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۱۳۳۹-۱۳۴۰ش؛ همو و ایرج افشار، نشریه کتابخانه مرکزی دانشگاه تهران، تهران، ۱۳۴۱ش؛ دفتر کتابخانه بشیرآغا، استانبول، ۱۳۰۳ق؛ روحانی، کاظم، «کتاب‌شناسان شرق»، نامه انجمن کتابداران ایران، تهران، ۱۳۵۶ش، س ۱۰، ش ۲؛ همو، «کتاب‌شناسان مسلمان»، کیهان اندیشه، تهران، ۱۳۶۴ش، ش ۴؛ همو، «مآخذشناسی اسلامی»، کیهان، قم، ۱۳۶۵ش، ش ۶؛ زرکلی، اعلام، زیدان، جرجی، تاریخ آداب اللغة العربیة، به کوشش شوقی ضیف، قاهره، ۱۹۱۳م؛ سامی، شمس‌الدین، قاموس‌الاعلام، استانبول، ۱۳۱۴ق؛ سزکیس، یوسف الیاس، معجم المطبوعات العربیة و العربیة، قاهره، ۱۳۴۶ق/۱۹۲۸م؛ شاور، ا. ک. شاور، تاریخ امپراتوری عثمانی و ترکیه جدید، ترجمه محمود رمضان‌زاده، مشهد، ۱۳۷۰ش؛ شیخی محمد افندی، وقایع الفضلاء (ذیل الشقائق النعمانیة)، به کوشش عبدالقادر اوزجان، استانبول، ۱۹۸۹م؛ طباطبائی، محمدرضا، «کشف الظنون»، مجله المجمع العلمی العربی، دمشق، ۱۳۶۲ق/۱۹۴۴م، ج ۱۹ (۲-۱)؛ عطیبه، عبدالرحمان، مع المکتبیه العربیة، بیروت، ۱۳۰۴ق/۱۹۸۴م؛ فهرست الکتب العربیة المحفوظة بالکتابخانه الخدیویة المصریة، قاهره، ۱۳۰۸م؛ فهرس المطبوعات الترتیبیة العثمانیة، قاهره، ۱۹۸۲م؛ قیصره، دارالعیقبة، قمی، عباس، هدیه الاحباب، تهران، ۱۳۶۳ش؛ کحاله، عمررضا، معجم المؤلفین، بیروت، ۱۹۵۷م؛ کویپرلی‌زاده محمدباقر کتابخانه سنده محفوظ کتب موجوده تک دفتریدر، استانبول؛ کوثری، محمدزاهد، مقالات، قاهره، ۱۳۷۲ق؛ گلشنی، عبدالکریم، «نقد و معرفی کتاب تقویم التواریخ»، آینه سیرات، تهران، ۱۳۷۷ش، س ۱، ش ۲؛ محدث، هاشم، مقدمه بر ترجمه تقویم التواریخ حاجی خلیفه، تهران، ۱۳۷۶ش؛ مدرس، محمدعلی، ریحانة الادب، تبریز، ۱۳۶۹ش؛ مرعشی شهاب‌الدین، مقدمه بر کشف الظنون حاجی خلیفه، ج ۱؛ منزوی، خطی؛ همو، خطی مشترک؛ الموسوعة العربیة، دمشق، ۲۰۰۳م؛ میکال، آ. و ه. لوران، اسلام و تمدن اسلام، ترجمه حسن فروغی، تهران، ۱۳۸۱ش؛ نالینو، ک. آ. علم الفلک، رم، ۱۹۱۱م؛ نور عثمانیه کتابخانه سنده محفوظ کتب موجوده تک دفتریدر، استانبول، ۱۳۰۳ق؛ نوشاهی، عارف، فهرست نسخه‌های خطی فارسی موزة ملی پاکستان، کراچی، لاهور، ۱۳۵۰ش؛ واندیک، ا. اکتفاء القنوع، به کوشش محمدعلی بیلاوی، قاهره، ۱۳۱۳ق/۱۸۹۶م؛ ووسینچ، وین، تاریخ امپراتوری عثمانی، ترجمه سهیل آذری، تبریز، ۱۳۴۶ش؛ هاشم‌پور سیحانی، توفیق، «ادای دین به مصطفی بن عبدالله، معروف به حاج خلیفه یا کاتب چلبی، کتاب‌شناس بزرگ ترک»، کتابداری، تهران، ۱۳۷۸ش، س ۳۳، دفتر ۳۱-۳۰؛ نیز:

Bursalı, M. T., *Osmanlı müellifleri*, İstanbul, 1975; EI¹; EI²; GAL; GAL, S.; Hammer-Purgstall, J., *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Graz, 1963; IA; Ivanov, W., *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1985; Karaalioglu, S. K., *Türk edebiyatçıları sözlüğü*, İstanbul, 1982; Krachkovskii, I. Yu., *Izbrannye Sochineniya*, Moscow/Leningrad, 1957; Shaw, S. J. and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge, 1985; Storey, C. A., *Persian Literature*, London, 1970; *Türk ansiklopedisi*, Ankara, 1971; *Türkiye diyanet vakfı İslâm ansiklopedisi*, Ankara, 2002; Uzunçarşılı, İ. H., *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara, 1982; Wurm, H., «Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ğa'fer, genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft», *Der zweiten Hälfte*, Hamburg, 1971, vol. XVII.

یوسف بیگ‌بابایور

۳ فصل و یک نتیجه، با پیشنهادهایی برای اصلاحات مالی و اداری در دولت عثمانی (شیخی، ۲۶۴/۱؛ نک: هاشم‌پور، ۱۷؛ 438-437/VI, IA). از آنجا که مخارج دولت عثمانی از درآمد آن بیشتر شده بود، در ۶ محرم ۱۰۶۳ق/۱۷ نوامبر ۱۶۵۳م کمیسیون بزرگ مالی تشکیل گردید که مؤلف نیز در آن حضور داشت؛ از این رو این کتاب را تألیف کرد. حسین هزار فن بسیاری از مطالب این اثر را در کتابش، *تلخیص البیان فی قوانین آل عثمان*، که در دوره سلطان محمد چهارم نگاشته، عیناً نقل کرده است (وورم، 102-103). این رساله در ۱۲۸۰ق/۱۸۶۳م به ضمیمه *قوانین آل عثمان*، اثر عین‌علی منتشر شد (فهرس، ۳۷/۱؛ EI², IV/762) که به آلمانی نیز ترجمه شده است (همانجا).

۱۶. رجم الرجیم بالسیین و الرجیم، مجموعه‌ای از مسائل غریبه قهقی و فتاوی‌ای نادر.

۱۷. شرح بر تفسیر بیضاوی، تفسیر قرآن کریم.

۱۸. *حسن الهدایة*، شرح رساله محمدیه ملاعلی قوشچی که در ۱۰۵۷ق/۱۶۴۷م نگاشته شده است. نسخه‌ای از آن در کتابخانه سلیمانیه استانبول موجود است (روحانی، «کتاب‌شناسان مسلمان»، ۹۵، حاشیه ۱۴).

۱۹. *جامع المتون من جمل القنون*، مجموعه علمی از متون متداول روز.

۲۰. *مختصر جامع المتون*.

۲۱. *میزان الحق فی اختیار الاحق*، به ترکی، در حل اختلافاتی است که در زمان سلطان مراد چهارم (سل ۱۰۳۲-۱۰۴۹ق/۱۶۲۳-۱۶۴۰م) میان مذبه‌های افراطی در موارد مختلف، مانند نوشیدن مسکرات، کشیدن تنباکو، نواختن فلوت و رقصهای دراویش و جز آنها موجود بوده است. نسخه‌ای از آن در کتابخانه‌های نورعثمانیه (شم ۴۳۲۷) و بشیرآغا (شم ۵۵۴) و جز آنها موجود است («دائرة المعارف دیانت»، XXV/40؛ نیز IA, VI/438؛ دفتر ...، ۴۰؛ نورعثمانیه، ۲۴۸).

در ایران نیز مجموعه مدونی به صورت جنگ و به خط حاجی خلیفه موجود است که در کتابخانه مرعشی (قم) به شماره ۴۲۹۸ نگهداری می‌شود و شامل ۸ رساله به عربی با موضوعات مختلف است.

مآخذ: استوری، ج. ا. ادبیات فارسی، ترجمه به روسی: یو. ا. برگل، ترجمه یحیی آربین‌پور و دیگران، تحریر احمد منزوی، تهران، ۱۳۶۲ش؛ اعتصامی، یوسف، فهرست کتابخانه مجلس شورای ملی، تهران، ۱۳۱۱ش؛ افشار، ایرج، «نسخ خطی فارسی در موزة بریتانیا»، نسخه‌های خطی، نشریه کتابخانه مرکزی دانشگاه تهران، تهران، ۱۳۴۴ش، دفتر چهارم؛ بالتقایا، محمد شرف‌الدین، «چاپ جدید کشف‌الظنون»، یادگار، تهران، ۱۳۲۲ش، س ۱، ش ۱۰؛ بغدادی، ایضاح؛ تکین داغ و فندق اوغلی، «تأثیر اندیشه‌های ابن خلدون بر تاریخ‌نگاران عثمانی و روش تاریخ‌نگاری عثمانیان»، ترجمه وهاب ولی، تحقیقات تاریخی، تهران، ۱۳۶۸ش، س ۱، ش ۳؛ حمیدیه کتابخانه سنده محفوظ کتب موجوده تک دفتریدر، استانبول، ۱۳۰۰ق؛ دانش‌پژوه، محمدتقی، فهرست کتابخانه مرکزی دانشگاه تهران، تهران،

حاجی گرای، نام دو تن از فرمانروایان خانات شبه‌جزیره کریمه در سده‌های ۹ و ۱۱ق/۱۵ و ۱۷م، که به جوجی از فرزندان چنگیزخان نسب می‌بردند:

۱. **حاجی گرای اول** (۸۷۱دق/۱۴۶۶م)، نخستین فرمانروای دولت خانات کریمه. اگرچه لین‌پول (۴۲۲/۲)، تاش‌تیسور — نیای حاجی گرای — را مؤسس حقیقی دولت خانهای کریمه دانسته است، لیکن حاجی گرای نخستین خان رسمی این

دائرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی، جلد نوزدهم، تهران، ۱۳۹۰

The
CRIMEAN
TATARS

Haci Giray Han.
(1477-)

Dia...
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Alan Fisher

Turkish Manuscript Toldi
1477-1478

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PART ONE

THE CRIMEAN TATAR KHANATE

1. The Origins of the Crimean Tatar Khanate

Notwithstanding a certain self-assuredness that pervades most accounts of Crimean history, the origins of the Crimean Tatars are as obscure as the origins of most peoples. The task of finding these origins would be considerably easier, in fact, if there were general agreement among historians as to the definition of *Crimean Tatar*. The question of their origins predates the first Crimean Khanate, which appeared in the early 1440s under the leadership of Khan Haci Giray. This khanate's existence is attested to by historical sources from both Asia and Europe. Who were the peoples who made up the population of the new khanate? Where had they come from, and when? The paucity and unreliability of contemporary sources makes the answers to these questions difficult.

The Crimean peninsula is divided into two parts that are separated by the mountainous ridge north of the Black Sea's coastline. Along the coast, in Haci Giray's time, there were several large towns—Kaffa (Kefe), Evpatoria (Gözleve), and Tana (Azov, Azak)—that by eastern European standards were really cities. They were inhabited for the most part by Greek, Armenian, and Jewish populations, yet there was a sizeable Italian and Frankish minority in political and economic command. From contemporary accounts of visiting merchants and travelers, these cities were teeming urban areas, each with a full complement of public buildings, market places, harbor complexes, and crowded living quarters. Although the architectural style of the cities, which emphasized the utilitarian rather than the beautiful, was by no means comparable to that of the Italian and Frankish homelands, visitors from both east and west could not mistake the fact that these cities were European in influence.

HĀDJĪ GIRĀY (d. 871/1466), founder of

HĀDJĪ GIRĀY

the Girāy dynasty of Khāns of the Crimea. On his coins he calls himself 'al-Sultān Hādjī Kerey b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khān' (see O. Retovski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905, nos. 1-4); according to Abu 'l-Ghāzi Bahādur Khān (*Shadjara-i Turk*, ed. Riḍā Nūr, Istanbul 1925, 184) his father and grandfather were Ghiyāth al-Dīn and Tash-timur respectively (cf. M. Riḍā, *al-Sab' al-sayyār*, 69-71). The identification of him with Dewlet-berdi (V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoe khanstvo* . . ., St. Petersburg 1887, 221-34) seems incorrect. Dewlet-berdi (for a coin of his see Lane-Poole, *Cat.*, vi, no. 568) appears in one source ('*Umdat al-tawārikh*', 95) as the brother of Ghiyāth al-Dīn; he was still ruling as khān at Solghat (Eski-Kırım) in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 832/August 1429 (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . ., i, 25; see further Spuler, *Horde*, 157). According to Polish sources (Spuler, *loc. cit.*), Hādjī Girāy was born near Troki in Lithuania and was assisted in assuming the khānate by Vitovt (Witold, d. 1430); it is known that the Grand Dukes of Lithuania gave sanctuary to Toktamish and to Hādjī Girāy's ancestors, and protected them against the khāns dwelling at Sarāy and supported by the powerful amir Edigü (M. Khrushchewskiy, *Istoriya Ukrainoy-Rossii*, iv, Lwow 1907), and this same policy was to assist Hādjī Girāy in occupying the Crimea and maintaining himself there. One of the main factors facilitating the rise of an independent khānate in the Crimea under Hādjī Girāy was, according to the native sources (*al-Sab' al-sayyār*, 69-71; '*Umdat al-tawārikh*', 94-6), the movement westward, over the northern coasts of the Black Sea and into the Crimean peninsula, of the principal tribes—the Shirin, Kōnghurat and Barin—upon whose support the rulers of the Golden Horde relied. With their help, Dewlet-berdi and Ulugh-Muḥammed attempted to seize control of the whole territory of the Golden Horde; but Hādjī Girāy was to attempt to centralize his authority in the Crimea and its immediate neighbourhood, being greatly assisted by Tekine Mirzā, the leader of the Shirin and the rival of Edigü's descendants. This much is definite, that in 836/1433 and 837/1434 Hādjī Girāy, as Khān, was fighting with the Genoese of Kefe [q.v.], seeking to secure for himself the important revenues brought in by Kefe and the other ports of the Crimea; like the khāns of the Golden Horde before him, he always regarded these ports as being under his suzerainty (see the *yarliḡh* of 26 Šafar 857 in A. N. Kurat, *Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 66; cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, 220). When in the summer of 836/1433 his vassal Prince Alexis of Mangub took Cembalo (Balaklava), he himself opened hostilities against the Genoese of Kefe. To repel this threat, Carolo Lomellino was sent from Genoa with a force of 6000 men; he recovered Cembalo, but as he was advancing upon Hādjī Girāy's base of Solghat (Eski-Kırım) he was defeated in a surprise attack (Dhu 'l-Hijjā 837/end of June 1434). Hādjī Girāy's forces invested Kefe, but, lacking ships and artillery, could do nothing against the defenders, who possessed fire-arms (for the contemporary report of this campaign by Andrea Gatari, see A. A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 208; L. Colli, *Khadzi Girey-Khan i ego politika*, Izv. Tavr. U Arkh. Komm. no. 50, Simferopol 1913, 113-21). Failing to take Kefe, Hādjī Girāy attempted to divert commerce to the harbours of Solghat, Kerč and Inkerman, which he controlled, and to transport goods to Anatolia in Tatar ships.

It has been stated (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 163, 168) that

the khān of Sarāy, Seyyid Ahmed, seized the Crimea in about 837/1434 and that Hādjī Girāy was able to resume power only in Radjāb 853/August 1449 with the help of Casimir IV; but coins of his are known, struck at Kırım (Solghat) in 845/1441 and at Kırım and Kırk-yir in 847/1443 (Retovski, nos. 1-4; A. K. Markov, *Inventarniy kat. musulmanskiġh monet Imp. Ermitaġa*, St. Petersburg 1896, 534, no. 5), and in the accounts registers of the Genoese of Kefe (spring 845/1442) there is mention of a victory of his (*Agicarei imperatoris tatarorum*) over Seyyid Ahmed (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . ., i, 35, 36; Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 231, n. 1). In 849/1445 Hādjī Girāy made an alliance with Casimir IV of Poland, close cooperation with Lithuania and Poland being always his policy. In 856/1452 he attacked from the rear and defeated Seyyid Ahmed when the latter invaded Casimir's territories.

In Djumādā II 858/June 1454 he entered into an agreement with the Ottoman sultan Meḥammed II, who had just taken Constantinople, in order to capture Kefe from the Genoese. When the Ottoman fleet approached Kefe, the Khān invested the town by land with 7000 men (18 Radjāb 858/14 July 1454), but the town held out; Hādjī Girāy withdrew, agreeing to accept in future the annual tribute of 1200 gold pieces which the Genoese had earlier undertaken to pay. Later, it seems, the Genoese succeeded in turning the tribal leaders of the Crimea against Hādjī Girāy; they deposed him and made his son Ḥaydar khān in his place (860/1456). After a few months Ḥaydar was obliged to flee and Hādjī Girāy resumed power; from thenceforward he had good relations with the Genoese (Colli, *op. cit.*, 120-1; W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 398).

Confronted by the efforts of Seyyid Ahmed Khān to restore the former power and unity of the Golden Horde, Hādjī Girāy maintained the old alliance with Lithuania and Poland, who were faced by the same threat, and also acted in concert with the grand prince of Moscow (Spuler, 170-4). He thus played an important part in the fragmentation of the Golden Horde. When Sayyid Ahmed marched on Moscow in Muḥarram 870/July-August 1465, Hādjī Girāy attacked him near the Don and obliged him to withdraw. The attempt of the Papacy to use him against the Ottomans (H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, 451) shows that he was at this time one of the most powerful figures of Eastern Europe.

His *yarliḡh* of 26 Šafar 857/8 March 1453 gives important details about the extent of his territories: his capital (*Orda-i mu'azzam*, Sarāy) was at that time Kırk-yir (cf. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, 102 ff.); his suzerainty extended over Kırk-yir, Kırım (Solghat), Kefe, Kerč, Taman, Kabada, and Kıpçak. The tribal forces of the Crimea, the *Kırım tumani* (6000-7000 men), were under the command of the *beg* of the Shirin, Iminek; the tribesfolk of the Dašt-i Kıpçak were not to be relied on. Coins of his, struck at Kırım in 845, 847, 867 and 871, and at Kırk-yir in 847, 858 and 867, are known (see Retovski, Markov, Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*). Pero Tafur's description, of 841/1437, of the *Ordu-bazar* near Solghat (*Travels and adventures*, ed. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 136) shows that he maintained the traditions of nomadic life; but Kırk-yir was a powerful fortress.

Hādjī Girāy died towards the end of the summer of 871/1466 (Heyd, ii, 398; *al-Sab' al-sayyār*, 73), and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors at Saladjik near Baghčesarāy (Simferopol). He had eight sons: Dewlet-yār, Nūr-dewlet Khān, Ḥaydar Khān, Kutluğ-zamān, Kildish, Mingli Girāy Khān [q.v.],

Hacı Giray I
- Hacı Giray II
20/10/1993

EKİM 1993

- Keefe
- Hacı Giray I

CAFFA, THE CRIMEAN KHAN HADJI GIRAY AND MOLDAVIA:
NEW INFORMATION FROM A GENOESE SOURCE

ȘTEFAN ANDREESCU

A Genoese letter from Caffa, probably written in June 1455, describes the diplomatic negotiations with Hadji Giray, khan of Crimea. The issue was the tribute paid by the city to the Tartar khan, which finally was maintained to the former level. This document brings to light evidence concerning an imminent attack of the khan against Petru Aron prince of Moldavia.



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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

25 NİSAN 2008

The final breakaway of the Crimean Khanate from the Golden Horde occurred in 1453–1455. At first, Khan Seyid Ahmed sought to check off the centrifugal tendencies of his Crimean vassal Hadji Giray by encouraging the rebellion of Can Giray, his brother, who proclaimed himself “emperor” at the Dnepr Mouths¹. The attempt failed, Hadji Giray came out victorious of the final clash of 1455, and Seyid Ahmed, with his armed forces, suffered a shameful defeat. Having fled to Kiev, at the court of Cneze Semën Olel’ kovici, the khan of the Golden Horde was seized and imprisoned in Lithuania, at Vilna fortress².

A group of the *oğlans*, that is a part of the political and military elite in the leadership of the Golden Horde, took refuge in Moldavia and became object of negotiation in the Moldavian-Polish relations. Thus, at the end of June 1456, Voivode Petru Aron pledged to support King Casimir IV in a possible conflict with the Tatars and, at the same time, if requested to do so, to extradite to Poland the “sons” of the former Khan Seyid Ahmed. On his part, the Polish king promised not to employ the captive former khan in any action, before consulting with the Moldavian prince and his counselors³.

A new document, recently identified in the archives of Genoa, may throw a light on developments in East Europe and the northern parts of the Black Sea

¹ See the Genoese report of Caffa, dated 31 January 1453, in Ștefan Andreescu, *Un act genovez din 1453 sau despre limitele metodei cantitative* (A Genoese Document of 1453 or On the Limits of the Quantitative Method), in SMIM, XXI, 2003, p. 148 ; Nagy Pienaru, *Relațiile lui Ștefan cel Mare cu hanatul din Crimeea. O controversă: prima incursiune tătară în Moldova* (Stephen the Great's Relations with the Crimean Khanate. A Controversy: The First Tatar Raid into Moldavia), in *Istorie și diplomatie în relațiile internaționale. Omagiu istoricului Tahsin Gemil* (History and Diplomacy in the International Relations. Homage to Historian Tahsin Gemil), coordinators Daniel Flaut and Iolanda Țighiliiu, Constanța, 2003, p. 106.

² Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland (1223–1502)*, second edition, Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 170 ; N. Pienaru, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

³ N. Pienaru, *op. cit.*, p. 107.