibited from eating carrion: The Quran, V. 3.

often attacked and routed.) Moreover, if during a long ride they are troubled with hunger or thirst, it is a practice to lance the veins of the horses on which they sit, and relieve their craving by drawing their blood; and they think that this is an advantage to the animals. (They have no roads or trails for driving cattle). As they nearly all wander on uncertain tracks, they are accustomed to direct their course by the observation of the stars, especially the polar star, called in their language *Selesni koll*, which means an iron nail¹. They are particularly fond of mare's milk, for they think that it makes men fat and strong. They use many herbs for food, especially those which grow near the river Don; very few use salt. Their kings, on occasions when they distribute food to their people, are accustomed to give one cow or one horse amongst forty men; and when these are killed, the chief men take only the intestines and divide them amongst themselves, warming them first at the fire to cleanse them before eating them (they put the paunch, heart, lungs and liver on small spits and hold them over fire until they can remove the manure from them with sticks, and eat them). They not only complacently lick and suck their fingers, greasy with the fat, but also both the knife and its handle which have been used for the cleansing process. They consider horses' heads as great a luxury as we do boars' heads, and they are only served at the tables of men of rank. They have abundance of horses, low in the neck and small, but strong, alike able to endure labour and want of food, and to support themselves on the boughs and bark of trees, or on the roots of herbs, which they scratch out of the earth with their feet (even out of snow if there is no grass). These horses, thus inured to labour, are used with great effect by the Tartars; and the Russians say they are far swifter when ridden by Tartars than by other men (they know this from experience). This breed of horses is called *Pachmat* (they usually have thick tails²). Their saddles and stirrups are of wood, unless they happen to seize or purchase any from the Christian neighbors (in other places). To save their horses' backs from being rubbed, they protect them with grass or the leaves of trees. They swim across rivers; and if they happen to be fleeing from an enemy whose force they greatly dread, they throw away saddles and dresses, and all their baggage, and escape in the greatest confusion. Their arms are bows and arrows; a sword is rarely found amongst them. They enter into a contest with the enemy with the greatest boldness from a distance; they do not, however, continue this mode of warfare long, but pretending flight, take an opportunity while their enemies are pursuing them to discharge their arrows backwards, and then, when the ranks of the enemy are broken, turn their horses suddenly round and attack them. When a battle is to be fought upon their native plains, and they have the enemy within arrows' flight, they do not enter into the engagement in regular battle-array, but draw out their forces into a winding circle, so as to afford themselves a freer and more certain opportunity of discharging their weapons at the enemy. They observe a wonderful degree of order, both in advancing and retreating; for performing which manoeuvres they have leaders, who are very skillful in these matters. But if these should happen to fall under the enemy's weapons, or through fear should make an error in generalship, the confusion of the entire army becomes so great that they cannot again be restored to order, nor be prevailed upon to turn their shafts against the enemy. This kind of contest, they themselves, from the resemblance, call a dance (with a large army, they start a dance, as the Muscovites call it; the commander or military leader approaches the hostile troop with his detachment and, having fired their arrows, they ride off; they are followed by another detachment, and thus one detachment replaces another until the first one returns after the last. If they manage to arrange matters so, they have an advantage, but if the military commanders leading the troops die or get frightened, they get confused rather quickly); but if threatened with an engagement in a narrow defile, this stratagem cannot be used, and in that case they betake themselves to flight (if it comes to close combat or a hand-to-hand engagement, they are defeated rather fast) because they are not armed either with shield, lance, or helmet so as to be able to meet the enemy in an engagement hand to hand). Their style of riding is such that they sit with the feet drawn up towards the saddle, so as to be able to turn round easily to either side; and if anything should happen to fall which they wish to pick up, they can lean upon their stirrups and easily lift it; and they are so skillful in this manoeuvre, that they can perform it while their horses

¹ 'An iron nail' is the calque of Turkic 'timir kazyk'—the usual name of the North Star among the Turkic peoples.

² *Pachmat* is a breed of long-maned hard-hoofed horses.

are galloping. When attacked with spears, they avoid the adversary's blow by suddenly lowering themselves on the opposite side, only holding on to their horses with one hand and foot. When they go out on ravaging expeditions to the neighbouring provinces (they pretend to fall off their horses, but when the spear flies past them, they are in the saddle again; one leg is always on the saddle, and they hold the mane of their horse with their hand), each man takes with him two or three horses as a supply, so that when one is tired out he may use one of the others: they lead the weary horses meanwhile by the hand. Their bridles are very light, and they use whips instead of spurs; they only use geldings in warfare, because they consider them more capable of sustaining fatigue and abstinence. The men use a similar dress to that of the women, except that the latter cover the head with a linen veil, and wear linen breeches like those of sailors. When their queens go into public, they are accustomed to cover their faces. But the rest of the people, who live a roving life in the fields, wear dresses made of sheepskins, which they never change until they are entirely worn out and ragged with long use. They never stay for any length of time in one spot, for they consider it a great calamity to be obliged to remain long in the same place; hence, when they are angry with their children, and wish to utter a heavy imprecation against them, they are accustomed to say, "may you abide in one place continually like a Christian, and inhale your own stink!" So that when they have consumed the pasture which they may find on one spot, they migrate elsewhere, together with their cattle, wives, and children, which they always lead about with them in marshy places. Those, however, who live in towns and cities follow another course of life; (there are other people who live in cities and villages; they are either old men or merchants who do not go with the warriors). When they are engaged in a war at all of a serious character, they place their wives, children, and old men in the safest spots they can find. They have no justice among them¹. When a man stands in need of anything, he can with impunity plunder another of it; and if any one is complained of before a judge for an act of violence, or for having inflicted any injury, the accused does not deny the fact, but simply says that he could not dispense with the article in question; upon which the judge usually gives his judgment [by addressing the plaintiff] in the following manner: "If you in your turn stand in need of anything, seize it from other people." There are some who say that they are not plunderers: I leave it to others to decide whether they are plunderers or not. For a certainty, the men are most rapacious, because very poor, and are always coveting what is not their own, taking away other men's cattle, plundering, and even kidnapping men, whom they sell to the Turks and others; or else surrendering them upon ransom, reserving the maidens only for their own use. They seldom besiege cities and fortified places; but take great pleasure in burning and plundering small towns and villages, thinking that the greater number of provinces they thus desolate, the larger is the dominion that they have gained to themselves. [And although they cannot stand a quiet life] they do not kill each other, unless their kings quarrel among themselves. If in any quarrel among themselves a man be killed, and the perpetrators of the crime be taken, they are simply deprived of their horses, arms, and clothing, and are then set free. Even a murderer, after giving up his horse and his bow, is dismissed by the judge, merely with the charge to go and mind his own business. Gold and silver is scarcely ever used amongst them, except by merchants, and that only in the way of commerce. Therefore, if they [their neighbours] manage to gain some money by selling something, they spend it in Muscovy (or somewhere else) on clothes and other necessary things. They do not have any borders (I mean the steppe Tartars) between each other. Once, when a fat Tartar was taken by the Russians, a Russian asked him: "How, you dog, did you, who have nothing to eat, become so fat?" To which, the Tartar replied: "Why should not I have something to eat who own so vast a territory from east to west? Can I not derive therefrom food enough in all conscience to satisfy me? I should rather think it is you who have not enough to eat, possessing so small a portion of the globe as you do, and having daily to contend for it."

The kingdom of Kazan, with the city and fortress of the same name, is situated on the further bank of the river Volga, nearly seventy miles below Lower Novogorod. This kingdom is bounded by emp-

¹ Apparently, Sigismund von Herberstein was told about the regulations of the part of the Tatar population who were nomadic and hardly touched by Islam and practiced 'barymta' ('baranta')—that is, livestock theft as a revenge for an offence or material damage which was peculiarly expressed in a 'legalised' lynching law in the form of economic revenge.

ty steppes in the east and south along the Volga; it borders with the Tartars called the Shaybans and Kaysats in the northeast¹. The king of this province can raise an army of thirty thousand men, principally foot soldiers, amongst whom the Czeremissi and Czubaschi are the most skillful archers. They say that the Czubaschi excel in the art of navigation. The city of Kazan is sixty German miles distant from the principal fortress of Viatka. The word 'kazan' means in Tartar 'a boiling [copper] pot'². These Tartars are more civilized than the rest, in as much as they cultivate their lands, live in houses, and carry on various branches of merchandize. But Vasiley, Prince of Moscow, has so subjugated them, as to bring their kings entirely under his sway³; which undertaking was the less difficult, not only from the convenient position of the rivers, which flow from Moscow into the Volga, but also from the commercial intercourse, which they could not dispense with. The people of Kazan formerly had a king named Chelealeck⁴, who died, leaving a wife named Nursultan⁵ without children, and she was taken to wife by one Abrahemin⁶, who by this means gained possession of the kingdom. Abrahemin had by her two sons named Machmedemin and Abdelatiw⁷; by a former wife, named Batmassasolta⁸, however, he had had a son named Alegam⁹, who, upon the death of his father, succeeded as the first-born to the throne. But as he was not entirely obedient to the commands of the Prince of Moscow, he was on a certain occasion made drunk at a festival by some of the councillors of the Prince of Moscow, whom he had sent thither to watch the disposition of the king, and who in that state placed him in a carriage, as if with the intention of conveying him home; but on that same night he was driven towards Moscow, and after being confined for a considerable time, was finally sent by the prince to Vologda, where he ended his days. His mother, together with his brothers Abdelatiw and Machmedemin, had been already removed to Bieloiesero¹⁰. One of the brothers of Alega, named Codaiculu, was baptized, and received the name of Peter, and the present Prince Vasiley gave him his sister in marriage¹¹. Another of Alega's brothers, named Meniktair¹², continued in his own creed as long as he lived, but had many sons, all of whom, after their father's death, except one Theodore (who lived at Moscow when I was there), were baptized together with their mother, and died [in the Christian faith]. (the German text : den Tauff angenumen und darin gestorben - is ambiguous in this place and may be understood as they died during the christening ceremony) . (Only Ditrikh was not christened; I met

¹ The Sheyban and Kaisak Tatars were a Turkic-speaking nation in the Western part of Central Asia (in the Shaybanid State) and Kazakh Hordes.

² Sigismund von Herberstein uses the Tatar folk legend as an explanation for the etymology of the word 'Kazan'.

³ The Muscovite proteges in the Kazan Khanate during the reign of Vasily III were: Sheikh (Shah)-Ali (1519–1521) and Cangali (1532–1535).

⁴ Khalil was the Kazan khan (around 1465–1467), the son of Mahmud khan.

⁵ Nur-Sultan (Nursultan) (around 1451, died in 1519/20) was the daughter of bekларibek of Ahmad, the khan of the Great Horde. In 1466 she married Khalil khan and after his death became the wife of his younger brother Ibrahim, gave birth to his two sons—the future Kazan khans: Muhammad Amin (1487–1496, 1502–1517) and Abdul-Latif (1497–1502) and daughter Gauharshad. After Ibrahim's death at the end of 1487 she married Crimean khan Mengli Giray I. In 1494/95 she completed a hajj.

⁶ That is, Ibrahim—the khan of Kazan (1467–1478).

⁷ Abdul Latif (d. 1517) was the Kazan khan (1496–1502).

⁸ Apparently, it refers to Fatima Sultan. The pronunciation of the name Fatima, Arabic in origin, in the form of 'Patima', 'Batima', 'Batma' took place among the Tatars, therefore we may assume that Sigismund von Herberstein's informants were Tatars who stayed in Moscow.

⁹ Ilkham was the khan of Kazan (1479–1487), Ibrahim's eldest son; in July of 1487, after the conquest of Kazan by the Russian army of Ivan III he was dethroned and captured. He was held in Vologda, where he died.

¹⁰ Ilkham's mother, brothers and sisters were exiled to Beloozero in Kargolom. At that time, Abdul Latif resided in the Crimea, while Muhammad Amin became the khan of Kazan.

¹¹ Khudai Kul (d. 1523) was in exile in Kargolom. In 1505, after he agreed to adopt Orthodoxy, was brought to Moscow in December, baptised and received a new name—Pyotr Ibragimovich, after which he was married to Vasily Third's younger sister, Evdokiya. In 1521 he led the defence of Moscow against the Crimean and Kazan Tatars. He is buried in the Cathedral of the Archangel of the Moscow Kremlin.

¹² Apparently, it refers to Malik-Takhir who, unlike his brother, refused to convert to Orthodoxy, however, his two sons were baptised and given new names: Vasily and Fyodor. Moreover, Fyodor was consecrated a saint in the Russian Orthodox Church.

him there). After Alega's abduction into Moscow, Abdelatiw succeeded him, but was removed from the sovereignty for a similar reason to that which had caused the removal of Alega, and Machmedemin was released by the prince from Bieloiesero, and placed on the throne in his stead. He continued to reign until the year of our Lord 1518. Nursulta, whom I have described as the wife of the kings Chalealeck and Abrahemin, after the death of Alega, married Mendliger, King of Perekop¹. Having no offspring by Mendliger, she, from love of her first children, went to Moscow to Abdelatiw, and subsequently, A.D. 1504, to her other son Machmedemin, who ruled over Kazan. The people of Kazan have now rebelled against the Prince of Moscow²; and as this rebellion has given rise to many wars, and daily conflicts among the various princes who have united in the cause of each contending party, and as the war remains unterminated up to the present day, I have thought it right to describe its reason below (and then to the other son, Machmedemin. The Kazan people were never loyal to the Muscovites, and in 1504 they declared themselves independent. This instigated many great wars with the participation of many kings, as I will recount below). Upon the rebellion becoming known to Vasiley, Prince of Moscow, his indignation and thirst for revenge was such that he sent an immense army with artillery against the people of Kazan. When the latter, who had to fight for life and liberty, heard of the terrible preparations made by the prince against them, and saw that they were unequal to contend with the enemy in an engagement hand to hand, they reasoned how they might circumvent them by stratagem. After having, therefore, first openly pitched their camp in front of the enemy, they placed the flower of their forces in ambush in convenient spots, and then assuming the appearance of being struck by panic, suddenly deserted their camp and betook themselves to flight. The Russians, who were at no great distance, becoming aware of the flight of the Tartars, broke their ranks and rushed precipitately upon the camp of the enemy. And while they were engaged in plunder, and trusting in their own security (knowing approximately when the enemies were going to attack them, they left the encampment at an appointed time and hid in an ambush. Seeing nobody in the encampment, the Muscovites decided that the Tartars had run away out of fear and attacked it without misgivings, starting to rob the tents. Meanwhile, the Tartars came forth from their ambush, together with the Czeremissian archers, and carried such slaughter amongst them that the Russians were compelled to leave their artillery and flee. In that flight, two bombardiers left their guns and fled, but were kindly received by the prince upon their return to Moscow. One of them, named Bartholomew, who was an Italian by birth, afterwards conformed to the Russian ritual, and received large presents, together with great authority and favour, from the prince. (I had occasion to talk to him)³. A third bombardier returned from the slaughter, with the gun under his charge, and hoped that he should receive great and substantial favour from the prince, for the care with which he had preserved and brought back his piece. But the prince addressing him with reproaches, said: "In thus exposing me and thyself to so great danger, you has shown a wish either readily to take to flight, or else to surrender both thyself and thy gun to the enemy. To what purpose is this preposterous diligence in preserving thy gun? I make no account of thy boasting. I have still men remaining who know not only how to found artillery, but also how to use them." (thus he was granted neither kindness nor praise). Upon the death of King Machmedemin, under whom the people of Kazan had revolted, Scheale⁴ who married his widow, attained possession of the kingdom of Kazan by the assistance of the Prince of Moscow and his wife's brother⁵. He reigned only four years, greatly hated and despised by his subjects. These feelings were increased by his effeminate and degraded constitution of body, for he was a corpulent man, with a small beard, and an almost feminine face, which showed that he was by no means fit for a warrior. In addition to this, he despised and slighted the good will of his own subjects, showed an unreason-

¹ Mengli Giray was the Crimean khan (1467, 1469–1475, 1478–1515).

² This refers to the events of 1505.

³ Bartholomew was an Italian architect and artillerist in the Russian service. In 1509 he built a wooden fortress in Dorogobuzh.

⁴ Sheikh (Shah) Ali was the ruler of the Kasimov khanate (1516–1519, 1537–1566) and the khan of Kazan (1519–1521, 1546, 1551–1552).

⁵ The Latin text 'fratris uxoris auxilio' allows us to also understand it another way: of the brother's wife.

able spirit of conciliation to the Prince of Moscow, and trusted foreigners rather than his own people. The people of Kazan were induced, by these circumstances, to offer the kingdom to Sapgirei [Sahib Girei]¹, son of Mendliger, one of the kings of Taurida. Upon which Scheale [Schich Alei], being ordered to give up the kingdom, and finding himself inferior in forces, and that the minds of his own subjects were set against him, thought it best to yield to his fate, and returned with his wives, concubines, and all his chattels, to Moscow, whence he had come. This took place A.D. 1521. After this flight of Scheale from the kingdom, Machmetgirei² King of Taurida, conducted his brother Sapgirei into Kazan with a great army, and after confirming the good will of the people of Kazan towards his brother, on his road back to Taurida crossed the Don, and bent his steps towards Moscow. Vasiley, feeling at that time tolerably secure, and not apprehending an occurrence of the kind, when he heard of the approach of the Tartars, hastily collected an army, which he placed under the command of the General Dimitry Bielski, and sent it towards the river Occa, to check the advance of the Tartars. (The prince was young, and paid no regard to the old men, who were offended by this: they had been at the head of the troops in so many wars, and now they were left out. As usually happens in such cases, both sides behaved rather badly.) Machmetgirei speedily crossed the Occa, and pitched his tent near certain fish ponds thirteen versts from Moscow itself. Sallying thence he spread fire and plunder over all the country. At the same time Sapgirei, who had also left Kazan with an army, laid waste Vladimir and Lower Novogorod. After these transactions, the two brother kings met at the city of Columna and united their forces. Vasiley, finding himself unequal to engage with so powerful an enemy, fled from Moscow, leaving his half brother Peter, a descendant of the kings of Tartary, (the one who was christened)³ together with some other noblemen, with a garrison to defend the fortress. So great was his fright, that he is said in his despair to have hidden himself for some time under a hay stack. On the 29th (20th) of July, the Tartars made a farther advance, and devastated the country with fire in all directions; and such was the terror which they inspired amongst the people of Moscow, that they had little confidence in their security even in the city and the fortress. Such was the tumult which arose at the gates from the thronging of women, children, and other helpless people, who in their intrepidity fled into the fortress with carriages and vehicles of all kinds, that in their haste they checked each other's progress, and many were trampled under foot. This immense concourse of persons caused the air to become so pestilential in the fortress, that if the enemy had remained three or four days under the walls of the city, they must have been seized by the plague and died, for in so great a crowd huddled together, they was obliged to satisfy nature wherever they could find place. There were at that time at Moscow some Livonian ambassadors⁴, who mounted their horses and betook themselves to flight, And seeing nothing around them but fire and smoke, and supposing themselves to be surrounded by the Tartars, made such speed, that in one day they reached Tver, which is thirty-six German miles distant from Moscow. The German bombardiers deserved great praise on that occasion, especially one Nicholas, born not far from Spier, an imperial city of Germany, near the Rhine, to whom was committed in very flattering terms the task of defending the city by the governor⁵ and all the counsellors, who were almost stupified with excess of fear, and who begged him to bring up the larger guns which were used for breaching walls, under the gate of the fortress, in order to drive away the Tartars. The size of these guns, however, was such, that three days would scarcely be sufficient to convey them to that spot, and they had not enough gunpowder even to load the largest gun with one charge. For it is constantly the custom with the Russians to be behind a hand in everything, and never to have anything ready; but when necessity presses, they are anxious to finish everything rapidly. Nicholas, therefore, considered it advisable to have the smaller guns, which were kept hidden at

¹ Sahib Giray was the Kazan (1521–1524) and Crimean (1532–1551) khan. He founded the city of Bakhchysaray.

² Muhammad Giray was the son of Mengli Giray and brother of Sahib Giray, the Crimean khan (1515–1523).

³ That is, Pyotr Ibragimovich (Khudai-Kul).

⁴ The Lithuanian embassy led by Bogush Voitkov was in Moscow from 29 August to 4 September 1521.

⁵ The Latin and German texts contain contradictory data: the former speaks about a 'chief'—that is a prince Pyotr, the latter—about a treasurer Yury Dmitrievich Trakhaniot (Junior).

a distance from the fortress, quickly fetched into the interior on men's shoulders; but during the delay a cry suddenly arose that the Tartars were at hand, which caused so much fear amongst the towns-folk, that the guns were left scattered about the streets, and even the defence of the walls was neglected. If a hundred of the enemy's cavalry had at that time attacked the city, they might easily have rased it to the ground with fire. (The paymaster called for a German artilleryman called Nicholas and asked him rather kindly to roll an enormous old cannon which had remained unused for years to the gate. The artilleryman started laughing, and the offended paymaster asked him what he was laughing at. 'Even if I do it', replied the artilleryman, 'it would still be useless because it would smash the gate'. 'What shall we do?' asked the paymaster. 'I thought, the more, the better'. Then they started looking for the smaller cannons hidden far away from the fortress, and peasant carried the falconets on their backs without any special aids or appliances. Suddenly there came shouts: 'the Tartars, the Tartars!' All of them left the cannons at once and fled to the fortress, so the guns lay along the street in a long line. Just a few horsemen could have easily burned down the city. There was no more than one centner of gunpowder, so first of all they had to grind gunpowder. Many cannons had been cast on the prince's orders, but there was nothing in the arsenal. Everything was under lock and key, and when the need arose, they had to prepare it in haste.) In the midst of their fear, the governor and the garrison (the counsellors) thought it best to appease King Machmetgirei by sending him a great number of presents, principally consisting of mead, in order to induce him to raise the siege (so that he would not advance and would not do even greater damage). Machmetgirei accepted the gifts, and promised that he would not only raise the siege, but would also quit the province, if Vasiley binded himself in writing to pay him a perpetual tribute as his father and ancestors had done. Letters to this effect having been willingly written and accepted, Machmetgirei withdrew his army to Rezan, and after granting the Russians permission to redeem and exchange prisoners, he sold the rest of his booty by auction. There was at that time in the camp of the Tartars one Eustace, surnamed Taskowich¹, a subject of the King of Poland, who had brought forces (several hundred horsemen) to the assistance of Machmetgirei (the Tartars), for hostilities were at that time pending between the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Muscovy. This man brought up to the fortress some of the spoils for sale, with the intention that when opportunity offered he should rush into the gates, together with the Russians, who had come out to make purchases, and beating down the sentinels, thus take possession of the fortress. The king was willing to aid the attempt with corresponding subtlety. He sent one of his people, in whom he could place confidence, to demand of the governor of the fortress, as the servant of his tributary, to supply him with whatever he required, (provisions and other necessary things) and to come himself to him. The governor, however, Ivan Kovar², who was well acquainted with warlike matters and with the stratagems employed therein, could not be induced on any account to leave the fortress, but simply replied, that he had not yet learned that his prince had become the tributary and servant of the Tartars, but that when he should be officially informed on that point, it would be necessary that he should receive instructions as to what he should do. Whereupon the prince's letters, in which he had bound himself to the king, were produced and exhibited. While the governor was thus perplexed by the exhibition of these letters (over which many of them wept), Eustace, in pursuance of his own plan, approached nearer and nearer to the fortress, and in order the more perfectly to conceal his plan, the Knes Feodor Lopata³, a man of distinction, with several other Russians who had fallen into the en-

¹ Eustace Dashkovich (Evstafy, Ostafy, Ostap Dashkevich) (around 1470 to 25.11.1536)—Krichev's foreman, in 1504 was enrolled in the service of Ivan III, was a governor of Kanev and Cherkassy, afterward he returned to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1508. He strengthened borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, negotiated with the Crimean Khanate in 1521 on the eve of Muhammad Giray's campaign against Muscovite Rus.

² Ivan Vasilievich Obraztsov Khabar-Simsky (about 1465—after January 1533) is referred to here. He was the head of Nizhny Novgorod's defence in 1505 against the Kazan Tatars, a voivode during the campaigns against Lithuania in 1507 and 1508, okolnichy since 1509; in 1514, 1519, 1517 he defended Western and Southwestern borders, since 1519/20—a governor in Perevitsk and then in Ryazan, in 1522 and 1523 he was a voivode at Southern borders, in 1523 and 1524 he participated in the campaign against the Kazan Khanate. From December 1525 to February 1527 he was governor in Novgorod and in 1528 he was mentioned for the first time in the boyar rank.

³ Fyodor Vasilievich Bolshoy Telepnev Obolensky (d. 1530) is referred to here. He was a prince, voivode,

emy's hands, in the taking of Moscow, were restored upon payment of a certain ransom. In addition to this, several of the prisoners who had been too negligently guarded, or who had in any manner been relieved from labour, had escaped into the fortress (the Tartars demanded that Prince Feodor Lopata, who was captured during the raid and had run away, as well as many others released by the Tartars out of cunning, be returned), and as the Tartars approached the fortress in great multitudes to demand them back again, and did not withdraw from the fortress, although the Russians in their fright gave up the refugees, this accession of new comers greatly increased the number of the Tartars assailants, so that the terror and despair of the Russians on account of the danger which threatened them was so complete that they were quite at a loss what to do. At this juncture one Johann Jordan, an artillery-man, a German, who came from the Innthal, estimating more clearly than the Russians the magnitude of the danger, of his own accord discharged the guns which had been ranged in order against the Tartars and Lithuanians (having been an armourer in his motherland, he guessed at their malicious intent when they approached the walls so that no damage could be done to them using the big cannon. He reported this to the authorities and wanted to fire, but they did not agree to that out of fear. He still fired one time at the crowd near the king), and so terrified them that they all left the fortress and fled. The king sent Eustace, the contriver of the above plan, to remonstrate with the governor on account of the injury thus inflicted; but the latter declared that the bombardier had fired the guns without his consent or knowledge, and laid all the blame of the offence upon him; upon which the king demanded that the bombardier should be delivered up to him, and, as often occurs in desperate cases, the greatest number decided that the man by whom they had been delivered from the fear of their enemies should be given up. The governor, Ivan Kovar, alone refused, and by his extreme goodness that German was on that occasion saved; For it so happened that the king, either from impatience of further delay, or because he considered his soldiers already sufficiently encumbered with booty, and that his own interests required it, raised his camp, and departed for Taurida, leaving behind him in the fortress those letters of the Prince of Moscow by which he had bound himself to pay him a perpetual tribute. But he took with him from Moscow so great a multitude of prisoners as would scarcely be considered credible; they say that the number exceeded eight hundred thousand, part of whom he sold in Kaffa to the Turks, and part he slew. The old and infirm men, who will not fetch much at a sale, are given up to the Tartar youths (much as hares are given to whelps by way of their first lesson in hunting), either to be stoned, or to be thrown into the sea, or to be killed by any sort of death they might please. Those who are sold (or kept) are compelled to serve for full six years; after that they are set free, but dare not leave the province (and must serve or earn their living in some other way). Sapgirei, king of Kazan, sold all the captives which he took from Moscow to the Tartars in the mercantile city of Astrakhan, which is situated not far from the mouths of the Volga. After the departure of the Tartar kings from Moscow, the Prince Vasiley returned again to Moscow. [...] Afterward, as summer came on, Vasiley, resolving to revenge the slaughter inflicted by the Tartars, and to wipe out the shame which he himself had incurred from his flight and his concealment under the haystack, levied a large army, and providing himself with great store of guns and various kinds of offensive contrivances, such as had never been used in battle before by the Russians, and marching out of Moscow with all his army as far as the river Occa, took up his quarters before the city of Columna¹. Thence he dispatched heralds into Tamida, to Machmetgerei, to provoke him to a conflict, saying that in the previous year he had been insidiously attacked, without a proclamation of war, after the fashion of thieves and plunderers. To this the king replied, that, in warfare opportunities were of as much importance as arms, and that consequently he made it his custom to choose his own time for fighting, in preference to allowing others to choose for him (a convenient time; he did not intend to arrange his military campaigns according to someone else's wishes). Vasiley, being irritated by this language, and burning with the thirst of revenge, moved his camp, A.D. 1523, to Lower Novogorod, with the view of laying waste and taking possession of the kingdom of Kazan. Thence marching as

participated in the defence of the Southern borders of Muscovite Rus from the Crimean Tatars and died in the campaign against Kazan.

¹ This refers to the campaign of 1524 against the Kazan Khanate.

far as the river Sura, on the confines of Kazan, he built a fortress, which he called after his own name¹: beyond this point he made no advance, but led his army back. In the following year, however, he sent out Michael Georgiovich (Grigorievich)², one of his chief counsellors, with greater forces than before, to subjugate the kingdom of Kazan. Sapgerai, king of Kazan, being alarmed at so formidable an array, sent for his nephew, the son of his brother the king of Taurida³, a youth of thirteen years of age (one of his brother's younger sons) to preside over the kingdom in the interim, and himself fled to the emperor of the Turks to beg his assistance and cooperation. As the youth, in obedience to his uncle's suggestion, arrived on his road at Gostinovosero, Gostinovosero (that is, the island of merchants)⁴, lying amidst the waters of the Volga, not far from the fortress of Kazan, he was received with honour and liberality by the princes of the kingdom (the inhabitants). For the chief priest in that district was one Seyd⁵, who was held in such great authority and veneration amongst them, that even kings in meeting him would stand, and bowing the head, take his hand as he sat on horseback, an honour otherwise granted only to kings. Dukes did not salute even his hand, but his knees, simple nobles merely saluted his feet, while plebeians were content if they could only touch his garments or his horse with their hand. As this Seyd secretly favoured the cause of Vasiley, he took diligent measures to seize the youth, in order that he might send him bound to Moscow; but when the lad was at length captured, he was publicly put to death by the knife. Meanwhile Michael, the commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, hastened with his army to Kazan, and for that purpose despatched so great a number of vessels to Lower Novogorod, for the purpose of transporting away his guns and provisions, that the river, otherwise large, seemed to be absolutely covered all over with the crowd upon it; and on arriving at Gostinovosero, the island of merchants, he pitched his camp on the 7th of July, and remained there twenty days awaiting the arrival of his cavalry (his Russian regiments). In the meanwhile the fortress of Kazan, which was built of wood, was set on fire by some of the Russians who had been bribed for that purpose, and was burnt to the ground under the eyes of the Russian army. Even this favourable opportunity of taking the fortress was so completely neglected through the cowardice and indolence of the Grand Duke, that not only did he not lead out his soldiers to attack the castle hill, but he took no measures to prevent the Tartars building it again. But on the 28th day of the same month, he crossed the Volga, at that point where the fortress lay, and encamped with his army on the river Kazanka, and waited twenty days for a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his object. While stationed there, the Regulus of the Kazan army (a young man) pitched his tent not far from him, and often annoyed the Russians, though fruitlessly, with skirmishes of Czeremissian infantry. Upon this, King Scheale, who had come with his vessels to engage in that way, sent letters to him to demand his surrender to his hereditary sovereign. To which the latter briefly replied: "If you wish to have my kingdom, take it by the sword; let us settle it between ourselves, and let him to whom fortune gives it, hold it." While the Russians thus uselessly delayed, they began to suffer hunger from having sent away the provisions which they had brought with them; for as the Czeremissi had laid waste all the surrounding territory, and diligently watched the track of the enemy, there was nothing left to be seized upon; so that the prince was unable to gain information respecting the scarcity which oppressed his army, nor could they make any communication to him. Two governors had been appointed by Vasiley to attend to this business, one of whom, the Knes Ivan Palitzki⁶, after loading the vessels with provisions from Novogorod, had to descend the river to join the army; but he, after depositing the provisions, returned home rather precipitately, considering the existing state of affairs.

¹ It is about the construction of Vasiliev Novgorod or Vasilgorod in the Sura river estuary, which was consequently called Vasil'sursk.

² Mikhail Yurievich Zakharyin (d. 1538)—an okolnichy and then a boyar is being referred to. In 1519 he was sent to Kazan along with Sheikh (Shah) Ali, a Vasily Third's protege.

³ That is, of Safa Giray.

⁴ Because of a change in the Volga corridor and especially—the construction of the Kuybyshev reservoir, the island went under water. It is possible that a part of Gostiny island is the modern island of Markiz.

⁵ Seid (Sayyid) are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad from Husein, son of Ali and Fatima, and Muhammad's daughter. The Seidov were considered to be the heads of the Islamic community in Tatar khanates.

⁶ Ivan Fyodorovich Paletsky Shchereda (d. 1531/32)—okolnichy (since 1524) is referred to here.

The other had been sent for the same purpose with five hundred soldiers over land, but was slaughtered with his men by the Czeremissi, into whose hands he fell, scarcely nine of them escaping by flight amidst the confusion. The governor himself, being severely wounded, fell three days after into the hands of the enemy and died. When the rumour of this slaughter reached the army, so great a consternation arose in the camp, increased by a groundless report that the whole of the cavalry were slain to a man, that nothing was thought of but flight; and though all were agreed upon this point, the only subject of doubt was whether they should return against the tide, which was very difficult, or wait to descend the river when time served, so as to enable them to reach other rivers, from which they might afterwards return home by a circuitous land journey (without being subjected to danger from the enemy). During these consultations, the army meanwhile suffering under extreme famine, the nine men whom I have described as escaping from the slaughter of the five hundred, happened to arrive, and announced that Ivan Palitzki was to come with provisions; but although the latter had hastened his journey, he had had the misfortune to lose the greater part of his vessels, and had but few remaining when he reached the camp. For, being weary with his daily labour, he had laid up one night to rest himself on the shore of the Volga, but was hailed by the Czeremissi, who came upon him with great clamour, inquiring who sailed by that way; They were answered by the servants of Palitzki, who took them for servants a-shipboard, and with much abuse threatened them with stripes on the following day for disturbing their master's sleep with their unseasonable vociferations. The Czeremissi replied: "You and we shall have other business to attend to to-morrow, for we will take you all bound to Kazan." In the morning, accordingly, before the sun was up, and while the entire bank of the river was covered with a thick fog, the Czeremissi made a sudden attack upon the ships, and threw such terror amongst the Russians, that Palitzki, the commander of the fleet, left ninety of his largest vessels, each containing thirty men, in the hands of the enemy, and loosing his vessel from the shore, and taking the Volga in midstream, escaped under cover of the mist, and reached the army almost in a state of nudity. A similar misfortune afterwards occurred to him in returning with several vessels in his train, when he again fell into the snares of the Czeremissi, and not only lost his vessels, but himself escaped only with great difficulty, and with very few of his men. While the Russians were thus oppressed on all sides by hunger and the enemy's force, a troop of horse, dispatched by Vasiley to join the army, was twice surprised by the Tartars and Czeremissi in crossing the river Viega, which flows northward into the Volga. The engagement was keen on both sides, but the Tartars at length gave way, and the Russians were enabled to join the rest of the army, which being thus reinforced with cavalry, commenced the siege of the fortress of Kazan on the 15th of August. On learning this, the governor pitched his own camp also on the other side of the town in sight of the enemy; and as the enemy sent out from time to time detachments of cavalry to ride about the fortress and challenge them to fight, many skirmishes took place between the opposing armies. We were informed by men worthy of credit, who were engaged in that war, that sometimes six Tartars had advanced into the plain to the Russian camp, and when King Scheale would have attacked them with one hundred and fifty Tartar horsemen, he was forbidden by the general of the army; and with two thousand horsemen drawn up before him in battle array, he was thus deprived of the opportunity of achieving his object. When the Russians attempted to surround the Tartars, and, as it were, to preclude their taking to flight, the latter would elude the attempt by gradually retreating before the Russians, and after gaining a little distance, would halt; but as the Russians would then do the same, the Tartars observing their timidity, would presently take to their bows, and send a flight of arrows amongst them, and thus putting them to the route, would pursue and would kill a great number. When the Russians a second time turned upon them, they would give way for a little space, again come to a halt, and thus baffled the enemy by pretending flight. While these manoeuvres were going on, two of the Tartar horses were struck with cannon balls, but their wounded riders were carried off by their four remaining comrades, who were safe and sound in the sight of the two thousand Russian cavalry.

During this by-play of the horse soldiers, a great force was brought up against the fortress with artillery, to besiege it; but the besieged defended themselves with no less activity, and also discharged their artillery against the enemy; in the engagement they lost the only artilleryman that they had in the for-

treass, who fell struck by a cannon shot from the Russian station. On discovering this, some of the German and Lithuanian conceived the hope of taking the fortress, which would unquestionably have been taken that day had the inclination of the general responded to their wish; but as he, observing the daily increasing famine under which his men were suffering, had already privately treated by messengers for a truce with the Tartars, he so strongly disapproved of this attempt of his soldiers, that he angrily reprimanded them, and threatened them with stripes for daring to attack the fortress without his knowledge or sanction. For he considered that he should best consult his prince's interests in so great a strait if he could enter into any kind of truce with the enemy, and could only carry back his artillery and army in safety. The Tartars also, on learning the wish of the commander, regarded it as a hopeful circumstance, and willingly fell in with the conditions proposed, that they should make peace with the prince by sending ambassadors to Moscow; which being thus settled, the General Palitzki raised the siege and marched to Moscow with his army. There was a report that the general had been bribed with presents from the Tartars to raise the siege; and this report was strengthened by the fact, that a certain Savoyard had been caught in the attempt to decamp to the enemy with the gun which had been intrusted to him, and acknowledged, upon close examination, that he had received from the enemy silver money and Tartar goblets that he might induce many to desert with him. But although taken in so manifest a crime, the general did not inflict a very heavy punishment upon him. After this withdrawal of the army, which was said to have consisted of a hundred and eighty thousand men¹, ambassadors came from the King of Kazan to Vasiley, to ratify the peace, and were still at Moscow at the time that I was there; and even at that time no permanent hope of peace was yet established, for Vasiley had, to the great prejudice of the people of Kazan, transferred to Novogorod the fairs which it had been the custom to hold near Kazan, in the Island of Merchants, and had proclaimed a heavy penalty upon any of his subjects who should in future go to the island for purposes of merchandize. In the hope that this removal of the fair might prove a great inconvenience to the people of Kazan; and that being prevented from buying salt, which they received in large quantities from the Russians at that fair alone, they might be induced to surrender. It happened, however, that by the removal of a fair of this sort, the Russians suffered as much inconvenience as the people of Kazan; for it produced a scarcity and dearness in many articles, which it had been the custom to import through the Caspian Sea from Persia and Armenia by the Volga from the emporium of Astrakhan, and especially of the finer kinds of fish, amongst which was the beluga, which is taken in the Volga, both on this side and the other of Kazan. (I failed to find any during my second journey to Moscow).

Thus far I have been treating of the war which the Prince of Moscow waged against the Tartars of Kazan. I now return a second time to the general description of the Tartars, from which I had digressed.

Next to the Tartars of Kazan, we come to the Tartars known by the name of Nagai (in pronunciation this name sounds like Nahai), who are located beyond the Volga, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, and dwell mainly by the shores of the river Jaick, which flows down from the province of Siberia. These people have no kings, but are governed by chiefs, or dukes. At the time that I was in Russia, three brothers gained possession of those duchies, and divided the provinces equally between them. The first of them, Schidack², had allotted to him the city of Scharaitzick, lying eastward beyond the Volga³, together with the district immediately adjacent to the river Jaick; the second, named Cossum⁴, had the territory lying between the rivers Kama, Jaick, and Volga; while the possessions of Schichmamai, the third brother, included a part of the province of Siberia, with the country immediately surrounding it. The meaning of the name Schichmamai is holy or powerful⁵. Nearly all

¹ The number of participants in battles with the Kazanians, as well as captives (800 thousand, 180 thousand) is pure exaggeration. The size of the Russian state's population, according to historians' calculations, did not exceed 6.5 million people in the mid 16th century.

² Shidak (Shaydak, Sheydak, Shiydyak) was a Nogai murza, bey.

³ Ra is an ancient Greek name of the Volga river.

⁴ In Russian sources: Koshum.

⁵ Shih Mamai is a Nogai murza. Speaking about the semantics of this name, Sigismund von Herberstein reveals the content of its first component—'sheikh (shaikh)' which informally means: an elder, a respected man, tutor of sufis and the head of the Dervish order.

these countries are covered with wood, except that which borders upon Scharaitzick, which is all champaign country.

Between the Volga and Jaick, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, formerly dwelt the kings of Savolha, of whom we shall say more hereafter. In connexion with these Tartars, I heard a wonderful and almost incredible story from one Dimitry Danielovich¹, a man who, considering that he was a barbarian, was of remarkable dignity and truthfulness. He stated that his father had been on a former occasion sent by the Prince of Moscow to the King of Savolha, and that in that embassy he had seen in the island a certain seed, somewhat larger and rounder, but not unlike the seed of a melon, from which, when planted, grew up something very like a lamb, of the height of five palms, and that it was called in their language "boranetz", which signifies a lambkin, for it had a head, eyes, ears, and everything else in the form of a lamb. He also stated, that it bore a very fine wool, which was used by many people in those countries for making caps; and, indeed, I was assured by many people, that they had seen wool of that kind. He said, moreover, that the plant — if plant it could be called — had blood in it, but no flesh; but in lieu of flesh, there was a kind of matter very like the flesh of crabs; It also had hoofs, not horny like those of a lamb, but covered with a hairy substance resembling horn. Its stem came to the navel, or middle of the belly; it continued alive until the grass around it was eaten away, so that the root dried up for want of nourishment. The sweetness of this plant was said to be remarkable, so that it was very much sought after by wolves and other ravenous beasts².

Although I received this account about the seed and the plant as a passing observation, yet I have related it, as described to me by men by no means given to vain talking; and I repeat it with the less hesitation, because I was told by William Postel³, a man of great learning, that he had heard from one Michael, who was public interpreter of Turkish and Arabic in the Venetian republic, That he had seen certain very delicate furs from a plant growing in those countries, which were used by the Mussulmauns to keep their heads warm after shaving them, and were applied also to their naked breasts, and which were brought from the neighbourhood of the Tartar city of Samarcand⁴, and the countries lying north-east of the Caspian Sea, to Chalibontis⁵. He said, moreover, that it was from an animal fixed on the ground like a plant, but that he had not seen the plant, nor knew its name, except that it was called "Samarcandeos". "As these details are not incompatible, they almost lead me to think," says Postel, "that this statement is not altogether fabulous, but rather that it is a fact, redounding to the glory of the Creator, to whom all things are possible." (I am writing as told by them, whatever might be the case in fact, and let each man discover the truth himself).

Twenty days' journey eastward from the territory of Prince Schidack, we come to a people whom the Russians call Jurgenci⁶, whose sovereign is the Sultan Barack⁷, brother to the Great Khan or King of

¹ Dmitry Danilovich Ivanov the Blind (d. 1543) was an okolnichy [member of the highest rank of boyars] in the service of Ivan III, Vasily III and Ivan IV.

² Apparently, a messy description of a watermelon, melon, caracul lambs and their lambskins is given here. During a mass stockpiling of caracul lamb skins, bodies of yearlings or of those extracted from sheep's body before their birth, were thrown away (nomadic Turks did not eat meat of misborn or not grown enough animals) which attracted wild predators. The similarity of terms for denoting a watermelon and a skin probably also helped in their being mixed up. 'Baranets' served to denote a lamb (both in Russian and Slovakian) and plants (clubmoss, thyme, mother-of-thyme). It is possible that at the beginning of the 16th century 'water-melon' also bore the name 'Baranets'.

³ Guillaume Postel (1510–1581), a French philosopher and mystic, is being referred to. Between 1535 and 1537 he was a member of the French embassy to the Ottoman Empire. In 1554 he visited Turkey for a second time. Between 1554 and 1555 he stayed in Vienna. His acquaintance with Sigismund von Herberstein possibly occurred around this time.

⁴ Samarkand is a city situated in the valley of the Zeravshan river in Central Asia. Well-known since 329 BC under the name of Marakand. In 1370–1499 it was the capital of the Timurid state. In 1500 it was conquered by the Uzbeks led by Shaybani khan, until the 1530s—the capital of the Shaybanid state.

⁵ Khalibontida was a locality inhabited by the Khalibs, ancient tribes living on the coast of the Black Sea, near the borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia.

⁶ That is, citizens of Urgench, the main city of Khwarezm.

⁷ Barak khan (d. 1556) was the Shaybanid sultan, who was also known as Nauruz khan Ahmad, the khan of Bukhara (1551–1556).

Cathaia. Ten days' journey from the dominions of Sultan Barack we come to those of the Khan Bebeid, this is that same Great Khan of Cathaia¹.

Astrakhan is a wealthy city, and the great emporium of the Tartars, which gives its name to all the surrounding country. It lies on this side of the Volga, near to its mouth, ten days' journey below Kazan. Some say that it is not situated on the mouths of the Volga, but some days' journey thence. I think that the position of Astrakhan is at that point where the Volga divides itself into many branches, described by some as seventy in number, and after making many islands, falls into the Caspian by the same number of mouths, with so great an abundance of water, that to people looking from a distance it has the appearance of a sea. There are some who call the city Citrahan².

Between Viatka and Kazan, in the neighbourhood of Permia, dwell the Tartars who are severally named Tamenskii, Schibanskii, and Cosatzskii; of these the Tamenskii are said to dwell in the woods, and not to exceed ten thousand in number. There are, moreover, other Tartars beyond the Volga, called Calmucks, because they alone let their hair grow³; and on the Caspian Sea is Schamachia, which gives its name to the country around it, and whose inhabitants excel in weaving silk dresses. The city is six days' journey distant from Astrakhan, and was not long since, they tell me, subject, together with its district, to the King of Persia⁴.

The city of Azov, of which I have already spoken, is situated on the Don, and is seven days' journey distant from Astrakhan. It is five days' journey from the Taurica Chersonesus⁵, reckoned principally from the city of Perekop. Between Kazan and Astrakhan, in an extensive tract along the Volga as far as the Dneiper⁶ lie desert plains, which are inhabited by Tartars, having no fixed abodes (uncultivated lands where, nonetheless, many people live), with the exception of Azov and the city of Achas, which lies on the Don twelve miles above Azov, excepting also those Tartars who live in the neighbourhood of the lesser Don, and who cultivate the soil and have settled habitations. The distance from Azov to Schamachia is twelve days' journey.

Returning in a south-west direction towards the neighbourhood of the Palus Maeotis and the Black Sea⁷, we come to the people of the Aphgasi⁸, who dwell on the river Cupa, which flows into the said marshes [the Palus Maeotis] at the point where the mountains, inhabited by the Circassians or Ciki⁹, meet the river Morula¹⁰, which flows into the Black Sea.. These people, relying on their mountain fastnesses, yield no obedience either to the Turks or the Tartars. The Russians assert that they are Christians, that they live under their own independent laws, conform to the Greek ceremonials and ritual, and perform their sacred service in the Slavonic language, which, indeed, they use in general¹¹. They are most audacious pirates, and sail down to the sea by the rivers which flow from their mountains, and plunder whomsoever they can, especially those merchants who take the route from Caffa to Constantinople. [...]

The marshes of the Taurica Chersonesus, which are said to extend three hundred Italian miles in length, from the mouths of the Don up to St. John's Headland, measure in the narrowest part¹² only two

¹ Bebeid khan is not mentioned in other sources.

² Tsitrakhan is a distorted Tatar toponym of Xacitarxan, the original name of the modern city of Astrakhan.

³ Apparently, Sigismund von Herberstein's 'Kalmuks' (Turkish 'the rest') are possibly not the ancestors of present-day Kalmyks who in the 16th century lived between the Altai and Tien Shan and between the Gobi Steppe and Lake Balkhash, but they are steppe inhabitants who continued to practice a pagan religion and did not adopt Islam.

⁴ Shamakhi is a city in Azerbaijan, the residence of the Shirvan shahs (1027–1382—the Kesranid dynasty; 1382–1538—the Derbendi dynasty), in 1538 it was included in Safavid Iran. The message about it is included in 'The Notes' in the 40s.

⁵ Khersones (Kherson, Kersona, Korsun) is a city in Southwestern Crimea, the modern-day city of Sevastopol.

⁶ Borysthenes is an ancient Greek name for the Dnieper river.

⁷ That is, the Black Sea.

⁸ Aphgasi were ancestors of present-day Abazins and Abkhazians. A mistake in the river's name may possibly be explained by the proximity of springs of the Kuban and Kuba—a branch of the Terek.

⁹ 'Adzyhs' means 'people'. It is about Adyghe tribes, ancestors of the present-day Adyghe, Kabardins, Circassians and Shapsugs.

¹⁰ Merula—probably, the Merula river which falls into the Black Sea, 50 km south of Sukhumi.

¹¹ In the 16th century, the Adyghe's active transition from Christianity into Islam began.

¹² The Kerch Strait is being referred to.

Italian miles (after which it joins the sea. The Perekop country, as it is called now, borders on one side with the Palus Maeotis, but for the most part with the sea. When one enters there from the mainland, there are no more than one thousand two hundred paces between the sea and the swamps). There stands the city of Krim¹, formerly the seat of the kings of Taurida, from which they received the name of Krimskii. The whole isthmus being hollowed out in the form of an island² island, to the extent of a mile and a fifth, the kings took the name of Perekopskii instead of Krimskii, deriving the term from that hollowing out; for precop in the Slavonic language signifies "dug through" (One of them wanted to connect the waters, digging up a strip of land to make an island. The ditch was dug, but only partway, and it was not as deep as such a ditch was supposed to be. When they built a town near this ditch, the town and the country were called 'Perekop', because 'kopat' means 'dig' in the Slavonic language. Thus the local kings are called Perekopskii now as well). Whence it is evident that a certain writer was in error, when he said that (during the time of Emperor Maximilian) one Procopius had reigned there (or that beyond the Volga in the country which in Slavonic is called Sawolha, one Sawolhius had reigned)³. Moreover the whole Chersonesus is divided in two by a wood, and that part which looks towards the Black Sea, in which is situated the celebrated city of Caffa, and which was peopled by a colony from Genoa, formerly called Theodosia, is entirely in the possession of the Turks. The Turkish sultan, however, after the siege of Constantinople and the overthrow of the Greek sovereignty, bought Caffa from the Genoese⁴. The other part of the island (adjacent to the isthmus, on the near side of the wood) is possessed by the Tartars. All the Tartar kings of Taurida, however, derive their origin from the kings of Savolha, and after some of them were driven out from the kingdom by internal sedition, being unable to find any fixed abode in the neighbourhood, they took possession of that part of Europe⁵, and still mindful of the ancient grievance, continually carried on war with the people of Savolha. At length, within the memory of the last generation, Scheachmet⁶, King of Savolha, came into Lithuania at the time that Alexander, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, held sway in Poland, and entering into a treaty with him, with their united forces drove out Machmetgerei, King of Taurida⁷. Both of the princes agreed in this movement, but afterwards, when the Lithuanians, according to their custom, delayed the war to an unreasonable period, the wife of the king of Savolha, together with the army which was then kept in the field, becoming impatient both of the delay and the cold, begged of their king, who was busying himself in some of the towns, to get rid of the King of Poland, in order that they might provide for their own interests in good time. As, however, they could not prevail upon him, the wife deserted her husband, and went over with part of the army to Machmetgerei, King of Perekop, who at her instigation dispatched the army of Perekop to disperse the remainder of the forces of Savolha. After the rout of these forces (unaccustomed frost, because there was no so heavy snow in lands they come from, became irritated and sent ambassadors to the king of Perekop to say that if he married Scheachmet's wife all the people would come to him. This proposal was accepted, and the king of Perekop sent supplementary forces to defeat the remainder of the army that stayed with Scheachmet), Scheachmet, King of Savolha, seeing the miserable plight in which he was, fled, accompanied by nearly six hundred⁸ horsemen, to Alba, which is situated on the river Thyra, in the hope of obtaining assistance from the Turks⁹; but learning that a

¹ Krym (Solkhad, Solkhat, Eski Krym) is a city from the antiquities, which is located on the site of modern town of Stary Krym. During the epoch of the Golden Horde it was the centre of the Crimean Ulus and the first capital of the Crimean Khanate. The Tatar name of the city—Krym—is known according to written sources and coins were minted with it. The Genoese called the city Solkhat.

² Istm is the Greek name for the Perekop isthmus.

³ Sigismund von Herberstein argues with Maciej Miechowita.

⁴ Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (Fatih) (reigned between 1444–1446 and 1451–1481) is being referred to here. Caffa was conquered in 1475 and Constantinople—on 29 May 1453. The capital of the Byzantine Empire, after receiving the name of Istanbul, became the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

⁵ Then, just as Maciej Miechowita, Sigismund von Herberstein retells Sheikh-Ahmad's story about the last years of the existence of the Great Horde.

⁶ Sheikh Ahmad, son of Ahmad, was the last khan of the Great Horde (1481–1502).

⁷ Sheikh Ahmad waged a battle with Muhammad Giray's father—Mengli Giray.

⁸ It is given in the German edition as such; in the Latin text the unclear sexingentis is given.

⁹ Akkerman is referred to here (present-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy)—a city on the right bank of the Dniester

plot was laid in that city to take him he turned back, and (but as he had concluded an alliance with Christians against the enemies of their faith, the Turk ordered that he be seized. Having learned of this, he) arrived with scarcely half of his cavalry at Kiev. In that city he was surrounded by Lithuanians and taken, and on being conducted to Vilna by order of the King of Poland, The king came forward to meet him, and after giving him an honourable reception, escorted him in his own company to a convention of the Poles¹, at which the desirableness of a war against Mendligerei was decided upon. But as the Poles took an unreasonable time in mustering their army, the Tartar took grievous offence (When the issue was postponed, the Tartar, knowing that a decision to go to war had already been made, asked what they were going to do now. He was told: muster an army and send it. He replied: 'Aren't you going on the campaign yourselves?' as he thought that the war would be fruitless without them), and began a second time to contemplate flight, but was apprehended in the attempt and taken back to the castle of Troky² four miles from Vilna, where I saw him³ and dined with him (where he was kept with great honour. The local Waivoda of Troky⁴ invited me as his guest; the king was also sitting at the table. Although he was released, he was soon killed)⁵. This was the termination of the reign of the kings of Savolha, and together with them ended the race of the kings of Astrakhan, who derived their origin from the same royal line⁶. After their extinction, the power of the kings of Taurida received a great accession, and they became so formidable to the neighbouring nations that they compelled the king of Poland to pay a certain stipend⁷ on condition that he should have their assistance in any case of pressing necessity (according to the Poles, this is remuneration paid in return for sending Tartar troops to the king if necessary, although it looks like a tribute). The prince of Muscovy also used from time to time to conciliate him [the King of Taurida] by sending presents, which he did because, as they [the prince of Muscovy and the king of Poland] were constantly embroiled in mutual wars, each strove to overwhelm the other by engaging the cooperation of the Tartar forces. He being aware of this, deluded both with vain hopes while he accepted presents from each, a course of conduct which became very apparent at the time that I was treating with the prince of Muscovy, in the name of the Emperor Maximilian, upon the subject of concluding a treaty of peace with the King of Poland. For as the Prince of Muscovy could not be induced to enter upon equitable terms of peace⁸, the King of Poland gained over the King of Perekop by a bribe to attack Moscow with an army on one side, while he on the other should make an onset on the Russian territory in the direction of Opotzka. By this contrivance, the King of Poland hoped to be able to compel the Prince of Muscovy to reasonable terms of peace. The Prince of Muscovy perceiving this, on his part sent ambassadors to negotiate with the Tartar prince, for the purpose of persuading him to turn his forces against Lithuania, which he stated to be entirely off its guard and unprotected by garrisons (he incited the Tartar prince against the Prince of Muscovy, and he gave his assent. But when the Polish king found himself in the territory of the Prince of Muscovy near Opotzka, the Prince of Muscovy conducted negotiations with the Tartars himself, saying that, as the King of Poland had sent his army out of the country, a sudden attack from the Tartars would make them the masters of Poland). The Tartar, consulting only his own advantage, followed his advice. As his power thus increased by the quarrels of these princes, and as he was occupied solely with the restless desire of increasing his own domain, his ambition enlarged itself in proportion, and having gained the alliance of Mamai⁹, Prince of Nahaica, he marched from Taurida with an army in the month of January, A.D.

Liman. In Tatar this name means 'White fortress'.

¹ This refers to the Brest Sejm where Alexander stayed from 8 February to 15 March 1505.

² Troki (present-day Trakai) is one of the centres of the Tatar community in Lithuania.

³ 30 December 1517.

⁴ The Trokian voivode between 1510–1518 was Grigory Ostik (d. 1518/19).

⁵ Sheikh Ahmad was released from Lithuanian captivity in 1527. At the end of his life he lived in the Lower Volga region and died around 1528.

⁶ The Astrakhan Khanate existed until 1556. The last Astrakhan khan, Dervish Ali, was Sheikh Ahmad's grandson.

⁷ These payments were given the name 'Serebshchina' or silver coin taxes.

⁸ Vasily Third's refusal to return Smolensk to Lithuania is being referred to here.

⁹ Mamai was son of the Nogai Horde's bey, Musa.

1524¹, and attacked the King of Astrakhan; and as the latter deserted the city and took to flight in great trepidation, he besieged and took it, and remained housed within the walls as conqueror (spending several days there). Meantime Agis², one of the princes of Nahaica, rebuked his brother Mamai for having lent the aid of his forces to so powerful a neighbour. He at the same time warned him to keep a suspicious eye upon the daily increasing power of King Machmetgerei, for that it was possible from his intractable disposition that he might turn his arms both against himself and his brother, and not only expel both from the kingdom, but perhaps slay them or reduce them to slavery (to their common misfortune, he had brought in a powerful king who would want to become their lord). Mamai, under the influence of these suggestions, sent a messenger to his brother, to exhort him to hasten to him with all the forces that he could muster, for that it was possible that Machmetgerei might, from the elation naturally consequent upon his great successes, be resting in comparative security, and that thus they might both be relieved from the fears which they entertained. Agis, yielding to his brother's advice, promised implicitly to be on the spot at the appointed time with an army which he had already levied for the purpose of defending the outposts of his kingdom in the midst of so many wars. Upon this understanding, Mamai immediately sent to King Machmetgerei, advising him not to corrupt his soldiery, and neglect their discipline, by keeping them constantly housed, but rather to leave the city and dwell in the open field, according to the custom of the Tartars. The king, in accordance with his advice, brought out his troops and encamped in the open country, upon which Agis advanced with his army and joined his brother. A short time after, they made a sudden onslaught upon King Machmetgerei, while he was dining with the son of the Sultan Bathir and far from having any apprehension of such an attack, and slew him (both of them)³; and overwhelming the greater part of his army, put the rest to flight. They pursued their conquest with great slaughter beyond the Don, even to Taurida. They laid siege to the city of Perekop, which, as I have said, lies at the entrance of the Chersonese. But finding that they could not reduce it to surrender by force or any kind of effort, they raised the siege and returned home. The King of Astrakhan having thus by the agency of these princes, regained his kingdom, the strength of the kingdom of Taurida gave way under the loss of their valiant and successful King Machmetgerei, who had reigned over them for a considerable time with great power. After the murder of Machmetgerei, his brother Sadachgerei gained possession of the kingdom of Perekop by the aid of the sultan of the Turks, in whose service he was at the time⁴. But being accustomed to Turkish habits, he offended the prejudices of the Tartars, by not appearing much in public, and did not allow himself to be seen by his subjects. The result of this was that the Tartars, who could not endure so unusual a mode of conduct in their prince, expelled him, and put his brother's son in his place. Sadachgerei, being taken prisoner by his nephew, implored him suppliantly not to pursue him to the death, and from pity to his old age not to shed his blood, begging to be allowed to spend the remainder of his life in private in some fortress, and to retain only the name of king, while his nephew held the entire administration of the kingdom. His request was granted⁵.

The titles of dignity amongst the Tartars are nearly as follows: khan, as I have said above, signifies a king; sultan, the son of a king; bū, a duke; mursa, the son of a duke; olbond, a noble or councillor; olboadula, the son of a nobleman; said, a chief priest. A private man is called ksi. The post of rank next to that of the king is called ulan. The Tartar kings have four councillors, whose advice they mainly take in matters of importance. The first of these is called schirni; the second, barni; the third, gargni; the fourth, tziptzan⁶. Thus much about the Tartars [...].

¹ Muhammad Giray is being referred to.

² Agish, son of Yamgurchi, the Nogai Horde's bey and Mamai's cousin. In 1524. Agish was defeated by Sahib Giray after which no information was provided about him in the sources.

³ Batyr sultan (Batyr Giray) and Muhammad Giray were killed in spring 1523.

⁴ Before Saadat Giray khan occupied the Crimean throne and ruled between 1523 and 1524 there was Ğazi Giray.

⁵ The struggle between Saadat Giray and his nephew lasted until May 1532, when Saadat Giray rejected to occupy the Crimean throne and departed to Istanbul where he died in 1538.f

⁶ Sigismund von Herberstein rendered common information about social layers of Tatar countries. The phonetic form of some terms and peculiarities of their semantics evidence of the fact that Sigismund von Her-

Of Lithuania

Lithuania is the province which lies nearest to Muscovite Rus; but it is not of the province alone that I now mean to speak but also of such districts immediately adjacent to it as are comprehended under the name of Lithuania (The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the principalities which belong to it border with the lands of the Muscovites). This country extends in a long tract from the town of Circass on the Dneper as far as Livonia (which begins at Dunaburg on the Duna River, called the Dvina by the Russians). I may here remark that the Circassians who dwell upon the Dneper¹ are Russians and are distinct from those whom I have described above as dwelling in the mountains near the Black Sea. At the time that I was at Moscow, these people were governed by one Eustace Tascovitz, whom I have before spoken of as going with King Machmetgiray to Moscow²; he was a man of great skill in military matters, and remarkable for his shrewdness, and, from the frequent intercourse he had had with the Tartars, was able the more repeatedly to conquer them. He often even drew the Prince of Moscow himself, whose captive he had for some time been, into great dangers (here there is an unclear phrase which is omitted in all modern translations: *So ist er auch bey dem Moscoviter gewest, die alle auch seinen herrn Khuenig oft uberfueert*; it can be understood in the following way: that is how he treated the Muscovite (or perhaps: he also visited the Muscovite) who often deceived the king in his turn (meaning the following story about the cowardice of Tascovitz). In the same year that I was at Moscow, he showed remarkable skill in routing the Russians, a circumstance which I have thought worthy of description here. He led certain Tartars dressed in the Lithuanian costume into Russia, knowing that the Russians, taking them for Lithuanians, would fearlessly rush out upon them without hesitation. After having set an ambush in a suitable position, he awaited the arrival of the vengeful Russians. The Tartars, meanwhile, after depopulating the province of Severa, directed their march towards Lithuania; upon which the Russians, supposing them to be Lithuanians, changed their route, and, inspired with a thirst of vengeance, marched impetuously with a great force upon Lithuania. After laying waste the country, as they were returning laden with spoil, they were surrounded by Eustace, who came forth from his ambuscade and had all of them slaughtered, to a man. When the Prince of Muscovy heard of this, he sent ambassadors to the King of Poland to complain of the injury which had been done to him (despite the armistice). To which complaint the king replied that his people had not inflicted an injury but had simply revenged one done to themselves. The Prince of Muscovy, having been thus deceived on both sides, was ignominiously compelled to put up with his loss.

Beyond the country of the Circassians, there are no habitations of Christian men. At the mouth of the Dneper stands the fortress and the city of Otchakov, forty miles from Circass (on the bank closest to Wallachia). It was not since in the possession of the King of Taurida, who took it from the King of Poland (the Grand Duchy of Lithuania)³. It is now held by the Turks. [...] There is also a law that the property of foreign merchants, who happen to die there, is confiscated to the king or his viceroy (the authorities); and the same rule, which is observed among the Tartars and Turks with respect to the natives of Kiev, is also observed by the people of Kiev with respect to the Tartars and Turks after their death⁴. [...]

berstein used oral tidings of those Tatar informers who lived in Moscow. The nomenclature requires several phonetic adjustments, for example, instead of 'ksi', we should pronounce it as 'k'ji', 'a man' ('k'jilar'—people, 'k'jilarimiz'—our people, our servants). By 'four persons'—the counselors—we should understand four karachis, the main counselors of Tatar khans who represented four kin-clans, to be more specific: Shirin, Baryn, Arghyn and Kipchak.

¹ Circassians was the Tatar and then Russian designation for Ukrainian Cossacks.

² Eustace Dashkovich's attack of Chernigov, Starodub and Novgorod-Seversky was attempted in March 1515 together with Crimean prince Muhammad Giray and Kievan voivode Andrey Nemirov.

³ Before 1502 Ochakov was part of the Crimean Khanate and then fell under control of the Ottoman sultans. The original Tatar name of the city was Kara-Kerman (literally— Black city), then—Ozu, Turkish—Ozi. The last names are related to the Turkic designation of the Dnieper: Uzi, Yuzi, Ozi, Ozu.

⁴ The custom of 'otumershchina' spurred multiple protests from the side of Russian merchants who visited Istanbul.

The people wear a long dress and carry bows like the Tartars¹; but they have also a spear (hasta, Spiess oder Copien) and shield (as well a sabre) like the Hungarians. They have excellent geldings, which they ride unshod and with soft bits. [...]

At the time that I was in Lithuania, there were two men principally distinguished for warlike renown—that is, the Knes Constantine Ostrozhsy² (although he was once defeated and captured by the Muscovites, but he was still very successful and gained many victories over the Muscovites, Turks, and Tartars. I was not fortunate enough to see him although I often was in Lithuania when he was alive) and the Knes Michael Linzki³. Constantine had routed the Tartars very frequently. It was his custom not to attack the horde while out on their predatory excursions but to pursue them when returning laden with booty. For as they retired to a spot where they thought they might have an opportunity of resting and refreshing themselves without fear of disturbance, but which spot was known to him and fixed upon as the point of attack, he would give notice to his own soldiers to cook their food for that night beforehand for that he would not be able to allow them much fire the following night. On the following day, therefore, the Tartars would continue their journey, and when night came, seeing no flame or smoke, would suppose that the enemy had either retreated or dispersed themselves, and would then let their horses loose upon the pasture, take their meal, and go to sleep. Constantine would then make his onset at break of day, and thus overwhelm them with a terrific slaughter. [...]

The Navigation of the Frozen Ocean

[...] The ocean which lies about the mouths of the river Petchora, to the right of the mouths of the Dwina, is said to contain animals of great size. Amongst others, there is one animal of the size of an ox, which the people of the country call walrus. It has short feet like those of a beaver; a chest rather broad and deep compared to the rest of its body; and two tusks in the upper jaw protruding to a considerable length. This animal together with other animals of its kind, on account of its offspring and for the sake of rest, leaves the ocean and goes in herds to the mountains, and before yielding itself to the very deep sleep, which naturally comes over it, sets, like the crane, one of its number to keep watch. And if this one should slumber or happen to be killed by a hunter, the others may easily be taken; but if he gives the customary sign, by lowing, the rest of the herd immediately take the alarm. They precipitate themselves into the ocean with great rapidity as if they were carried down the mountain in a carriage, and there they rest for a time upon the surface of the floating blocks of ice. The hunters pursue these animals only for the tusks, of which the Russians, the Tartars, and especially the Turks, skilfully make handles for their swords and daggers (especially the short ones worn by hunters), rather for ornament than for inflicting a heavier blow, as has been incorrectly stated. These tusks are sold by weight and are described as fishes' teeth. [...]

My Return

[...] (From Smolensk to the border, for the course of two days, two hundred horsemen accompanied me with honour. We spent these) two nights in the open air in the midst of a deep snow; but I received much cheerful and respectful attention from my guides (and in severe frost. I was invited to supper the first evening.) We strewed hay to some depth upon the ground and covered it with the bark of trees; spread a table-cloth, and—sitting down to the table cross-legged, after the fashion of the Turks or Tartars—we took our meal and, drinking somewhat freely, made a long supper of it (they regaled me generously, and made me drink much more than I really wanted to). [...]

¹ The comparison between the Lithuanian and Tatar armouries is more justified by the fact that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the end of the 14th century, settlements of the Horde people appeared—for the first time—in surroundings of Wilno and Troki along the Vokè river, later—in the Belarus lands (Grodno, Navahrudak, Ashmyany, Lida, Orsha, Minsk, Kletsk), near Smolensk and Volyn.

² Konstantin Ivanovich Ostrozhsy (1460–1530) is referred to. He was a commander in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Great Lithuanian Hetman (1497–1500, 1507–1530).

³ Mikhail Lvovich Glinsky (1470–1534)—prince and commander—is referred to here. He defeated the Crimean Tatars in the Battle of Kletsk (06.08.1506). He was the initiator of the transfer of the Glinsky clan into the service of Vasily III. In 1530 he participated in the campaign against the Kazan Khanate.

After the departure of the king for Poland (Krakow)¹, while my servants were returning with my horses from Novogorod through Livonia, I stayed. On receiving my horses (on 30 December)², I immediately made a diversion of four miles from the road into Troki in order to see some bison called by some 'uri, ' but in German, 'auroxen, ' which were there kept enclosed in a garden. The palatine (sir Gregory Radovil)³, although somewhat offended by my sudden and unexpected arrival, nevertheless invited me to a banquet, at which Scheachmet, the Tartar king of Savolha, was present, who was kept there in honourable servitude, as if in free custody, in two castles surrounded with walls and situated amongst the lakes. In the course of dinner, he conversed with me on many subjects, through a dragoon, calling the emperor his brother, and declaring that all princes and kings were brothers to each other. [...]

4. Translation

Of The Conditions of the Crimean Khan Mahmet Giray sent by Yaskulsky in 1654 AD

This text has been reproduced from the following publication: Documents about the Ukrainian people's liberation war in 1648–1654; Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1965.

Having praised with infinite gratitude to the Lord of the people, the God Most High, for his special mercy and care over His creation, having bowed low to his great Prophets Mahmet and Moustapha—may they rest in everlasting peace—and to all other heavenly spirits, through whom the Most High, who rules the world, to whom submits all of creation, who made everything out of nothing, dressed me in an attire of greatness and decorated me with a wreath of glory and honour, finally put me on the high throne of the great state and monarchy, made me the sovereign and monarch of great Hordes and great states, of the lands of Kibdyats and of the capital of the Crimea, of an incalculably great number of the Tatars, of the wild Nogais, extending to the Circassian Region itself, we, the great Caesar, the high and invincible sovereign and monarch, the great Khan Mahmet Giray—may the Lord prolong his happy and fruitful reign—to the great monarch and the king of the great states and monarchies of Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Poland, Lithuania, Chernigov, and all the Nazarene people, to his Highness our brother Jan Casimir, to the invincible from the invincible kings, sincerely we wish countless times that the Lord will prolong his life and grant success to all, and we wish also good health, a blessed reign, and the benevolence of fate, and we declare to you on behalf of our Khan's Majesty that our brother of virtuous memory the Khan Islam Giray—may the Lord have mercy on his soul—sent to you one of his servants, Suleiman Aga, who told us that from this time on you promised friendship and brotherhood to the Crimean Khans, promised to be a friend to the friends of the Crimean Khans and vice versa: an enemy to their enemies, and in return counted on the help of our army against your enemies.

Since your enemy is our enemy and the common enemy of all Crimean Khans, we send troops immediately, demanding in our turn reinforcements, so that you will also send troops to our people. And thus forever will our friendship and brotherhood last if you do not turn away from the Crimean Khans. Because you have sworn for yourself and for your successors, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [has sworn] friendship and brotherhood with us, and first of all the loyalty to the union against Moscow, we, having done the same, believe that if the Lord ever has His mercy on us and allows us to capture their land, we will own the Astrakhan, Kazan, and Bergitvasky Provinces and all the states where the Tatars and Nogai people live: any of these lands neither you, our brother, nor any of the Polish szlachta must touch. They will belong to us alone. As for the traditional gifts to us, they should annually be sent to Kamenets for us, where our people will come for them.

¹ Sigismund I was in Krakow from 25 April 1518. His stay in Wilno is dated to 4 December 1518.

² 1518.

³ Apparently, Nikolai Nikolaevich (Mikolai Mikolaevich) Radziwiłł (d. 1521) is referred to here. He was the voivode of Wilno (from 1510), and the Great Lithuanian Chancellor (from 1510). Participant of the Battle of Kletsk (05.08.1506).

Never doubt the friendship and brotherhood of the Crimeans, when you yourself sincerely observe what you, our brother, with the senators and the szlachta have sworn in Suleyman Aga's presence and according to this oath wrote the sacred contract, having sent it to our Crimean Region with the ambassador Mark Stanislav Yaskulsky. After our brother Islam Giray by the Lord's verdict had faced His Judgment, and the throne of our father passed over to me by the Lord's will, we, keeping the oath, thought to write according to it the present contract and, by our Khan's power, send it to you in a gold-plated case.

With gratitude we accepted everything that the ambassador verbally reported to us on your behalf.

You, in return, adhering to your contract and oath, will never reconcile with the Moscow Tsar: on the contrary, do not stop tormenting him with your troops. When over time with the help of the Lord Most High you capture his lands, do not touch, however, neither you, our brother, or any of the Polish szlachta, the Muslims from the Astrakhan, Kazan, Bergitvasky, and other people, the Tatars and the Nogais. This we reserve to ourselves.

And if somewhere our enemy appears, you with your troops would have to help us against him, as we would for our part in such a case.

In a word, each friend will be our mutual friend, and each enemy will be our mutual enemy.

Also your merchants, coming to us, and ours to you ...

5. Abdulgaffar Qirimi. 'Umdet al-akhbar'

Abdulgaffar Qirimi. Umdet al-axbar (Umdet ul-ahbar). Book 1: Transcription, facsimile. Series 'Yazma Miras. Textual Heritage.' Issue 1 / Transcription by Derya Derin Pashaoglu; editor-in-chief I. Mirgaleev. Kazan, 2014.

II. FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CRIMEAN KHANS

(The reign of Hacı Giray, Mengli Giray, Muhammed Giray I and Saadet Giray I)

[278]

In the exposition about the Bash-Timur heirs

Ichkily Hassan, the father of Ulug Muhammad Khan, is the eldest son of Jagay-oghlan mentioned earlier. His other son was called Bash-Timur-oghlan¹. He had two sons by the name of Giyaseddin and Devlet-Berdi. There are no descendants of Giyaseddin. Devlet-Berdi, during [the reign] of the son of his uncle Ulug Muhammad Khan, lived in the Crimea surrounded only by his nökers. Being a dullard, he did not interfere with any affairs. He died in the Crimea. His grave is in the Crimea in a place called Salachik. He had two sons named Hacı Giray and Jihan Giray.

Then: Ulug Muhammad, fleeing from Kongrat Haidar, went to Kazan and remained [there]. Ahmed Khan, the son of Jalal ad-Din Khan, ascended the throne. Since he intended to execute the aforementioned Hacı Giray and Jihan Giray, they fled, and during their wanderings Sayyid Ahmed Khan

[278r]

appointed men for the murder of those mentioned [Hacı Giray and Jihan Giray]. At that time the camp of Haidar-Beg was in the area of the well-known Kolay located between the rivers Erel and Samar, which is called Kara-Agach. They say that the mentioned Hacı Giray [with his brother] wandered between the cattle and sheep camps in the valleys of the [small rivers] Tur and Byorekli, which flow out of Buzuk. Having heard that people had been appointed for their [murder], they fled. And as their mother was Beg's daughter of the Ademi tribe of the Kemerkuysky Circassians, they, with a desire [to enter] Circassia, ran towards the side of the river Don². And because the persecutors reached them when

¹ 'Oglañ'—the title in the Golden Horde designating a blood prince.

² The Crimean-Tatar name of the Don river.

they were near the river, these [two], having abandoned their quivers and bows, plunged into the water with only their horses. They had a reliable *nöker*. He too rushed in with them. They were shot at with numerous arrows. By the preordination of Allah, the arrow hit Hacı Giray's horse. His reliable [*nöker*] gave him his horse, and remained, having taken the wounded horse. And said: 'If Allah the Almighty gives you well-being and wealth, do not forget my orphans,' and with these words drowned in the river.

Then the two brothers came ashore. But being hungry and undressed, they—having thought that there might be scattered wandering communities of the Edil people¹, with thousands of difficulties, eating grass—eventually reached a whole group [of these] communities. They say that their head was called Devlet-Keldi Hafiz. Having come to him, they said: 'We were merchants. We were robbed by thieves,' and thus became his day-labourers, looking after sheep and cows. But from their carriage and behaviour, the Mullah², naturally, suspected that they must be the children of a noble person and instructed his wife to be respectful to them. However, his wife had a nasty character and she caused them sufferings.

When the rule of Sayyid Ahmed Khan³ reached three and a half years, they, roaming in the vicinities of the Muscovite fortress⁴ Mankerman⁵, known in the valley of the river Ozyu⁶ and having become the enemies of the tribe of infidels [living there], raided its neighbourhood. After a while they made peace and returned the captives. But since in the heads of the infidels the aforementioned coldness [of relations] remained, one night, when Ahmed Khan was careless, they attacked his camp and killed him. This news spread throughout the world, and Hacı Giray, as soon as he heard [about it], arrived and appeared among his people [and] became the Khan.

Melek⁷ Hacı Giray, son of Devlet-Berdi-Khan

This Melek Hacı Giray became a famous Khan. But being rather cruel, he intended to execute his brothers and perhaps sons, and [therefore] his brothers hated him. He died after having ruled as the Khan for 18 years. His body was brought and buried in Sary Krym⁸. Since he had not appointed either of his brothers or sons as the heir to the throne, battles began between them. When in the eight hundred and seventieth year of Hijrah⁹ these episodes took place, Hacı Giray's son named Mengli Giray,

[Addition in the margins:]

On the last page were briefly mentioned Ejderkhan¹⁰ and Kazan¹¹. The majority of the people of Tatarstan are the people of Oguz, which is situated towards Khitai. The Seljuq dynasty and the Ottoman bloodline come from there. And after that the Kiyat and Kayi people are respected. And after them—the tribes Khirkehir, Kyrgyz, D-rikh, Kimak, N-jtak-n, M-h-rka and Saklab, which in the Tatar language are called the Kara-kalmuk¹². After that the tribes Chagatai, Tangut, and S-rka are respected.

¹ 'The Edil people' or 'the people of Edil'—the Turkic population of the Volga region is referred to here; Edil is the Crimean-Tatar name of the Volga. The name 'Idil' is more accepted in scientific literature, however, below, in the original text, p. 279 v., this word is written with the corresponding vowel marks.

² That is, Devlet Keldi Hafiz; 'hafiz' is the title of a man who knows the Quran by heart.

³ Bolded words in the presented text are marked with red ink in the original.

⁴ 'Muscovys' in the Crimean-Tatar written sources was the designation of inhabitants of the Moscow Principality, Muscovite State and, traditionally, the Russian Empire.

⁵ The Crimean-Tatar name of Kiev.

⁶ The Crimean-Tatar name of the Dnieper river.

⁷ This word in the original text may also be read in the form 'melik'—that is, 'tsar'. In the translation, we used the form 'melek' ('angel') following the explanation given in 'Gulbün-i xanan' of Khalim Giray about Hajji Giray's handsome face which became the reason why people called him 'Melek Hajjigiray' (Istanbul, 1287/1870, p. 6). At the same time, Abdulgaffar Qirimi's pointing out of Hajji Giray's cruelty, in our opinion, signifies that this word rather means 'tsar', not 'angel'.

⁸ In the original: 'Eski Qirim' is the modern Crimean Tatar name of this city in the Crimea.

⁹ 1465/66.

¹⁰ Astrakhan.

¹¹ Kazan.

¹² 'Kara-Kalmuk'—the Black Kalmyks.

And when the Franks captured the steppes of Desht-i Kipchak, they named them Sarmasiya¹. The tribes place [of living], called the 'Kuman' or 'Poloz, ' is located here. And the famous lake called Kitayskoye Lake—[also] known as the Sea of Khwarezm—is the homeland of the Kazakhs and the Karakalpaks. And the Far North, which is called 'the ninetieth latitude'—beyond which the sons of men will not be able to live because of the excessive cold. There there is a tribe called 'Bulgar, ' which ranks amongst the Tatar tribes. This tribe accepted Islam in the times of the Abbasids. And their region became extremely well-organised. During the longest of the days (during the time of the constellation of Cancer² in that latitude³) for up to ten days no nighttime prayer is held in their time zone. For example, before the sunset's glow fades, the dawn has already begun; therefore, experiencing difficulty over whether it is possible to compensate for the nighttime prayer [as it has been skipped], they, having sent to the Khwarezm Region

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fleeing, he came to the fortress named Mangub, which is situated in the Crimean Region, in the area of Balyklaghy⁴. It is known for its inaccessibility. They say that its commandant was a representative of the ruler Bogdan⁵, one of the Christian rulers. And as there was a number of the Tatar tribe called 'As' there, he, having joined them, became the guest of the commandant of the infidels.

Being at that time a ruler from the Ottoman dynasty—the pride of the Ottoman dynasty, the father of victory and the battles for faith, the conqueror of Istanbul⁶, Sultan Mehmed Khan, having captured Istanbul, made his throne there. Because he approached the vicinities of [the lands of] the Chinggisids, who caused great concern, and because for his diligence as a Padishah it was necessary to strengthen the Crimean island properly, having learned that there was great confusion among Hacı Giray's children, he sent by sea his vizier by the name of Ghedik Ahmed-Pasha with a fleet. By force of arms he took from the infidels Kafa⁷ and Sugdak. And having captured Mangub from the Christian infidels, out of feigned ignorance he also took Mengli Giray Sultan⁸ away with him, having included him in a number of the captives who fell into his hands. They say that on his arrival to the Sultan Mehmed, he rendered Ahmed-Pasha a great favour. And said:

'Ahmed! This is my respect to you, not for your capture of Kafa. You gave into my hands the reins [of power] of a strong enemy, from the descendants of the ancient Muslim tsars. This service of yours is the first and foremost.'

After that he brought up Mengli Giray Sultan in a happy harem together with [his] other princes. However, the disorder in the area of Desht-i Kipchak reached its highest peak. The then head emir⁹ from Shirins, Emenek-Beg, the son of Mamak-Beg, the son of Tegene-Beg, the son of Ruktemur-Beg, who was the head karachi¹⁰, showed diligence in maintaining order in the area for some time. But as it was beyond the bounds of possibility, having considered that: 'Relying on the High State¹¹, I will stop this disorder, ' he sailed with a ship to Istanbul. And having submitted the request, he presented himself and

¹ 'Sarmasia' is a clear distortion of 'Sarmatia'. This note and the following mention of the Comans and Cumans (Polovtsians) evidence of the fact that Abdulgaffar Qirimi was acquainted with European historiography.

² In the original: 'Sertan'.

³ In the original: 'in those degrees'.

⁴ Balaklava.

⁵ Moldavia.

⁶ In the original 'Istanbul' is everywhere.

⁷ In the original, the Crimean-Tatar name of the city is used everywhere: 'Kefe'.

⁸ In the Crimean Khanate, unlike the Central Asian states and Ottoman Turkey, the title 'sultan' denoted not the ruler, but a blood prince—that is, a member of the ruling house who had no state power.

⁹ 'Mir-i miran'—the emir of emirs.

¹⁰ There are different hypotheses regarding the etymology and meaning of this title. We totally share L. Budagov's opinion about the origin of this title which possibly took root in the verb 'karamak' ('to look', 'to look after') with the suffix of a doer's name - '-chi'. Therefore, the word 'karachi' corresponds the Arabic 'nazyr' and means 'an observer', 'minister', 'servant looking after someone' (The Comparative Dictionary of Turkish-Tatar Dialects, vol. 2, p. 45).

¹¹ That is, the Ottoman state.

asked for [the hand over of] the Khan's son. Then the Padishah, the protector of the world, being very content, honoured the aforementioned emir with the Shah's favour. And having appointed Mengli Giray as Khan, made him take an oath to the State. And by [making] various contracts, he gained [his] trust. And he also gave him summer and winter dwellings, arpaliks¹, and hasses². And ordered it to be written down in the register of the Sultan's possessions as a guidance for action that under no pretext his [i.e., Mengli Giray's] request should be rejected. And he also granted to Emenek-Beg boundless honours, grants, favours, a bunchuk, and the Khan's³ military orchestra⁴. Having boarded a galley⁵, they arrived to Kafa and came [ashore]. 890 [year]⁶.

Mengli Giray Khan, son of Hacı Giray Khan

In the capital, Sary Krym, he was a glorious Khan. By means of fine measures he eliminated all trouble-makers and oppressors. And every year continuing the Sacred War against the Muscovites, he relied on the foundation of glorious brilliance of being in jihad and gazavat. He died in the nine hundred and twentieth year of Hijrah⁷.

[Addition in the margins:]

Khwarezm—that is, in Khiva, a person, they asked for a fatwah from imam Bakkali⁸, who was the imam of the time. And the imam gave a [fatwah] about the absence of [the need for] compensation. When, about this news, a fatwah was requested from the respectable Shamsu-l-aimm⁹ al-Halvani¹⁰, they gave a fatwah about [the necessity for] compensation. Two mujtahids¹¹ entered into a lawsuit [between themselves]. But since their regions were far [from one another], and they could not meet with each other, eventually Shamsu-l-aimma, having sent one of his students to Khwarezm, gave him an instruction saying: 'Do not reveal yourself and ask for a fatwah—tell him: 'Should not somebody become an infidel if he rejects one of the five times [of prayer] that Allah ordered as obligatory?' The student arrived to Khwarezm. He came to the meeting, when the imam Bakkali stated the case and asked for a fatwah. Bakkali immediately understood everything [and] gave a polite answer: 'Oh, Mulah, if someone has his feet cut off from the anklebones, how many orders for ablution will relate to him?' To this he answered: 'There will be three [orders] as for the fourth there is no place.' To this Bakkali answered and won the lawsuit saying: 'If there is no namaz time, then it is similar to [this].' And Shamsu-l-aimma also approved and recognized [this fatwah]. It is written down in 'Ravzat al-muattar'¹²

¹ The land for receiving an additional profit in return for governing the district.

² The land given in the Ottoman state to the highest state officials with an annual profit exceeding 100 000 akçe.

³ That is, who is equal to the khan's.

⁴ In the original: 'mexter'.

⁵ In the original: 'kadyrga'.

⁶ 1485/86.

⁷ 1514/15.

⁸ Muhammad, son of Abu-l Kasym Bajjuk, al-Bakkali al-Khwarezmi an-Nakhwi. Fikih and mufasssir of the Khanafit law school. His kunye 'Abu-l Fadl' and cognomen—Zaynu-l Mashaiikh ('adornment of sheikhs'). Al-Bakkali was given a cognomen for being involved in trade ('bakka'—'grocer'). Died in Khwarezm in 523 Hijrah (1129) (Muhammed Bin Ebi'l-Kasim Bacuk El-Bakkali Hayati Hakkında Bilgi [Digital source]. Access mode: <http://www.mumsema.com/arap-islam-alimleri/195934-muhammed-bin-ebilkasim-bacuk-el-bakkali-hayati-hakkında-bilgi.html>.—19.10.2014).

⁹ That is, 'the lighter of imams'.

¹⁰ A variant of 'Khulwani' ('producer of sweets'). Sheikh al-Khalwani (Khulwani) or Abd al-Aziz, son of Ahmed, son of Nasr, al-Khulwani al-Bukhari, known by the kunya 'Abu Muhammad' and cognomen 'Shams ad-Din' or 'Shams al-Aimma', died in 456. Hijrah (1064) in Bukhara. Is one of great scientists-fakihs of the Khanafit law school (Şems-ül-eimme Hulvânî hayati hakkında bilgi [Digital source]. Access mode: <http://www.mumsema.com/arap-islam-alimleri/195298-sems-uleimme-hulvani-hayati-hakkında-bilgi.html>.—19.10.2014).

¹¹ Imams having reached the highest degree of knowledge in legal and theological disciplines and had the right to independently make decisions regarding issues of the Islamic right based on the examination of its sources.

¹² The work's author was not determined by us.

And the tribes called 'Bashkurt' and 'Tyumen' are numerous. They are obedient to the Khan of Khitais. And their side is the same. And they are Muslims. They are at war with the Kalmuks. Also they are at war with the infidel Tatars living on the mountain Imalus. It is written down in 'Jihan-nūma.'

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(Topic: Muhammad Giray Khan the Elder)

On the indicated date¹ his eldest son Muhammad Giray, having become the Khan, was in a religious war against the Muscovites. When he saddled the horse with the intention to lead out the sons of Orak Mamay and reached the area of Edil², the Nogais³ broke their agreements. There was a battle. The Khan died [in it] a martyr's death. His rule lasted twenty-three years.

[After the death of Muhammad Giray Khan] they wanted to make his brother Gazi Giray, who was in his circle, [and who was then] a small child, the Khan but considered that he would not be able to rule Tataristan, and in the year of nine hundred and forty-three (943)⁴ Saadet Giray, the son of Mengli Giray, was appointed as the Khan. He sent his brother Sahib Giray as a hostage to the High Threshold. It was the time of the Sultan Selim, the son of the Sultan Bayezid. The fact that sending hostages originates from the Sultan Selim, we are told by Ali-efendi who specified it in his [book] 'Kyunkh al-akhbar.'

Then: while Saadet Giray ruled with honour and justice, his brother, who was called Islam Giray, rebelled. And the Tatar warriors split into two camps. To the aid of Saadet Giray were sent the Beg of Kafa Baly-Beg and the Beg of Azak (Azov) Shahin-Beg by a firman from the High State. There was a battle with an evil-minded Islam Giray in the field of Azak near the river Don. The Beg of Kafa and many more fine men died [in it] the death of martyrs for the faith. Saadet Giray returned defeated and spent many more days in continuous battles. As a result, Islam Giray came, by force, to be called the Khan. And Saadet Giray set off to the Threshold⁵. There the Sultan Selim granted him a generous annual income⁶. They say that he even took him to the Persian campaign⁷. After that he died in Istanbul. The term of his rule was fourteen years.

The excerpts were translated into Russian by Nariman Seytyaghyayev

6. Abd ar-Razzak Samarkandi 'The Rise of the Stars and the Junction of the Two Seas (Matla' al-sa'dayn va majma' al- bahrayn)'

On the publication of: Collection of Materials Related to the Golden Horde History, Volume II. Extracts from the Persian Writings Collected by V. Tiesenhausen. Moscow-Leningrad: Publishing house of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1941.

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Events of 834 (= 19 September 1430–8 September 1431)... Suddenly a messenger arrived from the Khwarezm Region and reported that the Uzbek army had split the ashes of treachery on its own destiny and stirred up the dust of revolt, that a numerous army at once had intruded Khwarezm, that the Emir Ibrahim, the son of the Emir Shahmelik, having no power to resist, had fled to Kyat and Khiva, that vizier Hoja Asil-ad-din had prepared supplies for being under siege and had raised the banner of resistance and battle but eventually had been exhausted and killed, that the Uzbek army, having captured Khwarezm, had caused huge devastation and, having spread extreme destruction and devastation, had left again to Desht. Listening to this news was very difficult for someone of sound mind (Shakhrukh).

¹ That is, in 920 Hijrah (1514/1515).

² In this place, the name 'Edil' is read in accordance with vowel marks of the initial letter.

³ In the original: 'Nogailyar'—'inhabitants of Nogai'.

⁴ 1536/37.

⁵ That is, to the court of the Turkish sultan (Sublime Porte).

⁶ 'Saljane'—the form of provision of the highest officials in the Ottoman state.

⁷ In the original: 'Adjem seferi'—that is, 'the Adjem campaign'.

He appointed several emirs to that region, and (these) eminent emirs, who had shown signs of bravery and courage, attacked the Uzbek people and ulus, destroyed and dispersed all the insolent...

Events of 839 (= 27 July 1435–15 August 1436). The story of the wintering of the victorious Khakan (Shakhrukh) in Karabag of Arran... In this time an ambassador arrived from the country of Khwarezm and reported that Abulkhayr-oghlan had suddenly come from Desht to the vicinities of Khwarezm, that Mirza Sultan Ibrakhim, the son of the Emir Shakhmelik, having not had an opportunity to fight, [199] had fled, that his subjects, exhausted, had handed over the city, and that these ruthless insolents, having turned upside down the whole region and the city of Khwarezm, had left again by untrodden paths and the roads of the steppe.

Events of 844 (= 2 June 1440–21 May 1441)... In that year a messenger arrived from Astrabad with the speed of wind and reported that the Uzbek army had come to that state from Desht and that the Emir Haji-Yusuf-Jalil had been killed. The explanation of these words is as follows: at times some of the Uzbek army, having become the Cossacks, would come to Mazanderan and, having plundered everywhere, would return again (to where it had come from). The fortunate Khakan (Shakhrukh) ordered that annually some emir-generals (temniks) should go to Mazanderan to watch over its borders and winter in that region. Several times Mirza Baysungar, and after him Mirza Ala-ad-doule, wintered there. In that year Emir Haji-Yusuf-Jalil and his brother Emir Sheikh-Haji and some other emir-generals were appointed to watch over those borderlands, and the emirs, each of them having taken his *tumen* there, spent day and night out on full guard. Suddenly the Uzbek army descended upon the emirs in such a way that they broke up (their) entire army; Emir Haji-Yusuf-Jalil stayed firmly put and gave the hand of bravery from the sleeve of courage, he made heroic attacks and undertook courageous feats but since the people he had were very few, all his efforts led to nothing. During the battle an arrow came from the quiver of destiny's bow to kill him, and he received the happiness of martyrdom. His brother Emir Mubariz-ad-din Sheikh-Haji, on a horse as fast as the wind, pursued the enemies for a long time but could not reach them.

Events of 851 (= 19 March 1447–06 March 1448)... The fortunate Khakan (Shakhrukh) gave the highest command that annually several emirs-generals (temniks) should winter in the Jurjan Region and should watch over the actions of the army of Desht-i Kipchak and of the Uzbek Cossacks...

Events of 855 (= 3 February 1451–22 January 1452) ... At this time one confidant from the court servants reported that the Uzbek Tsar Abulkhayr-Khan had already for some time been exclusively following the path of sincerity, considered himself included in the ranks of friends, and expected that as soon as His Majesty (Sultan-Abu-Sa'id) allowed the Khan, accompanied by happiness and prosperity, would be alongside the victorious stirrup (of Abu-Sa'id). These words were pleasant to the Sovereign, he sent one of his confidants to the Khan's horde and expressed his consent to his request. Abulkhayr-Khan took advantage of His Majesty's attention and with the greatest haste took to the road and joined the Highest Horde. Mirza Sultan-Abu-Sa'id honoured the terms of respect and the customs of celebration, engaged in the arrangement of affairs and management of people's needs, and together with Abulkhayr-Khan made preparations for the capture of Samarkand. From the borders of the city of Yasa they came to the region of Tashkent and Hojend. Having learned of this, Mirza Sultan-Abdallakh set off to war (with them) with a huge army.

Events of 864 (= 28 October 1459–16 October 1460)... At the beginning of the month Rabi' I (= 26 December 1459–29 January 1460) great ambassadors arrived from the Kalmyk land and Desht-i Kipchak, and through the great emirs they received the honour of kissing the foot of His Majesty (Abu-Sa'id) and reported (to him) their assignment. Having given them gifts and offerings and having rendered unto them imperial favour, he treated all of them kindly... (Abu-Sa'id), having shown complete attention to the Kalmyk envoys and to the ambassadors of the tsars of Desht-i Kipchak and Muhammad-Khalil and having written kind letters, permitted them all to return...

Events of 869 (= 31 October 1464–23 August 1465)... In the middle of Jumada II (= 29 January–26 February 1465) the imperial decree arrived from the Highest Horde to send Sayyid-Yeke-Sultan, the brother of Uzbek Abulkhayrkhan, who had been taken captive by the emirs in the vicinity of Khwarezm and had spent some time in prison in Herat, to the Highest Horde. He was a young man, fine in charac-

ter and pure in faith, who was constantly occupied with reading the Quran, and at the time when he was freed from imprisonment, he stayed for some time with the Men of God and asked for help from their inner world with dispersing mercy. Emirs and the officials of the Diwan sent him away, having supplied him with all the imperial accessories. When he arrived at the Highest Horde, Mirza Sultan-Abu-Sa'id honoured him with different favours, granted him a horse, gold, a cap, and a belt, and sent him—grateful and satisfied—to the Uzbek Region.

7. Masud bin Othman Kohistani. 'The history of Abu'l-Khayr Khan (Ta'rikh-i Abu'l-Khayr khani)'

On the publication of: The Work of Masud bin Othman Kohistani 'The History of Abu'l-Khayr Khan' // Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR. History, archeology, and ethnography series. Almaty, 1958, No. 3 (8).

When high-ranking khan and famous padishah Abu'l-Khayr Khan attained majority, his brow started to shine with glory of the universe sovereign. [At that time Abu'l-Khayr Khan], in accordance with the rules of affinity and a related agreement, submitted to Jamaduk Khan, who was one of the glorious Shaybanid padishahs, and focused on gathering troops and arranging state affairs...

High-ranking khan [and] ruler His Majesty Abu'l-Khayr Khan, who destroyed the rebels and defended believers, was born in 816, in the year of the luy—that is, in the crocodile year...

In the reign and sultanate of Jamaduk Khan, Gazy Bey Mangyt, son of Idiku Bey, under his father's will became the head of the tribe and nation, conquered and subjected the aimag and tribes. When Gazy Bey established himself over the throne of power and supremacy, he became oppressive and violent, stepped out of the circle of justice, and diverged from the path of mercy...

... When the emirs and leader of Desht-i Kipchak lost their patience because of Gazy Bey's evil behaviour, cried out because of his violence and oppression, and when fortune and welfare turned their back on him, they [the emirs and leaders] made a plan and killed him. And they saved inhabitants of the country from his evil. [Later] they happily went to Jamaduk Khan. When they arrived to Jamaduk Khan horde, they were honoured to be in his employ and became great emirs and men of the supreme khan. But their expectation of help and mercy from Jamaduk Khan, did not come true, [and] the khan—because of extreme arrogance and pride of supreme power—did not consider the condition people were in. When emirs were desperate in getting grace and mercy of the khan, they all together left the khan's horde and went to Jaitar Jalkin, joined the emirs and troop leaders, such as Kibek hoja Bey Mangyt, Omar Bey Burkut, Muta hoja, [87]Turdi hoja Mangyt, Jatan Madr Nukus, Bay hoja Bahadur, Sarig Shiman Mangyt, who were full of hatred and resistance against Jamaduk Khan.

As soon as Jamaduk learned that emirs and troops left him, he ordered to gather troops. The left wing of the army was ornamented with Abul-Khayr Khan's impressiveness and impetuosity, while the right wing of the army was ornamented with the great courage of Hoja-oghan and other bahadurs. [Then] Jamaduk Khan followed his troops to Jantar Jalkin.

When the enemy emirs and troop leaders learned that the khan-ruler was coming with seventy thousand equipped soldiers, they—without caring of the consequences—arranged their combat armour and got ready to fight.

When by the command of the ruler Jamaduk Khan his troops got to JaytarJalkin, the two armies stood against each other.

As soon as suddenly sunrise—the telltale sign of the morning—appeared on the battlefield, and the sky was clear of motionless stars and planets, the sun was starting to shine in the sky, the black night hid from the arising heartwarming sun, and a golden sun ray appeared from behind the mountain peak, both enormous armies began to move. At the command of the powerful ruler the glorious bagalurs and knights bravely stepped to the battlefield. The battlefield boasted with brave people and battle heroes. Both armies were excited, and the army leaders had a fire of anger burning inside of them.

Bay Khoja Bahadur, one of the enemy's slashers and bahadurs, took into his hand a morning star, that could brake granite and knock down a person, turned his brave face to the army of Sa'atHaji-oglan and in one blow with a morning star killed him by knocking down from horse. [Then] by heading towards other oglans and [troop] leaders, knocked down the majority of Jamaduk Khan's bogatyrs and time-proven soldiers. One of the elder emirs [from the dynasty] of Kushchi told that on that day Bay Hoja Bahadur sent twelve oghlans from this perishable world to eternity.

When his soldiers [Bay Hoja Bahadur's] saw his bravery, they took their courage in both hands and—rapidly following him with their swords glittering like a lightning and with a lance of revenge—destroyed Jamaduk Khan's army and drove away his soldiers. According to God's predestination, Jamaduk Khan died in that battle.

At the same time, according to the predestination of the Merciful Father, a 16-year-old Abu'l-Khayr Khan was captured by Sarig Shiman Mangyt. As the Holy Lord God's grace for this tsarevich was as boundless as the sea, Sarig Shiman, when he got to know His Majesty Abu'l Khayr, took him under his protection and did his best to look after him.

After some time [Sarig Shiman] equipped Abu'l-Khayr with good horses and appropriate armament and let him go [home].

After getting free from the hands of his enemies with the God's help and returning home, Abu'l-Khayr, the sultan [that] was as clever as Suleiman, praised the Almighty God. At the time, when the sun did not get along with its own rays—that is, the sultan of the forth climate and the ruler of the fifth climate was standing on the plain of winter, dressed in winter clothes and preventing the power of growth to interference with the nature, and branches of trees like a naked butler, without dress and without voice, were waiting for the New Year dress—Abu'l-Khayr, the sultan, possessing characteristics of angels, hoping for welfare and happiness stopped at the camp of Alash-bahadur, the senior beg of the main aimak. Alash-bahadur and other powerful leaders of great tribes acknowledged and respected the powerful sultan and, girded with the belt of sincere friendship and service, were serving all day long without hesitation. His Majesty Abu'l-Khayr Sultan with the help and grace of God spent that winter there.

When the sun, which lightens the world, left the house of winter with the Merciful God's help and moved to the house of the Aries, located in the East, Abu'l-Khayr, the sultan, as great as a heavenly throne, lightened by the sun, with the Almighty God's help, brought together his troops, retinue, supporters and servants from those people, and with the Almighty God's help, may he be glorified and exalted, directed the reins of [his] horse towards Hesil, his retinue, nation, and ulus.

On the shah's arrival, the entire army and neighbourhood residents acquired refuge [88] peace, new life, and boundless joy.

All of them were emirs, leaders, and other glorious and honourable Sayyids, and other rulers, enjoying a good reputation—sons of: OghlanKul-Muhammad-Sayyid, Kara-Sayyid-sultan, "God bless their secret"; Buzundzhar-bey-kyyat, Waqqas-bey-mangit, Sheikh-Sufi-oghlans, Hasan-oghlans-chimbay, Tashbekt-oglan-idzhan, Shad-bekht-oghlans, Timur-oghlans-satug-bay, Suyunich-bay Daulet-Sufi-oghlans, Barak-oghlans-kaan-bayly, Marat-Sufi-oghlans-tabgut, Mahmud-bekkonrat, Mane-oghlans-tabgut, Hazret-sheikh-oghlans-idzhan-bey, Yakub-durman, Karakedey-durian, Tuli-haji-bey-kushchi, Marat-sufya-utarchy Daylet-khoja-divan kushchi, Sheikh-Sufi-nayman, As-Sufi-nayman. Kara-gusman-nayman, Sarig-gusman-nayman, Yusuf-hoja-ukrish-nayman, Abubekr-ukrish-nayman, Kuday-berdy-tarkhan, Mumin-dervish-tupay, Gerey-hoja-bagadurtaymas, Sufi-bey-dzhat, Haji-Mirza-dajat, Jamaduk-bagadur-tubay, Sabir-sheikh-tubay, Yadygar-bagadur-tubay, Kungur-bay-kushchy, Abke-bagadu-hitay, Kebek-bey-kushchi, Hojabagadur-barak, Tirchik-bey-durman, Bulakdak-bagadur-hitay, Kebek-bey-kushchi, Hojabagadur-uyghur, Ichki-biagu-divan-uyghur, Bay-sheikh-uyghur, Abdalmalik-karluk, TungachukTuluhoja-nayman, Hakim-sheikh-kushchy, Akcheurus-kushchy, Timur-bagadur-keneges, Kuragaygenan-bagadur-uysun, Kilich-bay-bagadur-uysun, Tulkujy-bey-tubay, Sarikh-Shiman-mangyt, Kilich-buka-tarkhan, Bagly-hoja-konrat, Hojalak-kurleut, Sheikh-Muhammad-bagadur-uysun, Birim-hoja-bagadur-uygur, Bahty-hoja-uyghur, Sufi-hoja-ichky, Hoja-amin-ichky-mangyt, Tangry-Berdy-tuman, Anikey-hoja-durman, Tulun-hoja-tuman-ming, Urus-konrat, Omar-nayman, Tulun-hoja-

nayman, Daulet-hoja-yurchi-kara and other great people came to the powerful ruler like happiness and welfare, became his victorious soldiers and happy servants.

In 833 AH, in the year of bidzhin—that is, the year of monkey—at the age of 17, [Abu'l-Khayr], in welfare and happiness, was enthroned as a ruler. [Then] Abu'l-Khayr, thanks to the abundance of God's grace and heavenly help, prepared a tool for conquering the world, and the high-ranking sultan, who with his position was equal to Jupiter, armed troops of Islam, with hope in God raised the flag of victory and prevailing, and turned the reins of the universe conqueror towards the city of Tara.

When the flags of victory exposed their arrival throwing a shadow over the inhabitants of the city of Adadbekburkut, which was a hakim of the city of Tara, and Kebek-hoja-bey-burkut with all his emirs, leaders, troop leaders side by side passed through the doors of assistance and submission and became mulyazims of lord of the world. [And] other [89] masters of sword and word, servants, and close associates from powerful rulers and high-ranking emirs [also] rushed to the court of the ruler [i.e., Abu'l-Khayr Khan].

When the heavenly voice of happiness informed people about the victory and conquest, thanks to the Almighty God's help, all the enemies and people persisting approached the sultan's court and joined his brilliant and large retinue.

When the gallant flag started blowing from the dreamland like the sun in the winds of welfare and happiness over the city of Tara, which had become the throne-city and capital, and people felt the fragrance of victory and triumph, a dawn, hinting of soonest happiness and grandeur, raised on the horizon of glory. By the most august blessing this line growing day by day ornamented the crown and throne of monarch, and retribution of God and Master of the universe ornamented his Majesty [Abu al-Khair], a person blessed, by divine goodness and God's grace, similar to endless heavenly welfare. An astronomer, with the heavenly help, from a shaat of favourable grace developed a calendar of khalif's dignity and of His Majesty hakan, the ruler of the entire world.

According to the tradition of the great sovereigns and rule of powerful hakans and by the grace of the supreme Creator, Abu'l-Khayr Khan—just like Feridun—was enthroned as the khan on the throne ruling the entire world. Powerful sultans, great emirs and sayyids, leaders of high-ranking dynasties inclined heads in submission and service in front of his firman, and all together, bent the knee to him, greeted him and wished all the best. Abu'l-Khayr Khan performed a traditional ritual and adat that was known to faithful sultans enthroning as khans on the throne of the entire world ruler. Abu'l-Khayr Khan treated Sarik-Shiman-mangyt with grace and gifts because he was serving [him] kindly to the extent that [Abu'l-Khayr] promoted him to high and dignitary ranks, and [he] became an object of envy by the great emirs and powerful sultans. [And] Alash-bagadur and his aimag, who were his best friends [and] served well and diligently prayed, were given expensive dressing-gowns and treated with grace to the extent possible. [Moreover, Abu'l-Khayr] placed his powerful hand to control the territory [his] and property.

This behaviour of Abu'l-Khayr Khan shows his tradition [awareness], which for a sultan—just like heavenly powers of the Almighty—is a key to power and eternal welfare.

After [he] showering the triumphant army with gifts and treating them kindly, he let bagadurs and soldiers go back home.

Brave troop leaders and [bagadurs] with retinue went toward their herds of horses and valety, got rid of difficulties of campaigns and burden of combats, wars and battles, began to celebrate, drink wine and hunt.

The story about the battle and combat of the khan, who was as exalted as Jupiter, against Mahmud-hoji-khan and about his death by the decree of God.

After the triumphant troops of Abu al-Khair Khan spent some time celebrating and got what they wanted, the conqueror khan decided to conquer other lands and their inhabitants... When he, graced by the Almighty God with grandeur and welfare, wanted new conquests, and victories, and troops inspired with power in welfare and excellence of the Almighty, All-holy God, they all came to the court, which was like heaven, which in number was like eternal happiness, such that by joining forces and aspirations [they] were able to drive an opponent into the ground, [his], troop leaders from the great and high-

ranking leaders, glorious sultans, and famous emirs said that: 'All the orders issued by the triumphant khan will be executed, we will entrust him with our lives and earn [his] rewards by our service.'

When the most august [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] heard what they said and [he] reinforced his padishah intention, equivalent to destiny and fate, accompanying conquests and victories, he told his glorious emirs and battle-tested bagadurs, like Omarbey-burkut, Mahmud-bey-konrat, Bagly-hoja-konrat, Urus-konrat, Sufi-bey-nayman, KaraGusman-nayman, Omar, Abubekr-nayman, Kara-Gusman-nayman, Tuli-hoja-kushchi, Daulethoja-divan-kushchi, Kungur-bay-kushchi, Hakim-sheikh-bagadur, Akcha-urus, Saryk-Shimanmangyt, Hoja-bagazur-barak, Tashbekt-oghlan-iijan, Sheikh-Muhammed-bagadur-uysun, [90] Kylych-bay-bagadur-uysun, Hyzr-sheikh-bagadur-iijan, ukrasiz [by presence] from the left wing of troops, to set off for battle and combat. Sayyids' sultan, the source of power and happiness, Kyl-Muhammad-sayyid, Kara-sayyid, Yakub-durman, Karakedey-durman, Dulyatak-bey-durman, Anikey-hoja-durman, Kara-tirchik-durman, Mumin-dervish-bagadur-tubay, Huseyn-oghlanchimbay, Daulet-sufi-oghlan-kaan-bayli, Sabir-sheikh-bagadur-uyghur, Yadygar-bagadur-uyghur, and other knights and glorious soldiers, ornamented and strengthened [by presence] the right wing and prepared the reins of determination to fight against Mahmud-hoja-khan, one of the distinguished rulers of that time.

As soon as the triumphant sultan issued the order, Bahtiyar-sultan, with a troop of bagadurs, with trust in God, headed the triumphant troops. With such grandeur and splendor [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the legitimate hakan and padishah of the entire land, with troops whose number a person could not even imagine, and a painter could not even depict, the legion of troops headed out to battle and combat against Mahmud-hoja-khan.

When the aforementioned khan [Mahmud-hoja-khan], who for some time had been strong and powerful and was enthroned as supreme ruler, heard about approaching troops, the shelter of victory, he gathered his troops and headed out to the battle with all his soldiers and glorious fighters and oghlans of the Jochid dynasty.

When the enemy troops approached on the Tobola River bank, the ruler of the assembly of stars grandly left his palace that was shining especially on the sunset horizon, and the beauty of the world that was lighting the gloomy evening horizon was hidden, and the area, like yellow-green chrysolite, was lit by stars, and both armies clashed with each other and began to cry out 'Be alert!', 'Watch out!'

[As soon as] the first golden ray of dawn appeared in the East, and the lord of stars with a crown ornamented with pearls became visible from the mountains, both armies started to move and lined up in rows. As soon as the soldiers had prepared their battle and combat weapons, they bravely headed to the battleground.

Sounds of drums, trumpets, and kettledrums coming from both sides rose to the heavens. When fire of war and battle and the flame of combat and fighting was inflamed, Eagle—the bird of death

—captured the souls of enemies with claws of violence. The heart of the coward [person] was trembling in fear of his life like branches of a willow as the wind sweeps over them. Blood was flowing from the lightning of the bared swords of brave [soldiers], and the colour of the heat-forged daggers turned red like a ruby from the blood of brave [soldiers].

Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the conqueror of the world and powerful ruler, with God's help and by the grace of God, sent his triumphant troops marching toward the enemy. His soldiers assailed the enemy with eagerness, like heavenly fate, to ornament the precious steel of dagger with the blood of enemies without honour. The javelin cried out 'Watch out for the blow of the lord, O God!' and was heard by the enemy, and the soldiers of Abu'l-Khayr Khan by the water of the sword doused the flame of arrogance and pride from the heads of the enemy like ash.

The bravest soldiers, experienced in combat and battle-tested, attacked the enemy from the left and right wings, and like belligerent lions grappled with the enemy soldiers and covered the battlefield with the blood of the enemy.

When Mahmud-hoja-khan, who was dreaming of dominance and wanted to be a padishah, saw the courage of the triumphant troops [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], he gave up his throne, property, and empire and, exhausted from the battle, ran away. Mahmud-hoja-khan wanted to escape with his life from the battlefield on a speedy horse. But by predestination of the Almighty God, brave soldiers and knights,

beating down the people, stopped [him], and with the help of God and heavenly grace, captured him, [and] at the order of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] his highness hakan sent [him] from the city's fortifications to eternity.

Hakim-sheikh-bagadur-kushchi, whom Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the shelter of grandeur, entrusted with the position of atalik, was involved in the attack together with Kungurbay-kushchi, who was one of his closest associates and ichkians, and put Mahmud-Gazi-sultan and Sudayash-sultan to death.

[Thus, the soldiers of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], with the grace of the Almighty God, destroyed and dispersed the entire army of the enemy. Most of them were captured by troops of the shelter of victory. In line with Islamic traditions, Abu'l-Khayr Khan married the wife of Mahmud-hoja-khan, named Aganak-Begim-Bike, who was [as beautiful] as the moon, and lived a happy joyful life. [91] After the victory [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] turned the reins of his happy horse towards [his] august horde.

Troop leaders and nobleman of the court, the shelter of the caliphate, approached the throne [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the shelter of the caliphate's dignity, and offered him congratulations on the victory.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the sea of blessing and with the of Feridun, looked with mercy and affection on [his] army and gave order to organise a feast of happiness and joy and prepare all the items of joy and happiness that they [soldiers] wanted.

The wealth and spoils of war won by the troops [of Khan Abu al-Khair] from the enemy army, starting with apple-cheeked bond-maids, swift horses, camels, tents, armour, various weapons [and ending with] horse armour, were all brought to the doorstep of [Khan Abu al-Khair tent] the shelter of lords. And he offered everything to emirs and soldiers... He offered objects and belts to all high-ranking sultans and glorious emirs and promoted them.

When most of Desht-i Kipchak, with the help and grace of the Almighty God, came under the control of the lord of the horizon [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] and the mind of the lustrous hakan, the conqueror of countries, was free of thoughts about conquering the entire province [Desht-t Kipchak], ulus, aymak and tribes, shahinshah Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the shelter of grandeur, head of the great khans, triumphant [khan] ordered all the soldiers to go back home and have fun.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan], in the tradition of a ruler who takes care his subjects and spreads justice with his hand, caressing a friend and destroying an enemy, with dignity and pride together with his associates and servants, made enormous efforts and spent his time day and night in the court of the Almighty God [i.e., in a mosque] praying.

Story about how [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] sent troops towards Khwarezm

When [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], as glorious as Feridun, and noble emirs, with the help of the Almighty God and the grace of the Almighty, All-holy God, had spent some time celebrating, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] the conqueror of the world, wise and great ruler, like sunlight, began to wish, with the help of the Almighty God, to bring another province under [his] rule and conquer it and clean the entire territory of the state, roads, and routes of the opponent's ash and the enemy's evil.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan] gathered [one-time] troop leaders and brave [heads] of the triumphant army, the cream of glorious leaders: Kyl-Muhammed-sayyid, Kara-sayyid, Bakhtiyar-sultan, Adadbek-burkut, Kebek-hoja-bey-burkut, Buzunjar-bey-kiyat, Muhammed-bey-konrat, Khakim-sheikh-bagadur-kushchi, Kungur-bay-bagadur-kushchi, Tuli-hoja-bey-kushchi, Daulethoja-divan-kushchia, Akche-urus-kushchi, Kylych-bay-bagadur-uyghur, Sufi-bey-nayman, Kara-gusman-nayman, Hojalak-kurleut, Bagly-hoja-konrat, Yakhshi-bey-tarkhan, Kutlug Buka-tarkhan, Hankly-nayman, and other leaders of the triumphant army and after counsel and discussion told them [that he] had decided to conquer Khwarezm and wanted to head out for a fierce battle against the hakim of Khwarezm as soon as the troops were ready.

These emirs and the triumphant army leaders and other pillars of the state, owners of wealth, and masters of people were honoured to report to the padishah, the shelter of Islam: 'Whatever [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] decides to do, if it makes the world better and improves lives, 'the pillars of state suggested by God..., ' that will be the right faith, and will lead to the well-being of the empire and serve the state and people.' But [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the just and powerful padishah, high-ranking hakan and shelter of the universe, in his heart, sunlit by all-seeing rays, clearly understood that rumors about the rule and gran-

deur of Shakhrukh-sultan, the heir of the ruler Timur-Guregan and throne holder of Samarkand and Khorasan, had spread across the world, and all the lands from the borders of Rum to the remote countries of Hind, Persian and Arabic Iraq, Azerbaijan, Khorasan, Transoxiana, Turkestan, [as well as] to the borders of Kashgar and Badakhshan, were controlled by the governors of this high-ranking padishah, [and] Khwarezm [also] was associated with the divan of this shah, the center of justice, [for this reason] 'it [should] have been thoroughly considered and [everything] weighed.'

Given that His Majesty [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] hakan had high intentions, he did not pay attention to what his emirs told him and declared that: 'Since the state is the property of God, 'he gets anything he wants'—victory and help are by God's grace not by the number of troops. [For this reason], we want to carry out the decision we made, hoping by God's grace, that conquest of that province and its people was possible.' [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] turned his thoughts to the meaning of the words of hoja Abdal Ansari, a role model for all the saints, a place where the power of God was seen, 'let his high name be blessed.' 'If you decided not to give, then do not give' [i.e., if you have decided to do something, then do it] and headed out to the raging battle and [to] the conquest of Khwarezm.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan] made the bold decision to conquer Khwarezm and, acting in the traditions of hakans, conquerors of the world and [92] rulers of states, prepared the [army] for conquest, and appointed Bahtiyar-sultan, who was a crocodile in the sea of courage, as the leader of the vanguard. The great emirs and high-ranking leaders, whose presence ornamented and glorified the world and inhabitants of the world, i.e., the cream of the Sayyids—the source of glory and happiness—Kyl-Muhammed-sayyid and Karasayyid, Vakas-bey-mangyt, Buzunjar-bey-kiyat, and all the emirs, knights, and bagadurs, with God's help [and] brave actions, got the army ready and headed out to Khwarezm.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan] the triumphant khan, under the patronage of God, the kind giver, made the final decision to fight against the hakim of Khwarezm and, after ornamenting the centre of army with kingly brilliance and splendor worthy of a hakan, headed to Khwarezm. After several crossing and stops, Abu'l-Khayr Khan chose the outskirts of Khwarezm as the place for the army to halt, the shelter of victory.

The hakim of Khwarezm, the descendant of Shah-Melik-Bilkut, was occupied with fixing up the citadel and strengthening [its] towers and walls. But it was obvious to the clever and well-informed people that a partridge is helpless, it [is no match for] a hunting eagle.

The next day, early in the morning, Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the conqueror of the world, asked God for victory and help and then ordered bagadurs, soldiers, and other fighters to prepare the weapons of war and assassination and bravely head towards the citadel, [and] they lit the flame of war and assassination. When the hakim of the citadel saw what was happening, [then] he was horrified and afraid of the impressive look and actions of soldiers.

The nobility of the city, the eldest famous sheikhs, high-ranking scholars, owners of abstinence and religion, owners of knowledge and fatwas, began to give their advice and persuade the hakim of the citadel: 'It is useless to argue and fight against this padishah, the powerful khan, [who is] as splendid as Feridun. If he takes the city by war, battle, combat, and force, [then] our wives, [our] children, [we] ourselves, relatives, property, people, their wives, children, and servants of Muslims will become [their] spoil and captives, and then it will be too late to repent and feel sorry.' When the hakim heard this speech from the nobility [of Khwarezm], he lost his hope in the residents of the city and defenders of the citadel...

Sayyids, scholars, judges, owners, and other residents of the city of Khwarezm brought presents and gifts to the court of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the shelter of the state and, approaching the court of the shelter of the world with an expression of true friendship, gave to governor of the court [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] keys from the city and treasury.

[Thus], with God's help [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] easily conquered [the city]. Then Abu'l-Khayr Khan, like a heavenly force, dressed the residents of the city of Khwarezm in the honorary coat of mercy and tranquility and offered them a place under the shade of [his] mercy and justice.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the shelter of faith, when he, with the help and grace of the Almighty, all-holy God, was enthroned as the ruler spreading justice, he opened the doors of old treasure troves [and]

started to spread wealth among [his] troops. Suyunich-hoja-khan, from the khan's garden, told me, who recorded it: 'When Khwarezm was conquered, my father gave orders to open the treasury, which was collected with difficulty by the former lords, and told two of the great emirs to sit by the doors of the treasury, while all the leaders, people of the khan's retinue, and ordinary soldiers in pairs went inside, took what they were able to take, and left. In line with this khan's order, all the soldiers entered the treasury [in pairs], each took what he was able to take with him [without difficulty], and walked out. As a result, by the grace of God, the army enriched itself with gold and precious gems.'

[Then], when all the soldiers had gathered, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the khan of the sea of blessing, [khan] spreading justice, and a ruler who takes care of his subjects, looked at [the inhabitants of the city] and issued an order that [everyone] should obey, so that no creature could harm the property of Khwarezm residents and Muslims...

The story about why Abu'l-Khayr Khan, like Jupiter, returned from the city of Khwarezm [to Desht-i Kipchak].

When residents of the city of Khwarezm and the outskirts of the vilayet had spent some time [under the protection of] the sea of justice and blessing [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], as wise as Suleyman, by the predestination of God and heavenly fate, plague broke out in Khwarezm. [For this reason], the nobles of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan's] troops and glorious knights, who were used to the pure air of Desht-i Kipchak, felt ill from the rotten air of Khwarezm, and all the troop leaders told the khan, the heavenly palace, that in order to save the army from the horror of plague and the disasters of heat they should resolve to turn towards Desht-i Kipchak. [93]

Based on [this] forceful request of emirs and well-wishers [Khan Abu al-Khair], the high-ranking khan, decided to return and headed towards [his] horde. When [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], with the help of the Almighty God, returned to [his] horde, people from all sides and edges of Desht-i Kipchak came [to him] and were honoured to kiss the hakan's carpet, and the monarch's favour and grace...

The story about the battle and combat [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] against Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan and about their defeat at Ikri-Tup.

Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan, padishahs of the house of Jochi, did not submit [to Abu'l-Khayr Khan], and raising the standard of revolt and uprising, took the path of insubordination and disobedience.

For this reason [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], called Sayyids, holders of high knowledge, and sultans with glittering retinues, [and similarly] zveds, emirs, and glorious bagadurs and in a generous tone said: 'Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan took the path of disobedience and conflict, and setting their foot [of disobedience] on the path of dissent [with me], they took the path of uprising.' When [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the shelter of the world, stopped talking, the cream of descendants of His Majesty sayyid Al-Mursalin, said 'Let the Lord bless him, and grant him peace!', Kara-sayyid said that: 'The righteous Heaven and the Almighty God gifted [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the generous hakan, with the glory, grandeur, and talent of a padishah and commander, and troops are gathering around [his] palace and [for this reason], trusting in Allah [and] preparing the army, shall go and fight against them [Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan].' When the hakan heard this, the ruler's mettle and prince's jealousy surged up in him, and he immediately ordered his 'triumphant soldiers, the shelter of well-deserved victories, to prepare for a fight with Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan and immediately come to [his] palace.'

When the army, the shelter of God's help, had gathered around the palace of the hakan, like Feridun, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] after taking council [with emirs and troop leaders] resolutely turned towards Ikri-Tup, which was the enemy [of Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan] horde on that side; he put Bahtiyar sultan together with other famous emirs in the vanguard...

Vakas-bey-mangyt, Adad-bey-burkut, Buzunjar-bey-kiyat, Iagly-hoja-konrat, Timuroghlan-Suyunich-kylyi, Daylet-sufi-oghlantangan-bayly, Iarek-oghlantangan-bayly, Mane-oghlantangan, Tuly-hojakushchi, Kungur-bay-kushchi, Daulet-hoja-divan-kushchi, Hakim-sheikhkushchi, Kichik-bey-uyghur, Hasan-bey-uyghur, Iabagu-divan-uyghur, Hasan-oghlantangan-chimbay, Kutlugbuka-tarkhan, Yakub-durman-kushchi, Sheikh-Muhammed-bagadur-uysun, Kylych-bay-bagadur-uysun, Saryk-gusman-ukrishnayman, Abubekr-ukrishnayman, Timur-sheikh-bagadur-keneges, and other emirs and leaders of

troops glorified [by their presence] the left and right wings, raised the standards of God's help, and headed towards Ikry-Tup.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan], with the glory of Feridun and the happiest omen, with God's help and mercy, stood at the centre of the army and like Naudar and Iskander, cutting the ranks of the enemy army, marched out [against Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan].

When Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan learned of the arrival of the army [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the conqueror of the world, they started to gather the army in all earnestness. They sent messengers to all the subject provinces and the steppe and, asking them for help, started to prepare for battle [with Abu'l-Khayr Khan].

When the army of the enemy [of Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan] came face to face with the army of justice [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], as powerful as the heavenly force, he ordered poisoners to put poisoned rocks into the water and do their job.

When the poisoners, at the order of [Abu'l-Khayr] khan, whose orders are carried out [by everyone], eagerly started to do their job, by the omnipotence of the Lord God. A dark cloud of the Almighty and All-holy, like a black curtain, appeared in expanse of the world and put a blue veil on the bright sun, [and] sent elephants of speedy clouds across the heavens one after another, [and] raised huge waves in the blue sea, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the face of the army, the shelter of help, trusting in God, set out towards the enemy, [and] the sound of horses and cries of soldiers assaulted the ears of the sky, [and] with the help of the dark cloud, wind [and] lightning, the earth's padishah blinded the enemy, and you could read the fear and horror of Judgment Day on their faces. The wind of victory and God's help started to blow from the side [of Abu'l-Khayr] [94] of khan, the great and wise ruler. The night of conflict started the hunt for birds of spirit of enemies, and at the same time, the bright day of deluded people became a dark night.

[Warriors of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] put most of the brave enemy army leaders into the grave of scorn and shame, and the battlefield became purple-red with the bodies of the slain and blood of heroes like the rubies of Badakhshan.

When Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan saw with their own eyes what was happening, they [immediately] refused to continue the battle [further] and, giving up claims to supreme power and state, started to run from the army [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the shelter of God's help.

[Warriors of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] threw into the grave of scorn many soldiers and troop leaders [of Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan], who had the wind of arrogance, authority, and the wish to govern in their thoughts.

In this battle, the bagadurs of Abu'l-Khayr Khan's army, soldiers experienced in battle and heroes of combat showed courage, the art of bravery, and dedication, and they turned the surface of the battlefield red with the enemy's blood. Sheikh-Timur-Bagadur, in particular, crossed the water and, using his javelin, showed such signs of heroism and courage that both sides expressed praise and approval. Kungurbay-kushchi [also] crossed the water and with his heat-forged sword made so many blows killing enemies that he broke two swords. [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], khan of the Heavenly throne, beheaded most of the captured enemies.

The brave [warriors] of the triumphant army [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], followed the fugitives and captured boundless wealth and much property and returned [to Abu'l-Khayr Khan] cheerful and happy.

When the [warriors of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], with the boundless help of the Almighty, All-holy God, destroyed and dispersed the enemies, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] bent his knee to the padishah of padishahs [God] and, with a face full of sincerity and obedience, showing gratitude [for] the victory, gave thanks and praise, as humans do.

After [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the triumphant and successful khan, had shown his gratitude and praise, he headed out towards the horde of the most august Ordu Bazar, the capital of Desht-i Kipchak, which was the glory of the world's sultans, and became the governor of the khan's court, the shelter of the world. Khutbah [was read] here [for the name of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] and new coins [mint] with the glorious name and noble title of His Majesty [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] were put into circulation. [And after that], when the throne of Sayn-Khan [Batu] was occupied by the influential khan, the shelter of the

world, the court mulyazims, at the order of the hakan, the shelter of the world, started to organize the padishah's celebration and feast.

In this house of heaven, the monarch of the world [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] indulged in enjoyment. [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] honoured famous bagadurs and warriors, who in the battle [with Mahmud-khan and Ahmed-khan] tried hard and showed courage and bravery, with padishah coats and princely gifts, [and] he was also pleased to honour all the soldiers with property and horses of the enemy, caravans of camels, wagon-mounted pavilions, and tents and weapons. [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] provided his protection, various mercies, and justice to the population of Ordu Bazar and thus cut off the hands of violence of tyrants and oppressors.

Subjects and warriors [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] approached the court of the padishah of padishahs [God] and, lying on the ground and lifting up their hands in entreaty, asked God, who listens to all the entreaties and satisfies the needs of all the creatures, to increase happiness and offer eternal life to the ruler and the grandeur of the padishah, the shelter of Islam, and spent time in complete peace under the protection of the righteous ruler [Abu'l-Khayr Khan].

The story about the war [between Abu'l-Khayr Khan] and Mustafa-khan and his defeat with the help of God, who is asked for help, about the treason of Vakas-bey-mangyt against the heavenly khan. Against the All-seeing (Abu'l-Khayr Khan), and about the union of [Vakas-bey] with Mustafa-khan.

At that time of year, when spring had already drawn picturesque views all over the steppe, and the spring wind had removed the cover from well-watered bunches [of roses], the roses were covered with green thorns, and a gust of spring wind freed up the motley flower garden from trouble, Abu'l-Khayr Khan, khan of a powerful court, which was the spring flower garden of state and sovereignty and cypress tree of the garden of khalif dignity and monarchy, was sitting enthroned in the meadows in grandeur, which were as beautiful as the gardens of Heaven and competed with the garden of Heaven, refreshing life, the roving [his] troops of victory, approaching [him], were honoured to report that Mustafa-khan, with a large and numerous army and by the efforts of Vakas-bey, had prepared [his] own army and raised the standards of conflict, and was heading out [for a campaign] against the triumphant army [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan]. [Abu'l-Khayr] khan, the sea of grace, based on the Almighty God's grace, ordered, with the appropriate dignity [becoming to such a khan], the heavenly army to gather [around his palace] and prepare weapons to get ready for the battle.

Bakhtiyar-sultan and the great emirs and notorious bagadurs—that is: Buzunjar-bey-kiyat, Hash-nikda-oghlan-iijan, Tuli-hoja-bey-kushchi, Kungur-bay-kushchi, Hakim-sheikh-kushchi, Mahmud-bey-kunrat, Kylych-bay-bagadur-uyshun, Murat-sufi-utarchi, Saryk-Gusman-ukrishnayman, Sufi-bey-jat, Kebek-bey-kushchi, Hoja-mirza-jat, Hasan-oghlan-chimbay, Shadbehtbalh, Kutlug-buka-tarkhan, Abd-al-Malik-karluk, and other famous [bagadurs] and troop leaders prepared [for the battle] and, arranging the right and left wings, headed towards the battlefield.

Bakhtiyar-sultan, at the order of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], like heaven, with a troop of brave soldiers and bagadurs was in the vanguard, followed by the rest of the bagadurs and emirs of the left and right wings of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan's] army.

When two armies by the predestination of God approached each other, the sun put up [its] sword into night, and the shah of light covered the world with the curtain of the black army. The two armies came and stood facing each other, and [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], like a heavenly force, ordered the powerful and numerous soldiers, like a hunting lion, whose shining sword caused horror and turned fire into stone and iron into water, barred the enemy way from every side and cautiously prepared an ambush.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the great khakan, prepared his army on the same night, assigned brave soldiers and glorious bagadurs to the centre and both wings, and in the princely tradition put his determined foot into the stirrup, and with hope in God turned the reins of the world conqueror's restive horse toward the At-Basar River.

Dust ascended to the dome of heaven and a dark circle in the image of another world rose above the battlefield from the dust raised by the triumphant army [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan].

Mustafa-khan with his numerous army fearlessly started to move against [the army of Abu'l-Khayr Khan].

Sounds of trumpets and kettledrums from both sides began to rise up to the heavens. The two blood-thirsty armies, like fire and water, began to move, and the ground on the battlefield turned [red] like tulips from the blood of brave soldiers, and fire of fighting and slaughter was lit.

When the two armies clashed, sword-bearing bagadurs and brave knights [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] came out of the ambush of hatred, put on expressions of bravery, and evading the swords of hatred attacked [the army of Mustafa-khan], like heavenly fate. The enemies started to fight [against each other] and lit the fire of battle and combat by order of the Almighty God.

When the defiant and mutinous [warriors of Mustafa-khan] saw the sea of warriors [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the conqueror of the world, besieging them, like a fish out of the water they were dismayed and afraid of the Day of Judgment, and they felt the greatest fear, and dropping the reins of will [they] fled. Mustafa-khan expelled the great passion for leadership and being a padishah from his mind and fled together with the other fugitives. The army, the shelter of victory [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], with the help of Allah, turned its sword of bloodshed towards them, and so many enemy warriors were killed that even an accounting clerk could not count.

Mustafa-khan out of necessity gave up his claims to property, state, and family, safely escaped to the opposite bank of this bloody river on a skittish horse, and the majority of his retinue and servants, property, and wealth were taken by soldiers of [Abu'l-Khayr] khan, the standard of victory. It is said that 4, 5 enemy warriors were killed in that battle.

Among the pillars of the state and those in high positions and power, it is customary to say that, according to Allah's predestination, out a thousand killed men, one remains alive. [However,] very strangely and surprisingly, these words of reasonable men of wisdom, perspicacious savants of mysteries, were not proven correct this time. In short, while fleeing in extreme haste and excitement, Mustafa-khan could not tell the difference between the reins and the stirrup, descent and ascent.

After the defeat and flight of Mustafa-khan [Abu'l-Khayr], the Khan, a refuge of justice and Khakan, who in his wisdom was like Suleiman, gave praise and thanks to God the Almighty and the All-Holy, and whose scribes, at his orders, wrote 'The Tsar giveth to whomever he pleaseth, and taketh from whomever he pleaseth, and humiliateth whomever he pleaseth, ' and by the grace of the Almighty Creator, has returned victorious and powerful to the place of his abode.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan] gave orders to distribute all the wealth and spoils of war taken from the enemy troops to the sultans, emirs, and warriors depending on their position. [96]

The story about the campaign of the Khan, [the ruler] of horizons, to conquer the city of Sygnak.

When the victorious Khan [Abu'l-Khayr], with the help of God, whose help is sought, returned victorious and powerful from the battle with Mustafa-khan, it was the time of year when the sun that illuminates the world entered into the constellation of Libra, and from the rotation of the firmament, the nature of the world found its balance; and from the arrival of the ruler of autumn, the gardens and plantations scattered their gold, [then he], the Khan, like the firmament, with the help of his protector, for better wintering, decided to go and conquer the city of Sygnak and ordered the sultans, emirs, and leaders of the troops—that is, Bakhtiarsultan, Pishinda-oghlan-iijan, Vakas-bey-mangyt, Mane-oghlan-tangut, Hasan-oghlan-chimbay, Buzunjar-bet-kiyat, Daulet-hodja-divan-kushchi, Akche-urus-kushchi, Sheikh-sufi-nayman, Kylych-bey-bahadur-uysun, Mahmud-beg-konrat, Abubekr-ukrish-nayman, Ho-jalak-kurleut, Kichikbey-uighur, Hasan-bey-uighur to set out on a rapid march with a detachment of knights and bagadurs. The emirs and leaders immediately rushed out and quickly reached the fortress of Sygnak.

When he saw the large number and the greatness of the troops of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the Hakan, the Hakim of the city [of Sygnak], came to him in submission and obedience, surrendered the city to the emirs and servants of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] the Hakan, who is like Jupiter, and Ak-Kurgan, and Arkuk, and Suzak, and Uzgend also entered into possession of power and conquest of [his] governors.

[Abu'l-Khayr] Khan, who in his power [is like] the heavenly throne of Jamshid, offered the city of Suzak to Bakhtiyar Sultan, who is the sultan of sultans, turned the rule over Sygnak to Manedanoghlan and Uzgend to Vakas-bey-mangyt.

[Abu'l-Khayr] khan of inimitable glory, by the grace and favour of the Almighty and the sagest, after arranging for wintering, spent the winter in happiness and prosperity by engaging in hunting, merriment, and joy.

When the sun illuminating the world moved into the constellation of Aries, the place, which is the East, the world, and its inhabitants were delivered from the harsh and cruel frosts, and the expanses of gardens and fields, by the grace of the sultan of spring, put on their colourful clothes, like seven colours of brocade, and the whole steppe turned into an object of jealousy for the Chinese art gallery and the ninth sky, [and when] His Majesty [Abu'l-Khayr] the Khan, who is like Jupiter, decided to send his banners of victory towards Ilak, [then] came the news that the padishah, the refuge of justice, Mirza Shah-rukh Bahadur preferred eternal paradise to the inconstant world... and Ulugh Beg Guregan, a powerful ruler who achieved his desires, went with a large and infinite army of Khorasan. [Abu'l-Khayr], the highly placed Khan, checked the accuracy of this news, gathered the leaders of his troops, and said that the city of Samarkand was empty, Mirza Ulugh Beg had gone to Khorasan and Iraq, and that he wanted to turn resolutely toward the city of Samarkand. The emirs and sultans heeded the words of [Abu'l-Khayr], the Khan, who in his power is like Jamshid, with honour, and according to the order, the warriors in the retinue of [Abu'l-Khayr] khan, like Faridun, took the road.

Everywhere the army of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] went, the protection of Islam, the aymaks and tribes, farmers and nomads among the Tajiks and Turks came and presented them with gifts and offerings, showed obedience, and submitted to [their] orders and [thereby] showed the signs of service and wishes of every kind of well-being.

When the troops of [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the high-ranking Khan, came to the village of Shiraei [and], with glory made a stop [there], an order was issued, which was followed by the source of greatness, favour, and mercy—that is, 'To make sure that the warriors keep their hands off the property of farmers and nomads and do not harm or disturb crops and buildings of the vilayet people, and every person who violates this order will be brought by punishment [to the end] of his earthly existence.'

When the herald brought this [order] to the ears of the vilayet people, [they] came with the face of sincerity to the court of the padishah, who in his greatness is like Jamshid.

Emir Jalal ad-Din Bayazid, who was Hakim of Samarkand, together with the magnates, nobles, owners [of wealth and high ranks], and the ruler of the city, after sending to [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] those who were trustworthy among the great people of [that] time and emirs, and making offerings, made a strong request for peace, and said: 'In his benevolence and disposition, Sultan Ulugh Beg has so far created no guilt toward [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the governor of the heavenly palace, and he has [always] fulfilled the conditions on the one hand and showed submission, and if the Khan, the conqueror of the world, whose greatness is like the heavenly throne, extends his grace [97] shown to the property of farmers to all the subjects [and] directs his banners of return towards the august horde, [this] would be appropriate for the owner of the two worlds [the present and future worlds].'

The story of the initial deeds by Sultan Abusaid and his escape with the help of the padishah of the Glorious [God] to the Desht-i Kipchak, to the palace of [Abu'l-Khayr] khan, who is powerful like the heavens.

In the last days of the reign of Sultan Mirza Abd-al-Latif, Sultan Abusaid, whose clear face was illuminated by the grace of Allah with the brilliance of sultan and padishah power, fled toward the famed Bukhara. Like the new moon, he shed the light of happiness in the corners of Bukhara. [However,] some of the Bukhara nobles, like Maulyana-Shams al-din Muhammad-ordukuchi, the pride of savants and cream of purity, and other great descendants of the nobles took the prince under their protection.

At the same time, Sultan Abd al-Latif suddenly expressed the desire to leave the unenduring world for the eternal paradise. On the same day Sultan Abusaid rebelled and raised the banner of insubmission, [but] kazi, daruga, and the leaders of the troops, who were in Bukhara, fearing the prince Sultan Abd al-Latif, seized Prince Abusaid and kept him under arrest in a room, which like the soul of a sinner was narrow and dark. Some short-sighted people had made a conspiracy against Prince Abusaid and sought to extinguish, with the wind of injustice, the light kindled by the grace of God Almighty and full of splendor and contentment. [But] some of the nobles resisted it.

The next day, the news reached [Bukhara] that the bird of the soul of Mirza Abd al-Latif had left the cage of his body and flown from the abyss of this world to the highest position. When the news that Sultan Abd al-Latif had been murdered was confirmed, then all society, which [previously] dwelt in hostility towards Sultan Abusaid, [came to him] on the feet of respect and service and put Sultan Abusaid, the point of sultanate's resurgence, in alliance with the magnates, nobles, and people of that vilayet [of Bukhara], on the throne of the [state] rule that issues the orders. All the warriors and darugas of the city and its environs, girded themselves with a belt of obedience and accord, stayed at the home of service and servants of [Sultan Abusaid]. When the glorious city of sacred Bukhara became the possession of Sultan Abusaid, this opened the gates of justice and mercy for the people of that vilayet. [Sultan Abusaid] shortened the people's arm of cruelty and hostility and other holders of insubmission and disobedience so that they could not reach the property of Muslims.

When the army of Bukhara, with the help of the Lord God who achieves his desires, gathered in the palace of the glorious Sultan [Abusaid], who, with the help of the Lord God, achieves his desires, then [he] expressed his dissatisfaction with [his] initial position and the lack of independence as the holder of supreme power in Bukhara, and [therefore], with the purpose of high intention, he decided to conquer Samarkand, the city of heavenly beauty. Although some nobles and emirs said that 'Mirza Abdullah has an abundant treasury and a well-equipped army, [and] it makes no sense to fight against these capabilities and this army,' but Sultan Abusaid declared: 'This decision has firmed up in [my] thought, [and we] will implement it.' [After that,] Mirza Sultan Abusaid left Bukhara for Samarkand with a firm intention to fight Abdullah. When this news reached the ears of Prince Abdullah, he gathered a large army and, after adorning its right and left wings with the brave men of courage and well-known bahadurs, went into battle.

When the armies of enemies met, and the sounds of trumpets and kettledrums reached the highest point of the sky painted in gold, the knights of both armies attacked each other. By the turn of the firmament [i.e., fate] and [by] predestination of the Almighty Creator, [the defeat fell] on the [troops] of Sultan Abusaid. For this reason, [Sultan Abusaid] fled the field of battle and, with God's help, went toward Turkestan. Prince Abdullah returned to his capital victorious and happy, joyful, and cheerful.

In the hope that the august arm would bring into action the state falcon, Sultan Abusaid wandered in Turkestan regions, like a roaming spring wind, so that with the help of luck he could capture the fortress of Yassa, which is one of the most important fortresses in Turkestan.

When the glory of greatness and the conqueror of the lands, the glory of the conqueror of the world that rules the entire world, Khakan Abu'l-Khayr Khan, who by the grace of God is like the sun illuminating and warming the world, spread to the East and West of the universe, the happy tsarevich [and] brave Sultan Abusaid who, as a result of harassment from his brothers and and injustice of fate, wandered like the spring wind, had, after numerous difficulties and countless disasters, with the help of the Almighty Creator, by predestination of the firmament, taken the city of Yassa into his possession. After conquering the city of Yassa, [Sultan Abusaid], under the persuasion and inspiration of God, went to the palace [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the refuge of sultans, His Majesty the Khakan, who in his power is like the heavens.

After a series of stops and marches, [Sultan Abusaid], when he reached the august horde [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], he was given the honour of being in the suite of [Abu'l-Khayr] the highly placed Khan. Given that such was the universal grace of the padishah and the high favour of the tsar [to [98] Sultan Abusaid on the part of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], who showed respect and esteem for the arrival of this prince, distinguished him with various high honours and ordered to be placed for him a royal tent and fence and a covered courtyard for an audience.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan] appointed some people from among the respectable and experienced emirs, with excellent wit and whose advice he trusted, to the company and suite of aforementioned padishah [Abusaid] and ordered that they should follow his secret and open actions and words and report everything to [him]. [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] who, in his wisdom, is like Suleiman, called emirs, nobles, sultans, generals and, after [holding] a meeting on the advice of the pillars of the state and [with] the approval of state officials, firmly decided to conquer Samarkand and ordered that his army, the shelter of victory, should be gathered at the court of the refuge of the universe.

After the army of victory of [Abu'l-Khayr] khan, with the gift of Feridun, had gathered, [he] held a feast in honour of Sultan Abusaid and gave him the gifts of padishah, including the tsar's robe and other items of luxury and splendor—that is, excellent horses, caravans of camels, tents and pavilions on wheels, curtain and royal tent. [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] also exalted the emirs and leaders of his army with the Khakan's gifts, addressed Sultan Abusaid in a language of generous declarations, and deigned to say: 'With the help of Allah the Almighty and the All-Holy, I want to go with all my army, servants, and entourage towards Samarkand, and when (this region), with the help of God—Let him be great and praised!—will be captured by my victorious army and the enemies of faith, state, and people will be crushed and defeated, then I will give you the throne and rule of Samarkand and [afterwards] I will return to my capital...'

...When, with the grace of the Creator, the army, distinguished by the divine assistance, was put in order and arranged, [Abu'l-Khayr] khan, who in his greatness is like the heavens, and padishah, who in his wisdom is like Jamshid, ordered that Sultan Bakhtiyar, the glory of sultans, who in his bravery and courage was like the third most powerful Asfendiyar with a body made of copper, should go in the vanguard of the victorious army, and the glorious and brave emirs of [that] time—that is, Burunjar-bey-kiyat, Muhammad-beg-kungrat, Tuli-hoja-kushchi, Daulet-hoja-divan-kushchi, Kungur-bey-kushchi, Akche-urus-kushchi, Pishkendi-oghlan-iijan, Suyunich-Kutly-Timur-oghlan, Barack-oghlan, Shaykh-Mahmud-bahadur-uysun, Timur-shaykh-bahadur-keneges, Kylych-bey-bagaduruysun, Iakhshi-bektarkhan, Iabagu-beg-masit, Kutlugh-buka-tarkhan, Iaghly-hoja-konrat, Uruskonrat, Yakub-beg-durman, Karakedey-durman, Dulatak-bey-durman, Anikey-hoja-durman, Kara-tirchik, Kuday-bey, Hojalak-kurleut, Jamaduk-bey-tupay, Yadygar-bagadur-tupay, and other warriors should adorn with their presence the left wing of the victorious army and go to the battle, and that Saryg Shiman-mangyt, Timur-hoja-mangyt, Sufi-beg, Kara-gusmannayman, Birim-hoja-bagadur-uighur, Yabagu-bagadur-uighur, Bahti hoja, Shadi-beg-malik, Hasan-oghlan-beychimbay, Bey-shaykh-uighur, Abd al-malik-uighur, Timur-shaykh-bagadur-keneges, Gusman-bagadur-kudagai, Ayuke-bagadur-keneges, Tulu-hojanaiman, and other bahadurs and knights of the victorious army should also adorn by the presence the right wing and, by raising the banner of conquest and victory, go towards the city of Samarkand.

When the army, the shelter of divine assistance, with Allah's help, has been brought to perfection and put in order, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the Khan, who in his power is like Suleiman, and Khakan, the refuge of the world, adorned the centre of the army with their regal glory and greatness of the conqueror of universe...

When the Khan and Sultan of ninth heaven, the tsar of four climates, padishah of the collection of stars, like the nomad camps, raised the banners of the sultanate on his northern 'houses,' it was very hot, and the air was heated to the extreme, and then [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] the Khakan of heavenly forces, ordered to yadachi experts to engage in their work of yada so that the troops, the shelter of victory, could pass across the steppe without obstacles, and when those people became engaged in the work of yada and started to use the stones [yada] [and], on the orders of the lord of the universe and omnipotent God, the blue cloud of the summer, like the clouds [in the month] of Nisan, began to pour rain, and precious pearls from the sky-blue casket started to fall on the green and blooming carpet, then the air cleared from the ashes of dust with the help of the rain. [As a result], the warriors [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], the shelter of divine help and victory, easily passed through the infernal desert.

Prince Abdullah, the son of Sultan Ibrahim, who was padishah of Samarkand, Turkestan, and all the cities of Transoxiana, Kabul, and Badakhshan, when he learned about the movement of the victorious army [99] [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], he ordered that all commanders of the troops should come to the court. When the troops assembled in the palace, [Prince Abdullah] ordered that the doors of the treasures of Timur-Guregan, collected from all over the world, should be opened and that the warriors should be given the best [precious] cups and scales. [By doing this, Prince Abdullah] adorned his army so much that[even] thousands of celestial eyes had rarely seen such a magnificent and adorned army. [Abdullah led this army] out of the city and went to the battle [with Abu'l-Khayr Khan and Sultan Abusaid].

After several days and nights the armies drew close to each other. On the banks of the Bulangur River, in the steppe of Keyvan, in the district of Shiraz, the troops became agitated. To the north of the

river, on the edge of [its bank], lined up the army of His Majesty [Abu'l-Khayr], the Khan, who is like Feridun, and to the south of the above river stopped the army of Shah Abdullah by lining up its columns.

On the order of the Lord of the lords, simurg of the sun hid in the west behind the mountain of Kaf fearing the impressive sight of [these] troops, who were constantly attacking and retreating, and again the whitish-silver day disappeared into the shelter of darkness, [and] the necklace of the Pleiades from the highest sphere of heaven appeared in the form of shattered debris on a meadow dotted with tulips. The sun hid [its] face in a place of solitude and put [its] feet in the bedroom of sunset, and Bahram—the bloodsucker—drew his bloodied sword from the scabbard. The heavenly judge took a seat on four pillows of the silver sky. The hindu of the seventh castle appeared in the corner of the heavenly roof. And these two armies of countless and belligerent men of courage dismounted and stood against each other... The guards and sentries appointed from each army began to guard [them and stayed] up until the sun again stretched [its] wings that propagate the light in all directions of the universe, and the appearance of the banner of the Shah transformed the set of banners of the fortunate Sultan Zengibar.

[In the morning,] the warriors of the adversaries stood face to face. On each side people hit the kettledrums, drums and began to play the trumpets and horns, and [their] sound reached the firmament, and the firmament began to tremble from neighing of horses and shouting of pehlivans.

[Abu'l-Khayr] khan, who is the conqueror of the world, the khakan, who in his wisdom is like Solomon, the throne of padishah of heavenly servants, [the khakan] who breaks the ranks of enemies and has the heavenly splendour of a man with a body made of copper, put the foot of strong resolution in the stirrup of the horse that belongs to the conqueror of the world, and with the hands of hope he took the reins of the horse that belongs to the conqueror of the world, and like Iskander he took the place at the centre of [the Army], and famed sultans and highly placed emirs stood on the right and left wings...

Prince Abdullah who, for considerable time, was brought up in the rosary of sultans and had the dignity of a caliph, when he examined the numerous army [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] made of those who seek the splendour of battles, he made the right and left wing of his own army like an iron mountain by including in it the men of courage and warriors from the Ulus of Chagatay, who spent a long time in the conquest of the world and other countries. The steppe field has become like a decorated heaven from the glitter of pikes, swords, helmets, shields, and multicoloured banners. In such a manner and with such greatness, [Abdullah] came to fight with the victorious army [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] by adorning the ranks of his troops with brave warriors and famous men of courage as well as by bringing in order the weapons for the battle, and after igniting the fire of war and adversity he moved forward. As it is said, the two belligerent armies met each other and like two fiery mountains came into terrible excitement. The battlefield [covered] with armour-clad warriors and warriors in mail became like an iron mountain, and, from the glitter and strikes of swords, the air over the battlefield turned fiery. By the efforts and zeal of the brave warriors and courageous knights, the heads of fighters, like the balls, rolled over the field, the mail on opponents' bodies was ripped like paper on a lamp. From the clashes and attacks of bahadurs and brave men from both armies, the celestial lion shook like a reed in the water. At this time, Sultan Bakhtiyar, who was a crocodile of the sea of deception and a leopard of the mountain of ruse, with a sword steeped in deadly blood, rushed like a furious lion at the enemy and, with the blood of the enemy, made the face of the earth look like a sea of blood. From the other side, Sultan Abusaid and other famous and big horsemen, experienced in military affairs, like the heavenly fate rushed by divine predestination. [100] into the steppe of the battle, and, from the glitter of lances and swords as well as strikes of pikes and pole axes, the day of the enemy has darkened like the night of death.

The brave men and commanders of the army of Prince Abdullah also exerted their efforts in the attacks and the battle in order to be honoured by the awards of the padishah. When the warriors [on both sides] like lions came together in the battle [with each other, they] used [all] the opportunities that were there [to show] bravery and courage, but the warriors [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], who in his wisdom is like Suleiman, rushed to the attack and threw most of enemy bahadurs and brave men into the grave of insignificance and contempt.

From the corpses of those who were killed and the blood of the enemy, the steppe battlefield turned purple, and from the steppe slaughter and the battle place the streams of blood bubbled like the blue sea.

Reflecting the blood, the firmament became colourful, and [the reflection of] the celestial moon floated in a sea of blood.

Prince Abdullah, who was not similar to Rustam the Brave and Asfendiar the Bronzed, and who wished on the day of battle to try his strength against a lion-like padishah [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], languished like a fox that had shortened its paw in a fight and fled.

According to divine predestination, the brave spirits of the army, the victory shelter [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], having overtaken Prince Abdullah, who wished to flee [from the battlefield], saving his soul, on a light-footed horse, was taken prisoner, [and] by order of the throne [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], issuing decrees, was sent out of the city fortifications of existence into the world of eternity. A young shoot from the happy garden of Timur-Guregan and a rose bush as fresh as a garden of roses Ibrahim sultan, in a strong wind of divine predetermination, fell in the grave of contempt. Prince Abdullah was murdered on the 10th of dzhumad ul-Ulya 855 AH [July 1451 AD], and most vityazes and pehlivans from the Chagatay Ulus became captives of the servants of [Abu'l-Khayr] the heavenly Khan. All [the bodies of] the wounded and dead made the steppe battlefield and the very place of the battle look like mountains and hills.

[When the battle ended, Abu'l-Khayr] Khan, the conqueror of the world, on the occasion of victory ordered the bahadurs, brave men, and other troops to liberate the captives and to withdraw the hand of usurpation and possession from their subjects' property.

When the Shah of all the planets, victorious and sovereign, from the realm of heaven proudly made his way to the skyline of sunset, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] the padishah, as wise as Suleiman, and the autocrat by the grace of God, steered his skittish stallion towards the august horde.

When the aforementioned padishah [Abusaid], with the divine help and [with] the blessings of Khakan [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], established himself on the throne of governing [Samarkand] and power, then, according to the pillars of the state and the rulers of the army and people, he gave 'the greatest cradle and the finest veil, the glory of women, ' the daughter of the sultan, a martyr and a blissful Khakan, Ulugbek-Guregan—'may the Lord lighten his tomb!'—Rabiga-sultan-Begim with [all] the luxury and splendour, by the custom of the faithful sultans, in marriage to [Abu'l-Khayr] Khan, as powerful as Suleiman.

The story about the battle of the heavenly Khakan with the padishah of the Kalmyks

When [Abu'l-Khayr] the Khan of his time, victorious and happy, with the glorious sultans and the army, enemy hunters, with the help and support of the Supreme Creator, arrived in Desht-i Kipchak, he indulged in kindness, justice, and mercy towards the nomads and [also] to merriment and joy.

At this time, when Uz-Timur-Taisha, the padishah of the Kalmyks, heard about the greatness and power of [Abu'l-Khayr] the high-standing Khan, the fire of envy blazed in his chest, full of hatred. Uz-Timur-Taisha gathered emirs, bahadurs, and the chiefs of his troops and said: 'Abu'l-Khayr Khan has secured great wealth and numerous weapons and engaged in merriment in his summer quarters. We should gather the victorious troops and attack him unexpectedly.' The chief of the troops and the leaders of troops of this errant [Khan] said that the words of the padishah, asylum of the world, made sense.

Uz-Timur-Taisha ordered the soldiers to bring the weapons in order and to present themselves at his court. The next day all the impious warriors prepared countless weapons and, according to the order of the Khan [Uz-Timur-Taisha], with their wives and family members set out [on the campaign]. When [they] reached the banks of the river Chu, [then] they left their wives and folks and carts and went further [without any baggage] on a raid.

[Thus] The Khan of Kalmyks with the countless army, so large that the dust of the horses' hooves made the mirror of heaven damp and dark like a grave, [and] the calculation would make a mathematician exhausted, and the width and length of the troops on a big road would scarcely let a traveler pass, made his way into battle and struggle.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan], equal in position to Feridun, after having verified [the news about] the campaign of Uz-Timur-Taishi against him, ordered that the famous sultans Bakhtiyar-Sultan and Ahmed-Sultan together with some of the glorious sultans, emirs bearing revenge, and victorious bahadurs should go ahead of the troops. Kyl-Mohammed-sayyid, Kara-Sayyid, Buzunjar-bey-kiyat, Hassan-ogh-

lan-chimbay, Pishinkde-oghlan-iijan, Mustafa-oghlan-balgyjar, Timur-oghlan-suyunich-kylyi, Muhammad-beg-konrat, Daulet-hoja-divan-kushchi, Tuli-hoja-bey-kushchi, Kungurbay-kushchi, Kibek-bey-kushchi, Saryg-Shiman-mangyt, Abubekrnayman, Yaqub bey-durman, and other bahadurs and warriors, facing the enemy, went to the place Kuk-Kashane...

[Thus Abu'l-Khayr] Khan, the conqueror of the world, with bahadurs, who crush swords, and soldiers, who defeat armies, like a raging sea, went [to battle with the Kalmyks] ...

... When [the warriors of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] reached the place Kuk-Kashane, [then] the soldiers of enemy troops seemed like an iron mountain [to them].

When both troops, following the predetermination of the Supreme Creator, met each other, the sounds of kettledrums and trumpets [coming] from each side reached the vault of heaven and the seat of the moon and the pleiades.

The Khan of the Kalmyks, despite the vast number of [his] troops, sent one of his most famous warriors so that [he], stepping in the middle of the battlefield, communicated to the padishah, asylum of Islam, the message of peace and harmony. The messenger, reaching the middle of the battlefield, loudly declared:

'Do not let the sweat stand out of shirts, do not let the blood come out of heroes' bodies.' [However,] Bakhtiyar-Sultan and the other famous [bahadurs], contrary to the idea of the poem 'Peace is better than any imprudence,' carelessly ignored that peace, [and] when the pen of divine predestination fore-ordained these two faithful sultans [Bakhtiyar-Sultan and Ahmed Sultan] and glorious bahadurs to die a death of martyrs for the faith, they did not heed the words of peace and concord, the signs of reason. Being extremely brave and courageous, [they] did not take into account the number of enemy troops and launched the fire of attack and battle.

The dust of the battlefield reached the vault of heaven and the bloodthirsty enemy warriors, blood-suckers, pouring with anger, attacked [and], like the lions of battles and the leopards of mountains, redoubled the stabs of arrows, poleaxes, and swords. From the blood [of the wounded and dead] the battlefield turned mahogany-coloured.

Bakhtiyar-Sultan and Ahmed Sultan, who [first], like enraged lions and mighty elephants, attacked the enemy and in every attack knocked down whole groups of warriors, [but] eventually became exhausted, and their adversaries, like a dark fate, encircled [these] two glorious sultans and put them to the death of martyrs for their faith. [Abu'l-Khayr] Khan, likened to Bahram in battle and Jupiter [in] rage, learned of this situation. The brave men of both militant troops attacked each other [and] rained down swords and daggers on each other's heads.

The air over the battlefield, filled with the sounds of mail and the warriors' armour, was noisy as a roaring sea. The wind of victory blew from the enemy's side.

[Abu'l-Khayr Khan], taking command of the battle, headed toward the city of Sygnak. [Abu'l-Khayr] the heavenly Khan arrived in Sygnak, [and meanwhile] the army of the enemy began plundering and ravaging the population. When [Abu'l-Khayr] the heavenly Khan fortified in Sygnak, the padishah of the Kalmyks sent a man [to him] offering peace and concord again [and], as a result, concluded an agreement [with] Abu'l-Khayr Khan. But the warriors of the Kalmyks' Khan even before the conclusion of peace had devastated the outskirts of Turkestan, Shahruhiya, and inhabitants of the Tashkent outskirts. After the conclusion of peace Uz-Timur-Taisha steered the reins of determination and power hastily through Sairam in the direction of the river Chu, where his carts and folks were. From there, together with all [his] army he made his way to Kalmykia, his inherited appanage.

Abu'l-Khayr Khan, after the departure of Uz-Timur-Taishi, left the city of Sygnak [and], gathering people and ulus together, engaged in the affairs of state and his subjects, and bringing the troops, asylum of victory, in order. In a short time, thanks to the goodness, justice, and mercy of God, Desht-i Kipchak became the object of envy of the ninth highest celestial sphere.

When all the servants and nomads of Desht-i Kipchak had come under the control of Abu'l-Khayr, the Khan, whose orders they fulfill, he, happily and victoriously, by the grace and generosity of God, established himself on the throne of the world Caesar and world conqueror.

The prince Muhammad-Juki, who was the son of Abd al-Latif, after awhile, with the help of a guide, leading to happiness, went the right way towards an august horde of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, shelter of the caliph's dignity, who was the Qiblah of sultans of [his] time and the Kaaba of khakans of supreme virtues. When he reached the tsar's threshold, he had the honour of kissing the Khakan's hand. [Abu'l-Khayr] Khan, the sea of benefactions, the abode of God's omnipotence rule, gave him [102] a place under the patronage of his mercy...

The highly-respected wife of the heavenly Khan [Abu'l-Khayr], the Queen of Bardi and Bilkis of [her] time, Rabiga-Sultan Begim, who was a paternal aunt to the prince, arranged entertainments and favours for her nephew.

Muhammad-Juki Mirza with a serene soul, enjoying the peace, was engaged in prayers in the house of the Khan, who was like Suleiman.

After some time, when the Sultan Abusaid Mirza was busy conquering Khurasan, Mazanderan, and other regions of Iran, Muhammad-Juki Mirza, who laid claim to rule Samarkand and the state inherited from the father, asked Abu'l-Khayr, a Feridun-like Khan, for the army so that, with the help of God and [with] the blessings [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], he could bring the state and Samarkand under the throne of his possession. His Majesty [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] agreed to send the sultan Pishkendioghlan with a group of emirs and bahadurs toward Samarkand, to accompany Muhammad-Juki.

When Desht-i Kipchak that stood out from the other vilayets by the charm of water and air, from one border to the other, [including] the [seat of the] throne of Sain Khan, was brought under the control of the servants [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], Saturn-like, the justice and mercy of the heavenly padishah [Abu'l-Khayr Khan] established peace among the people and their belongings. The glory of the innate tsar's traits of justice and kindness [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] spread all around the world.

The items of greatness and world's conquest, the affairs of governing and reign [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] by the grace of God the Almighty and All-Holy reached the highest degree of perfection and the highest degree of power.

When he was 57 years old, in 874 AH, corresponding to the year of the Mouse, [Abu'l-Khayr Khan], hearing the call of a high-flying falcon, the spirit, full of grace—'Oh, the soothed soul, come back to your Lord, he will treat you mercifully'—wished to move to the supreme abode, the paradise and, having left the state, according to his incomparable will, to his glorious and happy sons, preferred eternal paradise to the perishable world.

8. Siberian Chronicle (concise Abramov edition of the Yesipov's Chronicle, 17th century)

Published in: N. Dvoretzkaya, P. Medvedev New Copy of the Siberian Chronicle edited by Abramov // New Materials on the History of Siberia in the Pre-Soviet Period. Novosibirsk, 1986.

So this is a Siberian northern country situated at the distance of 2000 day-journeys from the great reigning city of Moscow in Russia. Between these two great kingdoms, the Russian and the Siberian, the lands are surrounded by the Kamen (the Rock) of such height that it could reach the clouds in the sky; God arranged it that way, and it stands like a city wall. On this Kamen grow different trees: cedars and others. And there live various beasts: some of them are meant for a faithful Christian's food, the others are for decoration and for garments; these beasts are deer, elk, hare, goat, wild pig; and the ones for decoration are fox, sable, beaver, glutton, lynx, squirrel, ermine, otter, and the others like that. There are also various songbirds and many grass birds. From this Kamen spring many rivers: some of them flow to the Russian kingdom, some of them to the Siberian marvellous land, as God created there such rivers that they wear away solid stone. They are wide and very beautiful, in their water sweet and good there is a great number of different kinds of fish; the valleys of these rivers are fertile in crops and pasture and are very extensive.

The first river springing from the Kamen to the Siberian land is called the Tura. Along that river live people, called Vagulich by the foreigners, they speak their own language and worship idols. The river

Tagil and the second river, Nitsa, flow into the river Tura—all the three rivers merge, but the name Tura is given to them as it is the oldest. From there the Tura flows into the Siberian land; along that river live people called the Tatars. The river Tura flows into the river Tobol, the Tobol flows into the Irtysh, the mouth of the latter joins the great river Ob. Along the river banks live various peoples: the Tatars and the Kalmyks, the Mungals and the Piebald Horde, the Ostyaks and the Samoyads, and the other pagans. The Tatars observe the law of Mohammad, the Kalmyks' law or the tradition of their ancestors is unknown because there is no written or spoken word about it. The Piebald Horde, the Ostyaks, and the Samoyads do not have law, they worship the idols, and make sacrifices to them as to a god, who, by a miraculous cunning of no purpose, rules their houses, and they bring the donations to their idols according to what their idols give them, and there are many riches in their houses. These people are likened to cattle as cattle does not speak: it does not eat what God does not let them: animals or birds or green grass. These people are not like that because they know neither God in the sky, nor His law, they eat raw meat of beasts and reptiles, drink the blood of animals, eat grass and roots. They, the Ostyaks, make clothes from fish. The Samoyads eat deer and other beasts and reptiles and are called the raw eaters. The Ostyaks ride on dog sleds over long distances; the Samoyads ride on deer sleds sometimes, they make a sled of a half-man height so that a man could sit there.

And the great river Ob's mouth flows into the sea gulf. The way goes through this gulf to the rivers Tazha and Mangazey; and that sea gulf's two mouths flow into the ocean right to the north. In these mouths the ice is age-old and is kept away from the sun's heat, nobody can go there, to that strange place.

The Siberian tsars and princes

If you go up the Irtysh river in the Siberian land, there is a river called Ishim, the mouth of which flow into the Irtysh. And on that river Ishim there was a tsar of Mohammad's law—his name was On. And rose the men of the common people from his country against him, led by Chingin who opposed On, the tsar, like an outlaw with his people, and Chingin killed On and seized the kingdom. And some of On's servants kept On's son, named Taibuga, safe. After some time the Tsar Chingin learned about Taibuga, Tsar's On son, and he did him great honour and gave him the principedom and the power. Having accepted all that, Prince Taibuga asked Tsar Chingin to let him go. Tsar Chingin, having gathered the armed warriors, let Taibuga go along the river Irtysh where Chut lived. Prince Taibuga with his army conquered many peoples that lived along the river Irtysh and the river Ob and he happily returned home. Tsar Chingin, having heard from Taibuga that he had conquered many people and made them his subjects, especially honoured him. Taibuga, asking Tsar Chingin to let him go, wanted to settle somewhere. So went Taibuga with all his households and folks to the river Tura and he built a city there and called it Chingiden, now at that very place the city of Tyumen is situated. Taibuga lived for many years in the city of Chingin and then died. After him, Taibuga, was left a son named Khodzha. After Khodzha ruled Mar, Mor's children, Abalak and Oder. Prince Maman was married to a sister of Kazan's tsar Upak. That Kazan's tsar Upak killed his son-in-law Maru and seized the city and ruled for many years. Meanwhile, Maram's children Abalak and Oder died a natural death. After that Oder's son Mammet ruled the city and he killed the Kazan's tsar Upak and built his own city Chingiden. From there he went to the Siberian lands and built a city on the Irtysh River, naming it Siberia, in their foreign language it means the first city. He reigned there for many years and died there, that is why the kingdom is called Siberia.

Siberia and why it was called Siberia

When Ider's son Mamet defeated tsar Upak and ordered the building of a city in Siberia in honour of this victory and to demonstrate his prowess, and he ordered that it be named Siberia, all other Siberian cities were named either according to their ancient names or upon discussion. Altogether they were called Siberia, just like the Roman country Italy was named after Italib who owned the evening countries, as reported in the Latin Chronicles, there are a number of different Roman countries altogether called Italy. Its previous name is not known, and now it is known as Siberia. Chut used to live in Siberian lands, but no one knows what name it had. After Mamet, Abalak's son Agish reigned, after Agash Mamet's son Kasyn reigned, Kasyn was followed by his children—Itigar, Ubuk, Bulat, and Seydak.

Tsar Kuchum

Tsar Kuchum, Murtaza's son, came across the steppes with his troops of the Cossack Horde and entered Siberia. He killed all the princes and Tatars, as well as Bekbulat ubi, and started reigning as Siberian Tsar Kuchum, and imposed yasaks on his new lands. And he became arrogant and died in accordance with the prophet's words, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble. Tsar Kuchum reigned for many years in Siberia in well-being and joy, and he collected taxes until God interfered and decided to ruin his empire and to allow it to be conquered by Christians.

Tsar Kuchum's faith

That was Tsar Kuchum's law, and Mamet's law was applied in his territory, and it said to worship and offer sacrifices to idols.

Holy apostles wrote their rules and spread them around the world, and they said, those who obey Mamet's laws and testaments shall be accursed, so shall an idolater be cursed and excluded from the tsar's army; and all his people rebelled against it, and even troops supported them in their rioting. It seems that God unleashed his fury on them, on Tsar Kuchum and his people, because he did not obey God's laws and worshipped idols and not God, as if they had not known about the Israeli people who made a golden calf and worshipped it instead of God in the time of Moses. 'These are your gods, Israel.' And God unleashed his fury on them, sending snakes to eat them. And those stung by a snake died; and God took compassion and suggested that Moses should make a copper snake, place it on a stick in the form of the future cross, and forbid them to worship anyone but God, and they took the cross and started praising God. And this was followed by other plagues—famine, ulcers, captivity, war and devastation—and Moses said to those people: 'Wrath is coming.' And so God saw this and grew angry with their sons, as their daughters were sacrificed to idols, and God said: 'I will turn my face away from them, they put me into a rage with their idols.' And God takes care of us like a bird does its chicks, and God turned his face away from those idolaters who forsook their God for idols and blood sacrifices to them. And He sent down famine, plague, and fire to them, he beat them with stones and with two-edge swords, killing and ruining their temples where they worshipped idols.

The conquest of Siberia by Yermak and his troops

After that God cleared the holy space and defeated the Muslim tsar Kuchum, destroying their impious temples. And God chose neither noble men nor tsar voivodes, but he armed cossack chieftain Yermak and his 540 cossacks ready to die for glory and the true faith, they stood strong and brave against the infidels and did not think on good food or a life of ease. They preferred battles and did not sleep, and God helped them against the infidels. They shed their blood and fasted, they were injured by arrows sent by unorthodox Hagarenes, and they tried to cover their wounds; and the Hagarenes stopped them, God's hand helped them. It was written: fear not giants, beasts nor crocodiles because you have an advocate of all force and power. And warriors relied on God and said: 'They proudly died for Christ and the Russian orthodox faith, they suffered and served our tsar.' Because it's not the warrior who achieved victory but God. These words are true: a few cossacks could defeat the infidels and subdue them, and they celebrated their victory freely all around the free Siberia. And there they built a city and churches because there had been pagan temples, and now they were all ruined, and the Holy Trinity reigned over the land and the created God was worshipped according to the prophet: Yet their voice goes out into all the earth, their words to the ends of the world. The holy apostles were sent to preach in different countries.

In the summer of 7089 troops from the Volga came to Siberia, part of the empire of the pious Tsar and the Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich, Tsar of all Russia. They moved along the Chusovaya River and reached the Tagil, sailed along the Tagil and the Tura, and reached the Tavda. At the mouth of the river the Tatar Taiuzak, tsarevich of Kuchum's court, told them everything about Tsar Kuchum. As Tsar Kuchum learned about the Russian troops and their bravery, he grew angry and issued a call to his people to come and fight against the Russians. Shortly, many Tatars, Ostyaks, and Voguliches as well as other people obeying him came to him. The tsar sent his son Mametkul and his troops to fight against the invaders; whereas Kuchum ordered the building of an abatis near the Irtysh River close to Chuvash and make an earth mound and fortifications. Mametkul and his troops arrived in Babasany district. Yermak

and his cossacks were frightened upon seeing so many infidels and had a fight with them, and beat them, and the infidels left the battlefield. And the cossacks remained intact and sailed along the Tobola in their boats. The Tatars began firing arrows at the cossacks' boats, but the cossacks went by, and God kept them safe.

About Karachin Ulus.

Yermak and his cossacks sailed along the Tobola and reached Karachin Ulus; there lived his dunnoy Tsar Kuchum's Tatar named Karacha. The cossacks fought with Karacha and conquered his ulus, took his treasures, and filled their boats with tsar's honey. The cossacks then reached the Irtysh and anchored at the Knyazhya River; the infidels went ashore, some mounted, others on foot. The cossacks went ashore and attacked the infidels and defeated them, and the latter took flight. Tsar Kuchum, seeing his people run, went together with his people. The cossacks sailed up the Irtysh and conquered the settlement of Atik murza and stayed there. At night they thought about what to do with infidels because there were too many of them, one for 10 or 20 people. The cossacks were afraid and were about to leave the battlefield, but some of them were not and answered the higher calling of God creator of heaven and earth. They decided to attack the infidels in the morning and answered the higher calling and came to Chuvashhev to the Tsar's abatis and brought their arms with them.

The cossacks' battle

On the 23rd of October all of the Russian cossacks stood near the abatis calling out 'In God we trust! Hear this, all you distant lands, in God we trust!' And added: 'Oh, Lord, help us, your slaves.' And they attacked the abatis and fought against the infidels. They demonstrated ferocity and used spears to kill the infidels, they were full of anger and fury. They wore suits of armour and copper shields and had iron bows and fought from different sides. The infidels sent many arrows from their abatis, and the cossacks fired against them, and there was a great hand to hand fight. And God helped them in their fight against the infidels, and the latter left the battlefield. The cossacks pursued and beat them, the foes fell down and were trod upon, the field was bloody and covered with dead bodies. After that the cossacks came together near the city of Troinsk near the river of Komazdra and captured Akilesa. God helped them to defeat the infidels because the fury of God was unleashed upon the iniquities and idolatry of those who saw the real God. Prince Mametkul, defeated by the Russian troops, was captured, but his people took him across the Irtysh.

Tsar Kuchum stayed in the Chuvashhevs and ordered his abyzes and asked them to pray to their Northern gods, but the gods did not come to help them. Whereas Ostyak princes left the abatis and Tsar Kuchum and returned home. Tsar Kuchum saw his empire devastated and said to his people: 'We shall leave this place. We have lost everything and are exhausted, because we were heavily wounded. Woe to us! Poor us! Alas! What have they done to us? We had to leave the battlefield. I am full of shame. Who defeated me and drove me away from my land? Yermak, one of common people, brought small troops and defeated me, driving me away from my empire and devastating me.' And that villain did not know that children had been hungry and naked, had died in fire, or had been eaten by beasts. And the villain prayed and wanted to fight as the lies filled his heart with anger. And Tsar Kuchum said to himself: 'I defeated princes Itigir and Bekbulat in Siberia and obtained treasures in the Siberian empire, I went there and I defeated them purely for covetousness and glory.' At that time Tsar Kuchum secretly came to Siberia, taking with him part of his treasures and left Siberia with all of his troops.

Yermak coming to Siberia

There was a fight at the abatis near Chuvashhev, the cossacks got tired as the night came and left the battlefield, leaving guards there to keep their place from the infidels. In the morning all the cossacks woke up and answered a higher calling, going to Siberia. Yermak came to Siberia on the 26th of October 1589, on the day of Dmitry Selunsky remembrance. They confessed God for giving them such a victory over the infidels and idolaters, and they celebrated it. This victory deserves to be remembered long after because Yermak's troops, though small in number, conquered Siberia with the help of God and His passion bearer Dmitry.

Ostyak Prince Boyar came to Siberia on the fourth day after Siberia had been conquered and brought many gifts to Yermak and his army. After that many Tatars with their wives and children came to live in Siberia in their first houses. Seeing the orthodox troops, God ordered that the Tatars should be subjugated to the Russian government and the orthodox Christians.

On the 5th of December one of Yermak's cossack was on his way home from fishing in Abalak, and he set up camp and fell asleep without any guards. Prince Mametkul attacked them and captured their camp. When Yermak found out that his cossacks had been killed, he attacked the infidels, reaching them near the field. There was a great fight with the infidels. Many Tatars were killed, and Prince Mametkul fled. Yermak and his cossacks were unhurt and returned to Siberia.

Sending a somuchak tsarevich to the Moscow tsar

After God had helped the orthodox Christians to conquer the Siberian empire, Yermak sent a somuchak and a chieftain to the Moscow tsar with a letter to Tsar and the Grand Prince of all Russia Ivan Vasilyevich that by the grace of God and Holy Trinity, and the Virgin Mary and all saints and wonder-workers of Russia, and thanks to tsar and the Grand Prince's prayers to magnanimous God, they conquered Siberian empire and defeated Tsar Kuchum and brought Tatars, Ostyaks, and Vagulichs to submission, made them swear an oath to Russians according to the Tatar religion and to obey the Russian tsar until the end of time, and imposed yasak on them, excluding orthodox Christians. And if foreigners wanted to serve the tsar, they were allowed to do that by guarding him against foes; no betrayal was admitted; they could not leave to go to Tsar Kuchum or other hordes or uluses; they should not plot mischief against orthodox Christians, and they swore to the Russians, according to their religion.

The chieftain and cossacks came to the Moscow tsar, and their arrival was reported to the tsar. The pious Tsar and the Grand Prince of all Russia Ivan Vasilyevich ordered that the letter should be taken and read aloud. And when he knew that God had helped them to conquer different lands surrounding them, bringing their foes to submission, so he praised God and the Virgin Mary for their mercy towards Christians: the small Russian troops had managed to defeat the infidels. Yermak was rewarded by correspondence; the chieftain and the cossacks were paid the tsar's rewards—money and draperies. After that the tsar ordered them to return to Siberia to Yermak and bring the tsar's rewards to him for his service and the bloodshed.

The capture of Siberian Tsarevich Mametkul by Russian cossacks

A Tatar by the name of Senbakht once came to Yermak in Siberia and told him that Kuchum's son Prince Mametkul was near the Vagaya River, one hundred poprishe from Siberia. Yermak sent his troops to take Mametkul's goods and his young and armed people. By the grace of God they reached his camp and attacked them in their sleep, defeated them, then they came to tsarevich's tent and went around it, and took Mametkul alive with all his treasures and brought him to Yermak and his adherents in Siberia. Yermak welcomed him, rewarded him, and dealt gently with him. Tsar Kuchum had waited for his son Tsarevich Mametkul for a long time. Messengers came to him and said that his son had been captured and taken to Yermak. Tsar Kuchum suffered a great deal when he heard this and cried passionately.

Messengers came to Kuchum from the steppes and said that Prince Seydak, Bekbulat's son, was leading his troops to him from the Bugarian lands. Hearing this, Kuchum was afraid and fled to save himself from death. Prince Seydak wanted to take revenge for the murder of his father Besbulat, remembering his motherland and his heritage. After that Kuchum's dumnoy, who was a member of his Council, left him and did not want to obey him. When he learned of this, he cried out and said: 'God has left me, my dumnoy and my friends are leaving me.' And his foes left him. Karacha came to Lake Yulmin and went up the Irtysh between the rivers Tara and Om and stayed there.

Yermak and his troops marched freely around the Siberian lands and they feared no one, instead inspiring fear, because they were led by their two-edge sword. They harried many towns and uluses along the Irtysh and they seized the city of Kazym near Ob with all its princes and their treasures. Then Yermak and his troops returned to Siberia and brought the princes with him.

Sending Kuchum's son Tsarevich Mametkul to the Moscow tsar

Tsarevich Mametkul and many of his military men were sent to Moscow. When Mametkul was brought to Moscow, the Moscow Tsar and the Grand Prince of all Russia Ivan Vasilyevich passed away. After his death Tsar and the Grand Prince of all Russia Feodor Ivanovich was crowned. And so Feodor Ivanovich ordered the welcome of Kuchum's son Mametkul, rewarded him, and paid the serving people who had accompanied Mametkul from Siberia to Moscow, giving them money, draperies, and food.

The killing of Yermak's cossacks by Kuchum's dumnoy Karacha

In the same year of 7091, after Prince Mametkul left for Moscow, ambassadors of dumnoy Karacha to Yermak arrived in the city of Siberia and asked him to help them to stand against the Cossack Horde. When Yermak heard it, he asked them to swear they did not mean any harm, and so they did. Yermak had a meeting with his people, and they decided their pagan oath. They chose the best warriors, chieftain Ivan Koltsov, and his forty cossacks and sent them to dumnoy Karacha. And when chieftain and his cossacks came to the infidel Karacha, the latter killed all of them, as was willed by God. When Yermak learnt of the death of the chieftain and his cossacks, he spent hours crying as if they had been his own children. As the infidels came to know of that slaughter, they began killing other cossacks in other settlements and regions.

Karacha coming to Siberia

In the same year of 7091, when the lenten fast had begun, dumnoy Karacha came to Siberia with his troops, went around the city, and encamped near it. Karacha committed crimes in Sayuskan, seven versts from Siberia, and shed people's blood. In July of that year many people of the city attacked the camp and carts at night and killed many infidel Tatars, putting others to flight. They also killed the two sons of Karacha, and the infidels fled in disorder; and dumnoy Karacha and a few of his people ran. Some of them came to Siberia and told everyone about it, and the people of the city and Tatars heard that the infidels wanted to leave the city, and they ran to Sauskan and said that the cossacks would either win or die, and that they were ready to die. The cossacks did not contact the infidels, relying on God, but some time after they came out and fought against them until noon. The Tatars retired, and the cossacks returned to Siberia happy and unhurt. Karacha saw it and said: 'We need more people to fight against the cossacks because God helps them.' And so the infidels went back to their faraway lands with shame. And so the cossacks lived in Siberia, worshipped God and His passion bearer Dmitry.

The murder of Yermak and the cossacks by the infidel Tatars

In the summer of 7092 the cossacks were put to death as was willed by God. Messengers came to Yermak and told that Tsar Kuchum would not allow Bukharan merchants to come to Siberia. Yermak took a few warriors and went to meet the merchants sailing in boats along the Irtysh. He reached Vagaya and did not see any Bukharans and went farther up to Atbash camp and, seeing no one, went back. They reached a cross-ditch and made camp, setting a guard, but they were tired and could not see that their death was coming. Tsar Kuchum, upon seeing their camp, collected lots of Tatars from all the regions. And that night many infidels attacked the sleeping cossacks and killed all of them but one. Yermak saw his cossacks killed, and, knowing there would be no help, he ran to his boats but could not reach them because they floated away from the bank, and Yermak drowned in the Irtysh. This was the way Yermak and his cossacks died on the 5th of August, on the eve of Christ's Transfiguration.

As other cossacks learnt of this slaughter and how Yermak had drowned, they produced a great cry because they were now left without any governance, and so they were afraid to live in the city, and left Siberia. They sailed down the Irtysh, Ob, and Kamen in their boats, leaving Siberia.

When Kuchum's son Tsarevich Alei came to know about this flight, he went to Siberia and settled there. When Prince Seydak Bekbulatov found out that chieftain Yermak and his cossacks had been killed near the cross-ditch, and all the rest had left the city, he brought his troops to Siberia and invaded it, defeating Tsarevich Alei, and now owning his father Bekbulat's lands. And he started governing the city, living there with his family.

In the second summer after Yermak's murder, voivode Ivan Mansurov and his military men were sent by the Tsar and the Grand Prince of all Russia Feodor Ivanovich to Siberia, and they sailed along

the Tobol until they reached the Irtysh. There were many infidel Tatars on the bank of the Irtysh. The voivode saw them, and, knowing that the cossacks left Siberia sailing along Kamen, he kept away from the bank and sailed down the Irtysh with his men until they reached the great river Ob. It was autumn at that time, and the rivers had begun to freeze over. Voivode Ivan Manzurov saw the winter coming and ordered his cossacks to make a camp near the mouth of Irtysh and stayed there for the winter.

A few days later many Ostyaks came along the Ob and Irtysh and attacked their settlement from all sides. The Russian troops fought back, and the battle lasted until the evening, and after that the infidels retreated.

In the morning the infidels came to the settlement and brought the idol that they worshipped. They placed it under the tree and prayed and made sacrifices to it, asking for his help to conquer the orthodox Christians and kill or enslave them. At the same time the troops in the settlement fired a canon, and the ball hit the idol and destroyed it. The infidels became very afraid, not knowing what had happened and thinking that it had been an arrow. And they said to each other: 'Military men/p. 140/are sending arrows from their settlement and they managed to destroy our wooden idol.' From that time they left the settlement, returning to their uluses with shame, and their idol had not helped them. Voivode Ivan Mansurov waited for high water and sailed in his boats along the Ob through Kamen to Rusa, burning down their former settlement. <...>

Supplying the city of Tobolsk

The same year, Prince Seydak went from the the city of Siberia with the prince of the Cossack Horde Saltan and Tsar Kuchum's dumnoy Karach, who took about 500 warriors. Having achieved the destination, the Prince Meadow, he started hunting for birds using hawks. And having seen them from the city of Tobolsk, voivode Danilo Chulov and Russian warriors, having complained about it, sent their messengers to Prince Seydak to inform him to come to the city of Tobolsk for negotiations, to stop the struggle against Christians. The messengers came to the city and told the voivode about Seydak's response. Prince Seydak listened to their proposals, consulted with Prince Saltan and Karach, and decided to go to the city of Tobolsk to the voivode Danila Chulkov with Tsarevich Saltan, the Karach retinue, and their guardians. Having come to the voivode in the city, he sat at the table by custom. And the voivode stood a treat for them and started talking about peace. Prince Seydak ruminated, not drinking, not eating. The voivode looked at him and start speaking: 'Prince Seydak, what are you thinking about? You do not eat. Does it mean that you are contriving something evil?' And Seydak answered the voivode's question: 'I contrive nothing against you.' Voivode Danilo took his bowl, filled it with drink, and said: 'Prince Seydak, if you contrive nothing against us, then drink this bowl.' Having taken the bowl, Prince Seydak started drinking and suddenly choked. The same happened to Tsarevich Saltan. Karacha also choked, not having realized their trick. The voivode did not trust them and suspected them of contriving something evil against Christians; he analysed their sly behaviour and ordered his warriors to kill all the enemies. Prince Seydak, having seen the slaughter, ran to the window with Tsarevich Saltan and Karacha, but all their warriors were killed and captured. In the end, there was nobody in the city of Siberia.

The same year the voivode Danilo Chulkov sent Prince Seydak, Tsarevich Saltan, and Karach, guarded by the best warriors, to the grand prince in the city of Moscow.

When Tsar Kuchum was defeated, he fled into the steppe, and during his rule he tried to attack the city of Siberia and capture Christians several times, but he was of afraid of a new defeat. Once Kuchum decided to gather his people and go to Siberia. Having reached the river Irtysh, he approached the city of Tobolsk, having frightened, beaten, and captured its citizens. And having understood that Tsar Kuchum had occupied Tatar volosts and escaped, Russian warriors immediately pursued Tsar Kuchum, and, having run him down, they beat him and captured his two wives, his son, and his treasures. After all, they returned to the city. Due to the negligence of his guards, Kuchum fled from his tsarinas and, having taken the rest of his people with him, headed towards the Kalmyk lands. And staying at the Kalmyk uluses, he noticed horse herds and decided to chase them. But the Kalmyk people recognised him and hunted him. After reaching him, they beat many of the tsar's people and returned many of their

horses. Thus, Tsar Kuchum escaped to the Nogai land and was killed by the Nogai people there. And that was the end of his life. <...>

9. Charter to Ivan IV from Kuchum Khan. (1570, Russian Clerk Translation of the 16th Century)

Published in: Collection of State Charters and Contracts. Part 2. M., 1819. P. 52.

Free man Kuchum Tsar, Grand Prince Bely [White] Tsar. Have you heard that... it is just that we and all peoples of the earth do fight; and if they do not begin to fight, they make peace. Your father with our father lived in peace side by side, and both parties were amiable guests at each other's homes... because your land is close, and our people existed in calm, and there was no evil between them, and the people lived in kindness and calm, but now, under your reign and my reign, black people [bondmen] do not live in peace. And I have not sent charters to some of your places if there occurred war between them and us, and we captured our enemy there; and if you now wish for peace, we shall make up, and if you desire to start a war, let us fight, what is the reason for keeping those five people in prison in those lands? I shall send my ambassador and guests so that we could make it up, you just need to wish for peace. And you had better choose one person of those in prison, release him, and send him as a messenger to us. One cannot be friends with one who was not a friend for his father; but if his father was a friend of this person, the latter would also be a friend to this father's son. If the father obtained someone as a friend and as a brother, would not this person mean the same to the son? And thus... let us make up for we have been old brothers [...] and live in peace in our motherlands and brotherhood, you just wish for peace, and send a messenger to us. Having said it, I have sent you a charter and a bow.

10. Correspondence between Ivan IV and Kuchum Khan (1569–1571, the Russian Clerk Translation and Retelling of the 16th Century)

Published in: Collection of State Charters and Contracts. Part 2. M., 1819. Pp. 63–65.

Beginning of the correspondence between Kuchum Tsar and the Tsar and Grand Prince.

The following is written in the charter which the Tsar and Grand Prince sent to Kuchum Tsar with his messenger Aisa, after they had made obeisance to him:

By the grace of God, from Great Ruler, Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all Russia, of Vladimir, Moscow, Novgorod; the Tsar of Kazan, the Tsar of Astrakhan, the Ruler of Pskov, the Grand Prince of Smolensk, Tver, Yugra, Perm, Vyatka, Bolgar and others; the Ruler and Grand Prince of the Lower Novegrade lands, Chernigov, Ryazan, Polotsk, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Beloozero, Udorsk, Obdorsk, Kondinsk and others; the Sovereign of all Siberian lands and Northern countries, and the Ruler of all Viflyansk lands and others, here is my word to Kuchum, the Tsar of Siberia: Siberian prince Ediger used to look at us in the first place, and used to collect the tribute from all the Siberian lands and send it to us.

The bottom of the charter says: written at the court of our State, of the city of Moscow, in the year 1571 in the month of March.

The beginning of the charter says: sent by Kuchum, the Siberian Tsar, to the Tsar and Grand Prince with his ambassador Tomas and his messenger Aisa, in 1571:

To Bely [White] Christian Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of All Russia. And in the field it is written: Kuchum bogatyr-tsar sent his messenger to the Tsar and Grand Prince so that he took up the governance and collected the tribute from all over Siberia, as he did in the former times.

And at the bottom of the charter, the text is written with a nishan, but the year is not indicated.

Thus, the Tsar and Grand Prince accepted his charter and listened to him making obeisance, and took him under his arm and protection, and designated the tribute for him to pay—to send one hundred sables a year, and also one thousand squirrels to the tsar's messenger who would come to collect them, as the charters and documents state; and thus, the tsar sent his knight Tretiak Chabukov with the charter to Kuchum Tsar, and also sent ambassador Taimas to keep records so that they obtained the shert

from them, as stated in the papers, and also sent messenger Aisa so that to collect the tribute from Tsar Kuchum.

And here is what is written in the charter which was sent to Tsar Kuchum with TretiakChabukov, sealed with the tsar's gold stamp.

By the ineffable grace of omnipotent eternal God, the only righteous Tsar of the Christian law, Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of All Russia, of Vladimir, of Moscow, of Novgorod; the tsar of Kazan, the tsar of Astrakhan, the Sovereign of Pskov, Grand Prince of Smolensk, Tver, Yugra, Perm, Vyatka, Bolgar and others, the Tsar and Grand Prince of the Lower Novagorod lands, of Chernigov, Ryazan, Polotsk, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Beloozersk, Udorsk, Obdorsk, Kondinsk and the sovereign of all Siberian lands and the Northern countries, and the ruler of all the Viflandian lands, and other lands, here is my kind word to Kuchum, the ruling tsar of Siberia: I grant you my amiable reward and great protection of my kind thoughts, and also our God-loving forces to guard the people of your ulus so that they stayed fearlessly there, I give you my word.

And at the bottom of the charter, it is written: in order to confirm the yarliq, I seal it with my gold stamp, from the creation of Adam, in the year 1571 in the month of October. Written at the court of our State, the city of Moscow, the year <...>

And the following is written at the beginning of the shert [oath] records which Siberian ambassador Tamas and messenger Aisa had taken:

By the grace of God, and Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all Russia, in response to Siberian khan Kuchum who had sent his ambassador Tamas and his messenger Aisa to make obeisance to the Tsar and Grand Prince, and had brought one thousand sables with them; Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all Russia, the Ruler of Kazan, Astrakhan, and many other lands had mercy upon us and granted rewards to us, and included all the Siberian lands to his rewards plan, and ordered Siberia to pay only one thousand sables a year and only one thousand squirrels as an ambassadorial fee, in accordance with his previous order. And our ambassador Taimas and messenger Aisa, thanking God and the Tsar and Grand Prince for his rewards with all their soul, and on behalf of all kind people and all bondmen, they send him a strong squadron and the shert, as it had been conditioned in the records.

And the bottom of the charter says: to confirm this charter, I, Tsar Kuchum, seal it with my stamp, and the best Siberian people also sign it. This shert record was taken by Magmed Bak, son of Khozeseip.

And the postscript of the charter says: as it is written in the shert record, I, ambassador Taimos, together with messenger Aisa on behalf of Kuchum Tsar and all the best Siberian people and all the Siberian lands, as it is stated in the shert record, we take a shert [oath] to our ruler. When Tretiak Chabukov, the messenger of the Tsar and Grand Prince, comes to our Siberian Tsar Kuchum and his best people to take the shert on this granted yarliq, Tsar Kuchum will seal it with his gold stamp and thereafter will reign in the Siberian lands, as stated in the charter; and there are neither my—Taimus's seal nor the seal of Aisa, and there are no our signatures since we do not know how to write correctly.

And in the text to Tretiak from Tsar Kuchum there was also an order to send a bow and give a speech, as instructed.

11. On religious wars of sheikh Bagauddin's apprentices against outlanders of Western Siberia

Published in: N. Katanov On religious wars of sheikh Bagauddin's apprentices against outlanders of Western Siberia // Annual Publication of the Tobolsk Governorate Museum. 1904. Ed. 14. Tobolsk, 1904. Pp. 18–28.

According to the Muslim chronology, 797 AH (27 October 1394 to 15 October 1395) was a year filled with true friendship with Islam. In Holy Bukhara, during the reign of Khan Abul Leisi, by the exalted order and assent of Imam Hajji Bahau-l-Hakkochad-Din of the Naqshbandiyya Dervish Order, 366 sheikhs who had gathered from diverse cities in Eastern and Western countries became his sincere

followers after conversations with him and after seeing his miracles. But these saints lived divided into three parts in different years:

One part stayed with the sheikhs and engaged in the mysteries of the divine.

Another part lived in the environs of Bukhara and taught the people in its settlements.

The third part led the struggle with the pagans for the faith.

When it was time to go to war for the faith, the followers gathered before the bright eyes of the venerable sheikh Bahauddin and awaited the direction his orders would take. After the morning prayer, the Khoja turned his blessed face to the sheikhs and said: 'In big historical books, I saw this: 'When the ruler of the faithful, Ali, departed and entered into Hindustan, he spread Islam in the lands of Chin and Machin; he converted half of China to Islam and lay a tribute on the other half. But a number of the disobedient revolted, left the country of Tarlai-khan, and escaped from the sword of the ruler of the faithful Ali; they reached the estuary of the river known among the Turks as the Irtysh, or Abi-Jarul in the Tajik language, which flows to the west. The following nomadic tribes lived there:

1. the Khotan people ('khotan' was a name for the Tatars in general used by the Irtysh Ostyaks),
2. the Nogai peoples (the tribes between the Emba and the Ural brought there by Nogai, grandson of Taval, grandson of Chinggis Khan; at present all the Muslim Tatars are called Kirghiz-Kaisak Nogais),
3. the Kara-Kipchak (disappeared as an independent nation and became part of the Uzbeks and the Kirghiz-Kaisaks).

Entering among them, those who had left China to escape from the sword of caliph Ali stayed there and started living with them, but they had neither true faith nor true principles to follow—all of them were Tatars who worshipped puppet idols.'

And here is my order to you: invite others to profess Islam; and if they do not accept your invitation, begin a great war with them for the faith.' When he had given this exalted order, the above-mentioned 366 sheikhs came to Shaybani Khan, to the steppes of the Mrednets Horde, and were his guests. After he learned of the life of these saints, he expressed his like-mindedness, armed 1700 of his heroes, and departed with them on horseback to take part in the great war. He came down to the Irtysh and started a great battle there for the faith. At that time there lived three different nations by the Irtysh: the Khotan, the Nogais, and the Kara-Kipchaks, and then others — the escaped rebels of Tarkhan-khan — came and started living with them; the Kets, an Ostyak nation, also helped them and participated in the battle because they were of the same faith. The sheikhs mentioned here previously, having united their forces with Shaybani, fought as true men of courage.

They exterminated a great number of the pagans and the Tatars, fighting such that there was no stream along the banks of the Irtysh near which there was no battle. While they did not let those pagans escape, 300 of the sheikhs attained crowns of martyrdom, falling either on the land, or in the water, or in the swamps. The runaways of Tarkhan returned to China. The Ostyak people escaped to the forest. Some nations of the Khotan, Nogai, and Kara-Kipchak practiced Islam, while some, though they had escaped safe and sound, still, having met the sheikhs' fury, were to some extent weakened, to some extent mad, and, becoming frightened, they converted to Islam and could not run any further. The Ostyaks later became pagans and lost their faith. 1448 of Shaybani Khan's heroes fell and attained the crown of martyrdom. Shaybani Khan set off with his remaining 252 heroes to the people of the Middle Horde, to the steppe regions, and was called Vali Khan, i.e., the holy khan, for he had led the war for the faith together with the saints, and 300 of the horsemen had attained the crown of martyrdom. Three out of sixty-six knights stayed here and started to teach the basics of the faith to those of the Nogai, Khotan, and Kara-Kipchak nations who practiced Islam. And khojas and sheikhs in Tobolsk, Tyumen, Tara, and Tomsk are among their descendants. 63 horsemen headed to Holy Bukhara and reported to master Bahauddin on their matters. And since those times the Islamic faith was revealed here, and paths were revealed so that caravans started travelling along the Irtysh, and many different khojas and imams began to visit here in order to teach the faith; and the majority of them were people who could work wonders. Moreover, master Imam Devlet Khan Khoja, son of Shah Abdu Valgab from Astechan, passed through this region on his way from Holy Bukhara. He visited the Kalmyk nomad camps and brought the

Kalmyk khan Khuptaichzh to the Islamic faith, and also ordered the construction of 18 mausoleums on the banks of the Irtysh. Many faithful people turned to him and became his diligent followers. And then Sheikh Iskander of Minlyan arrived from Khwarezm and opened 9 mausoleums. One of the first sheikhs who stayed there to teach the faith was the honourable Sheikh Sherpeti, the younger brother of Sheikh Nazar and Sheikh Biriya. After opening 12 mausoleums, he lay down at the feet of his elder brothers. Out of the 39 mausoleums mentioned in this genealogy, 30 mausoleums of men, women, and girls are described in this genealogical charter, together with their names. And with the names of the places in which they repose.

1. From the saints reposing on the bank of the Irtysh — in Isker, the honourable Sheikh Aikani.
2. At the same place, before Isker, Sheikh Biriya.
3. Sheikh Nazar.
4. Sheikh Sherpeti (all three of them were brothers and grandsons of Zengi-Baba, who lived in the region of Shash and died in 658 AH/1258).
5. Sheikh Musa in Kucha-Yaman, who was one of the children of Imam Malik (Abu Abdullah Malik ibn Anas lived in 712 AH (1315)–795 (1394) and laid the foundation of the Maliki school of jurisprudence).
6. On the hills also lies master Sheikh Yusuf, who was one of the grandsons of Imam Abu-Yusuf (Abu Yusuf Yakub al Apsary (died 798), was a lawyer and a disciple of the famous Abu-Khanafa, who among the Tatars bears the name of Imam-Azam—'the greatest imam').
7. At the Bashta lies master Hakim-sheikh, who was one of the children of imam Shafni (Abu Abdila Muhammad Ali Shafni, a lawyer and the founder of Shafni school of jurisprudence, who lived 797–820).
8. In Vagai (Vagai is the name of the steppe watered by the Vagai, a left-bank tributary of the Irtysh, which arises in the Yalutorovsk district. In ancient times the Vagai steppe was densely populated by foreign tribes) lies Hakim-sheikh. He was one of the children of Imam Ahmed (Abu Abdilla Ahmed ibn Hambal died in 855; he was the founder of the Hanbali school of jurisprudence).
9. At the Sobr, on the right side of the Irtysh, rests sheikh Ahmed Ali.
10. on the left side of the Irtysh lies sheikh Dervish Ali.
11. In Uvat lies Sheikh Turazi-Ali.
12. At the Vagai river, on the Yurul, lies sheikh Devlet-Ali (Ahmed-Ali, Dervish-Ali, Tursun-Ali). All four of them are the sons of the same father and grandsons of Abu-l Hasan Harimaki (925–1033).
13. In Tebende lies Sheikh Anjetan. He was one of the grandsons of sheikh Ba-Machin.
14. At the Ishim estuary, in the village of Bolshoy Burgan, is the mausoleum of sheikh Binel-Ata; he was the grandson of Jallil (Nur Ad-Din Abu-r-Rahman Jallil, 1492), the founder of the Mevlevi Order; his companions lay with three stones on the lakeshore.
15. In Vagai lies the honourable elder Sheikh Bairam.
16. On the bank of the Vagai lies the honourable Sheikh Nazar; they were brothers and grandsons of Sayyid-Ata (Khoja Sayyid Ahmet Ata died in 710 AH = 1310).
17. In Bikatun lies Sheikh Mur-Kemal.
18. In Karagai lies Khojat-sheikh; they are blood brothers, the sons of Bakhshi-Ata.
19. The honourable Natsf lies near Lake Mochuk.
20. The honourable Alaf lies in Atyan; they were blood brothers and sons of sultan Bayezid (Bayezid Taifuri Bastami Khoja lived in 774–845 AH).
21. In Burbar lies Daud of Kandagar (died in 765 AH); in the opinion of the Tatars, all oracles originate from this person (Saryn).
22. Sheikh Abdul-Aziz rests in the village of Kat.
23. In Kan-Shubari (Kashgari) lies Abul-Melasr; they both were blood brothers of wise Suleyman (Khoja Hakim Ata (died in 582 AH = 1186), a follower of the mystic Khoja Ahmed Yesevi, who died in 1166).

24. In Erum-Jin lies the honourable Sheikh Daud from the grandsons of Husein (the grandson of Muhammad, died in 670).

25. Sheikh Omar-Ali rests in Karbin.

26. On the hill of the ancient village of Karagai, near Krasny Yar, at the place. Both – Baktari in the village of Kyuneshli, Sheikh Kepesh-Agi, – both of them were blood brothers and the children of Omar Al Faruk (the second caliph, who ascended to the throne in 634).

27. Akyl-Bibi, in Il-Tashal.

28. Hadija-Bibi, in Yurush.

29. Sheikh Muslih-d-Din of Kerman is buried together with his two daughters. He took part in the war for the faith. The elder one, Saliha-Bibi, fell in the ravine called Charby (Jarby) near the village of Saurgach, and since that time she has rested there.

30. The younger is Afifa-Bibi; she fell in the ravine called Aput, which begins in Vagai, and has rested there since that time.

As for the master Sheikh himself, when he had finished off all the infidels, he departed to Kyzym and was the ruler of Ak-Gisar there. The wives of all the above-mentioned sheikhs, as well as the daughters of some and the sons of some, stayed together during the battle for the faith. Therefore, there are mausoleums in these places for women, girls, and boys; it is no wonder, for all of them — mothers and children — were together and all of them were saints. The 30 holy mausoleums listed in this table were collected in a single table by judge Abdul-Kerim, the akhund of Tobolsk and Toms, and one of the khan's descendents, Harshi Lebiv-Yashin.

The table does not contain any information on the nine mausoleums that were opened here by master Sheikh Iskander, one of the inhabitants of Melmen in the administration of the city of Khwarezm, and on the mausoleums that were established by the two above-described venerable men, for there is a separate table for them. The information on those nine was collected in this table and sent by Sheikh Iskander from Turkestan. He sent them through the deceased neighbour of the sultan, i.e., of Bahaud-din, Khoja Mir-Sherif, to the Tobol akhunds. And it is also said that from the city of Sayram the honourable imam Sheikh Jusuf, who worked wonders, visited the banks of the Irtysh and Siberia and discovered 10 mausoleums. After he collected them in the genealogy, he sent them and entrusted them to his brother, Sheikh Alin. This all became a mystery that was only known to the akhunds of the city of Tara. 49 mausoleums have been discovered; moreover, the remains of 251 men are yet undiscovered along the banks of the Irtysh. Then 300 honourable men are mentioned: master Imam Khoja Devlet, master Imam Iskander, and a Khwarezmian from Melkish. They sent the 39 mausoleums which they discovered to Holy Bukhara (in a description) with a request to publish the names of the saints from Holy Bukhara, with such benevolence as if they had been mysteries of divine revelation. And they believed so strongly that they confirmed and verified that, and blessed each one in every possible way, and also commanded the following:

'We beg you most humbly to rigorously guard the holy graves, be they on the rivers running into the Irtysh, be they on the banks of the Irtysh itself or in the swamps. 251 people, not having shown themselves, have remained hidden. Righteous men, women, and girls, if someone in your secret thoughts towards the Lord Most High receives His directions as to where these men are hidden, or if these men give some hints about themselves, do not be remiss about revealing the graves and constructing mausoleums so that the sheikhs will not be angry with them and will not disgrace them and their descendants.'

Having given such a commandment and having set their seals to the mausoleums discovered by the three of them and having laid on their hands, they sent in their sympathy to show these great favour and grace. The mausoleum of Sheikh Kefish Ali is situated in the Tobolsk district, on the bank of the Irtysh, on the high side of the place called Karagai, in the village of Kyumyunli, on the hill called aba Bakyr. The name of the closest sheikh to him is Burai; his son is Sheikh Safar, and the latter's sons are Sheikh Uras and Sheikh Ir-Setet. The son of Sheikh Uras is Sheikh Ramazan, his son is Sheikh Abul Hasan, and his son is Sheikh Muhammad Sherif.

This tale was written by Sad Vakas Redzhebov Memet Alakulov.

12. Documents on Russian–Siberian relations in 1597–1598

Published in: Collection of State Charters and Contracts. Part 2. M., 1819. Pp. 129, 131–134; Historical acts collected and published by the Archaeographical Committee. Volume 1, 1334–1598. Saint Petersburg, 1841. Pp. 1–5, 6–8.

1. Charter (in translation) to His Majesty Tsar Feodor Ioannovich from Baiseit Mirza of Siberia (1597)

The Siberian lands and all your bondsmen from great to small make obeisance to the Grand Prince and White Tsar. And we obey the voivodes according to our own truth, but the Tyumen people have revolted, and we do not know who started it: whether this came from the voivodes or from someone else. Only God and you know what could have happened. At present neither guests nor merchants visit us here in Siberia, and we live in scarcity; but if only people of commerce would come here, we would replenish our supplies and would be full. But the local voivodes do not dare to send ambassadors without your permission. Your Majesty, if you would, by... send ambassadors to Bukhara and to the Nogais so that our land would obtain profit, regarding which all your bondsmen the Siberians, great and small, make obeisance to you. And as you, Your Majesty, let me, your bondsman Baiseit, go to Siberia and granted me your monetary gift of ten rubles, and now you have given me six more rubles, such is your will; while head people of Avbasta and Keldiuraz, old and good people, keep guarding your yurt, but your gifts do not reach them. You ought to grant them a monetary gift, regarding which we all, your bondmen, from great to small, make obeisance; and we have sent to you, our Sovereign, Yesaul Kyzylbai to make obeisance to you, and we ask you to grant us your charter. And we beg you and make obeisance to you, our Sovereign, I, Baseit mirza and all your bondmen, great and small, that you would order that Shih, Molla and Babuazei, all three, might be released back to their land, to Bukhara; they bring no profit to your land—all they can do is to weep. It would be no sin for you, White Tsar, and we all feel sorry for them and beg you to release them.

2. Letter of Siberian Tsar Kuchum to the voivodes of the city of Tara (1597, Russian clerical translation)

God is rich.

I, a free man and Tsar, send a bow to the boyars and this word: why did you want to talk with me, and has your Sovereign, the White Prince, ordered you to do that? And if there is an order, we shall talk and accept his word, and he would accept our petition; and here is my petition: I ask the Grand Prince, the White Tsar, to grant me the bank of the Irtysh, and I also make obeisance to you, the voivodes, and ask you the same thing; I ask you t[...] things, and if you grant at least one of those things, your word will be truthful; but if you do not, your word will be false; and here is my petition: I ask for Shaina and other two guests whom you captured to be sent to me among the ambassadors, as they were entrusted to you by God, and I also ask one horse-load of ambassadorial trappings. I have had sore eyes, and those ambassadors had potions with them, and they also had a recipe for those potions with them, and I ask you for that as well. Give me those three things, and your word thus will be truthful, and if you want to have a talk with me, send me your dragoman Bogdan. And Syuyunduk has arrived; he has seen the eyes of the Grand Prince, the White Tsar, and I would like to hear the Tsar's order from his lips, and ask that you send him to me; let those things come true, and send Bahtyuraz, who has now arrived. And since Yermak's arrival and to this day I have tried to be welcoming; but I did not give up Siberia; you took it yourselves. And this time we shall also try to make up, it will be better at the end of the day; but I am allied with the Nogais, and we shall only stand on both sides, and the treasury of the Prince will be shaken; now I want to make peace by fair means, and I will do everything I can in order to achieve peace.

3. Charter of Tsarevich Abu'l-Khayr to his father, Tsar Kuchum of Siberia (1597).

Your bondman Abdul Khayr Tsarevich makes many obeisances to Your Majesty the Tsar. Previously you sent your man Magmet with a charter to the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanov-

ich, Autocrat of All Russia, [...] and in your charter you asked the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanovich the Autocrat to grant you a yurt [...] ordered that it be given to you and that our brother Magmet Kul be released to you; at that time I was in disfavour with the Tsar and I made obeisance to the Great Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia, that he would have mercy upon me and allow me to write a letter to you, so that you might cover your transgressions and submit under his royal hand, and that you might send your son the tsarevich to His Majesty. And the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia, not remembering our transgressions, allowed me to write a letter to you, but you did nothing of what I asked you in the m[...] letter, [...] not to send the tsarevich to the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanovich, Autocrat of All [Russia]. And now the Great Sovereign Tsar and Gra[nd Prince] Feodor Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia, the merciful and true Great Christian Tsar, despite our rudeness and lies, had mercy upon me, remitted the death penalty, and granted me [...] volosts together with my brother Magmet K[ul] Tsarevich; and there has been a rumour about Your Majesty that you are in need and great scarcity, and that our brothers Tsareviches Kanai and Idelin, together with many people, have turned away from you, and there are now very few people by Your Majesty's side. My brother Tsarevich Magmet Kul and I made obeisance to His Majesty the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia, that he would have mercy upon us and allow us to write a letter to you, and we hope that Your Majesty now wants to be under the protection of the His Majesty the Great Sovereign; and the Great Sovereign and Grand Prince Fe[odor] Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia... allowed us and ordered us to write a letter to you; and you, Your Majesty, had better go to the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Fe[odor] Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia. Meanwhile, from the printer and ambassadorial secretary Vasily Yakovlya [...] of His Majesty is known to us: if you want to be by the side of the His Majesty and under his delightful eyes, the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanovich of All Russia will grant you a royal gift, volosts and cities and monetary rewards, according to your merit. Many tsars and tsareviches serve His Majesty the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Feodor Ivanovich, Autocrat of All Russia, as do the voivodes of Volos and Mutyansk, and Tsars' children from many states, and all of them receive monetary rewards regularly and live without scarcity; and if you wish to stay by the side of His Majesty, he will grant you the Siberian yurt and will order that you should become the tsar in the land of [Sib]eria.

4. Granted Charter of Tsar Feodor Ioannovich to Siberian Tsar Kuchum (1597).

...I, the [Gr]eat Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince F[eodor Ioanno]vich, Autocrat of All Russia, of Vladimir, Moscow, and Novgorod, Tsar of Kazan, Tsar of Astrakhan, the ruler of Pskov and the Grand Prince of Smolensk, Tver, Yugra, Perm, Vyatka, Bulgaria and others, the Sovereign and Grand Prince of the Lower Novgorod lands, Chernigov, Riazan, Polotsk, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Beloozero, Udorsk, Obdorsk, Kondinsk and all Siberian lands and Northern countries, the ruler of the Iverian lands, of the Georgian tsars and Kabardin lands, and of the Circassian and Mountain princes, and the ruler and owner of many other states, give my gracious word and a great reward to Tsar Kuchum. Since olden times the Siberian state has been a patrimony of our ancestors, the Great Sovereign Russian Tsars of blessed memory, since the times when your grandfather Ibak Tsar ruled Siberia, and gave all kinds of tribute from the Siberian land to our ancestors, the Great Sovereign Tsars; and after your grandfather Ibak, the princes of the Taibugid dynasty reigned in the Siberian state—Prince Magmet, then Prince Kazy, and after Kazy Prince Ediger, and all those princes collected tribute from the Siberian lands and sent it to our grandfather of blessed memory, the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich of All Russia, and our father of blessed memory, the Great Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasiliyevich of All Russia.

And as you, Kuchum Tsar, have established yourself in the Siberian land as the tsar, and used to be obedient to our father [...] Ivan Vasiliyevich of All Russia, and used to send tribute from the Siberian lands; and our father [...] in his royal favour would keep you under his high royal protection; and after that you, Kuchum Tsar, deserted our father [...] and his royal favour [...], became disobedient, and stopped paying the tribute, and killed the boyar's son Tretiak Chebukov, who was sent to collect it, and

made war many times on our outskirts in the Permian land. [...] And as, by our royal order, our people came to Siberia, drove you from the kingdom and took the Siberian land, and you went to camp among the Cossacks, and living in the fields, you repeatedly showed rudeness and disobedience to our Majesty, and without our royal favour, you, Kuchum Tsar, entered into the Siberian volosts; and you had with you your nephew Tsarevich Magmet Kul and your son Tsarevich Abdul Khayr, and both of those tsareviches fell into the hands of our people [...] despite your rudeness and lies, we did not execute your nephew Magmet Kul and your son Tsarevich Abdul Khayr; instead, we treated them with favour in our state and ordered that they be provided with towns and volosts and money [...] And now [...] the towns in our patrimony, the Siberian land, are fortified, and there are military men with fiery cannons in those towns; but we did not send our great hosts against you, Kuchum Tsar, because we were waiting for you, Kuchum Tsar, [...] to admit your transgressions and lies and come to Our Majesty to make obeisance...

[...] Before this, four years ago, you sent your man Magmet to Our Majesty with a letter[...] you wrote with [...] request that [...] to have mercy upon you, and grant you the yurt, and release your nephew to you, and that in our royal favour you will be under our high royal hand. And we [...] wanted to enthrone you in the Siberian land, so that you would henceforth be strong and immovable in our royal favour; and your nephew Tsarevich Magmet Kul is now established in our state and has been granted towns and volosts [...] to serve Our Majesty; and then Chin Murza Isupov, son of Il Murza, came from your ulus to serve Our Majesty with his ulus, and Our Majesty granted Chin Murza volosts and money [], and [...] extent you camp in the fields as a cossack with a few of your people, [...] known. And those Nogai Uluses of the Taibugid yurt who camped with you deserted you, though you had great expectations of them; and Chin Murza departed to Our Majesty [...], and the rest of your people left you with Tsarevich Kanai and Ydelin, while others went to Bukhara and to the Nogais and the Cossack Horde; and now you have very few people [] we declare to you our royal favour and our gracious word, that you, Kuchum Tsar, would come to Our Majesty [...] and we shall show favour to you [...], and grant you many towns and volosts and a monetary reward, [...] if you desire to stay in your previous yurt in Siberia [...], we shall enthrone you in the Siberian l[and] and graciously keep you in our royal favour.

5. Report of Voivode Andrey Voyeykov of Tara to the tsar (4 September 1598)

Your bondman Ondryushka Voyeykov makes obeisance to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia. Last year, in August of 106, on the first day, the ataman of Tara, Yelistrat Nikitin, brought the charter of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia to us in Tara. In the charter of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia the following was written: I, your bondman, was ordered to march against Kuchum Tsar and fight his volosts which are disobedient to you, the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia, and do not pay the yasak to Tara, and I was also ordered to truthfully write to you, the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia, of all local matters: And, as ordered in the charter of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia, I, your bondman, marched from Tara against Kuchum Tsar on 4 August; and the host of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia went with me, your bondman: three men of the gentry, two atamans, and soldiers from Tara, Lithuanians and Cossacks, one hundred men; thirty Tatar soldiers from the yurt; sixty yasak payers from around the volosts; soldiers from Tobolsk [...] the Tatar head, the ataman, and Lithuanians and Cossacks, fifty-three men, and one hundred Tatars of the Tobolsk yurt; soldiers from Tyumen, Lithuanians and Cossacks, fourteen men, and ten Tatars of the yurt; [...] participated in your campaign [...] of the hosts of Your Majesty the Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Fedorovich of All Russia: three men of the gentry and the head of the Tatars, three atamans, and four hundred less three men, Lithuanians and Cossacks and Tatars from the yurts and volosts. On 10 August, I, your bondman, sent Ilya Beklemishev, a man of the gentry, together with the Tatar head Cherkas Oleksandrov, into those volosts to find informants; these were the volosts which Kuchum Tsar took away from you, the Sovereign Tsar and Grand

Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, in the year 106, the Turash and Lyubar volosts. On 10 August, the man of the gentry Ilya Beklemishev and the Tatar head Cherkas Oleksandrov brought to me the best man of Turash, Kuzdemysh Makhleyev, and Akbulat Chemychakov from their expedition; and Kuzdemysh and Akbulat told me during the interrogation that Kuchum Tsar had ordered all the best volost men from Kurpitsk and Turash and Lyubar [...] and Choi and Kurom to live by the Ub [...] Kuchum Tsar is camping [...] around the Black waters, and he has five hundred men with him, and also fifty men of commerce from Bukhara. And I, your bondman, after hearing this information, came to Lake Ub on 15 August, and captured the best men of the volosts who were lured away from you, Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, by Kuchum Tsar last year, in 106: Chadyshau Saul from Kirpitskaya Volost, Itkuryuk and his comrades from Turashsk Volost, and the best men from all seven volosts whom Kuchum Tsar lured away from you, the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia. And during the interrogation the best men told me, your bondman, the following about Kuchum Tsar: Kuchum Tsar headed from the Black Waters towards the Ob River together with his children and people, to where his grain is sown; and he ordered them all to live at Ub Lake; and he ordered them not to pay the yasak to Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia; and ordered the best man of Barabinsk, Yesnigildey Turundaev, to save it for his volost. And I, your bondman, captured the best men of the volosts [...] Chadysh and Itkuryuk with their fellows; and I told the yasak payers the gracious word of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia: that henceforth they should remain under your royal protection without fear, and that they should pay the yasak to Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia. And I, your bondman, ordered them to return to their native yurts; and I, your bondman, Sire, sent the gentleman Ilya Beklemishev and ataman Kazarin Volnin to the volost of Borabinsk. And on 16 August, the gentleman Ilya Beklemishev and ataman Kazarin Volnin brought three of Kuchum's men from the volost of Barabinsk – Barsanda with his fellows, as well as the best man of Barabinsk, Yesnigildey Turundaev, with his two sons, and fifteen yasak payers from the volost of Yesnigilday. And during the interrogation and torture, Kuchum's men, Barsanda and his fellows, told me, your bondman: Kuchum Tsar is camping near the Ob river, where his grain is sown, and there are five hundred people by the side of Kuchum Tsar; and Kuchum is planning to march against the towns of Your Majesty the Great Sovereign Tsar Boris Feodorovich of All Russia soon – against Tara and the Yapyn and Kaurdatsk volosts; and about thirty families of Kuchum's people are living at Lake Ik, four days from Kuchum's camp. After hearing this information, I, your bondman, sent the gentlemen Mosei Glebov and Feodor Lopukhin to Lake Ik, as well as the Tatar head Cherkas Oleksandrov with forty Tatar Cossacks on horseback and sixty Yugra Tatars. Thus, Sire, Mosei Glebov and Feodor Lopukhin and Cherkas Oleksandrov found Kuchum's people at Lake Ik, and defeated them, and brought five of them to me alive, and during their interrogation and torture, they told me, your bondman: Kuchum Tsar is camping at the Ob river and he has sent for them to join his gathering, and Kuchum Tsar wants to march against Tara and against Yalynsk and Kaurdatsk volosts soon, and others of Kuchum's people are camping one or two days from Kuchum's camp, about twenty families. And I, your bondman, sent the gentlemen Mosei Glebov and Feodor Lopukhin and [...] Tara Cossacks on horseback, and thirty Tatars from the Tara yurt, and ordered them to attack Kuchum's people at night, so that they did not pass the news to Kuchum Tsar. And Mosei Glebov and Feodor Lopukhin defeated Kuchum's people who nomadised two days far from Kuchum's camp utterly, and left no one who could notify Kuchum. And I, your bondman, leaving the camp at Lake Ik, marched against Kuchum Tsar swiftly, and marched day and night along the Ob river after Kuchum Tsar, and found him three days above Chaty, at the meadow at Ormen, two days away from the Kalmaks. And I, your kholop, marched against Kuchum Tsar on 20 August at dawn and fought with Kuchum Tsar till midday; and by the grace of God and by the blessing of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, I defeated Kuchum Tsar and captured his tsareviches and tsarinas, and Kuchum's brother Tsarevich Iliten and Kuchum's son Tsarevich Kanai; and two tsareviches, the children of Tsarevich Alei, were killed on the battlefield; and we captured Kuchum's children alive – five tsareviches, Asmanak, Shaim, Bibadsh, Molla and Kumysh, and eight

tsarinas, Kuchum's wives, and eight of the tsar's daughters, as well as Tsarevich Osmei [...] with his son and daughter, as well as tsarevich Churai [...] the daughter of Nogai Prince Urus with her two daughters; we also captured Kuchum's best men on the battlefield: five princes and murzas, and Baiteryak Murza and his fellows; and we also killed six princes, Prince Moimurat with his fellows; and ten murzas, Ahit Murza with his fellows; and five atalyks, Chegei Atalyk, Kuchum's father-in-law, with his fellows; as well as one hundred fifty soldiers; and a hundred people drowned in the Ob river, Sire, as they tried to cross it; and the men of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia shot at them from the bank with arquebuses and with bows; and about fifty soldiers were captured alive, and I, your bondman, ordered that some of them be beaten and others hanged. And many say, Sire, that Kuchum Tsar drowned in the Ob River, while others say that Kuchum escaped beyond the Ob by boat; and I, your bondman, sailed across the Ob on rafts with the host of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia and searched for Kuchum Tsar beyond the Ob River, in the forests and on the islands in the Ob, but did not find him anywhere. And I, your bondman, brought Kuchum's Tul Mamet Sayyid to shert [oath], and sent him to search for Kuchum Tsar in Chaty and Kolmaki, and should Kuchum Tsar be found anywhere, I ordered him to tell Kuchum to go to serve you, Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, and that you, Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, would grant him your royal favour. And Tul Mamet Sayyid had not come to me, Sire, by 4 September. And I, your bondman, sent the gentleman Mosei Glebov and Ataman Tretiak Zharenovo, and forty Tara Cossacks on horseback, and thirty people on foot with them, to pursue those of Kuchum's horsemen, about fifty men, who had escaped from the battle; and Mosei and Tretiak chased them two days before they could reach Chaty, and killed them all. And I, your bondman, followed from the city of Tara to Kuchum, at a rapid march, for sixteen days; and I did not go to fight in Chaty, because the Chaty people [...] could not be fought in the summer time, before the frosts; and I, your bondman, ordered Kuchum's Kul Mamet Sayyid to go the best men of Chaty, that all of the best men would go to Tara, the city of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia; and there was no message from Chaty to me, your bondman, by September 4. And those volosts, Sire, which are located on this side of the Ob river, and are disobedient to you, Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, and do not pay the yasak to Tara: the big volost of Boroba, the volost of Terenya, half of Kirpotsovo and half of Kuroma, and half of [...] volost, which were the first to disobey and not pay the yasak to Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia at Tara, and I, your bondman, sent expeditions into those volosts, men of the gentry with sotnias and the Tatar head and atamans, and we captured the best men of those volosts; and regarding those volosts which Kuchum Tsar lured away from Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia in the year 106, I, your bondman, sent all of the yasak payers in those volosts to their native yurts and ordered them to pay the yasak to Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia; and as for those volosts which I recently brought under your protectorate, I, your bondsman, did not have time to impose the yasak on them, for I did not dare to stay at Kuchum's camp for a long time. The Kolmaks are two days from Kuchum's camp, and, Sire, five thousand Kolmak military men are gathering; and I, your bondman, advanced towards Tara from the Ob River, from Kuchum's camp, on 27 August, and I brought the tsareviches, Kuchum's children, and his tsarinas with me, and I also took Kuchum's best men and the best yasak-paying men of the volosts with me towards Tara. And when I, your bondman, reach Tara, I shall immediately release the tsareviches and tsarinas to Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, and I shall write to Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia about the new volosts, and how much yasak I shall impose on them. And I, your bondman, have sent the gentleman Mosei Glebov and the Tatar head Cherkas Oleksandrov with the charter to you, our Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia, on 4 September, from the Om river, six days away from the city of Tara; and I have also sent the record of service for all the soldiers of Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich to Your Majesty the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Boris Feodorovich of All Russia with them.

6. A name-by-name list of the captured members of Kuchum's family, and Siberian princes, murzas, atalyks and service class people (4 September 1598)

Of Kuchumov's children, 5 tsareviches were captured: Asmanak, 30 years old; Shaim, 20 years old; Bibadsha, 12 years old; Molla, 5 years old; Kumysh, 6 years old; Tsarevich Alei escaped from the battlefield. And 8 tsarinas, Kuchum's wives, and 8 of the Tsar's daughters, and Tsarevich Alei's tsarina with her son and daughter, and Tsarevich Konai's tsaritsa, the daughter of the Nogai Prince Urus, with her two daughters. Of Kuchum's best men 5 princes and murzas, Murza Bayterak and his comrades, were captured in battle. 6 princes were killed, Prince Moimurat and his comrades, as well as 10 murzas, [...] Murza and his comrades; 5 atalyks, Kuchum's father-in-law Atalyk Chegey and his comrades; and 150 soldiers. And 100 people drowned in the River Ob when they were crossing the river. About 50 people were captured alive; they were beaten and some were hanged. Kuchum's brother Tsarevich Iliten and Kuchum's son Tsarevich [...] were killed.

7. Report from the Tara voivodes Stepan Kozmin, Andrei Voyeykov and Piotr Pivov to the Tsar (17 October 1598)

Your bondmen Stepanko Kuzmin, Ondriushka Voyeykov, and Petrushka Pivov make obeisance to the Sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Boris Feodorovich. Last year, Sire, 23 August 106, I, your bondman Ondriushko, from the defeat of Kuchum, sent Kuchum's Siberian Seyyit Tul-Mamet to Chaty to find out about Tsar Kuchum, whether he is alive or drowned; and if he found Kuchum, I, your bondman, ordered him to tell Tsar Kuchum to come and serve Your Majesty, and that you, Sire, would show him your royal favour and order that his children and wives be given back to him. I, Your bondman, told the seyyit to go to Chaty and talk to the best men of Chaty, to the princes and murzas, to Prince Kuzemenkey and to Tokkash and to Murza Kozhbakhtyi and his comrades, that all the people of Chaty would be under your royal protection, and that the best men would go to the new town on the Tara and pay the yasak to Your Majesty from all their volosts and to serve to Your Majesty; and if Tsar Kuchum comes to Chaty, that they would capture him and send him to Your Majesty, and Your Majesty will grant them your royal favour and defend them with Your Majesty's troops from all the hordes. However, if the people of Chaty do not want to be under your royal protection, I, your bondman, asked the seyyit to tell the Chaty people that Your Majesty ordered me, your bondman Ondriushka, to march with the entire Siberian host and fight against their volosts. And this year, Sire, 5 October 107, Seyyit Tul-Mamet came from Chaty to the Tara, and brought a letter from the Chaty murzas and brought to us, to Your bondmen, forty sabres from the Chaty mirzas, and upon questioning he told us, your bondmen, about Tsar Kuchum: he found Kuchum Tsar beyond the River Ob, in the forest, two days downstream from the battlefield with three of his sons and about thirty men. Kuchum escaped from the battle by boat down the River Ob while his sons and men were fighting against me, Your bondman. The seyyit told Kuchum from me to go to Your Majesty to serve, and Your Majesty will grant him your royal favour and give his sons and wives back to him. And Kuchum told us through the seyyit: I did not go to His Majesty, neither by His Majesty's charter nor by my own will; when I was completely well there was no reason to go to His Majesty for a sword, and now I am deaf and blind and I have no means of subsistence: my breadwinner, my son Tsarevich Asmanak, has been taken from me; even if all my children had been captured, but only Asmanak had been left to me, I would still be able to survive through him; but now I am going to the Nogais and I am sending my son to Bukhara. And Kuchum led the seyyit with him around the battlefield for two days and buried the dead. And in the presence of the seyyit, Kuchum sent two people to Chaty to Murza Kozhbakhtyi and asked for horses and clothes, and Mirza Kozhbahtyi sent him a horse and a fur coat. Kozhbakhtyi himself arrived the next day after his gift and camped beyond the Ob across from Tsar Kuchum and wanted to see Kuchum, but Kuchum, seeing Kozhbbakhtyi, did not wait for him, but ran away from his camp up the River Ob, and sent the seyyit to Chaty. In Chaty, he said to the best Chaty people to come under your high tsar reign and to send the best men to a new town on the Tara and to pay in furs to You, My Lord, from all the volost, and to serve to You, My Lord, in everything. The Chaty people said to us, your bondsmen, through the seyyit: until now we have not served His Majesty and have not paid the yasak, and we

obeyed Tsar Kuchum. Kuchum was near to us and ruled our volosts. Now His Majesty's men have defeated Kuchum and Kuchum has left us, and we are happy to serve His Majesty with our heads and pay the yasak from our volosts. But we cannot go to Tara with you now, as the Kolmaks are our enemies and we are at war with them. When it is time to pay the yasak, have them send you, seyyit, and along with you the yasak collectors, Russians and yurt Tatars, and we will pay the yasak from our volosts and send our best men to Tara. And we, your bondmen, sent Seyyit Tul-Mamet to Chaty for for the yasak, along with two Russian men, the Lithuanian Martin Fiodorov and the Cavalry Cossak Pospel Golubin, as well as the Tara yurt Tatar Akmanay Obuchev, on 17 October. And we ordered them to tell the best men in Chaty to pay the yasak to Your Majesty from all their volosts and send their best men with the yasak to Tara. And we, your bondmen, translated the letter of the Chaty murzas and sent it to Your Majesty with the cavalry Cossack Timokha Drozhdelov on 17 October, but we did not send Seyyit Tul-Mamet to Your Majesty, because the Chaty people wrote to us about him and asked us to send the seyyit with the yasak collectors to them in Chaty for the yasak.

13. The account of 'Tawarikh-i guzida — Nusrat-name' about Khan Abu'l-Khayr

Published according to: Tawarikh-i guzida – Nusrat-name. Tashkent, 1967. Pp. 264, 266–267 Arab. pag.

...Abu'l-Khayr Khan... having completed his military campaigns, twice took the throne of Sain Khan from the descendants of Timur Qutlugh Mahmud [Khan] and Ahmed Khan, and, while sitting on [this] throne, held many banquets [and] gave many gifts to his Begs and servants. From him a lot of good things were left¹... For forty years he was the khan in Desht-i Kipchak. // Having conquered the peoples of the Tualas, Chinggi Bashgyrt, Buliar, and Bulgar, he spent summers [on their lands], with righteousness collecting the yasak from these peoples. Moving to Turkestan to spend the winters, with righteousness he took the tithe. The merchants of Iran and Turan were able to safely trade, freely travelling around [the land of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], and none [of them] were hurt². The entire ulus during his reign achieved its wishes, [and he] was called 'Saint'³ Jani[Beg], bringing good luck to his people⁴.

During his reign, from the descendants⁵ of Kyshlyk⁶, who served well with a sword⁷, were Yahshibeg-bahadur [and] Qutlugh-Bugabahadur. The others Begs, who served well with a sword to the khan, were *Beg Yakub Karagida from the Diurmens and Sheikh Sufi from the Naimans.

The story about their granting [by Abu'l-Khayr Khan] of the positions of the darugas of Chimgi-Tura.

He⁸ granted them⁹ the position of the darugas of Chimgi-Tura. *Kirli Tarichak-bahadur from the Diurmens,

*Ilin-Hoja [and] Sufrachi Edje from the [tribe] Ichki during the Kozakdom [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] served well with a sword and were the reason for [his] power. And the names of the Begs [of that time], when [his] power had been established, were [as follows]: Beg Budanjar from the kin of Kiyat Beg Astay,

¹ Literally: 'occurred'.

² Apparently, the security of merchants set by Abu'l Khayr in his possessions is referred to here.

³ The word 'aziz' in medieval Turkic-Islamic texts also has the meaning of 'deceased'.

⁴ A clear hint at the Golden Horde khan—Jani Beg, whose period of rule (1342–1357/58) is presented as the era of universal well-being in sources of the late Golden Horde.

⁵ Literally: 'sons'.

⁶ Kyshlyk is a horse-wrangler of Eke-Cheren, one of the eldest emirs of Ong khan. Warned Chinggis khan about the scheme of Ong khan and his son Sangun against him, for which Chinggis khan made him a tarkhan and an eldest emir; his descendants also used these privileges.

⁷ That is, which served the khan.

⁸ That is, Abu'l-Khayr khan.

⁹ That is, to the beys listed above.

Beg Muhammed from the kin of Kungrat Beg Ali, Beg Tengribirdi from the Tyumens, and Beg Vakkas from the Mangyts, a grandson of Beg Edigu. This Beg was the reason [of the fact that] the khan conquered the throne of Sain on two occasions. He fought with the sword many times and brought glory [to the khan]. This ulus during the reign of Sultan Bahtiyar [and] Beg Vakkas was flourishing; the ulus flourished and called [them] 'the well-doers.' Those who served well during the Kozakdom [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan], were: Yakub Hojasy Hoja, Yusuf Hoja, Kyrykmysh Bahram Hoja, Tunkachuk Kulun Hoja; *Kylychbay-bahadur [and] Yirchi Kara Daulut Hoja// a bahadur from the commanders of thousands from the [tribe] Tyumen, Yabagu Bahti Hoja from the Uyghurs, * Anka Hoja from the Diurmens, Yumaduk from the [tribe] Tubay, the Tyumen Dervish-bahadur; Sheikh Muhammed-bahadur [and] Kudagay Usman-bahadur from the Ushuns, Inak Yagly Hoja [and] his younger brother Urus-bahadur. Besides those listed above, a large number of people came [to the khan] when [he] attained power.

From those who came: Beg Meret Sufi from the omak Utarchi¹, Beg Haji Sufi from the omak Chat, Beg Yabagugu [and] Beg Giray Hoja from the omak Mesit, Umar-bahadur, Abakir and Usman-bahadur from the Naimans. Also, from the Kyuyuns: Meret Sufi-oghlan *from the Tangkuts, Shekh Sufi-oghlan *from the Boals, Hasan-oghlan from the Chimtays, *Idel-oghlan from the Sungkar, s and also Balkh-oghlan *from the Shahbahts, Bishkend-oghlan [and] his younger brother Khizr Sheikh-oghlan from the Injanliks—* all of them during the reign [of Abu'l-Khayr Khan] were in favour.

14. The translation of the passage in the 'Hikayat' chronicle about the history of the origin of Kazan'

Source: Saint Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, V 4070, p. 38a.

In a word, when the people of Old Bulgar recovered from the massacre, [caused by] Khazrat Aksak-Timur, the survivors gathered together. At first, the Black Idil flowed near Old Bulgar. When the great battle was over (mokatale)², they saw that the Black Idil had moved away [from the town] three miles to the west. That was why they (the people of Old Bulgar. – I. M.) decided that it was impractical to rebuild [the town]. Having conferred with each other, they built a new town (kala) on the side of the summer sunset [of the sun]³, near the [River] Black Idil (Idil-i siyah⁴), on the bank of the River Gazani. [The new town] was named Gazan. It was also called 'New Bulgar' (Bulgari jadid). In that place they lived well under the banner of Islam for some time. In all the cases, according to the Holy Shari'ah, they made an appeal to [the court of] the Muslim qadis and great sayyids. They (qadis and sayyids. – I. M.), by following the Sunna of the Prophet, also took part in the cessation of strife and suppression of enmity. The town saw the reign of sixteen khans. When Old Bulgar (Bulgari kadim) faced difficult times, its khan was Gabdulla. At that time (literally.: that day. – I. M.) he became a shahid. He left behind two sons: Altun bik and Galim bik. In order to ensure that the family line continued, they were taken away to the forest and hidden [there]. That was why they were saved. When the town was built (literally: fortress. – I. M.) Gazan, by an old rule (kānun) the first khan was Altun bik. The [exactly] same way, the 2nd khan was Galim bik, the 3rd - Muhammad, the 4th - Mamtiak, the 5th - Halil, the 6th - Ibrahim, the 7th - Ilham, the 8 - Mohammed Amin, the 9th - Mamuk, the 10th - Gabdul Latif, the 11th - Sahib Giray, the 12th - Safa Giray, the 13th - Gali, the 14th - Utiaash, the 15 - Yadigar. During [the reign of] Khan Yadigar, in 950 there was a solar eclipse. The sixteenth [khan was] Khan Shagali.

Translated by Ilyas Mustakimov

¹ In the original: utachi.

² In the original: mokābale.

³ That is, to the Northwest of Bulgar.

⁴ The Persian translation of the Tatar hydronym 'Kara Idel'—the name of the Volga higher than the Kama's fall into it (Ak Idel).

1. 'Fi Beyani Tarih'

Source: The Department of Manuscripts, Scientific and Archival Fund of the Ibragimov Institute of Language, Literature and Arts, G. Ibragimova of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, reserve 18, list 1, file 6, pp. 64–66.

In the narration of history. It was in 693¹, the year of the cow, Mir-Timur² with his troops besieged the town of Bolgar³; up to seven years they remained, encircling [it] in a ring. It was in year 700, in Dhu al-Hijjah month 20, [he] conquered the town of Bolgar. [There] were 124 great noble princes, and all of them died. Each of them had a wife like a pearl, [and] Mir-Timur captured all of them. Among those princes, there were four grand princes, nobles tsareviches: one [was] Ikbal bik, the other was Kol Ali bik, the third was called Khuashi bik, [and] the last one was Kashi bik. The town was turned into ruins; a lot of people died. Khan Abdullah passed away. Two sons of the khan were hidden in the forest⁴. One of them was nine years old, the other one was seven years old; one was named Altun bik, the other one was named Alim bik. [They] were well-brought up. Altun bik was put on the throne at age of 14. On the River Kazanka the fortress was built. They lived there for 104 years; [then] they moved away. The town was built on the estuary of the River Kazanka. They were there for 158 years. When the family line of the khans discontinued, and there was no [khan], they brought Khan Shah-Ali, [who] was a prisoner of the Russians. [He] was the khan for 33 years. After committing treason, violence flared up. Many people [thus] were killed. The Russian khan arrived; [it] was two years earlier (?). It was in 959, the year of the Mouse, it was the second day of Scorpio⁵, the Russian Tsar took the town of Kazan; it was Sunday. In 963, the year of Panther, in the month of Shavval, Khan Shah-Ali died⁶, [and] God knows more! Altun bik is said to have had the tamga, so called × ; it was named the tamga of thief-fighting. Having left⁷ the Golden throne, they arrived at Iske-Kazan⁸. The Golden throne was the name of the town of Bolgar. When Mir-Timur came, he took the town of Bolgar and plundered [it], this Altun bik with the rest of his people kept the yurt⁹ in Kazan. When the yurt was in that¹⁰ Kazan, Altun bik and Alim bik allegedly said (?)¹¹. Alim bik did not like Kazan and went to Tobol-Tura. Having arrived there, he kept [there] the yurt. Old Tobol-Tura was built by him¹². And Altun bik came to the new Kazan. He was followed by Khan Mahmud; [he] is mentioned above. The representatives of the family of Altun bik [and]¹³ Alim bik are said to be also in Crimea. By that reason, if there was a need of the khan in Kazan, the khan was always taken from Crimea. Finished.

Translated by Ali (Gali) Rakhim (1892-1943)

¹ 693 of Lunar Hijrah fell on 2.12.1293 - 20.11.1294 in the Julian calendar.

² Abbreviated 'Tamerlane Emir'.

³ The writing attracts attention, as there is 'a'—Balgär—instead of usual Bolgar (Bulgar).

⁴ That is, in the forest.

⁵ The 2nd day of the Sun being in the constellation of Scorpio in 959 AH corresponds to 2 October 1552.

⁶ 963 A[H] = 1555 [according to the Julian calendar]; Shah Ali died in 974 A[H] (1567 [year according to the Julian calendar]) (author's note). Shawwal of 963 of Lunar Hijrah fell on 8 August—5 September 1556 according to the Julian calendar.

⁷ In the original: upon departing.

⁸ Old Kazan (author's note).

⁹ In the sense: got settled (author's note).

¹⁰ That is, in old (author's note).

¹¹ The meaning of this phrase is not clear (author's note).

¹² It is about the ancient Tatar fortress on the Tobol river (author's note).

¹³ The conjunction 'and' is absent in the document.

16. The letter of the Crimean Khan Mehmed Giray I to the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I with an explanation of the reasons why it was impossible for the Crimean troops to conduct a campaign against Poland. [1521, March–April]

TSMA, E. 1308/2

Translation

To His Just Caliph Majesty, May Allah the Master All-Helping make him stronger!

Being thrown to the earth of Master's Sublime Porte—may Allah the Lord All-Giving make it stronger—Your humble, slave-like, servant.

Recently, with one of the sultan's servants, equal to Husein Beg, we received the Padishah's order that we must follow. From the glorious contents we found out that Your august person with good intentions and troops, like the sea, is eager to conduct a great holy campaign against the condemned Hungarians—may Allah the Lord All-Helping make them weak! We ask God All-Mercy and All-Generous—may his glory be exalted and his mercy flow on all his creations!—so you [it was destined] come back to the throne of the caliphate in good health, burdened with the spoils of war, with victory and subjugation. Your loyal servant was ordered to conduct a campaign against the King of Poland.

This [your] humble servant, his sons, younger and elder, all your helpers and supporters—we all are sincere and loyal servants of [our] Lord and Padishah of the inhabited quarter world. And [our] country, and [our] people belong to [your] august person, who is under a blissful combination of stars.

Our circumstances and positions will be described [below].

Some time ago, the Polish King sent an ambassador to this [your] humble servant, and to protect the country from raids, he took the responsibility to pay the jizyah annually at fifteen thousand florins¹, and we approved the vow and made peace. This [your] servant, by their² request, in order for them to trust [us], I always leave him as a ho³stage one of the Begs and Mirzas from the tribe (ایل), known as the Shirin, and their man is always with us. And they⁴ annually pay us the Kharaj. Now one of the above-mentioned Mirzas⁵, the son of Devletek Beg, a Mirza named Evliya, is taken as hostage, and until another Beg or Mirza from them⁶ does not replace him, he cannot go back [to Crimea]. If, by violating the agreement, we attack them⁷, this Mirza will be imprisoned forever or killed, and then the tribe (قوم) of the Shirins and their Begs and Mirzas *will revolt against us⁸. Order in the country will be broken, and the country will be ruined.

[Moreover,] our old oppressor and deadly enemy, Khan *of Capital country⁹, Khan Sheikh Ahmed, is being kept by the [Polish] King. If they [Poles] see hostility from our side, they will set him free, and order in the country will be broken.

The khan of the country, known as Kazan¹⁰, was our brother Khan Muhammad-Emin. As after his death the Begs and Mirzas [of Kazan] sent fifteen reliable men to us and asked this [your] servant [to give them a new] khan, I sent [there] my younger brother Sahib Giray accompanied by several people. Before his arrival [in Kazan], the Moscow Grand Prince exiled the qadi of Kazan, appointed [Christian] priests to govern Muslim affairs, and built churches. When he [in this way] made the Muslims by force follow the ceremonies of the infidels and, acting against the Sharia, brought sorrow upon the Muslims, my above-mentioned brother entered the town and became a khan.

¹ Florin (zecchino)—a European golden coin.

² That is, the Poles

³ That is, the Polish king.

⁴ That is, the Poles

⁵ That is, mirzas who were members of the Shirin clan.

⁶ That is, the Shirin clan.

⁷ That is the Poles

⁸ Literally: 'turn the face away from us' (بزدن یوز دندردر لر).

⁹ ولایت تخت⁴ تخت ایلی. Along with تخت مملکتی. It was the Turkic-Tatar name of 'the Great Horde' in Russian sources.

¹⁰ In the text: گازان 'Gazan'

Having found out about it, the Moscow Prince sent large numbers of troops and made [them] guard the crossings in order to complete halt communication [between Crimea and Kazan]. Because of this, my brother is said to be in a quite complicated situation. Having found out about the situation [in Kazan] from a letter, which was secretly delivered by a person [from there], we decided to provide my brother with help and support. To stop the unrest provoked by those idolaters acerbated against Islam, we got on our horses with the intention to fight against them, and we hope for victory and subjugation. *Three months have passed since the troops of our country were ordered to set off [on the campaign]¹. Half the troops [consisting of the warriors] of the Shirin tribe have [already] passed the place called Injike (?) and are waiting for your attendant in the place [known as] Syut². After our army decides to set off [on a campaign] to any country, it is impossible to bring it back as [the warriors] are not our mercenaries. They are nomads, people of the steppe. Even the warriors who are here³, following them [in a campaign], choose a Beg as their commander by themselves.

The land, conquered by us earlier and inhabited by the Nogais, was settled by *a numerous tribe known as the Kazakhs (قزاق)⁴, which had come under the leadership of their khan. Now they are attentively watching us. Even if we gain the opportunity, and we conduct a campaign against the country of the king⁵, they, uniting with our long-time enemy Khan of Hajji Tarkhan, will come and destroy [our] country. This year all our enemies are in the saddle.

This [your] loyal slave also intended to climb onto the saddle and join the campaign, when this [your] order was delivered, which the [entire] world is obliged to follow. The actual situation is as is described [above]. We can only follow the orders coming from Porte, which is the citadel of the Universe.

Let the [extending over you] shelter of might and shadow of bliss last long with the help of God *for one hundred and thirty years⁶!

The weakest of the slaves of God, poor Mehmed Giray.

On the reverse side, on the bottom left is a round seal print with the legend:

(in the upper part) محمد رای خان بن 'Mehmed Giray khan b.'; (in the lower part)

منگی رای خان 'Khan Mengli Giray'; (in the centre) a picture of the Giray tamga.

Look also at the information about the external attributes of the document: Ostapchuk V. The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. – 1987. – T.19. – Pp. 269.

¹ اوج آی مقداری وارد به مملکت مزک عسکر نه چیقوک دیو تنبیه اولونمشدر. This sentence is not translated in the publications of Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejey which attracted V. Ostapchuk's attention (V. Ostapchuk. The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*, 1987, vol. 19, p. 262).

² Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejey supposed that it might be a locality known in Russian sources under the name Molochniye Vody [Milky Waters] (Lemerrier-Quelquejey Ch. 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 // *CMRS*, 1971, vol. 12, No. 4, p. 485).

³ That is in the Crimea.

⁴ Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejey assumed that it was about the Don Cossacks and suggested the following translation: 'a multiple gang known under the name of Cossacks' (Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejey 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 // *CMRS*, 1971, vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 484, 488–489). The interpretation of the French researcher was criticized by a number of scientists (A. Isin. Mutual relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Nogai Horde in the 16th century (Synopsis of the thesis), Alma-Ata, 1988, p. 18. V. Trepavlov. The History of the Nogai Horde, M., 2001, p. 160, note 20; I. Zaitsev. The Astrakhan Khanate, M., 2004, p. 83).

⁵ That is Poland.

⁶ In the text النون و الصاد. The numerical meaning of the letter 'Nun' according to the Abjad numerals - 40, letter 'Sade'—90.

Published in: Lemerrier-Quelquejay Ch. 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 // CMRS. – 1971. – T.12. – No. 4. – P.480–490; KCAMPT. – Pp. 110–117.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

**17. The list of reports from the Astrakhan Khan (Qasim II? Akkubeg?)
to the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I (938 = not earlier than 1531,
August 15 = not later than 1532, August 2)**

TSMA, E. 5292

Translation

He, the Strengthening!

To His Majesty Sultan Suleyman, who achieved the supreme happiness of the embodiment of the sultanate, of glorious origin, marked with righteous, to the carrier of the caliph power, to the glory of the rulers' epoch, to the pillar of the servants of God, to the beauty of all things, to the fortifier of the country, faith, caliphate, and peace, to the Sun of Islam and Muslims, to the one marked by the kindness of the All-Generous God, to my brother—May Allah prolong his age until the end of time!

We offer prayers and praise [to God], send you our many greetings and express the wish to see [you], and here is [our] word: we are in good health and peace, and we live in prosperity. May the *Supreme Creator¹ allow you to be under the protection of God and be marked by magnificence, prosperity, and grandeur determined by the blissful combination of stars.

Second, [our] respectful message [to you] is as follows. The servant of God is able to deal with only what is destined to him by the All-Perfect Creator. How can our good name fall in the shadow of the actions of the road robber and looters, who cannot be ruled? From now on, in our endeavour to honour you, we will hold back [from hostile actions] those who depend on us and live in peace with those who depend on you.

Moreover, since ancient times there have been close friendly relations between our ancestors. Being well aware of that previous custom, surely we can follow it by letting each other know about our health in accordance with the saying 'Letters are like talks' and not exchanging respectful messages containing lists of information and gifts of notices in accordance with the statement 'Support communication between each other through letters'!

In this respect, I have sent [to you] a loyal man, the most reliable from the noble men, our Haji Taki, with his two servants. And what words to say [to us] through him is your choice.

This is how [our] letter is written. The year of 938.

Note:

On the reverse side, there is a grammatically incorrect note with the same handwriting that is used in the main text: 'Copy of the letter of Khan of Hajji Tarkhan.'

Published in: KCAMPT. – Pp. 118–120.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

¹ These words are written in the margins of the text.

18. The letter of Khan Sahib Giray to the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I describing the situation in the Crimean Khanate ([940,] Jumada I not earlier than 11–not later than 30 = 1533, November, not earlier than 28–December, not later than 17)

TSMA, E. 5434

Translation

To His Majesty and Holder of might, mercy, and magnificence, to his presence to my master, whose desires are fulfilled and intentions are accomplished—may he not stop being healthy and safe until Lord's Day!

By following the rule of reading obligatory prayers—may they not stop being kindly accepted [by the Almighty]—for the one who is an ideal example of an acting mind, the embodiment of prosperity and [the object of] deep respect, may the following be embraced and acquired [by the Padishah's mind].

If [Your Majesty] decides to ask about the affairs of [our] country, as it was reported [by us] before, Islam¹ has put its hand on the gifts sent to this weak servant and infidel, and Sultan Safa Giray was offended and went to the Kazan land. Now, in the middle of the month Jemaziel-Evvel, his messenger arrived² with his letters, who informed him that [Safa Giray] safely arrived at the above-mentioned vilayet³ and, by his will, became the khan [there], and the noble and common people, being sincerely obedient [to him], killed their former khan⁴ and sent the news about the enthronement of the above-mentioned [Safa Giray] to the khanate. Now when after the departure of the above-mentioned khan most of the Oghlans and Begs, who were at Islam's time, came with numerous apologies to this pure in heart servant to demonstrate their obedience and humbleness, the above-mentioned Islam became weak and powerless, and he could not do anything but persuade and beg [his supporters].

The only⁵ all-embracing wish and high dream, being addressed [by us] to the high place of God, is that [their Sultan Majesty] will not stop to witness how the hearts of the people are filled with joy, delight, and glee when they hear about their reign and the abode of their sacred presence and good nature of their sacred residence and noble place being in health and welfare.

May [to you] with the help of God the happiness of two worlds be destined and may [all] dreams come true in two places!

On the reverse side, in the right lower corner, there is an almond-shaped seal print with the legend: (in the upper part) صاحب کرای خان بن 'Sahib Giray khan b.'; (in the centre) ای خان [the Giray tamga] منکلی کر 'Khan Mengli Giray'; (in the lower part) بن حاجی کرای خان 'b. Khan Hacı Giray.'

Look also at the information about the external attributes of the document: Ostapchuk V. The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. – 1987. – T.19. – Pp. 269–270.

Published in: KCAMPT. – Pp. 124–127.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

¹ Islam Giray is implied, who was the Qalga and rival of Sahib Giray I khan.

² KCAMPT, p. 126: 'courier' (messenger).

³ That is the Kazan state.

⁴ The murder of Jan Ali is meant (he ruled in Kazan between 1531 and 1533).

⁵ Literally: 'the same' (همان).

19. The letter of Prince Islam Giray to the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I Kanuni with the request to grant him the Crimean throne or to replace Khan Sahib Giray with the previous Crimean Khan Saadet Giray. (Not earlier than 1533—not later than 1537).

TSMA, E. 2365

Translation

To the Threshold, the sanctuary of justice, and to the Court, the place of welfare—may it not stop being great and overcome the hardships of the time—the message of the weakest of the servants of God is as follows.

A lot of time has passed since the death of my father, late Khan Mehmed Giray, may [God] have mercy on him! And my uncle (اغام), his Majesty Khan Saadet Giray, by your sacred order and banner, arrived [in Crimea] and became the khan. All this time this slave has never ceased to worry about the country. Sometimes the instigation of trouble-makers, sometimes duplicity, numerous intrigues and threats of the present Khan Sahib Giray, being the Sultan at that time, repeatedly put the country in turmoil. The country was not safe, nor were the people in peace. Then the Sublime Porte appointed the above-mentioned Khan Sahib-Giray to be the khan and sent him [to Crimea]. Since that time he has not done any good deed and has not said any true word. A real and detailed description of the circumstances was repeatedly reported [by us] to your¹ Sublime Porte. If his Majesty Happy Padishah, Sanctuary of Peace—may he be healthy!—gives me, to his servant, the khanate, with all my efforts I will demonstrate my service, and it will become a model for the entire world. Whether the khanate is given [to me] or not, [in any case,] I² [will] remain loyal and obedient to the Happy Padishah.

For so many years *I seem³ to have been a reason for the civil strife and destruction in our country. My⁴ request to your [High] Threshold and the hope of all the people and the noble men is to appoint my uncle Khan Saadet Giray, who has been Khan before, to the khan [again] and send him [to Crimea]. [For even] if there is an order to reconcile with Khan Sahib Giray again, it will be impossible. Actually, the reasons for this were more than once reported [by us] to your⁵ Sublime Porte. It is impossible, [even] if *two worlds⁶ become one. If the khanate is given to my uncle Saadet Giray, I, your servant, will not stay in this country, will not hope for the khanate in this country, will leave behind [my] hopes and give up [my] intrigues. If there is a sacred order from the Happy Padishah, and he shows his mercy, with his banner *and the khan's help⁷ I will go to Astrakhan, become a khan [there], read the Khutbah on [behalf of] the Padishah, and make the country flourish. If it is ordered to fight against the Kyzylbash tribe or other enemies of the faith and state, may my service of valour be witnessed! [And] it will be.

If I do not go away and demonstrate disobedience and give excuses, may there be no trust for any word of mine, and—Heaven forbid!—may I be considered as an insurgent against Allah and his Rasul. And may [your] punishment befall me then. In case Khan Saadet Giray is sent as a khan, I vow in front of Allah and his Rasul that I will not renounce my word and promise. As [this] country entirely belongs to the Happy Padishah, *the county can be joined by another country⁸. But while here is Khan Sahib Giray, considering his previous intrigues and our enmity with him, while this paltry is alive, he will not go anywhere. We hope that the Happy Padishah will demonstrate his charity to the people of [our] country. Some of our words about the above-mentioned [to the Sublime Porte] was entrusted to be reported,

¹ In the text اول. Literally: 'that one'.

² In the text—'we'.

³ In the text—'we seem'.

⁴ In the text—'our'.

⁵ In the text اول. Literally: 'that one'.

⁶ Worlds—this life and the afterlife.

⁷ In the text و خان مرفتيه. Literally: 'and through intermediary of the khan'. In the publication of Gökbilgin and KCAMPT, this phrase is not translated.

⁸ In the text مملكته دخي قاتله مملكت. The meaning of this phrase is not totally clear.

sent to your¹ High Threshold ambassador, your humble servant, Sheikh-zade Sha'ban. May he be inter-rogated about it.

The right of the decree belongs to the Sublime Porte.

Notes:

On the reverse side, at the top, there is an address with handwriting that is different from the main one: دولتستانه دولته to 'the Threshold of Happiness.'²

Under the address, there is a round seal print with the legend: (in the upper part) اسچم کرای س. طان 'Sultan Islam Giray'; (in the centre) بن 'b.'; (in the lower part) محمد کرای خان 'Khan Mehmed Giray.'³

Look also at the information about the external attributes of the document: Ostapchuk V. The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. – 1987. – T. 19. – P. 270.

Published in: Gökbilgin Ö. Quelques sources manuscrites sur l'époque de Sahib Giray Ier, khan de Crimée (1532–1551) a Istanbul, Paris et Leningrad // *CMRS*. – 1970. – T. 11. – No. 3. – P. 462–469; Gökbilgin Ö. 1532–1577 Yılları Arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nın Siyasi Durumu. – Ankara, 1973. – S. 57–58, 76; *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han (Histoire de Sahib Giray, khan de Crimée de 1532 a 1551)*. Ed. crit., trad., notes et glossaire par Ö. Gökbilgin. – Ankara, 1973. – S. 295–297; *KCAMPT*. – Pp. 127–129.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

**20. Delivery of the message of the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I to the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray I about the actions that should be taken in Western Desht-i Kipchak.
(959, Safar 19 = 15 February 1552)**

TSM, K. 888, f. 74a

Translation

The Decree to Khan Devlet Giray.

Now one of the Nogai Beys Mirza Ismail sent his ambassador Kuvandyk to my Happy Threshold. [From him] I asked [to send to him my] august banner, a certain number of harquebusiers and [permit] reading of the khutbah on behalf of [my] highest name on his lands. [The ambassador also informed that] at the moment when the above-mentioned Mirza Ismail [with his people] was attacking Muscovy, one of the servants of Khan Yagmurja, his mirza, a trouble-maker named Karagalpak, attacked [the lands of Mirza Ismail] and, having plundered and captured some of his people, put them on the ground (?)³. To stop [this violence], he⁴ asks for my highest decree.

As the Nogai land is far from [our Porte], and you know all the affairs concerning those lands, [the solution of] this issue⁵ is delegated to you. Act in the way you consider the most appropriate and be guided by what is most useful and preferable.

Note:

Above the document text on the right: 'Rewritten [fair].'

¹ In the text اول. Literally: 'to this one'.

² Provided by: V. Ostapchuk. The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*, 1987, vol. 19, p. 270.

³ In the text قوناقلنددر ايمش. In the modern Turkish language there is a word 'konaklatmak'—'accommodate for a night's lodging; canton, settle [in flats]'. It was possibly implied that Astrakhan's mirza Karagalpak captured Ismail's subjects on earth in his possessions—that is, forced them to have a sedentary lifestyle.

⁴ That is Ismail.

⁵ That is Ismail's appeals.

Published in: Bennigsen A., Lemerrier-Quelquejay Ch. La Grand Horde Nogay et le probleme des communications entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'Asie Centrale en 1552–1556 // *Turcica. Revue d'etudes turques*. – P.; Strasbourg, 1976. – V. 8. – # 2. – Pp. 203–236.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

21. Delivery of the message of the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I to the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray I about the actions that should be taken in Western Desht-i Kipchak. (959, Rabi' al-awwal 4 = 29 February 1552)

TSM, K. 888, f. 98b

Translation

To Bey, His Highness Khan¹.

[We] received your loyal letter, [where] you tell [us] about [the affairs concerning] Astrakhan and Muscovy, inform us about the merchants, who arrived from Shamakhi to Astrakhan, and about the Nogais. Besides, you sent the letters delivered to you from Astrakhan and Muscovy. Everything you said was entirely embraced by our noble cognition.

As you have got some information and knowledge about all the affairs concerning these lands (Astrakhan, the Nogais, and Muscovy), all the affairs concerning these lands were delegated [by us] to your clear understanding. Let your actions be guided by what is [most] appropriate for the state and faith. Through your fine work may you defend and protect Islam and defeat the wicked infidels and other unrepentant people!

Sending the message to our Threshold of Happiness about Astrakhan and other similar affairs and [waiting for] the reply requires a lot of time, which would lead to the solution to [these] issues being postponed and slowed down. Should there be such issues, do not wait for [our] reply to your message, immediately take all the steps you consider appropriate, and inform us about the measures taken.

[We] have the intention, if the All-Glorious and Supreme Creator helps, [to arrange] an imperial campaign, followed by good prognostications and glory and accompanied by prosperity and happiness, [about what] we send you the highest message. Be ready in accordance with your extreme loyalty and wonderful dedication to our Highest Threshold. In case of necessity, may your enormous courage and valour [in confronting enemies] be manifested both in respect of the Muscovy infidels and in respect of any other party for faith and in the affairs concerning my august state. May the All-Glorious and Supreme God honour [us] with [his] bounties and help [us] in the miracles we ask from the Lord, Head of Messengers, for the Islam warriors to always win and prevail [and] the enemies of the faith to be defeated and conquered.

Take all the necessary measures concerning the affairs in Astrakhan [in order] not to let the enemies win, and [this land] to be protected and defended from contemptible infidels.

Note:

Above the document text on the right: 'Rewritten [fair].'

Published in: Bennigsen A., Lemerrier-Quelquejay Ch. La Grand Horde Nogay et le probleme des communications entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'Asie Centrale en 1552–1556 // *Turcica. Revue d'etudes turques*. – P.; Strasbourg, 1976. – V. 8. – # 2. – Pp. 203–236.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

¹ See the introduction, p. 36.

**22. Delivery of the message from the Ottoman Sultan Selim II to the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray I on the preparation for the Astrakhan campaign.
(975, not later than Shaban 10 = 1568, not later than 9 February)**

BOA, Mühimme Defteri № 7, s. 984, hüküm 2722.
Original of the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, Collection 169,
List 1, File 36, Sheet 91. Photocopy

Translation

Copy of the message to the Tatar Khan.

Our capital as the eternally happy home of well-being and our Threshold as the centre of might and splendor are a refuge for powerful chagans and glorious khans. Therefore, messages have arrived from Samarkand and Bukhara, in particular from His Highness Khan of the Region of Khwarezm Haji Muhammad Khan, containing sincere expressions of amity. They mention the [need] to conquer Ejderkhan and open the way for pilgrims—those possessing joy, who travel from there to¹ walk around the sacred home of Allah² and visit the illustrious shrine of the Commander of the Humans—may the best of prayers and peace be with them!—and also all the merchants, who obtain profit, so that they can make their journey peacefully and without sorrow. The Kazan and Ejderkhan Region (ولایت قزان و اژدرهان) has been controlled by the Nogais since ancient times. I have detailed information on the reason why [the region] came into the hands of the abominable infidels, on Tatar Mirzas who stayed in the conquered land and beyond it, and on when and why [the land] was lost. As the conquest of the region is an undertaking of utter importance, my imperial thought is now also convinced of the need to conquer it with the help of God Almighty.

Therefore, please consider the issue of conquering the above region in accordance with your long established rectitude and loyalty to our mighty Threshold and provide us with very detailed reports on any measures and preparations undertaken by you for this purpose to make sure its conquest is successful when the [right] time comes, with the help of Allah the Almighty.

Published in: Kurat A.N. Türkiye ve İdil Boyu (1569 Astarhan Seferi, Ten – İdil Kanalı ve XVI – XVII Yüzyıl Münasebetleri). – Ankara, 1966. – S. 05; Bennigsen A. L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d'après les Registres des 'Affaires importantes' des Archives ottomans // CMRS. – 1967. – T. 8. – No. 3. – P. 427–446; 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975–976/1567–1569): Tıpkıbasım. [C.] II. – Ankara, 1997. – S. 984 (facsimile); 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975–976/1567–1569): Özet – Transkripsiyon – İndeks. – [C.] III. – Ankara, 1999. – S. 374–375 (transcr.); OBK. – S. 5 (transcr.); 235 (facsimile); Möstakiymov I.A. Idel bue öçen köräsh tarixyna karagan berničä dokument // Kazan v Srednie veka i ranneye Novoe vremya. – Kazan, 2006. – Pp. 99–108.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

**23. Report of the beylerbey of Kafa Kasim Pashah to the Sublime Porte
on the course of the Crimean and Ottoman campaign against Astrakhan.
(1569, not earlier than 19 August–not later than 16 September)**

TSMA, E. 1247

Translation

He!

¹ That is from Central Asia.

² That is the Kaaba.

Report of a contemptible slave to be thrown to the ashes of the Sublime Threshold and the Highest Court —may its splendour be incessant until Judgment Day!—is as follows. This¹ slave of theirs has now received the highest decree from a chiaus of the Sublime Porte Akhmed the Chiaus, who the [entire] world obeys. In it they² kindly informed them that 'his Emir's Highness Devlet Giray Khan—may his noble qualities be eternal!—has sent a letter to my Threshold of Happiness to report that he heard that Sipahi, appointed for the campaign against Ejderkhan, has arrived in Bender' and that he 'sent a man to inform [me], *that Ejderkhan can be reached in 80 [single-day] marches³.' [The khan has also reported to you,] that the Kumyk Shamkhal sent him a letter to express his loyalty and obedience [to the Porte]. [The highest decree also mentioned] the mercy shown to the contemptible one⁴, whom they⁵ appointed the commander-in-chief. [The decree also stated] that [His Kindness] kindly sent a most august message to the above Shakhmal and encourage His Highness Khan to build a new fortress on the site of Eski Ejderkhan in order to march to Ejderkhan when the favourable moment comes and seize it with the help of Allah Almighty. According to the [same (?)] highest firman, 'if the approaching winter makes it impossible to take possession of the fortress, which is the main purpose [of the campaign], after a new fortress is built instead of Eski Ejderkhan⁶, you shall personally stay in that fortress with as many Janissaries, Kapudans, Azabs, and Nogai Mirzas as His Highness Khan finds suitable and proper.' [The firman also prescribed the following:] 'you shall personally stay in that fortress with as many Janissaries, Kapudans, Azabs, and Nogai Mirzas as His Highness Khan finds suitable and proper; *have the Zagarij bashi with you⁷, if necessary; and, without neglecting the [danger presented] by the enemy, put in effort and be a model of vigilance on guard [of the fortress]. Recruit and enter in the register the required [number] of Beshlu Eris and Hisar Eris to [guard] the fortress. Let them receive a salary from the treasury you have *in the Akcha of Caffa⁸. Let part of the Sipahi appointed [to you] spend the winter in Caffa, and [the other], in Azak [in order to] complete the [initiated] undertaking in spring, Allah the Almighty willing, by joining the [army] of His Highness Khan, *when the occasion offers, according to the situation, for which you should put in effort, ⁹ the firman read.

Before a detachment of [your] Sipahi servants, having started in Bender¹⁰ in good health and well-being, crossed the Khoshgechid¹¹ at the crossing and reached that servant [of yours] in the for-

¹ The Ottoman sultan is referred to here.

² That is the Ottoman sultan.

³ In the text: سَكْسَان قوناقدِه اژدرخانه وارلمق مقرر اولدوغين. Literally: 'that it was decided to reach Ejderkhan by 80 [one-day] passages'.

⁴ That is Kasim pasha.

⁵ That is the Ottoman sultan.

⁶ Eski Ejderkhan (Rus. 'Old Astrakhan') is the former capital of the Astrakhan Khanate on the right bank of the Volga, 8 km from the new Russian city of Astrakhan located on the left bank (Gökbilgin T. L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569 // CMRS, 1970, vol. 11, No. 1, p. 122, note 8).

⁷ لازم اولورسه يانكده زغرجي باشي اليقويوب. This fragment in T. Gökbilgin's publication and in KCAMPT was not translated.

⁸ In the text: نفوی حسابي اوزره. V. Ostapchuk notes that here salaries in akcha were minted in Kaffa are implied. Three Kaffa akchas equated to one Istanbul akcha (V. Ostapchuk Op. cit., p. 263).

⁹ محل اقتضا ایلدونه وره فرصت نوجهله ال وپورسه اتمام مصلحت ایتیمک بابنده مجد و ساعی اولاسن. This fragment in T. Gökbilgin's publication is not translated. V. Ostapchuk paid attention to that (V. Ostapchuk Op. cit., p. 263).

¹⁰ 'Bender' here should possibly be understood as the city of Bender located in present-day Moldova, since 1538 it was the centre of the sanjak (T. Sezen Osmanlı Yer Adları (Alfabetik Sırayla), Ankara, 2006, p. 74). The first publisher of the document, T. Gökbilgin, adheres to the same view (T. Gökbilgin L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569 // CMRS, 1970, vol. 11, No. 1, p. 122, note 5).

¹¹ In the text: خوش یچید نام یچیده لموب. Literally: 'upon arriving in the ferry named Khoshgechid'. The ferry Khoshgechid was located on the Dnieper (see delivery of the most august message to Devlet Giray khan dated 10 Dhu al-Qi'dah 975 / 7 May 1568 (7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975–976/1567–1569): Özet-transkripsiyon-indeks. [C.] III. Ankara, 1999, p. 387; 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975–976/1567–1569): Tıpkıbasım. [C.] II, Ankara, 1997, p. 994)). It seems that this refers to the Sipahi sent to take part in the Astrakhan campaign from the Empire's European sanjaks (see: A. Kurat Türkiye ve İdil Boyu (1569 Astarhan Seferi, Ten, İdil Kanalı ve 16–17 Yüzyıl Münasebetleri). Ankara, 1966, p. 117).

tress of Azak. We prepared properly in Azak, then the imperial fleet moved up the Don, and the Muslim troops marched along the bank of the river without taking a rest break of [more than] two days in the same place. With the help of Allah the Blessed and Almighty, we did not face any difficulties during our stops and crossings; nobody suffered from disease. Having successfully reached, on the fifth of the month of Rebiul-evvel¹, the place called Erdilme², we met the subjects of His Highness Khan. On the following [day] they desired to go towards [the river of] Idil bravely and happily to prevent the worthless infidels from inflicting casualties on the Muslim troops and causing damage by setting on fire [the steppe, which is] the pasture ground for our animal stock. We, your servants, are working on moving the ships from Erdilme to the Idil, may Glorious God and the Almighty help [us]!

By the goodness and grace of God Almighty, by intercession of the Commander to all³—may the best of prayers be with them!—and by the highest mercy of His Padishah Highness, the supreme and happy home of peace—may his caliphate be eternal!—none of the [sailors] of the imperial navy nor the [soldiers] of the Muslim army were captured or wounded, and harm was done to none of his servants. On the contrary, during the happy days when [you] were the Padishah, [your] servants—that is, numerous gazis and knights both of the army of His Highness Khan and of the victorious [Ottoman] army, having annihilated numerous abominable infidels and [captured] many, showed valour and heroism on many occasions. [Besides,] messages and messengers arrived from the Kumyk shamkhal, [through which] he expressed his loyalty and obedience [to the Padishah]; he declared that he was ready to serve the ruler and that [he and his people] were a friend of the Padishah's friends and an enemy of his enemies. Therefore, we expect significant help and assistance from them.

As for issues related to the construction of the fortress, your slave staying their over the winter, as well as the warriors [assigned] to him staying there over the winter, and the selection of Beshlu Eris and Hisar Eris, it is not the right time [to address these issues now]. Since [we] are presently busy in the Erdilme, we have not discussed [it with anyone]. [We] have not announced it to your servants commander-in-chief and the rest of the troops lest it should act as a pretext for the spreading of [bad] rumours and impede the accomplishment of our undertakings. *If it is the will of Allah the Most Merciful, as soon as the [right] time comes, this highest decree by your Highness will also be executed so that [your] first highest firman can be properly executed⁴; for the rest we shall rely on the will of the Sublime Porte.

Kasim the contemptible slave

Notes:

1. In the upper part of the reverse side: *فہ بکلبدر بسند عرضی در* 'Report by the Beylerbey of Caffa'⁵;
2. In the bottom right corner of the reverse side: *تلخیص اولوب علی الجبلہ بو جانبہ و ندریلہ* 'Let a resume be drawn up and sent here urgently (?)'⁶;

On the reverse side on the right, there is a round seal print with the following legend:

¹ The 5 Rabi' al-awwal of 997 of the moon Hijra corresponds to 18 August 1569.

² In the text *اردلمہ*. This possibly corresponds the place which in Russian sources is known as 'Perevoloka', at the Don's bend, near the modern village of Kachalinskaya. At this spot, the Don and Volga are the closest to each other (T. Gökbilgin *L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569* // CMRS. 1970, vol. 11, No. 1, p. 123).

³ That is Prophet Muhammad.

⁴ In the text: *یردوی اوزره تدارک اولنه ان شا الله الرحمن زمانی اولیجا اول امر شریف داخلی اجرا اولنوب اولکی فرمان* *عالیشانلریدر ال و*. T. Gökbilgin and KCAMPT have the following: 'If Allah wills it, then in an appropriate time, the order of the supreme firman of Your Majesty will be fulfilled. It will be carried out in the best way' (*Si Dieu le veut, en temps utile, l'ordre du sublime firman de Votre Majeste sera execute. On l'accomplira au mieux*) (T. Gökbilgin *L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569* // CMRS. 1970, vol. 11, No. 1, p. 123; KCAMPT, p. 135).

⁵ Reading of Ostapchuk's inscription (V. Ostapchuk *The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations* // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. 1987, vol. 19, p. 270).

⁶ Reading of Ostapchuk's inscription (V. Ostapchuk *The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations* // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. 1987, vol. 19, p. 270).

(top) الوائى بالملك الاله 'Trusting in Lord'; (bottom) الفقير قاسم بن عبد الله 'poor man Kasim b. Abdul-lah'; (centre) من صبر ظفر 'The patient one wins.'¹

See additional information on the appearance of the document: Ostapchuk, V. The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The documentary legacy of Crimean Ottoman relations // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. – 1987. – T. 19. – P. 270.

Published in: Gökbilgin T. L'expédition ottomane contre Astrakhan en 1569 // *CMRS*. – 1970. – T. 11. – No. 1. – Pp. 118–123; *KCAMPT*. – Pp. 134–138.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

**24. Delivery of the message from the Ottoman Sultan Selim II to Tsar Ivan IV
on the need to hand Astrakhan over to the sultan, and Kazan to the Crimean Khan.
(979, Jumada I 17 = 7 October 1571)**

BOA, Mühimme Defteri No. 16, s. 2–3, hüküm 3.

Original of the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, Collection 169, List 1, File 36,
Sheets 93–94. Photocopy

Translation

Let the most august message [below] be written to the king of Moscow.

Your message full of [expressions] of amity has arrived to our highest Court, the home of peace and the Sublime Threshold, the abode of happiness, which is residence to glorious sultans and the seat of highly dignified Khakans, with your ambassador Andrey Kuzminsky. [In it,] you declare that, according to the [requirements specified] on our [previously delivered] most august message on the destruction of the fortress previously built on the request of the Prince of Kabardia and [people] subject to him, the above fortress was destroyed, the people in it transferred to the fortress of Astrakhan, and the administrator of the above fortress strictly ordered to prevent any harm to travelers coming from Samarkand and Bukhara to our land from thieves and robbers, as well as to state your sincere and single-hearted [relationships] of subjection to and friendship with our mighty Porte.

[This] and the rest as mentioned [in your message] was brought to the foot of our happy throne, [after which] it was embraced and fathomed by my world-embracing noble emperor's cognition. Allah the Almighty be thanked, I am sitting on the throne of rule and imperial power over and the caliphate and residing in joy and kindness. In order to vanquish our enemies in different parts and places, [I], trusting in the highest mercy of God—may he be praised and exalted!—turning to the miracles blessed on many occasions of the commander of all and pride of [all] creatures—may the best of prayers and peace be with him!—and soliciting the help of the sacred souls of dignified God pleasers, appointed dignified commanders to lead the troops of Muslims and the army of those who have faith in the single God and sent them in different directions. Each of them, having reached the abominable enemies, by mercy of Allah the Almighty, defeated them and conquered the fortresses in their regions. [Thus, God] bringing us multiple victories and subjugation. In particular, by the grace of Allah the Almighty, according to our highest will, we have been able to use our tremendous imperious power to conquer one of the large isles, Cyprus, which had belonged to Venice up to recent times, which many mighty sultans who put in great effort for [this purpose] failed to do. [And] now it is among our properties protected by God. Undoubtedly, we are destined to obtain many more glorious victories. We do hope that God Almighty predestined it to our best advantage.

¹ V. Ostapchuk's reading: الوائى بالملك پ قاسم پ الفقير 'Hoping for God... Kasim... pauper' (V. Ostapchuk The publication of documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: The Documentary Legacy of Crimean-Ottoman Relations // *Turcica. Revue d'études turques*. 1987, vol. 19, p. 270).

Our happy Porte is always open, and there are no hindrances to those coming with amity or hostility. Since the fortresses of Ejderkhan and Kazan have been the residence of those professing Islam since ancient times, to ensure that they remain the abiding place of Muslims, [we] have found it reasonable [for you] to hand the fortress of Ejderkhan over to our Threshold of Happiness, and the fortress of Kazan to His Emir's Highness, the support of vicarious power Devlet Giray Khan, who is in [relations] of great loyalty, utter devotion, and amity to our happy Threshold—may his noble qualities be eternal! Therefore, if you wish to be subject to our happy Threshold with all loyalty, you should not believe that any delay or negligence in the business of handing over the above fortresses in the manner described above would be appropriate. Since [all] who follow the path of submission to our happy Porte with sincerity and steadfast adherence enjoy the benefits of our protection and grace and are greatly favoured in our most happy shelter, and those inhabiting their regions and countries are fully protected against the oppressive hand of enemies, rulers of many countries, putting in great effort and showing much industry, being eager to win the amity of our Threshold of Happiness, have given up [the possession of] many fortresses and lands lying in the countries and regions subject to them and do not cross the limits of obedience and submission.

If your most cherish wish is also to be subjected and obedient to our mighty Porte, you are required to take pains without hesitation to hand the above fortresses over to us upon receiving our most august message so that no damage is inflicted upon the building of [our] friendship, and nobody can act contrary to [our] friendly relations. Therefore, [we expect] you to meet the requirements of amity too and not to neglect to inform our Threshold of Happiness about things that must be advised and communicated.

Notes:

1. Above the document text on the right: 'Rewritten [fair].'

2. Above the text of the document, in the centre: '[The original message] was handed in to Pashah* on Jumada II 17, 979.¹'

Published in: Kurat A.N. Türkiye ve İdil Boyu (1569 Astarhan Seferi, Ten – İdil Kanalı ve XVI – XVII Yüzyıl Münasebetleri). – Ankara, 1966. – S. 049-050; Bennigsen A. L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d'après les Registres des «Affaires importantes» des Archives ottomans // CMRS. – 1967. – T. 8. – № 3. – P. 427–446; Usmanov M. Dva poslaniya sultana Selima II v Moskvu i Baxchisaraj // Gasyrlar avazy - Ekho vekov. - May, 1995. - P.93–101; OBK. – S. 8–10 (transcribed to the contemporary Turkish alphabet), 239–240 (facsimile); Möstākıymov I.A. Idel bue öçen köräsh tarixyna karagan berničä dokument // Kazan v Srednie veka i ranneye Novoe vremya. – Kazan, 2006. – Pp. 99–108.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

25. Sending the sultan's decree to the sanjakhbey of Azov on studying the issue of the possibility of providing help to the Nogai mirza Urus. (982, not later than Rabi' al-awwal 28 = 1574, not later than 18 July)

BOA, Mühimme Defteri № 26, hüküm 241

Translation

Decree to the bey² of Azak³ Mohammed-Bey.

¹ In the text: ٩٧٩ ج ١٧ في. 17 Jumada al-Thani 979 corresponds to 6 November 1571. It may be a slip of the pen, but it should be read as ٩٧٩ ج ١٧ في 17 Jumada al-awwal 979' (corresponds to 7 October 1571).

² Bey (sanjakhbey) was a governor of a province (sanjak) bearing responsibilities of internal order and security, control over tax collection and army command. In the 16th century, the Azak district was one of 28 European sanjaks of the Ottoman Empire.

³ The fortress of Azak (Azov) on the Don had been under Turkish control since 1471. In 1552/1553 it became the centre of the most northerly Ottoman sanjak. In the latter half of the 16th century, mostly Tatar, Turkish and Greek people inhabited Azov; the steppes around the city served as a nomadic territory for the Crimean Tatars and Nogais. Azov was the most important centre of international trade in the Northern Black Sea region.

The fact has been brought to my hearing that a messenger has arrived to you from one of the Nogai mirzas¹ [named] Rus—may his glory be eternal!—to solicit for help of my Threshold of Happiness². Therefore I order: upon the arrival [of my decree, inform] whether a messenger arrived to you indeed from the one mentioned above³. If he did, discuss the matter⁴ with his Emir's Highness Devlet Giray Khan⁵—may his noble traits be eternal! If they⁶ are not opposed [to providing help], inform my Threshold of Happiness in detail in writing on what kind of help they would find reasonable so that proper measures can be taken in this respect.

Note:

Perpendicular to the text of the document: 'It was given to⁷ Ketkhuda⁸ Nasuh. Rebi I 28, 982.'

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

**26. Issuance of the sultan's decree to the sanjak-bey of Azov on resolving
a number of issues related to the Sanjak of Azov.
(984, not later than 9 Rejeb = 1576, not later than 2 October)**

BOA, Mühimme Defteri № 28, hüküm 579

Translation

Decree to the Sanjak-bey of Azak.

You sent a letter in which you report [the following]. 'Since [that] region⁹ is at peace, and the Don Ruses¹⁰ continuously supply great amounts of wood, Azak no longer wants for firewood. Furthermore, the Nogai tribe sows grain crops near Azak, and the [crop] yield is good. When the inhabitants of Azak need grain, they sow and harvest a lot of grain crops. The poor [among them] sow [grain] together with the Nogai tribe. They¹¹ not only supply grain to the vilayet of Azov¹² but also have been providing the vilayets of Caffa¹³ and Krym [with grain] for about two years.'

[You also reported that] 'in winter the Nogais¹⁴ camping¹⁵ near Ejderkhan¹⁶ come close to the Nogais¹⁷ by crossing the ice on the Adil River¹⁸ and stay (?) in places three to four days from Azak. Then they

¹ Mirza (abbr. Persian 'emir-zade') is a title of the Tatar and Nogai aristocracy who did not belong to the khan's dynasty. In the Nogai Horde, only descendants of Manghit bey Edigy became mirzas. In the 1570 there were nearly or over 200 people.

² The Threshold of Happiness is a metaphoric name of the palace of the Ottoman sultans.

³ That is of Urus mirza.

⁴ That is of Urus mirza.

⁵ Devlet Giray I was the Crimean khan between 1551–1577.

⁶ That is khan.

⁷ That is of the Azov bey.

⁸ Ketkhuda was an administrative rank in the Ottoman Empire. Both published documents mention 'kapu ketkhudasi'—a representative of an Azov sandjak-bey at the Sublime Porte. The functions of beylerbeys' and sandjak-beys' kapu ketkhudasi included communication between their chiefs and the central government.

⁹ That is Azov with its surroundings.

¹⁰ The Don Ruses mean the Don Cossacks.

¹¹ Apparently, inhabitants of Azov and the Nogais are referred to here.

¹² Vilayet is an administrative district, region.

¹³ Kaffa (present-day Feodosia) is a city on the Southern coast of the Crimea, from 1475 it was included in the Ottoman Empire, in the 16th century it was a centre of a special sanjak.

¹⁴ The Nogais of the Great Nogai Horde are meant here.

¹⁵ Literally: 'located'.

¹⁶ Ejderkhan was the Russian fortress Astrakhan in 1576 which was founded by voivodes in 1558 on the opposite (left) bank of the Volga on the site of the former city (Khajji-Tarkhan, Ashtrakhan, Edjerkhan)—the capital of the Tatar yurt conquered by the army of Ivan IV in 1556.

¹⁷ Apparently this refers to the Nogais, who led a nomadic lifestyle near Azov.

¹⁸ The Adil river—the Volga. In the second half of the 16th century, the Great Nogais developed nomadic camps on the right bank of the Volga, annually moving there with herds from the left bank 'with the first ice' in autumn and returning 'with the last (or: blue) ice' in spring.

cross the Adil River on the ice to get to the opposite bank. This winter the Nogai tribe stayed (?) on the bank (?) of the Ten River¹, destroyed the settlement (?)² of some Ruses, and moved on, leaving no place for the Don Ruses to take shelter near Azak.' [Furthermore, you reported that] 'there are a couple of places where a small fortress³ could be built, in which case the Nogai tribe would be safe⁴, staying on the bank (?) of the Ten River summer and winter. [In such case] the Don Ruses would be unable to approach Azak and would have to leave the Ten River.'

[You also reported that,] 'as the chiaus⁵ sent for [the arrangement of] the repair [of the fortress of Azak] was delayed, and little time remained, the necessary places were repaired [by us] before he arrived. He has arrived and is [currently] occupied with the repair of certain parts [of the fortress]. Lime is being burned and stone is being brought [by us]. However, as it was previously reported [by me], we will not be able to [complete] the repair this year; only the most critical repairs will be done. Allah willing, the construction lumber that we need this year will be prepared closer to the winter, and the repair of the necessary places will be completed in spring'.

[Furthermore,] you reported that 'the Ruses, having crossed the Caspian Sea from Astrakhan, have started to reconstruct⁶ the fortress *on the bank of the Buyuk River, which falls into the Terek River⁷.' [This,] as well as the other things which you reported, were reported [to me] in detail and taken in by my sacred cognition. I order: upon arrival [of the present decree], properly address the issues of ensuring the safety of that [vilayet]⁸ and the repair of the fortress of Azak. Always be in concord and on good terms with the Nogai murzas. Do not let the Ruses settle along the banks of the Ten River and enter the fortress on the pretext of supplying firewood. Be perfectly circumspect and take necessary measures as you reported. Do not let the Ruses settle near Azak and take all necessary measures to ensure the security of the vilayet. Do not delay in reporting any reliable information on the enemy's actions or regarding the affairs of [that] region in future.

Note:

Above the document text: 'Given to the bey's kethüda Nasuh. Rajab 9, 984.'

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

27. Issuance of the sultan's decree to Urus, the ruler (bey) of the Great Nogai Horde, on the preparation for the campaign against Astrakhan. (995, not later than 22 Zilqad = 1587, not later than 14 October)

BOA, Mühimme Defteri № 62, s. 105, hüküm 231

Translation

To the pride of the most glorious and noble ones, to the centre of praiseworthy and valiant deeds, to Rus, Bey, Murza of Murzas of the Country of the Great Nogais—may his glory be multiplied! When the [present] most august high decree arrives, may [the following] be known.

¹ The Ten river—the Don.

² An unknown word: اصطبورلرين. May be this refers to the settlements (stanitsas) of the Don Cossacks? Then the phrase 'ba'zy rusun [istabur]laryn'—settlements of some Ruses (~Cossacks)' should be written in the following way: 'rusun ba'zy [istabur]laryn 'some Cossack settlements'.

³ پلانقه.

⁴ Literally: 'would enjoy peace'.

⁵ Chiaus—a public servant from different court services. Chiauses usually performed the duties of messengers and couriers for the Sultan or the Grand Vizier.

⁶ In the text: تمير. Other meanings of this word: 'repair; construction'.

⁷ The translation is hypothetical. In the text: ترك صوبى بيوك صواوزرنده. Apparently, it is about the attempt—unknown from other sources—of Astrakhan voivodes to restore the fortress near the Sunzha river's flow into the Terek—the Sunzha town. It was founded by Russians in 1567 at the request of Sublime Porte and the Crimeans and was demolished by them in 1571 and rebuilt in 1578.

⁸ That is Azov and its surroundings.

A message from His Excellency and Highest Dignity Abdullah Khan, who is currently the khan of Bukhara—may his noble traits be eternal!—has arrived at our highest Court, the home of peace, and the Sublime Porte, the abode of happiness, which is residence to the glorious sultans and the seat of the noble khakans, with his trusted messenger. [In it,] he provided information on the campaign against Ejderkhan. Since he has asked our Sublime Threshold for help and assistance in that undertaking, in the blessed spring, Allah the Almighty willing, having entrusted himself to the grace of God most Glorious and Most High and relying on the miracles of the Commander of all — may the best of prayers and the most complete of greetings be with him! — the Crimean Khan His Highness Islam Giray Khan — may his noble traits be eternal! — will personally [set forth] to conquer Ejderkhan. The emir of noble emirs Piyale—may his prosperity be eternal!—who has returned from Bukhara, has been appointed commander of the victorious troops to be sent from my Sublime Porte. *He is [currently] occupied with the preparation of the necessary victuals, cannons, guns, and other arms and munitions. Since your participation is necessary and important in every aspect for this campaign¹, a chiaus of my Sublime Porte, Suleyman Chiaus—may his importance be multiplied!—has been sent [to you]. I order: upon his arrival with my highest decree, be ready for the mentioned undertaking along with the Tatar warriors at your command, who are as fast as the wind, in accordance with the great courage and valour and exceptional perspicacity and acumen inherent in your nature and character, so that you, being in good unity and concord [with the Ottoman serdar and the Crimean Khan], when the [suitable] time comes, if Allah wills, upon the arrival of the victorious troops, according to the situation, may show numerous acts of valour for the sake of our Majesty in conquering the above-mentioned fortress and repelling the despicable enemies by making abundant effort and applying great industry [for this purpose]. If Allah wishes, you will be truly distinguished through my royal favour for your good service in this undertaking. Be in concord and unity with the Crimean Khan Islam Giray Khan and the commander of my victorious troops Piyale Pasha—may his prosperity be eternal!—as expected [by us] and demonstrate much wonderful zeal in accomplishing [this] deed. Having described in detail what measures are being taken for the [accomplishment of this] deed and what has to be done, submit [this report] to our Sublime Porte through my above-mentioned chiaus.

Notes:

1. There is a list of 12 Nogai mirzas to whom the same decree was also sent, below the text of the document. 'One copy to Sayyid-Ahmed Mirza, one copy to [Bek(?)] Mirza, one copy to Ur-Muhammad Mirza, one copy to Amanlyk Miza, one copy to [Bik(?)] Mirza, one copy to Küçük Mirza, one copy to [Chin(?)-] Muhammad Mirza, one copy to Khan Mirza, one copy to Jan-Arslan Mirza, one copy to [Bay(?)] Mirza, one copy to [Hafiz(?)] Mirza, one copy to [Ishterek(?)] Mirza.'

2. Above the text of the document, in the centre: 'All [charters] were handed over to Lord Effendi² on Zilqad 22, [9]95.'

3. Above the document text on the left: '[Decree composed] according to the draft³ of Lord Effendi. Dal.⁴

Published in: Kurat A.N. Türkiye ve İdil Boyu (1569 Astarhan Seferi, Ten – İdil Kanalı ve XVI–XVII Yüzyıl Münasebetleri). – Ankara, 1966. – S. 055–056; Bennigsen A. L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d'après les Registres des «Affaires importantes» des Archives ottomans // CMRS. – 1967. – T. 8. – № 3. – Pp. 427–446; Bennigsen A., Berindei M. Astrakhan et la politique des steppes nord pontiques (1587–1588) // HUS. – 1980. – Vol. 3/4. – Pt. 1. – Pp. 71–91.

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

¹ Written down on the margins.

² Apparently, in this and the following document 'Lord Effendi' implied 'Reis ül-Küttab'.

³ Here and in the following document, a draft copy of the edict is implied under the project.

⁴ ۛ

28. Report of Sayyid Muhammad Riza on the events in Desht-i Qipchaq after the termination of the power of Khan Tokhtamysh

When the time of the reign of the khans belonging to the Blue Tent — that is, those numbering among Batu's descendants, the great representatives of the Jochid dynasty — [named] Toktimur and his brother Toktamys, who were the link connecting the dynasty of the Crimean khans who are still ruling and that of Jochi, was over, one of the emirs of the Ulus of Jochi, a usurper¹ of the Mangud tribe named Idiku, [who was] an initiator of riots and revolts, [subsequently] enthroned [such] Chinggisid protégés [as] Qutlugh Temür, Shadibek, and another Temür. Then [this] declining throne was occupied, either due to good luck or through the efforts of the sons² of Idiku, by sultans named Jalal ad-Din, Huda Berdi, Küçük Muhammad, Barak, Ulugh Muhammad, Chekre, Jabbar Berdi, and Dervish. During that time, when most of the Tatar tribes had moved from Desht-i Kipchak to the Crimea, khans named Khyzr, Mahmud Hoja, Abul-Khayr, Sheikh Haidar, Bayan Hoja, Yagdar and Emenek from Shiban's dynasty ruled the above-mentioned Desht³ and the Bulgar land. Descendants of Rus Khan then took over the land. Sheibek, a descendant of Abu'l-Khayr in Transoxiana; Ilbars, a descendant of Yagdar in Khwarezm; and descendants of Hajji Muhammad in the region of Siberia became independent [rulers]. When in the region of Crimea another grandson of Toktamys Khan, who had fought against Timurlenk Gurgan, named *Ahmed Küçük Muhammad Khan⁴, was granted [the right to] rule and command in the region of the Crimea, and the Engraver of Fate and Predestination had [already] engraved a ruling seal for Hacı Giray, three Shibanid sultans of the Jochid dynasty became the rulers of Transoxania, Khwarezm, and Siberia, one Rus[-khan]id sultan of the Jochid dynasty ruled Bulgar, and three sultans of the Jochid dynasty originating from Toktamys ruled Desht-i Itil, Kazan, and the Crimea⁵.

29. Note of Hurremi Çelebi Akai Efendi on the events in Desht-i Kipchak after the termination of the power of Khan Tokhtamysh

When Tokhtamysh ceased to rule, Idiku, one of the princes of the Ulus of Jochi and one of the most powerful members of the Mangut tribe, due to the great numbers of his people and his tribe, rose above the khans. One after another he enthroned Temür Qutlugh, Shadibek, and Temür. Then subsequent khans were Jalal ad-Din, Kerim Birdi, Köpek, Chegre, Jabbar Birdi, Sayyid Ahmed, Dervish, Hyuda Birdi, Küçük Muhammad, Barak, and Ulugh Muhammad, some of whom gained the throne with the help of Idiku's children, and some on their own. These khans made most of the Tatar tribes move out of Desht-i Kipchak to the Crimea; khans Mahmud Hoja, Khizr, Abdul-Khayr, Sheikh Gaider, Bayan Hoja, Yadigar, and Eminek of the dynasty of Sheiban remained to rule Desht and Bulgar. The descendants of Rus Khan then took over the above-mentioned countries; the son of Abul-Khayr, Shaibek, took the throne of Transoxania; the son of Yadigar, Ilbars, that of Khwarezm; and the sons of Hoja Muhammad that of Siberia. In the Crimea, during the reign of the descendants of Tokhtamysh *Sayyid Ahmed Küçük and Mahmud Khan⁶, Hacı Giray was established on the throne. At that time, three khans of Sheiban's dynasty were ruling Transoxania, Khwarezm, and Siberia; one of Rus Khan's kin was ruling

¹ Literally: 'one of the usurpers'.

² Or 'descendants' (دلاوا).

³ This refers to Desht-i Kipchak.

⁴ Apparently, a contamination of names of two different khans reigning in different periods occurred: Seyyid-Ahmed and Küçük Muhammad (see also: V. Trepavlov *The Great Horde—Takht Eli. Essay on History*. Tula, 2010, p. 50).

⁵ Sayyid Muhammad Riza. *Seven Planets*. Kazan, 1832, pp. 67–68.

⁶ It is obvious that we should agree with V. Trepavlov's remark that there is a mistake in the chronicle's translation and this phrase should look like: 'Seyyid-Ahmed and Kuchuk Muhammed khan' (V. Trepavlov *The Great Horde—Takht Eli. Essay on History*. Tula, 2010, p. 50). At the same time, Tokhtamysh's only descendant was Seyyid-Ahmed.

Bulgar; two of Tokhtamysh's kin were ruling the Volga Steppe and Kazan, respectively; so there were seven (?) khans of the Jochid origin at the same time¹.

**30. Translation of the yarliq list issued by Khan Ibrahim to a group
of feudal lords carried out by abyz Artyk Imanayev.
(Not earlier than June 1682—not later than 19 January 1685²).**

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Collection 1173, List 1, File 196, Sheet 2. Original.

Translation of the yarliq

(1) We, Ibrahim Khan.

(2) My granted word [is as follows]. In the name of God's blessing [and] in the name of the mercy of Muhammad, God's messenger, *these orphaned youths³

(3–4) [and] widow have been granted the status of tarkhans. The names of those⁴ granted⁵ this are: Gulbustan Khatun at the head, her son[s Muhammad-‘Ali and] Muhammad-‘Aziz, [descended] from the kin of the khans, from the kin of the shahs, [from the kin of] Janeke Sultan—on those listed this has been granted [by us]⁶.

(5–6) Along with them we have granted [the status of tarkhan] on her servant (?) named Khushkildi. [In addition to the status of tarkhan], having granted the two tamgas of the Forest of Irektin that were [previously] granted to the father of Muhammad-‘Ali [and] Muhammad-‘Aziz, we have conferred the grant upon [them] among [other] noblemen.

(7) Nobody shall enter the forest without informing those mentioned above; if they⁷ till, grain tax shall not be imposed

(8) on them. The above-mentioned shall not be forced to receive guests for lodging; tarkhans and messengers shall not take their horse carts;

(9) violence shall not be done to them on anyone's part. Having thus said, [I have bestowed the grant] on those on whom Hajdar-‘Ali Sultan has bestowed the grant⁸, Gulbustan (10) Khatun and her sons⁹ Muhammad-‘Ali [and Muhammad-]‘Aziz, [descended] from the kin of the khans, from the kin of the shahs, [from the kin of] Janeke Sultan, and her servant named Khushkildi.

(11) This yarliq has been issued by the above-mentioned with a nishan. Written in eight hundred¹⁰ ... [year], in the beginning of the month of Ramadan.

(12) Written by Hajji Kurban Hafiz.

Translation of the nishan¹¹

* There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah¹².

¹ A. Negri. Extracts from the Turkish Manuscript of the Community Containing the History of Crimean Khans // Notes of the Odessa Society of the History and Antiquities. - Odessa: at the city printing house, 1844, vol. 1, pp. 380–381.

² The lower date on the document is considered to be the enthronement of Ivan and Pyotr Alekseevich and the upper date is the day when the Ufa voivode considered Kutlugh Muhammad Kutlugushev's petition.

³ In the text: these orphaned youth.

⁴ In the text: name.

⁵ Literally: released free [from taxes and duties].

⁶ Literally: released free [from taxes and duties].

⁷ In the text: will do.

⁸ Literally: released free [from taxes and duties].

⁹ In the text: son.

¹⁰ After the words 'eight hundred' are absent the words indicating decades.

¹¹ Nişan (also tamga) is a large square seal which in Chinggisid acts had an approving function.

¹² The formula is repeated twice.

Greatest ruler, glory [of peace and faith], Ibra[him] Khan—may Allah perpetuate his dominion and reinforce his power!

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

31. Confirmatory tarkhan yarliq issued by Kazan Khan Sahib-Giray to a group of persons (929, Safar 13 = 1 January 1523)

National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, Collection of Rarities, No. 5757. Original.

Translation

- [1] ... [word of] the conqueror Sahib Giray [Khan]
 [2] to viceregents (walis), governors (hakims), great sul[tans, Muslim qadis],
 [3] dignified mullahs, elders, town administrators, [local] representatives, messengers, relay station keepers,
 [4] ship inspectors, road guards, toll collectors, tamga collectors, all dwellers and inhabitants
 [5] *of the Kazan vilayets¹ and domains protected by God—may they be protected against trouble and misery!—is this order,
 [6] when it arrives; [our] word is as follows: this Sheikh Ahmed, son of Muhammad; the son of Sheikh Ahmed, Abdal; the younger brother of Sayyid Ahmed², Mahmut; his son, Musa;
 [7] the son of Sayyid, Jakub; his younger brother, Bulans³; and [also] his younger brother, Nur Sayyid—the seven of them came to us and made obeisance
 [8] [as they are] people who were granted the title⁴ of tarkhans by our elder brothers and khans. We, having also bestowed the grant,
 [9] to please God Almighty and for the protection of Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, bestowed upon the above-mentioned persons
 [10] the title of tarkhan. From now on, on roads and pathways,
 [11] while travelling or in their place of residence, during their stay [anywhere] or when they are leaving, [12] nobody shall by any means exercise any interference or oppression to those mentioned above [13] or to their servants and slaves, their baggage or livestock;
 no yasak, qalan, or *poll tax⁵
 shall be imposed on them;
 [14] no requests, duties, and cost fees shall be demanded; nobody shall attempt to capture their livestock and horse carts, water and land [along the river] Ik⁶ (?)
 [15], force them to lodge messengers and couriers,
 impose [16] a rural tax, land loans(?), or a hearth tax on them, or demand any victuals and fodder [when lodged];
 [17] nobody shall inflict any harm or damage on them. Living in peace,
 [18] in the evening and in the morning, at sunrise and at sunset [19] let them say prayers and blessings to us and our clans. No violence or insult shall be done to them. After
 [20] what has been said above, those who do not adhere to the yarliq and do any violence or insults [to them] [21] will not enjoy the consequences. A yarliq bearing a red seal has been issued to this effect
 [22] in the year nine hundred twenty-one, on the thirteenth day of the blessed month of Safar [23] [it] was.

¹ It is likely either a mistake or a slip and instead of ولايات غزان 'Kazan vilayets' there should be ولايت غزان of 'the Kazan vilayet' (here: 'Kazan country', 'Kazan state').

² Should be: Sheikh-Akhmed (?).

³ Should be: Bulyak (?).

⁴ In the text: produced.

⁵ Salig mösämma. Literally: 'named "salig"'.
⁶ The word 'Ik' (?) is written down with a different ink and by a different hand.

Nishan*Outer square:*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful)

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah.)
(three times)*Inner square:*

السلطان الاعظم عز الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر صاحب راي بهادر خان خلد الله مملكته و ايد سلطنته (Greatest ruler, glory of peace and faith, victorious Sahib Giray Bahadur Khan—may Allah perpetuate his dominion and reinforce his power!)

Translated into Russian and prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

**32. Charter ('letter') of the king of Poland and Grand Prince
of Lithuania Sigismund I to Kazan Khan Muhammad-Amin with a proposal
of a military alliance against Moscow (18 November 1514)**

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Collection 389, List 1, File 7, Sheets 577 (578)–579 (580).

228. – 1514. Letter of King Sigismund to the Tsar of Kazan Mahmet-Amin with a report on the actions of the tsar's troops against the Grand Prince of Moscow, who attacked the land of the king, and a request to unite against the Grand Prince of Moscow. 291–292. (S. 577 (578)) From Sigismund, by God's grace King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania and Russia, Duke of Prussia, Samogitia, and others, to our brother Mahmet-Amin, Tsar of Kazan. We shall tell you, our brother, that, as soon as we ascended the throne in the land inherited from our father to rule the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Grand Prince of Moscow Vasily Ivanovich, without any reason, sent all of his people to our fatherland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to do us harm. With God's help, we repelled his people from our land. Then he made eternal peace with us with firm oaths, and we confirmed it in writing // (S. 578 (579)) on both sides. And he, having forgotten God, his honour and his soul, broke his firm oath and written word and, for no reason, attacked our fatherland the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with all of his people and occupied the castles of our fatherland unjustly through his deceit. We sent our men against his men. Our men killed many of his over several months and caught many famous persons. He would not admit his fault. Relying on God's help, we had a great battle of infantry against him and, with God's help, defeated his troops and, by God's IX mercy, took our castles in our hand, and many commanders and princes and noblemen of his fell into our hands. The ambassador we sent to you before fell there. We are sincerely sorry to have no response from you. We remind you, our brother, not to make peace with our enemy of Moscow and to be our // (S. 579 (580)) friend and join us against the enemy. We will tell you, our brother, that we, relying on God's help, do not cease wanting to do our business with him and take revenge on him for offenses done to us as long as God helps us. You, our brother, should sense this from your side. If he marches against us, you should attack his land and inflict great damage upon him. And we will have the same kind of vigilance in this regard. And if he wanted to march against you, our brother, we would also send all of our troops to his land and inflict damage on him. By this letter we want to express our wish to enjoy brotherhood and amity with you. We want to unite with you against that enemy of ours. Written in Wilno, 18 November, indict 3¹.

Prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

¹ This indiction corresponds to the period from 1 September 1514 to 31 August 1515.

**33. Charter ('letter') of the King of Poland and Grand Prince of Lithuania
Sigismund I to Kazan Khan Muhammad-Amin with a description of a victory over the
army of Vasily III and a proposal of a military alliance against Moscow (18 June 1516)**

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Collection 389, List 1, File 7, Sheet 661 (662)–667 (668).

242. – 1516. Letter of King Sigismund to the Tsar of Kazan Mahmet-Amin with a request that he be in brotherhood and amity with the king, and with a report of the victory of the king's army over the Grand Prince of Moscow, and with a request that the tsar attack the land of the latter, with a promise to aid the tsar with troops in the case the Grand Prince of Moscow attacks his land, asking him to make an oath before the dragoman and promising to make an oath before the person whom the tsar sends. (S. 661 (662)) The charter was sent to the Tsar of Kazan by dragoman Makarets on the 18th day of the month of July, indict 4¹. From Zygmunt, by God's grace King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania and Russia, Duke of Prussia, Samogitia, and others, to our brother Mahmet-Amin, Tsar of Kazan, greetings. Our brother, several years ago you sent us a man of yours, Akimberdey, to ask about our health and to tell us about yours // (S. 662 (663)), and reminding us that during the reign of our ancestor Grand Duke Vytautas your ancestors were guests in Lithuania and enjoyed brotherhood and amity in spite of the great distance. When you, our brother, began to rule as tsar, you had relations of brotherhood and an oath with Grand Prince Ivan of Moscow. And when he began to act against you, you did not stand for it and stood up for yourself. Then his son, the current Grand Prince Vasily, sent his large army against you by water and by land. And, with God's help, you defeated the two armies². We were happy to hear it and sent to you our nobleman Soroka with your servant to ask about your health and to come to an agreement with you. That XII nobleman of ours died in Kazan and never came back to us. Later we sent other ambassadors to you, our brother, but they could not reach you safely. Such infrequent // (S. 663 (664)) communication impeded our brotherhood and amity. Now that we have remembered the amity of our grandfather Grand Duke Vytautas with your ancestor, we have sent our interpreter Makarets to you with a light mention and a heavy bow³ to ask about your health and tell you about ours, and to remind you, our brother, to remember your and our ancestors and be our brother and friend so that both are friends to our friend and both are enemies to our enemy. And as for the enemy of yours and ours in Moscow, you, our brother, know that the Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan, having married his daughter to our brother Alexander⁴, having bound himself by blood and given him oaths, occupied many towns and volosts in our fatherland and the land around them. Then his son, Prince Vasily, who made an oath to us and betrayed us, initiated a battle against us. Relying on the help of God the Creator and our justice, we marched against him. And thus // (S. 664 (665)) two years ago in autumn, God helped us to defeat his army of eighty thousand, capturing dozens of his voivodes and numerous princes, boyars, and men, whom we now have in our hands as captives. Our army goes to his land and fight withoutrest. God granted grace and victory over him; he did not tell his army to march against ours, but, hearing our people, to flee.

God grant that we may enjoy this good fortune from God over them for a long time. We shall also tell you, our brother, that during that time we entered into brotherhood and eternal amity with out brother tsar Mahmet Kgiray, since, having united with his father Mendli Kgiray, relying on God's help,

¹ This indiction corresponds to the period from 1 September 1515 to 31 August 1516.

² The fragment of the charter from the words 'under Grand Duke Vytautas' to 'you defeated the two armies' is a retelling of Mohammed Amin's unpreserved message to the king.

³ In order to win the addressee's favour, Sigismund (on his behalf, the Chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) uses a pastiche—a phrase usual for the Tatar diplomatic practice and in particular present in the first letter of Mohammad Amin (Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga 8 (1499–1514) // Parengė A. R. Baliulis D. Firkovičius Antanavičius. Vilnius, 1994, p. 57). The phrase 'with a light greeting, but a heavy bow' is a repetition of the Turkish formula 'ağır selâm yingil bōlek' (see, for example: A. Özyetgin M. Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Kazan Sahasına ait Yarlık ve Bitiklerin Dil ve Üslup İncelemesi. – Ankara, 1996, pp. 110, 111).

⁴ In 1495, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Alexander Kazimirovich married Ivan Third's daughter Elena. In 1501 he simultaneously became the Polish king.

our troops XIV marched to the enemy's land this summer and fought until winter, wishing to take revenge on him for the offences done to our brother King Alexander and ourselves and make war against his land // (S. 665 (666)) as long as merciful God helps us. We remind you and request, our brother, that you march your troops to the land of our enemy and yours from another direction toward Nizhnyi Novgorod and fight against his land, and accomplish our undertaking in unity, for a better opportunity against that enemy may not come for a long time. If God helps us to defeat that enemy of ours, and if God lets you conquer Nizhnyi Novgorod and other castles and volosts and return your fatherland to your hands, you will receive your tribute from him as of old. And would that God would let us win back the castles of our fatherland which he occupied unfairly. Then that enemy of ours would not be so powerful and brave against us and would not raise his hand to us, for he is distinguished through nothing but occupying your and our castles. And if he then wanted to attack you, our brother, and march his army against you, we would send our army to his land from our side to help you, our brother, as soon as we heard about it. // (S. 666 (667)) And you, our brother, would also send a large army of yours to his land from your side to help us.

If he wanted to attack us and send his army to our land, with this agreement with you, our brother, with God's help, we can accomplish every undertaking against our enemy. If you, our brother, have peace or truce with him at that time of need, you would not want to march your troops to his land. But you know that his ancestors, and his father, and he himself have never done a favour, XV but, seeing an opportunity, have betrayed their oath unjustly and without XVI cause and have initiated battles with each neighbour and spilled blood. God most merciful will not let them go unpunished for that. According to your ancestors and you, our brother, their unjust oaths have caused great trouble. And you, our brother, remembering their enmity and seeing the current situation, should join us this summer and autumn and march your army to his land from another direction, thus showing your brotherhood and amity toward us. And if // (S. 667 (668)) you, our brother, have need of the same, we would also help you immediately and send our troops to his land from our side. If you, our brother, want to stand with us in brotherhood and amity and unite with us against our enemy, you, our brother, should make an oath to us in the presence of our interpreter and communicate regarding any matters through him, and then send him back to us without delay, accompanied by a man of yours. We are also willing to show our loyalty to you in the presence of your man, for whatever oaths we have made before him we adhere to. Therefore, know this and believe in it with all fairness.

Prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

34. Tsar of Safakgiria¹. Word. By God's grace to the King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania and Russia, Duke of Prussia, Samogitia², Mazovia³, and others, my father the Great King Sigismund⁴

By this letter⁵ of mine I inform Your Grace that you showed kindness⁶ by calling me your son back⁷ when I was in the Perekop Horde⁸ as a Tsarevich in my father's land⁹; Your Grace said¹⁰ that you shall have me for your son¹¹, and I shall have Your Grace for my father. And in the same way, being a son of Your Grace, I shall stay true to my oath—I am a friend to every friend of Your Grace and an enemy to every enemy of Your Grace and of our Muscovite enemy¹². I conquered the lands of Muscovy and devastated them myself: I was there with my entire army and captured some¹³ castles, and burnt down others, and was beyond the Oka River deep in enemy territory with my entire army.

I also report to Your Grace, my father the great king, that when I came to be the tsar of Kazimir¹⁴, all the murzas and vlans, and the entire community of the land of Kazan welcomed me, the son of Your Grace, with humble gratitude¹⁵; then I, the son of Your Grace, reached an agreement¹⁶ with all the princes, murzas, and vlans of the land of Kazan and killed the tsar sent by the tsar of Moscow to rule in Kazan¹⁷. I ordered that the ambassadors of Moscow be seized and put into prison, and that others be executed¹⁸. And I took his land. I rule the land I took from him, and I have tribute from that land, the land of Nakrat¹⁹, from which tribute used to be paid to our ancestors, the tsars of Kazan. When Kazan was subject to the Muscovite, the Muscovite took power²⁰ over the land and collected the tribute which

used to be paid to our ancestors. Elders of the land of Nokrat were sent to us, wishing to serve me according to the ancient custom and give the tribute that used to be given to our ancestors, the tsars of Kazan. I, the son of Your Grace, want to stay true to my oath, being a friend to each friend of Your Grace, and showing my hostility to the enemy of Your Grace with my // [S. 2] sword.

I²¹ sent a messenger of mine named Gamzu to Your Grace to inquire about the health of Your Grace, my father²², and to tell Your Grace, my father, that I had sent an army of forty thousand men to the land of Your Grace's enemy, the Muscovite, by ship from Kazan, and appointed Kozuchak Ulan the commander of those men. And that Kuzuchak Ulan went beyond the River Oka with all those men and burnt the city and the castle named Borsumu²³. They inflicted unutterably great damage²⁴ on the land of the enemy of Your Grace and returned intact with all their belongings. I, the son of Your Grace, being eager to be of better²⁵ and greater service to Your Grace, my father²⁶, sent Yamurch Atalyk²⁷ to the land of Your Grace's enemy the Muscovite and gave him an army of seventy thousand men. Having entered²⁸ the enemy's land with all those men, he fought and destroyed and brought those men almost all the way²⁹ beyond Kirmyanchik, near Borkauch³⁰, and having devastated³¹ and burnt the enemy's land, they returned to us their king intact. Later, after they arrived, I sent ten thousand of my servants to the enemy's land. Those servants of ours entered the enemy's land, fought and devastated, and burnt a city named Balakhanyu³², and returned to us intact with all their belongings. Your Grace, my father, kindly understood it from my letter which I wrote to Your Grace with the help of my servant Gamza.

And Your Grace, my father, sent me, your son, your servant, the Tatar dragoman³³ Afendey with your letters, that I would be a friend to each friend of Your Grace and devastate the land of Your Grace's enemy the Muscovite. When Your Grace's messenger Afendey, the dragoman, came with the letters from Your Grace, I understood this from the letters from Your Grace, my father. I sent ten thousand men to fight in the land of Your Grace's enemy the Muscovite. Those men, having entered // [S.3] the enemy's land, devastated his land, and conquered and burnt a castle of the prince of Kasym named Namrlyn³⁴, and returned to us intact. I, the son of Your Grace, wishing to be of better service to Your Grace, my father, sent Akhmagn Ulan with forty thousand men to the land of Your Grace's enemy. He entered the land of Moscow, and fought and devastated it, and returned to me intact.

Then I, the son of Your Grace, wishing to be of better service to Your Grace, my father, and wishing to devastate more of the enemy's land, marched³⁵ myself with my entire army to the enemy's land and took along the entire regiment of that messenger of Your Grace, Afendey the dragoman, so that he could see our service and tell Your Grace, my father, about it. And, having entered³⁶ the enemy's land with all of those men of mine, I devastated his land, and conquered it, and burnt a castle of his named Borom³⁷. The army that went on the incursion went all the way up to Volodimer and devastated the enemy's land. And that ten thousand men marched as far as Kostroma and, having devastated his land, returned to us intact.

And whatever princes, murzas, and vlans I have under my command have seen that I, the son of Your Grace, am a good friend to Your Grace. They made an oath to me, their ruler, at once, to the effect that they shall be friends to each friend of Your Grace and enemies to each enemy of Your Grace. Your Grace could kindly ask your dragoman Afendey what kind of service we did for Your Grace in the land of Your Grace's enemy the Muscovite, for he is aware of our service.

I shall also tell³⁸ Your Grace, my father, that Mamai, the murza's son,³⁹ came to us with ten thousand men, wanting to do me a favour against Your Grace's enemy the Muscovite, and Avragman Tsar of Ocharkhan⁴⁰ sent a thousand men to help me; all those men are at our command now. I shall tell Your [Grace], my father, that the Grand Prince of Moscow sent us // [S.4] his ambassadors and messages, asking me and wanting me not to fight against him and to make peace with him. However, I did not want that and I did not accept his offer of peace.

And now this land where I sent my men and where I myself marched is empty, from Volodimer to Borom, Yunkcheyuch near Kostroma⁴¹ of Bele Khan to Kirmenchik, and from there up to the Frigid Sea⁴² I devastated the town of Kasym Oltan⁴³ and many other lands and cities of Your Grace's enemy the Muscovite. Your Grace's dragoman is a witness to this. God most merciful be praised, Your Grace's enemy and mine the Muscovite suffered considerable damage⁴⁴ from us. We have risen greatly in the

reign of Your Grace my father⁴⁵. Now Your Grace could kindly think how good it would be with the wealth of Your Grace, my father, for now I, son of Your Grace, have the entire Nogai and Oshtrafan⁴⁶ army at my command, which Your Grace wants to know. Besides, our Horde of Kazan has made an oath to me to the effect that they shall serve me with faith and justice.

I have sent my treasurer Bogush to Your Grace with that oath letter⁴⁷. Your Grace can kindly believe what he says to Your Grace, my father, for it is our speech. Your⁴⁸ Grace should kindly send me an ambassador of yours, a good man, and without delay⁴⁹, that the friend of Your Grace and of ours, hearing the communication between us, would order that it be executed, and that the enemy's heart would ache.

This letter was written in Kazan. From Sapkirey Tsar⁵⁰.

35. From Tsar Sapkirey. Word. By God's grace to the King of Poland, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, etc., my⁵¹ father, the Great King Sigismund

I will tell Your Grace, my father, that wishing for Your Grace's service // [p.5] to⁵² the lands of Your Grace's enemy the Muscovite, I raised up Alei Murza, the son of the Nogai Murza Mamai, and there were ten thousand men with him. In addition, the tsar of Arshtafan⁵³ sent me a thousand men with princes, mirzas, and uhlans in order to serve Your Grace. For this, I humbly ask Your Grace, my father, to do me a favour and send me, your son, one thousand gold pieces⁵⁴, that I may reward the princes, mirzas, and uhlans from Your Grace, and they would come to Your Grace's aid more willingly in the future. May Your Grace, my father, pay attention to the request of Your son. And if Your Grace would be so kind as to send me those thousand gold pieces, give them, Your Grace, to my messenger Bogush.

Written in Kazan⁵⁵.

36. From Tsar Sapkirey⁵⁶. Word. By God's grace to the King of Poland, etc., to my father, the Great Polish King Sigismund

Your Grace, I ask a favour: earlier, two of my servants were captured in your kingdom. One is named Kugurch, and he is held by Pan Yury, the head of Grodno; the other is named Husein, and he is held by Your Grace, my father. I beg Your Grace, my father, to do me a great favour and send these two servants to me, you son, with my treasurer Bogush, whom I have sent to Your Grace⁵⁷.

Notes

¹ Tsar Safakgiray, Safa Giray (1510–1549), Crimean Tsarevich, Khan of Kazan (not earlier than 10 May 1524 – not later than May 1532, September 1535 – January 1546, March 1546 – March 1549). A son of Sultan Mahmud Giray (not of Fatih Giray, as M. Khudiakov and some other contemporary authors have erroneously thought) and a grandson of Mengli Giray. He not only became the successor to the throne of Kazan after his uncle Sahib Giray, his father's brother; he also turned out to be a loyal ally and confederate during the reign of Sahib Giray in the Crimea. (See: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. – V. 13. – 4.1. – pp. 44, 46, 47, 53–57, 70, 88, 91, 99, 100, 106, 116, 121–125, 135, 142–143, 148–149, 157; 4.2. pp. 424–425, 440, 446–448, 457–459; Herberstein S. Notes upon Russia / translated from the German by A. Maleina and A. Nazarenko. Introductory article by A. Khoroshkevich. Edited by V. Yanina. – Moscow, 1988. – P. 319, note 323; Marjani S. Mustafad al-akhbar fi akhvali Kazan va Bulgar: Sources on the History of Kazan and Bulgar. – Kazan, 1989. – p. 170 (in Tatar); Khudiakov M. Essays on the History of the Kazan Khanate. – Reprinted edition. – Kazan, 1990. – pp. 87, 90; Fakhretdin P. The Khans of Kazan. – Kazan, 1995. – pp. 96, 107 (in Tatar); Piskarev Chronicler // Materials on the History of the USSR. – V. 2. Documents on the history of the 15th–17th centuries. – Moscow, 1955. – pp. 61–63, 86; Inalcik H. Giray // Islam ansiklopedisi. – Istanbul, 1945. – P. 4. – S. 783–789).

² Zhomoitskii – of Žemaitija or Žmudž. This name in the title of Lithuanian rulers comes from the name of the western part of Lithuania located between the lower Neman and the Venta, called Žemaitija or Žmudž. It lost its independence during the reign of Mindaugas, but regained it at his death. It faced claims from the German knights and the Lithuanians. It was incorporated into Lithuania during the reign of Gediminas, who gave it to his son Kęstutis. However, Jagiello and Vytautas had to cede Žemaitija to the Teutonic Order in 1382 and in 1387, respectively. In accordance with the terms of the agreement (the Peace of Thorn, 1411) reached after the Battle of Grunwald in 1410, it was given back to Lithuania. In Latin sources it is called Samogitia (see: Collection of the

Russian Historical Society. – V. 35. Records of diplomatic relations between Ancient Russia and foreign states. – 4.1. Records of the diplomatic relations between the Muscovite state and the Polish-Lithuanian State (1487–1533) – Saint Petersburg, 1882. – pp. 500, 563, 624, 637, 674, 700; Liubavsky M. A Historical Sketch... – pp. 14, 15, 43, 165–167, 171, etc.; Pashuto V., Florya B., Khoroshkevich A. The Population of Ancient Russia and the Historic Destiny of Eastern Slavdom. – Moscow, 1982. – pp. 54–150).

³ Mazovetskii - this definition in the title of King Sigismund I of Poland was created in 1526 when the historic region along the middle Vistula and the lower Narew and Bug, called the Mazovian lands, Mazovia, or Mazowsze, was incorporated into Poland. Since 1168 (since 1207 by other data) Mazovia had been an independent duchy, and, after being incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it retained a special position and peculiarities in its governance (see: Collection of the Russian Historical Society. – V. 35. – pp. 714, 732, 744, 774; Lyubavsky M. The regional division and local government of the Lithuanian and Russian State by the time of the issuance of the First Statute of Lithuania. – Moscow, 1892. – pp. 201–209).

⁴ Zhikgimont or Sigismund I the Old Kazimirovich (1467–1548), King of Poland (6 December 1506–1545) and Grand Duke of Lithuania (20 October 1506–1544), of the Jagiello dynasty. He sought in vain to strengthen central authority through reforms in the financial and military fields, and attempted unsuccessfully to return the lands occupied by the magnates to the Crown. While still alive, in October 1544, by the consent of the Brest Sejm, he let his son Sigismund II August start ruling the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In his foreign policy, he tended toward alliance with the Crimean and Kazan Khanates. He fought against Russia (1507–1508, 1512–1514, 1517–1518) and the Teutonic Order (1519–1521) (see: Liubavsky M. A Historical Sketch... pp. 197, 217–224, 239; Picheta V. Belarus and Lithuania in the 15th–16th centuries. – Moscow, 1961; Polosin I. The Socio-Political History of Russia in the 16th–Early 17th centuries. – Moscow: 1963. – pp. 83–87; The History the Lithuanian SSR from ancient times to the present day. – Vilnius, 1978; Russia, Poland, and the Black Sea Region in the 15th–18th centuries. – Moscow, 1979. – pp. 62–70, 135–158).

⁵ List - a letter, a message; in Modern Polish it is used to mean 'letter.'

⁶ Milost rachil: within this context it means '(he) did a favour.' (On the various meanings of the word 'rachit,' see: Sreznevsky I. Materials for a glossary of Old Russian. – V. 3. – 4.1 – Moscow, 1958. – columns 111–112).

⁷ kdym: literally means 'when I am'; the ending 'm' indicates the first person of the past tense of the verb 'to be' (Polish 'być').

⁸ Perekop Horde - the name for the Crimean Khanate common in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The term 'orda' (Turkic) originally meant 'tent,' 'the Khan's headquarters,' 'centre of the ulus,' and later, the state in general; the term 'perekop' refers to a ditch on the Crimean isthmus that connects the peninsula with the mainland. This feudal state was one of the heirs to the Golden Horde which separated from it in 1426–1428. It occupied the Crimean peninsula and the northeastern and western steppes up to the Dnieper and the Don. Its first capital was the city of Solkhat (Stary Krym); the second was the city of Bakhchysaray. The first independent Crimean Khan was the founder of the Giray dynasty, Hacı Devlet Khan, who added the affix 'Giray' to his name (around 1428–1466). Gradually it became a vassal of Turkey. In 1783 it was incorporated into the Russian Empire (see: Smirnov V. The Crimean Khanate under the Ottoman Porte before the 18th century. – Saint Petersburg, 1887. – 772 p; Herberstein S. Notes... – p. 167; Litvin M. On the Manners of the Tatars, the Lithuanians and the Muscovites. – Moscow, 1994. – SIZ, comment 39, 41–46; Collection of the Russian Historical Society. – V. 59. Saint Petersburg, 1887. – pp. 450–463; Fyodorov-Davidov G. The Nomadic Horde in the Ulus of Jochi // Vesti. Moscow University. – Ser. 9 History. – 1970. No. 5. – pp. 75–86; Kuznetsov A. Russia and the Politics of the Crimea in Eastern Europe in the First Third of the 16th Century // Russia, Poland, and the Black Sea Region in the 15th–18th Centuries. – Moscow, 1979. – pp. 62–70).

⁹ was... in the place of my father as tsarevich – the experssion means 'was in my father's land as a tsarevich' (atam uirend'). The word 'mestys' (place) is used in the meaning of 'land, region, state' (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V. 2. – 4.2. – columns 245–247).

¹⁰ prirekli - named, declared.

¹¹ meti - to have.

¹² Muscovite - this term was applied to the Grand Princes of Moscow (Vasily III and Ivan IV) in 1526–1547.

¹³ inshii: others, some (see: Polish-Russian Dictionary. – Moscow, 1960. – p. 168).

¹⁴ Apparently this is a writing error. It should read 'Kazan.'

¹⁵ Sogbe vdiachne: here it means 'with the humblest gratitude.' The word 'sogbe' is a derivative of the verb 'to bend,' and the word 'vdiachne' is a distortion of the Polish 'wdzięcznie' — gratefully (see: Polish-Russian Dictionary. – Moscow, 1960. – p. 678).

¹⁶ ...v odno slovo zmovivshisia: having agreed, i.e., having come to one word or decision.

¹⁷ ...killed the tsar. This refers to Jan Ali Khan of Kazan, killed on 25 September 1535. A son of Tsarevich Sheikh Auliar, a grandson of Kichi Muhammad, and a brother of Shakh Ali. He was appointed as the 'ruling prince' of the appanage of Kasimov in 1518, when he was only two years old. After being deposed as a result of Khan Safa Giray's plot on 29 June 1532, he was placed on the throne of Kazan by a temporary government headed by Tsarevna Gaukharshad, a sister of Mohammad Amin and Abdul Latif (see: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. – V. 13. – 4.1. – pp. 57, 88–89, 100, 106; Veliaminov-Zernov V. Research on the Tsars and Tsareviches of Kasimov. – 4.1. – Pg., 1863. – pp. 269, 271; Fakhretdin R. The Khans of Kazan. – pp. 113–117; Khudiakov M. Essays on History... – Reprinted edition. – Kazan, 1990. – pp. 76–77, 95–96, 98–99).

- ¹⁸ potratit: to exterminate, to destroy (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V. 2. – 4.2. – column 1295).
- ¹⁹ land of Nokrat: the Viatka land. Incorporated into Principality of Moscow in 1489 during the reign of Ivan III (1462–1505).
- ²⁰ privlaschil: pulled, nailed, attacked (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V.2. – 4.2. – columns 1384–1385).
- ²¹ In the manuscript the words 'a shtom ya' are written twice.
- ²² navezhayuchi - literally means 'visiting' (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V. 2. – 4.1. – column 273).
- ²³ The toponym is clearly distorted. Most likely this is Murom. The town of Murom played an important military role. It was one of the fortified links on the Nizhny Novgorod – Murom border line. It was a gathering place for the military forces of Zamoscovye - the noble cavalry and staff. This is why the Kazan khans made attacks on this town. In 1552 it became the centre of a voivodeship.
- ²⁴ I shkody nie vymovnie velikiy pochinili: (they) did incalculably (unutterably) great harm (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V. 1. 4.1. – column 446; V. 3. – 4.2. – columns 1596–1597).
- ²⁵ Lepshaya: good, attractive, the best, noble (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V. 2. – 4.1. – column 75).
- ²⁶ vchiniti - to carry out (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V. 2. – 4.1. – column 436).
- ²⁷ Atalyk - the word was used in two meanings: 1) An educator of the khan's children (a tutor); 2) a chief, a voivode. Here it is more appropriate to assume the latter interpretation. Regarding this term, see: Kunzevich G. The History of the Kazan Tsardom or the Kazan Chronicler: An Experiment in Historical and Literary Research // Chronicle of the Activities of the Archaeological Commission. – Issue 16. Saint Petersburg, 1905. – p. 288, note 6.
- ²⁸ vtiagnuvshi - having entered, having headed for.
- ²⁹ oli zhe: almost, close to (see: Sreznevsky I. Materials... – V. 2. – 4.1. – column 465).
- ³⁰ Kirmenchik means Khankirman — the khan's townlet, a fortress in the modern Ryazan Region. It is better known as 'Old Gorodets' or 'Meschersky Gorodok.' It was granted by Vasily II the Dark to Tsarevich Kasim, a son of Ulug Muhammad, who went to Rus in 1446, and it came to be called Kasimov after him. It became the centre of an appanage which was given by the Moscow princes to Crimean, Kazan, and Astrakhan tsareviches who went to them to serve. The Kasimov Tsardom was liquidated in 1681. (See: Veliaminov-Zernov V. Research... – 4.1. – pp. 13–43; Shishkin N. The History of the Town of Kasimov since Ancient Times. – Riazan, 1891; Tikhomirov M. A list of Russian towns, near and far // IZ. – 1992. – Book 40; Tikhomirov M. 16th century Russia. – Moscow, 1962; Mardjani Sh. Mustafad al-ahbar... – pp. 177–187; Khudyakov M. Essays on History... – pp. 31, 35–37).
- ³¹ In the manuscript, 'vivpustavshi.'
- ³² This is Balakhna.
- ³³ Tolmach (dragoman) - an interpreter, a translator from one language into another.
- ³⁴ The toponym 'Namrlyn' has not been identified.
- ³⁵ potiagnulom - set out.
- ³⁶ utyagnuvshi - having entered.
- ³⁷ This is Murom.
- ³⁸ The letter 'p' in the word 'povedayu' is corrected over what was written previously.
- ³⁹ the son of Mamai Murza - this refers to Alei Murza, the brother of Safa Giray's first wife, the son of Shaikh Mamai (Shikh Mamai). Since 1516 the Nogai Murza Shaikh Mamai, the brother of Yusuf and Ismagil, was in the Crimea, and carried out campaigns against Astrakhan in 1523 (together with the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray), in 1524 (with Yusuf, Süyümbike's father) and in 1538. He killed (together with Murza Agish) the Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray. Died in 1549. Had 4 sons and a daughter (see: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. – V. 13. – 4.1. – p. 43; Herberstein S. Notes... p. 337, comment 587; Peretiatkovich G. The Volga Region in the 15th–16th centuries. – Moscow, 1877. – p. 134; Usmanov M. Tatar Historical Sources of the 17th–18th centuries. – Kazan, 1972. – p. 83; Atlasi Kh. Süyümbike. – Reprinted edition. – Kazan, 1992. – p. 6 (in Tatar).
- ⁴⁰ Avragman Tsar of Ocharkhan (Abdyl Ragman, Abdul Rahman, Gabderrahman, Abdurrahman) took the throne of Astrakhan in August 1533 by displacing Khan Akkubeg. In October 1537, as a result of the campaign of the Nogai Murza Shaikh Mamai, he was forced to yield power to Derbysh Alei. In September 1539 he reascended the throne. In December 1542, for a short period, he was exiled by Sheikh Haydar, but he managed to take power for the third time and kept it until 1545 (until 1551 according to other sources), when he was displaced by Khan Yamgurchey (Yagmurchi). (See: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. – V. 13. – 4.1. – pp. 61, 72, 120, 132, 133, 137, 143–144, 170, 177; 4.2. – p. 441 (and others); V. 20. – 4.1. – pp. 413, 418; Marjani Sh. Mustafad al-ahbar... p. 175).
- ⁴¹ voskhu... Yunkcheyuch - another reading is possible.
- ⁴² The North Sea.
- ⁴³ This is Kasimov.
- ⁴⁴ upad - destruction, death.
- ⁴⁵ sia povyshili: rose up, were elevated.
- ⁴⁶ this is a distortion of Turkic 'Astrakhan.'
- ⁴⁷ podskarbego svoego Bogusha. The term 'podskarbi' is derived from the word 'skarb'—that is, treasury, property. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a podskarbi ziemski was an official in charge of the state treasury, or an establishment where all kinds of revenue were collected: silver coin taxes, customs and court duties, and revenues

from state lands and from the sale of grain. The Grand Duke's regalia, documents and books, firearms and ammunition were also stored there. The assistant of the podskarbi ziemski was the podskarbi gubnoj. The name of the podskarbi is quite interesting. The Russian chronicles mention the ambassador of Kazan to the Grand Prince of Moscow Baush and Bogush Bolkhovitinov, the Lithuanian ambassador to Moscow. (See: Liubavsky M. A Historical Sketch... – pp. 175–178; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles – V. 13. – 4.1. – pp. 45, 54.)

⁴⁸ In the manuscript, 'tvoya'.

⁴⁹ neomeshkivayuchi - without delay, without being late.

⁵⁰ Further in the manuscript one line was left without writing.

⁵¹ In the manuscript, 'moiemu.' Furthermore, the letters 'ie' are corrected over what was written previously.

⁵² Further, in a word consisting of 6–7 letters, only three letters in the middle are clearly legible: '...azi.'

⁵³ Arshtafanskii - Astrakhan.

⁵⁴ gold pieces - most likely he was asking for Hungarian gold pieces.

⁵⁵ Further in the manuscript one line was left without writing.

⁵⁶ The last letters in the words 'Sapkgiray Tsar' were corrected over what was written previously.

⁵⁷ Further in the manuscript two lines were left without writing.

The material was prepared for publication by Dina Mustafina

37. 'The Conquest of Kazan' According to the Russian Chronicles

The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. The collection of chronicles known as the Patriarch's (Nikon's) Chronicle. – Volume XIII. – Part 1. – Saint Petersburg: Printing house of I. Skorokhodov, 1904. – 302 p.

Kloss B.M. Nikon Chronicle // The Dictionary of the Scribes and Literary Arts of Ancient Rus. 14–16 centuries. – Part 2. L.-Ya. – Leningrad, 1989. – pp. 50–51.

Contained in this work are the materials of the so-called Nikon Chronicle, a monumental compilation of the chronicles, which dates to 16th century Russia. The Chronicle was named after the manuscript belonging to Patriarch Nikon. The Chronicle was introduced into scholarship by V. Tatischev, who thought, erroneously, that Patriarch Nikon had taken part in writing the Chronicle. The first edition of the Nikon Chronicle covers the years until 1520 and was compiled at the Moscow Metropolitan Cathedral in the late 1520s. 16th century

The historical material of the Nikon Chronicle was closely examined both in terms of its literary qualities and also historical. The stylistic devices employed in the editorial insertions in the text of the Nikon Chronicle tell us that the editor and compiler was Metropolitan Daniil (1522–1539). In the late 1550s the chronicles of Metropolitan Daniil were combined with the materials of the official historiography. The metropolitan's chronicles were copied and added along with the Voskresensk Chronicle and the Chronicle of the Beginning of the Reign edited in 1556. This is how the Patriarch's manuscript came to be. The original of Metropolitan Daniil's chronicles was kept at the State Treasury and was added along with sources from Patriarch's copy: the Voskresensk Chronicle (in a different volume) and the Chronicle of the Beginning of the Reign. Some time later the description of the events of 1556–1558 was added to the manuscript, thus resulting in the Obolensky copy. It is thought that in 1560, during his stay in Livonia, A. Adashev, a renowned state official of the Elected Parliament period, laboured over precisely this manuscript.

The source is cited by the publication: The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. The collection of chronicles known as the Patriarch's (Nikon's) Chronicle. – Volume XIII – Part 1. – Saint Petersburg: Printing House of I. Skorokhodov, 1904. – pp. 146–283.

[...]

The tsar's arrival in Grad Sviyazhsk [...] And the tsar went to the meadow and stayed in one hundred pavilions on the meadows beneath Grad Sviyazhsk. And he ordered Tsar Shigaley to come to him, and the ruler conferred with Prince Volodimir Andreyevich and with Tsar Shigaley, with his boyars and voivodes, how he, the ruler, should further govern his matters. And the tsar ordered an advance towards the city of Kazan, without a moment's delay, and that charters should be sent to them—if they make obeisance to him, the ruler would have mercy upon them. Our ruler, who expresses his righteousness—

God sees!—for God rejects the proud ones and gives grace to the humble and righteous ones, ordered Tsar Shigaley to send a letter to Ediger-Mohammed from himself because they were blood relatives, so that the latter believed him and did not oppose the tsar, went to our tsar, and so he would have mercy upon him and would reward him. And the righteous tsar sent charters to Kulsharif-molna and to all the Kazan lands so that they could make obeisance to the tsar, and if they neither stand for evil matters nor support those initiating rebellions against the tsar and the boyars, the tsar would have mercy upon them and reward them, too. And the tsar sent a Kazan tezik [merchant] to them on 15 August [1552]. On 16 August the ruler ordered that they should move to the place beyond the river, and the following regiments were to be deployed opposite the town of Sviyazhsk at the meadows on the Kazan side: the yar-taul [a temporary small-size command; prince A. Kurbsky called it an advance guard in his 'Tales...'] the first line of troops, the right hand, and the large regiment. On 18 August, on Thursday, the tsar came to the Cathedral Church of the Holy Nativity and, singing prayers, kissed the Holy image and the miraculous image of Sergius the wonder-worker, praying with many kisses for a long time, secretly sending prayers to the One knowing everything, and received blessings from the archpriest and all the clergy [201] staying at the same place. And then the tsar rode to the place behind the Volga River and ordered the guard regiment and the left hand to prepare to outdo themselves. He ordered Tsar Shigaley to sail to the Gostin island; in the same way the tsar sent his boyar Mikhail Yakovlevich and his dyak [clerk] Ivan Vyrodkov with troops. He also ordered his people to bring in towers and log tarases [wreathed wooden fences] that were ready to be used against the Kazan walls. And here the ruler spent nights and waited for all the troops to arrive; and sent them towards Kazan; and ordered the construction of many bridges since it had been rainy and the rivers had many waters in them. — The tsar comes to the Kazan River. On 20 of the same month, on Saturday, the tsar went to the place beyond the Kazan River; and instantly Tsar Ediger-Mohammed directed a captive to them with a charter to Tsar Shigaley. He wrote proud and loathsome words, blasphemies, abusing the Orthodox religion and the righteous tsar, also reproaching and upbraiding Shigaley, pledging he was ready to accept battle. The pious tsar, hearing abuses towards the Christian faith from the godless, asked God for mercy and suffered for the Christian faith. And he stood on Teren-Uzyak, and all his troops stood on the Tsar Meadow and along the Volga. And the tsar ordered the troops from the ships to deploy and organise his way towards the city. On Sunday and on Monday the tsar stood there. And here Kamay-mirza, the son of Usein, came to serve the tsar bringing seven cossacks with him; he said that he before he had two hundred people ready to help the tsar, but the Kazan Tartars found out and killed them. And he told the tsar about Kazan: in the city Tsar Ediger-Mohammed gained a foothold with his evil council of those who did not want to make obeisance to the Russian ruler; his fellows are Kulsharif-molna and kadi; Zaynesh—the Nogai prince, traitors Chapkun-prince with that one atalik; Islam-prince, Alikey Narykov, Kebek—the Tumen prince, Derbish-prince: they caused evil to all the land; and the city was well-supplied; 'and their council ordered that the ruler's traitors should be sent to the Arsk abatis—Yapancha-prince and Chapkun's nephew Shunak-mirza, as well as Yavush—the Arsk prince, and ordered that all the people should gather at the Arsk abatis so that when the Russian ruler's people came here, they would not let them proceed into the Arsk abatis.' And Kamay-mirza was rewarded with a great reward from the tsar. — About the positioning of the tsar's voivodes near the city. And the tsar called to himself his brother Vladimir Andreyevich and Tsar Shaigaley, as well as his boyars and voivodes and told them about Kamay's arrival and relayed what he had said. And the tsar advised on how to proceed to the city and added: he himself and Prince Volodimir Andreyevich must stand on the meadow near the Otuchev mizgiti [mosque], and Tsar Shigaley must situate himself behind the Bulak, by the cemetery, and the tsar must advance with the large regiment; and the large regiment with the advance troops as well as Prince Volodimir Andreyevich, and boyar, and voivode Prince Yury must go to Arsk; and the right hand must deploy beyond the Kazan River along with many cossacks; and the guard regiment must stay at the Bulak estuary; and the left hand, higher up this estuary. And the ruler ordered the court voivodes to prepare all the troops so that in each army there was one tura [a flexile wooden tower] for every ten men, and so that every man prepared a log to be able to make a stockade, so that after they mob the city [202], they could fortify it with turas and stockades. Thus, the ruler ordered all boyars and voivodes, all heads and knights and ordered all the troops not to attempt to

fight without his—the tsar's—and without the voivodes' permission as there would be time for that later; and the tsar confirmed with his great formidable word that they would not cease their bold affairs until they build fortresses around this city. – On 23 August the tsar marches against the city of Kazan. After preparing the army, the tsar advanced from Teren-Uzyak to the city and also ordered the yartoul, Prince Yury Shemyakin and Prince Fedor Troekurov, with archers and cossacks proceeding on foot before the troops, to advance on the city. The archers' command must march at the head of their troops, and the squadrons must escort them; and atamans, centurions, and cossacks must be divided in accordance with their ranks. Thus the ruler ordered the advance regiment and the large regiment of Tsar Shigaley as well as the voivodes to go to the Arsk field, up the Bulak, to the Kaban Lake; and he ordered the right hand to advance beneath the city of Kazan, beyond the Kazan River, and the left hand with the guard regiment must be deployed opposite the city, behind the Bulak. And the ruler positioned himself at the rear of the large regiment and ordered the artillery, the sentries, and the left hand to follow him. And once the ruler stepped onto the meadow opposite the city, he ordered the Christian gonfalons be hung elsewhere—that is, the image not made by hands of Our God Jesus Christ with the Life-Giving cross above it, just as his ancestor Grand Prince Dmitry on the Don used to do, and ordered the singing of prayers; and the ruler himself, and Prince Vladimir Andreyevich, and all boyars, and voivodes dismounted from their horses and started singing prayers to the Precious image of the Savior and to the Holy cross for the spiritual purification of the troops. – The tsar's speech to Prince Vladimir. The pious tsar himself, beholding the gonfalon with the image of the Creator and the Life-Giving cross, incessantly sobbed and ceaselessly sent prayers to God. After praying, the ruler summoned Prince Vladimir Andreyevich, his boyars, and his voivodes to him, summoned all his warriors from his forces, and in a humble manner proceeded to address them: 'Come to me, Prince Volodimer Andreyevich and all my boyars and voivodes, the time has come for our act of bravery, prepare yourselves, I beseech you, to fight and all as one suffer for godliness, for the hallowed churches and for our Orthodox Christian faith, appealing for God's mercy and help, and casting off all doubts, fighting for our only-begotten brotherhood of Orthodox Christians, who for many years have in vain suffered captivity and evil from the infidel forces of the Kazan Tatars. Let us now remember the Word of Christ: there is nothing more precious than when you sacrifice your soul for the soul of your fellow creature; so let us appeal to our Creator, Jesus Christ, with our pure hearts and ask Him to release the humble Christians, ask Him not to let us fall into the hands of our foes, so that our enemies may never rejoice at our death. And you now serve us, as far as God helps you, do not spare your heads to guard your godliness, whether it shall bring you death or life; if we do not die now, we shall die another way, and if we leave these unbelievers now, how shall we keep on living? For I have come here with you myself, it is better to die here than to live and contemplate those Kazan defiers as they commit sins and abuse Christianity and [203] torture Christians who have been entrusted to me. We hope that merciful God will send you His mercy after seeing how strong and grateful you are in your faith, He will help you at His discretion, and I am glad to bestow on you great rewards and my love, and make you a fortune, as far as our God helps us: and if someone is injured, I will keep providing great rewards to your wives and children up till the end of the century.' – The response to the tsar. Prince Vladimir Andreyevich and all of the boyars and voivodes unanimously responded to the ruler with tears in their eyes and with much crying: 'We see you, Tsar, you are firm in the law of truth and you do not spare yourself for the Orthodox faith and you prompt us to do the same, if we must, we all shall die for our faith together with those godless Agaryans [Muslims]; so go ahead, our Tsar, as you have come, and be the one who shall bring to them the Christian Word; all who pray will accept you, and any land will be opened to the one who brings the Word of Christ.' The righteous tsar heard that they responded differently, though in one voice they strove to fight for holiness and to suffer with him, and he remembered that God let the united into His home, and, looking at the image of the Creator, the tsar said so that everyone heard: 'Oh, our sovereign Lord! We move only remembering Your name; You, our Lord, please support us with Your holy strength and harden us with the power of Your Life-Giving cross and with the grace of Your Heavenly Spirit!' All the troops cried for a long time, asking for help and contemplating the image of Christ. And the tsar came to his spiritual father, the archpriest Andrey and he blessed him with the Life-Giving cross and told him: 'Be brave, servant of God,

for the One who will defeat all foes is the Lover of mankind, and our sovereign Lord Christ is indeed the Lover of mankind!' He crossed the tsar with the cross and blessed him with it, and the tsar took aim at his enemies. The ruler thus ordered his armies to cross themselves, saddled his argamak, and all his warriors were filled with spiritual joy as they had chosen death over the rot of life, desiring to fight for Christ and inspired by the grace of the Heavenly Spirit. And the armies advanced straight towards the city, and the tsar's yartouls proceeded up the Bulak to the Kaban lake, and the Kazan Tatars crawled out of the city and headed out in the direction of the tsar's troops. But, as the tsar had ordered, no one attempted to initiate a fight. However, when the Kazan people arrived, they started shooting at the army, and the archers of our tsar started to shoot at them from arquebuses; and the Kazan horsemen started fighting the tsar's foot regiments, and prince Yury Ivanovich Shemyakin and prince Fedor ordered their knights to help the archers. And the Russians and the Tatars battled, and God helped the Orthodox to press the Kazan people towards the very gates and beat the Tatars and injure some of them; and the voivodes gathered at the city and sent their knights back into their regiments. All the tsar's warriors were spared, only a few of them were injured; and no one from other regiments took part in the battle: such was not ordered; and everyone observed this and wondered at the tsar's order. Meanwhile, Tsar Shigaley and the voivodes came to the Bulak and stood on the Arsk field—as the ruler had instructed. – The tsar's arrival at Kazan The ruler reached the appointed place, where he and his forces were supposed to stay, on 23, on Tuesday. And he ordered the construction of churches of canvas: One, of Archangel Mikhail [204], another, of Yekaterina, Christs' martyr, and the third one, of Reverend Father Sergius the Wonderworker, and to him the tsar would go every day; and after this he ordered the construction of the tsar's pavilions. After organising the camp, the tsar dismounted from his horse and came to Sergius to pray, and then he entered into his pavilion and ordered his voivodes to strictly comply with what the tsar had told them, and all the troops heeded the tsar's command. For tomorrow, Wednesday, the tsar ordered the guard regiment to the voivode, the boyar prince Vasily Semenovich Serebreny, as well as voivode Semen Vasilievich Sheretetev, and the voivodes of the left hand—prince Dmitry Ivanovich Mikulinsky and Dmitry Mikhaylovich Pleshcheev—to set turas (towers) along the Bulak above Kazan from the river. And the voivodes came on Friday night and constructed the turas, thank God, without a fight; and the archers, as ordered by voivodes, dug themselves trenches on the opposite side of the Bulak so that no Tatar could leave the city. And there was a stone banya [bath house] by the city wall, named after Dair, and over there the cossacks hid themselves, as ordered by the voivodes. And cannons were brought to be set on those turas. – The battle between the yartoul and the Kazan people. On the 25 of the same month, on Thursday, the tsar ordered the yartoul to go beyond Kazan leaving the upper territory—the Arsk field—and instructed the right hand to go beyond Kazan, beyond the river, and station themselves opposite the city. And many Kazan people exited Kazan to attack the yartoul, and the rivals fought with arrows for a long time, and the voivode of the advance regiment Dmitry Ivanovich Khilkov sent his knights to help the yartoul. And, as God supported the Orthodox people, the Kazan people were defeated and pressed towards the city. Some were killed, and some were injured, while the Orthodox were spared by God; however, the voivode prince Yury was injured. – And on Wednesday evening there appeared a great storm. On that very day a great storm arose, and the tsar's pavilions and many troops fell, and on the Volga many boats were dashed against the isles, and the tsar's supplies for the army were lost. And grief was sown in the hearts of the Russian people; and the tsar sent an order to the town of Sviyazhsk to bring abundant supplies from there and bring them to those who lacked them, and the tsar sent another order to Moscow so that they arrived in haste to the army bearing the treasury and abundant supplies, as the tsar wanted to winter here. – The tsar observes the territory around the city. The tsar himself rode around the city over nights and days, escorted by not many people, observing places around the city where it was possible to construct fortresses. And on Friday, on the 26th of the same month, the ruler ordered the construction of a big fortress in front of the Tsarist gates, and the Arsk, Atalyk, and Tyumen gates. And from the large regiment he ordered another voivode servant Prince Mikhail Ivanovich Vorotynsky to have his men dismounted from their horses, proceed to the city on foot, and roll the turas; the big voivode boyar prince Ivan Fedorovich and his troops were to be on horseback; the tsar also sent several commanders on foot from his own forces to mingle with the knights,

and he instructed them as follows: when the calvary marched against Prince Mikhail, Prince Ivan would do as God allowed; and from his own forces, the tsar sent certain knights [205]—strong and skilled in military matters—divided them and gave each of them a hundred people and ordered them to go to Prince Mikhail on foot. – On the setting up of the turas at the city of Kazan. On the same day, in the evening, Prince Mikhailo, as ordered by the tsar, prepared his people: he commanded the archers' commanders—Ivan Cheremisov, Grigory Zhelobov, Fedor Durasov, dyak Rzhevsky—to advance towards the city with all of their archers, together with the cossacks' ataman and together with other commanders and boyars with their people, and ordered them to roll turas to the appointed place, and prince Mikhailo himself would go on foot behind them. – On the coup de main of the Kazan people. And when they marched towards the city, many Kazan forces—on foot and on horseback—appeared, and both parties—Christians and Tatars—waged a brutal battle; and cannons shot at the city and at the gates, and in the same manner cannons and arquebuses shot from the city; and it was a massacre, great and terrible; and it was impossible to hear each other because of the firing of the main guns, and of noises and voices, and of the thundering of the weaponry, and of the the mighty screams. There was a great thunder and many flashes of cannons and sundry arquebus shooting, as well as voluminous smoke. And God helped the Orthodox, and the godless were defeated, and many Tatars were beaten and pressed back into the city, and the city bridges were full of the dead. And the commanders of the archers, the archers themselves, and the very commanders of the boyars with their people and the cossacks stood along the city's canal and started shooting from arquebuses and with bows; meanwhile, Prince Mikhailo Ivanovich established turas and made embankments fifty sazhen [old Russian measure of distance—a fathom] far from the city, from the river Bulak and to the gates, in front of all of the places from which it was possible to attack, and ordered all of the commanders to come to the turas and instructed the archers and cossacks to hide in the canals in front of the city. But the Kazan forces continued exiting the city and continued approaching the turas and engaging in hand-to-hand fighting up till midnight, and, with God's help, the unbelievers were beaten by the Orthodox and were pushed back into the city; and they fought those approaching the turas throughout the night and fought hand-to-hand, without a wink of sleep, and, by the grace of God, they triumphed over the unbelievers. In the meantime, the righteous ruler ordered that prayers in the churches should be incessantly sung, and he sent his boyars to the church every hour, so that the warriors were hardened and never weakened. And during that fight many Kazan men were slain, and they killed the princes Islam Narykov, Bashkandu Brantsov, and Syunchelei-bogatyr, while many princes and mirzas met defeat. Meanwhile, there were few fallen among the Orthodox, by God's mercy; among the designated commanders and boyars—the boyar Levonty Borisov, son of Shushera, was killed; and many were injured but recovered by God's mercy; and for this our tsar was grateful to God and promised to keep on effecting just deeds. – A large detail is sent to the city. On Saturday, 27 August, the tsar instructed his boyar Mikhail Yakovlevich Morozov to find a big detail [206] for turas; and the tsar ordered his okolnichiy [a lower boyar rank, a courtier] Petr Vasilievich Morozov to come to those same turas which Prince Mikhailo had established. And after boyar Mikhailo Yakovlevich sent the detail and organised his place, he started incessantly battering the city and shooting at it with fiery cannons. Those from the detail defeated many people, as did the archers in the canals who did not let the Kazan forces exit the city gates and defeated many of them. On the same day, the tsar sent his okolnichy Ivan Mikhaylovich Vorontsov to examine the places where the large regiment was to take a stand. At the same time, Karamish-ulan, son of Kudaigu-ulan, exited the Kirim (Crimean) gates in order to take captive a warrior from the adversary's camp and interrogate him. He tried to kidnap one near the Mstislavsky's regiment as his regiment was not completely prepared. But Prince Ivan Fedorovich hurried to help them, and Karamish-ulan was caught alive. However, Prince Ivan was wounded by two arrows, while all of the other Christians remained uninjured. And Prince Ivan Fedorovich sent Karamish-ulan to the ruler of the tsar and the grand prince, and the latter ordered that he should be cruelly tortured. And Karamish revealed that many people had been injured on Friday in the city, while the Kazan Tsar Ediger-Mohammed and all the Kazan nobility hid for their life in the city and did not want to make obeisance to the ruler, God hardened their hearts, just as the pharaohs' hearts were hardened, let His Holy name be blessed in us. – The Kazan people's attack against the advance regiment. And on

Sunday, 28 August, many Kazan people came from the forest to the Arsk field and launched a surprise attack on the advance regiment, and killed the commander of those guarding the forests Tretiak Loshakov. Voivode prince Dmitry Ivanovich Khilkov hurried to repel their attack, arrived to fight their army, and was brave at it. He fought like a beast, as did the boyar prince Ivan Ivanovich Pronsky, who had hurried to the fighting, as did boyar prince Ivan Fedorovich Mstislavsky, who came with a small contingent of his large regiment, as did boyar prince Volodimir Andreyevich and Prince Yury Obolensky. The voivodes informed the tsar about this incident, and soon he commanded that more people should be sent to the court of the voivodes, and he himself hurried to attend his affairs. Fighting like beasts, the voivodes trampled the Tatars and the rivals drifted away; however, the Russians captured Mirza Shabolotov, a prince's son, and his companions. Many warriors fell at that battle, many were injured. Meanwhile, the captives told the tsar that Yapancha-prince and Yevush-prince followed the Russians from the ostrog [a small fort] and to Arsk with the sole aim of keeping watch on the tsar's army and causing trouble for the Russians as much as possible. Thus, on Monday, 29 August, the ruler ordered the right hand, and boyar prince Petr Mikhaylovich Shchenyatev, and voivode prince Andrey Mikhaylovich Kurbsky, and the yartoul, and prince Yury Ivanovich Pronsky, and prince Fedor Ivanovich Troekurov to set turas along the shore of the Kazan River, opposite the city. And [207] the voivodes constructed what the tsar had ordered and sent the commander of the archers Ivan Yershov with many archers and many atamans to go before them so they could hide in the trenches. Meanwhile, the city-dwellers shot from cannons and arquebuses and bows, while our archers shot at them from arquebuses, and the cossacks shot from bows. The voivodes bravely constructed turas and fortified the earth and stood themselves beneath the turas, as ordered by the ruler; and the right hand and the yartoul went to the Arsk field. Meanwhile, many Tatars emerged from the forest and went to the Arsk field both on foot and on horseback, and stuck close to the forest; the ruler instructed his troops to keep calm by the river and to not engage in a battle and ordered each of the men to desist from fighting. Therefore, the large regiment and the advance regiment, the big voivodes and prince Vladimir Andreyevich and boyar prince Yury Obolensky, and the commanders with the people from the tsar's forces awaited throughout the day. The same day the ruler ordered the construction of turas on the Arsk field opposite the city and on behalf of himself sent the boyar prince Dmitry Fedorovich Paletsky and Alexy Adashev, and other voivodes of the advance regiment, and the yartoul, and sent Yakov Bundov, the commander of the archers, and many commanders and the boyar's people from his own forces to accompany Prince Dmitry. And all of the turas were set in a row from the big turas, which were erected by Prince Mikhailo, to the Kazan River opposite the Kabats gates and in front of the Zboiliv gates and the Yelabuga gates—all were erected without a battle: the Kazan forces did not appear, they simply fired their cannons and arquebuses and shot their bows from the city; and the archers and boyar's people fired back. And in the places where turas could not be erected, the tsar ordered dyak Ivan Vyrodkov to observe those places and construct a tyn (a stockade) there. And thus the tsar enclosed the city of Kazan with his fortresses so that not a soul could leave the city nor enter it. And the ruler ordered his boyar Mikhail Yakovlevich Morozov to disperse his troop around the perimeter of the whole city and constantly attack it. – On the defeat of the Tatars on the Arsk field. On the 30th of the same month, August, the tsar decided to neutralise those people who attacked his warriors, as well as the foragers from the forests. And the ruler sent his boyar and voivode prince Alexander Borisovich Gorbaty and boyar prince Petr Semenovich Serebreny, and some commanders from his forces with them, and the archers' commanders with the archers, and many commanders of the knights, and many of the boyar's people and ordered Prince Alexander to march directly from Arsk field; and Prince Yury Ivanovich Shemyakin with his knights and his regiments, as well as many

people on foot and the boyar's people and the Mordvins—the tsar instructed these to advance from the Kazan River so that when prince Alexander Borisovich gave them a sign, Prince Yury was to attack. And when Prince Alexander Borisovich started marching with all his people, and when he sent all those who were on foot through the forest, the Tatars noticed Prince Alexander, left the forest—on horseback and on foot—and Prince Alexander commanded the troops to march against them, an orda of them. All the Tatars rushed to the battlefield while the Orthodox appealed to God, and so Prince Yury Shemyakin

ordered an attack against them from the forest, while Prince Alexander Borisovich, trusting in God, eloquently said: 'Let us go. [208] It is time! God protects us, but who guards them?' and ordered all his people to attack. All the believers rushed to fight the unclean ones, and, supported by the omnipotent God, they defeated the Tatars overwhelmingly, chasing them for 15 versts and defeating them. And boyar prince Alexander Borisovich, together with his fellows, stood on the Kiliri-river and ordered the trumpets to sound to gather the warriors, who were dispersed all over the land. And all the troops came back to the forest to pursue other people since they had knocked down many Tatars from their horses, and those Tatars, who found themselves on foot, ran into the forest; and Prince Alexander went to the field through the forest, and all the archers and boyar's people, who were on foot, also passed through the forest and sought out and defeated the Tatars along the way. They defeated many of the unclean in the forest, who hid in the trees, caught others, and brought 340 persons to the ruler. And Prince Alexander Borisovich sent God's bounties to the tsar and asked the head of the tsar's regiment, Ivan Ivanovich Kashin, to notify the tsar.

And after the ruler heard that the grace of God was conferred to him, the tsar of the Orthodox—that the unclean were defeated—he went to the Church of Sergius the Wonder-worker with tears of gratitude and sent much gratitude to God and asked for His pardon and mercy henceforth. On the same day, the voivodes approached the tsar with all their knights, and the tsar granted them a huge reward and greeted them with loving words and praised them for their bravery and promised to grant them further rewards. – About the message to the city of Kazan. The humble tsar sent one of the captive Tatars to the city and wrote to them demanding that they should make obeisance to him. The tsar would have mercy upon all of them and if they rejected his offer, he would order the beating of all who had been captured alive. The citizens did not give an answer, and the tsar ordered that they should be flogged in front of the city. – On the tunnel. On the 31st of the same month, August, on Wednesday, the tsar called a nemchin to him, whose name was Razmysl, who was cunning and savvy in the matters of subjugating a city. And the tsar ordered him to dig a tunnel into the city. And he started to create a tunnel from the Bulak River near the turas of okolnichy Morozov and Petr, and between the Talyk gates and the Tyumen gates. – The Tsar asks about water. And the tsar called Kamay-mirza to come to him and asked him where the townsmen find water. For the Kazan River was now lost to them; and they also lost the captives who in those days fled from the city to the tsar. And the answer was that they had a secret source providing water from the Kazan River, near the Muraleyev gates, which they access through a subterranean portal. And the tsar ordered the guard regiment, voivodes boyar prince Vasily Semenovich and Semen Vasilievich to set forth and destroy their access to water. But they did not manage to do this since the soil was hard. But the voivodes explained to the tsar that their path lies close to the stone bathhouse in which the tsar's cossacks hid, and it was possible to access the secret route from the bathhouse. – On the destruction of the secret route. And the tsar sent Alexy Adashev and Razmysl to those voivodes and ordered them to start digging their way to the secret route; and he instructed Razmysl to send his apprentices to attend to this and save himself for a more important deed. He also ordered that he should be notified when the tunnel was ready. And boyar prince Vasily Semenovich, asking God for mercy, and working hard for days and nights, as ordered by the tsar, managed to complete the tunnel in 10 days. And when Prince Vasily himself and his fellows heard the voices of the Tatars and saw them as they went for water, the prince notified the tsar.

Summer 7061 [1552]. On 4 September the ruler ordered the voivodes—boyar prince Vasily Semenovich Serebreny and Semen Vasilievich and Alexy—to plant 11 barrels of gunpowder under the secret route. And on Sunday, at early dawn, they blew up the secret spot, together with the Kazan citizens, who had come for some water, and the city walls trembled and were destroyed, and many inhabitants of Kazan were injured or killed by stones and logs that fell from above, as the secret spot was blown up by gunpowder. And the people of the city were petrified, and much discord was sown among them: some thought of offering obeisance to the tsar as they were exhausted, and other traitors started digging to find water elsewhere and never found it for all they could find was a thin stinking stream; and before they were completely conquered, they used that water and it brought them disease, swelling, and death. And the righteous tsar, throughout all the days and all the nights, asked God for mercy and visited his

troops around the city, examined all his turas, and ordered his voivodes to fortify the city further, and the voivodes executed his orders carefully, and the tsar granted abundant allowances and payments to them, and praised their work and promised to grant them more, prompting them to work day and night. And the warriors shot unceasingly from cannons, and they razed the Arsk gates and shattered the degree and attacked many people, and they shot fiery cannon balls and stones up at the city throughout the night so that the unclean could not sleep. – The voivodes' campaign towards the Arsk. On the 6th day of the same month, on Tuesday, the ruler ordered his voivodes to advance to the ostrog at the Arsk and divided them into three regiments: boyar and voivode prince Alexander Borisovich Gorbatoy and boyar and voivode prince Zakharia Petrovich Yakovlya were appointed to the large regiment; boyar and voivode prince Semen Ivanovich Mikulinskoy and boyar and courtier Danilo Romanovich were to stay in the advance regiment; and voivode prince Petr Andreyevich Bulgakov and Prince David Fedorovich Paletskoy were sent to the guard regiment. And he ordered all the commanders of the tsar's regiment to be with their knights, and all the commanders of the archers to be with their archers, and all the atamans to be with their cossacks, and the city sayyid to be with the city Tatars, and Yenikei-prince to be with the Temnikov Mordvins and all the mountain people—those were also on horseback. And the voivodes marched, and their archers and cossacks went on foot before their main troops, and then they reached the high mountain and the ostrog—but the ostrog was enclosed by gorodnyas [settlement's defensive walls], mounds of earth, and felled trees, and impassable bogs surrounded it, – On occupying the ostrog, – and the voivodes started repeating the tsar's speech to their [210] knights: 'Now sacrifice yourself to serve God and the tsar, onward to fight the unclean!' Prince Semen Ivanovich and Danilo Romanovich approached the gates of the ostrog and ordered the knights should go to the ostrog on foot; and the commanders themselves dismounted from their horses and approached the ostrog on foot. And when the fight for the ostrog started, every single arquebus fired, and both the Tatars and Christians shot with bows. And so many arrows flew, and so much thunder was heard as if a rain cloud had descended and dampened the earth with a torrent of raindrops. The battle moved to the gates, and princes Alexander Borisovich and Zakharia Petrovich went to the right with the large regiment, arrived at the other side of the ostrog, and ordered those on foot to do the same as the ground was impassable for those on horseback: fortifications were great there, and the forest was thick. Meanwhile, the Orthodox asked God for help, and together they all hastened to attack the impious, and the latter surrendered, helping God, and the tsar's Orthodox voivodes defeated the Tatars and occupied the ostrog, and defeated many Tatars, and captured 200 persons alive. And they went further, fighting and burning villages, to reach the Arsk fort on a hill; and after they found themselves there, both boyars and voivodes sent their commanders to the tsar troop, while all the rest stayed there for two days and took a different tack to Kazan. And the battle spread all over the Arsk side, and many people were defeated, and their wives and children were captured, and a great number of Christians were freed. The battlefield spread over 150 versts—from the valley and to the Kama River: they burnt villages, attacked their cattle, and took a great number of cattle with them, to the troops near Kazan. And God sent much livestock to the voivodes, from many cattle sheds. – On the voivodes' journey to the tsar. And they headed back to the pious tsar and other humble Christians, and beforehand they sent for the commander of the tsar's regiment Semen Vasilyevich Yakovlya to notify him about God's bountifulness. And the tsar, chosen by God, came to the church with many prayerful tears and said secretly and openly: 'What can I give you for your blessings except for my tears and my broken heart? Gracious Lord Jesus Christ, give us, poor Christians, complete freedom: give glory not to us but to Your own name.' And he hugged his voivodes amiably and extended his hand to be kissed and made them compliments, and praised their bravery and courage; and the tsar granted rewards to all his warriors in accordance with their ranks. – In the same month the tsar ordered his dyak Ivan Vyrodkov to construct a tower near the turas of Mikhail Vorotynsky, opposite the Tsarist gates. And after constructing this tower, which was six sazhenes high, they stationed much weaponry on it and many polutorny arquebuses (or arquebuses whose size could reach 1, 5 sazhenes), and they fired onto the streets and at the city walls and killed many people. And the impious ones hid themselves in holes and in trenches and started digging tunnels under the tarases—for there were tarases behind every single gate, and they were strengthened with earth—and the impious crawled from behind the tarases as if they

had been snakes crawling out of their holes, [211] and, crawling out of them, they kept fighting day and night. – About rolling turas towards the trench. And the tsar, righteous and great, ordered Prince Mikhail Vorotynsky to roll turas to their trench opposite the Arsk tower and the Arsk gates towards the tarases set opposite the Tsar gates. And it took more than a day for prince Mikhail to roll the turas towards the trench, constantly asking God to give him grace, force, and courage; meanwhile, the Tatars fought cruelly and did not let the Orthodox approach; but the tsar's voivodes, appealing to God, kept moving closer, as ordered by the tsar. On Sunday, the tsar ordered Prince Mikhail to stand at the turas near the trench, near the tarases opposite the Tsarist and Arsk gates; and, as the tsar instructed, there came the archers and cossacks together with the boyar's people and stood along the trench and and they were ordered to fight; and Prince Mikhail rolled the turas towards the trench but did not set them close to the tarases: thus, many archers and cossacks were injured and weakened; and when they were at last erected, the knights and archers and cossacks were sent to those turas. And the Tatars now saw that by the grace of God the Christians stood along the unclean ones' trench, and between the city walls and the tsar's turas there was one single trench three sazhenes wide and seven sazhenes deep, and the rivals fought unendingly, and fired from cannons, from arquebuses, and with bows, and launched many stones. And many Russians took rest during the lunchtime, but then they saw that there were not many people standing by the turas, and thus from the holes and from behind the tarases the Tatars suddenly attacked the turas; the Christians faltered and ran away. – On driving the Tatars away from the turas. Meanwhile, the tsar's voivodes took courage and attacked the Tatars furiously; and when all the Christians saw that their voivodes battled with the Tatars, they were inspired and rushed to defeat them as well. So they hurried to help them from every single place, and the unclean hastened to their own trenches to defeat the tsar's warriors, but then they streamed back to the city through their holes. And thus the Orthodox rose and strengthened their turas. And that battle brought many deaths, and many voivodes were injured: they attempted to wound Prince Mikhailo Ivanovich many times and with many weapons, but his armour was strong, and thus only his face was slightly injured; the face of okolnichy and voivode Petr Morozov was very wounded, he was taken from the battlefield and then cured; voivode prince Yury Ivanovich Kashin was wounded in his breast; in the same manner many leaders of the archers and boyars were injured. At the same time Zaynesh-prince with many Nogais and many Kazan forces exited from the Zboiliv gates and headed to the turas of the advance regiment and of the yartoul; but those turas were not near the city and were seen by the voivodes. So they allowed the Tatars to move in closer and then fired at them from arquebuses, and, in the same manner, the voivodes attacked them and pressed them to the city trenches and defeated many of them; meanwhile, God spared all of the Orthodox.

And the humble tsar sent his okolnichy Alexy Danilovich Pleshcheyev to help Prince Mikhail, and [212] sent treasurer Foma Petrov to Petr's place, in the same manner, he sent the commanders of his tsar's regiment, together with the knights and also many leaders with their boyar's people. Meanwhile, the humble tsar rode around his troops, and, approaching the turas, he lent support to everyone so that their armour could be strong by the grace of God, and visited all the injured and granted them monetary rewards; and everyone, seeing the tsar, who was prudent and courageous, was inspired to continue waging battle. And here the tsar noticed treachery—there were many Tatars hiding behind the tarasys—and he ordered tunnels be dug beneath them. On the 30th day of the same month, September, on Friday, the tsar ordered to gunpowder be place there to blow up the tarases; and he also ordered the erection of turas opposite the Tsar and Arsk gates, and he also ordered those voivodes, standing by those turas, to prepare for battle. And he instructed everyone else not to interfere. And so, the gunpowder was ignited, and the tarases exploded, and the Kazan people fell from a great height, and from this great height many logs fell and they defeated many Tatars; the inhabitants were frightened and terrified, and they fired arrows at the Russians for many hours. – On erecting the turas. And the voivodes stood along the trench opposite the Tsarist gates and the Arsk gates, and the Atalyk and Tyumen gates—all along the trench—and after the turas were erected, the inhabitants emerged and started viciously fighting, while the tsar's regiment ferociously rushed at the city. The pious tsar went to the city himself and saw that his troops rushed to attack the city and bravely fought the unclean on the city bridges, and on the gates, and on the

walls; and they fired endlessly from cannons, and hit stone walls with battering-rams and with fiery cannon balls, and his archers fired from their arquebuses, and other warriors fought with spears and sabres. And it was carnage, huge and terrible, and there was much cannon thunder, and the city and all the people were covered with the smoke of fire and fumes, and there was much noise produced by the warriors and weapons. God rescued the Christians as they battled on the city walls and at the gates and on the city tower—all the way from the Arsk field. The humble tsar saw his warriors fighting at the walls and in the city, and Prince Mikhailo Vorotynsky informed the tsar that in the city of Kazan, by the grace of God, the Christians had defeated many Tatars, and asked the tsar to withdraw the troops as many of them were unprepared for that day—and thus ordered the tsar—he commanded the voivodes and sent many yesauls to make sure the troops were withdrawn. The warriors, however, did not want to leave the battlefield, but as ordered by the tsar, they were sent away; meanwhile, the city walls and bridges were burnt, while the warriors hid near the city walls and the Arsk gates. – The Taking of Kazan. Voivodes prince Mikhailo Ivanovich and Alexey Danilovich commanded the construction of strong shields on the city walls and that the turas be filled with earth, and so they stayed at the city wall for two days and two nights awaiting the final attack. In the meantime, the Tatars constructed blockhouses opposite those gates and filled different breaches and fortified them with earth. – On the burning of the bridges. [213] Meanwhile, the bridges at the Tsar gates and the Atalyk and the Nogai ones burned throughout the night, and the city walls burnt down, and earth fell from the city, and the whole city was covered with earth and grit. – On preparation for purification. The righteous tsar ordered all the regiments to brace for an attack on the city by Sunday and told them to purify themselves and make confessions to their spiritual fathers so that the dignified could be granted grace, as the day approached when everyone would share and drink from the same bowl. – On filling in the trenches and bridges. On 1 October, on Saturday, on the day of the Protecting Veil of the Holy Mother of God, the tsar ordered the trenches be filled with wood and earth, and the construction of many bridges, and the relentless firing upon the city wall from bigger guns, and the razing of the city wall to the very ground. – On the message to the city of Kazan. The Christian ruler, the righteous tsar, did not want to contemplate human blood and sent Kamay-mirza, a Kazan citizen, to the city and other mountain people so that they might persuade the inhabitants to make obeisance to the tsar, to observe the grace of God when the tsar's forces entered the city: if they rendered obeisance and recognised the tsar's power and revealed the traitors, no trouble would be inflicted on them. But the Kazan people spoke unanimously: 'We shall not make obeisance! Even if Russia is now on the city walls and in the towers, we shall construct other walls, we shall either die or withstand your siege.' And they replied, as if they were out of their minds. God, blind their rage! For they did not see the righteous way of the tsar. Meanwhile, the Orthodox tsar spoke: 'Holy Lord! Behold my heart for I asked them to lay down their arms and render obeisance peacefully, but they preferred blood to peace. Now send disease upon their heads and let blood be on them and on their children.' – On allocating the voivodes before taking the city. And thus the righteous tsar ordered all who were ready to gather in their regiments, to brace for marching against the city, and the tsar evaluated many warriors of his, and he ordered his boyars to provide knights and skillful military warriors—who had been chosen beforehand—one hundred people for each boyar. The first ones to attack were the atamans and cossacks, and boyars' forces and their commanders, and the archers and their commanders. And as soon as his people reach the city walls, the tsar ordered them to assist other voivodes and other knights from all regiments; he ordered the same to all of the hundreds of soldiers, who had been ordered to accompany the chosen skilled warriors; the ruler ordered the same to the voivodes so that they could assist all their people. The righteous tsar and his brother Prince Vladimir Andreyevich stood with all their troops before the Tsarist gates, at the fauborg the near the cemetery, and advanced in all directions, appealing for God's help. And the tsar ordered protection for the regiments that were near the forests, and in case of attacks from the city or from the forests, on the Arsk field and on the Arsk and Chuvash roads, the tsar ordered Tsar Shigaley to remain there, and he ordered the same to all of the princes and mirzas of the city who were with him, and he ordered the same to Prince Ivan [214] Fedorovich Mstislavsky with his regiment, and to all the mountain people who accompanied him. And he ordered the boyar prince Vladimir Andreyevich, Prince Yury Obolensky with his regiment, as well as the commander of his tsar's

regiment, Grigory Fedorovich Meshchersky to watch the Nogai road. And his voivode prince Ivan Romodanovsky with his people were to stand by the Galitsk road, beyond the Kazan River; and Prince Volodimir Andreyevich and voivode Ivan Ugrimov were to remain near Bezhbald; and the commander of the tsar's regiment Mikhail Ivanovich Voronoy together with his nobles were to stand beyond the Kazan River; and the commander Mikhail Petrov Golovin was to remain above Kazan, near the ancient settlement. On the same day the tsar appointed everyone to different regiments so that everyone could prepare and stand where they were stationed. – On how the voivodes helped each other And the ruler commanded the voivodes to attack once, by God's mercy, the tunnel was blown up; and to move from the tower to the breach once the tsar gave an order to Prince Mikhail Ivanovich Vorotynsky and okolnichy Alexey Danilovich Basmanov; and he also ordered the commanders of the tsar's regiment to be sent to the breached walls; and he commanded treasurer Ivan Foma Petrovich of Prince Mikhail to move to the breach in the Atalyk gates; and the tsar and grand prince himself with his forces would help them. And the voivodes from the advance regiment were to guard the Kabatsk gates—they were prince Dmitry Ivanovich Khilkov and boyar prince Ivan Ivanovich Pronsky—to help him. The yartoul were to stay by the Zboiliv gates: Prince Fedor with Prince Yury Ivanovich Shemyakin, rendering assistance, were to take a stand there. And Prince Andrey Mikhaylovich Kurbsky was to deploy his troops over the territory from the Kazan River to the Yelabuga gates, and boyar prince Petr Mikhaylovich Shchenyatev was to help him. And voivode Semen Vasilyevich Sheremetev was to stay by the Muraleyev gates, and Prince Vasily Semenovich Serebryany was to help him. Voivode Dmitry Mikhaylovich Pleshcheyev was to stand by the Tyumen gates, and voivode prince Dmitry Ivanovich Mikulinsky was to help him. And the tsar ordered all of them to prepare to march on Sunday by the third hour after noon. – On how the tsar spent time with his spiritual father and on the armament. And the night from Saturday to Sunday the tsar spent with his spiritual father, archpriest Andrey; and then he started to arm himself and heard the sound of many bells, and so he told his closest companions: 'The bells are tolling, this must be the tolling of the Simonov Monastery.' And the tsar heard the voice of his heart that the grace of God came upon him, and he came to the church and began singing a morning prayer. – On setting gunpowder beneath the city. And Prince Mikhailo Vorotynsky sent a message to the tsar: 'Razmysl has set gunpowder under the city, but the townsmen saw him, so we cannot wait till the third hour after noon.' The righteous tsar thus ordered all regiments to prepare to launch an attack. – The tsar goes to the church. And the tsar himself went to the church [215] but commanded all to comply with all his orders, while he himself shed many tears and asked God for His grace; when the noon hour came he let boyar prince Volodimir Ivanovich of his tsar's regiment and boyar Ivan Vasilyevich Sheremetev and all the regiments advance. He ordered them to fall into line at a fixed place and wait for the tsar's coming. – On being present at the Holy Liturgy. And the tsar ordered the commencement of the liturgy as he wanted to touch Holiness, and after it was concluded, he intended to send prayers and gratitudes to God and set off for his regiment. Although it was frightful to begin the liturgy, it was worthy of praise to see the righteous tsar at the church, without the shield of his armour, with all his companions armed in the same manner, who sought godliness as they approached the fateful hour [...]

On blowing up the tunnel. And the time came for the liturgy honouring the holy New Testament, and the sun rose, and when the dyakon approached the end, he uttered the last line of the New Testament: 'And there will be one flock and one shepherd, ' and there came a strong clap of thunder, and the earth shook and trembled. And the righteous tsar glanced out of the church doors and saw the earth blast open by an explosion, and it was terrible as if darkness had descended on the earth and then risen high above, and many logs fell from high above, flying into many of the ungodly. The righteous tsar returned to praying, when there came another clap—the second tunnel had exploded, and the damage done to the city wall was even more terrible. Many people stood on the walls, and the floor beneath them caved in, and many people fell from on high, while others lost their noses and arms, and many of the godless were dead. – And the tsar's army marches to the city from all corners. And all of the Orthodox warriors, appealing to Lord, cried: [216] 'Our God is with us' so is 'The Lord by our side, ' and quickly advanced forward to defeat the ungodly. Meanwhile, the Tatars in the city appealed to their repugnant, deceitful Mohammed, called all his apostles to help them and said: 'We all shall die for our yurt.' And both parties

fought desperately at the gates and on the walls, while the righteous tsar remained in the church and prayed, appealing to Lord Creator, and all other people did the same, with many tears and heavy hearts, and then someone close to the tsar came to him and whispered: 'It is time for you to go, dear tsar, as your people are suffering as they are struggling with the unclean ones, many warriors await you.' And the tsar responded: 'We must finish praying, and then we shall receive the grace of Christ.' And so the second message came from the city—the time had come for the tsar to advance there and to strengthen the spirit of his warriors. And the tsar sighed from the bottom of his heart, shed many tears, and said: 'My dear God, do not abandon me and do not move away from me, render me Your aid.' And the tsar approached the image of Sergius the Wonder-worker, kissed it tenderly, and said: 'You who enjoy God's grace, help, help us with your prayers!' And the tsar took communion with holy water and partook of the wafer and bread of the Holy Mother of God, and, as the liturgy was finished, his spiritual father Andrey blessed him with the Life-Giving cross. – The tsar goes to his regiment. And the tsar left the church, protected by his prayers, but asked the devout men of the church: 'Bless me and forgive me, and pray to God incessantly, and help us with your prayers.' And the tsar placed his foot into the stirrup, mounted his horse, and hurried to his regiment, towards the city. And the ruler saw Christian flags on the city walls, and the sovereign arrived at his regiment and sent messengers to all his troops to ascertain their military preparedness. And once the warriors saw that the tsar had arrived and that he was courageous and ready to support them, immediately from all parts they rushed towards the city walls as if they had been winged, and from the walls they jumped into the city and waged ferocious battle. – The massacre in Kazan. And Mikhail Vorotynsky sent a messenger to the tsar to notify him that by the grace of God the pious were fighting the unclean ones and asked the tsar to help them. Meanwhile, the tsar dispatched the commanders of his tsar's regiment and ordered them to hasten to render assistance to their fellow warriors, but not on horseback for the city was overcrowded, and the passages were narrow. The tsar's commanders and knights attacked the impious bravely, and the tsar's warriors battled in every single spot at every single gate, in close fights, with spears and sabres, with knives in narrow passages; in many streets and in many parts both the Christians and Tatars fought each other with many spears and for many hours, and no one surrendered. – The Orthodox defeat the Tatars by the grace of God. Meanwhile, God helped the Orthodox, who were up above and defeated the Tatars on high, but the voivodes appealed to the tsar from every single corner: 'Your warriors are strong at fighting, and God helps both you, our pious tsar, and them, but many of the weak are seeking Kazan treasures, and you, tsar, should help us.' And the tsar sent his boyars [217] and many entrusted comrades to fight those who were greedy for treasures without helping their own; and he sent the commanders of his tsar's troops with their people to help those who needed it. And the Christians approached the Kul-Sharif Mosque, the Tezit trench, and here many impious colluded with Kul Sharif-molna and fought evilly, – The slaughter of Kul Sharif and his forces, – and by the grace of God, the Orthodox defeated Kul Sharif and overpowered all of his forces. Meanwhile, the Tatars rushed to the tsar's court, and the Orthodox warriors approached the tsar's court and slaughtered the unclean without any mercy—both men and women so there were rivers of blood. And the Tatars gathered at the tsar's court in anticipation of their impending death and decided between themselves: 'Let us leave the city immediately, for God fights with them. Otherwise, many our people will die.' And everyone ran towards the Yelabuga gates and started to strike and hack at the gates, and many of them rushed to the forest to hide. And at that hour the tsar was informed that many people were spread around and had fled beyond Kazan to escape. And at that place there were the voivodes boyar prince Petr Mikhaylovich Shchenyatev, who sent his regiment to attack them and defeat them, and Prince Andrey Mikhaylovich Kurbsky, who left the city on horseback and rushed in pursuit of them but found himself surrounded by them. Thus, they knocked him off his horse and inflicted many wounds on him. Although they thought they had killed him, by the grace of God, he survived and was subsequently returned to health. And the Tatars fled haphazardly towards the forest. The devout tsar sent boyar prince Semen Ivanovich Mikulinsky and armourer Lev Andreyevich Saltykov to Bezhbalda, and ordered boyar prince Mikhail Vasilyevich Glinsky and court boyar voivode Ivan Vasilyevich Sheremetev to go to the other side of Kazan; over there, beyond Kazan, the commander of the tsar's regiment Mikhailo Voronoy and Prince Vladimir Andreyevich, and voivode Ivan Ugrimov

were stationed. Boyars and voivodes, by the grace of God, defeated many of the unclean, and especially from the Kazan River to the forest many dead Tatars were strewn about, many were submerged in the river, and many suffered multiple wounds. – On defeating the impious. And with the help of omnipotent God, Jesus Christ, and with the help of the prayers of Our Lady Mother of God, and with the support of great Archangel Mikhail, and other ethereal forces—with the help of the prayers of the great wonder-workers and kinsmen of our Orthodox tsar, and with the prayers of all the saints—the tsar's victory over the foes —pious and crowned by God, our Orthodox Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich, the sovereign of All-Russia, fought the unclean ones and defeated them overwhelmingly, and he defeated the Kazan Tsar Ediger-Mohammed, and took the Kazan gonfalons; and the tsardom, and the populous city was lifted in spirit. And the tsar ordered the capture of all the wives and children and had the warriors beat for their betrayals; and he took so many Tatars in his captivity that [218] all the Russian army was crowded with captives: as if every Russian man had his personal prison filled with Tatars; meanwhile, many Russians were released from Tatar captivity. And so many of them were slain, so all the city was covered with dead bodies, and it was impossible to step anywhere without touching corpses. And beyond the tsar's court, from where the Tatars rushed to escape from the city, and on the streets, there were equal rows of corpses and of fragments of the city wall; the trenches on the other side of the city were filled with dead people as well; and up to the Kazan river, and in the river itself, and beyond the river, and around the meadow, corpses of the Tatars were lying everywhere. The tsar praised God and saw the pious tsar and grand prince of All-Russia Ivan Vasilyevich that God's grace was bestowed upon him and his warriors, beloved by Christ, and he raised his hands towards God and began reciting prayers of thanks [...] The tsar-ruler is greeted in the Kazan tsardom. And so Prince Vladimir Andreyevich and all the boyars greeted the tsar: 'Be happy, Orthodox tsar, for we have defeated the foes! Stay in good health, our tsar, for many years in the Kazan tsardom that God has granted to you! God gave you to us as a real protector from the ungodly Agaryans for now the poor Christians have been set free by you, and this unclean place is purified with delight; and from now on we shall ask God to grant you longevity and defeat all other foes and bring them to your feet, and we wish your sons to provide your tsardom with successors, and we wish for ourselves that we may live in peace and calm.'

– The tsar responds. The tsar responded to them amiably: 'God did it with your, my brother's help, and through he sacrifice of our entire army [219] and through the prayers of the entire nation; now let the God's will be!' – Tsar Shigaley greets the tsar and the grand prince. And then tsar Shigaley came to greet the ruler: 'Stay in good health, our ruler, who has defeated the foes, and may you reside in your domain in Kazan for centuries.' – The tsar's response to Tsar Shigaley. The pious ruler replied to him: 'Tsar landlord, you, our brother, know this: you sent many messengers to them to achieve peace; and you know their cruelty—that they lied a lot and had been using much trickery for many years and had shed Christian blood; but merciful God showed them His righteous judgment and showed us His grace, and took vengeance on them for the Christian blood.' – On the tsar's arrival in the city. And the tsar ordered one street be cleaned by the time of the tsar's arrival—that the dead bodies be removed from the Mura-leyev gates; and once it was done, the tsar entered the city. In front of him proceeded his voivodes and many noblemen, the archpriest Andrey with the Life-Giving cross; while Prince Vladimir Andreyevich and Tsar Shigaley proceeded behind the tsar. And the ruler came to the tsar's court; and all of the voivodes and Orthodox people greeted the ruler, and the people shouted: 'Long live the righteous tsar, the victor over the barbarians! Stay in good health, our tsar, for centuries, in the dominion given to you by God!' And the Orthodox people beheld the Life-Giving cross and the pious tsar in the desolate ugliness of Kazan. This court had been ruled by godless tsars before, and much Christian blood had been spilled for many years, and many Christians had suffered evil, but now the righteous sun shines above it—the Life-Giving tree—the Holy cross, and the images of our Lord, Christ, and His Holy Mother and of great wonder-workers. And the Orthodox pious tsar, a kind sufferer together with his brother Prince Vladimir Andreyevich, with all the Christian army, and with all the people returned their gratitude to God and uttered: 'We thank you, our Lord Christ, for our generation has managed to do a wonderful deed—the dark, desolate ugliness was destroyed by the sun of the truth, and we sinners have erected Your Life-Giving cross and Your miraculous image instead of impure Mohammed, and You swiftly

managed to overthrow their kin with their tsar. We thank you, our God, our Heavenly Lord Christ, blessed by the Trinity, for giving us Christians such a pious tsar for the last time, who is as devout as previous tsars, and brave, and courageous, who lives in accordance with Your Commandments, and is prudent, merciful, and eternally patient, who succeeded in saving us from the foes.' After thanking God, the pious tsar ordered his voivodes to enter into the city and extinguish lights so that his warriors could extract many Kazan treasures; but the tsar asked for naught a copper for himself nor for captives—only tsar Ediger-Mohammed, tsar gonfalons, and the city's cannons; and he gave all his wives and children, and all his treasures to the tsar's warriors. And the tsar himself returned to his court, beyond the city, and went to the church of Sergius the Wonder-worker, and he shed many tears [220] thanking God on behalf of himself and his warriors. And then the tsar came to the feast, and praised his warriors with kind words, and promised to pay rewards to them, and gave a multitude of thanks to all of the injured voivodes and warriors. On the message to Moscow. And the tsar sent a messenger to Moscow to send news of the miraculous and great deeds—he sent his boyar personal aide Danila Romanovich Yuryev to his tsarina Anastasia, and to his father, and to his prayer Metropolitan Makary. – On sending charters to uluses. And the tsar himself sent his charters to the dark people [bondmen] all around the yurt, who were obliged to pay yasak [tribute], so that they could come to the tsar without any fear because God had already brought revenge to those who had committed evil; and the tsar promised to extend mercy upon these so that they could pay yasak in the same way they had done to the Kazan tsars. – The Arsk people send people to make obeisance to the tsar. And the Arsk people sent the cossacks Shemay and Kubish with a charter so that they could make obeisance to the tsar, and so that the ruler could have mercy upon the dark people, let his rage go, and order the collection of yasak, as previous tsars did, and the Arsk people asked the tsar to send a knight to them so that he could bring the tsar's chartered word, and gather them together because they, frightened, had scattered in all directions, and so they took a shert [an oath] and went to the tsar. And the tsar and grand prince sent the knight Mikita Kazarinov and Kamay-mirza to them. And the Cheremisa came from direction of the Meadow to make obeisance to the tsar, and the ruler had mercy on them and accepted them. – On consecrating of the city. On 4 October of the same year the city of Kazan was cleaned of many corpses, and the tsar arrived, chose a place in the middle of the city, and erected a cross there with his own hands, and laid the foundation for the Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God, of Her Holy Annunciation. And archpriest Andrey, and the abbots, and priests sang molebens [prayers] and consecrated the city with holy water; and the tsar walked with the cross along the city wall, blessing the city in the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Mother of God and the great wonder-workers. – On consecrating of the church On 6 of the same month the tsar consecrated the cathedral church of the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God, and archpriest Andrey and archpriest Ofonasey from the Christmas Church on the Sviyaga with the abbots and priests also consecrated it. – On the same day the ruler and tsar chose the voivodes who were to stay in Kazan after him. And he decided that the big boyar and voivode prince Alexander Borisovich Gorbaty must govern the tsar's place and ordered many other voivodes to stay with him, and many tsar's nobles, and many knights, and archers, and cossacks to help them. – The Arsk people made obeisance to the tsar. On 10 of that very month Nikita Kazarinov and Kamay-mirza arrived, and a lot of Arsk folk came with them, and they made obeisance to the tsar so that he could show them his mercy, and and entire land would make obeisance to him and pay the tribute. Also, the tsar of the rabble and the Arsk people came, and he ordered the payment of direct yasaks (tribute) [221] as it was in the times of the Magmedelim Tsar, and he ordered his boyar prince Aleksander Borisovich, and ordered them to make a shert (oath) and levy a tribute and rule there. – Meadow people made obeisance to the tsar. On the same day the Meadow people from Yak and many other places came to the tsar to make obeisance from all Meadow people, and as the Arsk people, they sought the mercy of tsar. Also, the tsar made a visit, ordered his boyar to make them take a shert (oath) and rule there; on the same day the rabble swore. – On the 11th of the same day the tsar decided to go to Moscow together with his brother Vladimir Andreyevich and their boyars: the tsar himself sailed down the Colga River, his servant and voivode prince Mikhail Ivanovich Vorotynsky with his companions went on horseback towards Basil City. – On the campaign from Kazan. On that day the tsar listened to the prayers at the

Annunciation Exalted and placed all his hopes on the mercy of the God and the Most Holy Mother of God and on the mighty wonders-workers and the rivers: 'Our Lord and King, who created this, save this city and its people in Your name!' And he ordered his boyar and voivode prince Aleksander Borisovich with his men to obey his order and go to the Volga and sleep on the banks of the river. The next day the tsar and his brother sat in ushkuls and went up the Volga River and arrived at Sviyaz city and stayed there overnight. And he ordered the boyar and voivode Petr Ivanovich to rule over the Mountain people and make them pay yasaks (tribute), and to guard them and ordered the Mountain people to rule in the city of Sviyaz; and the Meadow and Arsk people, to rule in Kazan; and the Kazan people, to hold consultations with the Sviyaz people and vice versa, when there were common issues [...] [222]

Documents from the Astrakhan Provincial Office on Migration of Kazan Tatars from the Russian Empire to the Crimean Khanate in 1754–1755

In these publication the documents are presented summarising the migration of Kazan Tatars and the representatives of other Turkic-speaking folks of the Volga Region from Russia to the territory of the Crimean Khanate, their presence in the capital of the Ottoman Empire in order to receive a Turkish-Crimean citizenship, and preventing measures taken by Russian Central and Regional government in 1754–1755. Apart from covering these aspects, the releasable sources contain the unique case of fixation of endonym of bulgars declared as migrants.

These documents are saved in Fund No. 394 of the Astrakhan State Record Office (ASRO), containing the remains of Astrakhan provincial chancery archives (1717–1786), in two files as per checklist No. 1: file No. 1812 with the following title: 'Edict of the Directing Senate from the State military division on the investigation of mass escape of Mohammedans to the Tatar Horde, ' 11 sheets, and file No. 1757, 'Case over prevention of escape of the Kazan Tatars to Crimea, ' 27 sheets. These are the original documents with the accurate numbering and in a good condition.

The selection of the documents for the purpose of publishing was made according to criteria of the maximum informational value concerning the reasons, directions, quantity index, and the circumstances of this migration. Documents are provided in the fragments in the abstract of the extract. The text was reproduced in the contemporary Russian alphabet and orthography.

No. 1

1755 January 1755. – The imperial edict from Astrakhan provincial chancery Directing Senate over the secret investigation of the circumstances of the secret migration of the Kazan Tatars and measures to prevent it. Fragment

1 On 18 January the State foreign affairs board introduced to the Senate a message from a Russian resident in Istanbul, A. Obreskov, dated 1 November 1754¹, ' about 70 Mohammedans that escaped from the Russian Empire to the Belgorod Horde²... At the end of September 10 people out of those 70 Mohammedans residents of Her Imperial Majesty came there [to Constantinople], who escaped from the land of Her Imperial Majesty to the Akirman or Belgorod Tatar Horde. Calling themselves Bolgars,

¹ 1 The consideration of this message at the Senate session is reflected in the publication: Senate Archive. Vol. 9: Protocols of the Ruling Senate. 1753–1757. St. Petersburg, 1901, p. 311, 19 November 1754—that is before the State Collegium of Foreign Affairs sent the message of A. Obreskov, the Kiev Governorate Chancellery had directed the order to the Zaporozhian Sich about covertly sending the Cossacks to the Crimea to reconnoiter 'subordinate Mohammedans in the number of 70 people, escaped from Russia, the Kazan Governorate, to Akkerman, where they founded their own settlement'. The Zaporozhian people twice were sent out to find out their location, but could not manage to do so (Архів Коша Нової Запорозької Січі. Case documents. 1734–1775. Vol. 4. K., 2006. pp. 55, 57).

² The Belgorod or Budzhak Horde. Was formed at the turn of the 16–17th centuries in the Northwestern Black Sea area as a result of the Nogais' migration from the Volga-Ural Region who formed a local group Akkermen Nogailar (the name takes root in Turkish fortress Akkermen—present-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, the Odessa Region, Ukraine); was in the composition of the Crimean Khanate.

* Hereinafter, the title 'Her Imperial Majesty' written in capital letters in the original is given in the abbreviation.

[they] complained to Porta about fire and other torments, which took place in Her Imperial Majesty's Empire, about being forced to abandon their Mohammedan religion, and they asked for permission for their nation consisting of thirty thousand people to remain in the Turkish State. These arrivals (except for the ingoing) received permission. [Porta ordered], the Crimean Khan gave them // 1 overleaf, at his discretion, a proper place, so they were sent to Crimea, and they have been there now for 4 days, and fairly secretly. And he, the resident, having failed to find information about the districts they came from and their names because of their cautiousness, tried to send the petition sent by them to the supreme wazir, and though he got hold of it, there was nothing useful contained in it, as no places they came from or titles are indicated. And the simple name Bulgar only causes confusion because this nation professes the Orthodox Christian religion, maybe the Kazan Tatars settled down in the places where Bulgars used to stay and took their name. But as this is unknown to him, as a resident, then he suspended his judgment, and is in anticipation of if Her Imperial Majesty, by her supreme command, will deign to learn from the Kazan province and other provinces, where the Mohammedans live, where these seventy people came from, as so many people could not go unnoticed. *In response to this message the Senate resolved: to send to the Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Voronezh, Astrakhan, Orenburg, and Siberia province chanceries an edict on the secret investigation of the escape.*

Marking: received 26 February 1755.

Astrakhan state record office, f. 394, inventory 1, file 1812, sheet 1-1 overleaf.

No. 2

1755 August 1755. – The imperial edict from the State Board of Foreign Affairs to the Astrakhan governor major-general A. Zhilin over the identity of the Kazan Tatars and Bashkirs, travelling to the Ottoman Empire with the secret letters. Fragment

11.'...As some of the Bashkirs were bold enough to stand in oppositon¹, and though measures were taken to pacify them, although, if the disorders continued, there is no doubt that those opponents would send someone to Ottoman Porta, and especially to Crimea and Kuban for such an agreement and request for help. That is why you should order, without announcing the rebellions of the Bashkirs, in all places of your authority and outposts caution and verification of whether any of the Bashkirs and Kazan Tatars close to them travel abroad with any letters or verbal orders, and if there are any, they should be apprehended and the confiscated letters sent to the foreign affairs board, and those apprehended shall be held// overleaf 11 under guard. For more security, you should keep this decree and not give it to the chancellery, and not inform anyone of this matter, except for the foreign affairs board. This decree has been sent to general-major Yefremov, to foreman Somov, and to colonel Spit-syn, as well...'

Note: received 21 September 1755

Astrakhan state record office, f. 394, inventory 1, file 1812, sheet 11—11 overleaf.

No. 3

1755 July 1755. – The imperial edict from the Directing Senate of the Astrakhan provincial chancery informing of the discovery of the Kazan Tatar migration to the Crimea, and the receipt

¹ This refers to the Bashkir Rebellion from May 1755 to summer 1756, the spiritual leader of which was Batyrsha Galiev (see: T. Khudaigulov. Batyrsha Galiev—the Ideologist of the Bashkir Rebellion 1755–1756 // The History of Science and Technology. Special issue No. 5. Ufa, 2008. pp. 47–50). The migration of the Kazan Tatars which happened on the eve of this uprising should be observed within the general context of the Islamic population of the Volga-Ural region's dissatisfaction at the strengthened centralised policy-making of the Russian authorities (including forced Christianisation) in the first half of the 18th century (see: N. Baidakova. The Policy of Russian Authorities Towards the Non-Christian Population and the Newly-Baptised from the 16th to the beginning of the 20th Centuries. Dissertation for Candidate of Historical Sciences M., 2006. pp. 86–97).

of information from him about the preparations for the mass migration of Kazan Tatars abroad, and containing measures to prevent the above-described events. Fragment

1 *21 July 1755 The state foreign affairs board submitted to the Senate the fragment sent by Kiev's Vice Governor I. I. Kostyrin on 8 May 1755, informing of the following:* Warrant officer Klimovskoy from the Zaporozhian Sich reported in his letters sent to the Crimea Khan together with the letters from the Kiev military post on May the 5th that while he was in Bakhchisaray he learned that in Crimea, in the town of Karasev¹, there lives a runaway Tatar from the Kazan Governorate who said that he was not alone in coming here from the Kazan Governorate, and that there are many of them, seeking suitable land to settle in within the region of Crimea, reasoning that almost all Tatars in the Kazan Governorate had been drafted into the military and christened by force, while in Crimea life is more free and the religion is the same. That is why about twenty people, who were in the Crimean area in 1754, returned to the Kazan Governorate to inform others, and to take their wives, children, and belongings in order to escape to the region of Crimea through the steppes past Tsarytsyno and Cherny Yar. They will go overseas to Yeni-Kale², and while traveling from the Kazan Governorate to the Crimean area, they dressed their wives as men and called them workers; as for their children, they pretended that they were going to learn the craft of the merchant and were moving to Tsarytsyn. // 1 overleaf. Under a decree of the Directing Senate of Her Imperial Majesty, the Kazan provincial chancellery was ordered to send a decree with a hander, to order a secret meeting about this escape by the Tatars and as with the issuance of a sea letter, required for work and the merchant craft, as well as in their houses, with their wives and children, as described in the fragment, and as they travel past Tsarytsyno and Cherny Yar they are hidden. And if there are men like that with their wives and children, women dressed as men, looking suspicious, they should be taken under the guard and interrogated and they shall see what is revealed by investigations, and they shall not appear in their houses and secretly escape, which is why this should be done very cautiously, not provoking any confusion in their houses about an alien religion and without any evident suspicion, but still observing them attentively, as wrote the Directing Senate. Also near Saratov and Tsarytsyn, such runaways, as well as those suspected of escaping, should be caught and reported, and secret orders should be sent to Colonel Kazarinov in Saratov and to the Astrakhan province chancellery from the Senate to the commander at the Tsarytsyno border, and the Astrakhan province chancellery shall be informed, and the edict of Her Imperial Majesty obeyed. And the orders shall be sent to the mentioned places...'

Astrakhan state record office, f. 394, inventory 1, file 1757, sheet 1–1 overleaf.

No. 4

After 1755 August 1755. – Determination of the Astrakhan province chancellery over measures to prevent the migration of the Muslim population abroad. Fragment

2 *Astrakhan province chancellery, pursuant to Decree dated 23 July 1755 'On the Secret Case, ' received 26 August 1755 and that very day heard, ruled: // 2 overleaf .'. To the imperial cities of the Astrakhan province—that is, Saratov, Dmitriyevsk³, Tsarytsyn, Cherny Yar, and the Yenotayevsk fortress and to the outposts established from Astrakhan to Tsarytsyno along the Volga River, send the secret decrees, order that when crossing the Volga River they are alert, and if there are such Tatars, especially with wives and children, with wives dressed as men, crossing the Volga River towards the uphill side, each one of them should be caught and sent secretly under guard to the Astrakhan province, and the Directing Senate shall be informed of it.'*

¹ Karasu-Bazar, present-day Belogorsk city, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, disputed territory between Ukraine and Russia.

² Yeni-Kale ('new fortress') is a Turkish fortress built in 1706 on the bank of the Kerch Strait to cover the crossing from the Crimea to the Taman Peninsula; now part of Kerch, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

³ The present-day city of Kamyshevsk, in the Volgograd region, Russian Federation.

Astrakhan state record office, f. 394, inventory 1, file 1757, sheet 2–2 overleaf.

No. 5

15 March 1755. – Report of the Tatar and Kalmyk issues office¹ worker Kologrivov addressed to the Astrakhan province chancellery over the status of the migration of the Muslim population abroad and the difficulties of locating them. Fragment

19.'..As... a result of the investigation which appeared in [1]740 the Astrakhan Tatars and their servants are on the run, and their names and year of escape, those with the above-mentioned decree on the investigation and information of Tatar and Kalmyk issues, some of them have been reported to the province // 19 overleaf chancellery, some of them have not been reported, and the register is attached. Moreover, since [1]740 and before it.. some of the Yurt Tatars escaped, but no one remembers their names and how many there were and where they ran to. Now there are no such intentions of escaping among the Mohammedans, only some heard from the dependent Kalmyk Tatars who was in Kubana, that some of the runaway Astrakhan Tatars want to come back to Astrakhan.'

The material for publication was prepared by Vladislav Gribovsky

39. Kh.Sherifi. 'Zafer name-i Vilaiet-i Kazan'

This text has been reproduced from the following publication: Publication of A. Melek Uzyetgin – Kh. Sherifi 'Zafer name-i vilayet- i Kazan' // Gasyrlar avazy – Echo of centuries. No. 1. 1995.

It is indisputable, irrefutable, and evident for all-knowing people with sincere and faithful souls and for honourable people with faithful thoughts that Bulgar vilayet is in the seventh heaven out of all seven. It's related to the Moon—that is, it is under the aegis of the Moon. And as noted in the books on mathematics, this Bulgar vilayet, for the reason that it is too close to the the North Pole, it lacks one out of five times for namaz—yastu namaz at the end of May and at the beginning of April. That is because the dawn is like a blaze in the presence of two imams. Also, as indicated in the books 'Al-Kenz, ' 'Al-Vafi, ' and 'Al-Kafi, ' a little before its [dawn] disappearance at the indicated time, the time of morning namaz comes—that is, of the genuine morning. For that reason, namaz yastu is unnecessary for the people.

Also, the capital of the Bulgar vilayet, beautiful and serene city—one of the greatest cities of the Islamic world—Kazan is a phenomenon of time, and located far away from the Islamic vilayets, it shares borders with the states of the infidel.

A saying: 'Do not be close to the bad.'

There is nowhere to await help and support from for Kazan, apart from the protection of the Lord of the worlds and the help of the angels. In accordance with the needs of the epoch, for the purpose of ensuring the wealth and well-being of the country, calm, and security for the people, for the purpose of ensuring peace in the world, the rulers of the beautiful city of Kazan pretended to be friends, exchanged ambassadors and government officials.

A poem:

*'The tranquility of the world is based on an understanding of these two words:
To be true to friends and to be falsely hospitable with enemies.'*

The holder of a sable and a pen, the source of nobility and generosity, honoured by the grace of Allah and forgiven by him, Abul-Gazi Safa-Girey Bakhadir-Khan, when he became the ruler of the Kazan vilayet for the second time, because of the difference in religion with the unfaithful in this world and a

¹ Established in 1724 for the general supervision and dispute resolution between the nomadic population of the Astrakhan Governorate; was subordinate to the secretariat of the Astrakhan Governorate and abolished in 1771.

retreat in the afterworld, adhering to the directions of Ayati Karim: 'Verily, the virtuous will be in bliss, and the wicked will be in Hell' (Quran, LXXXII, 14), 'Fight the idolaters altogether' (Quran, IX, 36), 'And fight in the cause of Allah with your property and your life' (Quran, IX, 20), heeding the words of the Prophet: 'In a fight there will be one thing out of two wonderful things—either victory and a trophy, or death for the sake of faith and paradise' and according to this Hadith shall be happy.

Beyt:

*'There is one wonderful thing for the family of fighters for the faith in the world,
If they win—they are awarded a trophy, if they die—they ascend to Heaven.'*

He was gladdened by the words of Muhammad the Chosen: 'The one who sends an arrow flying on the path of Allah, will be considered one who has succeeded, as shall be the one who gave him the arrow.'

Kyitga:

*'If someone sends an arrow flying into the idolaters for the sake of faith,
He shall be considered equivalent to a freed slave.
Each one who releases an arrow in the hope of a holy war,
Or swings his sable, will be equal in mercy.'*

And also, having thought over the Hadith of the Prophet: 'Waiting for an enemy on the front line throughout the day and the night is more useful than abstinence for a month.'

Kyitga:

*'Hitching his horse up and spending night and day dreaming of gazavat
Is better than a month of abstinence and evening namaz.
If there will be living and oblation, it will be put into the grave,
If there won't be any, it will become a place to hide from the Dezhal rebellion.'*

Anticipating an excellent reward and many blessings from Allah the Almighty, having laid the foundation for enmity and having cut the thread of friendship between them, having opened the gates of contradictions and having closed the gates of relations, saying: 'If I don't avenge myself against the oppressors, I will become the oppressor myself,' saddling the horses of the holy war and spreading Islam, girding the glittering and killing the unfaithful blessed sable.

A poem:

*'Each bird from the wealth of the sea of his sable
Will catch one hundred crocodiles on the day of battle.'*

Having taken up the reins: 'Strive with your property and your persons in the cause of Allah (Quran, IX, 41) and have placed feet into the stirrups of bravery and desire, and encouraged by the hope of power 'Allah has exalted those who strive above those who sit still, by a great reward' (Quran, IV, 95), received different pleasures and nobility and peace a thousand and one times over from the serene content of ayat: 'Think not of those, who have been slain in the cause of Allah, as dead. Nay, they are living! 3754 They are granted gifts from Him' (Quran, III, 169). In the vineyards 'Thou giveth sovereignty to whomsoever Thou pleases, and Thou taketh away sovereignty from whomsoever Thou pleases' (Quran, III, 26) elevating the knowledge of Ayati-i Kerim whereby thus Allah strengthens with his Aid whomsoever he pleaseth' (Quran, III, 13), saying: 'How many a small party has triumphed over a large party by Allah's command!' (Quran, II, 249), taking the happy warriors of Islam, as devotees of bad religion with warped views are evildoers— 'They are in manifest error' (Quran, XXXIX, 22) —going and killing them and having destroyed them, they brought innumerable captives and untold wealth.

Thus pass much time. Accidental is the saying of a fate speaker: 'Wheresoever you may be, death will overtake you, even if you be in strongly built towers' (Quran, IV, 78) reached blessed Highness Khan, and he heard Say, 'the Death from which you flee will surely meet you' (Quran, LXII, 8), and Khan at once, handing his life into the hands of fate, awaiting the mercy and Grace of the Lord Almighty, saying: 'Surely, we belong to Allah, and to Him we shall return!' (Quran, II, 156), seeing in the words of ayat: 'When their time has come, they cannot leave behind a single hour, nor can they move ahead of

it' (Quran, VII, 34), giving up on living and the desire for the hope of revival, at the feast 'whosoever is taken away'(Quran, III, 185) poured from the hands of a cup-bearer – 'The Lord gave them to drink'(Quran, XVI, 21) a drink – 'All that is on it (earth) shall pass away'(Quran, LV, 26), moving from the house of arrogance to the house of happiness: 'This is the decree of the Mighty, the Wise!'(Quran, VI, 96).

Ghazal:

*'Oh, what a shame! The soul encased in the body at death will tremble,
Saying, parting with the soul is a grief, the body will tremble.
This death wrapped the soul in grief and worry,
The spring of immortality will tremble from the fear of death.
When death strikes on earth among the people
The stars and sun will tremble.
And changing the colour of its face into black and red, and yellow,
Or becoming invisible, even the bright moon will tremble.
Having given away one's wealth and gathering an army, one cannot cheat death,
Even the khan or sultan will quake in fear at this.
Because of the sudden appearance in the soul of the fear of death
The earth will quake, and many mountains and fields will tremble.
Hey, Sherifi, one should prepare up to the moment of death,
It is no use, saying 'either there,
or here, there shall be trembling.'*

The unfaithful, being satisfied with the events wrought by fortune, and happy with what's happening in the base world, he is unfaithful, conceited and arrogant, he is an idolator and defeatist of the epoch, and a troublemaker with the gold of the world, one of the two devils, the leader of the cursed army, godless Ivan, with his look of the pharaoh and Nimrod, wishing to be at the head, gathered a massive, many-numbered army and vile warriors, about 800, 000 strong with guns and weapons, but it is said: 'As for those who violate the promise to God after pledging to keep it, and sever what God has commanded to be joined, and spread corruption on earth, in fact, they inflict harm'(Quran, XII, 25). They came, and encircled the great city of Kazan and besieged it.

The hostile army was numerous, like ants swarm and the tribe of Yajuj, not like people.

Ghazal:

*'What a wonder! This city of Kazan is a place of rejoicing in the world,
There is no other city in the world providing shelter,
There is no other city in the world that blooms like Kazan,
One can always find food and drink in Kazan – the city of the Universe!
We have inherited our power from our ancestor khan,
This place on the globe has always been a city of the khan, the place for a khan's son,
Having sold his land and house, he will not pay his father's tax,
Why is this villain here? This is not Ivan's city!
Sharifi, do not leave this city as long as you believe in gazavat,
From this day forth, they shall proclaim him the lord of Kazan.*

At the fortress gates, having gathered the young, stood the supporter of the state and path finder for all these people, the son of the late Polat-bik Mamay-bik together with Nurgali-mirza – may their significance rise, – experienced in military art, the one who defeated the brave and destroyed those like Dara and Iskander.

A poem:

*'With the garlands of excellence on their heads,
The warriors stand in line side by side.
Each of them, like a lion on the battlefield –*

Will always kill the enemy with a sable.'

And at one of the Khan's gates there is a devoted friend of the field of bravery, a lion of the art of courage—Kozydjak ulan—may Allah increase his power. A poem:

'Each one, when fighting with the enemy,

Will feel within trust in the sable of Islam.

This happens just once in a lifetime:

'Man of the men is Ali, the sharpest among the sables is
Zulfikar.'

He is master of his craft, he took under his care the young and the truly brave.

And at the other fortress gates is the head of the group of the brave, Iskander of the field of courage, Ak-Mohammed-ulan—may his life be long.

Beyt:

At the meeting, he is Iskander, in battle, he is Rustem,

May his shadow on this earth not fade.' A poem:

'Hey, blue bell on his horse's neck—

The sound of the bells is sometimes like the sun.

Everyone, who shoots an arrow into the world of infidel warriors,

Should call it not an arrow, but a gun.'

And at the other gates of the fortress, the grandson of Kutbi-l-aktab Sayyid Ata from the Prophet's line, the son of the late Sayyid, Kul Muhammad Sayyid, may his virtue continue, took the lead of the dervish-like youths and gathered his Sufi subordinates. Inspired by Ayati Kerim: 'Say: As for me, my Lord has guided me onto a straight path—the right religion, the religion of Abraham, the upright'(Quran, VI, 161) and Ayati Sherif: 'The religion of God is Islam' (Quran, III, 19), resorting to the protection of tekke the Prophet and the Lord Almighty, at the chieftaincy of the spirit of the Prophet Mohammed, asking for help from allos the prophets' spirits, the spirit of the father, Seyyid-Ata—may Allah bless his secrets—fulfilling 'in any case, when in doubt what to do next, ask for the help of those who are in the grave' and, having asked for help, saddling the horse of holy war and preparing for battle, were the steadfast were ready to fight the unfaithful.

And at the other fortress gates—Barbolsyn Atalyk, the one as if with a flag of Dar and as dexterous as Iskander, the example of Rustem and similar to Bakhram.

A poem:

'May he live in the divine world,

And may conquests always be his companions.

May there always be the courage,

If he dies for you today, may there be no grief.'

He was together with those who served with him.

And at the other gates of the fortress—the city Bey, the ruler of Bulgar vilayet, 'much fancied by sultans, relics of mother-of-pearl and the pearl of esteem, the one who regulates business in the districts of sultan, the conqueror(key-keeper (?)— F.Kh.) of khan's treasury, from the clan of ameers' Baybars-Bey—may his power increase—adding courage and displaying bravery (the heart of a courage), always said:

Kyitga:

'I'm not one who would leave the battlefield,

That's my head, covered in blood and dust,

Anyone, who starts a battle, plays with his blood,

The one who flees on the day of a battle, plays with the blood of the entire army''.

Some of well-known brave men and happy strongmen—Narikhibeg, Ay Kildi-Beg and Ak Matay-Beg and the community of hajjis—may Allah help them—going anywhere attacked by wicked destroyers, without regard to their own life, helping and fighting the wicked unfaithful, destroying them and breaking their spears, were honoured as fighters for their faith and were respected.

All in all, two forces faced each other to fight, struggle, and battle each other.

Mesnevi:

*'Stood in the line among the detachments,
Lined up the troops from the sea to the moon.
The troops stood in groups like mountains,
Like sea waves.
Head-to-toe in chain armour is Rustem, and with a spear,
Head-to-toe they are in metal.
Warrior-lions are everywhere,
With their arrows and bows.'*

By hearsay, and it was found, proved and confirmed that there were 11 firing guns in the forces of the infidel. One artillerist went over as well. Each gun shell weighed about 1 batman (32 kg - F.Kh.) according to Kazan weighs. It was the size of a horse feeder. There were different spells and various other things inside of a shell, which would surprise even the mind of Aristotel and the meaning of 'Aristo' would be 'confused and shocked.' These shells are belted from outside with iron, inside of beaten copper there are 'white oil' and sulfur, joined and fastened tiny guns, armed with pellets of 4-5 leads, and they were firing on a dark night 'like a heavy rain from the clouds. 'Wherein is thick darkness and thunder and lightning' (Quran, II, 19). And the flashes in the air flying out of the flaming shell on a dark night could be compared to the stars and planets falling in a single stroke.

These huge shells were falling at night everywhere in the town and no one could approach and put them out.

Beyt:

*You can walk up to every fire and extinguish it with water;
But even water cannot extinguish this fire.'*

Only some brave young and courageous men, remembering that 'a man will ascend only by his own efforts,' rushed to this fire like a salamander, and with the help of the angel Yudje and mental effort quenched this house so that no trace, nor signs, remained.

A poem:

*'Salamander is needed for water, fish-fire,
The brave man is needed for work.
If assiduity will accompany a man,
He will achieve success eventually.'*

There were 4-5 air guns as well. Every stone shell was like a piece of a mountain. Each time these guns were fired, these stone shells were launched into motion by expulsive force, flying out like a bird—'the bird is flying using its wings,' —climbed into the air. 'And you see the mountains, and imagine them fixed, yet they pass, as the passing of the clouds—the making of God'(Quran, XXVII, 88). Appearing in the sky as a spot in the air, i.e. moving in the sky, after the waning of the expulsive force, it fell in a natural trajectory. It fell more powerfully than a tornado, faster than the arrows of fortune.

A poem:

*'When a worse fate befalls us
All scholars will become blind and dumb.'*

Wherever it falls, as it's said: 'He (Allah) sends thunderbolts, striking with them whomever He wills' (Quran, XIII, 13), destroying the earth it passed through seven layers of the earth.

A poem:

*'One stone fell down from the sky,
The mountain and the earth roared like a lion.'*

Beyt:

*'As if fish fell down onto the earth, and upon the head,
One cannot say that this 1001 is a property of it.'*

It's impossible to count all of the things and guns striking the fortress. People, afraid of the sounds of the guns coming from the sky and muffling all other sounds could not recognize each other— 'And you will see the people drunk, even though they are not drunk. But the punishment of God is severe' (Quran, XXII, 2). 'And that day will be occupied with suffering' (Quran, LXIX, 37). We were amazed that the Righteous Lord and Almighty did an ambiguous favour to his servant by providing these cruel infidel and self-conceited, arrogant idolaters such a show, these troops and warriors, such tremendousness and kingship!..

A poem:

*'That the other people were amazed, —I forgive Allah,
For no one can comprehend the perfections of Allah through intellect and knowledge.'*

A poem:

*'My Lord, you are so generous, when from the reservoir of guilt
Fire-worshipers and Christians received their shares.
My Lord, will you deprive your friends of
The rain of mercy and blessings?'*

All in all, two forces that have drowned in iron were equally fighting and struggling against each other.

Beyt:

*'The distance between two walls is as firm as iron,
You should know—for all the world like the street of an invisible city.
Two forces started moving,
The world started trembling from this amusement
Frp, tje rumble and moaning of Karnay (?)
Hands and feet started trembling.'*

So this battle, as khashir, went on for ten days.

Mysra:

*'It was such a battle—like the day of Last Judgment,
The world was filled with the sound of hanjars,
Blood ran in torrents in Kazan.'*

May the help and mercy of Allah be praise and a greeting for the Prophet. With the aid of Allah, the mercy of the worlds of the Supreme Creator are close, and with the help of angels, the sounds of Ayati Kerim: 'Indeed, Allah will know wherever you are and no matter what you do'(Quran, III, 160), prolonging life, reached the ears of the Muslims and the meaning of Ayati Kerim appeared: 'If Allah helps you, no one will defeat you anymore'(Quran, IX, 25). The evildoers, devotees of the false religion and warped views were destroyed to the extent that their traces were even ripped out from the pages of Time. 'Thus, the last remnant of the people who did wrong was cut out. And praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds!'(Quran, VI, 45). The sinful infidels, having thus died, were lying on the two plains of the fortress and were food for dogs, wolves and hyenas. There was no place to set a foot.

A poem:

*'As if loaded up with firewood, without a cut
People's heads lay on this broad and open place.'*

In short, these battles went on for 16 nights without a break. On the fifteenth day, the destructive infidel turned back in a disintegrated, withdrawn, driven out, and devastated state. 'Praise Allah, who helps his servant, values his forces, having destroyed the enemy.'

Beyt:

*'Prosperity and fortune do not come from knowledge of the deed,
It all means nothing without the help of the Lord Almighty.'*

Kyitga:

*'If immortal Allah defends someone from their enemies,
He doesn't need armour and high fortress.'*

*If they aren't saved, there's no use of these things,
Even if they are saved, you won't cut a hair from Zulfikar's head.'*

The appeal and mercy of the scholars, hope for the kindness of commentators is that if this 'Zafer Name' will be noticed by these kindhearted, poor (Sherifi) will accept his drawbacks and fault and admit them. His grief and fault and he honours the Righteous too, for his defense, sinful and indignant, they should sincerely read one 'Fatikh' sura.

This event took place in the month of muharram of the year 957. The author of this valuable script and the one who inked these white sheets was the poorest of servants, Sherif Khadji Tarkhani.

Translated from Turkish by Farid Khakimzyanov

40. From a collection of the 17th century

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts. Collection 181. File 591. Sheets 787–789.

In the summer of 708 of the seventh¹ the Kazan princes Mamai, the prince at the head, and uhlans, and molns, and afizs, and azeis, and all princes, and centurion-princes, and decurions, the common (black) people, and the princes of Arsk, all² betrayed the God-appointed sovereign tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich, the autocrat of all Russia, and sent to Crimea to ask humbly from the Crimean tsar³ that he give them Prince Dovlet Kirey⁴ to rule over the Kozan kingdom. And with their envoys they sent the Crimean tsar a book as a gift. And that book was written in the Persian language, and its name was 'Yazaib el`maluk`kat, ' in Russian 'Wisdom of All the World,' according to their busurman heresy. And the Urak people with their companions beat those envoys and Kazan Tatars of the tsar grand duke in the field, and took that book from them and the yarliqs, and sent it to Moscow in that summer 708 seventh on the 1st day of May. And there were four written yarliqs. And the first yarliq read as follows⁵. – To the Highest Threshold of the great sovereign holding great power and to the just lord and victor, his tsar majesty of Kozan lands, Momai prince at the head and [uh]lans, and molns, afizs and azeis, and all princes, and all setennye (centurions – V. T.) princes, and decurions, and all common people, and princes of Arsk, and all people ask humbly for your favour. And the petition is this. To our death we did not want to betray our sovereign, the deceased Safa Giray, and in his happy times to fight and slash those Russian people, and we could avoid it, or again those enemies of ours would defeat us in battle. And that made us worthy of Heaven. We lived with that hope. It is true that we reached God with our destinies. And now we praise your long-lived name and we pray to God (for) your happiness. And now, sire, if only you want that Yurt not to stray from you and fall into the hands of another, and when your servants Yanbars and Syalkish arrive with this petition charter, you, sire, will let him, Tsarevich Dovlet Kirey, leave this land. Muslim people will pray to God for you, and you will receive salvation. And when these people come to you, and you will not send him, the Yurt will fall into other hands. And you would not take Muslim sins. If the deceased Mahmet tsar rests in God's

¹ The year 7087 from the world creation, in view of the date 1 May, mentioned below, corresponds to 1579. However, if we judge by names present in the text, events unfolded exactly thirty years earlier, in 1549. It is likely a slip in the source and we should read 7057.

² This refers to the Oghlans, mullahs, hafizes, khojas, beys: different categories of the aristocracy and clergy.

³ That is Sahib Giray ibn Mengli Giray—the Crimean Khan from 1532 to 1551.

⁴ Devlet Giray ibn Mubarek Giray—the Crimean khan between 1551–1577. After learning that Kazan people invited the prince to the throne (therefore, some of their embassades broke through steppes to the South) sultan Suleyman I allegedly sent Devlet Giray to Kazan. In reality, it was a trick to lull Sahib Giray's vigilance with whom the Padishah was displeased. Upon arriving in the Crimea, Devlet Giray led the conspiracy against the khan and soon the latter was killed. Devlet Giray occupied the throne of Bakhchysaray, while Kazan people who decided not to await prince Giray, enthroned the minor Utemish Giray ibn Safa Giray.

⁵ The text of the document till this place was published by A. Sedelnikov, the next text below is M. Tikhomirov's translation of Kazan people's letter to Sahib Giray up to the words 'and you will receive salvation'.

will and left none of his kin¹, and therefore that Yurt fell to another². And now if it is your favour, take care of this land and people, so that the Yurt will not be taken by another. And you know how you will decide. This petition is from all the land, so that you will do a favour, hurry, and soon send [Devlet-Giray], and with him Prince Yangurchej and Prince Chalagozinya³. Yours is the land, and yours are the people. You know how you will decide. Having spoken, we sent the petition charter⁴.

Prepared for publication by Vadim Trepavlov

**Extract from the report of the continuator of 'Chinggis-name'
by Ötemish Hajji about the late Shibaniids**

Translation

Fol. 72r. This section

fol. 72v will tell of Beg Kondy's lineage. Altunay Sultan, his father Kuchum Khan, his father Mur-taza, his father Aybak, his father Muhammad, his father Beg Kondy, his father Melik Timur, his father Batavul, his father Juji Buga, his father Kalbak Buga, his father Bahadir, his father Shibani-khan, his father Juji, his father Chinggis Khan, may Allah be pleased with them. We begin the story of Shibani-khan. Shibani-khan had three sons. One was called Shagban, the next one, Shevval, and the other one, Bahadir, and his (Bahadir's) son Kalbak Buga, his son Juji Buga, his son Batavul, his son Melik Timur, and of Melik Timur several princes were born. These are the names: the eldest son Ilik, younger ones Pusat, Janta, Sivinch Bey, and Beg Kondy. The mentioned Pusat had two sons. One named Arab, the other, Ayba. From the lineage of Ayba came Abulkhaer-khan, from the lineage of Arab, the famous Khan Yadigar. And from the lineage of Beg Kondy came Aybak khan, who was a famous khan and ruled having joined the countries of Kyrgyz and Kazan. It is also known

fol. 73r. son of oghlan Ilik Kan Bay and his son Mahmudek Hoja. The mentioned Abulkhaer-khan, his father Tugly Sheikh, his father Ibrahim, his father Pusat now deceased, may Allah forgive his sins and take him to Heaven, Abulkhaer-khan, may Allah be pleased with him, oghlan Shah Budag-sultan was born of him, he was his son. A famous shahid (fallen for the faith) Shakhi-beg and one more son of Shah Budag Mahmud-sultan was his son, the just and perfect in faith Gabdullah Bakhadir-khan. The father of the mentioned Yadigar-khan was Temir Sheikh-oghlan. And his father Hajji Tugly-oghlan, they say, his father was Arab-oghlan. He was a man of much wealth. The father of the last Kydyr—Ibrahim and Hyzyr-oghlan Bakhtiyar-sultan, son of Hamza Sultan, son of Mekhdi Sultan—after him Hajji Muhammad-khan became the Khan. He ruled Bashkurt, Alatyr, Mokshy and captured the renowned Shekhr-i Tura that was in the direction of the Shekhr-i Bolgar territories of Mangyts and was a great Padishah. And more about the sons of Gali, son of the famous Beg Kondy. This khan

fol. 73v. had three sons. Aky, Shaybak, and Mahmud. Shaybak also had three sons. One was named Ak Kurt, then Bobey, and one more Ak Muhammad, and then Muhammad had four sons. Their names were Aybak, Aky, Mamuk, and Musa Chalush. This mentioned Aybak had two sons. They had three princes. The names of the oghlans are Sary Sultan and Murtaza Sultan, and when they finally became adults, they gained control over all Transoxiana, between (the rivers) Inrek and Suvnak Derya-i Tur in the houses of Elif (?) became the Khan. This Murtaza-khan had three sons. One was named Ahmed Giray, and the other, they say, was Kuchum-khan. And he (Kuchum-khan) was clever and perfect, they

¹ It is obvious that it is about Mohammed Amin, Kazan khan (who ruled between 1478–1496 and 1502–1518), after whose death the dynasty of Ulugh Muhammad, the founder of the Kazan Khanate, was interrupted.

² This refers to the enthronement in Kazan of Shah Ali ibn Sheikh Auliara in 1519—a Russian protege and representative of the dynasty of the Great Horde khan, Ahmed ibn Küchük Muhammad (1465–1481).

³ Yamgurchi Bey was one of the closest allies of Safa Giray during his life in the Crimea (consultation of A. Nekrasov). We did not manage to find out who 'Chalagozinya' bey was.

⁴ Texts of the rest three 'yerliqs' are not presented in the source.

say. And Chaylu-sultan also was a son of Murtaza-khan, and by now, they say, in Kazakh yurts (Kazak yurtlarynda) he has a son. Kuchum-khan also fought in Turkestan in the area of Otrar, and he resisted and fought with all the country of the Kazakhs (Kazak mämläkäti). The Supreme God gave him power and help, and he captured them and distributed their possessions among the people and became the Great Khan of Tau Buga Ishdege Yurt (Tau Buga yurty Ishdege). The names of the sons (descendants) of Kuchum-khan appeared because of this. Galikhan, Tash sultan, Kytai

fol. 74r. sultan, Muhammad Kul sultan, Chavak sultan, Hajim sultan, Ishim sultan and Altun Tai sultan, and there was another sultan, but he died in infancy. This was known to his karachas and spread among the people, and he also had ten daughters. Those mentioned here, during the times of his eldest son Gali-khan, their state (yurtlary) was shattered and disintegrated, and some territories of Bashkurt, Alatyr, and Moksha were captured by Russian kafirs (Urus kuffar) and still remain under the mentioned kafirs. To gather the army (or to join the armies), Gali-khan came to the famous Ishtirak beg. However, he also, after saying that my brother's son (inim ugly?) could not bind me to himself, did not help him, and, having taken the money that remained from his great father, having lost hope, and having put the body of his dead son on his horse's back, he crossed over the famous passage Jan Sebuk of the river Yaik (Derya-i Dzhyik) and buried him in the fortress of Ufi situated on the bank of the Belaya.'

Translation from Old Tatar by Ilnur Mirgaleev

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42. Story of the 'Tatar Spade'

The story was preserved in a family of an ancient Tatar lineage of the Aghishevs. The story was told to I.Mirgaleev by its representative Ravil Aghish, who lives in Turkey. Ravil Aghish said that this story had been passed on in their line from time immemorial. A Tatar baskak, collector of yasak, was sitting in a cart on a throne, and a Russian prince with his noblemen was standing before him. After the announcement that yasak tax would be collected on behalf of the Khan, for which year, and its sum; the tax collectors, without getting off the cart 'arba, ' would hold out a special big 'spade, ' on which the Russians would put the money. The yasak collectors, without touching the money, would empty the contents of the 'spade' into a chest, which was on a special cart.

The story belongs not only to the initial period of the Kazan Khanate, when part of the so-called vykhod (tax) of the Horde was transferred to the Kazan khans (and later until the last days of its existence, the Kazan Khanate continued to receive kharaj, although disguised by Muscovite princes under the name 'pominki').

Translation

'A story circulated among our ancestors, which has survived to our day from the times of the Kazan Khanate. In ancient times the Khanate collected taxes from the Grand Duchy of Moscow and the Russian people. And since the Russians were infidels, and their bodies were considered impure, the yasak tax was collected from them with a spade. In order to clean the collected tax money, it was even washed. This is why the expression 'Tatar spade' remained in the Russian language.

Translated from Tatar by Ilnur Mirgaleyev

Published in: Mirgaleev I.M. The Story of the 'Tatar Spade' // Golden Horde Civilization. 2014. No. 7. Pp. 18–20

43. Documents of the Russian State on the Foundation and First Years of the Town of Tara

1593–1594 – The order to the Prince Andrey Yeletsky and his companions, sent to Siberia to build a town on the Tara River; with the attached list of the emissary sent with them.

...go and build a town up the Irtysh, on the Tara River, where it would be henceforth more profitable for the sovereign to make tillage, and to force Kuchum Tsar away and spite him, and those volosts, that bol... on this side of Tobolsk and Tobolsk Districts to remove from sight... and bring to the sovereign and fortify and r... as Prince Ondrey decides with Prince Fedor, but who will go, to ar[rive] in that place, and ship and land ar[my], so that, after taking the town on the Tara River, to bui[ld] a town, find a place, either further up or down from that place, where it is more suitable to build and fortify a town. And bread supplies, and money reserves, and different attire to carry on ships. And before themselves, to send from Tobolsk the children of boyars, and Tatars, and Cossacks to the volo[sts], which are on the Irtysh, gather mounted yasak Tatars according to the list, which is sent with h[im], the yasaks who live up the Irtysh, and give them the sovereign's favourable word that the sovereign will favour them and lessen their yasak. And now all, gathered together, would set out on horseback and on foot, with the sovereign's voivodes, against Kuchum Tsar and the traitors of the sovereign, against mirza and the Nogai people. And the yasak people who do not give yasak to the sovereign, and...s[tockade] will be built for them all so that t[hey], and first of all the sovereign's yasak people, would live on the Irtysh without fearing Kuchum Tsar and the Nogai people. And going from Tobolsk, would tell voivode Prince Ondrey and his companions about Kuchum Tsar and the Nogai people, where /fol. 152v/ now Kuchum Tsar [wanders], and s[end] mounted guards ahead so that Kuchum Tsar and the Nogai people would not cause any damage to the voivodes and bread supplies. And therefore the horsemen should go carefully and be on guard against Kuchum Tsar so that he does not come to them. And if the yasak people and princes who live along the Irtysh do not listen and go with voivode Prince [Ondrey] against Kuchum Tsar and the Nogai people and do not listen and go to build [a town], then voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich, going along the Irtysh, will fight those volosts, and send horsemen, and search for traitors, and execute the guilty, and bring the common people to [shert], and from some deposits will be tak[en], and yasak, the previous and the next one, will be collected in ful[l from] the volosts, those who do not obey. And those volosts, which soon gather together and obey and go with prince Ondrey, they will have a lesser yasak; and some will have none, judging by the circumstances, will decide how it would be more profitable for the sovereign's affairs. And war will be waged against those who do not listen, and pledges will be taken to the sovereign's will from all of them. And all the way from the town of Tobolsk to Tara, and from Tara to the town of Tobolsk, and all field from the new town of Tara to Ufa...so that ahead of them all will be devoid of fear. And after coming to the Tara River, find a place for the town, where it would be convenient for the town to be, clear the place, and build the town. And build the town and carry timber with all the army, all people, on horseback and on foot, and build /fol. 153/ a town with walls, and with towers, and with a fence...about half three hundred or [three] hundred sazhen, depending on the place, and p[ut up] a stockade of 300 sazhen, or of 400, and..., depending on the people, up to 500 sazhen... stockade, depending on the people, on the af[fairs there]. And Prince Ondrey himself would be in the town, and Bo[r]is an[d] Grigory, so that one would be near the treasury, and at collection, and at granaries, and the bread would be in barns in the town' ...and the priests, and the gunners, and the streltsy would have palaces in the town. And in the stockade, plots for gardens and places to cook food will be given, and besides at voivode's and the chie[fs], there is nowhere else to cook; and voivode and the ch[iefs] will make kitchens in the ground as if to... and in the stockade so that the Cossack horsemen and Tatar service men from Tobolsk, and local, and from Tyumen could be safe. And it is truly written in the list, which people from which date will be released and which will winter, and prepare hay for those horses. How many horsemen to keep will depend on Kuchum Tsar: if he remains the tsar and does not run and obey, then more horsemen should be left to winter; but if he obeys and makes an agreement, and gives his son, the tsarevich, as a pledge and sends him to the sovereign in Moscow, then fewer of

[these] horsemen shall be left to winter. And when Prince Ondrey comes with a naval force and cavalry, write to the sovereign about it, and when he arrives in the new place and builds and fortifies the town, also write to the sovereign about it. And the town's place, and the town, and the stockade shall be drawn, and all fortresses shall be written down /fol.153v/, where the town will st[and], and send that to the sovereign truly so that he knows about everything. And en[gage] all people in building the town: boyar children, and Lithuanians, and the Cossacks from Tobolsk and Tyumen, and newly recruited and inhabitants, and Tatars. And give orders to cut light timber for building the town so that it will be built quickly. And give orders to build granaries for the sovereign's supplies, and store a[ll] the sovereign's supplies in the barns. And build the town with all military people and the Tatars from the local volosts, as many of them who will come and build the town. And first count them, order them to cut timber and bring it to the town, but not let them go inside the town until it is fortified so that th[ey] do not see the sovereign's people. And those who will not listen and bring timber for the town [affair], will be attacked, and after being cap[tured, sub]dued. And after establishing the town and placing squads around the to[wn], set up all cannon supplies in the treasury according to the list that was sent. And thus be in the new town in accordance with this sovereign's order. And keep the sovereign's supplies in granaries under seal. And build the outskirts and have Grigory Yelizarov as governor and for an[y affair] and at the granaries, and he with Prince Ondrey and Boris will be companions in any affair, and he will know of any collection and yasak. And order the carpenters to build gra[naries] at the same time the town is built. And Kuchum Tsar shall be ordered to pay glad.. and pay it until the [to]wn is fortified; and command [th]at the sovereign wants to hold Kuchum Tsar under his /fol. 154/ royal hand, and will let his son Oblaghair and [his] people go, after granting him with his royal favours; and for now he will live up from the new town, in any towns he likes so that he will not bring the volosts of the new town to the town of Tobolsk. And Kuchum Tsar will send his son... tsarevich so that it will not be dishonourable for the tsar to send his son and two or three best men with him, and the sovereign tsar and grand prince will immediately send Kuchum Tsar his son Prince Oblaghair and his people with him who were sent from Tobolsk. And for Prince Ondrey to take care that Kuchum Tsar sends the sovereign... best princes, the best of whom would... more humane. And about the man whom the sovereign sends from the prince, the sovereign will write to [Prince] Ondrey of how to act. And the tsar will be hunted and searched for, and a lar[ge] dispatch of Tatar men will be sent to search for Kuchum Tsar and his wives and children and fight hard. And to keep strong defences against Kuchum Tsar. And those of his volosts on the Irtysh bet[ween] Tobolsk and the new city, [in those] volosts the tsar himself will not enter, and they shall be strongly guarded against Kuchum Tsar. And if Kuchum Tsar comes together with many people against the sovereign's voivodes and will not let them build the town, and starts oppressing them, [voi]vode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich with companions shall guard against Kuchum Tsar so that if Kuchum Tsar comes, he will not cause damage. And personally choose a town on the Tara River and build it earlier in a convenient place. And at the time /fol. 154v/ the town is being built, and timber is brought to the town, at in that time be on guard against Kuchum Tsar, and in the town take great care against Kuchum Tsar to know his whereabouts. And when the town is fortified, Prince Ondrey and his companions will search for Kuchum Tsar with large dispatches to protect themselves from him. And after leaning of his whereabouts for certain, send a large dispatch of all horsemen from Kazan and Tobolsk for battle: Lithuanian[s] of Tobolsk and Tyumen, and atamans, and the Cossacks, and military Tatars, and the Bashkirs, and local yasak Tatars, after picking the best ones; Mamley Maltsev with Kazan people, and with people of Tobolsk and Tyumen, the chief Svoitin Ruposov, and ataman Circass, and other best people. And if the hunt for Kuchum Tsar does not start, and people do not come from him in the sovereign's name, a large dispatch shall not be sent against Kuchum Tsar without thorough scouting, and he shall be paid, and a place of residence shall be made for him in the upper towns. And search for the Nogai mirza Aley, search for him with karge dispatches. And dissuade the best men from Kuchum Tsar so they go to serve the sovereign; and Tobolsk military Tatars go with them. And those who come from the tsar shall be favoured and given broadcloth and s[ome] bread. And the best two [or three] shall be sent to the sovereign, and the sovereign will favour them greatly. And when Kuchum Tsar is located and defeated and pushed back, voivode Prince Ondrey and his companions shall send the Kazan and Sviyazhsk people

and the Bashkirs back /fol. 155/ to their place so that they arrive before winter and not die of hunger; and Tobolsk people to Tobolsk, and Tyumen people to Tyumen, and leave people in the new town according to lists and allocation. And if a search for Kuchum Tsar is not possible this summer, and the truth is not known beforehand, voivode Prince Ondrey and the people of Tobolsk and Tyumen shall search for him in winter when he starts wandering in order to find and fight him. And when Tobolsk and Tyumen Cossacks and Muscovite streletsy run out of yea[rly] supplies and are in urgent need of them, voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich shall supply their needs from the sovereign's stock which is sent with him, one-eighth [of flour] for a man, for some half and eighth, and a quarter of cereals, a quarter of oatmeal, depending on need, so they will not die of hunger. And when voivode Prince Ondrey and his companions build a town and deal with Kuchum, they shall send the sovereign in Moscow on the order of the dyak Ondrey Shchekalov so that the sovereign will know. And all the volosts that are up the Irtysh shall be drawn to the new town, and they shall be ordered to come to [them] and pay the same yasak they paid to the town of Tobolsk. And yasak books on all volosts can be taken in Tobolsk from voivode Prince Fedor Lobanov, about how much yasak used to be taken from them in Tobolsk. And take great care of those volosts /fol. 155v/ and consult with Prince Fedor Lobanov on everything. And after collecting yasak, send it... to the town of Tobolsk. And the yasak sent to the sovereign shall be reported to Tobolsk so that Prince Fedor will know and not take another yasak from the upstream lands, from which Prince Ondrey has already taken one. And the yasak that is taken from those volosts to the new town, and how much yasak was taken, and from which volost shall be written in books in separate articles, and this yasak collection shall be stored in the treasury under seal. And voivode Ondrey will go the new town clerk Kryank Ivanov for writing, who was sent with him from Moscow; and his payment will be four quarters of flour, one-eighth of cereals, one-eighth of oatmeal; and order him to be a clerk for the sovereign's various affairs, and write them down. And those who do not listen and do not [co]me to the town, wage w[ar] on those volosts, [and] defeat their chiefs and princes, and divide their possessions: horses, cattle, movable property, shall all be given to military people, sables and silver foxes shall all be sent to the sovereign, and weasels, squirrels, red foxes, and beavers shall be distributed among the military people. And a reminder to voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich Yeletsky and companions. By the order of the sovereign Tsar and Grand Prince Fedor Ivanovich of all Russia 700 rubles was sent from Moscow with Mikita Ushakov and with Uhlan Onichkov, 35 cauldrons /sheet 156/ made of copper, which weigh 9 poods and a quarter, were sent to the new town on the Irtysh, and 356 cauldrons, again of 9 poods and a quarter, were sent to the new town up the Ob. And when Mikita and Uhlan arrive on the Lozva with money and cauldrons, voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich and companions will take this money from Mikita Ushakov and cauldrons from Uhlan and give from this money on the Lozva: to the town of Pelym, 100 rubles for the wages of the military people of Vasily Tolstoy, 200 rubles to the town of Berezov to Ofonasy Blagoy, 100 rubles to Surgut to Volodimir Onichkov, 100 rubles to Tyumen to Prince Petr Boryatinsky, as it is written by the sovereign. And take 200 rubles with them to the new town on Irtysh as a reserve. And give to Volodimir Onichkov half of the 35 cauldrons, and take another half to the Irtysh, and exchange them for sables and silver foxes and sable coats from the local people, one pound for 2 grivnas, and one pood for 8 rubles; and sables and foxes and sable coat exchanged for cauldrons, and the poods bought will be kept as possessions by voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich and companions in the sovereign's treasury of Grigory Yelizarov under their seal and send it to Moscow to the sovereign with the yasak, and write it down in the order to the clerk Ondrey Shchekalov. The list sent with voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich Yeletsky and his companions to the new town on the river Tar on the military people, and cereal supplies, and attire, and spirits, and lead /sheet 156 backside/. With the sotnik Samoil Lodyzhensky there are 100 Muscovite streletsy; with another sotnik Zamyatnya Shokurov there are 47 people; and 147 Muscovite streletsy are sent with two sotniks; and they are given enough bread supplies for 102 of a year, and for the journey they also are given a quarter of dried bread per man and a large monetary payment; and in Perm, after collecting from the lands of Perm, they give them a quarter of flour per man; and when they arrive at the new town on the Tara River, they give them a quarter of flour per man, one-eighth of cereals, half an eighth of oatmeal per man from the stock, for a total of 147 quarters of rye flour, 73 quarters of cereals, 37 quarters less half an eighth of oatmeal. And

from Kazan and Ufa 100 Kazan and Sviyazhsk Tatars, 300 Bashkirs, and 4 boyar children, one for each hundred are sent to the town of Tobolsk, and from the town of Tobolsk they would go with voivode prince Ondrey Vasilievich and his companions against Kuchum tsar with the chief Mamley Maltsov. And with the sotnik from Kazan, 50 streltsy on horses, and from Laishev with the same sotnik 50 men with muzzle guns, and from Tetyush with the sotnik Mikita Koraykin, 50 Polish Cossacks; and with Mamley it is ordered to send 554 horsemen in total from the lower lands. And from the town of Tobolsk take to the new town 100 selected Lithuanian, and Circassian men, and good Cossack horsemen with firearms and their chief Svoitin Ruposov /sheet 157/ and 100 Tobolsk military Tatar horsemen with ataman Circass Aleksandrov and chiefs Baiseit and Baibahta, and Lithuanians and Cossack horsemen shall be together with the chiefs Svoitin Ruposov and Circass; and it is ordered to send a total of 200 horsemen from Tobolsk. Along with that gather 300 good yasak Tatar horsemen with their Tatar chiefs from the volosts up the Irtysh. And 150 of foot-borne Tatars with muzzleguns on the ships, and the ships for them with prince Ondrey are ready, and they would be with the Muscovite streltsy. And it is ordered to send 40 Lithuanian, and Circassian men, and Cossack horsemen from Tyumen; and 50 good horsemen shall be chosen from Tyumen, Verkhotur, Ondreyev, Belyakov, and Zyryantsov Tatars, who have pledges in Tobolsk and Tyumen and will not be traitors; and the sovereign's reward for them is 2 rubles per person, for a total 100 rubles, and it is ordered to send a total of 90 men from Tyumen. And Prince Ondrey will take 30 Tatar horsemen from the Tabors, 20 horsemen from the Koshuks, and 50 men from both the Tabors and Koshuks. And 30 Permich carpenters on foot from Tobolsk, and send 20 Permich carpenters to the new town with prince Fedor Boryatinsky /fol.157v/, and from Perm it is ordered to send three quarters of flour per man, one-eighth of cereals, one-eighth of oatmeal and 3 rubles per man. And it is ordered to send all kinds of military horsemen from the lowland towns, and 1, 194 horsemen, and 347 men on foot from Tobolsk and from Tyumen, from the volosts of Tobolsk and Tyumen, with voivode Prince Ondrey Yeletsky and his companions, in total 1, 641 mounted and unmounted military people. And when the town is built and fortified, voivode Prince Andrey Vasilyevich and his companions will let 550 Cossack horsemen and boyar children go. And after that they will let 50 Tatar horsemen from Tobolsk with Baiseit go by winter. And keep the 50 best men with Baibahta for the winter. And send 300 horsemen and 150 men on foot away to their volosts. And depending on the news, gather 300 horsemen again. And send 50 Tyumen Tatars away by [winter]. And Prince Ondrey and his companions shall keep 100 Muscovite streltsy with them for the winter. And let 47 men go back to winter in Tobolsk with their wives, and after fortifying the town, let 100 men go, up to 10 men as a guard, if they prefer to live with them, or come with them to the new town, and bring their wives and children, respectively, either by winter or in spring by summer. And the streltsy will build huts for themselves /fol.158/. And keep 100 Lithuanian horsemen and Tobolsk Cossacks for the winter in the new town. And keep 40 Lithuanian men from Tyumen and Cossack horsemen. And let 50 horsemen of Toborinskiye and Koshutskiye Tatars go back to their places. And keep 30 carpenters. And depending on the news, if more are needed, Prince Fedor shall send 50 Tatar horsemen to Prince Ondrey. And 50 Tatar horsemen from Tyumen. And take 500 quarters of rye flour, 100 quarters of cereals, and 100 quarters of oatmeal from the Lozva from the Ustuzhsky stock to the new town. And 200 rubles of reserve money is to be sent. And for Tatar use, two rolls of broadcloth and 10 Yaroslavskiye halves, and from that amount give 3 halves to Volodimir Onichkov for the new town. And weaponry is sent from Moscow to the new town with the voivodes: a muzzle gun with a ball of 4 grivenka, and 200 iron balls for it; a nine-span muzzle gun, ball of 2 grivenka, and 200 iron balls for it, 10 zatynnie muzzle guns, and 200 balls for each muzzle gun, 2, 000 balls in total; 10 long muzzle guns, and 200 lead balls for them, 2, 000 balls in total. And from Pelym take from Prince Petr Gorchakov a nine-span muzzle gun and 200 balls for it /fol. 158v/. And 50 poods of spirits and 50 poods of lead are to be sent to the same new town. And take 10 poods of iron from Lozva from Ivan Nagoy to the same new town for the town's needs. And from the Lozva take 70 poods of salt for the needs of different people, and in addition send Tatars and streltsy from the new town to Lake Yamysh, and bring salt in ships and give it for the needs of military people. And send volosts from the town of Tobolsk up the Irtysh to the upper lands to the new town to Yalom, where the sovereign's town will be on the Tar River: volost Kurdak, and in it Prince Kankul, and in it 350 men, 4

days ride along the Irtysh from Tobolsk; volost Sorgach, and in it Prince Yanbish and in it 80 men, 8 days from Tobolsk; volost Otuz, and in it 15 men, 2 days ride to it; volost Tava, and there the best man Andilghey, and 10 men with him, 2 days ride to that volost; volost Urus, in it 6 men; volost Tokuz, and in it the best man Baishep and in it 3 men; volost Supra; volost Ayaly, and in it 500 men, and to that volost from the town of Tobolosk it is a 15-day journey by ship up the Irtysh /fol. 159/. And half of the yasak from those volosts shall be to the sovereign, and the other half to Kuchum Tsar, to be safe from war. And only when the sovereign's town is built in the volost of Yalah will full yasak be collected from those volosts. And Merzloi town, and Turash, and Kirpiki, and Malogorodtsi, which are now under the Nogai mirza Aley, will all be under that town. And it will be possible to send for yasak to the Skewbald Horde, and also mounted and unmounted squads for war. And the volosts and towns that exist but are not written down here shall be found, and yasak shall be collected from them, and the sovereign shall be informed about them.

Archives of the Academy of Sciences reserve 21, list 4, No. 15, fols. 152–159, No. 66 and No. 67.

Note (from the author of the publication): G. Miller started working at the Tara archives as early as 1734 and noted at that time that the archives were quite well-preserved. However, he postponed serious work there until he visited the town again on his way back. Later (in 1753) G. Miller explained some neglect of the archive studies at the beginning of his travels by his insufficient command of Old Russian. This was why he had difficulties in dealing with archive columns and books. G. Miller did not get to Tara on his way back. That was why all his stock of Tara copies was limited to some issues that were taken in 1734. They are stored in the archives of the Academy of Sciences, reserve 21, list 4, No. 15, fols. 138–148: 'the extract from the register of the archive documents of the Tara Secretariat' and fols. 149–189 of the same copies numbering 24 issues, most of which are related to Russian history in general, and only four issues are related to the history of Tara and its district. An order to Prince Andrey Yeletsky (No. 1, Tara copies, Appendix No. 13) edited in 1750, printed on the list made by student I. Yakhontov, 'as much as it was possible to read.' However, a lot of missing places in this document can be restored by context and by the analogies with other similar orders. All additions of this type are marked in parentheses. As there are no data in the copy about the number of missing lines or omissions, our edition marks all the unrestored omissions with three dots.

1595 February 1595, the order to Prince Fedor Yeletsky and Chief Vasily Khlopov appointed to the town of Tara.

10 February 7103 Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia, Fedor Ivanovich ordered Prince Fedor Mikhaylovich Khlopov to be in state service in Siberia, in a new town called Tara, to replace Prince Andey Yeletsky, Chief Boris Domozhirov, and Chief Grigory Yelezarov and send Prince Ondrey Yeletsky from a new town called Tara in Siberia to the Tsar in Moscow. From Moscow they were sent together with the children of the nobility and the artillerymen, the herbs, and the lead. And from Lozva they were accompanied by servicemen on the allowance of Tsar's bread stores (fol. 3v) and money. They were ordered to take ships in Lozva for these bread stores and money, and that was why an authentic list signed by the scribe called Vasily Shelkalov was sent with them. After taking the herbs, the lead, and the carts by a post-horse order, the voivode Prince Fedor and Chief Vasily headed from Moscow to the new town on the Lozva. After arriving in Lozva, they had to take some servicemen on the allowance of the Tsar's bread stores and money by the list from the voivode Ivan Vasilyevich with his friends to the new town called Tara, and to take a ship for these bread stores and to place the bread stores on these ships. For the voivode Ivan Vasilyevich with his friends, 7 is written authentically in the order and in the list, and this is how much of the bread stores (fol. 4) and how many ships must be given to them to go to Lozva. And if God wills, in spring at ice breakup the voivode Prince Fedor and Chief Vasily must put the bread stores and money on the ships and go from Lozva to Siberia, to the new town called Tara. From Lozva they must also take the Lozva streltsy on the ships to convey the Tsar's stores up to Pelym. After arriving in Pelym, they must take the Pelym streltsy for conveying up to the town of Tobolsk and

let the Lozva streltsy go back to Lozva. And after arriving with the Tsar's bread stores in the town of Tobolsk, they must take streltsy and cossacks from the Tobolsk voivode Prince Merkury Alexandrovich to convey the bread stores up to the town of Tara (fol. 4v). After arriving in the new town of Tara, they must place Tsar's bread stores from the ships in Tsar's barns, and the money in Tsar's treasury, and keep them under lock and key, and let the Tobolsk cossacks and streltsy go back to the town of Tobolsk. And after placing the bread stores, they must take from the voivode Prince Ondrey Yeletsky an authentic order and Tsar's charters about different state and territorial affairs, town and stockade keys, the town and the stockade, and their duties, to keep herbs and lead and other cannon stores in the treasury, the bread in the barns, and to revise the books about bread and money receipts and expenses, the list of servicemen by looking at their faces, and the yasak books, to take the yasak from the towns and volosts with yasak people, princes, and Tartars, who (fol. 5) are moved from the town of Tobolsk up along the Irtysh to the new town called Tara and some volosts upstream from Tara. After taking the Tsar's authentic order and charters about different state affairs, the voivode Prince Fedor and Chief Vasily must start dealing with local affairs to make them more profitable, and to question the voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich Yeletsky closely about local state and territorial affairs, to carry out the order by following the instructions. And servicemen shall be with him according to the list, which is sent with him and signed by the scribe Vasil Shelkalov. And by the yasak books and by the Tsar's order, they must collect the yasak from the yasak people from all the towns and volosts located from Tobolsk (fol. 5v) to Tara, and some volosts that go up along the Irtysh. And when taking the yasak (sable, fox, squirrel and sable fur-coats, beaver), they must write everything in the books in separate articles. And for the Tsar, they must take the yasak with good sables and beavers and black foxes and not take the yasak with bad sables, foxes, and beavers. And everything that the yasak people bring besides the yasak with a petition to the Tsar to give a gift to the voivodes is to be written accurately in the books in separate articles and be kept the yasak treasury under lock and key. And if some princes and Ostiaks disobey and do not pay the yasak (fol. 6) to the Tsar and do not come to the Tsar's town, and send them the heads: Lithuanian, Cherkese, Cossack horsemen, and start fighting against them, take them hostage and make them calm down and bring them back to Tsar's arm and take the yasak from them again. And those princes and Tartars who serve the Tsar, and come to the town, and pay the yasak, and bring different news about Kuchum Tsar and his plans and about the Nogais must be given drink and food from Tsar's stores by the voivode Prince Fedor and Chief Vasily, must be well treated and taken care of, and be allowed to go home without being detained. And to live in the new town with great care for servicemen, atamans, cossacks, streltsy, and all other (fol. 6v) common people so that they will not be in need of anything in such a remote place. And Tsar's money and bread allowance to the servicemen must be given out by the list sent with the signature of the scribe Vasily Schelkalov. The money and bread shall not be given all at once but in two terms of half a year in order to have stored bread in the barns in case of siege. And let the voivode Prince Ondrey Yeletsky go from the new town in Siberia to the Tsar in Moscow. And everything he collected as the yasak (sables, foxes, sable fur-coats and other smaller furs) as well as the yasak treasury must be sent with him to the Tsar in Moscow. For conveying the treasury, he shall be accompanied by as many cossacks and streltsy (fol. 7) as necessary, depending on the current local situation, in order to bring the treasure safely. And after Prince Ondrey Yeletsky, the voivode Prince Fedor and Chief Vasily shall be very careful in the new city of Tara and always have strong cossacks and streltsy replacing each other while watching in the town, stockade, and other watch posts. And to send the Nogais, Lithuanians, Cherkeses, and Tobolsk and Tyumen cossacks, who will be left in the new town, to other remote settlements in order to learn the news about Kuchum Tsar, and Kuchum Tsar will not come to the town suddenly, and he will not do harm to the town and he will not conquer the yasak volosts. And in the time of the voivode Prince Ondrey Vasilyevich Yeletsky with his friends, that winter there was no fight against Kuchum tsar and the Nogai Mirza Aley from the Siberian volosts (fol. 7v), which they controlled up along the Irtysh. The voivode Prince Fedor Borisovich and Chief Vasily must be in contact with the voivodes from Tobolsk and Tyumen in order for them to send their people, the Lithuanians, the cossacks, the Tartar horsemen for service in case of news about Kuchum Tsar and to fight against him and the volosts that are out of the Tsar's control and to conquer them, if God wills. And

to send Chief Vasily Khlopov and Chief Boris Domozhirov against the volosts of Kuchum Tsar, with the best Lithuanians and cossacks on horses and on foot, in order to find and conquer Kuchum Tsar and be safe from him. To write all the local news about Kuchum Tsar and (fol. 8) his plans and about the Nogais to the Tobolsk and Tyumen voivodes in order to let them know all the news about Kuchum Tsar and the Nogais. And some merchants will start coming to the a new town of Tara from Bukhara and Nogai with different goods, horses, and cattle. The servicemen and other people must be made to buy the goods, horses, and cattle and care for merchants from Bukhara and Nogai in order to teach them, and when they sell their goods, let them go without any detention. And some merchants will pass by the new town on the way to the Siberian towns, to Tobolsk and Tyumen to sell different goods, horses, and cattle. They should be allowed to pass and be treated well. And when the Bukharans start coming and telling about local state and territorial affairs, the voivode Prince Fedor and Chief Vasily shall write to the Tsar about it (fol. 8v) and let them go. The Tsar demands that they follow the order. And everything that will be taken from the voivode Ondrey Yeletsky from the bread stores, money, and all cannon stores shall be written by the voivode Prince Fedor in the list and sent to the Tsar in Moscow to the Fetial quarter board to the scribe Vasily Shelkalov in order to inform the Tsar.

And for the voivode Prince Fedor Borisovich Yeletsky to remember. Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fedor Ivanovich was asked in the letter by the Tobolsk voivode Prince Fedor Lobanov Rostovsky with his friends to send 5 rapid-fire arquebuses to Siberia in order to fight against Kuchum Tsar when he comes to the town. At present Prokofy and Ivan have been sent to Lozva with 5 rapid-fire arquebuses and with six hundred cannon shots and other cannon stores. And when the voivode Prince Fedor Borisovich arrives in Lozva, he must take from Prokofy and Ivan (fol. 163) the Tsar's apparel, different cannon stores, artillerymen, herbs, and lead according to the list and put them on the ship and bring them to the new town of Tara and keep all this in Tsar's treasury for a campaign against Kuchum Tsar.

And for the voivode Prince Fedor Borisovich to remember this. After arriving in the new town of Tara, to examine all the Siberian furs in the yards of Prince Ondrey Yeletsky, the chiefs Boris Domozhirov and Grigory Yelizarov, the streltsy captains, the children of the nobility: brought, gifted, bought sables, black foxes, sable, squirrel, and ermine fur coats and beavers. All that is found must be written down accurately and sealed. And the servicemen and merchants must also be examined accurately: what furs they have bought and from whom, how many furs have been sent from Siberia, with whom, and in what year. Examine all this, and the list of all the furs shall be sent to Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Fedor Ivanovich in Moscow from the Tsar's treasury to the Fetial quarter board to the scribe Vasily Shelkalov.

State Archive of the Feudal-Serfdom Epoch, Siberian Orders, book No. 11, fols. 3–8v. The 17th century list – the 'memories' missing from it are printed according to the 17th century list in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences, f. 21, sheet 4, No. 115, fol. 163, No. 68.

The publication is prepared by Sergey Tataurov

44. The Charter from the Great Horde Khan Sheikh Ahmed to the Lithuanian Grand Duke Alexander (20 July 1492–1494)

A bow to our brother Grand Duke Alexander from Khan Sheikh Ahmed.

After the bow, there is a message.

We have been living in brotherhood and friendship since Great Batu Tsar's times. And this brotherhood between your father King Kazimir and our father Tsar Ahmed was built up, ambassadors were sent, an agreement was achieved. Being angry with Ivan, our Tsar got on a horse, and your father King did not support this agreement. Our uhlans and princes said to our father: 'Ivan is your bondman, but King did not support this agreement, and you have to come back.' And they took my father's horse and brought him back. And then God's grace condescended on our father. And we, with our elder brother

Tsar Sid Ihmat went to the Dnieper. At that time Sultan Dovlesh came to us and with us went against the Perekop Tsar Mendli Giray, and we conquered some of his uhlans. And then Tsar Sid Ihmat, by God's will, went away, but I was not strong enough, and the matter of Sultan Dovlesh was stopped. You, doing your duty to Sultan Edemir, who had gone against Mendli Giray, had a fight, and told me about it. And by God's will, I am very happy, and I would like an agreement with you, by which we could wait until spring or autumn. I see it this way: we could go against them, and how they will reap. What is better is how you see. To ensure these words, I sent my kind servant Prince Abdula Bogatyr to learn of your health and affairs by God's will, and your reply will make us glad; the way there was truth and friendship between our fathers; and a friend was glad, and an enemy was afraid. With light wishes and a deep bow, with a blue nishan the letter is written.

A bow from Tsar Sheikh Ahmed to Grand Prince Alexander.

Our ancestors and your ancestors were in brotherhood and friendship and established good relations with each other. And we want to be a friend to your friend and an enemy to your enemy. May your friend be happy to hear that and your enemy be frightened. I sent the messengers to Your Honour: my servant and scribe called Prince Dan to learn about Your health. Your Honour will thank him and let him go to us. As the letter is sent with a blue nishan.

A bow from Tsar Sheikh Ahmed to Grand Prince Alexander.

Your letter was sent to us. We all, uhlans and princes, gathered a council and discussed it, remembering our brotherhood and our enmity against enemies. And they told me: 'Make an agreement between each other.' You should give the allowance to Sultan Azdemir, give some of your men to him but stay on the near side. And we want to cross the Don with our horde on horses and to be there by agreement. After learning of all the affairs about Prince Asakim, Prince Dan, and Prince Abdul, we sent our good ambassadors. With the letter I sent my servant and your Kulak. He did good work between us. I thanked him for that and you do the same.

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, reserve 389, sheet 1, file 6, fols. 75–76.

Published in: Acts relating to the history of Western Russia. Vol. 1 (6). Collection of Documents of the Secretariat of Lithuanian Prince Aleksander Jagiellończyk, 1494–1506. *Shestaya kniga zapisej Litovskoj metriki*. Compilation, comments, additional notes by M. Bychkova, O. Khoruzhenko, A. Vinogradova. Senior editor S. Kashtanov. Moscow; Saint Petersburg Nestor-Istoriya, 2012. Pp. 53–54.

45. The Charter of the Tsar Ivan IV to the Nogai mirza Urus (1576, not earlier than the 14th September)

This charter was sent to Urus Mirza with Boris Domozyrov.

This is, by God's grace, our word to Urus Mirza from the Tsar and Grand Prince of All Russia Ivan Vasilyevich. You sent us your ambassadors Keldeuraz and Kurman with your charters. In your charters you wrote to us: if we call you our direct friend, we will grant what Tsar Temir Kutlui gave to your father Nuradin Mirza, forty thousand altyns in full. If we do not have the full amount, we shall call you our indirect friend. If what we give you is not enough, what was the oath you gave? Safa Kirei Tsar granted forty thousand altyns from Kazan to your father Prince Ismail. We have Tsar Temir Kutlui's yurt Astrakhan, that of Alibai, and that of Altyb[ai], and the yurt of the tsar of Bolgar, and that of Ardabai with thirty tumens in our hands. A part of our father's yurt... is also in our hands. Your father gave us gifts, which we know. Not all of the yurts and gifts are in our hands. And your father Prince Idigi served both our father and our grandfather and received gifts. And your father Nuradin Mirza served Tsar Temir Kutlui and was granted gifts. And your father Ismail served Tsar Safa Kirei and got gifts. And our father enjoys the brotherhood and gifts. And you took an oath to shoot our enemy with arrows and fight him with swords, and be a friend to every friend of ours, and an enemy to our enemy. If we gave you the twice forty thousand altyns that your father had from the two yurts, if you mention it, you would have the oath and on your neck it would be. But we will not give the

twice forty thousand altyns—this we know. We could give you fur and woolen coats of good quality from our treasury instead of twenty thousand altyns of the forty thousand altyns, and give five thousand altyns in money to your treasurer imeldesh Kurman. We would send fifteen thousand altyns from the treasury. Your petition is as follows. As your ambassadors were moving along the Volga last year, gunmen and cossacks from Kungul met them and killed Khan Mirza's ambassador Aktugan with an arquebus. Druzhina Kovarditskoy, the ambassador's captain, brought the two men who killed him to Kungul. Please instruct us whether to give them to you or to give what we gave for Bulaksufa. There are two wives and a daughter of Yamgurch Ulan, three captive women, and Almagmet and Ichkara—two cooks of yours. We shall kindly give them to you. Last year your ambassador Yantemir bought two captives in Kasimov; he was to sell one man named Yarlagramysh in Kasimov, but the man persuaded him not to, and so Yantemir kept him. We shall kindly give them to you. Last winter I sent forty-five of my best men, together with men of Astrakhan, against the cossacks who attack ships. They fought them and killed seven men, and one of your good men was also killed. He left many nephews, and you ask us to reward the other brothers. You sent his brother named Tereberdei to us, whom we should reward. We have many friends and enemies, and if any besmirch you or your brothers, younger or older, or your son Khan Mirza, we would not believe it unless we have seen you and your son Khan Mirza face to face. We shall kindly order You requested to be given winter clothing for yourself: a marten fur coat of good quality covered with cloth, and a black hat made of neck fur, and victuals—that is, fifteen batmans of honey to drink in winter, and fifteen batmans of crops, and fifteen cartloads of fish from uchugs. We shall let your treasurer Kurman buy for you captive men and women. Having bestowed the grant on your treasurer Kurman, we shall let him go without delay. We shall let your cook Abash and his wife Isenya return to you. We shall order the money of the mirza who died at [Prince] Tugash's to be given to you. There are eleven of your runaways in Kungul headed by Ivan and Ivashko. We shall write to the voivodes of Kungul ordering them to give them to you. The son of your nephew Seidahmet Mirza imeldesh, of the Khat tribe, son of Baichur, Kozelei, went to war with Maitamal aga, and he was captured. You want us to order that he should be released. A man of yours, of the Naiman tribe, Ishmamet, went to Moscow, and we shall order that no tamga should be imposed on him. We shall bestow a grant on Asa Mirza and As Mirza, and Kaplan Mirza, and send gifts to their sons and daughters. We shall bestow a grant on your nephew Kuchuk Mirza's wife and son, and their daughter...you have a sister named Karatat..., whose marriage you are arranging. We shall grant her a velvet coat with sable fur and gold, and a marten fur coat of colourful silk, and a black fox hat. We shall also bestow a grant on Bulat Mirza and Asanak Mirza, and Tinalei Mirza, and Akbabei Mirza, and Akbular Mirza, and Ai Mirza, the children of Shigim. We shall also bestow a grant on the wife of Akbebei Mirza, Prince Sheidiyak's daughter. We shall also send gifts to Ulukany Mirza, and Ayslan Mirza, and Ali Mirza's son Ishali Mirza. We shall order that the twelve persons whom Sabak Mirza captured should be given to you. You have warriors from that side, and we shall send one hundred fifty mounted archers to you from Kungul. Having heard your charters, we understood them fully. You wrote to us that Temir Kutlui Tsar had granted your father Nuradin Mirza forty thousand altyns, and we shall also send you forty thousand altyns—we can send fur and cloth coats to cover twenty thousand altyns. We sent our gifts—fur and cloth coats—to you with our Boris Domozhirov, one of the gentry. We sent to you one hundred rubles with your ambassador. You should not write requests like that in future for your father did not write such requests, and you should be true to us since you have given an oath. And... [our?] gifts to you will remain plenty in the future, depending on how true you are. You wrote to us that, as your ambassadors were moving along the Volga last year, gunmen and cossacks from Kungul met them and killed Khan Mirza's ambassador Aktugan with an arquebus. And we should pay what we paid for Bulaksufa last year. Voivodes from Astrakhan wrote to us as follows: an officer of Sviyazhsk Mitka Slinkov was travelling from Astrakhan on a vessel carrying fish, and, as he reached the end of the Zmeevy (Serpent's) Mountains, the Nogai people, who travelled from Moscow through the field on horseback last year, took twelve of his barge haulers... Kuzemka Balakhonets and his coworkers, and six men were wounded, of whom three died. Our cossacks took the ship... and when they were in the Devyi Mountains... the Nogai

ambassadors, who came to us last summer, turned to his ship, and he began to ask themx who they were, and they would not answer him nor in Russian nor in Tatar and began to approach his ship. And he, Mitka, seeing that there were no Russian men or interpreters, began to shoot with an arquebus. The Nogai ambassadors turned away from his ship. He fled from them on his ship. The Nogai ambassadors were followed by the gunman captain Druzhina Kovarditskoi, who followed the ambassadors from Kazan to Astrakhan. The Nogai ambassadors told the captain that a man of theirs had been killed. And the centurion Druzhina the killed man of [theirs ?]... Druzhina ... Mitka Slinkov to Astrakhan, to the voivodes. As per your request, we ordered that fifty rubles should be taken from Mitka Slinkov of Sviyazhsk and given to your ambassador for Khan Mirza's ambassador. You shall order that the cossacks of his who were caught by the Nogai ambassadors should be found and, when found, sent to Astrakhan to our voivodes. When in Kazan they ordered that captain Druzhina, who was accompanying the Nogai ambassadors, should be lashed for he had stayed instead of being with the ambassadors and he had failed to protect them. You wrote to us, There are [two wives] and a daughter of Yamgurch Ulan, three captive women, and Almagmet, and Ichkara—two cooks of yours. We shall give them to you. You shall tell us the truth about where the wives and children of Yagmurch are, and where the captives are, and where your men Almagmet and Ichkara were captured, or how they arrived, and in what year. We shall order that they should be found and you should be informed. You wrote to us that your ambassador Yantemir bought two captives in Kasimov and was to sell one man named Yarlagamysh in Kasimov, but the man persuaded him not to, and so Yantemir kept him. We sent people to find him, but it took a long time. Instead... [br?]others. When they find him, if they can get him, they ...[you?] You wrote to us... [that] we shall do you a favour by ordering that a winter robe for you to wear should be sent from Astrakhan, and victuals—that is, honey, and groats, and fish; we did not neglect that request of yours—we wrote to voivodes in Astrakhan ordering them to sent you a marten fur coat covered with cloth, and a colourful silk kaftan, and a black hat, and victuals—that is, fifteen poods of honey and fifteen quarts of groats, and five quarts of oats, and a cartload of fish. You wrote that we shall let your treasurer Kurman buy good captive men and women for you, and that we shall let your [treasurer] Kurman go to you, having bestowed a grant on him. We let your treasurer Kurman go without delay, and we let your treasurer Kurman buy captive men and women for you. You wrote to us that we shall let your cook Abash and his wife Isenya go to you, and we enquired about him and obtained no information regarding him. You should give us detailed information on where he was captured or how he arrived, and we shall enquire about him in the future. You also mentioned a mirza who died at Prince Togush's, saying that we should give you his money, and we wrote to you that thieves who came... to the forests of Kazan, to the Meadow Side, and lured men of the meadows away from us... wanted to bring those men of the meadows who would not steal to our voivodes, and they ran away. Prince Tugush of Sviyazhsk found them. Prince Tugush attacked them, and Prince Tugush's nephew was killed over that business. It is something not to remember; one should be ashamed of such things. The thief stole, and so it happened. Both sides came to battle. What is there to look for? You wrote to us about eleven runaway captives of yours in Kungul, one of the leaders called Iv[an], and the other Ivashko, and that we should [write to the voivode in Kungul] and order them to be [released]. The voivodes of Astrakhan wrote to us, saying that they had failed to find your captives and... [I]vashko. Those captives, who were found, were immediately sent to you. We wrote to the voivodes of Astrakhan to order them to find any captives of other faiths who ran away from you, whether to Astrakhan or to Kazan, any German or Polish captives, and to give them to you. We shall not give you captives of our Christian faith who run away to Astrakhan for they are of our faith. You should order that your captives should be well guarded lest your captives should run away, to prevent tumult. You wrote to us that ... imeldesh (foster-brother) of [Saidahmet Mirza]... son of Baichur, Kozelei, imeldesh Maitamal... from Ulus went to war... and he was captured, and that we should order that he should be found. Such a man is not here now. Those captives of the Crimea and Azov who come to our land to fight are killed. You should not ruin your faithfulness over such minor affairs. What you did to us with the people of Azov should not even be mentioned. You should refrain from such affairs. Maitamal... Ours and the prince's... our lands and those... henchmen of his... wrote

to you... that he came to us for trade...to grant tamga... at your request. You also wrote to us that we should bestow a grant on Ais Mirza, and Aryslan Mirza, and Kaplan Mirza. We have not bestowed any grant on them before. Now we have sent our gifts to Ais Mirza, and Aryslan Mirza, and Kaplan Mirza according to your request. You also wrote to us about Kuchuk Mirza Magomet... that we should send our [gifts], and we... and to children with [gifts]... you wrote about... you give... flatter... with gold... and ermine... marten and a black fox fur hat... we sent your brothers gifts of a velvet fur coat and a hat. You also wrote to us that we shall send gifts to Bulat Mirza, and Asasnak Mirza, and Akbulat Mirza, and Ak Mirza, and Ai Mirza of Shigim... and order... the sovereign to Urus's son Khan Mirza... And Boris shall give Semen a Tatar servant from his village for the king's service.

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Collection 137, List 1 (Novgorod), File 137, fols. 383r–393.

Published in: *Ambassadorial Book on the Relations of Russia with the Nogai Horde (1576)*. Prepared for publication, introduction, and commentaries by V. Trepavlov. London: Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2003. Pp. 47–56.

45. The Charter of Tsar Ivan IV to the Nogai Bey Yusuf (1553, not later than 30th January)

This charter was sent to Prince Yusuf with Tafkei Timeyev and his companions.

The word of, by God's grace, Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of all Russia, of Vladimir, Moscow, Novgorod, Kazan, Pskov, Smolensk, Tver, Yugra, Perm, Vyatsk, Bulgar, and other lands, to the Prince Yusuf. Our word is as follows. You sent to us your man Enebek with a charter. In your charter you wrote that we should let your daughter go to you. We have given gifts to your daughter and respected her for the sake of our friendship, and to show our friendship to you, married her to Tsar Shigalei with plenty of gifts and money. We sent a good cossack Suyunduk Tulusupov to you, before we did so, to inform you. After we took your daughter from Kazan, the people of Kazan betrayed us again—they made Tsar Ediger their tsar. This year we undertook a campaign against them for their treachery. God had mercy on us and let Kazan with all its people come into our hands. Those in Kazan who were rude to us all died by our swords. We captured their wives and children. For your sake, we had mercy on Tsar Ediger—we did not put him to death. Tsar Ediger is now in Moscow, and he made obeisance to us so that he could cease to be in our disfavour. And we bestowed a grant on him and were graceful to him. You should know it. From Kazan I sent a messenger to you, my cossack Tafkei Timeev, to inform you. Your men robbed Tafkei on his journey and would not let him reach you. You should find those men who robbed Tafkei and order that they should all be executed so that nothing obstructs the route between us for our people in the future. Your ambassadors asked us humbly to spend the winter here, and we permitted them to do so. When they wanted to return, we let them go. With your ambassadors, we sent you our cossack Tafkei Timeev with his companions. When Tafkei reaches you with this charter of ours, you should permit our cossacks Suyunduk and Tafkei with their companions to come to us without delay. Along with our cossacks, you should send us your grand ambassadors. You should tell them what to tell us on all issues so that we can do good business together in future. When your guests or those of other lands want to come to Kazan for trade, tell them to go without fear. We ordered our boyar and the governor-general of Kazan Prince Aleksandr Borisovich of Suzdal to protect them from any trouble. We ordered that all our cossacks on the Volga should be forced to move off the Volga for your sake lest they should do any harm to your ambassadors, your people, or uluses. Those things that you asked us for // (fol. 159v), those that you need, and those that we had, we sent to you with our cossack Tafkei.

Written in Moscow.

Year 7061, Month of January.

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Collection 127, List 1, File 5, fols. 157v–159v.

Published in: *Ambassadorial Books on the Relations of Russia with the Nogai Horde (1551–1561)*. Compiled by D. Mustafina and V. Trepavlov. Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo (Tatar Publishing House), 2006. Pp. 111–112.

**47. The Charter of Nogai Bey Ismail to Tsar Ivan IV
(1557, not later than the 26th July)**

This is a charter by Ismail sent with his ambassador Tauzar.

It has the strength of the princely word of Ismail. Bows to the white tsar. With many bows comes this word. The word is as follows. We are true to our agreement with you. You should not ruin this faithfulness either lest you should be a liar. It is true that we agreed to undertake a campaign against the Crimea. My nephews, who have betrayed us, are now fighting us behind the Volga. They have joined the Crimean tsar. My nephews have also betrayed us beyond the Yaik. They have joined the Kazakh tsar and waged war against me. We have not had a good opportunity to fight against the Crimea this year. We have no horses or victuals; we are famished. When the right time comes, we will inform you of the beginning of the Crimean war. You should know it. If you do not lie, we will not lie. There is only one God; there is only one word. Ivan Cheremisinov waged war against our uluses and captured people; we asked him to give them to us, but he refused. They waged war at the uluses on the border of Lyapun and Isup and captured one hundred persons. We asked them to give them to us, but they refused. You should threaten them greatly, get the captives, and give them to us. If the captives fail to reach our hands, your faithfulness will be ruined. The children of my elder brother Prince Yusuf will not betray you; they will adhere to my promise. I shall call for the children of Shikhmamayev Mirza; if they come, I shall accept them. If they do not come, I shall wage war on them and call for those mirzas who are behind the Volga. If they come, I shall accept them; if they do not come, I shall wage war on them. You should know it. I should be an enemy to your enemy. And you should be an enemy to my enemy. I shall now wage war on the uluses behind the Volga, which have betrayed us, and they will flee to the Crimea. Send numerous troops to the Don. If they do not let them cross the Don, I will prevent them from reaching the Crimea and catch them if God wills. You should know it. The boyar I have sent to you is a good man. Send a noble man to me, too. Water took the tilled land of Saraychiq; our uluses have lost their livestock and are famished. You should send us a shipload of crops by Semen's day and some bread. Send us four shiploads of honey, too. What lumber you sent me I gave to my nephews, and my children, and my servants. You should now send me winter clothing and winter clothing for my wives. We have to go to war, and you should send me battle clothing: a suit of armour, a tegilai, a full armour helmet, and two saddles. Also send me a winter fur coat with a shawl and a hat. You wanted to give me twenty hundred rubles but did not. You should send this money. Send me ten roldugs of yuft. Yunus Mirza's ambassador and Kadysh told you that I had appointed Yunus Mirza prince And been to Mecca. You should execute those liars if you call me your brother. You should not have mercy on Kadysh lest people should lie to either of us. You should let my ambassador go, by ship, without delay. Whatever words I say, I say with Prince Tavbuzar through my servant. Send me a tent. If you send a suit of armour for me, take that of Tsar Ediger and send it to me; it was my armour. If you are our brother, receive my servants with honour Yakshylyk's son Prince Epchury, and Prince Ishmagmet, and Prince Yanbakhty, and Prince Tobutai. Accept their charters for me. They wish me well and used to be my closest men. You should know it. You accepted charters from Prince Yakshylyk when I was a mirza. You should know it. We ask you to put Tsarevich Takhtamysh with Ivan Cheremisinov. He has adhered to your word. He will not disobey ours; you can march your troops against the Crimea, and the common people of Astrakhan will find him good if you let the tsarevich go now. Let Kitai Semen Mirza return. Semen Mirza could bring a suit of armour.

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Collection 127, List 1., File 6, fols. 32–35.

Published in: Ambassadorial Books on the Relations of Russia with the Nogai Horde (1551–1561). Compiled by D. Mustafina and V. Trepavlov. Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo (Tatar Publishing House), 2006. Pp. 252–254.

**48. The officer Zakhary Shishkin's Report about the meeting of tsarevich
Devlet-Giray's ambassadors with tsarevich Ablai in Beloozero
(1639, not earlier than the 17th of March)**

On day [...] of March in the year 147, according to the kingly decree of the Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia, Zakhary Grigoryevich Shishkin and Fedor Tarbeyev from Ufa, having come to Beloozero with the ambassadors of Kalmyk tsarevich Devlet Giray Koplanda and Yshei and taken with them an officer from the voivode Mikita Laskirev, went to tsarevich Ablai where he sits. Having come, dragomen spoke to tsarevich Ablai. Your brother tsarevich Devlet Giray and your wife Princess Chigindar have sent the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia their ambassadors Koplanda and Ishei. Those ambassadors asked the Tsar's Majesty to be able to see you, tsarevich Ablai, and tsarevich Tevka. His Tsar's Majesty kindly permitted them to see you. Having said so, they let the ambassadors in to see the prince. And the ambassadors Koplanda and Ishei, having come to tsarevich Ablai, said: 'Your brother tsarevich Devlet Giray and your wife Princess Chigindar have sent us to find out whether you are alive.' The tsarevich said to the ambassadors: 'By God's grace, I am alive. I live by the mercy of the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia. Have been there and seen my home? Are my mother Kerekhtel, and tsarevich Devlet Giray, and my brother Islam, and my wife and children healthy?' And the ambassadors said: 'By God's grace, they are healthy. We have been to your home and have served your wife and children constantly.' And the prince replied: 'Thank you. What shall I do? I am eager to win the favour of the tsar and do not know what will come of me.'

And the ambassadors said to him: 'Pray to God and ask the tsar humbly. Tsarevich Devlet Giray, and your wife, and we, your servants, shall be by your side. What is your message for tsarevich Devlet Giray?' And the prince told them: 'God knows, I cannot give orders to Devlet Giray. My order for my wife is that she should immediately come under the tsar's hand and come to me without delay. Tell Devlet Giray to let her and my children go without delay.' Tsarevich Ablai asked the ambassadors: 'Did the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia bestow a grant on you?' And the ambassadors said to him: 'The great tsar did bestow a grant on us.' 'Who told you of the tsar's grant?' And the ambassadors said: 'It was Duma scribe Fedor Likhachov who told us about the tsar's grant.'

Ambassador Koplanda said: 'Now that we have seen you alive, we can tell your brother tsarevich Devlet Giray and your wife. Your wife will come to you at once. Tsarevich Devlet Giray will let you go.' Tsarevich Ablai ordered the ambassadors that tsarevich Devlet Giray should himself come under the tsar's hand without delaying his wife.

Tsarevich Ablai humbly asked the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia 'to kindly order that our ambassadors should be given freedom to go without delay and to kindly send Fedor Tarbeyev from Ufa and the dragoman Vasily Kirzhatskov from Ufa to my wife for I have seen them serve the great tsar. The ambassadors spoke: 'It is not for trade that we were sent to you but to enquire about your health.' They presented the tsarevich with a kizylbashy silk sash and a shirt of coarse calico, and a dark blue velvet hat with a fox fur front piece. 'Having found out that you are alive, your brother tsarevich Devlet Giray, and your wife, and your children sent us to you.' They want Your Honour and Devlet Giray to stand in favour with the great tsar. If they fail, they shall come under the tsar's highest hand immediately. We, your servants, have not heard about you, our master, for four summers and four winters. Now we have seen you. Now we rely on the will of the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia. As soon as your mother, and tsarevich Devlet Giray, and your wife, and your children hear about you, they will come under the tsar's highest hand immediately.'

The ambassadors said: 'Your father-in-law Kalmyk Chentui Chechein came and said to his daughter, your wife: if tsarevich Ablā is alive, go to him at once, and hurry in the day and in the night to the great tsar. We will follow you and come under the tsar's highest hand.'

According to the tsar's order, Zakhary Shishkin ordered the dragomen to speak. The dragomen told him to write to his brother tsarevich Devlet Giray or his wife, ordering strictly as follows: if tsarevich Devlet Giray and your wife are willing to set you, Ablā, free, your brother tsarevich Devlet Giray will come under the tsar's highest hand at once as His Majesty orders him. Your wife should take your children and set off at once. If they do not do so, you, Ablā, will suffer great oppression. They will be to blame.

And tsarevich Ablā said: 'I cannot write, so I give the following strict order orally through my ambassador: Devlet Giray with my mother and brother Slam must come under the tsar's highest hand at once and let my wife come with my children to me without delay. They will believe them. Those men whom Devlet Giray sent to me are Koplanda, a faithful man, and Ishim, a faithful man of mine.'

And the ambassadors said: 'This is why we were sent here, and tsarevich Devlet Giray and his wife will believe us.' The ambassadors said to tsarevich Ablā: 'Last year you sent your braid to tsarevich Devlet Giray, and to your mother, and to your wife. They would not believe it and chose somebody to send to you from among many men, and they sent those chosen.'

Tsarevich Ablā rose to bow to the ambassadors and said: 'Thank you for not leaving me, and for coming to His Majesty, and for asking the great tsar humbly to see us.' And he began to cry. And he ordered to them that Devlet Giray should come under the great tsar's hand at once and let his wife and children come to him without delay. He took off his short silk caftan, gave it to the ambassador Koplanda, and wrote with his hand its seal: 'This is very firm in our land, this seal is our tamga. Would the tsar kindly order this seal to be sent to my mother, and to Devlet Giray, and to my wife?' The seal was under seven scripts. Tsarevich Ablā humbly asked the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia to kindly order that he should be at home and not in prison, and to be permitted to be allowed to walk outside somewhere by the great tsar's grace. And the ambassadors said to tsarevich Ablā: 'What is your order to your brother Tevka?' Tsarevich Ablā told him that he should be in the fortress. Tsarevich Ablā calls Devlet Giray his uncle. The dragomen asked him whether Devlet Giray was his brother or uncle. And tsarevich Ablā said: 'Devlet Giray is now my uncle.'

On the 8th day of March, having come to Kargopol and taken an officer from the voivode of Alexander Anichkov, they went to tsarevich Tevka, where he lives. Having arrived to tsarevich Tevka, the dragoman said: 'Your brother tsarevich Devlet Giray and tsarevich Ablā's wife Princess Chigindar have sent the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia their ambassadors Koplanda and Ishei. Those ambassadors asked the Tsar's Majesty to be allowed to see you both, tsarevich Tevka and tsarevich Ablā. His Tsar's Majesty kindly permitted them to see you. They have already seen tsarevich Ablā at Beloozero.' Having said this, the ambassadors were allowed in to see tsarevich Tevka.

Coming up to tsarevich Tevka, the ambassadors spoke: 'Your mother Kerekhtel and your brother tsarevich Devlet Giray ordered us to pay obeisance to you. Please instruct me on what to tell your mother and your family.' And tsarevich Tevka told them: 'I make obeisance to my mother and my brother.'

Ambassador Koplanda said: 'Should your brother come under the tsar's hand?'

And the tsarevich told them: 'My brother Ablā's wife and children shall come to him, and the tsar will bestow a grant on him. I have no wife or children, and my mother and my brother Devlet Giray should come under the tsar's highest hand so that I can win his favour.'

And the ambassador gave the following gifts to the tsarevich. Koplanda presented him with crimson feryezes, and Ishei presented him with a shirt of coarse calico, and pants and kizylbashy silk sash. And they said to him: 'Order your mother and your brother (Sheet 41) to come under the tsar's highest hand. They will obey you. You are your mother's dearest son, she loves you more than anyone.' And the tsarevich told them: 'It is good, I am glad not to have been betrayed.'

Tsarevich Tevka asked the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia to order that the ambassadors should not be delayed.

He ordered his ambassadors to pay obeisance to his men Sare Mergen and Kozyash: 'When I was in my land, you were my men and served me. Why have you left me now, why will you not come to me for the sake of my regal tsar name (title)? You should come to my home and persuade my brother tsarevich Devlet Giray and my mother to come under the tsar's highest hand.'

Tsarevich Tevka asked the tsar humbly to kindly order that Fedor Tarbeyev from Ufa and the dragoman Vasily Kirzhatskov, also from Ufa, should be permitted to go to his mother and his brother Devlet Giray. He ordered his ambassadors that his mother and his brother should obey the tsar's ambassadors and not disobey them, and come under the tsar's highest hand.

And by the order of the great Tsar and Grand Prince Mikhail Fedorovich of All Russia, Zakhary Shishkin ordered the dragomen to speak. The dragomen told tsarevich Tevka to write to his mother, and to his brother, and to Ablā's wife, or to order them verbally as follows: if they are willing to set Tevka free, his brother would come under the tsar's highest hand at once as His Majesty ordered him. Ablā's wife with her children would go to tsarevich Ablā immediately. If they did not do so, he, Tevka, would suffer great oppression. They would be to blame.

And tsarevich Tevka ordered the ambassadors that his mother, and his brother, and his sister-in-law should come under the tsar's highest hand immediately, avoid any disobedience, and stay by his side. He cut off some of his hair and ordered that it should be taken to his mother and brother. He gave his brick-coloured Kaftan of silk to ambassador Koplānda. He said to him: 'Koplānda, I order you strictly that my mother and brother should come obediently under the tsar's highest hand without any delay. My sister-in-law, Princess Chigindar, must go to her husband tsarevich Ablā at once. I have nothing more to say.' He wrote with his hand and said: 'This seal is the tamga of our land. Would the tsar kindly order that this should be sent to my mother and my brother Devlet Giray?'

Tsarevich Ablā called Devlet Giray uncle, and the dragomen asked tsarevich Tevka whether Devlet Giray was their brother or uncle. And tsarevich Tevka said: 'Tsarevich Devlet Giray is our brother, and the reason why Obyla called him uncle is that he Devlet Giray married our mother.'

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Abbreviations

- AC MK: Armory Chamber, Moscow Kremlin
 ADT: Archaeological Discoveries in Tatarstan (Kazan)
 AGAD: Archiwum główny akt dawnych (Warszawa)
 Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire
 ARNC: All-Russian Numismatic Conference
 ARSPC: All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference
 ARV: Ancient Russian Vivliofika
 ARVC: Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation
 AST (RT AS): Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan (Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan)
 Astrakhan State Record Archive
 ASUHAMR: Astrakhan State United Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve
 AVOR: Antiquities of the Volga Region and Other Regions
 BHCARM (BHCR): Bakhchysaray Historical and Cultural and Archaeological Museum-Reserve
 BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
 CAJ: Central Asiatic Journal (Wiesbaden)
 CCRC: The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles
 Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine
 CEPU: Crimean Engineering and Pedagogical University (Simferopol)
 ChuvSRI: Chuvash Scientific and Research Institute for Language, Literature, and History
 CMRS: Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique (Paris; La Haye)
 CSALA: Central State Archive of Literature and Art (Saint Petersburg)
 CSCC: Collection of State Charters and Contracts
 CTA: Candidate's Thesis Abstract AMS: Acts of the Muscovite State
 CVNP: Charters of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov
 CWRHGH: Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde
 CWTS: Collection of Works in Turkic Studies (Moscow)
 DMRB: Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the N. Lobachevsky Scientific Library, Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University
 DMSAF: Department of Manuscripts, Scientific and Archival Fund of the Institute of Language, Literature And Arts Named after G. Ibrahimov
 EO: Epigraphics of the Orient (Moscow, Saint Petersburg)
 GDL: Grand Duchy of Lithuania
 HLC: Historical Legacy of the Crimea (Simferopol)
 HR: Historical Records (Moscow)
 HSSHAAC: Historiography and Source Studies for the History of Asian and African Countries (Leningrad)
 IA RAS: Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 IA: Islam Ansiklopedisi
 ILLA: G.Ibrahimov Institute for Language, Literature, and Art
 INC: International Numismatic Conference
 IRAS: Imperial Russian Archaeological Society
 JMIA: Journal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Saint Petersburg)
 JMNE: Journal of the Ministry of National Education (Saint Petersburg)
 KCAMPT: Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı
 KFU: Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University
 KGSAC: Kostroma Guberniya Scientific Archive Commission
 KICE: Kazan Institute of Civil Engineers
 KIEPIC: Kazan Institute for Engineers in Petroleum Industry Construction
 KSPI: Kazan State Pedagogical Institute
 KSU: V. Lenin Kazan State University
 KSUAE: Kazan State University of Architecture and Engineering
 LMAR: Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus
 Lpz.: Leipzig
 LSU: Leningrad State University M.: Moscow.
 MFA MSIIR (U)—Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University), RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 MFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 MNS—Moscow Numismatic Society
 MSHAR: Moscow Society of History and Antiquities of Russia
 MSU: M. Lomonosov Moscow State University
 National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan
 National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan
 NE: Numismatics and Epigraphics (Moscow)
 NEDRAS: Notes of the Eastern Department of the Russian Archaeological Society
 NH: National History (Moscow)
 NODIAS: Notes of the Oriental Department of the Imperial Archaeological Society
 NP: Numismatics and Phaleristics (Kiev)
 NRAS: Notes of the Russian Archaeological Society
 NY: New York
 ODKE: Osmanlı Dönemi Kırım Edebiyatı
 OSAC: Orenburg Scientific Archive Commission
 OSMHRS: Omsk State Museum of History and Regional Studies
 PG: Petrograd
 PIAC: Proceedings of the Imperial Archaeological Commission
 PIOSHA: Proceedings of the Imperial Odessa Society for History and Antiquities (Odessa)
 PRC: People's Republic of China KB USSR AS: Kazan Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences
 PSAHE: Proceedings of the Society of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography (Kazan)
 PSAHEKU: Proceedings of the Society of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography, Kazan University
 PSSTS: Proceedings of the Scientific Society of Tatar Studies (Kazan)
 PTAAC: Proceedings of the Taurida Academic Archival Commission (Simferopol)
 PTSHAE: Proceedings of the Taurida Society for History, Archaeology, and Ethnography (Simferopol)
 RA: Russian Archaeology (Moscow)
 RAS IOM: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 RAS IOS MD: Manuscript Department of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
 RAS IOS: Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences

- RAS MAE: Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences
 RAS SPbIH: Saint Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 RAS: Russian Academy of Sciences
 RB: Republic of Bashkortostan
 RF: Russian Federation
 RFA: Russian Feudal Archive
 RGS: Russian Geographical Society
 RHL: Russian Historical Library
 RHS: Russian Historical Society
 RISHAR: Readings at the Imperial Society of History and Antiquities of Russia
 RNL MD: Manuscripts Department of the Russian National Library
 RSAC: Ryazan Scientific Archive Commission
 RSFSR: Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
 RSHA: Russian State Historical Archive
 RSL MD: Manuscripts Department of the Russian State Library
 RSL: Russian State Library
 RSMHA: Russian State Military Historical Archive
 RT: Republic of Tatarstan
 Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts
 SA—Soviet Archaeology (Moscow)
 SCT: Spiritual and Charters of the Treaty
 SHA: Supplements to the Historical Acts Collected and Issued by the Archaeographical Committee
 SHE: Soviet Historical Encyclopedia
 SHM: State Historical Museum (Moscow)
 SN: Scientific Notes
 SNAT: Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen
 SO: Sicill-i Osmani
 SOS: Soviet Oriental Studies (Moscow)
 SPb: Saint Petersburg
 SPbSU: Saint Petersburg State University
 SPL: State Public Library (Saint Petersburg)
 SRC: Scientific and Research Center
 SRI: Scientific and Research Institute
 SSAC: Saratov Scientific Archive Commission
 SSR: Soviet Socialist Republic
 TA: Tatar Archaeology (Kazan)
 TASSR: Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
 TB: Tsar Book
 TDEA: Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi
 TSAC: Taurida Scientific Archive Commission
 TSHI: Tatar State Humanitarian Institute
 TSHPI: Tatar State Humanitarian and Pedagogical Institute
 TSMA: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi
 TSU IHS: Institute for Humanitarian, Tyumen State University
 UAJ: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher (Wiesbaden)
 USSR AS: Academy of Sciences of the USSR
 USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
 VI: Voprosy Istorii (Questions of History), Moscow
 WARLD: Works of the Ancient Russian Literature Department
 WDOSRAS: Works of the Department for Oriental Studies of the Russian Archaeological Society
 WINC: Works of the International Numismatic Conference
 WSHM: Works of the State Historical Museum
 YYOA: Yaşamaları ve Yapılarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi

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Cover: Graphic drawing of a Hajji Giray's silver coin minted in Kyrk-Yer (1454). In the centre, there is the tamga that Hajji Giray introduced as a new state symbol.

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THE HISTORY OF THE TATARS SINCE ANCIENT TIMES
In Seven Volumes

Volume 4
Tatar States (15–18th Centuries)



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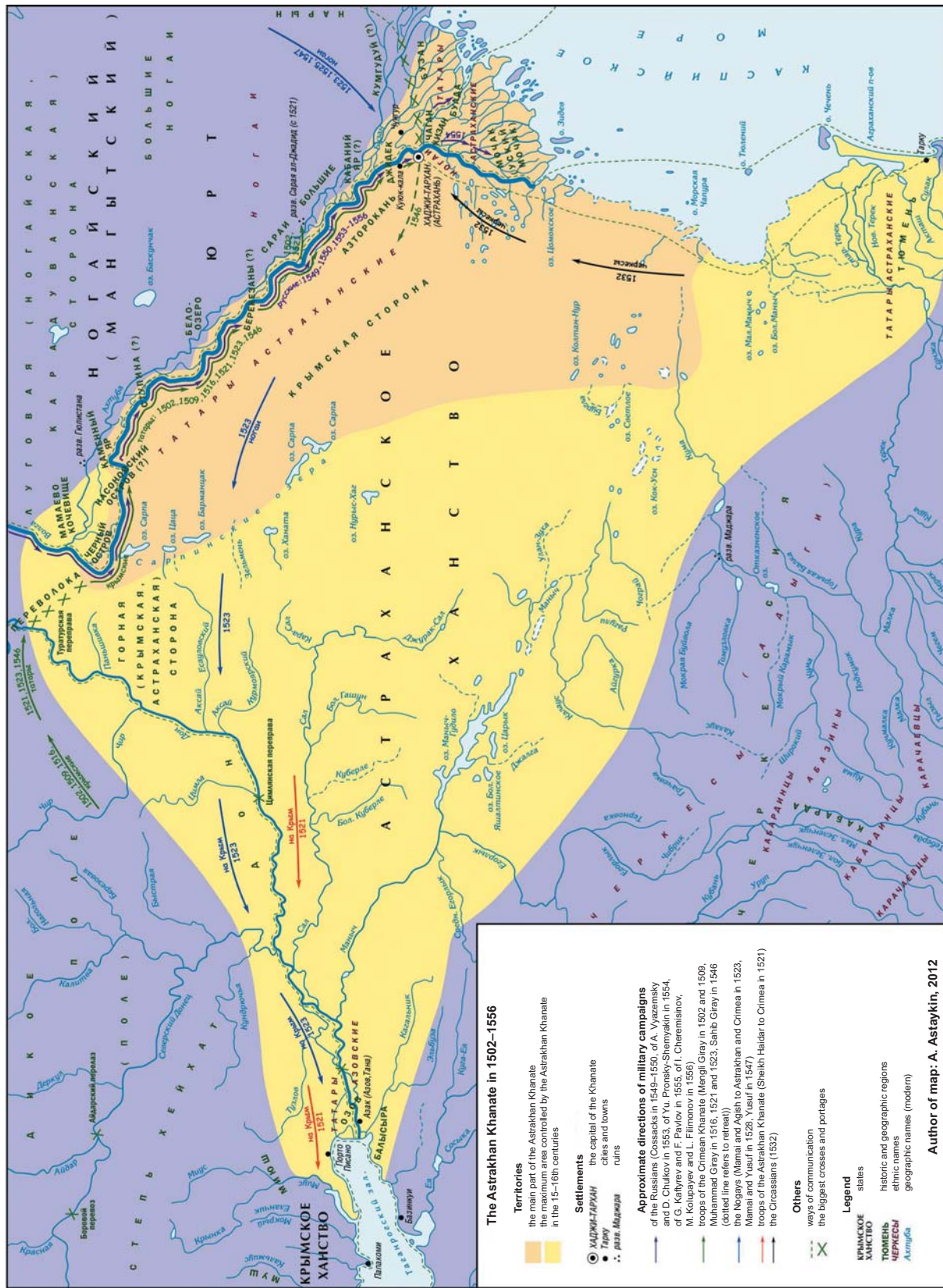
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Map of Anthony
 Jenkinson
 'Description of Russia,
 Muscovy and Tartary'.
 London, 1562.



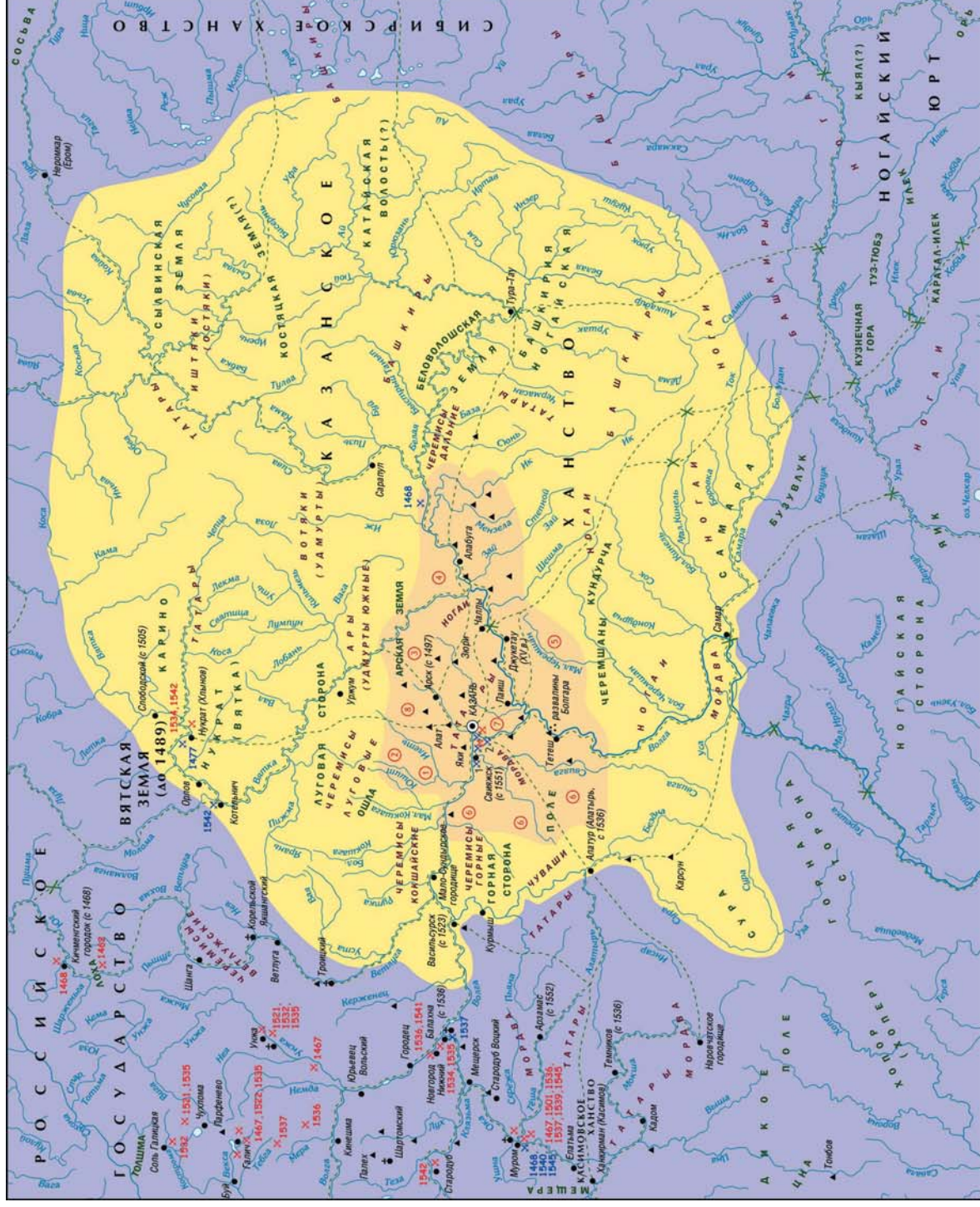
Map of Muscovy by Anthony Jenkinson, 1593.

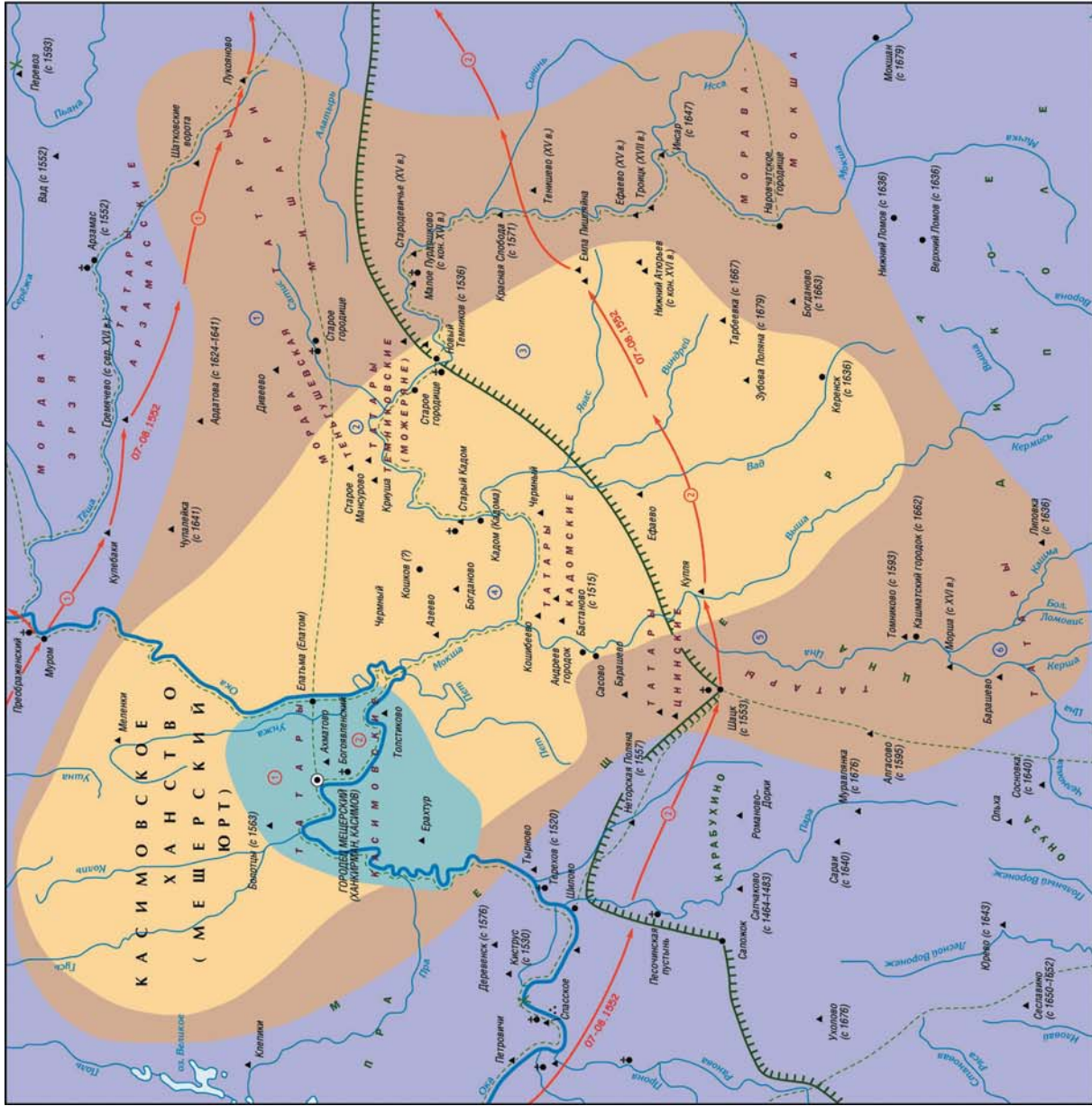


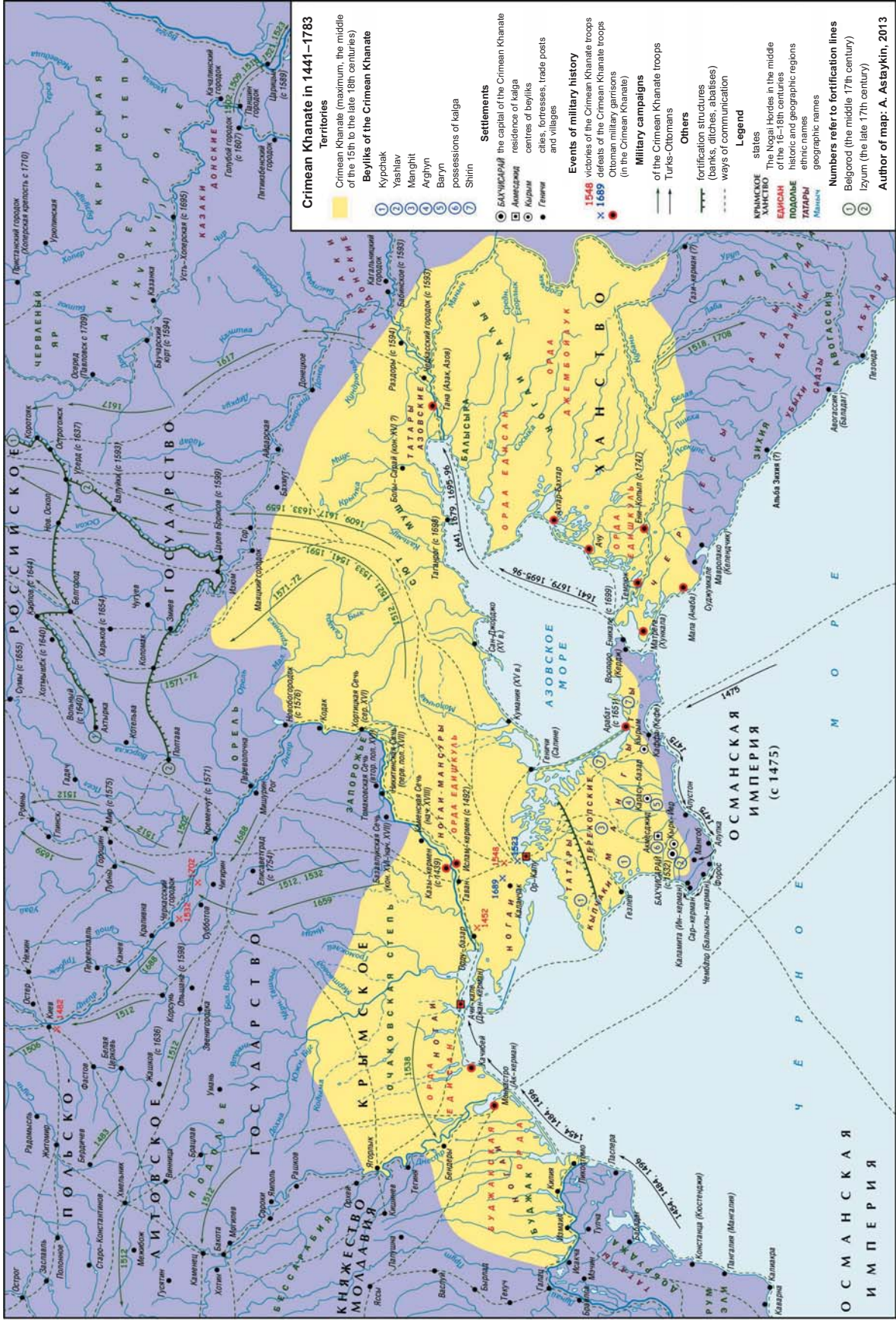
The Kazan Khanate in 1445–1552



Author of map: A. Astaykin, 2012

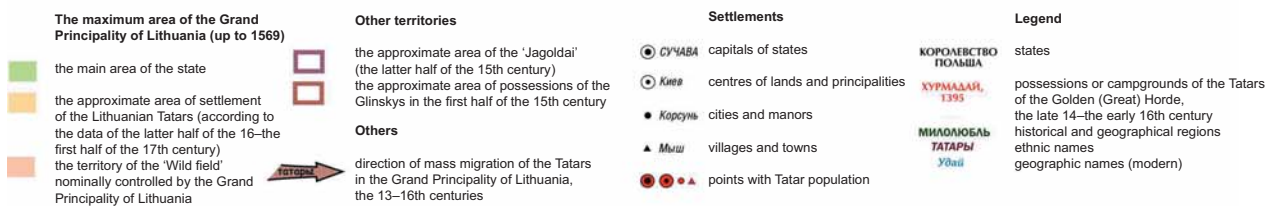








Tatars on the territory of the Grand Principality of Lithuania, the latter half of the 13–early 17th century



Author of map: A. Astaykin, 2013

The Tyumen (1468–1495) and the Siberian (1495–1582) Khanates

- Territories**

Tyumen Khanate

The Siberian Khanate during the reign of Kuchum

territories ruled by the Siberian Khanate (the late 16th century)
- Settlements**

capitals of states

cities and ancient towns
- Others**

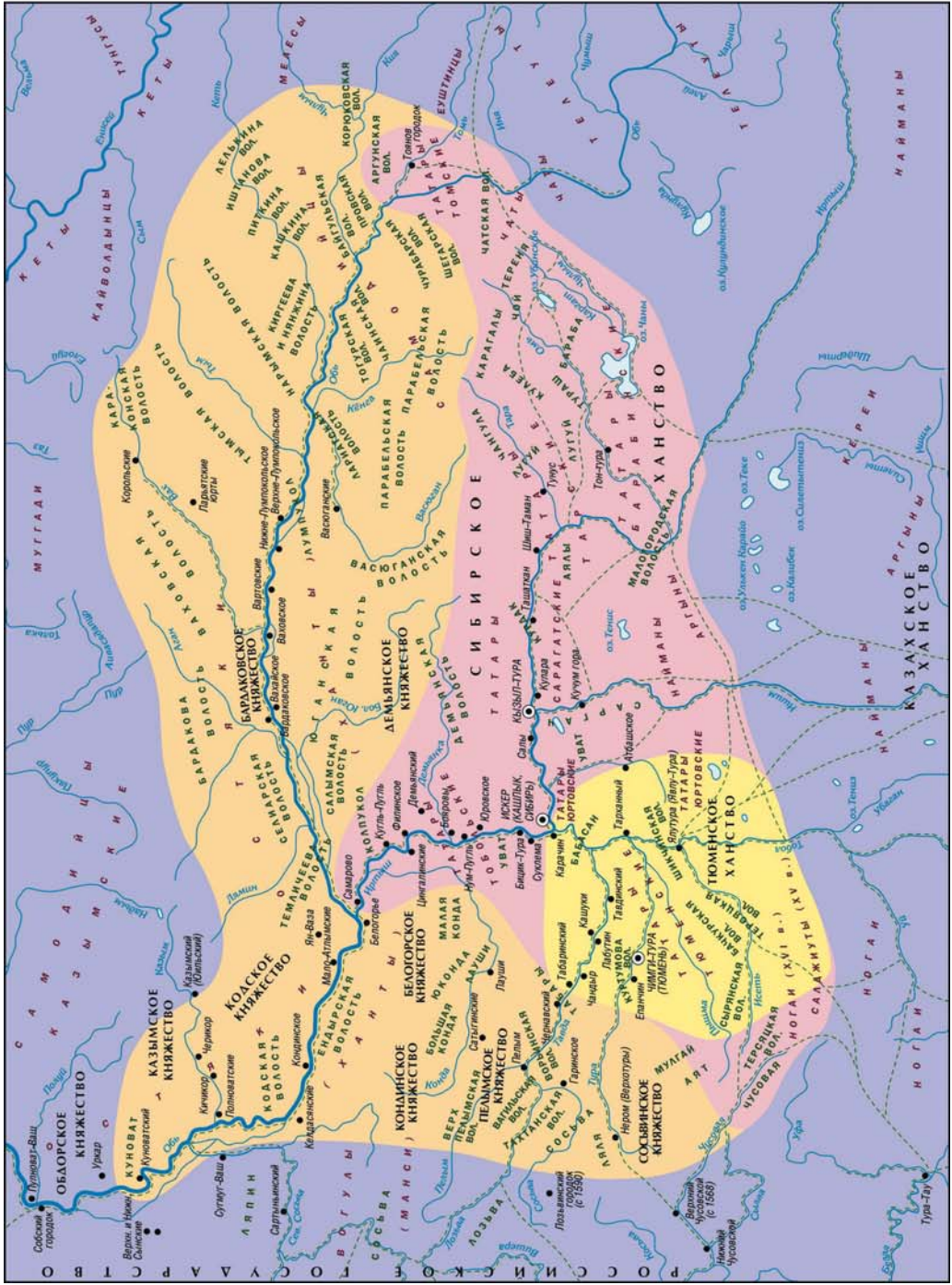
ways of communication
- Legend**

states

the Siberian and Ural volosts

ethnic names

geographic names (modern)

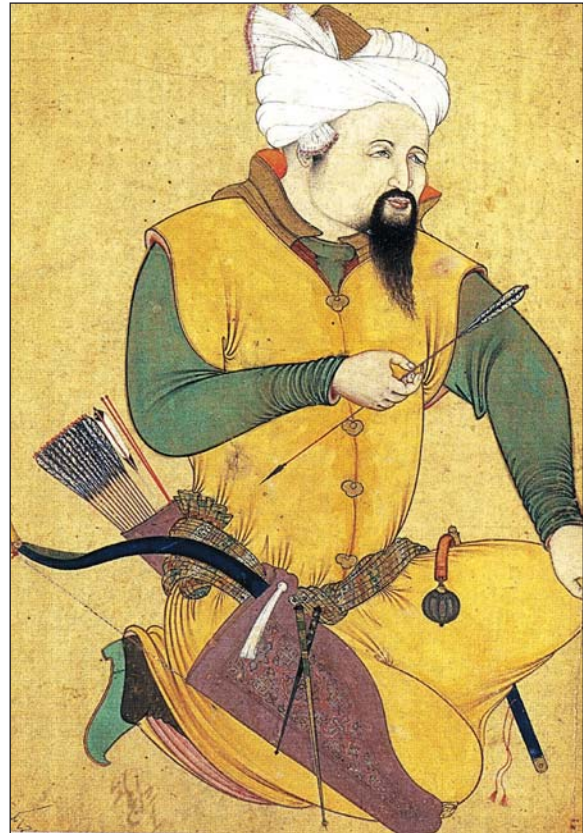




Embroidered insulation for waist and hips, silk, from the grave of a noble Tatar of the 11th century.
Qinghai province, PRC. The Mardjani Foundation, Moscow



Crimean Khan.
An Iranian miniature of the 16th century



Turkic Khan or Bey.
An Iranian miniature of the 16th century



A ceremonial Mongol imperial robe of the Golden Horde Khan and the first khatun. The first half of the 14th century. Restoration and picture by M. Gorelik



Turkic Khan. An Indian copy of the Iranian miniature, 16th century



Gold embroidered decor of khan's robe.
Tamerlane's state, Middle Asia, the late 14th century.
Presumably, this robe was presented by Tamerlane to one of his protegee in the Golden Horde — Khan Tokhtamysh or Beklyaribek Idege. Later it was presented to the Grand Prince of Moscow. Now it is kept at the Kremlin Armoury

Seljuk kaftan/robe.
12th–13th centuries. Silk.
Private collection



A costume of the
Islamised Tatar-Mongol
nobility of the first half
of the 15th century.
Miniature from the
manuscript of Firdausi's
'The Shahnama', made
in Herat for Baysunghur
Mirza, the grandson
of Amir Tamerlane,
1429/30. Golestan Palace
Museum, Tehran



фото Максим Гайдученко

The Khan's palace.
Bakhchysaray, 16th–18th
centuries (<http://bikz.org>)



The main gates
of the Khan's palace.
Bakhchysaray.
16th–18th centuries.





A fountain of the Khan's palace. Bakhchysaray.
16th–18th centuries



The fountain of tears



Golden Fountain. 1733

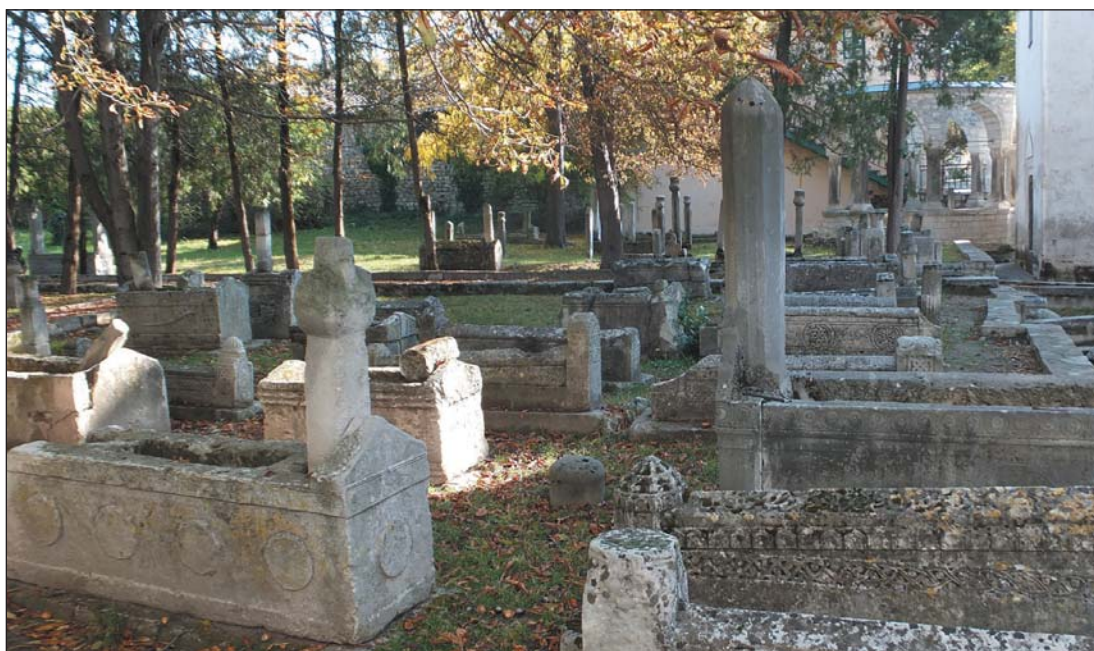
The Khan's palace.
Bakhchysaray



Living room of the harem
in the Khan's palace.
Bakhchysaray

Summer house
in the Khan's Palace.
Bakhchysaray





Khan's necropolis (mazarlyk). Photo by I. Izmaylov



A prayer mat, 18th century

A Khan tombstone from the Giray family. Bakhchysaray.
16th–18th centuries





Historical and architectural complex Zincirli Madrasa (<http://bikz.org>)

Mausoleum (dyurbe)
of Hacı-Giray
and Mengli Giray.
Bakhchysaray, 1501



A carving from the dyurbe
of Hacı Giray and Mengli
Giray. Bakhchysaray



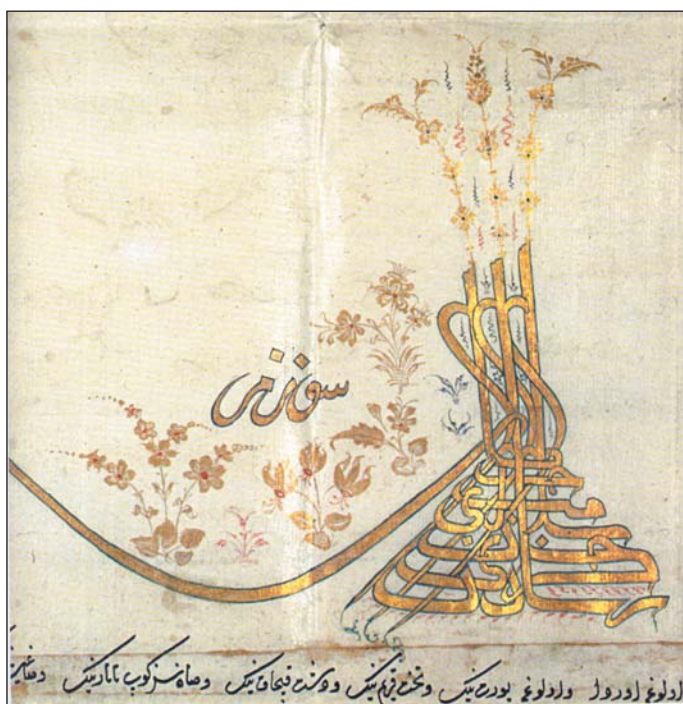
Mausoleum of the daughter
of Khan Tokhtamysh Janicke Khanum.
Kyryk-Er



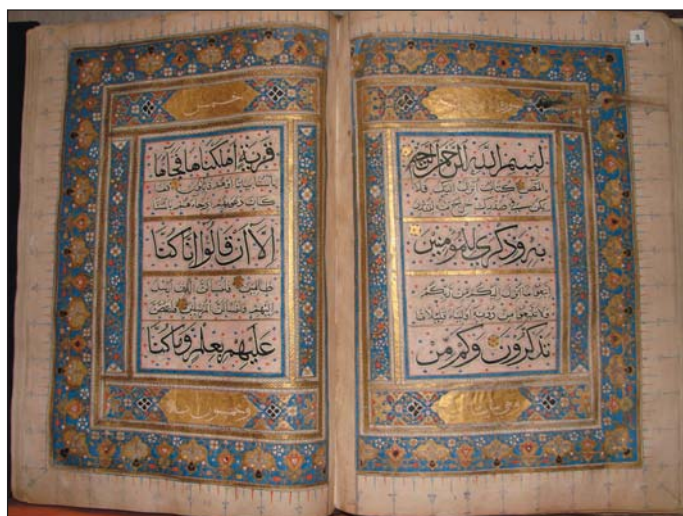
Carving of an architectural decor.
Solkhat (Stary Krym). 15th century



Ozbek Han Mosque.
Solkhat (Stary Krym).
14th century



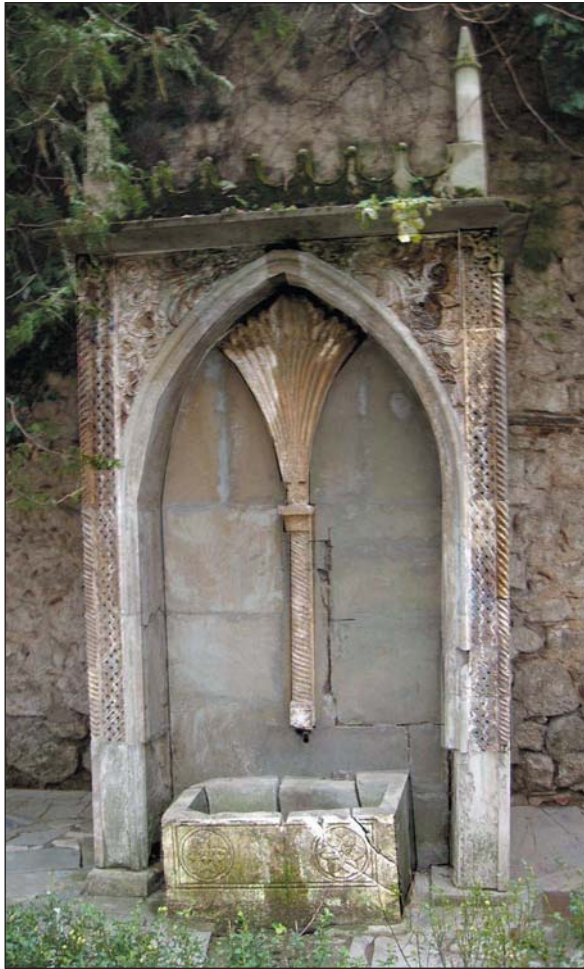
Tugra of Bogadyr Giray. 1637



The handwritten Quran from the collection of the Bakhchysaray Historical and Cultural Reserve (<http://bikz.org>)



Şert-name of Jani Beg Giray II, 1630



A sabyl-type fountain. The fountain courtyard of the Khan's palace. Bakhchysaray, 18th century

Wall drinking fountain, 17th–18th centuries. Khan's palace. Bakhchysaray



Eaves — sachakh



Uchkur — a men's wedding belt.
Two-sided surface



Mosque in Gezlev (Yevpatoria).
The interior. Turkish architect Sinan, 1552



Fragment of an interior
of a living room.
Khan's palace.
Bakhchysaray



Yipishli girdle — a women's belt.
Ajoure filigree



Tableware. The Khan's
palace. Bakhchysaray



Evciyar — towel woven using
the Kybryz technique

Khan-Jami Mosque
in Gezlev. General view
from the south. 2006.
Photo by S. Pridnev



Mausoleum of Khan Shah Ali.
Kasimov, 1505

General view of a
mosque in Xankirmän.
Kasimov, 1469





Fragment of Khan Shah Ali's mausoleum.



The interior of Shah Ali's mausoleum



Mausoleum of Avgan Muhammad Sultan. Kasimov, the 17th century
Photo by Vadim Ageev.
http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tekie_Afgan-Muhammed_sultan.jpg



Foundation of the complex of Khan's palace. Kazan Kremlin.
Excavations by F. Khuzin and N. Nabiullin



Yarliq of Sahib
Giray Khan,
1523.
The National
Museum
of the Republic
of Tatarstan



Quiver. Leather, silver embroidery. The first half
of the 16th century. Restored by painter N. Kumysnikova
according to the sample found during excavations
in the Kazan Kremlin, 2006



Khan dyurbes.
Kazan Kremlin.
Excavations
by F. Khuzin
and A. Sitdikov

Kazan khans' graves
in the Kazan Kremlin.
Photo dated 2009



Button. Bronze.
Kazan Khanate,
the 15th–16th
centuries



Gravestones of Pyotr Ibrahmovich (Hodaikol) (1) and Alexander Safagireevich (Utyamysh Giray) (2). Cathedral of the Archangel of the Moscow Kremlin



Asper of Hacı Giray. The 1460s.



Crimean Horde. Mengli Giray. 888 a.d. (?)



Akçe. Dawlat Berdi, Hajji Tarkhan

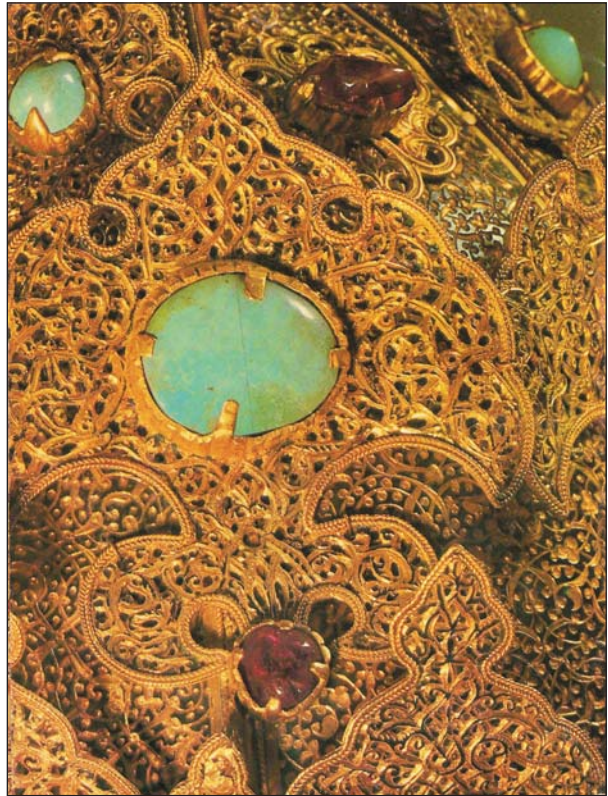


A wine jar and its fragment.
Brass, embossing, engraving,
molding, the first half of the 16th
century. The National Museum
of the Republic of Tatarstan



Kazan Khans' throne.
Golden plates, precious stones,
the first half of the 16th century.
Armoury Chamber of the Moscow
Kremlin

Fragment of a ceremonial helmet.
Iron, precious stone, gold plating, gold inlay,
niello, enamel. Middle of the 16th century.
The Museum of Topkapi Palace



'Kazan Hat' (Khan's crown)
and its fragment. Gold,
precious stones, cut-through,
niello, first half of the 16th century.
Armoury Chamber of the Moscow
Kremlin



A ceremonial vessel.
Gold, precious stones.
Latter half
of the 16th century.
The Museum of Topkapi
Palace in Istanbul



Belt buckle of the Tatar nobility costume. Gold, enamel, filigree, granulation.
First half of the 16th century. The Armoury Chamber of the Moscow Kremlin



The Quran cover. Silver, precious stones, filigree. Granulation.
First half of the 16th century.
The Armoury Chamber of the Moscow Kremlin



Buckles for belts. Gold, filigree, granulation. First half of the 16th century.
The Armoury Chamber of the Moscow Kremlin



A Lithuanian Lipka Tatar,
the 17th century. Reconstruction
by M. Gorelik, 1997



Nogay horsemen.
Latter half of the 16th–
17th centuries.
Reconstruction
by M. Gorelik



Equestrian man-at-arms uhlan.
First half of the 16th century.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik.
2004



Gravestone. Yevpatoria, Crimea. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Portrait of Süyümbike (Sujumbike) with her son Utyamysh Giray. Unknown author, the 16th century



Blue Nişan (personal seal) of Sahib I Giray, 1549–1550.
In the centre — tamga, symbol of the Gireev family

Sabre, the 15th–16th centuries.
The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan