**The letter of agreement *(list przemirny)* sent by King Sigismund III to Khan Ghazi II Giray**

The [instrument of ] agreement [sent] from His Royal Majesty to the khan of Perekop [i.e., Crimea] anno 1601:

Sigismund the third, by the grace of God the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Livonia, Kiev, Volhynia, Podlachia [Podlasie], and also the hereditary king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals.

We announce with the present letter, to whom it may concern, presently and in the future, that as, with God’s will, we ascended the throne of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and of the lands belonging to it, also Ghazi Giray Khan became the khan of the Crimean Horde after the death of Islam Giray; and though initially transgressions happened between us and him [i.e., Ghazi Giray], having met his excellency Jan Zamoyski, our chancellor and grand hetman, and our troops, in Ţuţora [Cecora] in the Moldavian[[1]](#footnote-1) land,

he endeavored to gain our goodwill and favor and asked the hetman to assist in acquiring this aim, offering not merely to be our friend, but a friend of our friends and an enemy of our enemies, and to face and fight any of our enemies; in reference to this matter he sent his honest envoy, Djan Ahmed Chelebi,[[2]](#footnote-2) to Cracow, our capital.

[And] having taken counsel in this matter with our Councilors, we favorably received this wish and offer of Ghazi Giray Khan, and we sent him our present letter of agreement [list przemirny] through our envoy,[[3]](#footnote-3) promising him to firmly and invariably keep everything that is written there, on the condition that he sends us a similar letter of agreement, written in accordance with our letter, and firmly keeps this agreement and all its clauses.

Yet, as at that time the khan was absent from his land, our envoy did not meet him and did not bring us the [instrument of ] agreement; even though the khan sent us one subsequently through his envoy Djan Temir Agha,[[4]](#footnote-4) as the contents of his letter of agreement did not conform with mutual requirements of sound friendship, we have [again] written our present letter of agreement and sent it to Ghazi Giray Khan through our great envoy and secretary, Ławryn Piaseczyński,[[5]](#footnote-5) the chamberlain [Pol. podkomorzy] of Braclav, and we have ordered him [i.e., the envoy] to take from him [i.e., the khan] another one [i.e., letter of agreement], being in accordance with our [letter of agreement].

Thus, first of all we promise certain and inviolable peace on our part and on the part of the Lords Senators of the Crown, our subjects, to Ghazi Giray Khan, his sons, brothers, people, and land. And on his part, Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan,[[6]](#footnote-6) and other qalgas who will come after him, along with his [i.e., the khan’s] sons and brothers, and the mirzas, princes,[[7]](#footnote-7) qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and those commanding over places and people (both military and all his other people), and with all his people, and the Nogay people who are allied and united with him, being our loyal friend and truly regarding us and our people as his friends, and our enemies as his enemies, will not harm, raid, or capture any castles, towns, boroughs, villages, estates, people, herds, or goods of ours and of our Lords Councilors, nobles, and subjects. On the contrary, he, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, and his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, all commanders, and in short, all his people, and the Nogays who are his subjects, should keep sincere and loyal peace with our people, without raiding or sending raiders to our states, causing damage or harm, and without invading our lands [extending] as far as the Black Sea. And his people and troops should not pass through our lands while heading for any campaigns or wars of their own or anybody else’s,[[8]](#footnote-8) nor should they even graze them [i.e., touch the frontiers].

And as the ancestors of Ghazi Giray Khan, the former Tatar khans, were to raid the Muscovian land whenever Their Majesties, the ancient kings of Poland and the grand dukes of Lithuania, needed and requested, and retake and restore [to them] the castles that had belonged [to them], along with all their lands and profits, and moreover, they were to raid our other enemies whenever we needed and requested, also [now] Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, and people should do likewise. And he will do it sincerely and truly by raiding our Muscovian and any other enemy on our request.

And just as his [i.e., the khan’s] ancestors regarded our [ancestors’] enemies [as their enemies], and as our ancestors regarded his ancestors’ [enemies] as such, likewise, we will not assist them [i.e., such enemies].

And he should behave in a calm and friendly manner towards the Moldavian[[9]](#footnote-9) hospodar,[[10]](#footnote-10) who has been placed [on his throne] according to our will, and towards the Moldavian land; he should not act against him or cause any damage to him or the Moldavian[[11]](#footnote-11) land; and he should not bring along to this land any other pretenders to the hospodar’s throne,[[12]](#footnote-12) or give them refuge; on the contrary, he should deliver them [to the current Moldavian hospodar]; and he [i.e., the khan] should display benevolence and assist [the Moldavian hospodar], like he did initially, and likewise [he should display benevolence and assist] the hospodar and the land of Wallachia,[[13]](#footnote-13) because such hospodars [have been placed on their thrones][[14]](#footnote-14) to cement and strengthen the friendship and ancient agreement between us and our friend, His Majesty, the Turkish emperor.

We forgive the khan all the transgressions and damages that have happened between us until the present time, in trust that in the future he will compensate them to us by his constant goodwill and good faith. Neither should he reclaim any indemnity in his name or in the name of his people, or any past gifts from us and our people, because our mutual friendship begins from now on.

Also, as it was practiced in the times of our ancestors and is recorded in the agreement between the late King Sigismund the Old and Mengli Giray Khan, Ghazi Giray Khan, or his sons or brothers may come to us and our land as guests invited to help us against our enemies, if we make use of their services to fight our enemies, provided that we authorize it and set [the size of ] their retinue. And they should not suffer any harm done to them, their people, or belongings by us or our people; on the contrary, we should receive them honestly and voluntarily, and we should respect them.

Merchants and traders, both ours and from our states in the khan’s land, as well as the khan’s and from his land in our lands, may freely travel in both directions for the purpose of commerce and trade, having paid the customary tolls, and should not be hurt or harmed by anybody in any way. And if they suffer any harm, immediate and thorough justice should be administered.

And in order to display our generosity towards Ghazi Giray Khan and his servants, so that he be more willing and ready to bring us his due assistance (as it has been described above) against all our enemies, we promise to henceforth give him annual gifts out of our generosity and grace, half in cash and half in goods, just as the old king Sigismund[[15]](#footnote-15) used to do, and send them to . . . by the day. . . .[[16]](#footnote-16)

And Ghazi Giray Khan, and the qalga Selamet Giray Sultan, and other qalgas who will come after him, along with his sons, brothers, mirzas, princes, qaraçıs, ulans, beys, commanders, and all his people should maintain true and inviolable peace towards us and our subjects, castles, towns, boroughs, villages, hamlets, and pastures, and invariably keep, fulfill, and effectively and materially execute all the conditions described above in the present letter of agreement, without any falsity, deceit, or excuses, and forever. And if he does not fulfill it, then we will be free from our promise to him.

To this effect we have ordered to impress our Crown seal. Written in Warsaw in the year 1601 from the birth of the Son of God, on the 20th day of the month of March, in the 14th year of our reign in Poland and the 8th year [of our reign] in Sweden.

**The Crimean instrument of the Treaty of Podhajce (Pidhajci)**

As His Majesty, the prince [sultan],[[17]](#footnote-17) Qalga Qırım Giray, has entered the domains of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth along with the Crimean, Nogay, Budjak, and Akkerman troops with no other intention but to confirm and renew in the name of His Majesty, the present khan, his successor, and the whole Crimea, the ancient treaties with His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth that had been repeatedly sworn since so many years: namely those [treaties] of recent memory that had been concluded with His Majesty, the late khan Islam Giray, and with his successor, His Majesty, the khan Mehmed Giray. Thus, having met at the present place near Pidhajci, they - His Majesty, the hetman,[[18]](#footnote-18) in the name of His Royal Majesty and the whole Commonwealth, and His Majesty, the prince,[[19]](#footnote-19) in the name of His Majesty, the present khan, his successor, and the whole Crimea and all the hordes - have agreed and mutually sworn the following articles of eternal friendship and unbreakable peace:

Firstly: whatever has happened between both nations, either last winter, or presently, one should forget it forever and leave it to the secret divine judgment, no matter who gave the reason and occasion for breaking of such well grounded friendship.

In order to prevent such breaking of mutual friendship, at present and in the future, His Majesty, the hetman, provides that, under the present oath, if any dissent, resentment, or claim arises between the aforementioned states for whatever reason, it should be committed to envoys, until whose return the troops of His Majesty, the khan, should behave peacefully, without displaying any sign of enmity.

As His Majesty, the prince, engages and swears in the name of His Majesty, the present khan, his successors, and the whole Crimea, to be an enemy of all the enemies of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, and to arrive with the number of troops required by His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth, whenever the Commonwealth needs assistance, in return His Majesty, the hetman, engages and assures in the name of His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth to send the gifts due to His Majesty, the khan, and the Crimean hordes, in accordance with the ancient customs, from the beginning of the present, mutually sworn friendship, in future annual installments; and - as a warranty of the above [engagement] and of his eternal friendship with His Majesty, the khan, and with the Crimea - he appoints his two men[[20]](#footnote-20) to accompany His Majesty, the prince, [to the Crimea] to reside at the side of His Majesty, the khan, and to remain there until the [Tatar] envoy, sent to the [Polish-Lithuanian] Diet in order to collect the gifts, returns to His Majesty, the khan. Yet, His Majesty, the khan, should not send any troops to the Ukraine and to the domains of His Royal Majesty without knowledge and explicit permission of His Royal Majesty and the whole Commonwealth.

And as some hordes, namely the Budjak and Akkerman ones, as well as a substantial part of the Nogays, namely of the Oraq-oghlu and Or-Membetoghlu,[[21]](#footnote-21) do not regard themselves as subjects of His Majesty, the khan, also in this matter His Majesty, the prince, assures and convinces His Majesty, the hetman, that if they willfully enter the domains of His Royal Majesty in forays [torhaks][[22]](#footnote-22) or in big groups, then His Majesty, the prince, promises in the name of His Majesty, the khan, to restrain them without giving them any protection or letting their own [i.e., Crimean] troops join them.

As at the instance of His Majesty, the khan, and the qalga sultan, His Royal Majesty and the Commonwealth extend their grace towards the Cossacks as their proper subjects, the latter should be content with any provision to be passed by the commission appointed by His Royal Majesty, while His Majesty, the prince, declares his assistance in this matter, confirming it with his oath.

In order to strengthen the complete friendship and eternal brotherhood, His Majesty, the prince, promises to persuade His Majesty, the khan, so that His Majesty, the khan, send back to Poland the captives taken at Brajiliv, namely Pan Machowski and others, who have already given notice [of their whereabouts], or who will do so in the future.[[23]](#footnote-23) In return His Majesty, the hetman, promises to request His Royal Majesty to order to set free the Tatars taken prisoner in various circumstances, in display of his sincere brotherhood with His Majesty, the khan.

Moreover, His Majesty, the prince, along with all his hordes, assures and truly promises His Majesty, the hetman, that neither here, nor on his way back to the Crimea, will he or [his] mirzas authorize any incursion in any direction; on the contrary, he will severely forbid [such incursions] and he allows to rout marauders, which [declaration] should be confirmed with an oath in display of the most complete brotherhood.

To strengthen [the mutual] trust we have signed with our hands and stamped. Given near Pidhajci on 16 October 1667.

[1] Qırım Giray, the qalga sultan son of Devlet Giray Sultan[[24]](#footnote-24) of the great Crimean hordes

[2] Inayet Giray Sultan, son of Feth Giray Sultan

[3] Takht Giray Sultan, son of Feth Giray Sultan

[4] Mengli[[25]](#footnote-25) Giray Bey the bey of the Shirins, his forefather [was] Hadji Giray Han

[5] Qarash Agha

[6] Murtaza Bey

[7] Adil-shah Mirza[[26]](#footnote-26)

[8] Murad-shah Mirza Mansur-oghlu[[27]](#footnote-27)

[9] Mehmed-shah Mirza, son of Qutlu-shah Bey[[28]](#footnote-28)

[10] Shah Mirza

1. In seventeenth-century Polish, the adjective wołoski/wołoska (lit. “Wallachian” or “of Wallachia”) referred to either Wallachia or Moldavia. In the given case it refers to Moldavia. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. On Djan Ahmed Chelebi, see Document 36, n. 2. Here his embassy from the years 1597–1598 is mentioned [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. I.e., Nikodem Kossakowski; on his embassy from the years 1598–1599, see Document 36, n. 1 and the paragraph below. The present royal document, issued in 1601, is similar to the one from 1598 taken by Kossakowski, but of course it is not the same document. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. On Djan Temir Agha, see Document 37, n. 2. Sent from Ghazi II Giray’s camp in Hungary, he brought the khan’s letter of agreement to Poland in October 1599. As the document’s contents deviated from the Polish expectations, Djan Temir was made to give a solemn promise that the khan would issue a corrected version after his return from Hungary (see Document 38). Yet, no other document by Ghazi Giray was issued until the summer of 1601 (see Document 39). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. On Ławryn (Wawrzyniec) Piaseczyński, see his biography by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz in PSB, vol. 25 (Wrocław etc., 1980), pp. 805–808, and Petro Kulakovs’kyj, Kanceljarija Rus’koji (Volyns’koji) metryky 1569–1673 rr. Studija z istoriji ukrajins’koho regionalizmu v Reči Pospolytij (Ostroh-L’viv, 2002), pp. 140–146; on his three embassies to the Tatars in the years 1601–1603, see also Pułaski, “Trzy poselstwa Piaseczyńskiego,” and Skorupa, Stosunki polsko-tatarskie, pp. 96–117. Piaseczyński left Warsaw in April and was received by Ghazi Giray on 23 August 1601. In the following days he negotiated the clauses to be inserted in the khan’s instrument along with Djan Ahmed Chelebi, the Crimean diplomat entrusted to deliver the khan’s document to Poland (on Djan Ahmed, see Document 36, n. 2). Both envoys left the Crimea in October 1601 and arrived at Vilnius after ca. 2 months (Piaseczyński in November, Djan Ahmed in December). As the royal side was not satisfied with the khan’s instrument, in March 1602 Piaseczyński again left for the Crimea in order to receive an “amended” document.

Also in this trip he was accompanied by Djan Ahmed Chelebi. As the Polish court detained the gifts expected by the Tatars, Piaseczyński’s reception in the Crimea in June 1602 was very cold. In August 1602, he returned to Cracow and in October 1602 was once more sent to the khan. Since the latter was campaigning in Hungary, Piaseczyński did not reach him and traveled only as far as Jassy. There in January 1603 he finally released the gifts to the Tatar envoy, Ali Mirza, and in February returned to Poland. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Pol. carewicz or czarewic is rendered here as sultan. Selamet Giray was Ghazi Giray’s brother and the qalga in the years 1597–1601. In September 1601, shortly after he gave a solemn audience to Piaseczyński, Selamet escaped from the Crimea to the Ottoman lands, apparently fearing for his life (cf. Skorupa, Stosunki polsko-tatarskie, pp. 104–105). Since he got involved in the Anatolian celali rebellion, he was imprisoned in the Istanbul castle of Yedi Kule. In 1608 he became khan with the Ottoman support and reigned until his death in 1610. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. The Polish term kniaziami (kniaziowie in the nominative) apparently refers to the beys, traditionally referred to in Ruthenian sources as knjazi. Yet, beys are also mentioned below as bejowie (bejami in the ablative). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. A plain reference to the long Ottoman-Habsburg war of the years 1593–1606. Regularly called to join the Ottoman troops in Hungary, the Tatars often crossed the Ukrainian lands of Poland-Lithuania. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. The Polish adjective wołoski refers here to Moldavia (cf. n. 1 above). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. I.e., Ieremia Movilă, the Moldavian hospodar in the years 1595–1606. Enthroned with the Polish support in 1595 (cf. Document 36, n. 4), Movilă lost almost his entire principality in May 1600 in result of the invasion of the Wallachian hospodar, Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave). Yet, in October 1600 the Polish troops led by Hetman Jan Zamoyski entered Moldavia and reinstalled Ieremia Movilă on its throne. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Here Moldavia is referred to more precisely by the Polish adjective mołdawska (“Mołdawian” or “of Moldavia”); cf. notes 1 and 9 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. The Polish term hospodaryk (hospodaryków in the genitive plural), or rather hospodarczyk like in Document 36, is a diminutive of the term hospodar; it either refers to a hospodar’s son or is a pejorative reference to a hospodar. It is translated here as “pretender to the hospodar’s throne” as in fact many pretenders to the Moldavian and Wallachian thrones were the sons of former hospodars. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Here Wallachia is referred to more precisely (cf. n. 1 above) by the Polish adjective multańska (“Muntenian” or “of Muntenia”). In early modern Polish sources the geographical term Multany (Muntenia, i.e., eastern Wallachia) referred to the whole principality of Wallachia. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. The Polish intervention of 1600 not only resulted in the reintroduction of Ieremia Movilă to the throne of Moldavia (cf. n. 10 above), but also in the enthronement of his brother, Simion Movilă, in Wallachia. In the summer of 1601 Simion lost his throne, but a few months later was again installed by the Poles, to be finally replaced by Radu Şerban in the summer of 1602. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. I.e., King Sigismund the Old (r. 1506–1548). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Empty spaces were left to fill in the place and date. The value of the gifts is also not given; cf. Document 36, n. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. In the Crimea, the term sultan referred to a prince from the Giray dynasty; in the text of the present document it consequently refers to the qalga and is translated as “prince;” the original term sultan has been preserved in the translation only in occurrences, where it constitutes an integral part of a title (e.g., qalga sultan) or of a proper name (e.g., Qırım Giray Sultan). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. I.e., the field hetman, Jan Sobieski, the future king John III; he is referred to with the Polish title pan (Jego Miłość Pan hetman). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. I.e., the qalga, Qırım Giray; cf. n. 3 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Not mentioned by names; these were Lieutenant [porucznik] Mikołaj Złotnicki and Standard-bearer [chorąży] Adam Łychowski; cf Document 69, n. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The Oraq-oghlu (“the sons of Oraq”) and the Or-Membet-oghlu (“the sons of Or-Membet,” whereas Membet is a Nogay form of the name Mehmed) constituted the two major Nogay clans dwelling in Budjak; cf. Document 64, notes 12 and 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The word torhak (“foray”) was used in seventeenth-century Polish; cf. Stanisław Stachowski, Słownik historyczny turcyzmów w języku polskim (Cracow, 2007), pp. 426– 427. It apparently origins from the Turkish word turġaq (“guard” or “watchman”); see Radlov, Opyt slovarja tjurkskix narečij, vol. 3, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1905), col. 1458. I am very thankful to Henryk Jankowski for his help in tracing this etymology. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. On 19 December 1666, a regiment of Polish troops commanded by Colonel Sebastian Machowski was defeated by the Cossack-Tatar army in the battle of Brajiliv (Pol. Braiłów or Brahiłów; a town situated between Bar and Vinnycja). Machowski and a number of Polish officers were taken prisoner by the Tatar commander, Nureddin Devlet Giray; see Majewski, “Podhajce,” p. 50. The identity of the Tatar commander, unnamed in the Polish historiography, can be established on the basis of the khan’s letter to the king dated in Redjeb 1078 A.H. (17 December 1667–15 January 1668), announcing Machowski’s release; see AGAD, AKW, Dz. tat., k. 64, t. 3, nos. 531–532. Machowski indeed returned to Poland in the spring of 1668; see his biography by Wiesław Majewski in PSB, vol. 18, pp. 637–639. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Devlet Giray, also known as Choban Mustafa, was the illegitimate son of Khan Feth Giray (r. 1596–1597) and the founder of a side branch of the Giray dynasty, known as the Choban Girays. He was the father of Khan Adil Giray, his brother and qalga, Qırım Giray, and their older brother, Feth Giray, who in turn fathered Nureddin Devlet Giray and the princes Inayet and Takht Girays (see below); cf. Josef Matuz, Eine Beschreibung des Khanats der Krim aus dem Jahre 1669,” pp. 132–133. On the Choban Girays, see also notes 388 and 495 in Part I. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Mengli Giray Bey, the leader of the Shirin clan, is already mentioned in the Crimean chronicle of Senai as a participant of the campaign of 1649; see Senai, Historia chana Islam Gereja III, p. 109. The fact that he was named after the former khan proves the ambitions of the Shirins, who customarily married princesses from the Giray dynasty (on the position of the Shirins, cf. Matuz, “Eine Beschreibung,” p. 145). Personal ambitions of Mengli Giray Bey are best confirmed by his adoption of an almond-like seal, otherwise reserved for the Genghisids. A Shirin tradition, recorded after the Russian annexation of the Crimea, claimed that the right to use an almondlike

seal had been first granted to Ruktemir, the then Shirin leader, by Tokhtamısh Khan. The tradition is convincingly dismissed as spurious by Usmanov; cf. idem, Žalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv., p. 171. Yet, as we see, it might have been current long before the Russian conquest. Strikingly, the inscription of the Shirin leader’s seal does not contain the name of his own father, but instead invokes Hadji Giray, his distant Genghisid forefather who had been the founder of the Giray dynasty and the Crimean Khanate. Having in mind the controversy regarding the legitimacy of the Choban Girays (cf. n. 10), this demonstration was telling. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Perhaps identical with Adil-shah Mirza, the Crimean envoy sent to Sweden in December 1654; cf. Karl Zetterstéen, Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv (Uppsala, 1945), pp. 90–91. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. I.e., from the Mansur clan; on the Mansurs (i.e., Manghıts), cf. Document 58, n. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Qutlu-shah Bey should be probably identified with Bahadır Giray’s envoy to Poland in 1637, whose long detainment the khan reproached in his following instrument from 1640; cf. Documents 52 and 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)