

Pages from the history of the Crimea, the Ukraine, Caucasia, Poland and Moscovy

Translated from the Tatar by Dr. Abdullah Zihni
(Selected passages)

The present historical material has been secured from a manuscript, unearthed by Mr. Omar Fuat Bey, a Crimean lawyer, now a resident of Stambul [Istanbul]. The author of the work in question was Ibrahim Ben Ali of Kaffa, secretary to Feth-Girey II, Khan of the Crimea. Most probably written in 1730-1740, according to the author's own words at the "high command" of the Khan, the manuscript was made public in *Emel Mejmuasi*, a monthly published at Bazarchik, in Rumania, by refugees from the Crimea who had settled in that country. The Polish translation was effected by Dr. Abdullah Zihni [Soysal] on the basis of the text given by that publication, whilst the present, first English translation (abridged) is in turn based on the Polish version.

The intentions of the author of the manuscript, as states Jaffer Seydamet, the eminent apostle of Crimean independence, in his preface to the Bazarchik version, was to indicate the basic features of Moscow's imperialistic policies and to stress the necessity of fostering closer relations with the Polish and the Ukrainian nations. Reviewing the fate of the Caucasian peoples, the Cossack problem and the policies of Turkey, he likewise aimed at drawing attention to the common danger presented by Moscovy to these nations.

Ibrahim Effendi's work, both in Turcoman and in the Polish translation, has not been corrected or commented upon: on the contrary even, many glaring errors made by the author in respect of dates and facts have been left in their pristine form. The essential features of the work — the political significance of the manuscript — was what interested the translator most, and this quality loses nothing owing to the inexactitudes of the Crimean chronicler. Prompted by the same criteria, the Editors of *The Orient* [Wschod-Orient] have on their part strictly adhered to the original text.

THE WESTERN TATAR REALM

Renowned in the whole world, the heroic Great Khan, Jengis, after conquering the land of Ung-Khan, subjected the whole of Mongolia, Eastern Tatory, China and incorporated them within his realm. Later, his elder son, Jiuju-Khan, in the east and in the west conquered Harzyn, Ugok and Sayanak, the mountain country to the north towards Europe and, in order to gain the state to the west of Ormak, sent out 400,000 Mongolian, Tatar, Turkoman and Kirghiz warriors who within the course of five or six years subdued the broad lands from the waters of Kochan to the shores of the Sea of Jemt¹, to the west as far as the Dnieper river and the Aksu river of the Moscovite state, Ruthenia

¹ The Kara Sea

and the Ukraine, that is, the Cossack lands, Circassian, Alan and As countries, that is, the Kazan, Bulgar, Myshen, Alatro Kirghiz, Harshin, Astrakhan, Simur, Siber, Iber and Oyshen peoples; he subjected under his sway the Crimea, and Akerman, part of Thracia, and from the Dniester to Irtsyk, from the river Obi, which flows into the Sea of Jemt, and to the river Sayanak, which falls into the river Kochan; this enormous realm was Deshti-Kipchak and belonged to Jiuju-Khan. After the death of Jiuju-Khan, which had [taken] place six months before that of Jengis-Khan, the third son², Batu, became Khan. The chroniclers call him Sain-Khan, which means the "White Khan." Batu-Khan was a great and just Shah-in-Shah, he greatly extended his dominions and was himself of great endurance and brave.

It so happened that he once crossed the waters of the Dnieper, conquered and pillaged the Polish and Hungarian lands, Moldavia and Wallachia, the Kingdom of the Czechs and Moravia, which is a part of it, and waged a great war against the King of the Czechs, the King of Hungary and the German Emperor, forcing them to pay tribute. During this war, one of the kings was killed and another fell into the hands of Sain-Khan. Sain-Khan could have seized many other lands from them likewise, for he was of great endurance, generous and charitable. But at the time when he set out to overcome Constantinople, by the will of God, he died.

The present khans descend from his dynasty. After the death of Batu-Khan, his brother, Bereke-Khan, the son of Jiuju-Khan, succeeded him. He sat on the golden throne of Sain-Khan and was the Shah-in-Shah of Deshti-Kipchak. This land, which from east to west measured 790 hours, little by little fell into the hands of Moscovy, and the present Tsarina Catherine wishes to conquer the country ruled by the Crimean Khan, in such wise becoming the owner of the whole empire of Jiuju-Khan.

The four frontiers of this country are as follows: to the north the land bounded by the Kara Sea; to the east by the Obi river and the Kartal Mountains as also by the Black Sea; to the south by the river Kaisan and the Caspian Sea; to the west by the river Danube, the White (Aksu) river, the Dniester and the Danube. Up to the year 1552 it was a very large and powerful land. But in 1552 the cunning Moscovite Tsar, Ivan Vasilevitch [Ivan IV or Ivan the Terrible], not wishing longer to bear the yoke of the Tatar khans, in varied manner — by cunning and subterfuge — bereft certain khans, belonging to the Crimean Khanate, of their lands and took away from them their rights of property. This came to pass because there were dissensions which constantly arose amongst the khans: exceptionally great misunderstandings and bitter enmity broke out between the Khan of Kazan and the Kirghiz nation. The Tsar Ivan Vasilevitch profited by this, successively attacked and defeated them, added their lands to his realm and so strengthened his power.

He then began to attack the neighbouring territories of the Tatar beys and conquered the towns and land of the Great Bulgar, adding these to his possessions; in 1554 he took the stronghold of Astrakhan by surprise. In the year 961 (1553) the Tsar Ivan Vasilevitch attacked the fortress, besieged it and despite the heroic defence and bravery of the garrison, conquered it and forced it to capitulate. Those Khans who accepted his sovereignty, the Tsar received with favour, but those who opposed it, he

² Third son of Jiuju-Khan

pitilessly murdered. The Ottoman Empire, seeing the wrongs and sufferings inflicted upon the members of its faith enjoined the Khan of the Crimea to lend his aid; in 1568, the Sultan Selim II appointed Serosker to help the Tatar tribes and to recover the stronghold of Astrakhan from the hands of Moscovy. Serosker made for Deshti-Kipchak by forced marches; but, between the Sea of Azov and Astrakhan was a swamp named Komo and in the battle which was fought there the victory unfortunately fell to the Moscovites. As a result, Astrakhan and the Tatar countries were left in the hands of Moscovy and the Mussulmans could in no manner drive out the Moscovites and regain their freedom.

After conquering these countries, the Moscovites, wishing to gain the allegiance of the subjected tribes and to lull the vigilance of the Crimean Khanate, forebore to attack it during a longer time and maintained the old Astrakhan boundaries such as they were in the ancient times of Nogay. But fearing that the Tatar, Turkoman and Nogay tribes on defeating them might regain their lands, the Moscovites decided to make peace with the Khanate of the Crimea and, appointing envoys, concluded the agreement which follows: 1) The countries conquered and occupied by the Moscovites to remain under their rule; 2) The *jezye*³ which Moscovy had for long paid to the Khan of the Crimea to be reduced by one-half; 3) Officials, sent by the Khan for collecting the *jezye*, and envoys might not treat the Tsar or the Moscovite dignitaries, or any other of the Moscovites in an insulting or shameful manner as they had done hithertofore. Upon such conditions was peace made.

THE UKRAINIAN STATE

From this side of Deshti-Kipchak, to the east of the river Dnieper, lies the Ukrainian State. Having been for over three hundred years under the sway of the Crimean Khanate, and, as they affirm, not being able to pay taxes and tribute to the Khanate any longer (the Ukrainians), arose in rebellion. The Tatar tribes then attacked them, pillaging and laying waste their country.

The Ukrainian people could no longer make uprisings and oppose (the Tatars), since apart from those who had fled to the stronghold of Kieff and those who submitted to the protectorate of Poland, none were saved. And the Ukraine was laid waste.

When the, now deceased, Khan applied for help and munitions of war from the Ottoman Empire, during the defence of the stronghold of Astrakhan, the Mussulman forces crossed that land and still further destroyed it. Laid waste and deserted, the country remained in such state for a hundred and thirty years. Those known as the Cossacks and their tribes inhabiting the one and the other side of the Dnieper, in the Podolian country and in the land called Red Ruthenia, the above named Tsar Ivan Vasilevitch, by subterfuge and intrigue, persuaded to attack Poland and then, profiting by the strife stirred up, he seized their lands and subdued them, and in such wise wished to rule over the whole Empire of Deshti-Kipchak. Historians are not in agreement as to whether the word Cossack has an honourable or a shameful significance. All the Cossack tribes dressed in the skins of goats, which animal is

³ Tribute

called *kechi* [goat] by them and *koza* by the Poles. In time this expression was transformed to "kozak" and the term in time became the name of the people.

The appearance of the Cossack nation on the arena of history dates from recent times. Stefan Batory, King of Poland, wishing to safeguard and defend his realm and the Dnieper, Dniester and White River districts from the attacks of the Tatar chieftains demanded a certain force of infantry from the population of Podolia, of Red Ruthenia and of the Ukraine, and from these troops chose 2,000 men for maintaining law and order amongst the soldiers. King Stefan Batory guaranteed and confirmed this in writing, that if in case of need the dignitaries and gentry appear in the field as mounted soldiers in order to defend Poland and these waters (i.e., the Dnieper, Dniester and the White River districts), the whole Cossack nation would be freed from all imposts and taxation.

As the troops fought very bravely and their leaders were valiant and heroic, King Stefan Batory defended his country against the attacks of the Tatars.

In a short time the Wild Fields, which stretched from the stronghold of Kieff to the city of Braclaw, became populated and dotted with towns, hamlets, villages and fortresses. Later the Polish dignitaries and gentry, in spite of the royal promise, began to take the population of these countries into service and to impose taxes. And so, after the death of King Stefan Batory, the Cossacks, incensed by the increase in taxes and by the deterioration of their lot, arose in rebellion in 1587. But the Polish troops swamped the uprising in blood and put to death Ivan Podkova, its leader.

Unable longer to defend themselves, the Cossacks promised submission and loyalty and that they would refrain from rebellion. In such wise, peace lasted some eight or nine years. But in 1596, not being able further to bear Polish rule, the Cossacks under Ataman Nalevayka rose in rebellion a second time and made fierce war: on several occasions they were victorious but finally the Cossack forces were defeated, the uprising crushed and the Cossacks again submitted to the will of Poland.

Their petitions were granted and they received pardon on the condition that they give up their leader, Nalevayka, to the Polish commander, who on receiving the person of the Cossack chief, caused him to be slain as a rebel.

In 1637, insurrection broke out for the third time and the Cossacks attacked the Poles. The Polish generalissimo, Potocki, marched against them and defeated them on the field of battle. Then, Bulufas and three other Cossack leaders were made prisoners, sent to the High Court at Warsaw and there executed.

In 1638, on the order of the Polish Commonwealth, their forces were expelled from the fortress of Fertemito, whilst the rights, privileges and lands granted the Cossacks by the Commonwealth at the times of King Stefan Batory were withdrawn from them by force. Then the Cossacks, seeing that they were weak and could in no wise fight against the Polish generalissimo, Potocki, secretly entered into contact with Moscovy and sued for its help. The submission of the Cossacks was received by the Tsar of Moscovy with great favour, but as they were on Polish territory, he could not easily come to them with succour. The Ukrainian State bordered with the waters of the Dnieper and with the Wild Fields. The Cossacks retreated to the rapids of the river, which at that place is very difficult for crossing because of the rocks and boulders, and there remained in hiding. In order to be near the Moscovites, who desired this, they

came there from all parts, settled there and fortified their refuge. And that place they called Zaporozze, which means beyond the rapids.

Later the Cossacks again began to war against the Poles, defeated the Polish troops, and pillaging and laying waste the country, greatly weakened and affrighted the Poles. Finally the Poles began to negotiate with the Cossacks, and made peace with them on the condition that, the latter regain their old rights. But the Poles once again did not keep their solemn promise and broke the conditions of peace; and then, incensed to the highest degree and angered, the Cossacks made an alliance with the Tatars, suing them for aid, joined forces with them and attacked Poland. They then destroyed and pillaged many of the Polish lands, burned the country and pushed forward up to the gates of Warsaw.

At that time, the King of Poland Wladyslaw Sigismund [Wladyslaw IV] together with the whole Commonwealth, in order to calm the anger of the Cossacks and to assure themselves against the attacks of the Tatar khans, gave suitable promises and solemn oaths which could bring peace to the hearts of the Cossacks, further relating that they intended to begin preparation for war with the Ottoman State. In this manner, they appeased the anger of the Cossacks and set forth a suitable amount of recompense.

A certain warlike and very wise man, Bogdan Chmielnicki [Khmelnytsky], being the hetman of the Cossack forces, as before set up a Zaporozze army and waged war with a second ensign of the Polish Commonwealth's army, with the boyar Dzafionski.⁴ The said Dzafionski struck the son of Hetman Chmielnicki so sorely that he died soon after. The father, the afore-said hetman, in order to revenge himself for his son and seeing that his troops and the Ruthenian tribes wished to agree to the peace already concluded with Poland, occupied certain islands on the Dnieper, seized land and provisions, so that he could defend his refuge against the Poles, caused a fortress to be put up in these parts and earthworks to be dug. In such wise assuring his safety and wishing in wield vengeance, (the Hetman) made an alliance with the Tatar Khans (with Islam Girey at the beginning of 1648) and twice waged war against the Poles, both times victoriously.

After the death of Wladyslaw Sigismund in 1648, danger and terror filled the whole of Poland. John Casimir, son of the dead monarch, was elected king.

To Hetman Chmielnicki, commander of the Cossack forces, in his need came a man from the lower (social) classes but exceedingly brave, warlike, and heroic, who stood at the head of the Cossack armies together with Chmielnicki and together with the Tatar troops besieged Zbaraz. And they would have seized that city, were it not that King John Casimir came with his army of relief and stood before the town of Doboro (?). Both armies feared to commence battle: and on August 17th, 1649, peace was made.

In 1652 and 1653 the Cossacks began to accept runaways and outlaws from the Polish, Moscovite, Bohdan and Eglak (Moldavian and Wallachian) states and to settle them on the places destroyed by war and for long uninhabited. After some time, as had been above stated in detail, the Tsar of Moscovy, by divers means, wished to join their state to his own and made them various promises, which they believed.

⁴ The chronicler has distorted this name, which should be Czaplinski, that of one of the Polish deputy county commissioners.

After conquering the country from the Don river, which falls into the Sea of Azov, to the fortress of Azov, the peoples of that wide land were called the Don Cossacks. When only they had just settled there, the Tsar of Moscovy granted them help so that they could seize the fortress of Azov, which was very weak and had a garrison of not over 400 souls. In this manner, they very soon seized it and made it the chief town of the whole country, to which they added new areas from time to time. Later they reached the Black Sea and for many years pillaged its coasts. They burned and sacked the cities of Trebizond, Synope, Eregli, and the Ichili villages on the Crimea besides pillaging many larger and smaller towns. In the same manner, the Zaporozze Cossacks sailed down the Dnieper to the Black Sea and pillaged and laid waste whole districts. When the Ottoman Empire took the fortress of Azov and built the strongholds on the Dnieper and at Kalabron, the Cossacks were driven back from the Black Sea.

THE VARIOUS COSSACK TRIBES

The afore-mentioned Cossacks are divided into four groups. The first group consists of the Tugayre Cossacks, who live on the right bank of the Dnieper river and belong to the Polish Commonwealth. They are friendly disposed towards the Ottoman Empire and the Polish State. The second group comprises the Cossacks of Great Ukraine: they live on the left bank of the Dnieper river and belong to Moscovy. They have some measure of autonomy. The third group embraces the Zaporozze Cossacks and constitutes a military organisation. At times they were subject to Moscovy, to the Ottoman Empire, to the Khan of the Crimea or, as at times, they were quite independent. They are also called Barabash and Kaklach. The fourth group inhabits the river Don districts and its members are called the Don Cossacks. They have a treaty concluded with Moscovy whereby they have a certain degree of independence. They elect from amongst their number one to be their chieftain and so rule themselves. And if perchance some wrongdoer escape from Moscovy and seek refuge with them, the Tsarina cannot demand the return of this person.⁵ The Tsar of Moscovy desired to incorporate them completely within his realm, and then the chieftain of the Cossacks, Zpaskin, being in the service of Moscovy, was hanged by General Aleksy Dolgorugi.⁶ The brother of the executed chief, Stienka Razin, offended and incensed for that reason, wishing to wreak vengeance, caused the Cossacks to arise in revolt in 1667; the Cossacks, with the help of the Cossacks and Bulgar Tatars and the Nogays, and the Kirghiz and Astrakhan forces, burned the villages and towns on the Volga and on the Jaik and laid waste other lands, reaching Moscovy and sorely affrightening its inhabitants.

Later they took Astrakhan and slew all the Moscovites who dwelt there. In such wise they became masters of the western part of the Moscovite state, built themselves large barges and sailed for the shores of Persia where they pillaged the whole coast of that country. The uprising lasted five years but in the end, during a certain battle, Stienka Razin was captured by the Moscovites. In 1672, he was brought to Moscow and there on the orders of the Tsar, he was flayed alive and so tortured to death. Peace was then made with the Cossack leaders on condition that

⁵ Probably the Tsarina Catherine II. [Translator's error, not Catherine II.]

⁶ General Aleksy Dolgorukov.

they take with them only such food as they needed for their journey, and that, touching naught on the way, they return to the place of their habitation.

The aforesaid Stienka Razin had applied on divers occasions to the Ottoman Empire and to the Crimean Khanate suing for help and promising that, if they would give such aid, he would restore the land which the Moscovites had seized before from the Tatars. But he received no help. If aid had not then been refused him, the Ottoman Empire would assuredly have profited greatly. It is certain that the Cossacks would have with its help greatly weakened the Moscovite power.

The Cossacks of Great Ukraine at the time of the Tsar Peter were free and chose their own leaders. But when strife arose between Peter and Charles XII, King of Sweden, the Cossacks went over to the side of the Swedes and helped them at the Battle of Poltava, where the Swedish forces were defeated by the Russian army, and King Charles XII himself sought for safety by flight to the Ottoman Empire.

At the order of the Sultan he was well received and rested in the district of Bender, receiving a pension of 1000 *kise* yearly. From that time the Tsar Peter bereft the Zaporoze Cossacks of all their freedom.

The Zaporoze forces, entrenched at the rapids of the Dnieper, can defend their freedom and independence against Russian aggression. But if the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate or Poland do not help them in this, then they will shortly fall into the hands of Russia.

Although the Cossacks have the same religious rites as the Moscovites and have the same faith, they have always waged war with them in the defence of their rights and liberty and have been ever ready for uprisings.

Dissatisfied with Russian rule, which constantly oppressed them, they ever sought opportunity for uprisings and if they had known that the Ottoman Empire would receive them, then without doubt they would have greatly rejoiced and gladly received such offer.

THE NOGAY TRIBES

The Nogay and Circassian country is the juridical property of the Khans of the Crimea, bequeathed to them by their ancestors, whilst it is known to all historians that this land for 500 years existed independently under the authority and rule of the Crimean Khans.

When Tushy-Khan, that is, Jiuju-Khan, conquered this land, the Circassian nation bore many names although it was one nation. Its ruler was named Ker Andar-Bey. Certain of them called themselves Alans, others Hozars, and still others Circassians and Abazynnzi. Their territory up to the times it was overrun by Jiuju-Khan was greater than it is today as the Circassians occupied the land on this side of the river Idil (Volga). Astrakhan was considered as the capital and the largest city. In the realm of the Tatar sultans, the Circassians at those times led a nomad life. The Khan forbade them to live thus, ordering them to live a settled life in the foot-hill district.

In later times the Circassian country began to be limited by certain mountains situated between the sources of the Don river and Astrakhan and the marshes lying

between Astrakhan and Terek-Kala.

Astrakhan, Sarayjyk, Bulgar, Kazan, Kirghiz, Silber, Iber, Ikyak and other provinces were divided by the Great Khans amongst their sons, but the Circassian country was left with the Great Khans, so that when the princes were born, the Circassians took them for upbringing and called themselves *Atabek* and their wives *Taja*, which means "nurse." Year by year, every year, they were obliged to give 500 slaves and always did they yield them up. Those who had the title of khan were subject only to the Khan of the Crimea. At that time, their country was very large and embraced the lands lying between the Don and the Volga.

The Daghestan peoples for long possessed their freedom, chose their *bek* (chieftain) and were subject to no one. In former times the Daghestanians were divided into many tribes, such as, to wit, the Shamhar, the Gazi, the Kumuk, the Kytak, the Tabasharan, the Andery and the Jakshai.

Certain chroniclers look upon the inhabitants of Daghestan as one nationality, calling them Derhun, Alban and Mesajidi. According to the Hungarian traditions, the Christians call them the Engrus.

When the Moscovites occupied Astrakhan, the distance from Astrakhan to Terek-Kala not being great, by the help of gifts they gained the consent of Bulat-Mirza, the ruler of Terek-Kala, that Moscovite soldiers remain in the neighbourhood of that city so that they could protect the merchants of Moscovy. Later these forces entered Terek-Kala. And then later, the Moscovites, under the pretext that the fortress needed repair, summoned two Dutch engineers, Korenlus and Filaans, in 1636, and strengthened the stronghold. The Moscovites changed the name of the fortress to Kyzlar-Kala and, as they affirmed, with the agreement of Bulat-Mirza (saying it was for the protection of Muscovite trade) caused a suitable supply of weapons and provisions of war to be brought into the fortress. In 1670 the number of soldiers there was increased to 20,000 bayonets. Then Bulat-Mirza understood the veritable object of the Moscovites and began to oppose them, but it was too late. The Moscovites took power away from him and ended the independence of the land. They ended too the independence of Bulat-Mirza, plundered the population, and, by deceit, cunning and violence, seized some other of the provinces and districts, and gradually occupied nearly three-fourths of the country.

The Don Cossacks also helped to spread the Moscovite conquests and the land belonging to the Circassians was unjustly and by deceit seized....

THE KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA, THE KUBAN TATARS AND THE NOGAY TRIBES

The Nogay tribes to the east of Mount Ergenekon inhabited and wandered from place to place in the districts of the great river Oyan-Geluran. They originated from Turkestan and were called Mongols and Tatars. In the year 100 of the Mussulman era [ca. 690], they occupied the marshy steppes on the river Volga and river Jayek, which enters the Caspian Sea near Keylan. In the year 1400, the Deshti-Kipchak empire, which was divided into two khanates, with both khans descendents of Jiuju-Khan: the khanate to the east of the river Volga was in Mongolian called Zawoloch, and the khanate to the west was called the Khanate of the Crimea.

In the Ugor [Uyghur] language, Taury means the Crimea. The Tatar tribe known as the As, arose against its Shah and the whole population of that tribe fled and gathered thither. They were the first Tatars who lived on the Crimea. There then sat on the Crimean throne a certain Great Khan who partitioned his state with the Khan of Zawoloch.

The country of the Circassian Kabardi, the fortress of Kuma, the Don Cossacks who live on the banks of the river Don, the fortress of Azov and the inhabitants of the Dnieper districts were to belong to the second Khanate. After some time had passed, the Khanate of Zawoloch was divided into three parts: that of the Nogays, who live to the east of the river Volga, and the remaining two parts comprised the Kazan and Astrakhan Cossacks. To them too, belonged the eastern part of the land held by the Bulgars.

The Tatar tribes are exceedingly numerous. The Kirghiz and other Tatar tribes inhabiting the wide steppes to the west of the Kazan Khanate also descend from them. The Tatars on the eastern side of Irtyk, who inhabit the Siber and Iber countries, there where there are sables and black foxes, likewise; originate from those tribes. And the Tatars, yclept the Ishtyk, dwelling on the banks of the river Obi, also descend from them. A certain group of Tatars and Nogays whom we call the Kuban, the Khans placed on the Circassian lands between the river Kuban and the fortress of Azov and the Sea of Azov. The Nogay tribes are very warlike and brave but the greater part of them are under the rule of the Moscovites and have lost their warlike character and boldness. None of the Mussulmans came to them with succour and for that reason they have become the bondmen of Moscovy.

MOSCOW AND THE RUSSIAN STATE

For two hundred years the Russian state has been called Moscovy since the city of Moscow was made its capital. The Bulgar tribes descend from the old Bulgars who dwelt on both sides of the river Volga, and in the year 500 the Roman Empire already had many Russian tribes under its rule. The Bulgar tribes were the unremitting foes of the Roman state and for eight hundred years they waged war with the caesars, during which time they laid waste and greatly weakened the Roman state. But it was not fated that they conquer that state. It was only conquered by the Sultan Mohmed-Khan [Mehmed II the Conqueror] who seized Constantinople, the imperial metropolis, in 1453; he incorporated it within his realm and became the lord of the Roman empire. Eighty years before this, the Sultan Murat I. conquered the whole of Bulgaria during the rule of King Marko and added it to his possessions.

Black Russia, the present state of Moscovy, was formerly divided into several principalities. Every one of these had its prince, who ruled there and refused to belong to anyone. This state of affairs lasted up to the time of the great Jengis-Khan, whose son, the heroic and warlike Jiuju-Khan, conquering the whole Russ country, placed every prince at the head of his principality upon the condition that he would pay a large tribute. One of them was chosen to collect this tribute and at the beginning of every year was bound without delay to deliver it up into the hands of the Khan's envoy who then journied thence. On the basis of this agreement, an envoy from the Tatar Khan

journed to Moscow once a year. Then the Russ prince, wending out of the city to the gates of the stronghold of Novgorod, greeted the envoy and handed to him milk and sugar in a golden or silver goblet, with bared head leading the envoy to that place where he was to dwell, in such wise proving his submission in the face of the Khan's envoy.

During the stay there (of the Khan's envoys) until the tribute was delivered up and the envoys left to return, the rule of the princes was in the hands of the ambassadors, who for that space of time governed in the name of the Khan. The coming of the envoys was met with enmity and hostility by the people of Moscovy and for that reason the princes strove to collect the tribute as swiftly as possible and to have the envoys return. During the return journey, the Moscovite princes were bound with bared heads to accompany the envoys to the gates of the city. Such a state of affairs between Moscovy and the Tatar tribes lasted until, the year 1500.

In that year, the Tsar Ivan Vasilevitch [Ivan III], conquered and unified the land divided amongst the related princes. He united the whole state into one and himself assumed rule over it. He then refused to pay that tribute to the Khanate of Kipchak which had before been paid by the Russ princes. Later, his brave son, Vasil Gavril [Vasili III] ascended his father's throne in 1504 and began to seize certain lands belonging to Poland. He first occupied the town of Pskow in Lithuania, and later took many other towns and hamlets; in such manner, he greatly extended and strengthened his state. He was the first to assume the title of Tsar and was called the Tsar Vasil Gavril. The aforesaid Vasil Gavril, after taking on the title of Tsar, became very proud and ambitious and refused to pay tribute, saying that he would not pay tribute to the Kazan state. War then broke out and the Kazan state defeated the Moscovites, who, being unable to fight further, made peace on the condition that they would continue to pay tribute as they had done before. Apart from this, the Kazan state made one other condition, namely, that the Moscovites had to erect before the gates of their capital a high pillar at the head of which was to be placed a Khan's *Kalgah*,⁷ and everyone who would enter or depart, small and great and even the Tsar himself, had to doff their caps and bow before that *Kalgah*. In this manner and under this condition was peace concluded and for long was this ceremonial maintained. But this was very shameful for the Tsar and he was discontented and sorrowful because of such a peace. In 1553 his son, Ivan Vasilevitch [Ivan IV] became Tsar. He was also exceedingly proud and could not bear to pay tribute, to bow low and to receive humiliation from the Tatar ambassadors. He strove therefore, by divers means, by cunning and subterfuge, to find an issue from such a position. The Tatar Khan went out into the field with his warriors against him but was defeated. Later the Moscovites, being the victors, occupied the Nogay and Kirghiz countries. They seized Kazan and Astrakhan as also the Bulgar land and from that time these lands have remained in the hands of the Moscovites. The aforesaid Tsar Ivan Vasilevitch also seized a large part of the Polish possessions and so many fold increased the lands of his father. He died in 1583 and his son, Teodor, ascended the throne. A certain boyar, Boris Godunov married Teodor's sister, and so became related with the family of the Tsar. On the death of Ivan Vasilevitch, his son

⁷ Kalgah: the Tatar royal cap of state.

Teodor succeeded to the throne; Boris Godunov bethought himself that if he would slay Dimitry, the ten-year-old brother of Teodor, then he would become Tsar himself. With this intention, he bribed some of his supporters with promises of high posts and great rewards and they covertly set fire from all sides to the house wherein Dimitry dwelt. In such wise, Dimitry perished together with those who with him were. Later, fearing he would be betrayed, Boris murdered all the members of the conspiracy. Finally, murdering the Tsar Teodor, who had no offspring, he became Tsar himself. Since, in this way no descendant of Igor Ruryk remained, Boris Godunov ascended the throne and as Tsar ruled for many years. But after some time, a certain young Greek appeared who affirmed that he was Dimitry, who had been saved. In this way, he claimed to be the descendent of the Tsars; the whole populace of Moscow believed him and the throne of the Tsars was restored to him.

Boris Godunov, after the people and his supporters had turned away from him, drank poison and so died.

The aforesaid Dimitry ruled for some time, but then followed the "unhappy times" when a new pretender appeared and in 1605 the nation was divided against itself in two warring camps. Finally, in 1613, Dimitry was murdered and the popular and widely known Michal Romanoff was chosen to ascend the throne.

THE PEOPLE OF DAGHESTAN

This people from ancient times lived independent and peacefully, subject to no state. The population of this country has been described in detail in the old archives of chroniclers. The country was called Albania and the people dwelling therein, the Albanians and later, the Mesajid (or Mesageti). This warlike nation was one of the chief pillars of the Ardashkir state and helped to conquer Horosan, for that reason being considered as an enemy of the Roman Empire.

When Jengis-Khan had conquered Persia and the steppes of Kipchak together with Moscovy, he sent an enormous army to Temir-Kapu-Derbend (or, the Iron Gates) as, without seizing that city, it would have been impossible to maintain peace in Kipchak and in Moscovy. Jengis-Khan massacred all the inhabitants and settled many Tatars there, making Prince Jiuju-Khan the ruler of that country.

More or less after the passage of a hundred years, Timurlane appeared and marched on Derbend. After war he conquered it and put the country under the rule of Takamet-Khan, who was regarded as a supporter of Timurlane. But when Timurlane was busied with a war against Tybrig and Shirwan, Takamet-Khan arose against Timurlane and defeated his troops. After the happy conclusion of the war against Shirwan, Tybrig, Georgia, Daghestan and the Crimea, Timurlane marched against Takamet-Khan, removed him and appointed a new khan in his place. He gave the administration of Tybrig, Alan and other districts of Persia to his son, Mirza-Miran-Shah, adding thereto Daghestan likewise. After Miran-Shah, the throne went to his son Abubbelzir, after him to the Turkomans, Ak-Koyunlu (White Ram) and Kara-Koyunlu (Black Ram), who took the country from the Timurides and created an independent state.

As can be seen from historical documents, the Timurides later did not claim

Daghestan, which was ruled by khans from the line of Jengis. The people of that country chose their khans, who were given the title of Shamhal. All must know that these khans unjustly considered themselves as descendents of the line of Jengis. After the passing of the Timurides in Shirwan and in Persia many robbers and vagabonds appeared in Persia.

DAGHESTAN, AN INDEPENDENT REALM

During the rule of Murad-Khan III, the Shah of Persia, Hudabende accused him of having acted improperly (insultingly) towards him. Thereupon the Sultan Murad-Khan sent out a vast army under the Great Vizier, Mustapha-Pasha; a part of these forces under Osman-Pasha occupied Baku and Shemaha, whilst he (that is, Osman-Pasha) took the Shamhal's daughter to wife, leaving him ruler of Derbend. But the Daghestanians hated Osman-Pasha and decided to slay him, but the Shamhal's daughter forewarned him of this.

The people of Daghestan continued according to their custom to chose a Shamhal for themselves and therefore made a covenant with Osman-Pasha. In the first capital of this covenant word was said that a *Khutba*⁸ be read in behalf of the Sultan.

The second capital: if war should break out between Turkey and Persia, Daghestan to permit the passage through its territory of the Tatar army of the Sultan Adil Gerey composed of 30,000 warriors who would aid Osman-Pasha.

The third capital: The complete independence of Daghestan is recognised and none are to intervene in its internal matters.

The fourth and fifth capitals: In the event of war with Persia, the Tatar army will pass through Daghestan in order to assist Turkey; the Daghestanians will guide the army, whilst, Turkey will arm and maintain it.

This covenant was drawn up and written by the Wahli Helep Maxut Pasha, who had in his *time* fled from Persia to Turkey.

In token of the sincerity of the inhabitants of Daghestan, Adil Gerey's army of 30,000 men was to march through Daghestan, and then Osman-Pasha was to be invited to the capital where he was to be greeted with honours.

After this Turkey abandoned and left the subjected areas on the Caspian coasts, and anarchy began to spread in Daghestan, Georgia and in Shirwan. During the reign of the Shah Abbas II, Persia made a treaty with Daghestan whereby the latter pledged itself not to let pass the enemies of Persia through its territory. From that time they have lived in independence, freely chosen their Shamhals and given no aid to the foes of Persia. Persia sends gifts and money every year to Daghestan, and the inhabitants of Daghestan sometimes pillage certain of the Persian provinces. These raids and attacks became especially frequent on the death of the Shah Abbas. It is known that Mir-Mahmud, son of Mir-Uvays, stirred up a revolt, killed the Persian Shah, Hussein, and sat on the throne of Persia.

During this same time, the people of Daghestan attacked Shirvan and Shemaha, murdered the Russian merchants there, looted their merchandise, saying that they had

⁸ A solemn oration, in which the mullah beseeched God for the Sultan's goodwill and happiness.

not received the annual gifts.

During all this time they freely chose their Shamhals and Persia always respected them, Much of this information has been taken from trustworthy historical books.

The Venetian Gadro Terani wrote in 1133 [ca. 1723] that he went to the Uzbegs as the envoy of the Tsar of Moscovy. When he was riding through Daghestan, he was seized and held in prison for a twelve-month. So as to save his life, after long negotiations with the rulers of Daghestan, he made a treaty and freed himself. In his memoirs he says that the Daghestanians admit no authority of others and that they are the mortal foes of Moscovy. In so much as Daghestan borders with Moscovy, the Moscovites should not therefore intervene in the matters of Daghestan, which is independent of them.

On the basis of trustworthy historical material and impartial travelers, Daghestan was always independent and was subject only to the Tatar khans. Authority then passed to the Timurides, after them to the Turkomans, Kara-Koyunlu and Ak-koyunlu, and after these all, the people lived freely and independently. At present it remains under the protection of Turkey [Ottoman Empire]...