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**THE CRIMEA ACCORDING TO THE DESCRIPTIONS OF  
EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO  
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

M.A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

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**The Crimea According to the Descriptions of European Travellers from  
the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century**

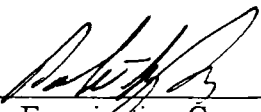
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Mihail Kizilov

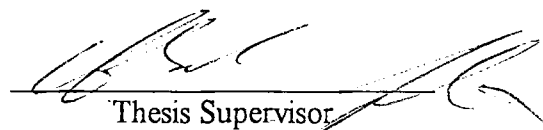
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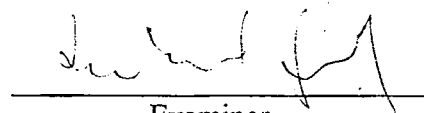
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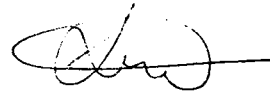
  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>IGAIMK</i>	<i>Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii Istorii Materialnoj Kultury</i>
<i>ITOIAE</i>	<i>Izvestija Tavricheskogo Obshestva Istorii Arkheologii i Etnographii</i>
<i>ITUAK</i>	<i>Izvestija Tavricheskoj Uchenoj Arkhivnoj Komissii</i>
<i>MAIET</i>	<i>Materialy po Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnographii Tavriki</i>
<i>ZOOID</i>	<i>Zapiski Odesskogo Obshestva Istorii i Drevnostej</i>

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. The problem of the perception of "others" and "other" countries in the Middle Ages

Besides numerous unsolved problems of the political, economic, social, and cultural history of Europe in the Middle Ages, there are also various problems related to diverse aspects of the mentality and psychology of medieval people. The problem stated above, namely the question why medieval men created a certain kind of image of "other" people or country is very interesting and is perhaps connected with a general problem of medieval men's perception of the surrounding world.

Failing to understand unknown and unusual phenomena properly, medieval people, as a rule, created for themselves images which were much different from real circumstances. In this way, for example, images of various remote marginal countries, which "hearsay" filled with fantastic "other" people, animals, and natural conditions, were invented. One of the best known works illustrating such beliefs is "Mandeville's Travels," written by a citizen of Liege, Jehan d'Outremuse, which claimed to be a real geographic description of countries seen by the author, but represented in fact a combination of data from authentic narratives of medieval travellers and ancient fables and encyclopedic works.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the fact that this work is filled with the most unbelievable "facts" and absolutely fantastic descriptions of foreign countries and people, it achieved great popularity in its own day and was long accepted as an authentic and valuable record of a real journey.

Medieval men seemed to live in the one bright spot in a dark and large surrounding world and, because of their lack of knowledge, imagined around them wonders of all kinds. Geographically, only a narrow area was familiar and known to Latin Christendom, while other parts of the Earth were enfolded in the mists of the

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<sup>1</sup>See the analysis of this book in Arthur Percival Newton, "Travellers' Tales of Wonder and Imagination," in *Travel and Travellers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Percival Newton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), 158.

unknown: its western shores were bounded by the dangers of the unnavigable ocean, the north was closed with ice and the regions of "perpetual darkness," while to the east lay vast spaces of steppes dreaded as the lands whence again and again for many centuries devastating hordes of enigmatic and cruel Scythians, Alans, Huns, Hungarians, Tatars, and other nomadic people came out.

In addition to this, so to say, remote geographic "otherness," there also existed "others" situated much closer, represented by only slightly or (from the negative side) too well known people who lived nearby. Usually, every nation considered only itself to be right, fair and living under a proper order, while other ethnic groups and countries were considered to be vicious, peculiar, and infidel. Sometimes this feeling towards "others" was directly hostile and full of hate, sometimes comparatively tolerant. Besides this external "otherness," there also existed an internal one. Thus, people of one ethnic community identified themselves as "us," while the representatives of other ethnic groups with which they coexisted in the limits of the same town were considered to be "others." There also existed such people as the communities of the ever moving Gypsies or the Jews, who were considered to be "others" almost everywhere. The Jews even lived in such specifically designated "other" places as ghettos, thus emphasising their "otherness" and separation from other ethnic groups in the limits of one town. There were even such non-ethnic "others" as the representatives of certain marginal professions, such as butchers or executioners.

This contradictory and complex problem of "otherness," however, is not specifically a medieval one. Looking at the contemporary world, it is possible to notice that the perception of foreign people as "others" still exists in present time and sometimes the attitude of various people to each other is hostile and prejudiced in a quite medieval way. Thus, for instance, there is no essential difference in showing distinctively medieval attitude towards "others" trials, as accusing of the Jews of spreading the plague in 1348 and Stalin's trial of the Jewish "poisoner doctors" in 1952-1953.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>That is the so called trial the "delo vrachej-otravitelej," which started in 1952 with the accusation of the Jewish doctors of poisoning people and fortunately remained uncompleted because of Stalin's death in 1953.

Probably, this principle of the dichotomic division of people into "us" and "others" will go on as long as such differences among people, as language, religion, customs, dresses, and so on, exist.

To return to the medieval world, there is one type of written source, namely the so called "travel accounts," which, in spite of the complexity of the problem of the perception of "others" in the Middle Ages, can help to understand some aspects of it.<sup>3</sup> Before starting the evaluation of travel accounts as a historical source, it is worth explaining why they are very important for the understanding of the problem of "others."

First, from the point of view of anthropology, a traveller's journey can be seen as a kind of process through which a traveller is reintegrated as a member of the community which he left when he went out, and to which he is obliged to report of his travels on coming home. It can also be considered as the transition from a state of "being away" to the state of "being home;" sometimes a traveller even redefines his own identity through relating himself to various kinds of "otherness."<sup>4</sup> Second, in Michael Harbsmeier's point of view, travel accounts are structured by a general binary cosmology, which originates in the contrast between "here", "us", and "home" on the one hand, and "there, "others," and "out there" on the other.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this, there was strong interest in the Middle Ages in the comparison of "us" and "others." As a rule, such a comparison reflected different moralistic and didactic aims: to represent the way of life of the foreign people as an example for compatriots, or on the contrary,

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<sup>3</sup>As regards the link between present and medieval time, if a reader compares contemporary travelogues of tourists to the Crimea with the medieval travellers' descriptions of this region, he will not notice a marked difference. Excluding the style of narration and some modern details of a technical character, it is possible to find the same content: the difficult and hardly comprehensible language of the local inhabitants, strange and unknown customs, and descriptions of magnificent architectural and historical monuments. See Sheila Paine, *The Golden Horde: Travels from the Himalaya to Karpathos* (London: Michael Joseph, 1997), 248-254.

<sup>4</sup>There are several scholarly works where the authors attempted to reconstruct the historical circumstances and conditions of travel in the Middle Ages using various types of sources (but predominantly, of course, travel accounts). See Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. Caroline Hinter (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989); Antoni Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Ursula Philips (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

<sup>5</sup>Michael Harbsmeier, "Elementary Structures of Otherness. An Analysis of Sixteenth-Century German Travel Accounts," in *Voyager a la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Ceard and Jean-Claud Margolin (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), 337-338.



to guard the inhabitants of one's own country from the "vicious" traditions of "others." Because of the fact that the problem of the perception of "others" is closely connected with the problem of the mentality of medieval men in general, travel accounts can be studied as well in their capacity of valuable sources for historical psychology. However, it is necessary first looking at the advantages and shortcomings of travel accounts as a historical source.

## 1.2. The value of travel accounts as a historical source

In spite of the fact that travel accounts<sup>6</sup> represent a very interesting and, to a certain extent, unique kind of source, they have become accepted as vitally important for the understanding of communication and exchange of information in medieval and early modern Europe only in the last few decades.<sup>7</sup> However, in the Middle Ages travel descriptions and accounts were one of the most important sources for contemporaries on different remote and mysterious countries. Travellers promoted the spread of geographical lore, when describing events, places, and phenomena which they saw themselves or of which they had been informed from the descriptions of other eyewitnesses.

When analysing travel accounts one should start from the idea that in most cases a traveller is a person who is thrown by some circumstances into strange and unknown surroundings: the paradox is that a stranger may see everything more sharply and clearer. Usually travel accounts tell us much about the differences between countries; contrasts between the home world and the one visited, different patterns of

<sup>6</sup>There are several words in the English language which have approximately the same meaning as *travel account*: travelogue, itinerary, travel journal or travel notes, guide, etc. There are slight differences among these terms: for example, *account* usually describes a trip actually taken, while *itinerary* tends to give to a reader a verbal map and guide of a journey to a specific place of destination. However, all these definitions can be considered as synonyms and can substitute one another. See Linda Davidson and Mary Jane Dunn-Wood, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: a research Guide* (New York-London: Garland Publishing, 1993), 14, 43.

<sup>7</sup>The amount of scholarly publications related to various problems of the interpretation of travel accounts as a historical source is large. However, it is possible to recommend several collections of recent articles for those interested in this topic: *Voyager a la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Ceard and Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987); *Der Reisebericht*, ed. Peter Brenner (Suhrkamp: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1989); *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter*, ed. Xenja von Ertzdorf and Dieter Neukirch (Amsterdam: Rodept, 1992); *Travel and Travellers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Percival Newton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949).

consumption and dress, strange customs and landscape, all these forced a traveller to reflect his impressions in writing. In style and content, travel descriptions are usually full of legends, marvels, dramatic experiences and personal impressions.

This personal point of view of travellers creates the contrast between travel accounts and other written sources. There is usually a difference between information given in a travel account and, for example, in a chronicle: a traveller usually added some picturesque details, while chroniclers wrote in a drier and more impersonal manner. However, the subjectivity and emotionalism of travel accounts is at the same time a shortcoming: one has to treat information from travel accounts very carefully because travellers were very often inclined to exaggerate real facts and events. Besides, as Antony Maczak pointed out, travellers often simply "described" strange phenomena, without "measuring" or evaluating them.<sup>8</sup> Thus, having failed to understand unknown foreign countries and people properly, travellers usually invented so-called "home-made yardsticks" for measuring and comprehending unknown phenomena surrounding them. On the other hand, one can extract very interesting and important information from a traveller's personal point of view and/or from various peculiar and specific details.

There is also another advantage of travel descriptions: travellers frequently described historical and architectural monuments which have not survived. Sometimes the description left by a traveller is the only information on the history of an architectural ensemble of a given city or town. Furthermore, one can compare data from travellers' accounts with archaeological, ethnographic, and cartographic evidence as well as with data from other written sources.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Antoni Maczak, "Renaissance Travellers' Power of Measuring," in *Voyager a la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Ceard and Jean-Claud Margolin (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), 246.

<sup>9</sup>A good example of such a comparative analysis is the work of Antony Bryer and David Winfield where the authors attempt to reconstruct a history of the existence of a number of Byzantine architectural monuments: *The Byzantine Monuments and the Topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985).

In addition to their historical value, travel accounts also represent precious samples of medieval literature. They are usually easy to read, and entering the world of a colourful, vivid and emotional travel account can be very rewarding.

### 1.3. Objectives of the thesis.

In spite of the significance of this type of written sources, travel accounts related to the history of the medieval Crimea have not yet been studied in detail. There is no work dedicated to the analysis of such travel accounts; usually these sources are mentioned only briefly in introductions to works on general problems. Of course, there are some exceptions, such as the works of the Russian scholars Vasilij Dmitrievich Smirnov and Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev. However, both of these scholars analysed particular aspects of written sources: Smirnov worked on Oriental ones,<sup>10</sup> while Vasiliev was interested mostly in information concerning the Crimean Goths and Byzantine influence in the Crimea.<sup>11</sup> The fact that local historians usually do not use the original editions but Russian translations of the European sources (which are as a rule not up-to-date and not of the best quality) makes the situation even more complicated. Moreover, some written sources have not yet been translated into Russian while others are almost inaccessible in libraries of the former Soviet Union.

The aim of this thesis is to show by the example of the Crimea the value of travel accounts as a historical source for understanding the perception of "other" people and countries during the Middle Ages, and to propose how this type of source should be understood and interpreted. I also would like to provide an analysis and overview of all known European travel accounts written during the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries and related to the history of the Crimea, to produce an external and internal critique of them, and to compare the data received from travel accounts with other available data (archaeological, epigraphic, cartographic, pictorial, etc.). I shall attempt to reveal

<sup>10</sup>V.D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe Khanstvo pod Verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty* [The Crimean Khanate under the rule of the Ottoman Empire] (St. Petersburg, 1887).

<sup>11</sup>Alexander A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936) (hereafter: Vasiliev, *The Goths*).

common topics and patterns in the travel descriptions of the Crimea and to describe various aspects of social, political, ethnic, and administrative life of the late medieval Crimea as presented in these texts. The second chapter of this work is dedicated to the historical background and a review of the travel accounts. The third and fourth are devoted to the perception of the peninsula according to travellers' descriptions, their image of different ethnic groups, which inhabited the Crimea at that time. The history of the main Crimean settlements is analysed in the last chapter.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF THE SOURCES

As stated above, travel accounts and descriptions related to the history of the Crimea are of great importance for a better understanding of the peninsula's past. Unfortunately, the Crimea was usually not described in detail since it had always been a province, first, of the Byzantine and later of the Ottoman Empire. As a rule, travellers going to the East or to Europe, only briefly visited the Crimea, and left rather scarce notes about its history, and the places they had seen. However, there are some works which are almost entirely dedicated to the description of the Crimea; in addition, the scattered references are quite numerous and, when compared with one another and with longer accounts, they provide us with some conclusions. The travel accounts I intend to study can be divided into two distinct chronological groups: those before 1475 and those after this date. Such a division of the travel accounts is determined by a crucial event in the history of the Crimea, that is the Ottoman conquest of the peninsula in 1475, which essentially changed the situation in the region. Before 1475, Europeans travelled to that part of the world as ordinary visitors or merchants visiting a country more or less similar to their own, while after the Ottoman conquest the peninsula became a strange and hostile territory inhabited by unknown people, where travelling was a dangerous and risky enterprise. However, before beginning to analyse the travel accounts, it is worth first looking at the history of the Crimea during the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries in order to understand the historical background against which they were written.

#### 2.1. Outline of the history of the Crimea from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

The history of the Crimea in this period is characterised by a special intensity of changes in the political, administrative, cultural, and socio-economic structure of the

peninsula. Different types of political powers changed hands in the fight for predominance on Crimean territory. The traditional patronage of the Byzantine Empire over the peninsula almost disappeared after the conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade (1204). As a consequence, the large and most famous Byzantine town, Kherson, situated in the western part of the Crimea, was gradually abandoned, until it ceased to exist by the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The administrative, political, and economic centre of the Crimea moved from the west to the eastern shore soon after the Genoese established their trading stations there in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. The Tatars, who first appeared and plundered the Crimea in 1223, settled in the northern part of the peninsula in the thirteenth century and made the town Solkhat (or Krim) their capital.<sup>13</sup> These two major powers (the Genoese and the Tatars) coexisted, collaborated and, at the same time, fought against the third important power on the Crimean territory - the Greek-Gothic principality Theodoro, which was situated in the mountainous area and controlled a considerable part of the west of the peninsula.<sup>14</sup> From the fourteenth century on the influence of the Tatars on the Crimean territory started to increase, and their power extended not only to the east and the north, but also to the central part of the peninsula.

However, after the Ottoman conquest in 1475 this situation totally changed. All these powers were liquidated, while the peninsula was divided into two parts: the Ottoman and the Tatar. Those regions, ports and towns which were the most advantageous in the trade and administrative sense came under the Ottoman jurisdiction, while the rest of the Crimea, together with the southern part of contemporary Ukraine, was ruled by the Crimean Khan. The predominant ethnic

<sup>12</sup>A.I.Romanchuk, *Khersones 12-14 vekov: Istoricheskaya Topographija* [Chersonese from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries: a historical topography] (Krasnojarsk: KGU, 1986), 188.

<sup>13</sup>S.V.Bakhrushin, "Osnovnye momenty istorii Krymskogo Khanstva" [The main events of the history of the Crimean Khanate], *MAIET* 3 (1993): 330.

<sup>14</sup>The capital of this principality was the town Mangoup (Theodoro), whose history will be examined in the fifth chapter. According to Yengenij Vejmar, the possessions of the principality of Theodoro stretched to the east, including Aluston and Funa, and to the west, including Chersonese and Kalamita, excluding the Genoese colony of Cembalo: "O dvuh nejasnyh voprosah srednevekovja Jugo-Zapadnogo Kryma" [On two unclear questions of the south-western Crimea in the Middle Ages], in *Arkheologicheskie Issledovanija Srednevekovogo Kryma* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1968), 79.

element on the Crimean territory were the Moslems (the Tatars and the Ottoman Turks), while the Christians, even though still numerous in spite of the huge human losses during the conquest, became their subjects.

In general, according to the testimonies of almost all written sources, the main income of the Crimean Khanate at this stage of its existence were plundering raids into the territories of adjacent countries and the trading of slaves captured during these military campaigns.

The urban structure of the peninsula also underwent considerable changes. Many old settlements (such as Mangoup, Kyrk-Or, Balaklava, Sudak, etc.) started to lose their significance and were gradually abandoned, while many new towns (Bakhtchisaraj, Goeslev, Karasubazar, etc.) began to participate actively in the economic and political life of the region. This is, in short, the historical background which is reflected in the travel accounts.

## 2.2. Sources before the Ottoman conquest

Travelogues of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries are not as detailed and descriptive as the later ones. Travellers, even if they spent a long time in the Crimea, usually simply noted their presence there and/or gave brief information concerning the major towns and their inhabitants. However, these scarce notes are to some extent more important than the later descriptions because they were written independently, without any borrowings from one another. In addition, these early travel writings belong to a period of little other evidence.

One of the earliest known medieval European travellers who had visited the Crimea was the priest Theodore, appointed bishop in the Caucasian Alania by the Patriarch of Nicaea, Germanus III (1222-1240). On his way to the Caucasus he visited the Crimean ports Bospor and Kherson and found refuge in the Alanian settlement situated near the latter town.<sup>15</sup> The problem of the chronological attribution of the

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<sup>15</sup>Theodore, "Episkopa Theodora Alanskoe poslanie" [Bishop Theodore Alanian's epistle], trans. Julian Kulakovskij *ZOOID* 21 (1898): 17-19.

journey of Theodore is very difficult to solve. Traditionally, this event was dated to 1240, that is after the second invasion of the Tatars to the Crimea in 1239.<sup>16</sup> However, recent investigations revealed that Theodore went to the Caucasus much earlier, in 1223, that is after the first invasion of the Tatars.<sup>17</sup> Thus, his *Epistle of Theodore, Bishop of the Alans to Constantinople* [Φεοδωρου επισκοπου Αλανιας λογος επιστολιμαῖος προς τον Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν] was written already in 1225 and sent to Constantinople from the Caucasus.<sup>18</sup> For further references I will use the Russian translation of this work, published together with the commentaries by Julian Kulakovskij.<sup>19</sup>

On the 7th of May, 1253, William de Rubruquis (1215/1220 - 1270), an envoy of King Louis IX of France to the Tatar Horde and one of the first missionaries from Europe who ventured to undertake the long and hazardous journey to the realm of the Mongol Khan, started his journey to the Crimea from Constantinople. His *Itinerarium Fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis ad Partes Orientales* is rich in descriptions of different ethnographic phenomena, which he saw during his stay at the court of Sartach, Batu, and other Mongol authorities. He also gives interesting and peculiar details about the Crimea.<sup>20</sup> However, he himself stayed only in Soldaia and left the peninsula through the central and northern part. William de Rubruquis was also one of the first (after Procopius<sup>21</sup>) who mentioned the existence of the Gothic population of the Crimea.<sup>22</sup> The first translation of this work into English, done from a manuscript from the

<sup>16</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 167.

<sup>17</sup>See V.G.Chentsova, "Materialy k istorii Khersona v srednie veka" [Materials on the history of Kherson in the Middle Ages], *MAIET* 5 (1996): 172.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>Theodore, "Episkopa Theodora Alanskoe poslanie" [Bishop Theodore Alanian's epistle], trans. Julian Kulakovskij *ZOOID* 21 (1898): 15-27. The original of this work was published in the *Patrologia Graeca*. See *Patrologia Graeca*, CXL, coll. 387-414.

<sup>20</sup>See for example, the description of cannibalism among the Cumans who were forced to eat their dead because of the famine which appeared as a consequence of a war with the Tatars: Willielmus de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratie 1253 ad Partes Orientales," in *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis*, ed. Charles Raymond Beazley (London: Hakluyt Society, 1903; repr., Nendeln: Kraus Reprint LTD, 1967), 145-147 (hereafter: Willielmus de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium").

<sup>21</sup>Procopius, *Collected Works in Seven Volumes*, vol.7: *Buildings*, trans. H.B.Dewing (Cambridge: William Heinemann, 1971), 215-217.

<sup>22</sup>Willielmus de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 146-147.



fourteenth century, was published together with other famous travel descriptions by Richard Hakluyt in 1599.<sup>23</sup>

Another famous European traveller (if not the most famous one) who left some references concerning the Crimea, was the Venetian merchant Marco Polo (1254-1324), whose *Il Milione* was written between 1298 and 1307. In the beginning of his narration, he noted the fact that his father, Messer Niccolo Polo, and his uncle Messer Maffeo stayed for several days in Soldaia in 1260 in search of a more profitable market for their wares and then went farther.<sup>24</sup> Later, describing the countries surrounding the Black Sea, he again mentioned "the merchants from Gazaria and Sudak," and added that *Gothia* (i.e. the Crimean Gothia) and Gazaria, which had belonged to the Cumans, had already been conquered by "the first Tatar Lord Sain" at the time of his journey.<sup>25</sup> There are some interesting remarks concerning the connections of the Polo family to Soldaia, which can be found in the will of the elder Marco Polo (5 August, 1280). It is said in this document that Marco Polo gave his house in Soldachia (Soldaia) to the Franciscans friars on the condition that a place for his son and daughter (Nicolo and Maroca) would be reserved there.<sup>26</sup>

There are eighty-five manuscripts of *Il Milione* in Italian, French and Latin, while the original manuscript of this work has not survived. The nearest to the original is the early fourteenth-century manuscript, kept in the Bibliotheque Nationale, in Paris. The reconstruction of Marco Polo's authentic text led to the first complete critical edition, published in 1928 by Luigi Foscolo Benedetto.<sup>27</sup> The philological and exegetical problems of the various versions of the text are still far from being wholly or definitely

<sup>23</sup>See "The journal of Friar William de Rubricis," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol. 1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 101-134.

<sup>24</sup>Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, ed. and trans. Henry Yule, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1921), 4.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., vol. 2, 490. Sain Khan, or "Good Prince," is the name of Batu.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., vol. 1, 15, 25.

<sup>27</sup>Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, ed. and trans. L.F. Benedetto (Florence: Comitato Geografico Nazionale, 1928).

resolved. One of the best editions of Marco Polo with commentaries, which is still very useful for every critical study of his work, was published by Sir Colonel Henry Yule.<sup>28</sup>

The monk (*hieromonachus*) Matthew, who was sent to Gazaria (i.e. to the Crimea) in 1395 as a representative (*vicar*) of the Patriarch of Constantinople in order to oversee Yalta and other places in the Crimea, composed a rhetorical poem in 153 lines, called *The Story of the City of Theodoros*.<sup>29</sup> In spite of its poetic character, this work depicts a real journey to the Crimea. It consists of a general description of the Crimea with the main part dedicated to a description of the capital of the Crimean Goths, Theodoro (or *Santodero*, according to the transliteration of Matthew). The poem was composed in the form of a dialogue between a stranger who is a personification of the author himself and another man who is a personification of the town Theodoro. Besides the vague and, at the same time, paradoxically detailed description of monuments and a general view of the town, there is a brief mention of "the numberless army of the Agarenes" who besieged Theodoro for nine years. Alexander Vasiliev considered that this reference, as well as the inscription on a stone which was found on the territory of Mangoup,<sup>30</sup> should be attributed to the period of the invasion of the Crimea by Tamerlane (1395).<sup>31</sup> This poem has not been analysed in detail; there is only a brief analysis of it in the works of Alexander Vasiliev and the Austrian scholar H.V.Bayer.<sup>32</sup>

Brief notes about the Crimea were left in the itinerary of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, a member of the Spanish embassy of the King of Castille Henry III to Tamerlane in

<sup>28</sup>Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, ed. and trans. Henry Yule, vols. 1-2, (London: John Murray, 1871).

<sup>29</sup>There is no complete translation of this poem from the Greek original except an Italian translation by Sergio Mercatti: "Diegesis les poleos Theodori versi di Matteo Ieromonaco," *Studi Bizantini* 2 (1927): 26-30.

<sup>30</sup>This inscription was found in one of the towers of Mangoup and dated to the fourteenth century. The badly damaged text gives information about the lengthy siege of the town by an army of heathens. See Nikolaj Malitskij, "Zametki po epigrafike Mangupa" [Notes on the epigraphy of Mangoup], *IGAIMK* 71 (1933): 19.

<sup>31</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 192.

<sup>32</sup>H.V.Bayer, "Metropolii Khersona, Sugdei, Gotii i Zikhii po dannym prosopograficheskogo leksikona vremeni Paleologov" [Metropolitans of Kherson, Sugdeja, Gothia, and Zikhia according to the data from the prosopographic lexicon of the time of the Paleologs], in *Vizantija i Srednevekovyj Krym* (Simferopol: Tavrija, 1995), 65-76.

1403-1406.<sup>33</sup> Even though de Clavijo never visited the Crimea, he mentioned the Genoese town of Caffa several times. Firstly, he described certain "iron gates" (*puertas del Fierro*) which led from Asia Minor to Caffa, then he mentioned that this town had recently served as a shelter for the son of Tokhtamish Khan,<sup>34</sup> and finally de Clavijo informed that on his way back from the Caucasus, he and other members of the embassy were taken by two Genoese vessels from Caffa, which carried them to Genoa.<sup>35</sup>

In spite of the growing lack of safety of the Crimean routes because of the increasing influence of the Tatars, in the first half of the fifteenth century the Crimea was visited by the representatives of other European countries: by the German soldier Johannes Schiltberger, the French diplomat Guillebert de Lannoy, and the Spanish merchant Pero Tafur.

The first of them, the Bavarian soldier, Johannes Schiltberger, who had been taken prisoner by the Turks after the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 and spent more than thirty years in captivity, described in detail the countries which he visited during this period and added his own observations and experiences concerning the life and deeds of Bayazid and Tamerlane. In the chapter "Die Lander der Tatarei, die Ich Gesehen Habe," he also gives information about the main Crimean towns and their inhabitants.<sup>36</sup> In the beginning of the fifteenth century, serving his master Manshuck (*Manstz usch*), Schiltberger visited and described Caffa, also providing information about other Crimean towns. However, his information about the Crimean Gothia was

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<sup>33</sup>The travel account of de Clavijo was first published in Spain in 1582. See Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Vida y Hazanas del Gran Tamerlan* (Seville, 1582). There is also an English translation published by the Hakluyt Society: Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange (London: Hakluyt Society, 1928).

<sup>34</sup>There are many descriptions of this event in various Oriental sources; however, de Clavijo is the only European traveller who mentioned it.

<sup>35</sup>Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *The Spanish Embassy to Samarkand in 1403-1406*, original Spanish text with a Russian translation and notes by I.I.Sreznevskij (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), 231, 342, 385.

<sup>36</sup>Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave im Osmanischen Reich und bei den Tartaren 1394-1427* (Stuttgart: Thienemann, 1983), 135-136 (hereafter: Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*). There is also an English translation of Schiltberger's work published by the Hakluyt Society. See Johannes Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*, trans. J.B.Telfar (London: Hakluyt Society, 1879).

disputed by various scholars in the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> In general, scholars have concluded that despite the fact that this book consists of interesting and picturesque information, the author was not a well-educated person and was inclined to exaggerate when writing about real events and facts.<sup>38</sup>

Guillebert de Lannoy (1386-1462), a representative of a noble Flemish family, a councillor and chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy, a governor of the town of Ecluse, was sent to the East on a commission from the French King Charles VI and English King Henry V in 1421. He visited the Crimea on his way to Constantinople in 1421, experiencing there several unpleasant encounters with the Tatars, until he finally reached the Genoese town and port of Caffa, which he described as well.<sup>39</sup> Upon returning home, he presented his itinerary, entitled *Les Pelerinages de Surye et d'Egipte* to the French king. He also included this work into the enlarged version of his memoirs, called *Voyages et Ambassades*, which was published only in 1840.<sup>40</sup>

The Spanish traveller Pero Tafur visited the Crimea soon after de Lannoy, in 1435. The Tatars were already so powerful by that time, that the traveller called the region "Empire of Tartary."<sup>41</sup> He spent some time in Caffa and even dared to pay a visit to Solkhat (according to Pero Tafur, *Corcate*) soon after the decisive defeat of the Genoese by the Tatar inhabitants of the latter town. He was, perhaps, the first known traveller who described in detail the appearance and the customs of the Crimean Tatars.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup>See Wilhelm Tomaschek, *Die Goten in Taurien* (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1881), 32; K. Braun, *Die Lezten Schicksale der Krimgoten* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 54.

<sup>38</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 193.

<sup>39</sup>Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy (1399-1450)* (Mons: d'em Hoyois, 1840), 39-43.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid. This work was written in French with the use of Flemish words. The original is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The Russian translation of the part of this work, related to the history of the Crimea and Ukraine, was published together with the French text in the Russian annual ZOOID in 1853. See Guillebert de Lannoy, "Puteshestvija i posolstva gospodina Gillbera de Lannoy v 1399-1450 godah" [Travels and embassies of a Sir Guillebert de Lannoy in 1399-1450], ZOOID 3 (1853): 433-465.

<sup>41</sup>Pero Tafur, *Travels and Advantures (1435-1439)*, trans. and ed. Malkolm Letts (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1926), 132 (hereafter: Pero Tafur, *Travels*). This work, written in Spanish, was first published only in 1874. See Pero Tafur, *Andances e Vijaes por Diversos Partes del Mondo Audios (1435-1439)* (Madrid, 1874).

<sup>42</sup>Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 134-136.

In the late Middle Ages, Russian travel accounts were usually called *хождения* or *хожения*, meaning approximately *travel on foot*.<sup>43</sup> One of the most famous Russian travellers, Afanasij Nikitin, also visited the Crimea on his way back home from the East in 1472 and mentioned this event in his *Хождение за Три Моря* [The Journey beyond the Three Seas].<sup>44</sup> Travelling to the Crimea on his way from Trapezunt to Russia, he was forced to spend several days in *Balykaje* (Balaklava), *Tkrzofa* (Gurzuf), and *Caffa* because of a storm. The traveller ended his work mentioning his stay in Caffa on the fifth and sixth of November, 1472.<sup>45</sup>

In 1474, shortly before the Ottoman conquest, Ambrogio Contarini, a diplomat and ambassador of the Venetian republic to Persia, visited the Crimea on his way to that country. Accompanied by a certain Lithuanian ambassador, he spent about twenty days on the peninsula and later included interesting details in his travel account on his sojourn there.<sup>46</sup> By that time, the presence of the Tatars was so strong that during his entire journey through the Crimea, Ambrogio experienced several dangerous encounters with these people, whom he characterised as "damned dogs, stinking of horse-flesh."<sup>47</sup> Besides crossing the central and northern parts of the Crimea, he spent several days in Caffa. The traveller described his experiences in the account entitled *Viaggio in Persia*, which was first published in 1487, ten years after his arrival back home.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup>V.P.Adrianova-Perets, "Afanasij Nikitin - puteshestvennik-pisatel'" [Afanasij Nikitin as a traveller-writer], in *Khozsenie Afanasija Nikitina za Tri Moria (1466-1472)* [The Journey of Afanasij Nikitin beyond three seas (1466-1472)], ed. B.D.Grekov and V.P.Adrianova-Perets (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1948), 107-108.

<sup>44</sup>The book *Хождение за Три Моря* was discovered by the famous Russian historian N.M.Karamzin in the library of Troitse-Sergievskaja Lavra in the nineteenth century. The best Russian edition of this work, based on the manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was published in the series *Literaturnye Pamiatniki* [Literary Documents] by Boris Grekov in 1948. See Afanasij Nikitin, *Khozsenie Afanasija Nikitina za Tri Moria (1466-1472)* [The Journey of Afanasij Nikitin beyond three seas (1466-1472)], ed. B.D.Grekov and V.P.Adrianova-Perets (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1948) (hereafter: Afanasij Nikitin, *Khozsenie*).

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>46</sup>Ambrogio Contarini, "Viaggio in Persia," in *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii* [Barbaro and Contarini on Russia], original Italian text, commentaries and Russian trans. E.Ch.Skrzinskaja (Leningrad: Nauka, 1971), 188-191 (hereafter: *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*).

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>48</sup>The English translation of this work was published in London in 1873: Ambrogio Contarini, "The travels of the magnificent Messer Ambrosio Contarini," in *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro i Ambrogio Contarini*, trans. W.Thomas and S.A.Roy, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley (London:

### 2.3. Sources after the Ottoman conquest .

There is a considerable difference between the accounts written after the conquest and the descriptions of the period prior to it. In general, this difference is not a specific feature of travel accounts concerning the Crimea; on the contrary, travel descriptions related to the history of this peninsula only express a general European trend towards a change in the content and the style of such accounts. Travel descriptions of the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries had the character of memoirs while later accounts were more descriptive and provided more specific information. This was mainly due to a general growth in the interest in geographical lore, which was stimulated by the discovery of America. Also, the people of Europe at that time wanted to know more, not only about foreign and remote countries but also about the people inhabiting them, and their customs, manners, and traditions. Moreover, there was also interest in collecting information about the military strength and strategies of those people in order to use this knowledge as a weapon in a possible war.

In addition, there was an increasing interest in the comparison of "us" and the "others." Such a comparison could also reflect different moralistic and didactic aims: a representation of the way of life of those foreign people, first, as a positive example for compatriots or, on the contrary, as negative one, guarding the inhabitants of one's own country from the "vicious" traditions of the "others."<sup>49</sup> Besides, after the change of the Crimea into a hostile and little-known country, travellers could not reach this land without carefully planning such a journey and had to have some serious ground for undertaking it. As a consequence of all the above mentioned, from the end of the

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Hakluyt Society, 1873), 106-174. A Russian publication of Contarini's work by a specialist in Russian-Italian relations, Elena Skrzinskaja, is very useful and valuable for those interested in this author. Her translation was published together with the original text and extensive commentaries. See *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*.

<sup>49</sup>For a more detailed examination of the problem of "us" and "others" in European travel accounts see the works of Michael Harbsmeier and Stephen Christiansen: Michael Harbsmeier, "Elementary Structure of Otherness: an Analysis of Sixteenth-Century German Travel Accounts," in *Voyager a la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Ceard and Jean-Claud Margolin (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), 337-355; Stephen Olaf Turk Christensen, "The Image of Europe in Anglo-German Travel Literature," in *Ibid.*, 257-268.

fifteenth century onwards travellers began to spend more time in the Crimea and render more detailed descriptions.

However, not only the style but also the content of the later travel descriptions became different. If, before the Ottoman conquest, European travellers visited this country as a friendly area inhabited by people of a similar origin, after 1475 they started to depict the Crimea as hostile and enigmatic, filled with dangerous and strange people. In addition, in almost all later European travel writings about the Crimea, a section dedicated to the description of the suffering of the Christian population in the infidel surroundings appeared.<sup>50</sup> Another new motif, stimulating an interest in the Crimea, also reflected in many travel writings, was that of the reference to the Crimean Khanate as a political ally in the wars with Turkey or Persia.

Soon after the Ottoman conquest, another European traveller, the Venetian diplomat and political figure, Josaphath Barbaro, who spent many years in Tana and Persia, dedicated several pages to a description of the Crimea. In this work one can clearly find the difference in travellers' attitudes towards their works: Josaphath not only described the places which he had seen, but depicted the whole picture of the peninsula, evaluated the military power of the Crimean Tatars, and left some short historical references concerning the past of the Crimea.<sup>51</sup> His work, *Viaggio alla Tana*, can be divided into two parts: the first is dedicated to the description of the journey to Tana, the second, to his voyage to Persia. The most interesting part in his narration, related to the history of the Crimea, is the story about the fall of Caffa in 1475 and the resumption of power over the Tatar part of the peninsula which was achieved by the Crimean Khan Mengli Girej I in 1476.<sup>52</sup> Barbaro also included valuable remarks

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<sup>50</sup>In the opinion of Michael Harbsmeier, the motif of the sufferings of the Christians among the infidels, which appeared in numerous travel descriptions of the sixteenth century, was the expression of the paradigmatic opposition of Christianity to Islam. Michael Harbsmeier, "Elementary Structure of Otherness: an Analysis of Sixteenth-Century German Travel Accounts," in *Voyager a la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Ceard and Jean-Claud Margolin (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), 341.

<sup>51</sup>Josaphath Barbaro, "Viaggio alla Tana," in *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 129-132.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*

concerning the assimilation of the Goths and Alans into one ethnic unit called the *Gothalani*.<sup>53</sup> In addition to his own observations, he also used information about this country which he had received from Antonio (or Pietro) Guasco, who managed to escape from the peninsula besieged by the Ottomans in the summer of 1475. Josafath Barbaro completed his work in 1487-1489.<sup>54</sup>

A reluctant German "traveller," Jorg of Nuremberg, a *Buchsenmeister* (i.e. master of guns) who was captured by the Turks in 1460 and managed to escape from captivity only in 1480, also left some references concerning the Crimea in his *Geschichte von der Turckey*.<sup>55</sup> This chronicle, which was written in German, embraced the period from 1456 to 1480.<sup>56</sup> Concerning the Crimea, he included very interesting details about the fall of the capital of the Crimean Goths, Theodoro, in 1475.<sup>57</sup> However, in all probability, he never visited the Crimea. *Geschichte von der Turckey*, in spite of its significance, has remained almost unnoticed and has not been examined by scholars in detail, which can be explained by the fact that only a few copies of this work have survived.<sup>58</sup>

Very interesting information about the Crimea was included in the travel description of Russia compiled in the middle of the sixteenth century by the Austrian ambassador Siegmund von Herberstein (1486-1566), the Liber Baro in Herberstein,

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 132.

<sup>54</sup>This travel description, together with commentaries and insertions, was first published in the sixteenth century by the famous Italian publisher Giovanni Battista Ramusio. Later the *Viaggio alla Tana* was usually published together with the travel account of Ambrogio Contarini. See *Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi*, ed. G.B.Ramusio (Venice, 1550).

<sup>55</sup>The original version of this work was published in Memmingen, without a date, by Albrecht Kunne, probably around 1482-1483. That text consisted of eight pages in quarto and a wood engraving. Unfortunately, only two copies of this edition exist, both in Germany, one in Munich (*Staatsbibliothek*) and the other in Tübingen (*Wilhelmstift*). See Jorg of Nuremberg, *Geschichte von der Turckey* (Memmingen, n.d.).

<sup>56</sup>For more detailed information concerning Jorg of Nuremberg and his work see Alexander Vasiliev, "Jorg of Nuremberg: a Writer Contemporary with the Fall of Constantinople (1453)," *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 205-209.

<sup>57</sup>Jorg of Nuremberg, *Geschichte von der Turckey* (Memmingen, 1496), B.

<sup>58</sup>Except for Alexander Vasiliev, "Jorg of Nuremberg...", there are only a few scholarly works treating *Geschichte von der Turckey*. See Constantine J. Karadja, "Die ältesten gedruckten Quellen zur Geschichte der Rumänen," in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1934): 114-136; Richard Loewe, *Die Reste der Germanen am Schwarzen Meere* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1896), 221-222.



Neyperg et Guettenhag.<sup>59</sup> This famous Austrian diplomat, who visited many countries of Europe as the head of diplomatic missions, was sent twice to Russia in 1516-1517 and 1526-1527, respectively. Among other data, he left in his *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* valuable notes on the types of the Tatar hordes neighbouring Russia, the raids of the Crimean Tatars into the Russian territory and the conflicts among the Tatars themselves. Because of the fact that he collected this data during his stay in Moscow, his information reflects mostly the Russian perception of and the attitude towards the Crimea.<sup>60</sup>

The author of Lithuanian origin, who concealed himself under the pseudonym Michalon Lithuanus, tried to achieve certain political, didactic and propagandistic aims in his treatise *De Moribus Tartarorum, Lithuanorum et Moschorum*, which was mainly based on his observations of foreign countries.<sup>61</sup> First published in Basel in 1615,<sup>62</sup> this work had already appeared at the court of the Lithuanian and Polish king Sigismund II Augustus in 1550. In spite of a number of hypotheses concerning the identity of the author of this work,<sup>63</sup> it is considered at present that the only possible author of this tractate had to be the Lithuanian, Wenceslaus Mickolajevich, secretary of the office of

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<sup>59</sup>Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549). This book was a tremendous literary success resulting in numerous reprints and translations into many languages, which were published during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Two editions published during Herberstein's life are of special significance: the first Latin edition of 1549 and the authorised translation into German of 1557. The latter is in fact an enlarged and slightly transformed version of the Latin edition. Being a priceless source on the history of Russia, this book was translated, published, and analysed by Russian scholars of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries. See the review of the secondary literature related to Herberstein and his work, together with commentaries and a biography of the author in a recent Russian edition: Sigizmund Gerbershtein, *Zapiski o Moskovii* [Notes on Russia], trans. A.I. Malein and A.V. Nazarenko, ed. V.L. Yanin (Moscow: Izdatelstvo MGU, 1988), 189-196.

<sup>60</sup>It can be seen even from the different toponyms used by Herberstein. In his opinion, the Crimean Khans were called *Krijmskij*, while the toponym *Perekop* comes from the Russian verb *kopat*: Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549), xix.

<sup>61</sup>Michalon Lituanus, "De Moribus Tartarorum, Lithuanorum et Moschorum," in *Russia, seu Moscovia, itemque Tartaria* (Leiden: ex Officina Elzeviriana, 1630), 189-214 (hereafter: Michalon Lituanus, "De Moribus").

<sup>62</sup>Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus Tartarorum, Lithuanorum et Moschorum, Fragmina X* (Basel: Apud Conradum Waldkirchum, 1615).

<sup>63</sup>For example V. Antonovich and J. Puryckis considered that this work was written by Mikhail Tyshkevich, an envoy to the Crimea in 1538. See V.B. Antonovich, "Iz vlechenie iz sochinenija Mikhajly Litvina" [An extract from the work of Mikhail Litvin], in *Memuary Otnosiashiesia k istorii Jusnoj Rusi*, vol. I (Kiev, 1890), 5; J. Puryckis, *Die Glaubenspaltung in Litauen im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1919), 40, 54, 64.

the Great Duke and ambassador to the Crimea in 1543.<sup>64</sup> Surviving only in parts, this work was initially divided into ten chapters, each of them describing different aspects of the life of the inhabitants of Tartaria, Lithuania, and Moscovia (i.e. Russia). *De Moribus Tartarorum* is rich in various ethnographic details related to the everyday life, rites, customs, and traditions of the inhabitants of these countries. However, recent investigations have revealed that, firstly, the author deliberately embellished the Crimean Tatars' and Moscovites' way of life, wishing to present it as an example of proper behaviour for his compatriots. Secondly, when describing the Tatars, he sometimes consulted descriptive patterns belonging to Tacitus and Horace traditionally used for depicting the Scythians and the Germans.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, *De Moribus Tartarorum, Lithuanorum et Moschorum*, is very interesting and important for this thesis: the author provides data on the Crimean Tatars' way of life, their legislative system and military strategies, the position of the Christian population, and many other details. Its new Russian translation, published in 1994, also deserves attention because of its extensive commentaries and an insightful foreword.<sup>66</sup>

The last written reference concerning the presence of the Gothic population on the Crimean territory can be found in *Legationis Turcicae Epistolae IV*, composed in the middle of the sixteenth century by Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq (1522-1592), a descendant of an old noble Flemish family, who was sent by the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I as ambassador to Constantinople in 1554.<sup>67</sup> He was not only a wise diplomat, who knew five languages as well as his mother tongue, but a widely educated man who collected Greek coins, inscriptions, and manuscripts, which are

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<sup>64</sup>Jerzy Ochmanski, "Michalon Litwin i jego tractat o zwyczajach tatarow, litwinow i moscowinow z polowy XVI wieku," [Michalon Litwin and his treatise about the rites of the Tatars, Lithuanians, and Moscovites belonging to the middle of the XVIth century], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 4 (1976): 765-783.

<sup>65</sup>M.V.Dmitrieva, I.P.Starostina, and A.L.Khoroshkevich, "Michalon Litwin i ego traktat" [Michalon Litwin and his treatise], foreword to Michalon Litwin, *O Nравah Tatar, Litovtsev and Moscovitian* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo MGU, 1994), 25.

<sup>66</sup>Michalon Litwin, *O Nравah Tatar, Litovtsev and Moscovitian* [About the rites of the Tatars, Lithuanians, and Moscovites], trans. V.I.Matuzova (Moscow: Izdatelstvo MGU, 1994).

<sup>67</sup>Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq, *Augierii Gislenii Busbecqii Legationis Turcicae Epistolae IV* (Hannover, 1629) (hereafter: de Bousbecq, *Epistolae IV*).

preserved in the National Library of Vienna.<sup>68</sup> De Bousbecq never visited the Crimea; however, he wanted to find some information concerning the presence of the Goths there. This wish of his was satisfied when his servant met two Goths on a market ("casually," as it is written), who were the ambassadors from the Crimea to the Ottoman Sultan. In addition to information concerning the history of the Goths in the Crimea, de Bousbecq also added a small dictionary of the language of the Crimean Goths, which is still very valuable source not only for historians, but also for linguists (see fig. 6 in appendix).<sup>69</sup> However, in spite of the assumed reliability of his data, some scholars consider that the testimonies of de Bousbecq could have been incorrect.<sup>70</sup> This problem is not easy to solve, and the text of de Bousbecq needs a more detailed and objective examination. The first full edition of *Four Turkish Letters* was published in Paris in 1589.<sup>71</sup>

The most interesting and richest in cultural, ethnographic, political, and other data is the *Tartariae Descriptio* written by Martinus Broniovius (Marcin Broniewski, d.ca. 1593), who was twice ambassador of Stephan Bathory to the Crimean Khan Mehmed Girej in 1578-1579.<sup>72</sup> This work clearly shows the growing interest of European states (in this case, of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) in the Crimean Khanate: European countries needed exact and precise information in their struggle against this mighty and dangerous neighbour and rival. In this work, entirely dedicated to the history and contemporary state of the Crimea, Martinus Broniovius described the majority of the towns and castles of the Crimea, the everyday life of the Crimean Tatars, their military strategy, rites, ceremonies and customs of the court of the

<sup>68</sup>Editors of an English publication of *Legationis Turcicae Epistolae IV* wrote about him: "Throughout his letters will be found hints for the architect, the physician, the philologist, and the statesman; he has stories to charm a child, and tales to make a grey-beard weep." Charles Thornton Forster, and F.H.Blackburne Daniell, "Life of Busbecq," foreword to *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, ed. Charles Thornton Forster, and F.H.Blackburne Daniell, vol. 1 (London: Gean Paul, 1881), 3.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, 244-245.

<sup>70</sup>See K.Braun, *Die Lezten Schicksale der Krimgoten* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 65; Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 271.

<sup>71</sup>*Augierii Gislenii Busbecqii Legationis Turcicae Epistolae IV* (Paris, 1589).

<sup>72</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Martini Broniovii de Biezdzfedeia bis in Tartariam nomine Stephani Primi Poloniae Regis Legati Tartariae Descriptio* (Cologne: in Officina Birkmannica, sumptibus Arnoldi Mylij, 1595), 14 (hereafter: Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*).

Crimean Khan, the living conditions of the Christian population in the Crimea, and many other details.

Broniovius spent about nine months in the Crimea and, being allowed to travel almost freely throughout the entire country, he based the *Tartariae Descriptio* on his own observations and information collected from the remnants of the Christian population. The fact that he complained about the total absence of any written sources from which he could derive information about Crimea's past is also very significant.<sup>73</sup>

The *Tartariae Descriptio* was never published separately, only together with other works.<sup>74</sup> Soon after its first edition, Samuel Purchas published the English translation of the *Tartariae Descriptio* at the beginning of the seventeenth century in his collection of geographic and travel works.<sup>75</sup> In spite of its significance for the history of Russian-Tatar relations, the only translation of this work into Russian was published in 1867.<sup>76</sup>

Very interesting information about the Crimea was also collected by two English ambassadors to the court of the Russian tsars, Jerome Horsey and Giles Fletcher. The first of them, Sir Jerome Horsey, set out for Moscow in 1573 as a clerk in the service of the Russian company and stayed there with brief interruptions until 1591, managing various commercial and diplomatic affairs. Because of the fact that many commissions, which were given to him both by Russian and English governments had quite a risky and delicate character (sometimes related to private and state secrets of the royal courts of these two countries), his reputation and honesty were soon doubted, and his last embassy to Russia in 1590-1591 was entirely unsuccessful. In the opinion of some scholars, he began to write his notes as a kind of response to his

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., foreword, no page numbers.

<sup>74</sup>See *ibid.*, Martinus Broniovius, "Martini Broniovii Tartaria," in *Russia, seu Moscovia, itemque Tartaria* (Leiden: ex Officina Elzeviriana, 1630), 254-327. This edition, however, has numerous misprints.

<sup>75</sup>Martinus Broniovius, "Collections out of Martin Broniovius de Biezerfedea sent ambassador from Stephen King of Poland to the Crim Tartar: containing a description of Tartaria, or Chersonesus Taurica, and the religions, customs private and public in peace and war," in *Purchas, His Pilgrims in Five Books*, pt.3 (London: William Stansby, 1613), 632-643.

<sup>76</sup> Martin Broniewskij, "Opisanie Kryma" [The description of the Crimea], trans. I.G.Shershenevich *ZOOID* 6 (1867): 333-367.

accusers.<sup>77</sup> His travel description of Russia, which in fact consists of three separate works, composed during 1589-1626, was first published together with notes and insertions by two famous English editors, Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, while he was still alive.<sup>78</sup>

Resigning for a long period in Moscow, Horsey observed and described many peculiar events that happened at that time at the court of the Russian Tsars Ivan the Terrible and his son Theodore. He arrived in Moscow in 1573, that is soon after the devastating raid of the Crimean Khan Devlet Girej in 1571, when Moscow was torched and destroyed. In addition to a detailed account of this event, its circumstances and consequences,<sup>79</sup> Horsey also described the arrival in Moscow of an embassy, headed by the Crimean Khan Sapha Girej, in 1584. He described the latter event in his *Coronation of Pheodor Ivanovich*, first published in 1578.<sup>80</sup>

Another English traveller, Giles Fletcher (1549-1611), a legal specialist, poet, and ambassador, was dispatched in 1588 on a special embassy to Russia, being probably recommended for this post by Randolph, who had formerly been an ambassador to that country. In Russia he experienced great indignities, but, nevertheless, he contrived to secure considerable concessions for the English merchants.<sup>81</sup> He returned to England in 1589. Fletcher's account of Russia, which first appeared in 1591, was also included by Richard Hakluyt in his collection of the works of English travellers.<sup>82</sup> It

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<sup>77</sup>*Rude and Barbarous Kingdom. Russia in the Accounts of the Sixteenth Century English Voyagers*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey (London: Madison, 1968), 254-256 (hereafter: *Rude and Barbarous*).

<sup>78</sup>*Purchas, His Pilgrimage or Relations of the World* (London, 1626). The only complete publication of Horsey's travel account was published in 1856 by Edward Bond in the series of the Hakluty Society: "The Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey," in *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Edward Bond (London: Hakluyt Society, 1856). The main part of Horsey's narration was republished in 1968 by Lloyd E. Berry and Robert O. Crummey: *Rude and Barbarous*, 262-372. A very good academic Russian edition of *The Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey* together with commentaries and letters of Horsey was published in 1990: Jerome Horsey, *Zapiski o Rossii* [Notes upon Russia], trans. with commentaries and foreword A.A. Sevestjanova (Moscow: MGU, 1990).

<sup>79</sup>Jerome Horsey, "Travels," in *Rude and Barbarous*, 270-273.

<sup>80</sup>Jerome Horsey, "The Most Solemne and Magnificent Coronation of Pheodor Ivanovich, Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol. 1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 525-533.

<sup>81</sup>*Rude and Barbarous*, 92-93.

<sup>82</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, Sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol. 1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 533-556.

was republished in 1862 in Edward Bond's edition of the travel accounts of Englishmen who had visited Russia.<sup>83</sup>

When describing the countries neighbouring Russia, Fletcher frequently mentioned the danger coming from "the country of Chrim Tartar" and the measures undertaken by the Russian government in order to prevent it. He also supplied a detailed and extensive ethnographic description of "the Chrim Tartars," especially emphasising their military strength and strategies.<sup>84</sup>

In 1598, that is three years after the first publication of the *Tartariae Descriptio* a treatise called *De Tartaris Diarium* appeared, which was almost entirely dedicated to the Crimea.<sup>85</sup> This treatise was written by Guilielmus Brussius Scotus (i.e. William Bruce from Scotland), who stayed in the court of the "supremus Polonius Cancellaris et Bellus Dux" Jan Zamojski. He himself, in all probability, did not travel to the Crimea, but socialised with Antonius Spinola, the Genoese ambassador of the Crimean Khan Khadgi Girej to Poland. Another work written by this author clearly shows his interest in oriental political affairs (mainly, in Persian and Turkish).<sup>86</sup> However, *De Tartaris Diarium* is dedicated only to the Crimean Khanate. The purpose of this treatise was to show the importance of this state for European countries and reveal the character of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Khanate. In all probability, Guilielmus had already been acquainted with the work of Martinus Broniovius. However, his familiarity with the text can only be noted in the description of some Crimean towns,<sup>87</sup> further geographical and political information he received from other sources (most likely from the previously mentioned Genoese ambassador). *De Tartaris Diarium* was published only once in 1598 and has not been examined

<sup>83</sup>Giles Fletcher, "Of the Russian Commonwealth," in *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Edward Bond (London: Hakluyt Society, 1856).

<sup>84</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, Sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol. 1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 537, 544, 546, 549-551.

<sup>85</sup>Guilielmus Brussius Scotus, *Guilielmii Brussii Scoti De Tartaris Diarium* (Francfurt: Apud Heredes Andrea Wecheli, 1598) (hereafter: Guilielmus Brussius, *Diarium*).

<sup>86</sup>Guilielmus Brussius Scotus, *Ad Principes Populumque Christianum, de Bello adversus Turcos Gerendo* (Leipsig, 1595).

<sup>87</sup>Guilielmus Brussius, *Diarium*, 5-6.

previously by any scholar; a short extract from the work was published in 1692 by Nicolaas Witsen, a burgomaster (*burgemeester*) of Amsterdam.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, in terms of the typology of travels and travellers, it is possible to distinguish the following groups:

- a) accounts of participants in diplomatic missions;
- b) accounts of commercial travellers and merchants;
- c) accounts of missionaries;
- d) "captivity accounts."<sup>89</sup>

Travel accounts can also be distinguished by the place of destination:

- a) accounts of travellers for whom the Crimea represented the place of a final destination; travellers of this kind spent a considerably long period of time in the Crimea;
- b) accounts of travellers who used the Crimea as a temporary transit point and then continued their voyages farther (usually in the eastern direction);
- c) accounts of travellers who never visited the Crimea, but resided in adjacent countries, where some of them socialised with the inhabitants of the Crimea.

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<sup>88</sup>Nicolaas Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* (Amsterdam, 1692), 575-576.

<sup>89</sup>This term for accounts left by various reluctant "travellers" who were taken prisoners was suggested by Michael Harbsmeier. Michael Harbsmeier, "Elementary Structure of Otherness: an Analysis of Sixteenth-Century German Travel Accounts," in *Voyager a la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Ceard and Jean-Claud Margolin (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), 342-343.

### CHAPTER 3

#### THE CRIMEA AS SEEN BY TRAVELLERS: GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

As can be seen from the review of the sources, travel accounts related to the history of the Crimea in the late Middle Ages are quite diverse and varied, not only in their content and style, but also in regard to the reasons of the authors to write them, the circumstances of writing, and the attitude of the authors towards particular issues. However, before analysing such particular problems as the history of various nations which inhabited the Crimea or the history of the Crimean settlements, it is worth looking at the problems which bore a more general character. Some of them, such as the problems of the overall image of the Crimea and reason for the travellers' interest in this region are closely connected with the psychological problems of the mentality of medieval people and their perception of the surrounding world (see subchapter 3.1 and 3.2).

Another problem, namely the toponyms used by travellers for certain geographic objects or settlements, is also significant. Toponyms display various patterns, associated with geographical objects, people's attitude towards them, their knowledge about the history of those places, and other details. These aspects are reflected in toponyms used for the designation of the Crimea as well (see subchapter 3.3).

As already been told, the Ottoman conquest of the Crimea in 1475 meant the beginning of a new period in the life of the peninsula. All the political powers which had been existed before were liquidated and the peninsula was actually divided into two parts: the Ottoman and Tatar. In addition to the political and administrative changes, there were crucial changes in the economic, social, and national structures of the region. These events were described in numerous travel accounts. We have much information on the changes in the national structure, including various ethnographic details, and on the characterisation of the nations inhabiting the Crimea during that



period (see the analysis of this data in the fourth chapter). Unfortunately, information about the economic, political, and administrative changes is not sufficiently detailed, but still is interesting and valuable (see subchapter 3.4).

### 3.1. Reasons for travellers' interest in the Crimea

The travellers who left their notes concerning the history of the Crimea came to this place from various European countries. Accordingly, each country had its own reasons for being interested in the situation in and around the Crimea. However, the main reason for visiting the region throughout the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries was predominantly commercial, connected mostly with the trade-markets in the Genoese towns of the Crimea. This reason was especially significant, of course, for the Italian travellers for whom the journey to Caffa or Sudak was similar to the journey to some remote part of Italy. Ambrogio Contarini and his compatriots, for example, were so excited when they finally reached their compatriots in Caffa after having several encounters with the Tatars, that they thanked God for relieving them from their troubles and started to sing the "Te Deum."<sup>90</sup> Some of the Italian travellers, as for example Marco Polo, even had relatives in the Crimea.<sup>91</sup>

This familiarity with the Crimean towns can also explain why the Italians did not write about them very extensively: travellers are usually stimulated to describe something new, peculiar and strange, but not phenomena similar to their own. A good example of this are the words of Marco Polo in the epilogue to his work: "...we have not spoken to you of the Black Sea or the provinces that lie around it, although we ourselves explored it thoroughly. I refrain from telling you this, because it seems to me that it would be tedious to recount what is neither needful nor useful and what is daily recounted by others. For there are so many who explore these waters and sail upon them every day... that everybody knows what is to be found there."<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 191.

<sup>91</sup>See page 12 about the relationship of Polo family to the Crimea.

<sup>92</sup>Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, ed. and trans. Henry Yule, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1921), 491.

However, the Italians were not the only ones attracted by the existence of the Genoese trading settlements. Many travellers from other countries (such as the Spaniard Tafur and the Frenchman Guillebert de Lannoy) stayed in Caffa, describing the town and the hospitality of the Genoese.<sup>93</sup>

Some travellers (such as Theodore, Rubruquis, Nikitin, and Contarini) were mainly interested in the Genoese towns of the Crimea as a trans-shipment point and a temporary residence before continuing their journeys farther. Usually, such travellers did not stay on the territory of the peninsula for a long time and left rather superficial descriptions of it.<sup>94</sup>

Another major reason for visiting the Crimea was a military one: travellers were interested in the Crimea as a dangerous and bellicose neighbour, worthy of knowing better. Martinus Broniovius, who left the most detailed description of the Crimea, even received from the King of Poland, Stephen Bathory, the instruction which ordered him (in cooperation with Andrzej Taranowski, who was sent to the Crimea earlier), to redirect the attacks of the Crimean Tatars from Poland to Russia.<sup>95</sup> In fact, Broniovius's account provides much information related to the military strategies and forces of the Crimean Tatars, specifying the number of soldiers, features of their tactics, and many other details. Without any doubt, it was primarily the military danger which the Crimean Tatars represented for the neighbouring countries (especially for Russia), that stimulated Herberstein, Horsey, and Fletcher, European travellers sent to Moscow, to dedicate several pages in their accounts to the description of the Crimea, to the invasions of the Tatars into Russian lands, and to the military conflicts between the Tatar Khans and the Russian Tsars.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>93</sup>Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy (1399-1450)* (Mons: d'em Hoyos, 1840), 42; Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 132-136.

<sup>94</sup>Theodore, "Episkopa Feodora Alanskoe poslanie" [Bishop Theodore Alanian's epistle], trans. Julian Kulakovskij *ZOOID* 21 (1898): 15-27; William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 145-147; Afanasij Nikitin, *Khozsenie*, 50; *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 189-191.

<sup>95</sup>He received this instruction on the 4th of May, 1578. See *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Cracov: Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci), "Marcin Broniewski," by Kazimierz Chodyncki, 461.

<sup>96</sup>See Jerome Horsey, "Travels," in *Rude and Barbarous*, 270-273; Giles Fletcher, "Of the Russian Commonwealth," in *Ibid.*, 191-202; Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549), xix-xx.

One of the reasons for the German-speaking travellers' interest in the Crimea was the existence of the Gothic population on the Crimean territory. This, probably, was the reason why Schiltberger mentioned the region Gothia in his travel account,<sup>97</sup> and Jorg of Nuremberg described in detail the fall of Theodoro, the capital of the Crimean Goths.<sup>98</sup> Especially significant from this point of view is the testimony of Bousbecq, who wrote that he was interested in the Crimean Goths because of the fact that he had often heard about them before.<sup>99</sup>

An interesting exception from the aforementioned works is the description of the Crimea by Michalon Lituanus, who was a member of the diplomatic mission to the Crimea in 1543 and wrote his work for propagandistic and didactic purposes, wishing to represent the way of life of the Crimean Tatars and Moscovites as an example of proper behaviour for his compatriots.<sup>100</sup>

### 3.2. Overall attitude of travellers towards the Crimea and its image in their portrayal

There are several factors which influence a traveller's view regarding the image of and attitude to any country or geographic area:

- 1) geographic location, climate and other natural conditions of an area;
- 2) established image of a country or region, commonly believed to be true, information collected prior to a voyage;
- 3) circumstances of and a reason or aim of a voyage;
- 4) minor factors of a subjective character: the length of a traveller's stay and experiences providing a negative or positive impression, which happened to him during his sojourn in a country; a traveller's knowledge of the language spoken; the similarity or dissimilarity of a visited country to a traveller's native land; educational background of a traveller, etc.

<sup>97</sup>Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 136.

<sup>98</sup>Jorg of Nuremberg, *Geschichte von der Turkey*, B.

<sup>99</sup>de Bousbecq, *Epistolae IV*, 242.

<sup>100</sup>Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*.

These are the main factors which one has to keep in mind when analysing the reasons why a traveller created a certain kind of image of a country described in his travel notes.

Since the Crimea was situated on the borders of Oikumene, the factor of "territorial marginality" also influenced the process of creating the image of the country. Ever since ancient times, such marginal territories were believed to be inhabited by monstrous races, such as dog-headed people, with an inhospitable climate and difficult conditions of life.<sup>101</sup>

Nevertheless, the travellers who visited the Crimea before 1475, had a less negative opinion about this country: even though they were very much afraid of the nomads inhabiting its northern and central parts (the Cumans, and then the Tatars), they still traditionally thought of the Crimea as a friendly and civilised country and frequented the Byzantine and Genoese towns of the peninsula. Thus, in general, travellers of this period described the Crimea approximately in the following way: a beautiful and good country, where one could find several big towns inhabited by Christians, in the steppe area of which, unfortunately, lived pagan tribes.<sup>102</sup>

However, from the beginning of the fifteenth century with the growth of the power of the Crimean Tatars, the character of travel notes underwent a change. For the travellers of this period (Tafur, Contarini, Lannoy, and others), the Crimea seemed to be a dangerous and hostile region, inhabited mainly by infidels and rude barbarians with only a few Christian towns, which had become a risky and difficult enterprise to reach.<sup>103</sup> Such an attitude towards the Crimea was especially clearly reflected in the account of Ambrogio Contarini who, several times stopped by the Tatar detachments on his way to Caffa, and being often terrified, when he finally got rid of them wrote: "I

<sup>101</sup>Ovidius created exactly such an image of the Crimea as a country inhabited by the Tauros, a barbarous and inhospitable people, who were pirates and sacrificed every foreigner whom they managed to capture. Publius Ovidius Naso, *Epistulae ex Ponta*, III, 2, 45-49, (Leipsig, 1873).

<sup>102</sup>Theodore, "Episkopa Feodora Alanskoe poslanie" [Bishop Theodore Alanian's epistle], trans. Julian Kulakovskij *ZOOID* 21 (1898): 15-27; S.G. Mercatti, "Diegesis les poleos Theodori versi di Matteo Ieromonaco," *Studi Bizantini* 2 (1927): 26-30; Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 135-136.

<sup>103</sup>See the travel descriptions of three aforementioned travellers: Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy (1399-1450)* (Mons: d'em Hoyos, 1840), 42; Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 132-136; *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 188-191.

was pleased to be free from those confounded dogs, who smelt of horse-flesh to such a degree, that there was no standing near them."<sup>104</sup>

Obviously, after the Ottoman conquest of the Crimea, when the country was entirely subjugated by Moslems, the European travellers could not characterise it in a positive way. The travel accounts of this period are full of descriptions of the Crimean Tatars, their rude and barbarous manners, their unfaithfulness and treachery.<sup>105</sup> Many times special emphasis was put on the devastation of and the plundering raids into the territories of the adjacent countries,<sup>106</sup> the sufferings of the remnants of the Christian population in the infidel surrounding, and the tortures to which the Tatars exposed their Christian captives.<sup>107</sup>

Such a negative characterisation of the Crimea can be found in many travel descriptions of the majority of the European travellers almost until 1783, when the Crimea was conquered and joined to Russia.

### 3.3. Toponyms used by travellers

The first known name, used by European travellers for the designation of the Crimea in the medieval period was *Gasaria* (*Cassaria*), mentioned in the itinerary of Willielmus de Rubruquis in 1253.<sup>108</sup> This name was later also used in other travel descriptions of the Crimea: by the monk Matthew (1395, in the form *Gazaria*),<sup>109</sup> by Josaphath Barbaro (the last quarter of the fifteenth century),<sup>110</sup> and Martinus Broniovius

<sup>104</sup>Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii, 190.

<sup>105</sup>See the detailed analysis of the image of the Crimean Tatars in the following chapter.

<sup>106</sup>As a good example, see the description of the devastation of Moscow by Devlet-Girej in 1571 in the travel notes of Jerome Horsey: "Travels," in *Rude and Barbarous*, 270-273.

<sup>107</sup>One of the travellers, Michalon Lituanus, even reproduced a sorrowful monologue of one of his compatriots whom he met in the slave-market in Caffa: Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 210.

<sup>108</sup>According to him, it was called *Gasaria* by the Latin inhabitants of the Crimea, while the Greeks named it *Cassaria* or *Caesaria*: *Provincia quaedam, quae nunc dicitur a Latinis Gasaria, a Grecis vero qui inhabitant eam super littus maris dicitur Cassaria, hoc est Caesaria*. See William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 144.

<sup>109</sup>S.G. Mercatti, "Diegesis les poleos Theodori versi di Matteo Ieromonaco," *Studi Bizantini* 2 (1927): 26-30;

<sup>110</sup>His main designation for the Crimea was *l'insula de Capha*, but he mentioned that earlier it was called *Gazaria*. *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 178.

(1578). As observed by the latter, this name (*Gadzaria*, according to his transliteration) was used by barbarians.<sup>111</sup>

This name (*Gazaria*) testifies to the presence of the Khazars on the Crimean territory in the seventh-ninth centuries. These people were so influential and left such a strong mark on the Crimean history that traces of it could still be felt in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries. In addition, some authors probably considered the Tatars to be the Khazars or their descendants. This name (*Gasaria*, *La Gazaria*) was especially popular among the Italians who designated by it the eastern part of the Crimean peninsula.<sup>112</sup> However, not only the Italians used it. Already in the tenth century Constantine Porphyrogenitus called the Crimea *Χαζαρια*.<sup>113</sup> A horoscope from Trapezunt belonging to 1336 names this land *χωρασ της Χαζαριασ*,<sup>114</sup> while John, a prince of the Crimean Gothia, was referred to in the epithaph of his deceased child in the middle of the fifteenth century as a prince of the whole of Khazaria (*αυφεντεσ Χαζαριασ*).<sup>115</sup> This name was especially frequently used in numerous Venetian-Genoese documents of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.<sup>116</sup> Some geographers still used this toponym (by then archaic) even in the sixteenth century.<sup>117</sup>

Another designation, which clearly reflected the ethnographic changes on the Crimean territory, was *Tartaria*. The Tatars, who first appeared in this peninsula on 27th of January, 1223, settled there and became very influential by the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>118</sup> The traveller who first noted that the influence of the Tatars on the Crimean territory had become overwhelming, and named this country *Tartarie*,

<sup>111</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 4.

<sup>112</sup>E.Ch.Skrzinskaja, commentaries to *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 178.

<sup>113</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti De Administrando Imperio*, 252, 255.

<sup>114</sup>R.M.Shukurov, "Tiurki na pravoslavnom Ponte v 13-15 vekah" [The Turks on the territory of the orthodox Pont in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries], in *Prichernomorje v Srednie Veka* 2, ed. S.P. Karpov (Moscow: MGU, 1995), 84.

<sup>115</sup>D.S.Spiridonov, "Zametki po istorii Ellenizma v Krymu" [Notes on the history of Hellenism in the Crimea], *ITOIAE* 2 (1928): 20-21.

<sup>116</sup>"Sbornik Venetsiansko-Genuezskih gramot (1342-1491)" [The collection of the Venetian-Genoese charters (1342-1491)], *ZOOID* 4 (1858): 183-236.

<sup>117</sup>Dominicus Marius Niger Venetus, *Geographiae Commentariorum Libri XI* (Basel, 1557), 249. The author distinguished two parts of the Crimea: the southern, named *Gothia*, and the northern, named *Gazaria*.

<sup>118</sup>"Zametki XII-XV veka...", 601.

was a French ambassador to the East, Guillebert de Lannoy (1421).<sup>119</sup> Other travellers of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries also called the peninsula *Tartaria* or *Tartaria Minor*.<sup>120</sup> The latter name clearly shows the distinction between the Small Tartary (i.e. the Crimea) and the Major Tartary (the name for Asiatic Tataria).

A name used by Johannes Schiltberger in the beginning of the fifteenth century also had an ethnographic character. He mentioned that another country belonging to the Tatars (meaning the Crimea) is called *Kopetzach* (*Kiptchack*).<sup>121</sup> In fact, *Desht-i-Kiptchack* ("The Cuman Steppe") was the name used by Arab and Persian writers for defining the whole territory of the steppes of the Azov and Northern Black Sea area.<sup>122</sup> Thus, this toponym reflected the presence of the Cumans in the Crimea, who were very powerful until the second invasion of the Tatars in 1239-1240.<sup>123</sup> The process of the supplanting of the Cumans in the Crimean territory by the Tatars was very well described by Willielmus de Rubruquis in 1253.<sup>124</sup>

During the sixteenth century the above mentioned toponyms were hardly ever used (with exception of *Tartaria* or *Tartaria Minor*). They were replaced by two new ones: *Taurica Chersonesos*, and *Perecop*.<sup>125</sup> These two terms were usually used by European travellers together, with an indication that the former was the ancient name of this peninsula, while its new name became *Perecop*.<sup>126</sup>

In fact, in the early and late antiquity, the Greeks called the Crimea *Taurica Chersonesos* or *Taurida*. At that time this peninsula was famous for them not only

<sup>119</sup>Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy (1399-1450)* (Mons: d'em Hoyos, 1840), 41-42.

<sup>120</sup>Guillielmus Brussius, *Diarium*, 3; Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 4; *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 189; Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 132.

<sup>121</sup>Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 135.

<sup>122</sup>E.Ch.Skrzinskaja, commentaries to *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 177; V.G.Chentsova, "Materialy...", 178. See for example, the travel description of the country of *Desht-i-Kiptchack* (i.e. the Crimea) in the work of a famous Persian traveller of the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta: *Sbornik Materialov Otnosiashihsia k Istorii Zolotoj Ordj* [The collection of materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], ed. V.Tizengauzen, vol.1 (St. Petersburg, 1884), 278-314.

<sup>123</sup>V.G.Chentsova, "Materialy...", 178.

<sup>124</sup>William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 147.

<sup>125</sup>Other variants: *Precop*, *Praecop*, *Przecop*, *Perecopia*, etc.

<sup>126</sup>Matthias a Michovia, "De Sarmatia Asiana et Europeana," in *Polonicae Historiae Corpus* (Basel: per Sebastianum Henricpetri, 1582), 132, 139; de Bousbecq, *Epistolae IV*, 246; Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 4; Michalon Lituanius, *De Moribus*, 191.

because of the existence of the Greek colonies on its territory, but also because of the fact that the southern shore of the peninsula was inhabited by the "bellicose and inhospitable" barbarian tribe, the *Tauros*. There is also another version which tells that *Taurida* is a distortion of the word *Tafros* ("ditch," "moat"). This variant used for the designation of the Crimea can be found in the works of various Greek and Roman authors of antiquity.<sup>127</sup>

The recollection, or more precisely, the revival of this forgotten name can be explained by a general trend, which appeared among the inhabitants of Europe from the late fifteenth century on: Europeans, using the critical editions of the ancient geographers, were inclined to discover not the New, but the Old World at that moment.<sup>128</sup> One of these ancient works, namely *Geography* written in Greek about 150 A.D. by the Egyptian astronomer Claudius Ptolomeus, had a special significance for them. Translated firstly into Latin in 1410, it became popular and familiar to medieval scholars after the second magnificent edition of 1478, with illustrations and maps.<sup>129</sup> Obviously, some of these ancient works were known to the travellers visiting the Crimea at that time as well. Martinus Broniovius, for example, when explaining various Crimean toponyms, made several direct references to Ptolomeus, Plinius, Livius, Strabo, and others Greek and Roman writers.<sup>130</sup>

The toponym *Perekop*, considered by travellers as more suitable for the characterisation of the contemporary state of the Crimea, is another good example of revealing patterns of perception of this peninsula which were widespread among the travellers going there from Europe.

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<sup>127</sup>See the monography of M.V.Skrzinskaja, where the author analysed the data of the Greek authors about the Crimea. M.V.Skrzinskaja, *Drevnegrecheskij Folklor i Literatura o Severnom Prichernomorje* [The ancient-Greek folklore and literature about the Northern Black Sea Area] (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1991).

<sup>128</sup>Stephen Olaf Turk Christensen, "The Image of Europe in Anglo-German Travel Literature," in *Voayager a la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Ceard and Jean-Claud Margolin (Paris: Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), 257-258.

<sup>129</sup>Arhtur Percival Newton, "The Conception of the World in the Middle Ages, in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, ed. Arhtur Percival Newton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1926; repr., London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), 1-18.

<sup>130</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 9.



After the Ottoman Turks blocked the traditional way of reaching the peninsula by sea, the most common way for Europeans to enter the Crimea was by land. The first Crimean settlement, situated on the Chongar Isthmus, connecting the peninsula with the continent, was the fortress named *Or* in the language of the Crimean Tatars, which was adapted as *Perekop* in Russian.<sup>131</sup> Both variants meant the same: a "ditch" or "moat." As the only way to penetrate into the realms of the peninsula from the land was via the castle of Or, the Slavonic variant of the name was soon spread to the whole Crimea. This fact is precisely reflected in travel accounts: Michalon Lituanus explained that the castle of Perekop was the only entrance to this land, and this was the reason why the castle and the whole peninsula were named in this way.<sup>132</sup> Siegmund von Herberstein tells the story about a certain Khan who, having decided to join the waters of the Black and Azov seas, ordered a great ditch to be dug. According to him, this ditch was called *Prekop* in Slavonic, and because of this event the Khan was named "Prekopski Khan."<sup>133</sup> The stories and legends about the construction of the ditch can also be found in other travel descriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>134</sup> However, all these legends reflect the existence of a real moat, which was a part of the fortifications of the castle of Or.<sup>135</sup>

At the end of the fifteenth century the Venetian traveller Josaphath Barbaro called the Crimea *l'insula de Capha*.<sup>136</sup> This toponym can be explained by the fact that Barbaro, being an Italian, was influenced by the main Crimean town, the Genoese

<sup>131</sup>An Ottoman traveller of the seventeenth century, Evliya Chelebi, wrote down other variants of the name of this stronghold: *Or-Agzy* and *Or-Kapusu* (The "gates" or "mouth" to Or). The official name *Ferahkerman* ("The Fortress of Happiness") was very rarely used. Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga Puteshestvij* [The book of travels], transl. M.Kizilov (Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1996), 50, 59-61 (hereafter: Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*).

<sup>132</sup>Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 191.

<sup>133</sup>Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549), xix-xx.

<sup>134</sup>For the most detailed and interesting legend of this kind see the travel writings of an Ottoman traveller Evliya Chelebi. Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 58-60.

<sup>135</sup>The construction of this fortress was started, probably, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, during the reign of the Crimean Khan Mengli Girej. See A.Malinovskij, "Istoricheskoe i diplomaticheskoe sobranie del proishodivshih mezdu Rossijskimi velikimi kniazjami i byvshimi v Krymu tatarskimi tsariami s 1462 po 1533 [Historical and diplomatic collection of affairs which took place between the Russian Grand Dukes and the Crimean-Tatar Tsars from 1462 to 1533], *ZOOID* 5 (1863): 173.

<sup>136</sup>Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii, 129.

town of Caffa. Another reason for naming the peninsula in this way was the fact that Barbaro saw the Crimea from the point of view of an inhabitant of the Italian town of Tana, for whom the main part of the Crimea was the eastern one with Caffa as its centre. Other travellers did not use this name.

The term *Crim* (Chrim, Kirim, Krim, КРЫМ) became the main toponym for the designation of the Crimea only in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, the adjectival form *Crimenses* (sometimes together with *Precopenses*) was mostly used by European travellers for distinguishing the Crimean Tatars (i.e. *Crimenses Tartari*) from the Tatars of other khanates. However, the Arab and Persian writers of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries already knew the toponym *Crim*, designating by it predominantly the main residence of the Crimean Khans, the town of Crim, but sometimes the whole territory of the peninsula.<sup>137</sup>

This ethnonym, which was later spread for the designation of the entire peninsula, appeared as a consequence of the gradual replacement of the old name of the capital of the Crimean Khanate, Solkhat, by the new one, Crim.<sup>138</sup> By 1578 the toponym *Solkhat* was unknown to Martinus Broniovius, who called this town *Cremum* or *Crimum*. He also mentioned that the Tatars inhabiting this peninsula were called Crimean (*Crimenses Tartari*) specifically because of the fame of their main town.<sup>139</sup> The etymology of this word is controversial, but it is generally believed that it meant "ditch."<sup>140</sup> However, already at the end of the sixteenth century, the toponym Crim as the term for the designation of the whole peninsula started to become familiar not only

<sup>137</sup>See the works of El-Kalkashandi, Rukn-ad-din Bejbars, Ibn-Khaldun, and others: *Sbornik Materialov Otnosiashihsia k Istorii Zolotoj Ordj* [The collection of materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], ed. V.Tizengauzen, vol.1 (St. Petersburg, 1884), 112, 382-383, 413.

<sup>138</sup>Some scholars, however, considered that they were two different names used for the designation of the same settlement. In their point of view, *Solkhat* was used predominantly by the Genoese and *Crim* by the Tatars. See O.Dombrovskij and V.Sidorenko, *Solkhat i Surb-Khach* [Solkhat and Surb-Khach] (Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1978), 16.

<sup>139</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 9.

<sup>140</sup>O.Dombrovskij and V.Sidorenko, *Solkhat i Surb-Khach* [Solkhat and Surb-Khach] (Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1978), 18.

to Oriental, but also to European travellers. The English travellers Giles Fletcher and Jerome Horsey called the country *Chrim/Crim* or *Chrim Tartar*.<sup>141</sup>

### 3.4. The Crimea before and after the Ottoman conquest

#### 3.4.1. Administrative and political structures

The travellers of the period before the Ottoman conquest did not write as extensively on the administrative and political structure of the Crimea as the travellers who visited the peninsula after this event. The first traveller who left some information concerning the distribution of the Crimean land among various political powers was William de Rubruquis (1253). He wrote that there were two main ports and towns, Kersova and Soldaia, which were situated on the eastern and western sides of the Crimean peninsula, with "forty castles"<sup>142</sup> inhabited by the Goths between them, while the plain on the northern part had been occupied by the Cumans, who were later defeated by the Tatars. In addition, he also wrote that these settlements had had to pay tribute to the Cumans.<sup>143</sup>

Already in the beginning of the fifteenth century Johannes Schiltberger referred to the country *Kiptchack* (i.e. the Crimea) as being subject to the Tatars. However, he also distinguished within the country the region Gothia, inhabited by a Christian population with its capital Karkeri (Kyrk-Or), and two other towns: Caffa and Sarukerman (i.e. Kherson). According to him, the capital of the whole country of Kiptchack was Solkhat (in some manuscripts *Bulchat*).<sup>144</sup>

The same picture of the growing impact of the Tatars on the political and administrative structure of the Crimea was portrayed by Guillebert de Lannoy and Pero

<sup>141</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, Sent from Her majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol. 1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 537, 544. Jerome Horsey, "Travels," in *Rude and Barbarous*, 270-273.

<sup>142</sup>This "quadraginta castella" ("forty castles") should be understood as a translation of the name of the castle of Kyrk-Or (Turkic "Forty Castles"). A.G.Gertsen and Y.M.Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or] (Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1993), 44-45.

<sup>143</sup>William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 145-147.

<sup>144</sup>Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 135-136.

Tafur in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The first of these two travellers called this country *Tartarie* and had several dangerous encounters with the Tatars until he successfully reached the Genoese town Caffa.<sup>145</sup>

Pero Tafur considered that the Crimea belonged entirely to the Empire of Tartary, and that the Genoese inhabitants of Caffa lived there only by permission of the Tatars. Like Schiltberger, he too considered the main town of the Crimea to be *Corcate* (i.e. Solkhat).<sup>146</sup>

Very valuable description relevant to this problem can be found in *Viaggio alla Tana* by the Italian traveller Josaphath Barbaro. The traveller observed the Crimea over a long period of time: he was in the neighbourhood of the Crimea before 1475, whereas his account was completed only around 1488-1489.<sup>147</sup> Concerning the administrative division of land between Turkey and the Crimean Khanate, he reported that several Crimean ports situated on the eastern and southern shore belonged to the Ottoman Sultan, while the steppe and two towns (Solkhat and Cherchiarde) were subjects of Ulubi, a son of Khadji Girej Khan.<sup>148</sup> In fact, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the capital of the Crimean Tatars was moved from Solkhat to Kyrk-Or (*Cherchiarde* according to Barbaro).<sup>149</sup> Another Italian traveller Ambrogio Contarini, who visited the Crimea in 1474, mentioned *Chercher* (i.e. Kyrk-Or) as the residence of the Crimean Khan.<sup>150</sup> Although this picture of the division of the Crimean land left by Barbaro is not detailed, it precisely reflects the distribution of land between Turkey and the Khanate. It is also interesting that at the time of Barbaro's journey to the Crimea, old national regions could still be distinguished. Barbaro reported that there were two regions situated near Caffa: Gothia and Alania, which were inhabited by a mixed ethnic group called the *Gothalani*.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>145</sup>Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy (1399-1450)* (Mons: d'em Hoyos, 1840), 41-42.

<sup>146</sup>Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 132.

<sup>147</sup>E.Ch.Skrzinskaja, commentaries to *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 15.

<sup>148</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 129.

<sup>149</sup>A.G.Gertsen and Y.M.Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or] (Simferopol: Tavrija, 1993), 64.

<sup>150</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 190.

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*, 131-132.

Shortly before the Ottoman conquest the Khan Mengli Girej (who later became the first Crimean Khan appointed by the Ottomans), was expelled from the new capital, the castle Kyrk-Or, by his rival *bej*<sup>152</sup> Eminek. Barbaro tells a very interesting and detailed story about the circumstances which allowed Mengli Girej to escape from the Ottoman guard in Caffa, and, having killed Eminek, to regain power and seize Kyrk-Or.<sup>153</sup>

Unfortunately, no traveller left a description of the Ottoman conquest itself. Travellers usually simply mentioned this as a fact, sometimes supplying valuable, but not sufficiently detailed remarks.<sup>154</sup> However, an extensive description of this event can be found in the Ottoman chronicles<sup>155</sup> and in the Genoese documents.<sup>156</sup>

Similar data about the administrative division of the land between the Ottoman Turks and Tatars was left by Martinus Broniovius. According to him, almost all Crimean towns and maritime castles, except Perekop, Goeslev, and several small Greek settlements, belonged to the Ottoman Sultan and were guarded by his garrisons.<sup>157</sup> The most detailed description of the Crimean territory was left by Evliya Chelebi, who frequently mentioned the distinction between the land of the *eyeler*<sup>158</sup> of Caffa (i.e. the Ottoman territory) and the land belonging to the Crimean Khan, naming exactly which of the settlements were under the jurisdiction of the two sides.<sup>159</sup> After comparing information recorded by travellers concerning the administrative division of the Crimea with exact statistical data from the end of the eighteenth century,<sup>160</sup> I

<sup>152</sup>*Bej* - a rank in the Crimean-Tatar nobility.

<sup>153</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 131.

<sup>154</sup>As for example, Jorg of Nuremberg, who reported that in 1475 the Ottoman Sultan Mohammed II captured three Crimean towns: Caffa, Sodoya (Sudak), and Sandtoder (Theodoro), adding some minor details. Jorg of Nuremberg, *Geschichte von der Turkey*, B.

<sup>155</sup>See the list of these chronicles and extracts from some of them in Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 254-259.

<sup>156</sup>See the collection of documents relating to the capture of the Crimea and the fall of Caffa in L.P.Kolly, "Documenty o padenii Kaffy" [Documents relating to the fall of Caffa], *ITUAK* 45 (1911): 1-18.

<sup>157</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 13.

<sup>158</sup>*Eyeler* - an administrative unit in medieval Turkey governed by a *pasha*.

<sup>159</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 77-78.

<sup>160</sup>"Statisticheskie svedeniya o Kryme sobrannye *kajmakani* v 1783 godu" [The statistical data about the Crimea collected by *kajmakans* in 1783], *ZOOID* 14 (1886): 91-156.

contend that the travellers recorded it quite precisely, and their ideas about the distribution of land were correct.

There is no unanimity of opinion among historians concerning the character of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate. V.D. Smirnov considered that "it is very hard to define how these two powers divided their competence."<sup>161</sup> The American historian Alan Fisher believed that they were two independent states sharing the territory of the same peninsula.<sup>162</sup> However, the majority of scholars share the view that the Ottoman Empire almost totally controlled the administrative and political sphere of the Crimea, changing and appointing khans arbitrarily.<sup>163</sup> The last point of view can be substantiated by the testimonies of travellers.

Martinus Broniovius wrote that after the Ottoman conquest "the Khans accepted the overlordship of the Turks, who choose and appoint the Tatar princes, give them a flag, and take their sons as hostages."<sup>164</sup> Guilielmus Brussius Scotus and Fransiskus von Billerberg wrote that the Crimean Tartary was a vassal of Turkey, adding that the Crimean Tatars had to pay annual tribute to the Ottomans.<sup>165</sup> Some later travellers, such as the Englishman, Paul Ricaut, described the character of these relations as being even harsher: "The Tartar is to the Turk as the Jackal to the Lion, who hunts and finds the prey for the Lion to overcome and feed on..."<sup>166</sup> Jean de Luca also illustrated the relations between the Ottoman rulers and the khans in his *Description of the Perekop and Nogaj Tatars*: "When the Tatar Khan does not want to obey his [the Ottoman Sultan] orders, [the Sultan] throws him down from the throne. ...the Sultan wins all

<sup>161</sup>My translation from: V.D.Smirnov, *Krymskoe Khanstvo pod Verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty* [The Crimean Khanate under the rule of Ottoman Empire] (St. Petersburg, 1887), 333-335.

<sup>162</sup>Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 14.

<sup>163</sup>S.V.Bakhrushin, "Osnovnye momenty istorii Krymskogo Khanstva" [The main events of the history of the Crimean Khanate], *MAIET* 3 (1993): 330.

<sup>164</sup>My translation from: Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 14.

<sup>165</sup>Guilielmus Brussius, *Diarium*, 6; Fransiskus von Billerberg, *Most Rare and Strange Discourses...* (London, n.d.), no page numbers.

<sup>166</sup>Paul Ricaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: printed by T.N., 1682), 108.

the time."<sup>167</sup> Evliya Chelebi, being an Ottoman Turk, could not characterise these relations in such an open manner, but described in detail the circumstances of the removal of the Khan Mehmed Girej IV by the Ottoman Sultan in 1665.<sup>168</sup> This event, which was not rare in the relations between the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire, is a good example proving the total submission of the Crimea to Turkey.

### 3.4.2. Economic structures

Unfortunately, the travellers who visited the Crimea in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries did not leave information on such exact details as the amount of goods imported and exported from the Crimea, the number of people occupied in crafts, or the amount of agricultural production. However, using the travellers' data, it is possible to establish a general picture of the economy of the Crimea, and trace the changes that happened after 1475.<sup>169</sup>

According to travel descriptions, before the Ottoman conquest, the Crimea was mainly inhabited by a Christian population, where different kinds of corn were cultivated, wine grew,<sup>170</sup> and trade flourished. There are many descriptions regarding the development of trade in the Genoese towns of the Crimea. Messer Matteo Polo, the father of Marco Polo, came to Sudak, which was the most important port of the Crimea before the strengthening of Caffa, with the aim of finding a better place for trading his wares.<sup>171</sup> In the second half of the fourteenth century Caffa became the main Crimean town and port. The Spanish traveller Pero Tafur described it as a great town, "large as Seville, with twice as many inhabitants."<sup>172</sup> According to his account,

<sup>167</sup>Hereafter my translation from: Jean de Luca, "Opisanie Perekopskih i Nogajskih Tatar, Cherkesov, Mingrelov i Gruzin" [Description of the Perekop and Nogaj Tatars, Cherkessians, Mingrels, and Georgians], *ZOOID* 11 (1879): 484.

<sup>168</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 135-159.

<sup>169</sup>A very good example of the usage of the travellers' data as a supplementary source material for examining the trade in the Crimea is the recent work of A.G.Yemanov: *Sever i Yug v Istorii Kommertsii* [The North and South in the history of commerce] (Tumen': Rutra, 1995).

<sup>170</sup>According to Johannes Schiltberger, wine was produced in the region of the Crimean Gothia: Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 136.

<sup>171</sup>Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, ed. and trans. Henry Yule, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1921), 4.

<sup>172</sup>Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 132.

there was a slave market, where the Tatars and the people of surrounding countries used to sell not only their slaves, but also their children and brothers.<sup>173</sup>

Many travellers noted that the Crimea was abundant in salt lakes, adding that the salt-trade brought great incomes to their owners.<sup>174</sup> Evliya Chelebi mentioned that the sort of salt imported from the Crimea was called "the salt from Caffa."<sup>175</sup>

From the second half of the fifteenth century, with the fall of Constantinople and the growing insecurity of trade routes, the situation regarding trade in the Crimea started to change. Ambrogio Contarini mentioned in 1474 that "the trade caravans of merchants from High Russia... are often captured as sheep by the Tatars."<sup>176</sup> E.Ch. Skrzinskaya postulates that this remark was one of the last pieces of evidence on trade of Caffa with northern countries after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.<sup>177</sup>

The Ottoman Turks, and especially the Crimean Tatars, who became a predominant ethnic element on the Crimean territory after 1475, were uninterested in the cultivation of land and production of cereals, while the Koran forbade them the consumption of wine. In the sixteenth century, in spite of the fact that the Crimean Tatars had been by-and-large sedentary by that time, their main livelihood was horse-breeding. Martinus Broniovius reported that only a small segment of the Tatars were occupied with the cultivating of the soil, while predominantly they bred horses. However, according to his account, some of the Tatars had fields cultivated by Russian, Hungarian, Valachian, and Moldavian slaves. Trade and crafts, according to Broniovius, were also not held in high regard among the Tatars.<sup>178</sup>

The lack of the popularity of bread and cereals can be explained by a strange prejudice which was widespread among the Crimean Tatars concerning these

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., 132, 136.

<sup>174</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 18; *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 129; Jean de Luca, "Opisanie Perekopskikh i Nogajskih Tatar, Cherkesov, Mingrelov i Gruzin" [Description of the Perekop and Nogaj Tatars, Cherkessians, Mingrels, and Georgians], *ZOOID* 11 (1879): 472. According to William de Rubruquis (1253), the salt was mainly exported to Russia. See William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 147.

<sup>175</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 61. In many Russian written sources this salt was called *Kaffinskaya sol'*, that is "the salt from Caffa."

<sup>176</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 189.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., 237.

<sup>178</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 17.



products. There is an interesting remark of Evliya Chelebi concerning this prejudice: "If they [the Crimean Tatars] eat bread, it sticks to their hearts and they die."<sup>179</sup> In many travel accounts we have information that the Crimean Tatars either did not eat bread at all, or only in small quantities.<sup>180</sup>

In the opinion of the majority of travellers, the main occupation of the Crimean Tatars were raids into and the plundering of adjacent Christian countries. Broniovius wrote about them: "This is a hungry and harsh people, which does not keep its oaths, alliances, and friendship, but thinks only about plundering and wars."<sup>181</sup>

As a consequence of leading constant wars, the "main product" of their trade were slaves captured during their raids. A detailed description of the slave market in Caffa, and of the tortures and humiliation of the Christian population there, can be found in the work of Michalon Lituanus from the middle of the sixteenth century. He even reproduced a long and sorrowful monologue of one of his compatriots who became a slave.<sup>182</sup> Martinus Broniovius also described the way how the Crimean Tatars conducted their military raids, how they captured and tortured their prisoners, cunningly forcing them to make their relatives pay as much money for their release from slavery as they could afford.<sup>183</sup>

In all probability, the situation was still the same during the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. An Italian traveller Jean de Luca wrote that the Crimean Tatars "sell mainly the slaves captured from people against whom they make war."<sup>184</sup> Even the Ottoman traveller Evliya Chelebi wrote with deep sorrow about the shameful, in his opinion, slave market in Karasubazar, adding also details about the skills of the local slave-traders who, by employing certain physical treatment, could easily deceive anybody

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<sup>179</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 52.

<sup>180</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 17; Jean de Luca, "Opisanie Perekopskih i Nogajskih Tatar, Cherkesov, Mingrelov i Gruzin" [Description of the Perekop and Nogaj Tatars, Cherkessians, Mingrels, and Georgians], *ZOOID* 11 (1879): 477; Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 52; Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 136.

<sup>181</sup>My translation from: Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, foreword, no page numbers.

<sup>182</sup>Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 191.

<sup>183</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 17.

<sup>184</sup>Jean de Luca, "Opisanie Perekopskih i Nogajskih Tatar, Cherkesov, Mingrelov i Gruzin" [Description of the Perekop and Nogaj Tatars, Cherkessians, Mingrels, and Georgians], *ZOOID* 11 (1879): 481.

and even sell an old and exhausted slave for a high price.<sup>185</sup> The principal market places of slave-trade of the Crimea were Caffa with the dependant ports of Azov, Kerch, and Karasubazar. In the mid-sixteenth century the state had a yearly income of one hundred thousand gold ducats from slave-trade, while the tax on each slave was four gold ducats.<sup>186</sup> According to statistical data given by A.L. Yakobson, the Crimean Tatars captured around 100 000 men from Russia between 1607 and 1617, and around 150-200 thousands during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>187</sup> The issue of the slave-trade in the Crimea is very important for a better understanding of the economic situation in the country and was analysed in several scholarly works.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>185</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 131.

<sup>186</sup>Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: the Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkovitz and Colin Imber (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1975), 131.

<sup>187</sup>A.L. Yakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* [Medieval Crimea] (Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1964), 141.

<sup>188</sup>See Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, vol.2 (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1569), 555-563; Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 26-28; Lajos Tardy, *Sklavenhandel in der Tartarei: die Frage der Mandscharen* (Szeged: Universitas Szegediensis, 1983); S.P.Karpov, "Rabotorgovlia v Juzsnom Prichernomorje v pervoj polovine XV veka" [Slave-trade in the Southern Black Sea Area in the first half of the fifteenth century], *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 46 (1986): 139-145.

## CHAPTER 4

### ETHNIC GROUPS INHABITING THE CRIMEA ACCORDING TO TRAVEL DESCRIPTIONS

#### 4.1. Variety of ethnic groups described by travellers

Besides the data which sheds light on the history, toponymy, economy, political and urban structures of the Crimea in the Middle Ages, the travellers also left much important ethnographic information. The variety of ethnic groups which inhabited the Crimea during the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries was very wide due to the fact that since ancient times many different kinds of nations had coexisted and mixed on the Crimean territory. According to their religions, these people can be divided into three major groups: the representatives of the Moslem, Christian, and Jewish communities.

The most frequently and extensively described people of the Crimean peninsula throughout the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries were the Crimean Tatars, who, with the Ottoman Turks, were the main representatives of the Moslem community. The Crimean Tatars, the most numerous people on the Crimean territory, evoked the strongest interest of the European travellers owing to the significance of their military strength and their barbarous and shocking manners. Many travel accounts considered them to be the main rivals of Russia and Poland.<sup>189</sup> Especially numerous and extensive descriptions of the Crimean Tatars were left by the travellers of the sixteenth century (see the analysis of their data in subchapter 4.2).

The Ottoman Turks, who first appeared on the territory of the Crimea during its conquest in 1475, were not frequently described in the travel accounts. The travellers simply noted the fact that the Crimean Tatars were subjects of the Ottoman Turks, who possessed the ports and towns of the southern, eastern, and partly, the western regions of the Crimea.<sup>190</sup> However, Martinus Broniovius left several brief remarks

<sup>189</sup>See for example, Jerome Horsey, "Travels," in *Rude and Barbarous*, 265; Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 549.

<sup>190</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 129; Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 13.

regarding the Turks in his travel description. In his opinion, the Ottomans lived and had their garrisons mainly in Inkerman, Balaklava, Mangoup, Sudak, and Caffa, adding some other minor details.<sup>191</sup> The brevity of the data concerning the Ottomans can be explained by many factors: firstly, the Ottomans were not as numerous as the Crimean Tatars; secondly, the travellers who visited the Crimea in the sixteenth century were inclined to concentrate their attention on the Tatars, while numerous and detailed descriptions of the Ottoman Turks can be found in the accounts of travellers who had visited Istanbul and other regions of the Ottoman empire.

The Christian population, the main inhabitants of the Crimea until the Ottoman conquest, were also frequently mentioned by the European travellers. The travellers' interest in the Crimean Christians became even stronger after they had become the subjects of the infidels: the travellers were interested in knowing more about the life and possible sufferings of their compatriots in the Moslem surroundings. Sometimes the data about the pitiful fate of the Crimean Christians were used as a didactic example for other Christians.<sup>192</sup> However, as already mentioned, the travellers preferred to concentrate their attention on things unusual and extraordinary. This is why there are many detailed ethnographic descriptions of the Crimean Tatars, but for the Christians we have quite brief references which do not supply such interesting information. However, even these brief notes are very important for an understanding of the processes of ethnic change which took place in the Crimea from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Within the Christian population described in the European travel accounts there are two main ethnic groups: the Genoese and the Goths (see subchapters 4.3 and 4.4). Other Christian people (such as the Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, etc.) were only briefly mentioned and will not be analysed in this thesis.

In addition to the Crimean Moslems and Christians, a Jewish community also existed there, which consisted of the Jews and Karaites.<sup>193</sup> However, they were only

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<sup>191</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 6-8, 10.

<sup>192</sup>See the work of Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 107.

<sup>193</sup>The Karaites (Karaims) - a mixed Jewish-Turkic ethnic group inhabiting the Crimea since the thirteenth century.

briefly mentioned in the travel accounts I examine.<sup>194</sup> Both groups (especially the Karaites) were extensively described in the travel accounts of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries.<sup>195</sup>

#### 4.2. The Crimean Tatars

The Crimean Tatars first appeared on the territory of the Crimea on January 27, 1223.<sup>196</sup> After plundering Sudak, one of the most important towns of the Crimea, they probably left the peninsula and reappeared again on December 26, 1239.<sup>197</sup> They became very numerous and influential in the eastern and northern part of the Crimea by the end of the thirteenth century, continuing their plundering raids into the Christian territories of the Crimea.<sup>198</sup> At that time their capital and their only stable settlement was the town Solkhat, also known by the name Crim. In the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Khadgi Girej Khan (who ruled between 1428-1466), a founder of the ruling dynasty of the Crimean Khans, gained power over the Tatars living on the Crimean territory. He transferred the capital of the Crimean Khanate to the central part of the Crimea into the fortress of Kyrk-Or.<sup>199</sup> In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the capital was moved again, from this fortress to the town Bakhtchisaray, which was under construction at that time and situated in the neighbouring valley. After the signing of the treaty between the Khanate and Ottoman Turkey in 1478, the lands and towns of the central, northern and western parts of the Crimea came under the

<sup>194</sup>See the brief notes about the Jews and Karaites in Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 136; Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 8.

<sup>195</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 90-91; Edmund Daniell Clarke, *Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey* (London, 1839), 422-426, 474-478; Maria Guthrie, *A Tour through the Taurida or Crimea* (London, 1802), 86-88.

<sup>196</sup>"Zametki XII-XV veka...", 601.

<sup>197</sup>*Ibid.*, 597.

<sup>198</sup>One of the most famous, the raid of the emir Nogaj of 1299, was described in the chronicle of Rukn-ad-din Bejbars. See *Sbornik Materialov Otnosiashichsia k Istorii Zolotoj Ordj* [The collection of the materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], ed. V.Tizengauzen, vol.1 (St. Peterburg, 1884), 111-112.

<sup>199</sup>A.G.Gertsen and Y.M.Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or] (Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1993), 64.

possession of the Crimean Khanate, while the most important and advantageous territories of the southern and eastern parts remained in Turkish hands.<sup>200</sup>

Many of the events related to the history of the Crimean Tatars were reflected in and sometimes even recoverable due to the data from written sources (travel accounts among them). The first written evidence concerning the presence of the Tatars in the Crimea was left by William de Rubruquis (1253), who wrote that the Tatars had defeated the Cumans a short time before his journey, taking possession of the great plain (*planicies maxima*) situated in the northern part of the peninsula. In addition, he also reported that the Khans received great income from the salt which they extracted from the Crimean salt-lakes and sold for "two webs of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera" for each cart.<sup>201</sup>

The data from the chronicles dedicated to the spread of the plague is very interesting for the creation of the image of the Crimean Tatars in Europe. When describing the siege of Caffa in 1348, the chronicles depicted the Crimean Tatars as one of the worst infidel nations, struck by God with a terrible disease (i.e. the plague) which they later spread to the Christians.<sup>202</sup>

However, by the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries the travellers start to provide much more detailed references to the Crimean Tatars regarding their state and way of life. It is possible to distinguish several groups of data related to the history of the Crimean Tatars.

#### 4.2.1. History of the ruling dynasty and military campaigns

The first traveller who supplied information of this kind was the Frenchman Guillebert de Lannoy (1421), who was sent by the Lithuanian King Witold (Vytautas) to *l'emperor de Salhat* (i.e. the Crimean Khan). However, attacked by Tatar

<sup>200</sup>See the work of Alan Fisher concerning the problems of the interpretation of this treaty and division of the land between Khans and Sultans. Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 11-15.

<sup>201</sup>William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 146-147.

<sup>202</sup>See the chronicles of Gabrielle de Mussis and Gilles li Muisis in *The Black Death*, trans. and ed. Rosemary Horrox (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 14-19, 46-47.

detachments, the traveller soon discovered that the aforementioned Khan had recently died, and that his Tatar-subjects were at war with the Tatars of the Golden Horde, who tried to impose their own ruler.<sup>203</sup>

As we know from other written sources, the Crimean Khan Mengli Girej was captured by the Ottomans during the siege of Caffa in May of 1475 and then sent to Rhodes.<sup>204</sup> However, the only source which relates how this Khan managed to regain power are the travel notes of Josaphath Barbaro, who described how Mengli Girej escaped from the Ottoman guard, collected an army and killed his rival, bej Eminek, in the castle of Kyrk-Or around 1476-1478.<sup>205</sup>

Much valuable information concerning the Crimean Khans and their raids (probably derived from various Russian chronicles) was supplied by Siegmund von Herberstein in his *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*. He left an extensive description of the invasion of the Crimean Khans, Sahib Girej and Mehmed Girej, into Russia in 1521, the defeat of the Khan Shikh Ali of the Volga Horde, and many other military conflicts among the Tatar Khans.<sup>206</sup>

Substantial information on the history of the dynasty of the Girejs, their traditions, manners, and the ranks of their authorities can be found in the travel description of Martinus Broniovius.<sup>207</sup>

A very interesting remark about the arrival in Moscow in 1585 of Sapha Girej, "the monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can" (i.e. the Khan of the Crimean Tatars), was left by the English ambassador and merchant, Jerome Horsey.<sup>208</sup> Other data allow us to determin that this event happened on the

<sup>203</sup>Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy (1399-1450)*, (Mons: d'em Hoyois, 1840), 41-42.

<sup>204</sup>See the speculations of V.D.Smirnov on the chronological dating of this events. V.D.Smirnov, *Krymskoe Khanstvo pod Verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty* [The Crimean Khanate under the rule of the Ottoman Empire] (St. Petersburg, 1887), 222-226.

<sup>205</sup>Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii, 130-131.

<sup>206</sup>Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549), xii.

<sup>207</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 14-15, 17-19.

<sup>208</sup>Jerome Horsey, "The Most Solemne and Magnificent Coronation of Pheodor Ivanovich, Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 529.

16th of July, 1585.<sup>209</sup> A similar description of the arrival of the Crimean-Tatar embassy in Moscow in 1588 is by another English traveller, Giles Fletcher. The most striking fact for Fletcher was that these ambassadors (as well as the Crimean Tatars in general) preferred horse-meat to any other kinds of food.<sup>210</sup> Horsey also remarked that a certain Tatar ambassador sent to Ivan IV soon after the devastation of Moscow in 1571, "a most ugly creature," gave "a foul and rusty knife" as a present from the Crimean Khan to the Tsar, saying that the Tsar could cut his throat as the only remedy against the Tatar raids and their power.<sup>211</sup> According to another version, this knife was presented as a sign of respect.<sup>212</sup> In the opinion of Russian scholars, however, this section of Fletcher's account is merely a traditional folkloric motif.<sup>213</sup>

#### 4.2.2. Military strategies

Describing the Crimean Tatars' way of life, many medieval and later travellers stressed the fact that the Tatars were a warlike and bellicose people, whose main occupation was wars and the plundering of adjacent countries.<sup>214</sup> Martinus Broniovius seemed to have quoted the opinion of many when he characterised them in the following way: "They are the harsh and hungry people, who do not keep their obligations, oaths, and friendship, but think only about their own incomes and live by plundering and constant treacherous wars."<sup>215</sup> Almost every traveller in the last quarter of the sixteenth century reported on the most significant and devastating raid of the Crimean Khan, Devlet Girej to Moscow in 1571, when the city was burned down and fire "consumed the

<sup>209</sup>A.A. Sevestjanova, commentaries to Jerome Horsey, *Zapiski o Rossii* [Notes on Russia], trans. with commentaries and foreword A.A. Sevestjanova (Moscow: MGU, 1990), 211.

<sup>210</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol. 1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 552.

<sup>211</sup>Jerome Horsey, "Travels," in *Rude and Barbarous*, 273.

<sup>212</sup>*Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>213</sup>A.A. Sevestjanova, commentaries to Jerome Horsey, *Zapiski o Rossii* [Notes on Russia], trans. with commentaries and foreword A.A. Sevestjanova (Moscow: MGU, 1990), 177-178.

<sup>214</sup>See Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 135-136; *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 189; Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549), xii; Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 211.

<sup>215</sup>My translation: Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, foreword, no page numbers.



greatest part of the city almost within the space of four hours being of thirty miles or more of compass."<sup>216</sup>

Some travellers, especially later ones, provided numerical data on the strength of the Tatar army. The first traveller who supplied information of this kind was Josaphath Barbaro, who left a neutral description of the Crimean Tatars (that is, without judging them either positively or negatively), and wrote that they were quite numerous, and that their army could provide three or four thousand riders.<sup>217</sup> This number seems to be quite feasible, however, because of the lack of other data of this kind, it is hard to judge whether the numerical evaluations of the later travellers were exaggerated or not.

In the opinion of Michalon Lituanus (1550), if every Tatar inhabitant of the Crimea were recruited, the overall strength of their army would be around thirty thousand people. In 1543, for the campaign against Hungary, the Crimean Khan sent half of his army headed by his son, which amounted, according to Michalon's information, to fifteen thousand men.<sup>218</sup> He adds later that during the battle near the *Olssanicza* (i.e. Olshanitsa) river in 1527, twenty five thousand *Precopensium Tartarorum* were killed, while during the battle near *Kleczo* (1506), twenty seven thousand.<sup>219</sup> Some travellers, for example Giles Fletcher, provide much larger, obviously exaggerated figures: "the great Can or Chrim... bringeth with him a great army of 100 000 or 200 000 men."<sup>220</sup>

Strangely enough, Martinus Broniovius, even though leaving a very detailed and extensive description of the Tatar military skills, did not provide exact numerical data

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<sup>216</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 549. See also the description of Jerome Horsey: "Travels," in *Rude and Barbarous*, 273.

<sup>217</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 129.

<sup>218</sup>Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 212.

<sup>219</sup>*Ibid.*, 192-193. A similar estimate of the number of the Crimea Tatars killed during these battles can be found in Polish chronicles. See Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Zmodska i Wszystkiej Rusi* [The chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Zmod, and all Rus'], vol.2 (Warsaw: Gustav Leon Gluksberg, 1846), 394.

<sup>220</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 550.

concerning the strength of their army. However, in one place, he mentioned that during the siege of a town, the Khan, as a rule, remained with ten or fifteen thousand soldiers near a town, while several thousands were sent farther on; later he wrote (with a note that he got this information from Christians who had participated in the Tatar raids) that the Crimean army, supported by the Tatars from Azov, Nogai, Cherkessia, Ochakov, and Akkerman, reached and sometimes even exceeded one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty thousand people.<sup>221</sup> According to the information of Evliya Chelebi (1665-1666), when the Tatar army was headed by the Khan himself, its strength was eighty thousand soldiers, fifteen thousand when headed by a *calga-sultan* (i.e. by the second authority after the Khan), and forty thousand when headed by a *mureddin-sultan* (the third authority).<sup>222</sup>

In addition to numerical data, the European travellers of the sixteenth century (as well as later ones) also supplied descriptions of the military strategies of the Crimean Tatars and their way of carrying out war campaigns. Martinus Broniovius dedicated a considerable part of his *Tartariae Descriptio* to the description of the preparations of the Tatars for a raid, their tactics during it, the number and kinds of horses, the types of their flags, the laws for the distribution of captives, and many other details.<sup>223</sup>

According to the account of Broniovius, the Crimean Tatar Khans ordered soldiers to start preparations for a raid three or four weeks before the proposed date of a campaign. Several skilful and experienced soldiers were sent to capture informers from the country which they were going to plunder in order to get information about it. After entering the territory of a rival, they avoided a direct and open confrontation, moving quickly from one place to another and trying to seize as many captives and booty as possible, while plundering and burning everything they met on their way.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>221</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 20, 22.

<sup>222</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 64.

<sup>223</sup>*Ibid.*, 19-24.

<sup>224</sup>*Ibid.*, 19-22.

The testimonies about the treacherous and cautious character of the military tactics of the Crimean Tatars were also left by several other travellers.<sup>225</sup>

According to Broniovius, after the completion of a campaign, the Khan received a tenth of all captives.<sup>226</sup> Afterwards, the captives were tortured, in order to force their relatives to pay as much ransom as possible.<sup>227</sup> Some captives were exchanged for the Tatars who had been seized by European soldiers. The Tatar army consisted only of horse-men, apart from several hundreds of infantrymen-*janissaries* armed with rifles. During a raid, each Tatar had two or four horses for increasing the velocity of the army's movement. Their weaponry consisted mainly of spears, long and crooked sabres, Persian or Turkish daggers, bows and arrows, armours and helmets. As a special Tatar military feature, Broniovius, and many other travellers remarked on their astonishing speed and mobility.<sup>228</sup>

#### 4.2.3. Way of life

The first thing, usually noticed by European travellers, was the difference in religion. However, information on the Tatars' religion is not very revealing: travellers simply mentioned that the Crimean Tatars were the followers of the Moslem belief, supplying some other insignificant details.<sup>229</sup> European travellers had a traditionally negative attitude towards the Moslem belief; however, Martinus Broniovius wrote that after their acceptance of it, the Crimean Tatars became more literate, hospitable, and milder.<sup>230</sup> In the opinion of Giles Fletcher, the religion of the Crimean Tatars only slightly differed from the Islam, widespread in Turkey. According to his information,

<sup>225</sup>See Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 551; Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 212.

<sup>226</sup>That is the so-called *savga*, which included not only captives, but the tenth of the whole amount of booty.

<sup>227</sup>Similar descriptions of the sufferings of Christian captives and tortures applied to them were mentioned by many other travellers. See Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 212-213; Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (Vienna, 1549), xii.

<sup>228</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 22-23; Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 63-25.

<sup>229</sup>As it was mentioned, for example, by Martinus Broniovius: "Tartari Mahometani sunt, presbyteros et templa Mahometica habent..." Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 16.

<sup>230</sup>*Ibid.*

they also venerated "certaine idole puppets made of silke" and were inclined to witchcraft as well.<sup>231</sup> A similar description of some felt dolls which were objects of the veneration of the Crimean Tatars was left by another famous English traveller, John Smith at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>232</sup>

Concerning other aspects of the Crimean Tatars' way of life, the European travellers usually mentioned that their main occupation was plundering raids into neighbouring countries.<sup>233</sup> However, in addition to general remarks of this kind, travellers also supplied more specific and particular details of the everyday life, customs, and traditions of the Crimean Tatars.

In the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when the Crimea was visited by Pero Tafur, the Tatars, according to his description, were a "warlike people," who led a nomadic way of life and had portable houses.<sup>234</sup> The tradition to describe the Tatars as nomads was so strong even at the end of the sixteenth century, when the Tatars were by-and-large sedentary, that Giles Fletcher, basing his information on some old sources, wrote that the Crimean Tatars had no towns but only "walking houses... built upon wheels like a shepherd cottage.[...] And when they come to their stage, or standing place, they plant their carte houses very orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streets, and of a large town."<sup>235</sup> An extensive description of these "walking houses" was also left by John Smith.<sup>236</sup> In a similar remark Lituanus, who wrote that even in the middle of the sixteenth century the Crimean Tatars still led a patriarchal nomadic way of life, also mentions these portable tents or houses.<sup>237</sup> However, the later descriptions are either exaggerated or should be attributed as belonging to a much

<sup>231</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 551-552.

<sup>232</sup>John Smith, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. Edward Arber (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), 858-859.

<sup>233</sup>See page 51-52 of this thesis.

<sup>234</sup>Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 135-136.

<sup>235</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 552.

<sup>236</sup>John Smith, *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, ed. Edward Arber (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), 857-858.

<sup>237</sup>Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 212.

earlier period. In the sixteenth century the Crimean Tatars already had a kind of urban structure and were to a large extent bound to the land. Nevertheless, these descriptions of "walking houses" (i.e. *yurta*) put on carts (i.e. *arba*) are very interesting.

Another aspect of the everyday life of the Crimean Tatars which always astonished and shocked the European travellers was their peculiar cuisine. The most striking feature for them was the fact that the Crimean Tatars (and even their nobility) preferred eating of horse-meat to any other food. This, for example, was noted by astonished Giles Fletcher, who saw how in 1588 the members of the Tatar embassy ate "two very fat and large horses." He also added that during military campaigns each Tatar usually had at least two horses, "the one to ride on, the other to kill.... for their chief victual is horse flesh."<sup>238</sup> Another detail which shocked many travellers was the Tatar tradition of drinking blood or their eating dishes mixed with it. Giles Fletcher described this custom in the following way: "They [the Crimean Tatars] use sometimes .... to let their horses blood in vain and to drink it warm as it commeth from his body..."<sup>239</sup> There are also many references reporting that the Crimean Tatars did not consume bread and refused to drink water, drinking only mare's milk or other drinks.<sup>240</sup>

However, all these "horrible" details were probably exaggerated: Martinus Broniovius, who spent about nine months in the Crimea and therefore had many opportunities to observe the everyday life of the Crimean Tatars, wrote that besides horse-meat, they also ate mutton, camel, cow, and bull-meat, while bread was in fact an expensive dish and only the well-to-do could afford it.<sup>241</sup>

Many travellers also mentioned the simplicity and strictness of the legislative system of the Crimean Tatars. Broniovius mentioned that they followed their laws so

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<sup>238</sup>Giles Fletcher, "The Ambassage of Mister Giles Fletcher, sent from Her Majestie to Theodore the Emperor of Russia," in *The Principle Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol.1 (London, 1599; repr., London, 1809), 552.

<sup>239</sup>Ibid.

<sup>240</sup>Michalon Lituanus, *De Moribus*, 200; Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 136. Concerning this strange Crimean Tatars' prejudice towards consumption of bread see page 44.

<sup>241</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 16.

strictly that during the nine months of his stay he did not hear about any criminal deed.<sup>242</sup>

#### 4.3. The Genoese

The most influential Christian people inhabiting the Crimea in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries were, probably, the Italians, who included for the most part the representatives of Venice, and especially, of Genoa. These people, who had participated in the Crimean trade already in the twelfth century, by the second half of the thirteenth had built and organised in the Crimean territory several trade settlements, of which the main ones were Caffa, Soldaia, and Balaklava. In the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the Genoese managed to eliminate the Venetians almost entirely from the Crimean trade and settled peace with the Tatars by signing treaties in 1380, 1381, and in 1387.<sup>243</sup>

Fascinating is the data of Pero Tafur (1435-1439), who describing the town of Caffa "as large as Seville," mentioned that "the city is held by the Genoese who have license to inhabit there."<sup>244</sup> He also visited the Catholic monastery of St. Francis, listened to the mass there, and socialized with the Genoese *podesta* who received him, according to his words, very pleasantly. Tafur also mentioned the vast human losses of the Genoese during an unsuccessful attempt to seize the capital of the Tatars, Solkhat.<sup>245</sup>

Unfortunately, the Italians Josaphath Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, who left important data on the Crimean Tatars, provided only brief remarks about their Crimean compatriots.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>242</sup>Ibid.

<sup>243</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 177-179.

<sup>244</sup>Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 132.

<sup>245</sup>Ibid., 135. The circumstances of this unsuccessful raid of the Genoese headed by Carlo Lomelino, which took place in 1434, were examined by L.P.Kolly. See L.P.Kolly, "Khadji Girej Khan i ego politika" [Khadji Girej Khan and his policy], *ITUAK* 50 (1913): 99-140.

<sup>246</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 129-131; 189-190. Obviously, here worked the principle which compelled travellers to be interested in unusual phenomena, but not in familiar and well-known.

Obviously, after the devastation and destruction the Ottoman conquest of 1475 brought to the Crimea, the Crimean Christians (and the Genoese among them), could not be as powerful as before. As a consequence, Martinus Broniovius mentioned the Genoese only twice: once, when describing Caffa, he wrote that the Italians were still living in this town among other people, having there two churches. In addition, he described the settlement *Sortassus* (i.e. Sujurtash), situated near Bakhtchisaray, which was given to the Genoese who also had a church there with a Franciscan priest.<sup>247</sup> Broniovius also left numerous references to the past of the Genoese towns throughout the whole *Tartariae Descriptio*. Especially interesting is the story about the heroic struggle of the Genoese against the Turks for the town and port *Sidagios* (Sudak) in 1475.<sup>248</sup>

However, the Tatar Khans appreciated a good education and knowledge of the Genoese and sometimes used them for various diplomatic missions. The Scottish traveller Guilielmus Brussius Scotus, for example, had the opportunity to socialize with, and get some information about the Crimea, from the Genoese ambassador of Khadji Girej Khan, Antonius Spinola, at the court of Jan Zamojski in Cracow around 1598.<sup>249</sup>

The mark that the Genoese left on the history of the Crimea was so strong that Evliya Chelebi (even though he did not mention the Genoese as contemporary inhabitants of the Crimea) distinguished the period of the Genoese conquest as a special period in Crimean history. According to him, most towns or castles of the Crimea were either built or seized by the Genoese; Evliya also wrote down various and unusual legends about the presence of these people in the Crimea.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>247</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 10-11.

<sup>248</sup>*Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>249</sup>"Antonius Spinola ex illustri Spinolarum Genuensium gente:" Guilielmus Brussius, *Diarium*, 3.

<sup>250</sup>See information about the Genoese throughout the whole book of Evliya Chelebi: Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*.

#### 4.4. The Crimean Goths

The Crimean Goths, who were perhaps not as significant for the medieval epoch of the Crimea as the Genoese, were nevertheless mentioned in the travel accounts more often. The fact that it was possible to find somewhere in a remote and barbarous province this branch of a once-powerful people, who had considerably changed the history of Europe, seemed to be fascinating for the European travellers not only of the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, but also for the travellers of much later periods.<sup>251</sup>

The Goths, who appeared on the Crimean territory in the second half of the third century A.D., were first mentioned by Procopius in his *Buildings*. According to his information, the Crimean Goths lived in the region named *Dory*, surrounded by "the long walls," and their population amounted to three thousand people, consisting of "excellent soldiers and skilful tillers of the soil."<sup>252</sup>

As regards medieval travellers, the first who mentioned the Crimean Goths was a famous missionary to the Mongols William de Rubruquis, who wrote about "quadraginta castella... inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma est Teutonicum."<sup>253</sup> Later on, the travellers generally remained silent about them until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the German traveller Johannes Schiltberger mentioned the region *Sudi* (*Sutti*) and *Kuthia sprauch*,<sup>254</sup> which according to the opinion of many scholars should be identified as a distorted form of *Gothia* and the *Gothic language*.<sup>255</sup> Of great importance is the remark of Jorg of Nuremberg concerning the capture of Theodoro, the capital of the Crimean Goths. He wrote that during the siege of the town, there were three Gothic kings and fifteen thousand people.<sup>256</sup> Different

<sup>251</sup>There are many accounts of the travellers of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries which include numerous remarks concerning the Crimean Gothia and the Goths. See the works of Maria Guthrie, *A Tour through the Taurida or Crimea* (London, 1802), 86-88; S.Sestrentsevich-Bogush, *Istoriya o Tavrii* [The history of Taurida], vol.1 (St. Petersburg, 1806), 283-284. The latter traveller misleadingly interpreted the Karaite population of Mangoup as "the remnants of once-powerful Gothic people."

<sup>252</sup>Procopius, *Collected Works in Seven Volumes*, vol. 7: *Buildings*, trans. H.B.Dewing (Cambridge: William Heinemann, 1971), 215-217.

<sup>253</sup>William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 144.

<sup>254</sup>Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 136-185.

<sup>255</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 193; Wilhelm Tomaschek, *Die Goten in Taurien* (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1881), 32; K.Braun, *Die Lezten Schiksale der Krimgoten* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 54.

<sup>256</sup>Jorg of Nuremberg, *Geschichte der Turkey*, B.



numerical data concerning the Gothic population, however also very much exaggerated, was left by the head of the council of Ragusa in his letter to the Doge of Venice. He wrote that the region of Gothia consisted of thirty thousand houses or families.<sup>257</sup>

In all probability, soon after the Ottoman conquest, Crimean Gothia was also visited by Josaphath Barbaro. He reported that the Crimean Goths were still speaking German; he came to this conclusion because of the fact that his German servant could easily communicate with them in his own language. He also mentioned that due to the mutual assimilation of the Goths and the Alans, there appeared a kind of mixed ethnic group, called the "Gothalani."<sup>258</sup>

Also significant is the interest of the Polish scholar and geographer Matthias de Miechov in the history of the Crimean Goths. He mentioned them several times in his treatise entitled the *Tractatus de Duabus Sarmatiis* (1517) and dedicated several sentences to the capture of Mangoup, and the slaying of the two brothers according to the order of the Ottoman Sultan Mohammed II. They were, in Miechov's point of view, the last princes of Mangoup and the last representatives of the Crimean Goths.<sup>259</sup>

The last and probably the most enigmatic testimony concerning the presence of the Goths in the Crimean territory was left by the Austrian ambassador to Constantinople, Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq. As he tells in his *Turcicae Epistolae IV*, he was quite eager to find any information about "a tribe which still dwells in the Crimea which I had often heard showed traces of a German origin." It happened that his servants met at a market two ambassadors from the main Crimean Gothic towns, *Mancup* (Mangoup) and *Scivarin* (Suren). One of these ambassadors could not speak German, but the other, being fluent in this language, told Bousbecq that the Crimean Goths once had been "warlike and even at that time still inhabited many villages" from

<sup>257</sup>L.P.Kolly, "Istoricheskie dokumenty o padenii Kaffy" [Historical documents related to the fall of Caffa], *ITUAK* 45 (1911): 17.

<sup>258</sup>Barbaro i Contarini o Rosii, 131.

<sup>259</sup>"...praefatus Turcus Mahumetes ui accipiens, binos fratres principes, et dominos castris Mancup, ut dicitur, reliquas ultimas Gothorum gladio occidit." See Matthias a Michovia, "De Sarmatia...", 132, 139.

which the Tatar Khans raised eight hundred infantrymen for their military expeditions. In addition to this information, Bousbecq also supplied a small glossary of the language of the Crimean Goths (see fig. 6 in appendix).<sup>260</sup>

These seemingly unrepachable and exact data, however, cannot be proved by any other evidence. For example, in his description of Mangoup, Martinus Broniovius did not mention the Goths at all.<sup>261</sup> Likewise, the Goths were not mentioned in the Ottoman books of taxation (*diftera*) from the sixteenth century.<sup>262</sup> Other written sources and travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also kept silent on this point. Therefore, it is possible to assume that by the end of the sixteenth century any traces of the Goths in the Crimean territory have disappeared and the people were entirely assimilated.

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<sup>260</sup>de Bousbecq, *Epistolae IV*, 242-245.

<sup>261</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 7-8.

<sup>262</sup>The two *diftera*, one from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and another from 1542-1543, mention only the Greeks and Armenians as the Christian population of Mangoup. See Gilles Veinstein, "La Population du Sud de la Crimée," in *Memorial Omer Lufti Barkan* (1992), 242.

## CHAPTER 5

### CRIMEAN SETTLEMENTS ACCORDING TO THE TRAVELLERS' DESCRIPTIONS

Travel accounts also supply very important data for the analysis of the urban structure of the Crimea in general, and for the history of each settlement as well. Essential conclusions may be reached concerning the history of one or another settlement when comparing the data of travellers with other types of sources (archaeological, epigraphical, pictorial, etc.).

Three of the Crimean towns, Caffa, Mangoup, and Chufut-Kale (Kyrk-Or), were described and/or mentioned in the travel accounts much more often than the others, thus allowing a comparison among the data of various travellers concerning these towns' history and monuments. Caffa, the largest and most important Crimean port and town, was visited and described by almost all travellers because it was first of all, the most significant settlement of the Crimea. Second, until the Ottomans blocked completely the sea-way to the Crimea in 1475, the easiest way for the travellers to enter the territory of the peninsula was the marine one, therefore, they simply could not avoid visiting Caffa. This is why there are plenty of descriptions of Caffa left by the travellers of the fifteenth century, whereas from the sixteenth century there is only one travel description, that of Martinus Broniovius.<sup>263</sup>

Mangoup and Chufut-Kale (Kyrk-Or), which were similar towns-strongholds in the mountainous region of the south-western Crimea, were frequently mentioned by the travellers of the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods for several reasons. First, both settlements were important administrative centres and comparatively large towns. Second, being situated on a picturesque landscape, and having extraordinary natural and artificial fortifications, they represented for the travellers an object of sightseeing. The fact that Mangoup was inhabited by such famous and, to a certain extent even enigmatic people as the Goths, also stimulated travellers' interest in this town.

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<sup>263</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 10-11.

There are also other Crimean towns, such as Or (Perekop),<sup>264</sup> Balaklava, or Sudak,<sup>265</sup> which were several times mentioned in the European travel accounts of the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries. However, the information concerning the history of these settlements is scarce and they will not be examined in this thesis.

For the analysis of the history of the three aforementioned towns I would like to draw information not only from the travelogues of the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, but also from later travel accounts. Some later travelogues contain data relevant to the medieval period of the history of these settlements and, when compared to the testimonies of earlier travel accounts, lead to essential conclusions concerning this historical period as well. Besides, it seems also interesting to show the fate of medieval monuments by using later data.

#### 5.1. Caffa, its monuments and history

Caffa was the most frequently described by medieval travellers town of the Crimean peninsula. The earliest mention of the toponym "Caffa" can be found in the Greek geographic treatise of 360-386.<sup>266</sup> The etymology of this name could come from the Iranian "*kaofa*," which means "mountainous chain," or from the Greek "*καφα*," meaning "water area." There is another opinion, according to which the Greek word "*καφα*" can also be explained as "*λουτρον*," that is "a spring, a place for washing."<sup>267</sup> In the fifth century the name "Caffa" almost entirely replaced the ancient toponym "Theodosia."<sup>268</sup>

<sup>264</sup>See the remarks concerning the history of Or (Perekop) on the page 36 and footnotes 123 and 124.

<sup>265</sup>See the travel description of Sudak by the Arab traveller of the fourteenth century Ibn-Battuta in *Sbornik Materialov Otnosiashihsia k Istorii Zolotoj Ordj* [The collection of the materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], ed. V. Tizengauzen, vol. I (Sankt-Peterburg, 1884), 303. A detailed description of Sudak was left by Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 9-10.

<sup>266</sup>A.G. Yemanov, "Obrazovanie gorodskoj kommuny Kaffy do serediny XV veka" [Establishing of the town community of Caffa until the middle of the fifteenth century] (Ph. D. diss., University of Tumen', Russia, 1997), 17 (hereafter: Yemanov, "Obrazovanie").

<sup>267</sup>Ibid., 17-18.

<sup>268</sup>However, this Ancient Greek toponym was revived in the eighteenth century, and the contemporary town, the territory of which includes also the remains of medieval Caffa, is presently called Theodosia (see fig. 7 in appendix).

The Genoese trading settlement named Caffa was established about 1266 and began to prosper so fast that later it was called by the Tatars and Ottomans the "*Lesser Constantinople*."<sup>269</sup> The Genoese founded their main town in a very advantageous position in the sense of trade and economic: in the eastern part of the Crimean peninsula on the territory of the Karantinnaya harbour. However, in spite of this fact, Caffa unlike many other Crimean towns or ports (Sudak, Mangoup, Chufut-Kale), had almost no natural conditions facilitating the fortification of the town and had to be surrounded from all sides (except from the side of the sea) by defensive walls. In the opinion of Alexander Yemanov, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the territory of the settlement was comparatively small: 11,2 hectares. Nevertheless, ten churches of the Latin, Greek, and Armenian rite, as well as two hospitals, were located in this area; the population of the town in the beginning of the fourteenth century was around 2600-4800 people.<sup>270</sup> In the legislative sources of the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries the settlement was usually called a "castle" (*castrum, portus, villa, locus*, etc.), while it received the status of the "town" (*civitas*) in 1322, by the act of Pope John XXII.<sup>271</sup>

Interesting information about the siege of Caffa in 1346, can be found in the Italian chronicles of the fourteenth century. One of them, containing an in-depth description of this event, was written in 1348; by a lawyer from Piacenza, Gabriele de Mussis, who was considered until recently one of the Genoese who managed to escape from the beleaguered town.<sup>272</sup> However, the study of the archives of Piacenza revealed that Mussis stayed in Piacenza at that time and thus could not have been in the Crimea. Most likely, he received information concerning the siege of Caffa from one of his

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<sup>269</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 171.

<sup>270</sup>Yemanov, "Obrazovanie," 21.

<sup>271</sup>Ibid.

<sup>272</sup>He even added such specific details as the Tatars' catapulting of corpses into the town with the aim of spreading the disease among the defenders. See Gabriele de Mussis, "Historia de Morbo," in *The Black Death*, trans. and ed. Rosemary Horrox (Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 17.

compatriots who had been trading in the Crimea.<sup>273</sup> Unfortunately, there is no travel account of any person who was an actual eyewitness to the siege.

The first European traveller who paid attention to Caffa was the Spaniard Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo. He mentioned this town many times on the pages of the description of his embassy to Tamerlane in 1403-1406.<sup>274</sup>

Johannes Schiltberger left much more detailed description of Caffa from the beginning of the fifteenth century. In his text, Caffa was surrounded by two circles of walls with six thousand houses within the limits of the inner ring and eleven thousand in the external one.<sup>275</sup> In fact, the narration of Schiltberger reflects the details of the defensive complex of Caffa, which consisted of two parts, fortified by massive walls with twenty six towers, is correct. One part (the inner ring of the walls according to Schiltberger) was the inner castle or the citadel, inhabited mostly by the Genoese, and adjacent to the Black Sea (see fig. 7;1 in appendix). Another part, Schiltberger's external ring, was three times larger and constituted the main part of the town (see fig. 7; 2 in appendix).

As many other travellers, Schiltberger too characterised the population of Caffa as mixed, consisting of the Italians, Greeks, Armenians, and infidels (meaning, obviously, the Tatars). He also wrote about three bishops and Christians who belonged to "romischer, griechischer, armenischer und syrischer Konfessionen;" numerous "Heiden" (infidels) had in Caffa their temples as well.<sup>276</sup>

The French traveller, Guillebert de Lannoy (1421) who stayed in Caffa only for a short time, did not notice the ethnic and confessional variety of the town, mentioning only the hospitality of its main inhabitants, the Genoese, and the fact that the settlement was fortified with three lines of walls.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>273</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 176.

<sup>274</sup>Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *The Spanish Embassy to Samarkand in 1403-1406*, original Spanish text with Russian translation and notes by I.I. Sreznevskij (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), 231, 342, 385.

<sup>275</sup>Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 135-136.

<sup>276</sup>Ibid.

<sup>277</sup>Guillebert de Lannoy, *Voyages et Ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy (1399-1450)* (Mons: d'em Hoyois, 1840), 41-42.

The most detailed description of Caffa, its population and defensive complex was left by the Spanish traveller Pero Tafur, who characterised it in the following way: "This city is very large, as large as Seville, or larger, with twice as many inhabitants, Christians and Catholics as well as Greeks, and all the nations of the world." The fortifications of Caffa did not impress him very much; he wrote that the town was "indifferently walled and surrounded by a very small ditch, but is well provided with... all manner of defensive artillery." However, in Tafur's opinion the Genoese lived in Caffa only on the permission of the Tatars, who used it as a place for slave-trade and "evil doings and thefts, and their great wickedness."<sup>278</sup>

Ambrogio Contarini considered that Caffa was a rich town, densely inhabited by the people of various nationalities. Unfortunately, being a representative of the Venetian republic, he was afraid to be seen by the Genoese and spent the most of the time locked in the house of Polo Ogniben, the Venetian ambassador in Caffa.<sup>279</sup>

Many European chronicles and documents described the siege and the capture of Caffa by the Ottomans in June, 1475.<sup>280</sup> However, Caffa did not lose its status of the main Crimean town after this event and became the center of the *eyelet*<sup>281</sup> of Caffa, which included the lands of the Turks on the territory of the peninsula.

In spite of this, the travellers of the sixteenth century did not mention Caffa very often. Essential information about Caffa was left by Martinus Broniovius in his *Tartariae Descriptio* (1578). In his opinion, the town lost much of its splendour because of the Ottoman invasion, but still was "clarissimus et munitissimus urbs" of the peninsula. At the time of the Broniovus's journey to the Crimea, the population of Caffa was still very diverse: there the Ottomans, Armenians, Jews, Italians, and Greeks coexisted. However, in the traveller's opinion many Christian churches and Genoese

<sup>278</sup>Pero Tafur, *Travels*, 132-133.

<sup>279</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 191.

<sup>280</sup>The documents related to the capture of the Crimea and the fall of Caffa were collected by L.P.Kolly: "Dokumenty o padenii Kaffy" [Documents related to the fall of Caffa], *ITUAK* 45 (1911): 1-18. See also Johannes Dlugosiensis, *Johannis Dlugossii Historiae Polonicae*, vol. 5, book 12 (Cracow: Czas, 1878) 629-631; Matthias de Miechov, *Cronica Polonorum* (Cracov, 1519), 340.

<sup>281</sup>See footnote 147.

monuments were in ruins and only two Catholic and Armenian churches were intact.<sup>282</sup>

Three years later, Guilielmus Brussius Scotus also considered Caffa to be the main Crimean town; he mentioned that numerous Italian and Armenian books were preserved in one of the Christian churches of Caffa.<sup>283</sup>

Later, even in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, Caffa remained the largest town and port of the Crimea. It lost its predominant significance only after the Russian conquest of the Crimea (1783), when the administrative and economic centre was removed to the western region of the peninsula. Many European travellers of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries described Caffa of that period. Some of their notes supply also references to the medieval history of this town.<sup>284</sup>

## 5.2. Mangoup (Theodoro)

### 5.2.1. Outline of its history

The ruins of the magnificent monument of the Crimean Middle Ages, the town of Mangoup, are situated on the top of the mountain belonging to the south-western part of the inner chain of the Crimean mountains. The ravines distinguish on the Mangoup plateau four distinct capes: Chamnu-burun ("Pine Cape"), Chufut-Cheargan-burun ("The Cape of Calling of the Jews"), Elli-Burun ("Windy Cape"), and Teshkli-burun ("Worn-through Cape"). In the Middle Ages it was possible to access the inhabited area of the plateau using the paths coming through the ravines of Tabana-dere ("The Ravine of Tanners"), and Khamam-dere ("Bath Ravine"), and the medieval road of Kapu-dere ("Gate Ravine"), which have survived until nowadays. The natural fortification of this-place is extraordinary: the plateau is surrounded almost from all sides by precipices, exceeding in some places seventy-metre height. Evliya Chelebi

<sup>282</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 10-11.

<sup>283</sup>Guilielmus Brussius, *Diarium*, 6.

<sup>284</sup>See travel descriptions of Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 144-146; Emiddio Dortelli d'Ascoli, "Descrittione del Mar Negro e della Tartaria 1634," in *Cztenia 5 Istoricheskogo Obszczestva Nestora Letopisca*, vol.5 (Kiev, 1891), 56; Edmund Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey* (London, 1839), 389-192.



wrote that these precipices resembled "the abyss of Hell," adding that "Allah created this rock with the purpose that it will be a fortress."<sup>285</sup> Another important detail regarding the natural conditions of this place was its good water supply: there are more than nine springs on the territory of the settlement at the present time.<sup>286</sup> This detail was very important for a medieval castle, especially during a siege: that is why many travellers of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries wrote about the good water supply and springs of Mangoup.<sup>287</sup>

There is no unanimity of opinion concerning the meaning of the toponym "Mangoup": Evliya Chelebi translated it as "ill-fated,"<sup>288</sup> Dubois de Montpereux considered it to be distorted "Mangothia,"<sup>289</sup> some scholars believe that it comes from the Arab "mankub" (meaning "full of caves").<sup>290</sup> The first reliable evidence of the existence of this name is the mentioning of it (in the distorted form *Mank-t*) in the so called "extensive version" of the letter of the Khazar Khagan Joseph to the vizier of the caliph of Cordoba, going back to the tenth century.<sup>291</sup> In the second half of the fourteenth century this name was used simultaneously with the Greek name "Theodoro" until the Ottoman conquest of 1475, when the latter was replaced by "Mangoup." However, before 1475 "Theodoro" was more frequently used than "Mangoup."

Construction of the first fortifications on the territory of the Mangoup plateau goes back to the period of Justinian I (527-565), who tried to create a defensive complex from several fortresses of the south-western part of the Crimea to guard the Byzantine colonies of this region (first of all, of Kherson). Many scholars are inclined to identify the territory of Mangoup with the country *Dory* (in other sources: *Doros*,

<sup>285</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 89.

<sup>286</sup>A.G. Gertzen, "Krepostnoj ansambl Mangupa" [The defensive ensemble of Mangoup], *MAIET* 1 (1990), 105 (hereafter: Gertzen, "Krepostnoj ansambl").

<sup>287</sup>See for example Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 7; Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 89.

<sup>288</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 92.

<sup>289</sup>See V.I. Ravdonikas, "Peshernyje goroda Kryma i gotskaya problema" [The cave-towns of the Crimea and the Gothic problem], *IGAIMK* 12 (1932): 19.

<sup>290</sup>Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, commentaries to *Księga Podrozy Ewliji Czelebiego* [The book of travel of Evliya Celebi], by Ewlija Czelebi, transl. with commentaries Zygmunt Abrachamowicz (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1969), 264.

<sup>291</sup>Gertzen, "Krepostnoj ansambl," 137.

*Dorant*) mentioned by Procopius of Caesaria.<sup>292</sup> According to Procopius this country was inhabited by the Goths with an army amounting to three thousand soldiers; on its territory Justinian built "long walls."<sup>293</sup> In the eighth century Mangoup was recaptured by the Khazars who left this territory in the tenth century. In the thirteenth century the town became the capital of the Greek-Gothic principality of Theodoro. The influence of Theodoro started to increase from the second half of the fourteenth century, reaching its peak during the reign of the prince Alexis (1405 - 1444/1447). According to information of the Italian sources, in the entire principality of Theodoro there were around thirty thousand houses (families).<sup>294</sup> In December, 1475, after sixth months of siege, the town was captured by the Ottoman army headed by Gedik Ahmed pasha. According to the point of view of Jorg of Nuremberg, the number of the defenders of the town locked up there during the siege, was around fifteen thousand.<sup>295</sup> This number, inspite of its overestimation,<sup>296</sup> gives some idea about the density of the population in Mangoup.

After the Ottoman conquest Mangoup did not lose its administrative significance: it became the centre of *kadylyk*<sup>297</sup> formed predominantly from the lands of the former principality of Theodoro. Besides, the defensive complex of Mangoup was considerably rebuilt: there is an inscription with the name of governor Tsula (1503)<sup>298</sup> and a letter of the Khan Mengli Girej to Ivan IV (1504)<sup>299</sup> telling us about it. After 1475 Mangoup and subjected to it *kadylyk* were under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman

<sup>292</sup>A.G. Gertsen, and Y.M. Mogarichev, "O vzniknovenii gotskoj eparhii v Tavrike" [On the establishing of the Gothic eparhia in Taurica], *MAJET* 2 (1991): 120.

<sup>293</sup>Procopius, *Collected Works in Seven Volumes*, vol. 7: *Buildings*, trans. H. B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA-London: William Heinemann, 1971), 215-217.

<sup>294</sup>L.P. Kolly, "Istoricheskie dokumenty o padenii Kaffy" [Historical documents on the fall of Caffa], *ITUAK* 45 (1911): 17.

<sup>295</sup>Jorg of Nuremberg, *Geschichte von der Turkey*, B.

<sup>296</sup>For comparison: Nuremberg, the native town of Jorg and then one of the largest European towns, had around twenty thousand inhabitants during the same time. See A.L. Yastrebizkaya, "Zapadno-Evropejskij gorod v srednie veka" [West European town in the Middle Ages], *Voprosy Istorii* 4 (1978): 96.

<sup>297</sup>*Kadylyk* - an administrative unit in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>298</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 267.

<sup>299</sup>A. Malinovskij, "Istoricheskoe i diplomaticheskoe sobranie del proishodivshih mezsdu Rossijskimi velikimi kniazjami i byvshimi v Krymu tatarskimi tsariami s 1462 po 1533 [Historical and diplomatic collection of affairs which took place between the Russian Grand Dukes and the Crimean-Tatar Tsars from 1462 to 1533], *ZOOID* 5 (1863): 400.

administration. According to information of Evliya Chelebi, there was a *kady* (judge), the Ottoman commandant of a castle, and a garrison consisting of fifteen soldiers.<sup>300</sup> In the first half of the sixteenth century the Ottoman sultans also used the descendants of the family of the princes of Mangoup as ambassadors to Russia: in 1514 Kamal (*Kemalbej*) and in 1522 Alexander (*Skinder*) were sent there.<sup>301</sup>

In spite of all the aforementioned changes, the significance of Mangoup, once a capital of the flourishing principality, began waning from the end of the fifteenth century on. After the Ottoman massacre of the Christian population of the town,<sup>302</sup> the number of inhabitants began to decrease. There are some numerical data in the Ottoman books of taxation (*diftera*) on the population of Mangoup in the first half of the sixteenth century: there lived 169 families in the second quarter of the sixteenth century reduced to only 97, according to the *diftera* of 1542-1543. When analysing this data, it is clear that the number of the families in Mangoup decreased by 43 percent; it is also obvious that the Christian population of the town (the Armenians and especially strong, the Greeks) sharply decreased in numbers, whereas the Moslem and Karaite population became larger.<sup>303</sup> Thus, the main tendency of the processes of ethnic change in Mangoup from the end of the fifteenth century is the gradual disappearance of the Christian population and the growth of the number of the Karaites, settled there not later than at the end of the fifteenth century. This was precisely reflected by Martinus Broniovius (1578), who found on the Crimean territory only one Greek (a priest), a few Jews and Ottomans and the whole town in ruins and oblivion.<sup>304</sup> Besides, it was still possible to trace the remnants of the Gothic ethnos, which, according to Alexander Vasiliev, "was gradually hellenized and afterwards

<sup>300</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 89.

<sup>301</sup>N.M. Karamzin, *Istoriya Gosudarstva Rossijskogo* [The History of the Russian State], vol. II, book 7 (Moscow, 1852; repr., Moscow: Knizsnaya Palata, 1989), 70, footnote 105.

<sup>302</sup>Testimonies of written sources about this massacre, can be also proved by the data of the archaeological excavations of the main Mangoup basilica carried out by N.I. Barmina, where a number of the skeletons with traces of mortal wounds or decapitation was found. Gertzen, "Krepostnoj ansambl," 154.

<sup>303</sup>See the table with the data of the Ottoman books of taxation in Gilles Veinstein, "La Population du Sud de la Crimée," in *Memorial Omer Lufti Barkan* (1992), 242.

<sup>304</sup>"Presbyter Graecus unicus, Turcae et Iudaei aliquot ibi habitant, caetera in ruinas, vastitatem, et omnem fere oblivionem versa sunt." See Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 7.

tatarised."<sup>305</sup> The best evidence of this is the data of Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq, who socialised with the two Goths from *Mancup* (sic!) and *Scivarin* and received from them information according to which the Goths could still collect eight hundred infantrymen on the request of the Tatar khan.<sup>306</sup> However, from the seventeenth century on, according to the data of practically all travel accounts, the main population of Mangoup became a few representatives of the Moslem community (the Ottomans and the Tatars), and the growing Karaite community. If the Ottoman *difters* of the sixteenth century tell only about one Karaite district in Mangoup, Evliya Chelebi, a century later, reported about seven districts, eighty shops of tanners and numerous houses of the Karaites.<sup>307</sup>

However, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, the formerly prospering town began to be depopulated and was entirely abandoned by the beginning of the nineties of the given century.

### 5.2.2. Monuments

When describing Mangoup, the travellers who visited this town left many precious notes about its defensive complex, religious buildings, cave monuments, and so on. The view of the magnificent stronghold on the top of a high mountain usually produced a strong impression on the travellers. One of them, the English traveller of the beginning of the nineteenth century, Edmund Daniel Clarke, wrote: "There is nothing in any part of Europe to surpass the tremendous grandeur of the place."<sup>308</sup> The monk Matthew in the end of the fourteenth century expressed his impression of the town in the following way: "an awe-inspiring and extraordinary marvel, unheard of and almost unbelievable;" standing in the plain "like a six-cornered table, and its walls seemed made by heaven but not by the hands of men."<sup>309</sup> The entire defensive complex of the fortress was described by Martinus Broniovius as divided into two parts: the

<sup>305</sup>Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 275.

<sup>306</sup>de Bousbecq, *Epistolae IV*, 242-245.

<sup>307</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 91.

<sup>308</sup>Edmund Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey* (London, 1839), 478.

<sup>309</sup>See the translation of the fragments of the work of Matthew in Vasiliev, *The Goths*, 189.

"upper castle" (i.e. the citadel and a part of the Teshkli-burun) and the "lower castle" (i.e. other parts of the defensive complex).<sup>310</sup>

In the Middle Ages, one could enter the inhabited territory of Mangoup in several ways: through the central gates of Kapu-dere (fig. 8; 1 in appendix), through the smaller gates in the ravine of Tabana-dere (fig. 8; 2 in appendix), and through the gate situated on the southern slope of the mountain (fig. 8; 3 in appendix). According to Evliya Chelebi, because of the separate location of various ethnic groups inhabiting Mangoup, the central gates were called "Moslem," while the smaller, "Jewish," "through which even a loaded horse hardly can come through."<sup>311</sup> The central gates have not survived, however, P.S. Pallas reported that they were still intact at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>312</sup> Evliya Chelebi also mentioned that near "the small iron gate" situated on the southern slope of Mangoup, the Ottomans had their largest human losses when attacking the town in 1475.<sup>313</sup>

The most important and interesting place of the town for the travellers to visit was the citadel (fig. 8; 4). This edifice, which had a rectangular form, was built in the sixties of the fourteenth century and, as well as the palace of the prince Alexis (built in 1425), was one of the main administrative buildings of the principality of Theodoro. Martinus Broniovius saw the gates of this building with numerous Greek inscriptions on it.<sup>314</sup> In the opinion of Evliya Chelebi, these inscriptions belonged to the Genoese and contained the exact data of the constructing of the castle.<sup>315</sup> In the sixteenth century, according to Broniovius, the citadel was frequently used as a prison for the Moscovite ambassadors.<sup>316</sup> In fact, two famous retainers of Ivan IV were imprisoned

<sup>310</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 7. Many local historians followed this division of the defensive complex of Mangoup in their academic works: A.L. Bertje-Delagard, "Kalamita i Theodoro" [Kalamita and Theodoro], *ITUAK* 55 (1918): fig. 2.

<sup>311</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 91.

<sup>312</sup>Peter Simon Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise durch die Sudlichen Stathalterschaften des Russisches Reiches in den Jahren 1793-1794* (Leipsig, 1799), 103.

<sup>313</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 89.

<sup>314</sup>"...in quia porta insignis cum Graecis textibus multo marmore ornata." See Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 7.

<sup>315</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 89. Obviously, he was wrong: the Greeks, main inhabitants of the town, could leave only Greek inscriptions.

<sup>316</sup>"In eam domum Moscorum nuncij Canorum barbarico furore non nunquam detruduntur, ac durius ibi affervantur." Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 7.

there: Afanasij Nagoj with his companion Fedor (1569-1572), and Vasilij Gрязnoj (1577). The former wrote that he was treacherously captured by the Crimean Khan in Caffa in 1569, and mentioned that he communicated with the *aga*<sup>317</sup> of Mangoup on September 20 of the same year, while in prison.<sup>318</sup> Vasilij Gрязnoj, who was ransomed by Ivan IV in 1577 for two thousand roubles wrote that the Khan sent him to Mancup and ordered to give him only little food; he also complained about the terrible conditions of his confinement.<sup>319</sup> A.L. Bertje-Delagard considered that the cellar of the citadel was used as a prison.<sup>320</sup> By the time of Evliya Chelebi's visit (1665), the citadel was closed and abandoned, and used, in his opinion, only as a place for the storing of weapons.<sup>321</sup>

Travellers also mentioned several Christian monuments situated on the territory of Mangoup. The monk Matthew described his admiration for the magnificent temples of Theodoro.<sup>322</sup> In 1578 Martinus Broniovius wrote about two Greek churches: one was St. Constantine (fig. 8; 5) and the other, St. George (fig. 8; 6).<sup>323</sup> Evliya Chelebi observed "a temple of the infidels" in the eastern part of the castle and was astonished by the skill of a master, who made the marble relief portraying a male figure killing a dragon. Obviously, the traveller visited the church of St. George and saw the relief with the image of the saint.<sup>324</sup> The remains of this relief were found during the excavations of the church of St. George by Loeper in the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>325</sup> On the territory of Mahgoup was another Christian monument, a church of octagonal shape, situated near the building of the citadel, built during the fourteenth-

<sup>317</sup>*Aga* - a rank in the authorities of the Crimean Tatars and Turks.

<sup>318</sup>N.M. Karamzin, *Istorija Gosudarstva Rossijskogo* [The History of the Russian State], vol. III, book 9 (Moscow, 1852; repr., Moscow: Knizsnaya Palata, 1989), 124, footnote 252.

<sup>319</sup>"хан... меня отослал в Манкуп, да мало велел ести давати, только б не твоя государская милость застала душу в теле, ино было бы с голоду и с наготы умерети..." Ibid., 124-125, footnote 406.

<sup>320</sup>A.L. Bertje-Delagard, "Kalamita i Theodoro" [Kalamita and Theodoro], *ITUAK* 55 (1918): 19.

<sup>321</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 89-90.

<sup>322</sup>S.G. Mercati, "Diegesis les poleos Theodori versi di Matteo Ieromonaco," *Studi Bizantini* 2 (1927): 28.

<sup>323</sup>Martinus Broniovius, *Tartariae Descriptio*, 7.

<sup>324</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 91.

<sup>325</sup>"Soobshenie o raskopkah R.H. Loepera v 1912-1913" [Report about the excavations of R.H. Loeper during 1912-1913], *IIAK* 52 (1914): 144.

fifteenth centuries. However, by the seventeenth century it was rebuilt into a mosque (fig. 8; 7).<sup>326</sup>

The travellers also mentioned various monuments connected with the water supply of the town: Evliya, for example, reported about a building with the roof over the well on the territory of the Teshkli-burun.<sup>327</sup> P. Pallas described the fountain in the Khamam-dere with the inscription providing the date of its construction: 953 of *hijra* (1546 A.D.; see fig. 8; 8 in appendix).<sup>328</sup> A Polish traveller of the nineteenth century, Edmund Chojecki, also supplied the name of its builder: Ahmed bine Murad.<sup>329</sup>

### 5.3. Chufut-Kale (Kyrk-Or)

#### 5.3.1. Outline of its history

The remains of another frequently described by the travellers Crimean town, Chufut-Kale (Kyrk-Or), are also situated on a mountain of the inner chain of the Crimean mountains. As well as Mangoup, Chufut-Kale was also located in the place advantageous in the terms of the natural fortification: it is surrounded from the three sides by the cliffs exceeding in some places seventy-metres height. Evliya Chelebi wrote that the town had no need for other fortifications except two walls because of the cliffs "resembling the jaws of Hell and bottomless depths."<sup>330</sup> There are several valleys surrounding Chufut-Kale: One is the Marjam-Dere valley with the remains of the Greek medieval settlement Mariampolis and the cemetery of the sixth-ninth centuries. There is also the Moslem cemetery Gazy-Mansur situated a bit farther to the north and the Karaim cemetery in the Josaphath valley consisting of approximately five thousand graves.<sup>331</sup> There is a settlement belonging to the so called Kizil-Koba culture

<sup>326</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 89.

<sup>327</sup>Ibid.

<sup>328</sup>Peter Simon Pallas, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise durch die Sudlichen Stathalterschaften des Russischen Reiches in den Jahren 1793-1794* (Leipsig, 1799), 104.

<sup>329</sup>Edmund Chojecki, *Wspomnienia z podrozy po Krymie przez Edmunda Chojeckiego* (Warsaw, 1845), 125.

<sup>330</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 93.

<sup>331</sup>A.G. Gertsen and Y.M. Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of the treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or] (Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1993), 104 (hereafter: Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*).

and uninvestigated early-medieval cemetery in the Ashlama-Dere valley situated to the north-east from plateau.<sup>332</sup>

It is possible to enter the territory of the town using the path leading to the Kichik-Kapu (the "Small" or Southern Gate; see fig. 9; 1 in appendix) or by the road coming through the Majram-Dere and the Josaphath valley to the Bijuk-Kapu (the "Big" or Eastern Gate; fig. 9; 2). Because of the fact that the town ceased to exist very lately, the defensive complex has been preserved to such degree that it is still barely possible to enter Chufut-Kale when both medieval gates are closed. The territory of the town is clearly divided into three parts: the empty western part called Burunchack ("the Little Cape") with an area of about 36 hectares, the so called Old Town, with an area of about seven hectares (between Burunchack and the Middle defensive wall; fig. 9; 3, 5), and the New Town with an area of about three hectares, situated between the middle and eastern defensive walls (fig. 9; 5, 4).<sup>333</sup>

The history of Chufut-Kale, called in the Middle Ages Kyrk-Or, is fascinating and complicated, with a number of still unsolved problems. The first traces of the human presence on its territory goes back to the Neolithic period. As well as the construction of the walls of Theodoro (Mangoup), the foundation of the first defensive complex of Chufut-Kale (which was rebuilt in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) should be attributed to the period of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527-565). According to the data of Greek sources and of archaeological excavations, during the time of Justinian the main population of this territory was mixed barbarian, with the Alans as its predominant element. As well as the early cave complexes of Mangoup, the early cave monuments of Chufut-Kale also can be dated to the sixth-seventh centuries. The above-mentioned cemetery of the sixth-ninth centuries in the valley of Majram-Dere also belonged to the Alans.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>332</sup>Ibid., 27.

<sup>333</sup>Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>334</sup>Ibid., 23.



Except several early-medieval sources mentioning the town of Phoully<sup>335</sup>, there are no written testimonies concerning the existence of Chufut-Kale until the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was mentioned in the work of the bishop Theodore. He reported about a certain settlement of the Alans, situated near Kherson, whose inhabitants (the Alans) were "neither wanted nor voluntary [settlers]" and served for Kherson as "a sort of wall and fortified enclosure."<sup>336</sup> This mention should be considered as the first written testimony concerning the history of Kyrk-Or. The Arab geographer of the fourteenth century, Abulfeda, wrote about the castle of *Kerker* or *Kerkri* situated in the country of the Alans.<sup>337</sup>

Thus, as has been mentioned, at the time of the presence of the Alans on the territory of the town, it was called Kyrk-Or. However, the etymology and meaning of this toponym can be interpreted in various ways. Of great importance is also the remark of William de Rubruquis, who also wrote about "quadraginta castella," located somewhere between Kherson and Sudak. Some scholars of the nineteenth century considered that the traveller meant existing "forty castles," situated in the central part of the peninsula and even attempted to count them.<sup>338</sup> However, it should be understood rather as a distorted translation of "Kyrk-Or". Abulfeda (1321) and Barbaro (fifteenth century) reported that this name should be translated as "forty places."<sup>339</sup> Almost all possible variants of the translation of Kyrk-Or, analysing it as a Turkic one, are listed in the work of V.D. Smirnov: "forty men" (places, moats, tribes,

<sup>335</sup>Some scholars, and among them A.L. Bertje-Delagard, considered that the toponym "Phoully" should be interpreted as one of the names of Chufut-Kale or Kyrk-Or in the Early Middle-Ages: "Issledovanie nekotoryh nedoumennyh voprosov srednevekovja v Tavrike" [Investigation of some complicated question of the Middle Ages of Taurica], *ITUAK* 57 (1920): 89 (hereafter: Bertje-Delagard, "Issledovanie").

<sup>336</sup>The translation of A.A. Vailiev: *The Goths*, 167-168. See also Theodore, "Episkopa Feodora alanskoe poslanie" [Bishop Theodore Alanian's epistle], trans. Julian Kulakovskij *ZOOID* 21 (1898): 17.

<sup>337</sup>"Kerker is situated at the extremity of the seventh climate, in the country of Asses [i.e. the Alans]. its name signifies in Turkish *forty places*. This is a fortified castle, hard of access: it indeed leans against a mountain which cannot be scaled." See *The Arabic Text of Abulfeda*, ed. M. Reinaud, and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), 214.

<sup>338</sup>One of the local historians, V.Kh. Kondaraki, was even successful in this attempt and managed to count exactly forty castles on the Crimean sea-coast from Sudak to Kherson. Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*, 51.

<sup>339</sup>*The Arabic Text of Abulfeda*, ed. M. Reinaud, and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), 214; *Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 125.

winds).<sup>340</sup> There are also other concepts according to which this toponym has Iranian or Greek origin.<sup>341</sup> Nevertheless, the most probable in this case is homonymy, meaning that the Tatars who called the town "Kyrk-Or" in the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries, simply adapted the former Alanian name, transforming it into a more, for them, understandable form.

The population of Kyrk-Or was not homogenous. In addition to the above mentioned testimonies concerning the Alanian population, the travellers also left information about the presence of the Goths. William de Rubruquis mentioned that the German language (*Teutonicae lingua*) was very widespread in the region where his "quadraginta castella" were located.<sup>342</sup> According to Johannes Schiltberger, *Carkeri* (i.e. Kyrk-Or) was the capital of the entire region of the Crimean Gothia, whose population were Christians, producing good wine (*ein guter Wein*).<sup>343</sup> The remark of Josaphath Barbaro clarifies the situation to a certain extent: in his opinion the regions of Alania and Gothia were situated very close to each other and inhabited by a mixed ethnic group, called the "Gothalani," appeared as a consequence of the process of assimilation between the Alans and the Goths.<sup>344</sup>

In the the thirteenth century not only the eastern, but also the western part of the Crimea started to suffer from the invasions of the Tatars. As it is written in the chronicle of Rukn-ad-din Bejbars, Kyrk-Or also was injured because of at least one of them, the invasion of the emir Nogai in 1299.<sup>345</sup> In the fourteenth century, the Tatar expansion grew considerably. As its consequence, Kyrk-Or was seized by the Tatars during the reign of Janibeck, the Khan of the Golden Horde (1342-1363).<sup>346</sup>

<sup>340</sup>V.D. Smirnov, *Krymskoje Khanstvo pod Verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty* [The Crimean Khanate under the rule of the Ottoman Empire] (St. Petersburg, 1887), 109-110.

<sup>341</sup>See Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*, 52; P. Koeppen, *Krymskij Sbornik* [The Crimean collection] (St. Petersburg, 1836), 312.

<sup>342</sup>William de Rubruquis, "Itinerarium," 146-147.

<sup>343</sup>Schiltberger, *Als Sklave*, 136.

<sup>344</sup>Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii, 132.

<sup>345</sup>See *Sbornik Materialov Otnosiashisja k Istorii Zolotoj Ordj* [The collection of the materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], ed. V. Tizengauzen, vol.1 (St. Petersburg, 1884), 112.

<sup>346</sup>See Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*, 56.

With the accession of the Tatars to power in Kyrk-Or, the ethnic situation considerably changed. The Alans, perhaps, were moved to the adjacent valleys (an indicator of that is the establishing of the monastery of Assumption there), while approximately from the second half of the fifteenth century, Kyrk-Or was mainly inhabited by the representatives of the Moslem, Jewish, and Armenian communities.<sup>347</sup> Moslems lived in all probability within the bounds of the so called Old Town, while the Jews and the Christian-Armenians beyond its limits, on the territory of the adjacent suburb, which was surrounded by a wall in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and is called in the present scholarly literature the New Town (see fig. 9 in appendix). Kyrk-Or was such a significant acquisition for the Tatars that in the middle of the fifteenth century the founder of the dynasty of the Crimean Khans, Khadji-Girej, transferred there the capital of the Crimean Tatars.<sup>348</sup> A Lithuanian ambassador who was a companion of Ambrogio Contarini was going to the "uno castello chiamato Chercher," a residence of the Crimean Khan.<sup>349</sup> Another Italian traveller, Josaphath Barbaro, considered *Solkhat* and *Cherchiarde* (i.e. Kyrk-Or) to be the two main towns of the Tatars on the territory of the Crimean Khanate.<sup>350</sup> However, in the beginning of the sixteenth century the capital was again transferred, in this case to the more appropriate place for this purpose, the town Bakhtchisaray, while in Chufut-Kale remained the representatives of the Tatar administration who were recalled in the second half of the seventeenth century. By that time, the main population of the town became the Karaites. A good indication of this ethnic change is fact that from the first half of the seventeenth century on, Kyrk-Or, the medieval name of the town, was not used, being replaced by the new one, Chufut-Kale (meaning "The Jewish

<sup>347</sup>Only these three people are mentioned as the inhabitants of Kyrk-Or in the *yarlyks* of the Crimean Khans of 1459 and 1468. See V.D. Smirnov, "Tataro-Khanskije *yarlyki* iz kollekcii TUAK" [The *yarlyks* of the Tatar Khans from the collection of TUAK], *ITUAK* 54 (1918): 9-10.

<sup>348</sup>Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*, 64.

<sup>349</sup>*Barbaro i Contarini o Rossii*, 190.

<sup>350</sup>*Ibid.*, 125.

Castle/Town").<sup>351</sup> Chufut-Kale (or Kyrk-Or) was abandoned by the Karaites even later than Mangoup, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

### 5.3.2. Monuments

Unfortunately, the data provided by the travellers concerning the monuments of Kyrk-Or in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, are not as interesting as the ethnographic data, but still allow for some conclusions. The most detailed description of Kyrk-Or was left by Evliya Chelebi. He mentioned architectural monuments of the town, described its defensive complex, locating the Jewish (i.e. the Karaite) district consisting of two hundred houses between the middle and eastern walls (fig. 9; 5, 4 in appendix).<sup>352</sup>

A very interesting remark about the "civitas Kirkel" was left in 1517, by the Polish scholar Matthias de Miechov, who wrote that the fortifications of the town of Kyrk-Or were built of wood and clay; he also supplied the legend about the dragon who plundered the town and the surrounding area.<sup>353</sup> The Italian traveller of the seventeenth century Dortelli d'Ascolli called Kyrk-Or "*Toprack-Kala*," which means in the translation from Turkish "The Earthen Castle."<sup>354</sup> These two written testimonies allowed the local historians A. Gertsen and Y. Mogarichev to suggest that the travellers who usually entered the town from the eastern side, could see an earthen mound covering the external side of the eastern wall of Kyrk-Or. It could make upon them the false impression that the entire town was built of earth or clay.<sup>355</sup>

The problem of the location of the earliest Christian church on the territory of Kyrk-Or is still unsolved, even though the Alans, who were Christians, without any doubts, had to have a church in their settlement. Another proof are the remains of

<sup>351</sup>However, it is worth mentioning that this term had a derogative meaning: the Crimean Tatars used for the designation of the Jewish population the ethnonym "yahudi," while "chufut" was a derogative one.

<sup>352</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 93.

<sup>353</sup>"Alia civitas minor est Kirkel, et supra eam in rupe alta est castrum ex lignis, et argilla factum. In hac rupe (ut fertur) draco commorabatur, et trucidabat homines..." See Matthias a Michovia, "De Sarmatia Asiana et Europeana," in *Polonicae Historiae Corpus* (Basel: Per Sebastianum Henricpetri, 1582), 139.

<sup>354</sup>Emiddio Dortelli d'Ascoli, "Descrittione del Mar Negro e della Tartaria 1634," in *Cztenia 5 Istoricheskogo Obszczestva Nestora Letopisca*, vol.5 (Kiev, 1891), 58.

<sup>355</sup>Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*, 84-85.

Byzantine columns of the sixth-seventh centuries found on the territory of the mosque.<sup>356</sup> The history of the latter religious monument is more clear: a stone bearing the date 1346, found in its wall, makes it probable that the mosque was built during the reign of the conqueror of Kyrk-Or, the Khan Janibek I (1342-1363). During the excavations of the mosque in 1928, a fragment of the inscription with the name of Khadji-Girej was found (at that time Kyrk-Or temporarily became the capital of the Crimean Khanate).<sup>357</sup> The text of this inscription was written down by Evliya Chelebi in its entirety. It tells that the founder of the mosque was Khadji-Girej, who built it in 1455.<sup>358</sup> However, for the date of foundation the earlier date of 1346 should be considered, whereas at the time of Khadji-Girej the mosque was considerably rebuilt (see fig. 9; 6 in appendix).

Many written sources report on the prison on the territory of Kyrk-Or. The Russian ambassador to the Crimea, Constantine Zabolotskij, mentioned in his relation to Moscow the imprisonment of the Lithuanian ambassador Lez in Kyrk-Or in 1493.<sup>359</sup> The Russian *boyarin* Vasilij Borisovich Sheremetev, who spent twenty one years (1660-1681) in the prison of Chufut-Kale (Kyrk-Or) wrote to the Tsar Alexej Mikhajlovich that during all this time he remained in heavy chains and was not allowed to go outside.<sup>360</sup> Evliya Chelebi wrote that there is "no other Hell of this kind anywhere else in the world."<sup>361</sup> As for the only place for such a prison A. Gertsen and

<sup>356</sup>O. Akchokrakly, "Novoe iz istorii Chufut-Kale" [New information about the history of Chufut-Kale], ITOIAE 72 (1928): 167.

<sup>357</sup>Ibid., 168.

<sup>358</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 94.

<sup>359</sup>"Государь с моих речей того Леза поймал и посадил в Кыркоре..." See V.D. Smirnov, *Krymskoje Khanstvo pod Verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty* [The Crimean Khanate under the rule of the Ottoman Porta] (St. Petersburg, 1887), 103.

<sup>360</sup>"Кайданы на мне больше полпуда, четыре года заперт я в палату, окна заделаны камнями, оставлено только одно окно. На дворе из избы пяди не бывал я шесть лет и нужду всякую исполняю в избе, и от духу и от нужды и от тесноты больше оцинжал, и зубы от цинги повыпадали и от головных болезней вижу мало, да и от кандалов обезножел, да и оглодел." See Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*, 92.

<sup>361</sup>Evliya Chelebi, *Kniga*, 94. It can be perhaps interesting for the Hungarian readers to know that he considered the terrible prison in Chufut-Kale to be similar only to the prison in the castle Szolnok, and another prison in Győr.

Y. Mogarichev designated a cave, situated on the northern slope of the New Town, approximately fifty metres from the middle wall (fig. 9; 7).<sup>362</sup>

In general, as seen from this review of the travel accounts related to the history of the three aforementioned Crimean towns, it is possible to distinguish several main tendencies in the travellers' interest regarding the life of these settlements. First, the travellers' intention was to describe the inner view and mainly, the defensive complex of a settlement. Second, the travellers were usually surprised by the ethnic diversity of the Crimean towns and wished to portray it. Third, they usually included short excursions into the historical past of a settlement, following information from some written source, but more often coming from the local inhabitants or hearsay.

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<sup>362</sup>Gertsen and Mogarichev, *Krepost' Dragotsennostej*, 92-93.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The main idea and aim of this work was to indicate a possible interpretation of travel accounts, using them as valuable sources for casting a light on dark places in the history of a specific geographic region, in the given case, the Crimea, substantiating the importance of travel accounts as a historical source. In addition to an analysis and overview of European travel accounts written during the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries and related to the history of the Crimea, the objective of this thesis was also to reveal the common topics and patterns in travel descriptions of the Crimea and to describe different aspects of social, political, ethnic, and administrative life of the late medieval Crimea according to these texts. Another important purpose for writing this work was to show the European perception of this "marginal" and "barbarous" region. This is why the accounts of various Oriental travellers were not analysed here but used only as supplementary sources.

Most of the known accounts of European travellers visiting the Crimea from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century were collected and analysed in this thesis. They can be divided into two comparatively distinctive groups which differ not only in the historical content, but also in the style and manner of the writing: accounts before the Ottoman conquest (1475) and those written after this event. In addition, I was interested not only in the content of these sources but also in revealing the reasons for the travellers' interest in the Crimea, the circumstances governing their writing and the events which happened to them during their journey to and their stay in the territory of the peninsula. This analysis allowed me to understand the reasons why the travellers created certain images of the Crimea and, subsequently, the general perception of the Crimea in Europe. I also analysed numerous toponyms, used in Europe for the designation of the Crimea, which also reflected the way Europe understood and evaluated the Crimea.

In addition to these investigated problems which bear rather a general and even psychological character, I analysed the narrower and more concrete aspects of Crimean history from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century by using the data of the travel accounts and comparing them to each other (thus revealing common patterns in these sources) and to the data of other kinds (archaeological, epigraphic, cartographic, other written sources, etc.). Such aspects of the history of medieval Crimea as the administrative, political, and economic structures and the changes which happened in them after the Ottoman conquest (as seen by the European travellers) were also analysed.

However, the "Crimean parts" of the travelogues examined in this thesis consisted mainly of the ethnographic information (i.e. the descriptions of various and numerous ethnic groups inhabiting the Crimea during this period) and the descriptions of the largest Crimean towns, their architectural monuments, and fortifications. I analysed the data on the three Crimean nations which were the most frequently described in the travel accounts: the Crimean Tatars, the Genoese, and the Goths. Other ethnic groups (such as the Armenians, Georgians, Jews, Karaims, Ottoman Turks) were mentioned in the travelogues of this period quite briefly; therefore, because of the fact that the scarce data concerning these people does not provide sufficient ground for examination, they were not investigated in this work.

The history of the most frequently mentioned Crimean towns, as were Caffa, Mangoup, and Chufut-Kale (Kyrk-Or), was analysed in the last chapter. The data of almost all travel accounts concerning these three towns was collected, and using and comparing them to the data of other types, I attempted to create a general outline of their history in the given period and a history of particular architectural and defensive monuments in the territories of the three towns.

The analysis of the travel accounts related to the history of the Crimea resulted in the following conclusions of a general character:

- 1) travel accounts represent a valuable source for better understanding the psychology and mentality of medieval people and their way of perceiving the surrounding world;



- 2) travel accounts are also of great importance for understanding economic, political, and cultural history of medieval Europe (and of the Crimea as a part of it);
- 3) using the data from travel accounts and comparing them to each other and to other types of sources, it is possible to reconstruct some parts of the history of various Crimean ethnic groups, settlements, and particular monuments in their territories;
- 4) when using information from the European travel accounts as a basis, it is possible to draw essential conclusions concerning the way in which the Crimea was perceived by Europeans during the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries;

As regards the conclusions concerning the history of the Crimea, it is worth distinguishing the following:

- 1) in general, Europe perceived the Crimea as a remote marginal region, lying on a junction of the trade routes to the East, on whose territory several settlements existed, which were inhabited by the representatives of civilised countries of Europe (the Greeks, the Italians, and the Goths); this attitude changed considerably for the worse after the Crimea was conquered by the Ottomans (1475) and the main ethnic element became the "infidels," the Crimean Tatars;
- 2) the travellers came to the Crimea from various European countries (Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Russia); the main reason for their interest in this country during the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries was predominantly commercial, or the usage of the Crimea as a transit point for continuing their voyages farther. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the growth of the influence of the Crimean Tatars on the adjacent countries, the main reason for the travellers' interest in the Crimea became a military one.
- 3) as regards the ethnic situation in the Crimea in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, the European travellers put the main emphasis on the description of the Crimean Tatars (as the most influential, peculiar and most dangerous people of the region), the Genoese (as the most numerous inhabitants of the largest Crimean settlements until the Ottoman

conquest), and the Crimean Goths (fascinating the Europeans by the very fact of their presence in such a remote and barbarous region).

4) the main Crimean towns, described by the European travellers, were Caffa, Mangoup, and Chufut-Kale, mainly due to their administrative and military importance; other important Crimean settlements, such as Sudak, Kyrk-Or or Kherson, were mentioned throughout the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries but only rather briefly.

However, in spite of the wide range of aspects of medieval Crimea's history as analysed in this thesis, it should be said that there are some more ways in which the data from the European travel accounts can be examined. It would be valuable to analyse the travelogues written by Oriental travellers in a similar manner and to compare the European and Oriental patterns in the perception of the Crimea through the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries. In addition, it is also plausible that in the various European archives housing medieval documents and manuscripts, new European travel accounts related to the history of the Crimea can be found, and therefore, new and valuable data which can contribute to the analysis of the problem of the perception of the Crimea by medieval travellers will become available.

## APPENDIX

- Fig. 1. Map of the Crimea and surrounding area with the indication of ancient, medieval, and contemporary names of the settlements (from Alexander Vasiliev. *The Goths in the Crimea*. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936).
- Fig. 2. Map of the southern part of the Crimea (from A.L. Yakobson. *Srednevekovyj Krym* [The Medieval Crimea]. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1964; English transliteration of the toponyms provided by M. Kizilov).
- Fig. 3. Herberstein's map of Russia with the indication of the Crimea (from Siegmund von Herberstein. *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*. Vienna, 1549).
- Fig. 4. Sixteenth-century map of the Crimea (from Martinus Bronovius. *Tartariae Descriptio*. Cologne, 1595).
- Fig. 5. Seventeenth-century map of the Crimea of Nicolaas Witsen (from Nicolaas Witsen. *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*. Amsterdam, 1692).
- Fig. 6. Part of the text of Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq containing a dictionary of the language of the Crimean Goths (from Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq. *Augierii Gislenii Busbequii Legationis Turcicae Epistolae IV*. Hannover, 1629, 244-245).
- Fig. 7. Ground plan of the contemporary town Theodosia containing the remains of the medieval settlement of Caffa (from A.L. Yakobson. *Srednevekovyj Krym* [The Medieval Crimea]. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1964).
- Fig. 8. Ground plan of Mangoup (from A.G. Gertzen. "Krepostnoj ansambl Mangupa" [The defensive ensemble of Mangoup]. *MAIET* 1 (1990): 243; English transliteration of the toponyms provided by M. Kizilov).
- Fig. 9. Ground plan of Chufut-Kale (from A.G. Gertzen and Y.M. Mogarichev. *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or]. Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1993, 7-8).
- Fig. 10. Cave on the northern slope of Chufut-Kale identified as the location of a prison (from A.G. Gertzen and Y.M. Mogarichev. *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or]. Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1993).

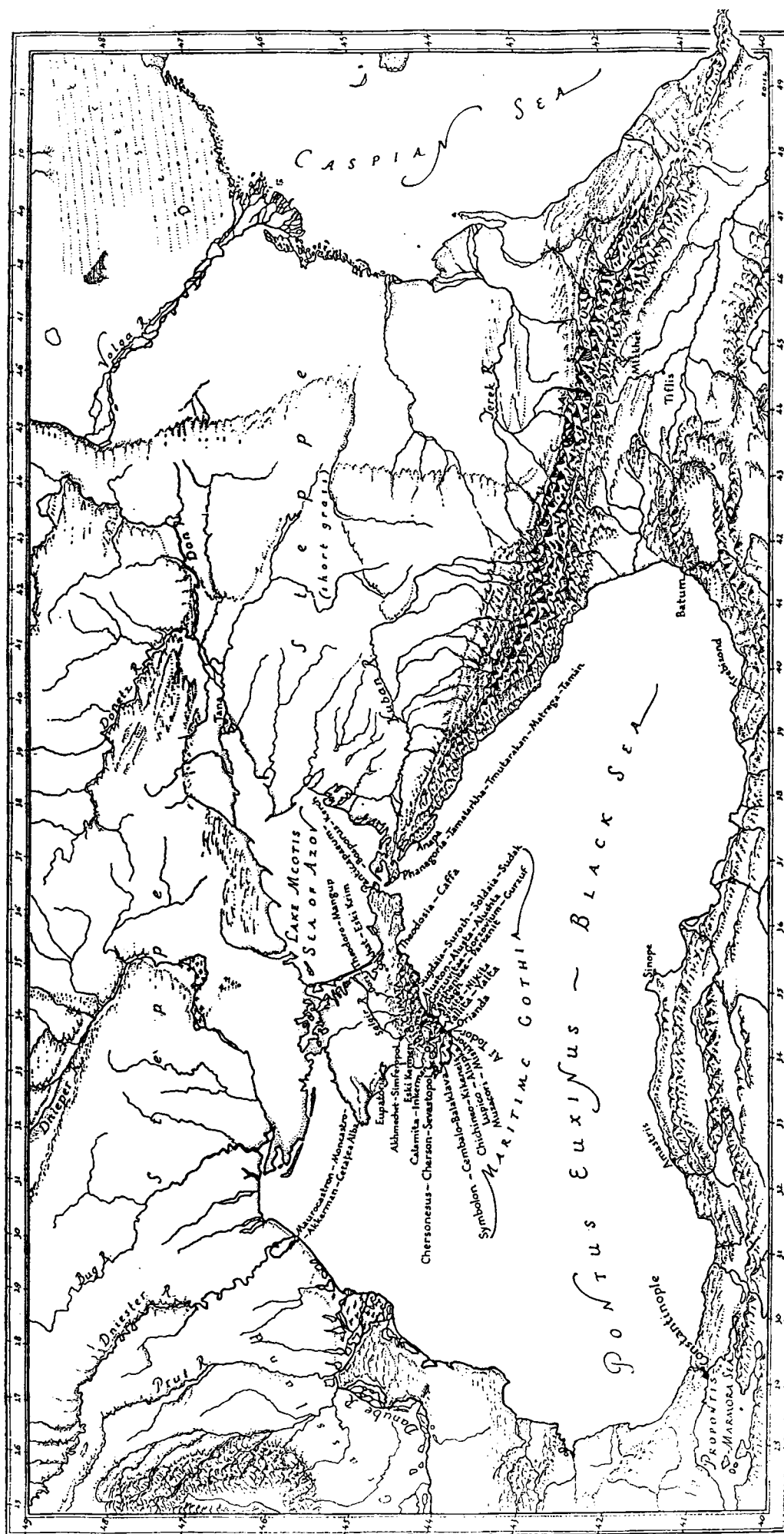


Fig. 1. Map of the Crimea and surrounding area with the indication of ancient, medieval, and contemporary names of the settlements (from Alexander Vasiliev. *The Goths in the Crimea*. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936).

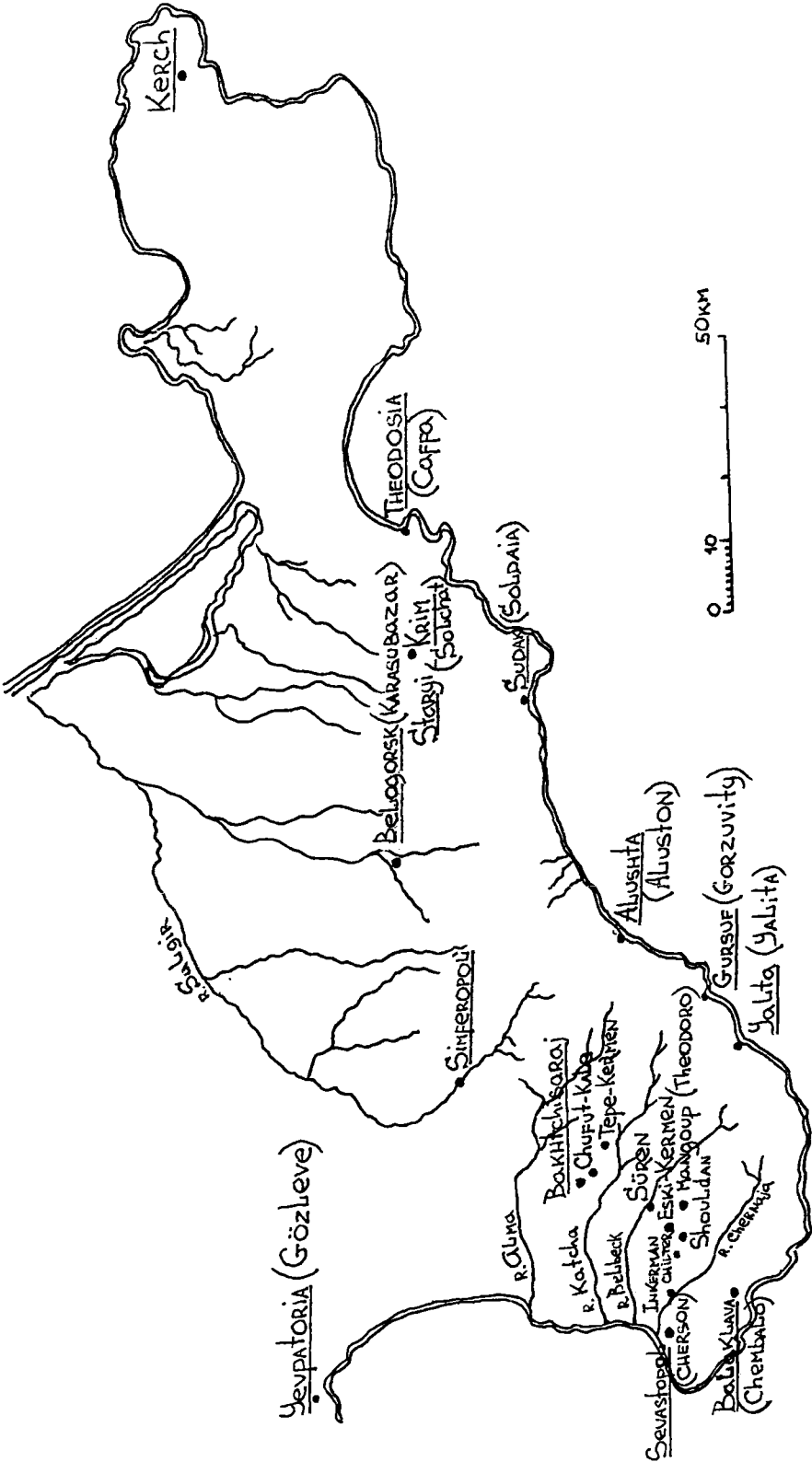


Fig. 2. Map of the southern part of the Crimea (from A.L. Yakobson. *Srednevekovyy Krym*. [The Medieval Crimea]. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1964; English transliteration of the toponyms provided by M. Kizilov).

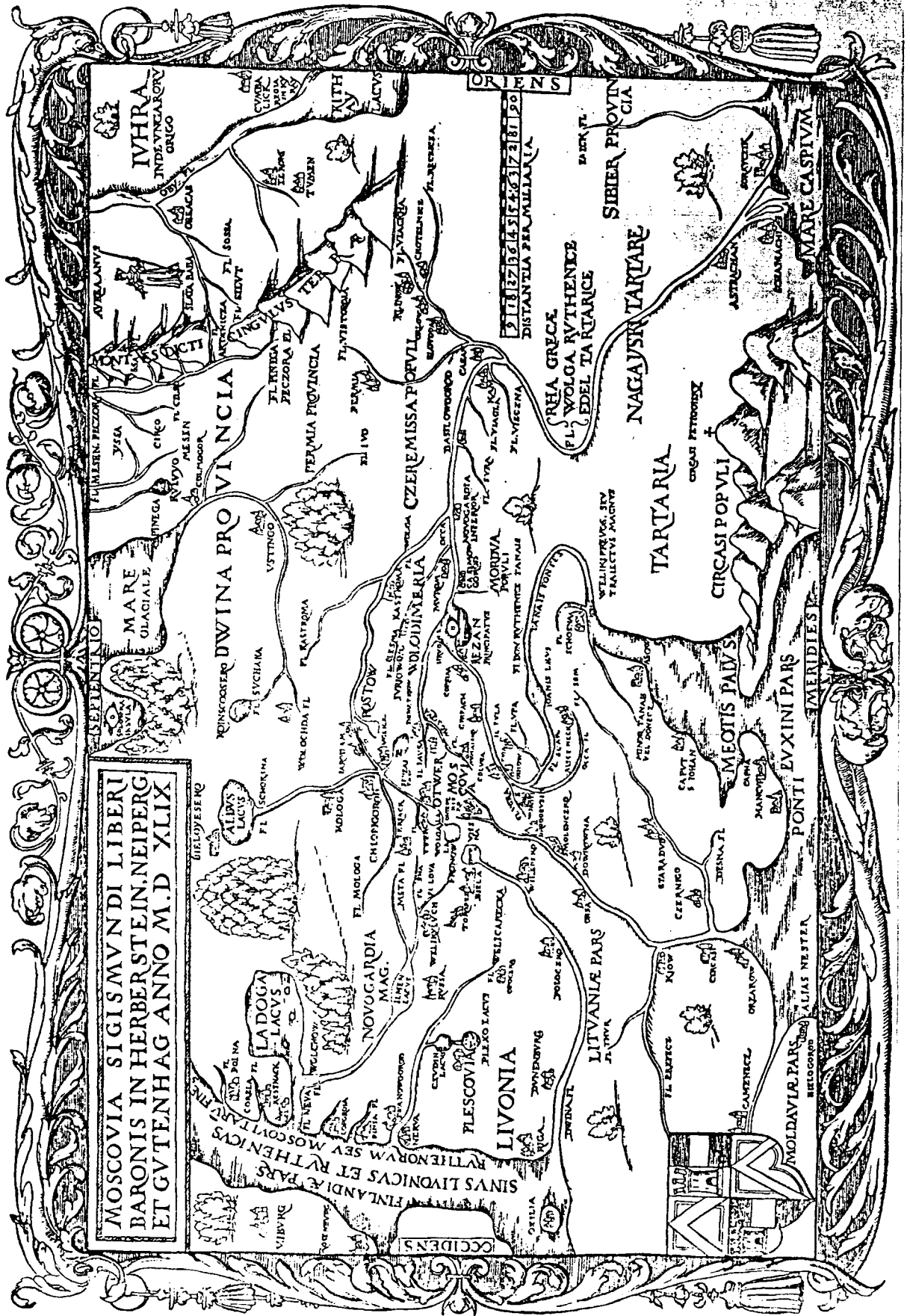


Fig. 3. Herberstein's map of Russia with the indication of the Crimea (from Sigmund von Herberstein. *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*. Vienna, 1549).

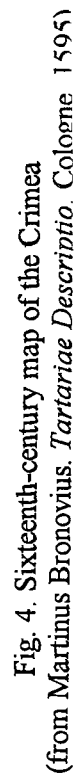
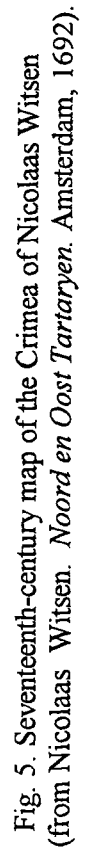


Fig. 4. Sixteenth-century map of the Crimea





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ius linguae naturae id ferat, siue quod cum fugiebat memoria, & peregrina cum vernaculis mutabat: omnibus vero dictionibus proponebat articulum *tho* aut *tho* nostraria, aut patum differentia. haec erant.

Broe. Panis.	Tag. Dies.
Plut. Sanguis.	Oeghene. Oculi.
Stul. Sedes.	Bars. Barba.
Hus. Domus.	Handa. Manus.
VVingart. Vitis.	Boga Arcus.
Reghen. Pluuia.	Micra. Formica.
Bruder. Frater.	Rinck siue.
Schuuvester. Soror.	Ringo. Annulus.
Alt. Senex.	Brunna. Fons.
VVintch. Ventus.	VVaghen. Currus.
Siluir. Argentum.	Apel. Pomum.
Goltz. Aurum.	Schieten. Mittere sagittam.
Kor. Triticum.	Schlipen. Dormire.
Salt. Sal.	Kommen. Venire.
Fisct. Piscis.	Singhen. Canere.
Hoef. Caput.	Lachen. Ridere.
Thurn. Porta.	Eriten. Flere.
Stern. Stella.	Geen. Ire.
Sone. Sol.	Breen. Affare.
Mine. Luna.	Schuualch. Mors.
Knauen tag erat illi Bonus dies: Knauen bonum dicebat, & pleraque alia cum nostra lingua non satis congruentia usurpabat, vt	
Iel. Vita siue sanitas.	Baar. Puer.
Ieltsch. Vinus siue sanus.	Ael. Lapis.
Iel vburt. Sit sanum.	Menu. Caro.
Marzus. Nuptia.	Rintsch. Mons.
Schuos. Sponsa.	Fers. Vir.

Statz.

## EPISTOLA IV.

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Statz. Terra.	Lista. Perum.
Ada. Ouum.	Schedit. Lux.
Ano. Gallina.	Borrotsch. Voluntas.
Telich. Stultus.	Cadarion. Miles.
Stap. Capra.	Kilemschkop. ebibe calicem.
Gadeltha. Pulchrum.	TzoVvarthata. tu fecisti.
Atochta. Malum.	Ies Varthata. Ille fecit.
VVichigata. Album.	Ich malthata. Ego dico.
Mycha. Ensis.	

Iussus ita numerabat. Ita, tua, tria, fyder, fyuf, seis, seuene, prorsus, vt nos Flandri. Nam vos Brabantii, qui vos Germanice loqui facitis, hic magnifice vos efferre, & nos soletis habere derisui, ac si istam vocem pronunciemus rancidius, quam vos *Seuen* effertis. Prosequebatur deinde, *Athenyne, thiine, thimuta, thunetua, thunetia*, &c. Viginti dicebat *sega*, triginta, *treithyen*, quadraginta *furdeithien*, centum *sada*, *brazer* mille. Quinetiam canilenam eius linguae recitabat, cuius initium erat huiusmodi:

VVara vvara ingdolou:

Scute gira Galizn.

Haemisclep doibiza ca.

Hi Gothi Saxones sint, non possum diiudicare. Si Saxones, arbitror eo deductos tempore Caroli magni, quicquam gentem per varias orbis terrarum regiones dissipauit. Cui rei testimonio sunt vrbes Transilvaniae hodieque Saxonibus incolis habitatae. Atque ex iis ferocissimos fortasse longius etiam summoueri placuit in Tauricam usque Chersonesum, vbi quidem inter hostes religionem adhuc retinent Christianam. Quod si Gothi sunt, arbitror iam olim eas sibi sedes te-

Q 3

Fig. 6. Part of the text of Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq containing a dictionary of the language of the Crimean Goths (from Ogier Ghiselin de Bousbecq. *Augierii Gisleinii Busbequii Legationis Turcicae Epistolae IV*. Hannover, 1629, 244-245).

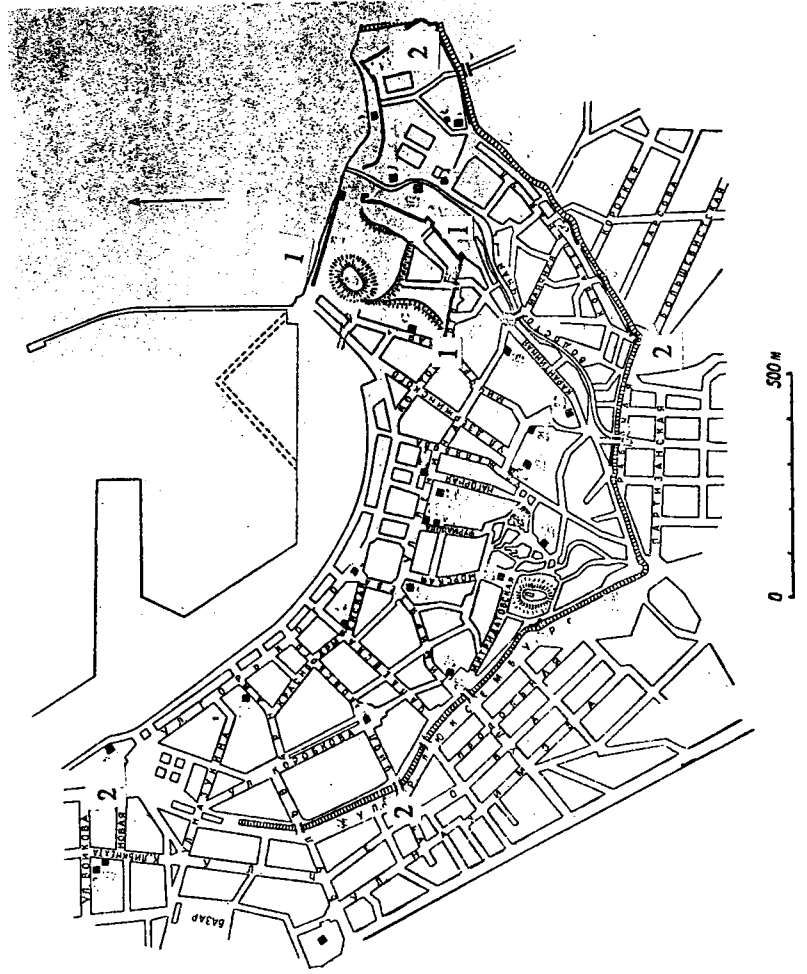


Fig. 7. Ground plan of the contemporary town Theodosia containing the remains of the medieval settlement of Caffa (from A.L. Yakobson. *Srednevekovyj Krym*. [The Medieval Crimea]. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1964):

(\*for the explanation of the numerals see page 65)

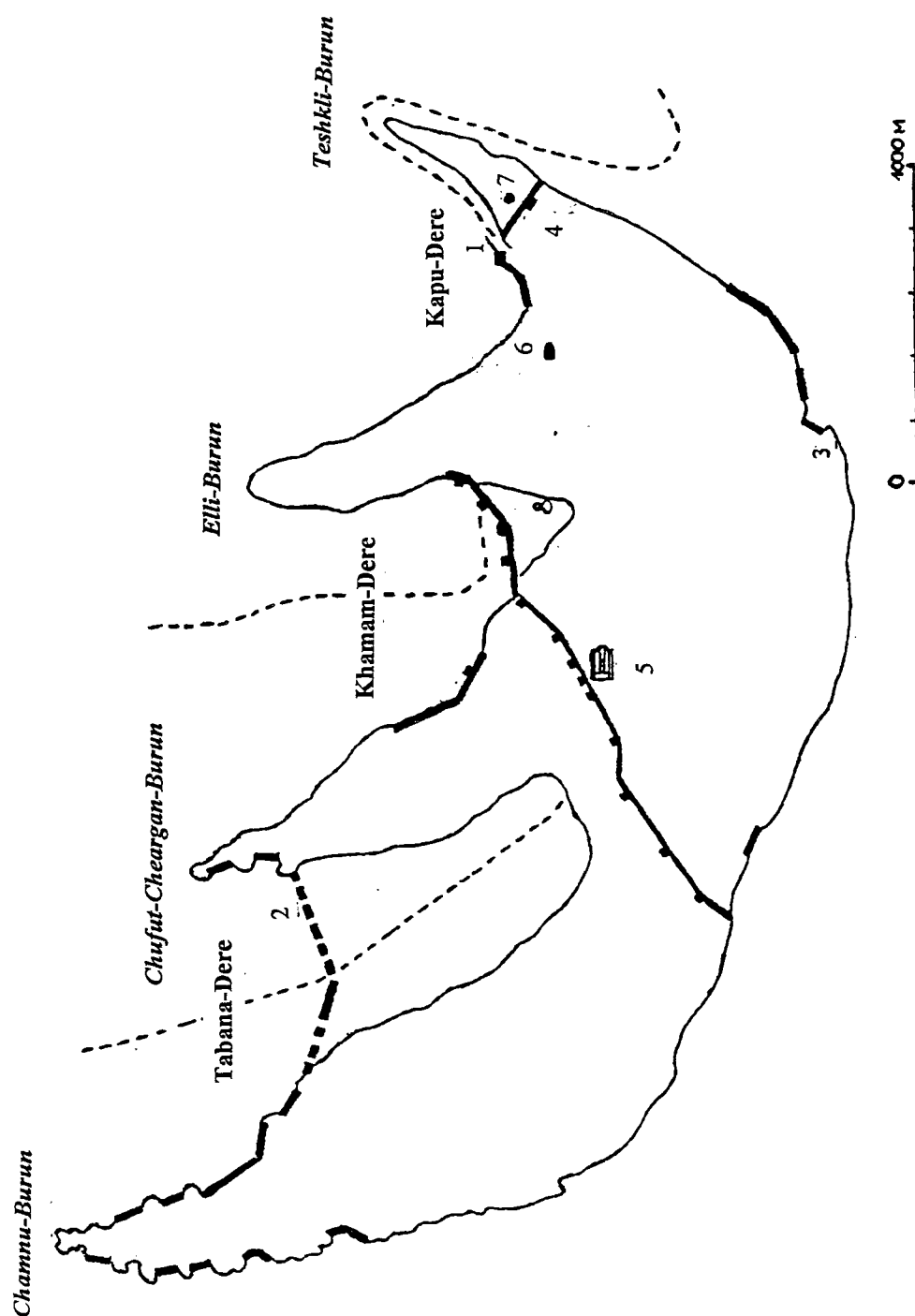


Fig. 8. Ground plan of Mangoup (from A.G. Gertzen. "Krepostnoj ansambl Mangupa"  
[The defensive ensemble of Mangoup]. *MAIET* 1 (1990): 243; English  
transliteration of the toponyms provided by M. Kizilov).

(\*for the explanation of the numerals see pages 72-74)

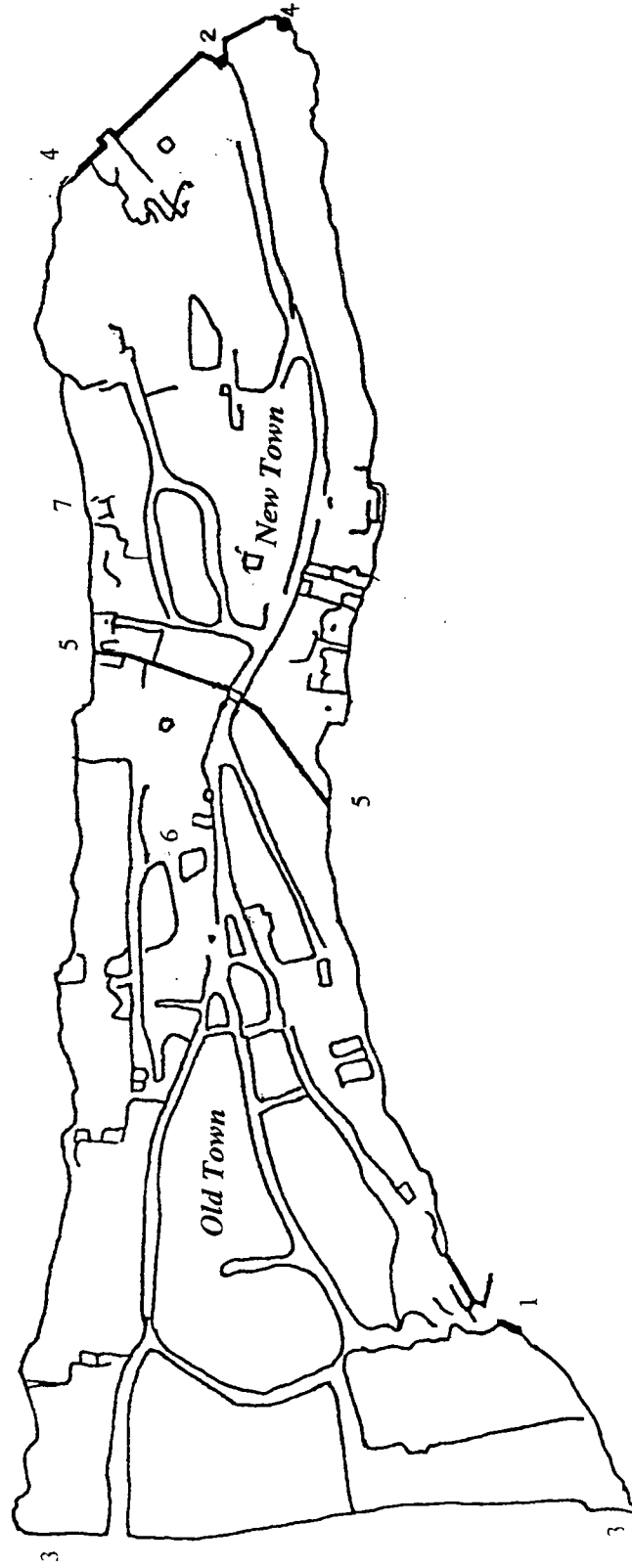


Fig. 9. Ground plan of Chufut-Kale (from A.G. Gertzen and Y.M. Mogarichev. *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or]. Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1993, 7-8).

(\*for the explanation of the numerals see pages 75-81)

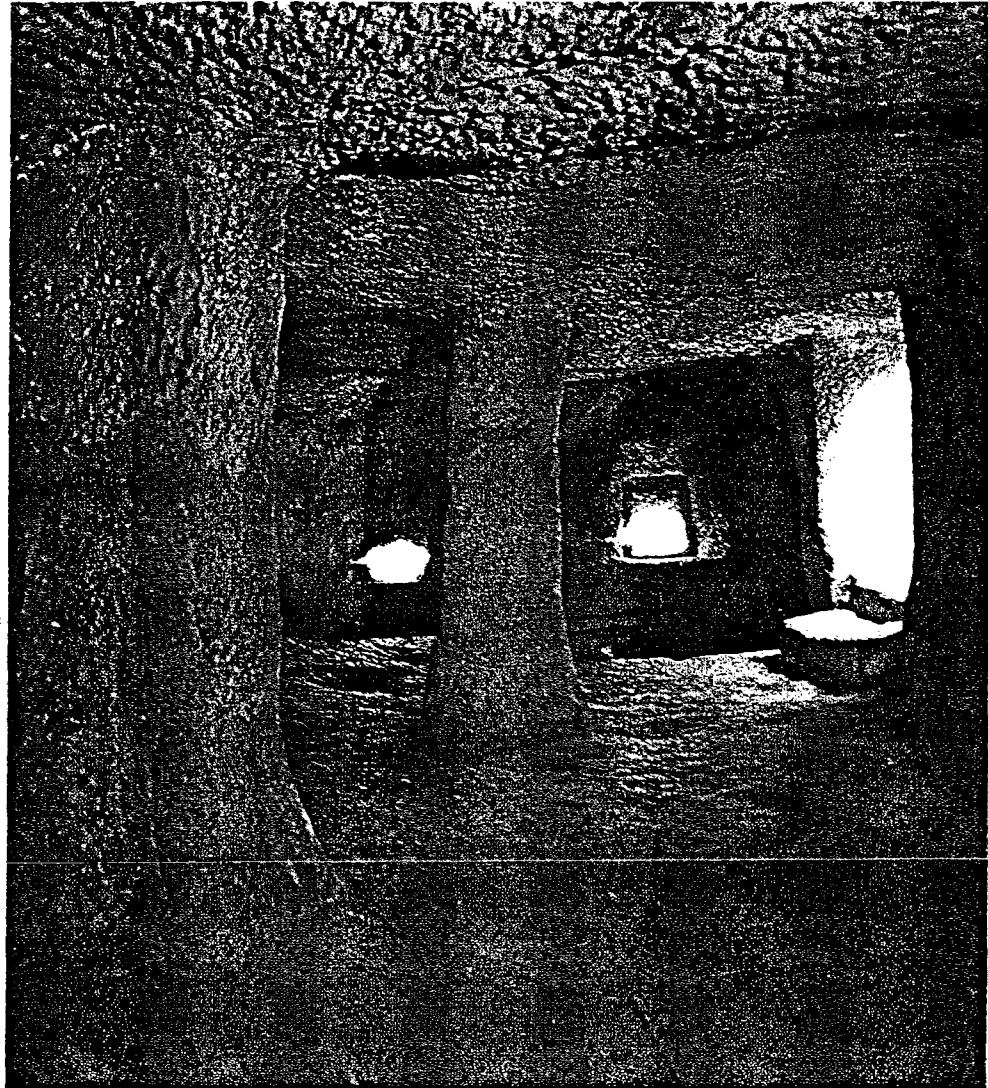


Fig. 10. Cave on the northern slope of Chufut-Kale identified as the location of a prison (from A.G. Gertzen and Y.M. Mogarichev. *Krepost' Dragotsennostej. Chufut-Kale. Kyrk-Or* [The fortress of treasures: Chufut-Kale, Kyrk-Or]. Simferopol, Ukraine: Tavrija, 1993).

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