

## The Budjak Tatars on the Polish-Ottoman Borderlands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and First Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries

### XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Leh-Osmanlı Hududundaki Bucak Tatarları

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#### ABSTRACT

After the collapse of the Great Horde in 1502, Tatars started to move from their former residences to the Crimean Khanate and later to the sanjak of Akkerman in the Ottoman Empire. This group formed the core of the Budjak Tatars and have been mentioned in 16th-century Ottoman and Crimean Tatar documents as Akkerman Tatars. In the second half of the 16th century, many Nogais arrived in the Budjak territory through the Crimean Khanate. Theoretically, they were subjects of the Crimean khan. However, because they were living in Ottoman territory, Ottoman bureaucrats' impact on daily life continuously increased. The Sublime Porte had to take responsibility for all their actions, which caused many problems between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, not to mention for the entire empire as well. Because of these troubles, the idea of repatriating them appeared before the Imperial Council, but this plan was never realized. On one hand, the Sublime Porte did not have the wherewithal to carry it out, while on the other hand, the Ottoman government needed the Budjak Tatars to defend the borderlands.

**Keywords:** Bessarabia, Budjak Tatars, Crimean Khanate, Nogai, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

#### ÖZ

Altın Orda Devleti'nin 1502 yılında yıkılmasının ardından Tatarlar eski yurtlarını terk etmeye başlayarak Kırım Hanlığı ve Akkerman Sancağı'na yerleşmişlerdir. Bu grup, 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı ve Kırım Tatar belgelerinde Akkerman Tatarları olarak geçen Bucak Tatarları'nın özünü oluşturmuşlardır. 16 yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Kırım Hanlığı üzerinden Bucak topraklarına giderek daha fazla Nogay gelmiştir. Kağıt üzerinde Kırım Hanlığına bağlı olmalarına rağmen Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşadıkları için Osmanlı memurlarının bu grubun üzerindeki etkisi sürekli olarak artmıştır. Bucak Tatarları'nın Polonya – Litvanya Birliği'ne yaptıkları ani saldırılar gibi iki ülke arasındaki pek çok tartışmaya neden olan eylemlerinden Bâb-ı Âli sorumlu olmak durumunda kalmıştır. Bu sorunlardan dolayı 17 yüzyılın ilk yıllarında Divan-i Hümayun'un oturumlarında onların geri dönüşleri de gündeme gelmiştir. Bir taraftan padişahlar buna daha fazla katlanmak istememiştir. Diğer taraftan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu devletinin sınırlarını koruması için Bucak Tatarlarına büyük bir ihtiyaç duymuştur.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Besarabya, Bucak Tatarları, Kırım Hanlığı, Nogay, Polonya-Litvanya Cumhuriyeti

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**Başvuru/Submitted:** 24.11.2022

**Kabul/Accepted:** 12.12.2022

**Atıf/Citation:** Katkó, Gáspár. "The Budjak Tatars on the Polish-Ottoman Borderlands in the 16th and First Half of the 17th Centuries." *Türkiyat Mecmuası-Journal of Turkology* 33, 1 (2023): 127-145.  
<https://doi.org/10.26650/iuturkiyat.70506>

## Introduction

One often encounters the Budjak Tatars in English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Latin, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Crimean Tatar, and Ottoman Turkish sources, as well as in contemporary travel writings. Apart from a few letters, the Budjak Tatars lacked their own literary tradition, with all sources related to them having been written by outsiders. In addition, due to the sources being in disparate languages, very few works were written about them or their activities. Their roots are strongly connected to the quasi-state of the Nogai Horde, which was located hundreds of kilometers from the region of the Lower Danube on the bank of the River Volga. Most Budjak Tatars had come from that region, and after a brief stay in the Crimean Khanate, they then are seen to have settled down between the Prut, Dniester, and Danube Rivers.

The history of the Nogai Horde was written by V. V. Trepavlov in a book based on unpublished archival material from Russian collections and supplemented by data from chronicles in the Ottoman Turkish and Crimean Tatar languages.<sup>1</sup> Trepavlov gave little attention the Budjak Tatars, presenting their history only through their connections with one of the greatest clans of the Nogai Horde, the Mangit clan, and with the Crimean Tatars. This brief section saw Trepavlov rely on the observations in the famous Ottoman voyager Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* [Book of Travels]. Based on Evliya's information, the Budjak Tatars are seen to have lived in the Ottoman territory under the control of the khan's representative, the Yali Agha, who levied taxes on behalf of the Crimean Khan. Trepavlov formed the opinion that the Budjak Tatars had lived under a dual Crimean-Ottoman authority throughout their history.<sup>2</sup>

Evliya's viewpoint is found in the short article by Halil İnalçık concerning the history of the Budjak in the first volume of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.<sup>3</sup> The only problem with this assertion is that Evliya Çelebi's data were only valid for the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, Trepavlov and İnalçık had extended the validity of this information to the earlier centuries but did not detail the nature of this dual authority. At the same time, Trepavlov covered them in a mere few pages, while İnalçık had to limit his article to the most relevant information due to page limitations.

Alper Başer's unpublished dissertation gives a more detailed picture of their history.<sup>4</sup> Following in Evliya Çelebi's footsteps, he draws a more nuanced picture of this topic thanks to unpublished Ottoman archival materials. Based on Evliya Çelebi's work, Başer is of the opinion that the Budjak Tatars had lived under Ottoman-Crimean double authority, but unlike Trepavlov and İnalçık, he does not project the validity of Evliya's data onto previous centuries.

1 V.V. Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*. (Москва: Восточная Литература РАН, 2001).

2 *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*. Beşinci kitap. Haz. Yücel Dağlı–Seyit Ali Kahraman–İbrahim Sezgin (İstanbul: Yayı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 64; Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 451

3 Halil İnalçık, "Budjak," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I, (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 1286.

4 Alper Başer, "Bucak Tatarları (1550–1700)" (Doktora tezi, T. C. Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, 2010).

The history of the Budjak Tatars can only be understood in the context of Polish-Ottoman and Polish-Crimean Tatar relations. The sourcebooks by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, Hacer Topaktaş, and Ahmet Arslantürk provide good opportunities for studying this topic, as they contain Ottoman Turkish documents coming mainly from the Main Archive of Old Acts in Warsaw that were only recently published.<sup>5</sup>

This current article is based on published and unpublished Ottoman archival material from Warsaw and Istanbul, in addition to the secondary literature. In this article, I wish to outline how and when the Budjak Tatars appeared in Polish-Ottoman correspondences and how their relations had first developed with the Sublime Porte and the Crimean Khanate up until the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

First of all, the introduction should clarify the geographical boundaries of the work. The phrase “Polish-Ottoman borderlands” has a much broader meaning than appears at first glance. In fact, while these two countries were separated from one another by the Dniester and Savran Rivers, their common borderlands were not limited to the region around these two rivers. The vassal states and sub-provinces on the northern border of the Ottoman Empire, which included Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, as well as the sanjaks of Silistra, Akkerman, Bender, and Özü, had strong impacts upon Polish-Ottoman relations. As a result, these territories essentially formed what one may refer to as the Polish-Ottoman borderlands. Budjak was situated among the Dniester, Prut, and Danube rivers and composed only a small part of this vast region.

### Origin of the Mangit Clan and the Nogai

The territory of Budjak is now located in South Bessarabia (Moldavia and Ukraine) and had been inhabited by Turkic tribes prior to the Mongol invasion, among whom the Pechenegs and Cumans were the most powerful. Following Batu’s invasion in 1241-1242, new Turkic tribes settled in this region, which would become part of the Golden Horde up to the southern bank of the Lower Danube region and the East Carpathians. During the protracted collapse of the Golden Horde throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the western edges of the Horde started to break away from the center. As a result, the Moldavian Voivodship was formed in 1359. At the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Voivodes of Moldavia extended their power over the country and annexed the territories of the Horde on the east bank of the Dniester.

5 *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455–1672.* Opracował Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, pod redakcją Ananiasza Zajączkowskiego. (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959); Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman–Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of ‘Ahdnames and Other Documents*, (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2000); Dariusz Kołodziejczyk. *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century); A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents.* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011); Hacer Topaktaş–H. Ahmet Arslantürk, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Dönemi Osmanlı–Leh İlişkilerine Dair Belgeler (1520–1566)*. (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2014).

On the ruins of the Kievan Rus' was born the Lithuanian Grand Principality, which had seized the Dniester-Dnieper regions from the Horde up to the northern coast of the Black Sea by taking advantage of the Golden Horde's internal struggles.<sup>6</sup>

Later, as the disintegration of the Golden Horde progressed into 15th century, the Crimean Khanate emerged under the leadership of Hadji Giray.

The Ottoman Empire played an important role in shaping the history of the region, as it continued to push into the Black Sea region after taking Constantinople, the last stronghold of the Byzantine Empire. Having closed the isthmus and only access to the Black Sea in the second half of the 15th century, the Ottoman troops took the southern coast of the Pontic region and the related areas close to the Black Sea, thus driving their enemies out.

In 1475, the Ottoman fleet successfully interfered with the internal clashes of the Crimean Tatar ruling elite and extended its power over the strongest successor state of the Golden Horde. Shortly after in 1484, the Ottoman troops along with the Crimean Tatar auxiliary troops took Chilia (Chilia Veche, Romania) and Akkerman (Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy, Ukraine) from the Moldavian Voivodeship and gained control over the passage of the Lower Danube and the Dniester, from where they could seize the Budjak region easily. Not only the Ottomans but also the Crimean Tatars made efforts to seize a piece of the area. After the campaign to subdue Chilia and Akkerman, the Crimean Khan Mengli I Giray (r. 1466/1467, 1469–1474/1475, 1478/1479–1515) regained Budjak from the Sublime Porte. Then a little later in 1498, his troops took the territory between the Dniester and Dnieper rivers from the Lithuanians. Under the khan's command, a new stronghold was built there in 1498, which later formed the basis of Djankerman and the Ottoman Özü (Ochakiv, Ukraine) eyalets.<sup>7</sup>

The next remarkable transformation in the region occurred in 1538 when Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566) took from the Voivode Petru Rareş (r. 1527–1538) a small part of the Moldavian territory between the Prut, Dniester, and Bug rivers and the Danube Delta. The Moldavian campaign was the last important step in the struggle for control of the entire Black Sea region. For almost one and half centuries, the Ottoman Empire subjected the basin of the Black Sea to its rule. Thus, the Ottoman Empire incorporated the newly seized lands into its own administration. The Prut-Dniester-Lower Danube region became the territory of Akkerman sanjak, and the region between the Dniester and Dnieper rivers was the territory of Özü eyalet.

In spite of having constant rulers, the presence of Tatars never ceased in the region. For example, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first two decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Tartars were

6 Aleksander Jablonowski, "Litvanya Büyük Prensiği'nin Güneydoğu'da Türkler ve Tatarlarla Olan Hududu," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 61 (1989), 187–188; Halil İnalçık, "Budjak," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I, (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 1166.

7 Leszek Podhorodecki, *Chanat Krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV–XVIII w.* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1987), 68. Caroline Finkel – Victor Ostapchuk, "Outpost of Empire. An Appraisal of Ottoman Building Registers as Sources for the Archeology and Construction History of the Black Sea Fortress of Özi," *Muqarnas. An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 22 (2005): 152.

under the control the Shirin Clan, who resided there in the winter.<sup>8</sup> This was testified to in 1618 when İbrahim Peçevi, the famous Ottoman chronicler, met with the vestige of the Shirin there on his journey to see the remnants of the tomb of the Shirin Clan next to the city of Bender (Thighina, Moldova).<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the name of Bender appeared on a coin of the Crimean Khan Mengli I Giray in 1499.<sup>10</sup>

At the end of the 15th century, when the Ottomans had gained Chilia and Akkerman and the Crimean Tatars had captured Oczaków, thousands of Tatars settled in the Empire with Sultan Bayezid II's consent.<sup>11</sup> After the collapse of the Great Horde in 1502, Mengli I Giray sheltered many Tatars from the Great Horde's territories that had previously belonged to the powerful Mangit Clan.<sup>12</sup>

The origin of the Mangits, who were the leading clan of the Nogai Horde, stretches back to the region of the River Onon in Mongolia. The Mangits were originally a Mongolian tribe that had relocated hundreds of miles away from their homeland during the reign of Genghis Khan. They later were assimilated into the Kipchak Turkic tribes, but retained their original tribal name to form the core of the Mangit Clan. In the 1360s, the Mangits proceeded from Bukhara to the Rivers Emba and Yaik (now known as the Ural River), extending their influence over the local nomads.<sup>13</sup> Initially, this territory was merely called Mangit Yurt. The term Nogai Horde appeared later on at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup>

Nogai as a term was taken from the Mongolian language and means dog. At that time, however, Nogai was used as a given name well-known in the Golden Horde. In the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a Genghisid prince named Nogai lived in the Horde and was the grandson of Jochi. Nogai converted to Islam around 1262-1263 and established his residence between the Don and Danube Rivers.<sup>15</sup> In 1272, he married Euphrosina, the illegitimate daughter of Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261–1282). Afterward, Nogai participated in the campaigns of his father-in-law, intervening in the struggles of the Serbian and Bulgarian states.<sup>16</sup> By the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, he had succeeded in strengthening his position in the region and could cut free from the center of the Horde, a fact well testified by the coins from around Isaccea that were minted with the names of Nogai and his son Cheke in Arabic and

8 Александр Середа, *Силистренско-Очаковският еялет през XVIII – нач. на XIX в. Административно – териториално устройство, селища и население в Северозападното Причерноморие*, (София: Дню Мира, 2009), 16–17.

9 *Tārīh-i Peçevi*. I. (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmiri, 1281/1864), 475.

10 İnalçık, “Bender”, 1166.

11 Başer, “Bucak Tatarları”, 19–20.

12 Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 450.

13 Vadim V. Trepavlov, *The Formation and Early History of the Mangit Yurt*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), 4–6.

14 Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 450.

15 István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 71–72.

16 Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 79, 88–89.

Greek letters.<sup>17</sup> Mentioning here that Nogai had no relation to the Nogai who settled the region in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is important.<sup>18</sup>

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century when the Golden Horde's western territories started to break away from the center, the eastern parts also began to cut free from the Horde, which provided the Mangit Clan with an opportunity to uprising. The most important personality of the early history of the Nogai Horde was Edige, who led the Nogais in the 1380s and 1390s. By taking advantage of the unexpected consequences of Timur Lenk's campaign against the Golden Horde in 1395, he extended his suzerainty to the Volga region. Although the Nogai Horde had a few attributes of a nomadic state, Edige could not establish any legal power in the region, as he had no claim to divine rule. He tried to compensate for his lack of Ghengisid lineage by tracing his pedigree back to Baba Tükles, a legendary Central Asian Islamic saint, but this was not accepted among the Tatars. As a result, Edige had to forego legitimizing his reign over the Steppe. He and his descendants had to be satisfied with the rank of beylerbey.<sup>19</sup> Despite these difficulties, the Magits occupied an important role in the leadership of the Golden Horde and its successor states.<sup>20</sup>

In the 1480s, the Mangits began to seek ties with the Giray Dynasty in the Crimean Khanate, when Beylerbey Timur bin Mansur, a member of the Mangit Clan in the Great Horde, fled from the internal conflicts in the Horde and found sanctuary in the court of Mengli I Giray. Timur bin Mansur strengthened his relations with the Girays by giving to the Crimean Khan his daughter, Nur Sultan.<sup>21</sup> Later, many of them could choose a wife from among the Giray princesses, although at first only members of the Shirin Clan had the right to marry them.<sup>22</sup> A few years later, Djankuvvat, nephew of Timur bin Mansur, appeared at the court of Mengli I Giray. After the collapse of the Great Horde, Timur's son Tavakkul (who simultaneously offered his service to Mengli I Giray and the grand prince of Moscow, Vasili III) finally entered into the service of the khan. In the Crimean court, Tavakkul became an expert on external relations and maintained contact with the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Lithuania, being well-known in both courts.<sup>23</sup> After his death, the Mangits maintained this position in the Crimean Khanate.

17 *Ibid.*, 89–91.

18 Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 449–450.

19 Trepavlov, *The Formation*, 21; Mária Ivanics, "A Nogaj Horda – a nomád biarodalom szervezés egyik lehetséges útja," in *Fegyveres nomádok, nomád fegyverek*, eds. Balogh, László–Keller, László (Budapest: Balassi, 2004), 154–155; Devin Deweese, *Islamization and Narrative Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 420–442.

20 Trepavlov, *The Formation*, 16–17, 20.

21 Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 130.

22 А. М. Некрасов, "Женщины ханского дома Гиреев в XV–XVI вв.," *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье*. Москва: Наука, 1978. <http://portal-credo.ru/site/?act=lib&id=1785> (Accessed July 31, 2014); Ilya V. Zaytsev, "The Structure of the Giray Dynasty (15th–16th Centuries): Matrimonial and Kinship Relations of the Crimean Khans," in *Kinship in the Altaic World. Proceedings of the 48th PIAC*, eds. Elena V. Boikova – Rostislav B. Rybakov (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 341; Alper Başer, "Kırım Hanlığı Tarihinde Mangit Kabilesi," in *Doğu Avrupa Türk Mirasının Son Kalesi Kırım*, ed. Yücel Öztürk. (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2015), 79–80.

23 Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 131.

For example, under the reign of Sahib I Giray (r. 1532-1551), Devey Mirza managed external relations in the Crimean court.<sup>24</sup>

The base camps of the Crimean Mangits were situated among the isthmus of the Crimean Peninsula, Or Qapi (Perekop), and the Dnieper, although the geographical names refer to locations on the peninsula near Gözleve (Kozlov, Ukraine).<sup>25</sup> This territory was formerly the base camp of the Mangits of the Great Horde; however, it was occupied in 1503 by Mengli I Giray, and thus the Mangit tribe became a part of the Crimean Khanate.<sup>26</sup>

### The Budjak Tatars on the Ottoman–Polish Borderlands

After the collapse of the Great Horde, Mengli I Giray forced many Tatars to relocate to the Budjak region, thus preventing their intended migration beyond the River Volga. Later, they would come from remote parts of the former territory of the Great Horde to the Crimean Khanate and lands of the Ottoman Empire among the Danube, Prut, and Dniester rivers.<sup>27</sup> In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, these newcomers formed the core of the Budjak Tatars, with Crimean Tatars and Nogais settling there as well in the latter half of the century. The Ottoman and the Crimean Tatar sources did not initially refer to this company as Budjak Tatars. They only began being mentioned by this name in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Oriental documents that would later spread worldwide.<sup>28</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Ottoman and Crimean Tatar documents alluded to the Tatars settling between the Rivers Prut and Dniester as Akkerman Tatars (*Akkerman Tatari*), which was a generic term for all nomads, regardless of whether they'd come from the Crimean Khanate or beyond the River Volga. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the terms Akkerman Cossack (*Akkerman Kazağı*) and the Tatar Cossack (*Tatar Kazağı*) were often encountered, both of which refer to the Akkerman Tatars.

The capture of Bessarabia in 1538 from the Moldavian Voivodeship, as well as the region between the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers from the Crimean Khanate, accelerated the settlement of the Tatars in the Budjak region. Upon changing their base camp, the Crimean khan partly lost suzerainty over them. In the years to follow, the Ottoman bureaucrats started controlling them. Henceforward, the khan was the commander-in-chief of the Tatars living in the sanjaks of Akkerman and Özü when he led them against Moscow or participated in the campaigns of

24 Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 75–80, 84, 97, 301–302, 429, 456.

25 Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 132, 224; Henryk Jankowski, *A Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Russian Habitation Names of the Crimea* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2006), 695–697.

26 *Ibid.*, 132; *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, présenté par Alexandre Bennigsen, Peter Nail Boratav, Dilek Desai ve et Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay (Paris–The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton, 1978), 12.

27 *Ibid.*, 450.

28 Başer, “Bucak Tatarları”, 2. Feridun M. Emecen, “Osmanlıların Vahşi Sınırları: XVI. Yüzyıl Arşiv Kayıtlarından Evliya Çelebi’ye Akkerman-Bender-Özü Kesimi,” *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 44 (Aralık 2015): 218–219.



the Sublime Porte.<sup>29</sup> During these military actions, the khan had to take responsibility for their transgressions. For example, when Devlet I Giray (1551–1577) led a raid in 1564 on the lands of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, he took some Tatars from the sanjaks of Özü and Akkerman with him. During the campaign, a portion of them did not follow the khan; instead, they invaded Ukraine and pillaged many villages in the surroundings of Bar and Velen, abducting some of the inhabitants and taking their goods. As an organizer of the campaign, the Sublime Porte ordered the khan to maintain discipline among them during the actions, to release prisoners, and to punish those who (in defiance of the sultan's order) had violated the peace treaty between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian state.<sup>30</sup> In 1578, a similar case occurred when a group of Akkerman Tatars had joined the Crimean Tatars on their way to Moscow without having obtained any kind of any permission from the khan or the sultan and sacked a few villages on the Ottoman-Polish borderlands.<sup>31</sup> According to peace treaties between the Polish-Lithuanian State and the Crimean Khanate in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the khans in principle had to take responsibility for the Tatars from Akkerman and Özü. Sometimes this point of the treaty could not be fully enforced. When Sahib I Giray and the Polish ruler Zygmunt I (1506–1548) signed a new peace treaty in 1539, the khan could not promise to keep back the Tatars in the Akkerman and Özü regions because they lived in the lands of the Ottoman Empire and were considered subjects of the sultan.<sup>32</sup> This situation changed later on once a new peace treaty was concluded in 1522. In the new document, Devlet I Giray accepted responsibility for the Tatars settled in Akkerman and Özü on behalf of Süleyman the Magnificent.<sup>33</sup> From this time until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Crimean khans (with exception of the Tatars in Doburdja) swore an oath on behalf of the Tatars living in the empire that no one would violate the peace treaty between the Crimean Khanate and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>34</sup> In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this point was occasionally omitted from documents, and the khans took this oath only on behalf of the Crimean Nogais.

In fact, the local Ottoman officials were involved in the problems of the Budjak and Özü Tatars, as they'd caused the Sublime Porte many hardships. As their numbers grew, these problems later intensified. Between the Ottoman Empire and Poland-Lithuania, the long poorly marked border led to many violations. Hence, Jakub Willanowski, the royal envoy to Constantinople in 1539, had an instruction from the royal court to establish a firm border between

29 Marcin Broniewski, *Tartariae Descriptio. Opis Tatarii*. Przekład Ewa Śnieżewska. Redakcja Magdelena Mączyńska (Łódź: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 2011), 82; *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor. Urmare la colectiunea lui Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Suplementul II. Vol. I. 1510–1600*. Documente culese din arhive și biblioteci polone coordonate, adnotate și publicate de Ioan Bogdan cu traducerea franceză a documentelor polone de I. Skupiewski (București, 1893), 340–341.

30 *6 numaralı mühimme defteri (972/1564–1565) <Tipkıbasım>* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1995), 49/97.

31 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Mühimme defteri (MD) 35, 256/646.

32 Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 509, 716.

33 *Ibid.*, 509, 744.

34 Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 756, 770, 778.



the two countries and resolve the problems related to the Tatars grazing in the vicinity of the Ottoman-Polish borderlands.<sup>35</sup> The king quite often protested against the Tatars of Akkerman and Özü crossing the Dnieper and the Dniester Rivers and grazing on the Polish side of the border without any permission from him whatsoever. The Tatar shepherds denied it, asserting that the only pastures they used were never owned by the king or the Polish dignitaries. In their opinion, these lands next to the Dnieper had been the khan's property, while the grazing grounds next to the Dniester had been in the possession of the Moldavian Voivode. Having promised to resolve these issues, Süleyman the Magnificent issued a detailed edict in 1541 ordering the sanjak governor of Akkerman and the kadi of Akkerman to set about rectifying the borders and to forbid the Tatars from crossing these boundaries and grazing on the king's estates.<sup>36</sup> In November 1542, Silistra Sanjak Governor Osman Shah<sup>37</sup> sent the king a letter asking him to send representatives who would cooperate with the kadis of Akkerman and Bender in order to mark out a border close to Özü.<sup>38</sup> Acting within his own jurisdiction, Osman Shah sent many letters to the Polish members of the committee and recommended consulting with the elders living close to Akkerman and Chilia on the location of borders. Many of them recalled that the border ran alongside the Savran River, because that was where the khans' representatives had collected the pasturing fees, from which the sultan had been taking his own share. The Poles did not accept this solution and demanded that the border be established south of the Savran at the Kodima River.<sup>39</sup> By considering the friendship between the king and the sultan, Osman Shah agreed with the claims of the Polish members of the committee; however, he could not decide on this question alone and awaited further instructions from

- 35 Ilie Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea* (București: Editura: Academia Republicii Socialiste România, 1979), 26.
- 36 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie [here after AGAD, AKW], dział turecki, k.68, t.68, nr. 148; Hacer Topaktaş–H. Ahmet Arslantürk, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Dönemi Osmanlı–Leh İlişkilerine Dair Belgeler (1520–1566)* (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2014), 92–94; *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 67.
- 37 Michael J Polczynski, *The Wild Fields: Power and Space in the Early Modern Polish/Lithuanian Frontier*. A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History. (Washington DC, December 18, 2016): 202–210; Presumably Osman Shah was identical with that sultanic descendant who in 1550s and 1560s governed the sanjaks of Bosnia, Morea Tirhala (Trikala) and Inebahti (Lepanto). See Géza Dávid, *Egy szokatlanul magabiztos török főember: Oszmán Sah (Keletkutatás 2010. ősz)*, 121–125.
- 38 AGAD, AKW, dział turecki, k.68, t.85, nr.176; Topaktaş–Arslantürk, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Dönemi Osmanlı–Leh İlişkilerine Dair Belgeler*, 105; *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 74–75.
- 39 *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 76. Maybe this example can demonstrate how the Ottomans were uninformed about geographical relations of the empire. Another instance from the first half of the 17th century can strengthen this example. In 1640, during negotiations, Wojciech Miaskowski, the envoy of Władysław IV Waza (1632-1648), entered into debate with the grand vezir as to who possessed the Kudak Fortress at upper reaches of the Dneper. As the grand vezir did not know the location of these places, Miaskowski sketched with a stick in the sand the Dniester, the Dnieper, the Bug, Özü, Kiev and the Black Sea. So long as he explained the geographical relations of the region, the grand vezir believed his claims. *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 roku*. Opracował Adam Przyboś (Warszawa–Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985), 64; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, “Inner Lake or Frontier? The Ottoman Black Sea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in: *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en mer Noire (XIVe–XXIe siècles)*. Études à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu, sous la direction de F. Bilici, I. Căndea, A. Popescu (Braila: Istros 2007), 132.

the Sublime Porte.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, no precise designation of borders ever came to pass. The Poles would not accept the repeated proposal of the sultan and, wishing to assert their own demands, insisted that the line be drawn at the Kodima River. Under the leadership of Mikołaj Sieniawski, 20,000 Polish soldiers went to the Kodima River. Osman Shah did not desire a clash, so he retreated to Silistra.<sup>41</sup> In the end, the two states proved unable to settle upon a common border until 1703.<sup>42</sup>

Because neither the Ottoman nor the Crimean authorities could prevent the Tatars from crossing the Dniester or the Dnieper Rivers and grazing on the king's land, another solution had to be found to deal with this problem successfully. When the Polish-Ottoman peace treaty was concluded in 1553, the two states came to an agreement to stop the Tatars' passage to the Polish side; and the sanjak governors of Akkerman and Silistra, along with other Ottoman officials, would take care of them. Furthermore, the Tatar pastors had to pay a fee for grazing on Polish lands.<sup>43</sup> The Porte made the sanjak governor of Akkerman responsible for preparing a registry of the Tatars' livestock and for collecting all the fees in the presence of the Polish and Ottoman commissioners. Once the Tatars fulfilled all their duties, they were left free to graze their livestock wherever they pleased.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the Ottoman authorities had to pay attention that no one crossed the border who hadn't paid the fee or registered their livestock.<sup>45</sup> Although these processes would have been ideal on their own, the realities of the area overwrote the concluded peace treaties. Tatar shepherds disregarded these documents and did everything they could to avoid paying the grazing fee, which was easy because nobody could specify the exact borders. Not only did the Tartars exploit these disorderly conditions, but sometimes so did the Poles. This is testified to by a letter written from Sultan Süleyman to King Sigismund I in 1544, demanding that no Polish tax collector dare collect any tribute from the Ottoman subjects at sites that had formerly belonged to Muslims.<sup>46</sup> Apart from trespassing, the robbing and pillaging the Tatar shepherds did caused many problems for the Ottoman and Polish-Lithuanian states. While grazing their livestock on the Polish side, many shepherds sacked villages. As the number of Tatar inhabitants grew in the Budjak region and the sanjak of Özü, the situation became even worse. In 1557 when a famine broke out among the Nogai Horde

40 *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 76–77.

41 AGAD, AKW, dział turecki, k.68, t.78, nr.165; Topaktaş–Arslantürk, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Dönemi Osmanlı–Leh İlişkilerine Dair Belgeler*, 106–108; *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 77–78; Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman–Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 59.

42 Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman–Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 152–153, 157–158.

43 *Ibid.*, 238, 251, 258, 273, 282, 287, 296, 306, 317.

44 *5 numaralı mühimme defteri (973 / 1565-1566) <Tıpkıbasım>* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994), 28–30/70, 32/77; *7 numaralı mühimme defteri (975–976/1567–1569) <Tıpkıbasım>* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1999), 641/1784; AGAD, AKW, dział turecki, k.70, t.212, nr.409. AGAD, AKW, dział turecki, k.70 t.214 nr.412; Topaktaş–Arslantürk, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Dönemi Osmanlı–Leh İlişkilerine Dair Belgeler*, 262–266; *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 180–183.

45 6 numaralı mühimme defteri, 87/ 179.

46 AGAD, AKW, dział turecki, k.68, t.168, nr.321; Topaktaş–Arslantürk, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Dönemi Osmanlı–Leh İlişkilerine Dair Belgeler*, 211–212; *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 147–148.

a few 1,000 kilometers from Budjak, some of the Nogai left the Volga region and went to the Crimean Khanate.<sup>47</sup> The famine not only concerned the Volga Nogais; the subjects of the Crimean Khanate also suffered the same trouble. In 1559, a group from the khanate crossed the Dnieper River and started to pillage the local inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. Some of the Crimean Tartars remained in the region of Akkerman and Chilia, while others proceeded to Moldavia where they caused many troubles for the Moldavian inhabitants.<sup>48</sup> Yet another group became desperate and, in spite of the sultan's strict command, started to sell their relatives to slave traders.<sup>49</sup>

According to the correspondence among the Ottoman and Polish authorities, if the Budjak Tatars launched an attack against the Polish-Lithuanian territory, the king would write to the sultan rather than the khan. Due to the sultans' instructions, the sanjak governors of Akkerman, Bender, and Silistra had to deal with these cases. In 1565 when Tatars from the sub-province of Akkerman infiltrated Poland, the local commander Hasan Pasha was commissioned to stop them in Moldavia and return their prisoners.<sup>50</sup> When Selim II received news of the joint actions of the Dobruja and Akkerman Tatars regarding the looting of Polish territories, the sultan sent a letter to the sanjak governor of Akkerman, ordered him to go to the river crossings on the Dniester, wait for them, and stop their entry into Polish territory.<sup>51</sup> The following year when the sanjak governor was unable to prevent them from crossing the Dniester, he merely tried to seize the Tartars' captives as they returned home.<sup>52</sup> In 1578, 600 Tatars from the sanjak of Akkerman assembled to form a campaign organized by Mehmed I Giray, but they had no permission from the sultan or the khan. In this case, the commander of Bender had to halt their crossing at the Dniester.<sup>53</sup> Another Ottoman source reported a raid by Akkerman Tatars who'd dragged away the king's subjects in 1591. The Porte commanded the sanjak governor of Akkerman to take captives from the Tatars and to send the leader of the raid, Djanesh Aga, to the Sublime Porte along with his men.<sup>54</sup>

On account of the frequent pillaging by Akkerman and Özü Tatars, the Ottoman and Polish representatives had to meet many times and somehow find a solution to this problem. In 1568, Piotr Zborowski as the envoy of King Sigismund II Augustus met personally with the sanjak governor of Akkerman and requested that he detain the Akkerman Tatars. Of course, the sanjak governor had promised in accordance with the sultanic order to prevent their crossing the Dniester, and if that did not work out, the sanjak governor would seize their captives when

47 Трепавлов, *История Ногайской Орды*, 359.

48 *3 numaralı mühimme defteri (966–968/1558–1560) <Tipkibasım>* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993), 305/984.

49 *3 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 505/1500.

50 *6 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 305/ 651.

51 *7 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 55/151.

52 *7 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 639/1781.

53 BOA, MD1 34, 233/496.

54 BOA, MD 69, 21/39; BOA, MD 69, 85/169.

they returned home. At the same time, the sanjak governor reminded the Polish castellan Zborowski that Tatar raids were only an aftermath of the attacks by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who often sacked the Crimean and Ottoman territories. When conveying the sultan's message, the sanjak governor asked him to hold the Cossacks back in exchange for them keeping the sultans' subjects back.<sup>55</sup> Despite the envoys of the two states returning to this problem in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Ottoman authorities appeared completely helpless in the face of these attacks and were only able to deprive the Tartars of their captives. In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the situation became worse once the subjects of the Crimean khans moved to the Ottoman Empire *en masse* and settled in the sanjaks of Akkerman and Özü. When a famine broke out in the Crimean Khanate again in 1580, thousands of Tatars moved to Budjak or around Silistrea and Vidin.<sup>56</sup> They would later cause much harm and damage, not only for the Polish-Lithuanian state but also for the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps the severity of the situation is demonstrated by the fact that King Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632) asked the sultan in 1597 to remove them from Budjak.<sup>57</sup> The sultan did not meet his request, but nevertheless, King Sigismund III repeated it whenever possible.

As previously mentioned, the newcomers caused trouble not only for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but also for the Ottoman Empire. As the number of Tatars increased in the region, their clashes became more frequent with the local sanjak governors and the two Romanian Voivodeships. In 1557, one of the first Nogai groups started to sack villages in Moldavia and Wallachia.<sup>58</sup> In 1571, the Moldavian Voivode sent a letter to the sultan, informing him that the Tatars grazing on the other side of the Dniester River had kidnapped 22 of his subjects on the way to their mills. Ten of them escaped, while the sanjak governor of Akkerman was ordered to find rest of the captives.<sup>59</sup> In 1587, the Sublime Porte commanded the abovementioned Djanesh Aga, one of the local Tatar dignitaries, to punish his men who had pillaged a few Romanian villages on their way to Poland.<sup>60</sup> At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Akkerman Tatars launched attacks on local settlements. For example, a group of Akkerman, Bender and Crimean Tatars infiltrated the neighborhood of Babadag in 1602 and proceeded to hide with assistance from the local Tatar villagers. The sanjak governor and the kadi of Silistra had a detailed list of the participants and were required to punish the gang once they'd been stopped.<sup>61</sup> Another document is found from 1604 that provides information

55 *Podróże i poselstwa polskie do Turcji a mianowicie: Podróż E. Otwinowskiego 1557, Jędrzeja Tarnowskiego komornika j. k. m. 1569, i Poselstwo Piotra Zborowskiego 1568*. Przygotowane do druku z rękopismu przez J. I. Kraszewskiego (Kraków: Nakładem Wydawnictwa Biblioteki Polskiej, 1860), 65–67.

56 Başer, "Bucak Tatarları", 26.

57 *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 228.

58 *3 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 305/894.

59 *12 numaralı mühimme defteri (978–979~/1570–1572) <Tıpkıbasım>* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1996), 122/159

60 BOA, MD 64, 70/212.

61 BOA, MD 75, 90/154, 91/155.

about another attack of Akkerman and Bender Tatars on Moldavian villages.<sup>62</sup> Due to these problems, the Imperial Council began to consider resettling the Tartars who had come to this region without the permission of the sultan or the khan back to their earlier home in the Crimean Khanate. No local Ottoman official should be noted to have been able to hinder their roving in the first two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After a time, the Ottoman Empire began to treat them as subjects, which is no surprise seeing as how the Sublime Porte was responsible for their actions. This is very clear from the diplomatic correspondence between the Imperial Council and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Crimean Khanate. These documents made sharp distinctions between the Akkerman Tatars and the subjects of the Crimean khan, which included the Nogai. Here I wish to only mention two cases. First, the Akkerman sanjak Governor Hasan informed the Sublime Porte in 1564 that Akkerman Cossacks, Dobruja Tatars, and Nogai had crossed the Bug, harassed the Tatar shepherds grazing along the Dnieper, and stolen their livestock, later reappearing close to Akkerman and pillaging a few villages.<sup>63</sup> The Crimean Khan Devlet I Giray was commanded to put the matter in order, and the Sublime Porte ordered him to resettle his subjects in the territory of the khanate.<sup>64</sup> The letter makes no mention of whom he had to resettle to the Crimean Khanate, but one can infer from the sources that the khan was responsible for the Nogai in this situation. The case of the Dobruja Tatars was already clear, because they were undoubtedly subordinates of the sultans and obligated to perform military service in the Ottoman army.<sup>65</sup> In this context, the term Akkerman Cossack might also stand for the Akkerman Tatars who usually fought under the khans' banner. Since the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, the Ottoman sultans had demanded their military service in defense of the Ottoman Empire. The Nogai who had come from the Volga region were obviously subjects of the Crimean khans, but when they left the Crimean Khanate and arrived in Ottoman lands, they began being referred to as Akkerman Tartars after a while. In summary, Akkerman Tatars were of Nogai ancestry, but the Sublime Porte began referring to them as Akkerman Tatars and not Nogai once they started treating the Nogais and other Tatar groups as belonging to the empire.

A correspondence from the Imperial Council dated from 1608 and 1609 exists in which the differences between the Akkerman Tatars and the Nogai are easily identifiable. According to the documents, roughly 1,500 Crimean Tatars and Nogai had come from the Crimean Khanate a few years earlier and settled in the triangle of Akkerman, Bender, and Chilia, where they lived a life similar to that in the Crimean Khanate. In addition to shepherding, they also started to attack and sack the local Tatar farmers and Romanian villagers. Their arbitrary actions caused

62 BOA, MD 76, 29/70.

63 *6 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 210/ 452.

64 *6 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 217/ 463.

65 Mustafa Tayyip Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân* (İstanbul: İşaret, 2008<sup>3</sup>), 86–90; BOA, MD 70, 110/ 209, 110/210; Hurmuzaki, Supplementul II. Vol. 340–341; Dávid Géza–Fodor Pál, „Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való.” *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552)*. (Historia oikmánytárak, I.) (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 277, 279, 351, 352, 390, 391, 397.

a great disturbance in local trade, and thus the sanjak governors of Akkerman and Bender were ordered to return them to the Crimean Khanate.<sup>66</sup> These governors appear to have been unable to solve this problem on their own or to have made no effort to do so, because half a year later, Shahin Khan Giray received an order with the same message.<sup>67</sup> A year later, a group of Tatars cooperated with a well-known local robber, Fındıklı Musa. Together they attacked a few villages in Moldavia.<sup>68</sup> Because the Ottoman officials had been unable to resolve this problem for an extended period, the Sublime Porte involved local Tatar leaders. This proved necessary in 1609, when another case occurred that further worsened the situation. According to unpublished archival material, a group of Zaporozhian Cossacks returning home from the Danube Delta had attacked merchants and farmers headed to Chilia. Their intended victims, however, abandoned everything and escaped. The Tatars ransacked the survivors and brought back their goods and livestock. They then went on to rob travelers passing through the area and completely pillaging the neighborhoods of Isaccea and Chilia. Consequently, the local Tatar leaders who had the same background had to force them back beyond the Dnieper.<sup>69</sup> This endeavor appeared to have been unsuccessful, as the Sublime Porte then appointed Daoud Kapujibashi to solve the problem.<sup>70</sup>

Although the Akkerman Tatars caused the Ottomans many problems, the Sublime Porte could not stand to renounce their power in peace and war, and apart from the Crimean rulers, the Ottoman sultans also commanded auxiliary Tatar groups. Meanwhile, in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Zaporozhian Cossacks began attacking Ottoman territories more frequently, and the Porte endeavored to use every resource to defend the region. During the great campaigns in particular, when the troops of the greater sanjaks and fortresses were significantly reduced, the Sublime Porte required the Tartars' weapons. Contemporary Ottoman sources mentioned these Tatars as being Akkerman Cossacks or Tatar Cossacks, which can be misleading at first because the Cossack-Kazak terminology in the world of the steppes had a slightly different meaning, where it signified vagabond or freemen. According to Mihnea Berinde's research, the Akkerman or Tatar Cossaks were irregular forces similar to the Zaporozian Cossacks. In 1574, one of their leaders, İsa Kodja, received a *timar* estate from the sultan with the support of the khan for his service during the Crimean Tatar campaign to Moscow.<sup>71</sup> In the same year, he had to prove himself worthy of the sultan's favor. When the former Voivode of the Moldavia, Ioan Vodă, went to Moldavia with a troop of 20,000 men, the Sublime Porte organized an army against him. The Porte mobilized the troops of the neighboring sanjaks and vassal states,

66 Tahsin Gemil *Relațiile Țărilor Române cu Poarta Otomană în documente turcești (1601-1712)* (București: Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă, 1984), 123–124.

67 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Kamil Kepeci tasnifi (KK) 71, p. 135.

68 BOA, KK 71, p. 39.

69 BOA, MD 78, 200/517, 200/518, 747/ 1948.

70 *Ibid.*, 358/921.

71 Mihnea Berindei, "Le problème des « Cosaques » dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. A propos de la révolte de Ioan Vodă, voievode de Moldavie", *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* XIII/3 (1972) 343.



including units from the province of Rumelia and the Janissaries, as well as 5,000 men from the Transylvanian Voivodeship. During this operation, İsa Kodja, who was known as Aga of Cossacks in Akkerman, had to hold back the invaders until the arrival of the main troops.<sup>72</sup> A few years later in 1578, his name appeared in Ottoman documents, with the Sublime Porte ordering him and the local Tatar leaders to go to Bender and defend the areas around the city and the fortress against robbers coming from the Polish side of the borderlands.<sup>73</sup> Later on in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Akkerman Tatars are encountered defending the Ottoman Empire. For example, the sanjak governor of Akkerman went with troops from the Akkerman Tatars to help the Moldavian Voivode repel an attack from the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1605.<sup>74</sup>

One must also take into consideration that the Budjak Tatars were not the only ones in this region who could cause problems. Nor should one forget the great difficulty that was required to control the Ottoman-Polish borderlands. From the Eastern Carpathians to the Ural River, the area is cut into pieces by ridges and flat expanses of rivers, where populations continuously were moving around in great numbers. In addition to the newcomers from beyond Volga, internal migration also caused the Sublime Porte many problems. To illustrate this situation, I wish to cite here only a few examples concerning Moldavia and Wallachia.

The Sublime Porte appeared to have the power to define the internal borders between the sanjaks and the vassal states. According to a document written in 1568, the voivode of Moldavia complained to the sultan about a few inhabitants from the Akkerman sanjak who had taken advantage of undefined borders by settling in the winter residences of the Moldavian Voivodeships.<sup>75</sup> For this reason, the Imperial Council ordered the sanjak governor to delineate the border between the Empire and the voivodeship.<sup>76</sup>

In 1570, kadis from Varna and Bender similarly had to administer justice between the sanjak of Bender and the Wallachian inhabitants due to a long-standing lawsuit over the ownership of a landed estate.<sup>77</sup> In 1568, the subjects of the Moldavian Voivode had left their former residences and gone to the sanjak of Akkerman, where they drove away the inhabitants of villages belonging to the Selim Sultan Foundation before settling in their homes. In this case, the Imperial Council issued a direct order to the Voivode on October 31, 1568 to examine this problem along with the qadi of Akkerman and the sanjak governor. In the future, he would not lead his subjects on any more incursions into this territory.<sup>78</sup>

Apart from the subjects of the Moldavia Voivodeship, the inhabitants of the neighboring sanjaks had willingly gone to the two Romanian countries. However, in these cases, the voivodes had to pay taxes for the newcomers. In 1567, the Imperial Council ordered the

72 BOA, MD 26, 11/30.

73 BOA, MD 35, 256/647.

74 BOA, MD 77, 164/451.

75 *7 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 593/1668.

76 *Ibid.*, 593/1667.

77 BOA, MD 10, 36/72.

78 *7 numaralı mühimme defteri*, 597/1677, 880/2417.



Voivode of Wallachia to reimburse the lost revenue that would have been collected from the former residents of the sanjak of Vidin.<sup>79</sup> In 1571, the judge of Bender received an order from the Sublime Porte to investigate the case of a certain Teberrük Halife, who had settled in the Moldavian Voivodeship and declared that he intended to pay all of his duties to the voivode in the future. Later on, the Porte became informed that he had been harassing the local inhabitants in Moldavia. For this reason, the Imperial Council ordered the qadi to send him back to Dobruja.<sup>80</sup> The Tatars were not the only ones to trouble the subjects of the vassal states and the neighboring sanjaks. Information has also been found regarding the Moldavian inhabitants sacking a juridical district (*kaza*) close to Chilia in 1571. According to the contemporary written evidence, a large contingent of robbers comprised of at least 3,000 men had robbed villages close to Chilia and taken all their property.<sup>81</sup>

According to the Ottoman archival materials, public safety in this region of the Ottoman Empire appears to have not been too good. This was not just influenced by Cossack raids and Tatar strikes but had also been worsened by the fact that many times the Sublime Porte had been unable to guarantee security in this region. This is demonstrated by the Ottoman-Polish peace treaties from the 16<sup>th</sup> century that state Polish envoys and merchants would be able to travel along marked routes through Moldavia, and those who strayed from these main routes would not be guaranteed safe passage, neither by the voivode nor by the sultan.<sup>82</sup>

## Conclusion

After the collapse of the Great Horde in 1502, Tatars started to move from their former residences to the Crimean Khanate and later to the sanjak of Akkerman in the Ottoman Empire. This group formed the core of the Budjak Tatars, who are mentioned in Ottoman and Crimean Tatar documents from the 16<sup>th</sup> century as Akkerman Tatars. In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, many Nogai had arrived in Budjak territory through the Crimean Khanate. Theoretically, they were subjects of the Crimean khan. However, because they were living in Ottoman territory, the impact of Ottoman bureaucrats on daily life continuously increased. The Sublime Porte had to take responsibility for all their actions, which caused many problems between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as for the entire empire. Because of these troubles, the idea of repatriating them had appeared before the Imperial Council, but this plan was never realized. On one hand, the Sublime Porte did not have the wherewithal to carry out it, while on the other hand, the Ottoman government had needed the Budjak Tatars to defend the borderlands.

79 *Ibid.*, 201/547.

80 12 numaralı mühimme defteri, 326/666.

81 BOA, MD, 90/141.

82 Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 273, 282, 288, 307, 316.

**Peer-review:** Externally peer-reviewed.

**Conflict of Interest:** The author has no conflict of interest to declare.

**Grant Support:** The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

**Hakem Değerlendirmesi:** Dış bağımsız.

**Çıkar Çatışması:** Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

**Finansal Destek:** Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

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