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### Front cover:

“Mullā Du-Piyāza”, watercolour, gouache on paper, Hyderabad, mid-18th century. Miniature in Album (Muraqqa‘) X 3, in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 6a, 15.0 × 23.0 cm (inside the frame).

### Back cover:

- Plate 1.** *Manāqih-i Murtazaawī* by Amīr Muhammad Šālih al-Husaynī al-Tirmidhī, manuscript C 1684 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1b, 17.2 × 27.6 cm.
- Plate 2.** “*Dīwān* of ‘Alī”, miniature in the same manuscript. Watercolour, gouache on paper, first half of the 18th century, fol. 13b, 10.7 × 16.2 cm.
- Plate 3.** “‘Alī and the petitioner”, miniature in the same manuscript. Watercolour, gouache on paper, first half of the 18th century, fol. 40b, 10.7 × 16.0 cm.
- Plate 4.** “‘Alī on the march”, miniature in the same manuscript. Watercolour, gouache on paper, first half of the 18th century, fol. 95a, 10.7 × 17.2 cm.

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# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Iala Ianbay

## LETTERS BY CRIMEAN NOBLEWOMEN TO SWEDEN

This paper is a publication and translation of four letters by Crimean noblewomen to Sweden. They were written in the mid-seventeenth century in the Crimean Khanate and contain 12—14 lines each. First, I would like to provide the reader with some information concerning the circumstances surrounding the appearance of the letters and make some observations about their language. The letters are kept at the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm [1]. According to the catalogue [2], the letters' call numbers are 139, 140, 149, and 150. The letters under discussion were written by the ladies from the royal family of the Crimean Khanate (1420 - 1783); their authors are either mothers or chief wives of the Crimean Khans.

The texts under discussion are the first from a number of Crimean Tatar letters which I am planning to publish. As a matter of fact, not a single letter from the Tatar collection of the Swedish Archives has been published yet. Furthermore, not a single Crimean Tatar letter in a Latin transcription has been published at all. The aim of the present paper is to present the first four Crimean Tatar letters to the attention of the reader. The publication is also a good opportunity to observe the text of the letters as valuable linguistic material. No doubt, its study can broaden our knowledge about the history of the Crimean Tatar language. The letters are also of interest from the historical point of view.

The messages to Sweden authored by mothers and chief wives of the Crimean Khans contain confirmation of the devoted friendship existing between the Crimean Khanate and Sweden as well as a promise to develop their mutual relations. Each letter informs about a new Crimean envoy leaving the Crimean Khanate for Sweden. The sender certifies the high rank of the envoy. The name of the envoy is indicated only in the letters written by Khans' mothers; it is absent in the letters sent by their wives (cf. ll. 8, 20, 38, 51)<sup>1</sup>. One can assume that the letters constituted part of the credentials procedure confirming the envoy's powers. What seems a bit extraordinary is that the authors of the letters are women. (The reason of this is discussed below.) The letters required no reply in the form of a letter from the addressee; they contained a request to

show the envoy good hospitality and due respect. The letters are full of compliments and oaths to strengthen friendship between the Crimean Khanate and Sweden.

The structure of the letters betrays an old epistolary Turkic tradition well examined by Anna von Gabain [3]. It is also identical to the structure of the Golden Horde *yarlıqs*, and letters [4], and of the Ottoman Sultans' messages [5]. According to this surviving tradition, the whereabouts and the names of our senders, as well as the titles of Khans, constitute an opening formula. It is followed by the whereabouts and the name of the addressee, with abundant praise to him. The letters from the Crimean Khans are no exception. But what is interesting is that the scribes did not know the name of the ruler of Sweden at the time when the letters were compiled; we find an empty space left by the scribe for the name of the Swedish sovereign.

The main text of the messages appears after the opening formula. At the end of the letters, we find the phrase "Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]", a colophon typical of private letters [6]. A letter can have a date or lack it. The last word in the letters is the name of the capital of the Crimean Khanate, Bakhchisarai, written in the left corner of the leaf. The seal of the sender is placed also here.

The epistolary features of the texts are the following: the letters contain both personal pronouns as a form of address and a direct speech. In addition, there are special epistolary forms of some words, e.g. *sa'adätli* 'felicitous' instead of *sa'adatli* usual in the spoken language; *sävkätlü* 'magnificent' instead of *sävkätlü*; *azamätli* 'illustrious' instead of *azamätli*. As is common in the letters written by the Crimean Khans, we find here (ll. 1, 15, 29, 43) the usual formula of mentioning God — the Arabic phrase هو 'He is' or هو المعين 'He is the Helper' [7]. These are written at the top of the leaves, high above the text. The Turkic word for 'God' does not appear in the texts of the letters; loan-words are only used: الله (Arab.), خدای (Pers.) (in the form of خودی). For the word 'ruler' five terms borrowed from Turkic, Arabic, Persian and Slavonic are used: those are (in

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<sup>1</sup> For convenience, we use a single numeration for the letters' lines.

alphabetical order): *xan* 'khan' (ll. 4, 7, 11, 18, etc., 11 times in all), *mālikā* 'queen' (ll. 5, 33), *padīšah* 'king' (ll. 4, 17, 32, 34, 48), *qīral* 'king' (ll. 6, 8, 18, 19, etc., 14 times) and *sultan* 'sultan' (ll. 11, 12, 25, 40). The words *padīšah* (ll. 4, 17, 32) and *xan* are used by the senders with respect to the ruler of the Crimean Khanate. The ruler of Sweden is named by the words *padīšah* (ll. 34, 48) or *qīral*. But what is important, although the letters were sent to Sweden in the reign of Queen Christina (r. 1632—1654), the words *mālikā* or *qīraliçe* ('queen') are not used. The term *mālikā* is employed only to indicate Khan's mother. The term *sultan* is used to name the first and the second heir to the Khan's throne (*qalya* and *nureddin*), so, in this particular case, the meaning of the word *sultan* appears to be 'heir to the throne'. It is interesting that the name of Christina does not appear in the letters at all, although the dates of the letters show that their addressee was this Queen of Sweden. The fact that the ruler of Sweden in the period under discussion was a woman may explain the striking feature of the letters written in the name of the first ladies of the Crimean Khanate royal family.

The texts of the letters are written in the lower part of the leaves, after a large empty space left at the top. Information about the sender is given first (e.g. ll. 2, 30); here we find the mention of Khan's mother or his chief wife (ll. 16, 44). Sometimes the beginning of a letter contains a broader invocation (e.g. ll. 31, 45).

The first lines of a letter contain the titles of the Crimean Khan, then a list of territories and nations under his rule (ll. 3, 4, 17, 18, 31, 32, 45, 46). The Crimean Khanate's lands included the Crimean peninsula, the Taman peninsula, the Kuban area, and Qipchaq steppe [8], of which only the Crimean peninsula and Qipchaq steppe are mentioned. Among the nations enumerated in the titles of the Crimean Khans, we find the Tatars, Noghays, and Circassians. The words 'Tavgaches' and 'Tats' are also used in the form of *tat bilā tavḡač* known to us from Old Turkic to mean 'various foreigners' [9]. It is not unlikely that peoples of different faiths are meant here (e.g. the Genoese, Krimchaks, Karaites, etc. who lived in the Crimea throughout the seventeenth century).

The phrase *oñ qol ve sol qol* 'the right flank and the left flank' (ll. 4, 18), which we find among the titles of the Crimean Khans, was borrowed from the titles of the Golden Horde Khans who used it to denote the White Horde and the Blue Horde constituting the left and right flanks of the Golden Horde's army [10]. In the titles of the Crimean Khans this expression had lost its original meaning. After the enumeration of Khans' titles, their names — Bakhadir Geray (l. 4) and Islam Geray (ll. 33, 46) — go.

The language of the letters is Crimean Tatar with noticeable influence of Ottoman Turkish. The texts show both numerous Oghuz and Qipchaq elements, which is the main feature of the Crimean Tatar language [11]. A lot of specific Qipchaq words, such as, for instance, *bar* 'there is', *bol-* 'to be', *tay* 'mountain', *köp* 'many', *oñ* 'right [flank]', are used along with Oghuz words (e.g. *var* 'there is', *ol-* 'to be', *day* 'mountain', *çalış-* 'to work', etc.). The texts have a complete set of Qipchaq case suffixes — *-niñ* (genitive) and *-ni* (accusative). Our texts go together with Modern Crimean Tatar in having, for instance, the Qipchaq participle and verbal noun *-ğan* (10 times), along with the Oghuz

participle *-dīy* (4 times), which makes us disagree with Henryk Jankowski who holds that the language of the Crimean texts written in Arabic script is in fact Ottoman Turkish [12]. I think that the linguistic aspect of the letters deserves special study, since both the letters' vocabulary and their grammar forms reflect a certain stage in the history of Crimean Tatar.

Loan-words from Arabic and Persian are numerous in the letters, which was typical of the Turkic written language in general. All of the borrowings are attested in Budagov's dictionary [13]. Part of these loan-words has survived in Modern Crimean Tatar without any change (e.g. *daf'a* 'time' <Arab.: *dāvlāt* 'prosperity' <Arab.) [14]. Some of the borrowings demonstrate phonetic alterations, for example, *jihan* 'world' <Pers. *jahan*; *dušman* 'enemy' <Pers. *došman* [15]. It is interesting that the Persian word *došman* is given in the texts as *tušman*, with the initial consonant *t* as it is attested in the *Codex Cumanicus* [16]. We find the same thing in other letters originating from the Crimea [17]. A greater part of the borrowings from Arabic has to do with the terms relating to the Muslim religion. Most of them are absent in Modern Crimean Tatar, e.g. *dam* 'this world', *qudrāt* 'Almighty', etc. An extensive use of Arabic and Persian loan-words can be explained by the elevated literary style of the Crimean correspondence under discussion.

An interesting detail with regard to orthography is the use of two variants of the spelling of the word meaning 'great, big'. We find either the word *uluy* (ll. 3, 4, 5, etc., 22 times in all), in the titles of the Crimean Khans, or the word *ulu* (ll. 16, 44) with reference to the sender of a letter. In the title of the Crimean Khans the old "Chaghatay" form is attested, while the form *ulu* indicates the Qipchaq feature of the mother tongue of the writer. We can also cite another "Chaghatay" form in the texts: it is the Ablative suffix *-din* in the phrases *köpdin / köbdin köp / köb salam* 'many greetings' (ll. 6, 35, 49). These "Chaghataisms" demonstrate the influence of the Golden Horde's official language [18]. The phrases *köpdin / köbdin köp / köb salam* are used in the epistolary language of the today Tatar.

The letters under discussion here are written in *riq'a*, a handwriting usual in official correspondence.

In the present paper, the transcription of the texts are given. However, the Arabic quotations are left without transcription; they are reproduced in Arabic characters, since I am not certain about their pronunciation in the spoken Crimean Tatar language.

Judging by vocalism in Modern Crimean Tatar [19], one can presume that the language of our letters employ the vowels *a, ä, i, ö, u, ü*. The texts lack diacritical marks to indicate vowels. However, sometimes vowels are spelled by means of four Arabic letters — ا, و, ی, ه — or by their combinations — او and ای [20]. Vowels are often omitted. In this case, in transcription I give in brackets whichever of eight vowel phonemes I see fitting to reflect palatal harmony characteristic of Turkic phonology. The choice of a right vowel depends on the spelling. We have many suffixes forming pairs by alternating the consonants: for example, *qaf* and *qayn* on the one hand, and *kaf* on the other — *maq- / mäk* (verbal noun); *yan- / gän* (participle); *qay- / käy-* (optative). The texts show some other suffixes forming pairs by alternating the vowels *a* and *ä*: for exam-

ple, *lar-/lär-* (plural); *ma-/mä-* (verbal negative). Thus, the words containing the letters *qaf*, *ḡayn* or *a*-suffix are rendered in our transcription with back vowels, for example, *qırım* 'the Crimea' (ll. 3, 7, 17, 24, 31, 46), *tay* 'mountain, forest' (ll. 3, 17, 31), *dostluq* 'friendship' (ll. 13, 26, 27, 38, etc.), while the words containing the letter *kaf* or *ä*-suffix are rendered with front vowels in our transcription, for example, *çirkäk* 'Circassian' (ll. 3, 17, 32), *köp* 'many' (ll. 5, 6, 35, 49), *mämläkät* 'country' (ll. 5, 18, 34, 47).

The texts present a large number of instances when labial harmony appears to have been disrupted; we have, for example, *köndürdim* 'I have dispatched' (l. 21); *yoqdir* 'there is not' (l. 10), etc. The same non-observance of labial harmony is typical of Modern Crimean Tatar [21]. On the other hand, such a word as *içün* 'for' (ll. 8, 20, 21, etc., 7 times in all) shows that labial vowels in the first syllable can be substituted by non-labial vowels. Sometimes an interchange of the vowels *i* — *ä* (spelling *alif* — *alif+ya*) may occur in the initial position of the auxiliary verb *-tâ* — *it-* 'to do'. One can observe the same feature in the Crimean documents of the fifteenth century [22]. However, the spelling of the word 'envoy' is always *älci* in our texts, i.e. it is written with *alif* only, although one can find the variant *ilci* in the *bitik* of Mengli Geray Khan [23]. The form *elci* is attested both in Modern Crimean Tatar and Turkish.

Solving the problem of transcription for the present article, I took into consideration a certain succession of vowels in the Turkic words of the Crimean Tatar language [24]. Therefore, the succession of vowels is given in the transcription as follows:

- 1) *a* — *a* — *ï* — (*u*) if the initial *a*, e.g. *ana* 'mother', *ara* 'adorning', *sansız* 'countless', *barışliq* 'peace';
- 2) *ä* — *ä* — *i* — (*ü*) if the initial *ä*, e.g. *sänä* 'year', *gäräy* 'Geray', *käräkdir* 'it is necessary';
- 3) *ä* or *i* if the initial *i*, e.g. *bildir-* 'to inform', *bildiräsiz* 'you will inform', *bizim* 'our';
- 4) *a* or *u* (*i*) if the initial *ï*, e.g. *qırım* 'the Crimea', *qıpçaq* 'Qipchaq';
- 5) *a* or *u* if the initial *o*, e.g. *soñra* 'after', *xoşça* 'good', *olub* (adverb of the verb *ol-* 'to be');
- 6) *ä* or *ü* if the initial *ö*, e.g. *söylä* 'thus', *sözümüz* 'our word', *köndürdim* 'I have sent';
- 7) *a* or *u* (*i*) if the initial *u*, e.g. *tuşman* 'enemy', *sultan* 'sultan', *uzun* 'long', *ulu/uluy* 'big, great';
- 8) *ä* if the initial *ü*. There is only one case with the Turkic word *üzrâ* 'according to' in the texts which illustrates this succession of vowels.

The transcription of the Crimean Tatar texts is a transliteration as far as the consonants are concerned. The 28 Arabic and Persian consonant signs are the inventory of character in the letters. All of them designate the sounds of Crimean Tatar. Several Arab letters can be used for rendering one and the same sound of Crimean Tatar, according to existing tradition [25]. For instance, the letters *ص* and *س* are used to render the dental voiceless fricative [s]; the letters *ض* and *ز* — the voiced fricative [z]; the letters *ط* and *ت* — the dental stop [t]. An orthographic distinction present in our transcription is between the first and second compo-

nents of the above-mentioned pairs — *ş*, *z*, *t* and *s*, *z*, *t* respectively, e.g. *şans(i)z* 'countless', *şol* 'left' and *siz* 'you', *söz* 'word'; *azim* 'great' and *uzaq* 'old'; *tay* 'mountain', *tat* 'Tats' and *tatar* 'Tatars', *tuşman* 'enemy'. At the same time, some letters are used differently in the texts. For instance, the Arabic letter *kaf* is used to render three different Crimean Tatar consonant sounds: the velar stops [k], [g] and the nasal sonant [ŋ], e.g. *köp* 'many', *k(ä)r(ä)k* 'necessary', *g(ä)räy* 'Geray', *q(i)rim-niñ* 'of the Crimea'.

We can see the following alternations in our texts:

*b* — *p* (ب — پ): *barça* 'all', *pad(i)şah* 'ruler', *bu* 'this', *bol-* 'to be': *m(ä)ktüb(i)m(i)z* 'our letters' (l. 38); alternating *b* and *p* in *köb/köp* 'many, numerous' and *q(i)bcäq/q(i)pcäq* 'Qipchaq' demonstrate the working of the stem-final devoicing. The spelling of the suffix *-ub* (verbal adverb) with *b* is in keeping with neither modern pronunciation [26] nor with that of the seventeenth century. However, the letter ب is shown as *b* in our transcription to demonstrate special features of the spelling employed in the letters.

*b* — *v* (ب — و): original word-initial *b* in *bar* 'there is' (l. 11) also appears as *var* (l. 25). The *b* variant displays a Qipchaq feature, while the *v* variant is typical of Oghuz.

*d* — *t* (د — ت, sometimes ط): *d(ä)st* 'steppe', *dost* 'friend', *orda* 'Horde', *tatar* 'Tatar', etc. One case of alternation of the consonants *d* — *t* occurs in the initial position, as in *day* (l. 32) / *tay* 'mountain' (ll. 3, 17). The etymological letter د [d] is kept in transcription at the end of borrowings, e.g. *murad* 'aim, intention', *i'tiqad äylä-* 'to believe', etc.

*q* — *k* (ق — ك): *qol* 'flank', *könd(ü)r-* 'to send', *q(ar)i(m)daş* 'brother', *k(ä)r(ä)k* 'necessary', *olmaq* 'to be', *m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t* 'country', *yoq* 'there is not'.

*γ* — *k* (غ — ك): mainly observed in suffixes — *tuşman bolğay-s(i)z* 'you will be enemy' (ll. 10—11), *i'lam itkäy-s(i)z* 'you will inform [us]' (l. 11).

*q* — *γ* (ق — غ): in the intervocal position the velar consonant *q* changes to the fricative one, e.g. *dostl(u)q* 'friendship' (ll. 8, 19), *dostl(u)(u)yuza* 'for your friendship' (ll. 13, 26, 39) like in the modern language [27].

*ğ* — *ç* (ج — چ): *ğ(i)han* 'world', *ğan(i)b* 'side', *ç(i)rkäk* 'Circassian', *älci* 'envoy', *içün* 'for'.

We use *x* to render the letter خ, e.g. *xan* 'khan', *xoş* 'good', *t(x)t* 'throne'. This letter indicates back feature of vowels of word as well. The letter *ş* is rendered by *h* in transcription, e.g. *bahadır* 'Bakhadır' (l. 4), *pad(i)şahi* 'its ruler' (ll. 4, 18). In the modern language, we encounter the form *padīša-*, final sound [h] lacking. *η* (the letter ك) is mainly used to indicate the suffix of genitive case: *yurt-niñ* 'of the country', *q(i)rim-niñ* 'of the Crimea', *tatar-niñ* 'of the Tatars', etc.

Hyphens are used in the transcription to indicate suffixes separated from stems. The sign ~ indicates an empty space (about 1.5—2.0 cm) left by the scribe to insert the name of the ruler of Sweden and the name of the envoy. We leave also the original division of the documents into lines, but the texts are regarded by us as a single text, therefore, the general numeration of lines is used. Numbers in round brackets indicate the beginning of the line.

## LETTER NO. 1

According to the seal in the letter [28], it was written by the mother of Khan Bakhadir Geray I. The letter (39.0×28.0 cm) is not dated, but we know that Bakhadir Geray reigned from 1637 to 1641. The letter contains 14 lines. The first one consists only of two short words placed at the very top of the leaf. The main body of the text is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line is 21.0 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward;

the final words in the lines are often written one over the other. It seems as if there were not enough space for the text, though this conclusion is not correct. Such was a special manner of writing of official documents. The last words in the lines do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (2.0×2.0 cm) and the sender's address are placed below the text, on the left.

## TRANSCRIPTION

- (1) هو المعين  
 (2) *ana bi(vi)m(i)z h(a)zr(ä)tl(ä)ri söz(ii)m(i)z*  
 (3) *uluy orda v(ä) uluy yurt-niñ v(ä) d(ä)st(-i) q(i)hbcaq-niñ v(ä) t(a)xt(-i) q(i)rim-niñ v(ä) şans(i)z köb tatar-niñ v(ä) şay(i)ş-si-z noşay-niñ v(ä) tay ara ç(i)rkäc-niñ*  
 (4) *v(ä) yat bilä t(a)vyaç-niñ oñ qoln(i)ñ<sup>2</sup> v(ä) şol qol-niñ uluy pad(i)şahı bolyan s(a)'adätlü v(ä) 'azamätlü v(ä) s(ä)vk(ä)tlü b(a)had(i)r g(ä)räy<sup>3</sup> xan<sup>4</sup> نام مؤيدن الي يوم*  
 (5) *اليزان h(a)zr(ä)tl(ä)ri-niñ val(i)dä-i m(ü)k(ä)rrämäl(ä)ri ki m(ä)(i)kä-i z(ä)man xatığa-i deveran b(ä)hiğä-i gihan h(a)zr(ä)tl(ä)ri(ñ)dän uluy yurt-niñ v(ä) uluy m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t-niñ v(ä) köp x(i)r(i)stian-niñ*  
 (6) *uluy q(i)ralı bolyan ~ q(i)ral d(ä)vlät(-i) ist(i)mal h(a)zr(ä)tl(ä)rinä köpdin köb s(a)läm vä hadd(a)n birun p(ä)yyam m(ä)särr(ät) ängam iblay(i)y la inha v(ä) i 'lam ol(u)nan*  
 (7) *oldır ki سبحانی و هدایت قرین و ربانی عنایت تعالی الحمد لله r(ä)hin olub q(i)rim yurtı mü(ä)ssir v(ä) ärzani olub s(a)'ad(ä)tlü xan 'alişan h(a)zr(ä)tl(ä)ri s(i)zä*  
 (8) *dost(u)q icün uluy älcil(ä)rin könd(ü)rm(ä)kin biz d(a)xi s(i)z q(i)ral h(a)zr(ä)tl(ä)rinä q(u)rum h(ä)m q(i)ran uluy älcim(i)z rust(ä)m-ni dost(u)q icün könd(ü)rd(i)k اری الوصول*  
 (9) *xat(i)riñuz xoş tutub dost olduy(u)m(i)za i 't(i)mad v(ä) i 't(i)qad äyl(i)yäs(i)z uzun uzaq dost olm(u)şuzd(i)r لي انضا الله تعالی bu ğan(i)bd(ä)n*  
 (10) *s(i)l(ä)l(-i) vaq(i)'a b(i)r n(ä)snä olmaq iht(i)mali yoqd(i)r k(ä)r(ä)kd(i)r ki s(i)z d(a)xi uzun uzaq dost olub dost(u)muza dost v(ä) tuşm(a)n(i)m(i)z ya tuşman*  
 (11) *bolşay-s(i)z h(ä)r nä ahyal(i)ñüz bar bolsa i 'lam itkäy-s(i)z q(a)rın q(a)bul(i)m(i)z olub k(ä)r(ä)k xan 'alişan v(ä) k(ä)r(ä)k qalya s(u)ltan zışan v(ä) nuräddin*  
 (12) *s(u)ltan h(a)zr(ä)tl(ä)rinä h(ü)sn(-i) t(ä)rbiyä közäüdüb m(u)şafat(-i) ab(a)d v(ä) m(u)şal(a)h(a)t(-i) mu '(ä)bbäd t(ä)şyid v(ä) ta 'bid(inä) h(ü)sn(-i) iht(i)mam(i)z m(ä)bzül v(ä) m(a)şruf olm(a)q m(u)q(a)r(ä)rd(ü)r*  
 (13) *h(ä)r v(ä)ğh (i)lä dost(u)y(u)ñuz çal(i)şur(i)z s(i)z d(a)xi da 'ima m(u)h(ab)ät üzrä olub dost(u)q itm(ä)kd(ä)n xali olmayas(i)z varan älcim(i)zä r(i)'ayät idüb*  
 (14) *b(i)r xoşça siy v(ä) h(ü)rmät itkäy-s(i)z m(ä)r'i v(ä) m(ä)rzi '(ä)vd(ät) v(ä) m(ü)ragğ(a)'(a) ätd(i)räs(i)z şöylä m(a)'lüm ol(u)na الحروسه باقى و الدعاء على مين التبع الحدي maqam bagcäsaray*

WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION<sup>5</sup>  
(with grammar forms indication)

- (1) هو المعين  
 (2) mother lady=POSS=1PL majesty=POSS=3PL word= POSS=1PL  
 (3) great horde and great country=GEN and steppe-(of) Qipchaq=GEN and throne-(of) Crimea=GEN and counting=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and calculation=PRIV Noghay=GEN and mountain adorning Circassian=GEN

<sup>2</sup> Genitive form is spelled here without the letter *yä'* as *-niñ*.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Tatar pronunciation of the word.

<sup>4</sup> According to Zettersteen (p. 81, see n. 2 in Notes of the present article), the word *dävlätä* is missing in the Arab quotation in the original text.

<sup>5</sup> Abbreviations used in the word-by-word translation are: ABL = Ablative, ABSTR = Abstract suffix, ACC = Accusative, ADJ = Adjectival suffix, AOR = Aorist, CAUS = Causative, COND = Conditional, DAT = Dative, FUT = Future, GEN = Genitive, GER = Gerund, IMP = Imperative, INF = Infinitive, ITER = Iterative aspect, LOC = Locative, NEG = Negation, OPT = Optative, PART = Participle, PL = Plural suffix, POSS = Possessive, PRED = Predicative, PRES = Present, PRIV = Privative suffix, REFL = Reflexive suffix, SING = Singular, VN = Verbal noun.

(4) and Tat with Tavgach=GEN right flank=GEN and left flank=GEN big king=POSS=3SING be=PART happiness=ADJ and grandeur=ADJ and might=ADJ Bakhadir Geray khan دام مؤيدن الي يوم

(5) الميزان majesty-POSS=3PL=GEN mother of esteemed=POSS=2SING who queen time Khadija epochs beauty world majesty=POSS=3PL=n-ABL big country=GEN and big land=GEN and many Christian=GEN

(6) great king=POSS=3SING be=PART ~ king luck-(of) comprehensive majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT many=ABL many greeting and bound=ABL outside compliment joy complete message=POSS=3SING=INSTR inform and communicate be=REFL=PART. PRES

(7) this=PREP which هدايت سبحاني قرين و الحمد لله تعالى عنایت رباني قرين و be-given=GER Crimea country=POSS=3SING presented-by-the-Lord be=GER and kind be=GER happiness=ADJ king illustrious majesty=POSS=3PL you-PL=DAT

(8) friendship, for, great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC send=ITER, we also you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT connection and favourable-disposition-of-planets, high envoy=POSS=1PL Rustam=ACC friendship, for, spend=PAST=1PL ارى الوصول

(9) health=POSS=2PL fine keep=GER friend be=PART=1PL=DAT trust and believe do=PRES=2PL long time friend be=PAST, PART=1PL=PREP انشاء الله تعالى this side=ABL

(10) opposition-(of) event one thing be=INF probability=POSS=3SING there-is-not=PREP necessary=PREP that you-PL also long time friend be=GER friend=POSS=1PL=DAT friend and enemy=POSS=1PL=DAT enemy

(11) become=OPT=2PL every what circumstance=POSS=2PL there is, be=COND information do=OPT=2PL partner receiving=POSS=1PL be=GER both khan glorious and also *qalga* sultan glorious and *nureddin*

(12) sultan majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT good (of) breeding keep=GER sincere-amity, eternity and good-advice, for ever, building and making-smth-regularly=POSS=3SING-n=DAT, beauty (of) effort=POSS=1PL, be-replaced=INF, and be-directed=INF definitive=PREP

(13) every way with friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL=DAT make efforts=AOR=1PL you-PL also always love, according-to be=GER friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL go=PART, PRES envoy=POSS=1PL=DAT pay honour do=GER

(14) one, well-and-truly, hospitality and respect do=OPT=2PL respect and satisfaction, return and give-back do=CAUS=PRES=2PL thus well-known be=REFL=PRES الدعا على مين التبغ الحدي residence Bakhchisaray المحروسة.

#### TRANSLATION

*He is the Helper*<sup>6</sup>.

[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of Her Majesty the Queen Mother.

Many greetings and countless joyous compliments to Her Majesty the powerful Queen<sup>7</sup> [*lacuna*], the great ruler of the great country and of the great state, [the sovereign] of numerous Christians, from Her Majesty the esteemed Mother, who is the queen of the time, Khadija of the epoch, the beauty of the world, [the mother] of His Majesty the felicitous, illustrious and magnificent Bakhadir Geray Khan — *may God last his greatness till the Day of Judgement* — [who is] the great ruler of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars, innumerable Noghays and the adornment of the mountains, Circassians, [the commander] of the foreign tribes of the right and left flank. [Now], let it be known [to you] that since His Majesty the felicitous and glorious Khan — *praise be of God, the Most High, to his charge of his subjects and to his laudable rule* — to whose rule the Crimean kingdom is entrusted, send [his] high envoys to show his friendship to you, we also, when the planets are in a favourable conjunction and disposition, are sending you our high envoy, Rustem, in order [to display] our friendship. *On his arrival*, please, show him due respect and do believe that we are your friend. We have long been old friends, [by this reason] — *Allah, the Most High, willing* — our doing anything against [you] is excluded. It is necessary that you, too, being our old friend, become our friend's friend and our enemy's enemy. Please, inform us about your circumstances. Be sure that, following [our] good breeding [demanding our being obedient to the will] of both His Majesty the glorious Khan and His Highness the noble *qalga* sultan, and of [His Highness] *nureddin* sultan, who are well-disposed towards us, we endeavour to strengthen and make eternal the peace [between our countries]. We make all our efforts [to keep] your friendship. You, who always showed your amity [to us], also do not keep out of being our friend. Please, pay honour to our envoy and give him due respect. Then let him come back safely. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path. Bakhchisaray protected by God.*

#### LETTER NO. 2

The letter is registered under No. 140 in Zettersteen's catalogue [29]. This is the letter of the chief wife of Khan

Bakhadir Geray I (r. 1637—1641); the letter (38.0×27.0 cm) is dated by A. H. 1047 / A. D. 1637—38. It consists of 14

<sup>6</sup> The translation of the Arabic phrases is given in italics.

<sup>7</sup> The word *qiral*, not *mltkā* or *qiralācē*, is used throughout the letters' text, as one could expect, taking into account that the ruler of Sweden was a woman. We translate the word *qiral* as "queen" because it is actually applied to Queen Christina. Correspondingly, we also change the titles relating to her from masculin to feminine.





lines: the first one contains one word only placed at the top of the leaf. The text itself is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line is 21.0 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward; the last words in the lines

do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (1.0×1.5 cm) and the sender's address are below the text, on the left.

## TRANSCRIPTION

(15) هو

(16) *ulu bī(yi)m(i)z ḥ(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)ri sōz(ū)m(i)z*(17) *uluḡ orda v(ā) uluḡ yurṭ-niḡ v(ā) d(ā)št(-i) q(i)ḥcaq-niḡ v(ā) t(a)xt(-i) q(i)rīm-niḡ v(ā) ṣans(i)z köb tatar-niḡ v(ā) ṣay(i)š-s(i)z noḡay-niḡ v(ā) tay ara c̄(i)r̄k̄āc̄-niḡ*(18) *v(ā) tat bilā t(a)ḡayac̄-niḡ oḡ qol-niḡ v(ā) ṣol qol-niḡ v(ā) din islam k(ā)r(i)-niḡ uluḡ pad(i)šahi bolyan d(ā)vl(ā)tlū v(ā) ṣ(a)ʿad(ā)tlū v(ā) s(ā)vk(ā)tlū v(ā) ṣ(a)ʿad(ā)tlū xan ʿaḡzim*(19) *ʿal(i)šan ḥ(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)ri uluḡ yurṭ-niḡ v(ā) köb m(ā)ml(ā)k(ā)t-niḡ v(ā) ḡ(i)mlā x(i)r(i)stian-niḡ uluḡ q(i)rali bolyan ~ q(i)ral s(a)ʿad(ā)t ist(i)mal ḥ(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)rinā dostl(u)q*(20) *v(ā) q(a)rdašl(i)q uzun uzaq bar(i)šl(i)q ičün uluḡ älcil(ā)rin könd(ü)rm(ā)k(i)n b(i)z d(a)xi uluḡ älcim(i)z ~ zid q(u)drāti s(i)z q(i)ral ḥ(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)rinā dostl(u)q*(21) *ičün könd(ü)rd(i)m k(ā)r(ā)kd(i)r ki xaṭ(i)riḡuz xoš tutub اللهم الله عليهم رحمة سالفين خواقين igm(a)ʿin ḥ(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)ri nd(ā)n b(u)runḡa dost v(ā) q(a)r(i)ndaš olub m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ā)t*(22) *v(ā) m(ā)v(ā)dd(ā)t oluḡduḡuz isā bu d(ā)ʿa d(a)xi z(i)yadā dost v(ā) m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ā)t olub m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ā)t v(ā) m(ā)v(ā)dd(ā)t s(ā)raiṭ(i)n r(i)ʿay(ā)t idüb k(ā)mak(ā)n dostl(u)q ätm(ā)kd(ā)n*(23) *xali olm(a)yas(i)z dostl(u)ḡuza dost v(ā) tušman(i)ḡuza tušman olm(u)šuzd(i)r s(i)z d(a)xi dost olduḡ(u)miza iʿt(i)mad ädüb dostl(u)muzā*(24) *dost v(ā) tušman(i)muzā tušman bolḡay-s(i)z v(ā) s(i)z d(a)xi q(i)rīm xanī ilā xal(i)šanā dost olub b(i)rb(i)riḡüzä älcī könd(ü)rüb m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ā)t-l(i)k ätm(ā)kd(ā)n xali olm(a)ya-s(i)z*(25) *ḥ(ā)r nā aḡval(i)ḡiz var isā iʿlam äyl(i)yā-s(i)z انشا الله تعالى mul(i)ḡüz d(ā)n z(i)yadā k(ā)r(ā)k xan zišan ḥ(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)rinā v(ā) k(ā)r(ā)k s(u)ṭanl(a)r ḥ(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)rinā*(26) *ḥ(ū)sn(-i) t(ā)rb(i)yā köz(ā)idüb dostl(u)q(u)ḡuza čal(i)šurṃ(i)z bu ḡan(i)bden x(i)laf(-i) vaq(i)ʿa b(i)r n(ā)snā olmazd(i)r daʿima m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ā)t v(ā) m(ā)v(ā)dd(ā)t üzrā olas(i)z*(27) *ḥ(ā)r v(ā)ḡḥ ilā dostl(u)qda ṣab(i)t-qad(a)m olub älcīḡüz könd(ü)rüb qatʿi ʿ(a)laqa ätm(i)yäs(i)z m(u)radīḡuz nā isā b(i)ld(i)räs(i)z b(i)z(-i)m d(a)xi*(28) *qad(i)r olduḡ(u)m(i)z d(i)riḡ ol(u)nm(a)zd(i)r varan älcim(i)zä r(i)ʿay(ā)t v(ā) x(ū)rm(ā)t äyl(ā)yäs(i)z söylä m(u)ʿlüm ol(u)na الحوى من التبع الحوى و الدعا على من التبع الحوى 1047 maqam bagcäsaray المحروسه*

## WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION

(with grammar forms indication)

(15) هو

(16) great lady=POSS=1PL majesty=POSS=3PL word=POSS=1PL

(17) great horde and great country=GEN and steppe-(of) Qipchaq=GEN and throne-(of) Crimea=GEN and counting=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and calculation=PRIV Noghay=GEN and mountain adorning Circassian=GEN

(18) and Tat with Tavḡach=GEN right flank=GEN and left flank=GEN and faith Islam splendor=GEN big king=POSS=3SING be=PART power=ADJ and happiness=ADJ and might=ADJ and fortitude=ADJ khan great

(19) illustrious majesty=POSS=3PL great land=GEN and many country=GEN and all Christian=GEN great king=POSS=3PL be=PART ~ king happiness comprehending majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT friend=ABSTR

(20) and relation=ABSTR long time peacefulness, for, great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC send=ITER we also great envoy=POSS=1PL ~ increased power=POSS=3SING you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT friend=ABSTR

(21) for, send=PAST=1SING necessary=PRED that health=POSS=2PL fine keep=GER اللهم الله عليهم خواقين all majesty=POSS=3PL=n-ABL old friend and brother be=GER love

(22) and friendship be=REFL=PAST=2PL be=COND this time also, bigger, friend and partner be=GER, love and friendship condition, pay respect do=GER in-this-way friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL

(23) stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL friend=POSS=2PL=DAT friend and enemy=POSS=2PL=DAT enemy be=PAST.PART=1PL=PRED you-PL also friend be=GER=POSS=1PL=DAT trust do=GER friend=POSS=1PL=DAT

(24) friend and enemy=POSS=1PL=DAT enemy become=OPT=2PL and you-PL also Crimea khan=POSS=3SING with sincere friend be=GER one-to-another=POSS=2PL=DAT envoy send=GER friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL

(25) every, what circumstance=POSS=2PL there-is be=COND information do=PRES=2PL انشا الله تعالى action=POSS=2PL=ABL very-much or khan glorious majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT and or sultan=PL majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT

(26) good-(of) breeding keep=GER friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL=DAT make efforts=AOR=1PL this side=ABL opposite-(of) event one something be=NEG=AOR=3SING=PRED always love and friendship, according-to, be=PRES=2PL

(27) every way, by, friend=ABSTR=LOC keeping-one's-word be=GER envoy=POSS=2PL send=GER cutting-off-(of) connection do=NEG=PRES=2PL aim=POSS=2PL what be=COND know=CAUS=PRES=2PL we=POSS=GEN also

(28) strong be=GER=POSS=1PL regret be=REFL=AOR=3SING=PRED go=PART,PRES envoy=POSS=1PL=DAT render-attention and respect do=PRES=2PL thus well-known be=REFL=PRES *الدعا على من التبغ الحودي* year 1047 residence Bakhchisaray *الحروسه*

## TRANSLATION

*He [is the Helper].*

[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of Her Majesty the Chief Wife.

[Following] His Majesty the great and glorious Khan, the powerful and felicitous, magnificent and steadfast ruler, the great sovereign of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars, innumerable Noghays and the adornment of the mountains, Circassians, [the commander] of the foreign tribes of the right and left flank, the buttress of the Muslim faith, who send [his] high envoys to Her Majesty the felicitous Queen [*lacuna*], the great ruler of the great land and of the great state, [the sovereign] of all Christians, in order [to show you his] friendliness and brotherliness, [and] long-term peacefulness, we are also sending our high envoy [*lacuna*] — may his abilities be increased — to Your Majesty the Queen [to demonstrate our] friendly feelings [to you]. It is necessary that you pay him due respect. You have become [our] first friend and sister among all other sovereigns — may Allah rest [*the souls*] of the *khaqans* of the past. Being a loving friend to us, now that you are even [our] bigger friend and loving partner, do keep your devotion to [our] amity and friendship, do not evade making friendship [with us], as you did before. We are your friend's friend and your enemy's enemy. Do believe that we are your friend, [therefore], be our friend's friend and our enemy's enemy. Also, since you are a sincere friend with the Crimean Khan, show your amity by sending your envoys to him. Please, inform him about all your circumstances. *Allah, the Most High, willing* — following [our] good breeding [demanding our being obedient to the will] of both His Majesty the noble Khan and of Their Highnesses sultans, we care about your friendship more than about [your manufactured] products. We never did anything against you, so, you also, act as your duties of our affectioned and devoted friend demand. Be firm in everything that support friendship [between our countries]. Please, send your envoys [to us], thus not breaking [our] relations off. Inform [us] about your intentions. As for us, there will be not refusal in [doing everything] which is in our power.

Please, show due respect and favour to our arriving envoy. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path.* The year of 1047. Bakhchisaray protected by God.

## LETTER NO. 3

The letter registered under No. 149 in Zettersteen's catalogue [30] is from Lady Dewlet, the daughter of Ghazi Bek and the mother of Khan Islam Geray III (r. 1644—1654). The seal's legenda confirms it. The letter (40.0×28.0 cm) is dated by A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650. It contains 14 lines; the first consists only of two short

words placed at the very top of the leaf. The main body of the text is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line is 20.0 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward; the last words in the lines do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (2.0×1.5 cm) and the sender's address are below the text, on the left.

## TRANSCRIPTION

(29) *هو المعين*

(30) *h(a)z̄r(ā)t(-i) ana bi(vi)m(i)z̄ sōz(ü)m(i)z̄*

(31) *uluy; orda v(ā) uluy yurt-niñ v(ā) d(ā)st(-i) q(i)pcaq v(ā) t(a)xt(-i) q(i)rīm-niñ*

(32) *v(ā) sans(i)z̄ köb tatar-niñ v(ā) şay(i)ş-s(i)z̄ noşay-niñ v(ā) tat bilä t(a)v;ac̄-niñ v(ā) day ara c̄(i)rkäc̄-niñ uluy pad(i)şahi bolyan s(a) adätli v(ā) ş(ā)yk(ā)tlü vä '(a)z̄(a)m(ā)tlü*

(33) *islam g(ā)räy xan bilzan i yom mübde li yom dölte dam h(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)r(i)-niñ val(i)dä'(-i) m(ü)k(ā)rr(ā)mäl(ā)ri ki m(ā)l(i)k(ā) (-i) z̄(ā)man xadiga-i deveran b(ā)hiğä(-i) ğ(i)han h(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)r(i)nd(ā)n uluy*

(34) *uluy<sup>8</sup> yurt-niñ v(ā) uluy m(ā)ml(ā)k(ā)t-niñ v(ā) köb x(i)r(i)stian-niñ v(ā) barca m(i)ll(ā)t m(ā)s(i)ha-niñ uluy pad(i)şahi bolyan dost(u)muz işv(i)tsa q(i)rali ~ q(i)ral*

(35) *dam(ā)t<sup>9</sup> h(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)rinä köpdin köb s(ā)lam v(ā) h(a)dd(a)n birun p(ā)nyam m(ā)s(ā)rr(ā)t ängam iḥlay(i)nd(a)n (a)ḥra inha' v(ā) i lam ol(u)nan old(i)r ki *خواقين سالقين رحمهم الله**

(36) *iğm(a) 'in h(a)z̄r(ā)tl(ā)ri ilä s(i)z̄(i)ñ äğdad(i)ñuz q(i)rallar ilä xal(i)şanä dost olub b(i)rb(i)rl(ā)rinä tuşman(i)q itm(ā)z̄l(ā)r(-im(i)ş da 'ima m(u)h(a)bb(ā)t üzrā olub älc̄il(ā)rin b(i)rb(i)rl(ā)rinä*

<sup>8</sup> The word *uluy* is erroneously written twice here.

<sup>9</sup> Here the word *dam(ā)t* stands for the wish of long life.

- (37) könd(ü)r(ü)rl(ä)r-im(i)š šol v(ä)ğh üzrâ dost olm(a)q içün s(ä)vk(ä)tlü xan 'alîšan h(a)z(râ)tl(ä)ri uluy älcil(ä)rin könd(ü)rm(ä)kin b(i)z d(a)xi s(i)z q(i)ral h(a)z(râ)tl(ä)rinä
- (38) dostl(u)q içün q(u)run h(ä)m q(i)ran uluy älcim(i)z r(u)st(ä)m bek zid q(u)drâti m(ä)ktüb(i)m(i)z ilâ könd(ü)rd(i)k *الله تعالیٰ* vaş(i)l bolyanl(a)r(i)nda xaṭ(i)r(i)ḡuz xoş tut(u)b
- (39) dost oldur(y)u)m(i)za i'(i)mad v(ä) i'(i)qad äyl(ä)yäs(i)z *الله تعالیٰ* uzun uzaq dost olub da'ima dostl(u)ḡu)ḡuza çalişub s(a)'ad(ä)tlü xan 'alîšan
- (40) h(a)z(râ)tl(ä)rinä v(ä) qalya<sup>10</sup> s(u)lṭan h(a)z(râ)tl(ä)rinä h(ü)sn(-i) t(ä)rbiyä közâidüb b(ä)yn(i)ḡüzdä m(u)şafat(-i) ab(i)d v(ä) m(u)şal(a)ḡat mu'(ä)bb(ä)d t(ä)şy(i)d v(ä) ta'bidinâ h(ü)sn(-i) iht(i)mam ol(u)nmaq
- (41) m(u)q(a)r(râ)rd(i)r äja körä s(i)z d(a)xi dost v(ä) m(u)h(a)bb(ä)d olub uluy älcinüz könd(ü)rüb dostl(u)q äm(ä)kd(ä)n xali olm(i)yas(i)z söylä m(a)'lüm ol(u)na
- (42) الحروسه باقى و الدعاء على من التبع الحودى 1060 maqam bagcäsaray

WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION  
(with grammar forms indication)

- (29) هو المعين
- (30) mother lady=POSS=1PL majesty=POSS=3PL word=POSS=1PL
- (31) great horde and great country-GEN and steppe Qipchaq-GEN and throne-(of) Crimea-GEN
- (32) and counting=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and calculation=PRIV Noghay=GEN and Tat with Tavḡach=GEN and mountain adorning between Circassian=GEN great ruler=POSS=3SING be=PART happiness=ADJ and might=ADJ and grandeur=ADJ
- (33) Islam Geray khan الميزان يوم مؤبدهً الي دولته مأيدهً majesty=POSS=3PL=GEN mother-of esteemed=POSS=2SING who, queen, time, Khadija epochs beauty world majesty=POSS=3PL=n-ABL big
- (34) great country=GEN and great land=GEN and numerous Christian=GEN and all nation Messiah=GEN great king=POSS=3SING be=PART=0 friend=POSS=1PL Sweden king=POSS=3SING ~ king
- (35) bouquet friendship majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT many=ABL many greeting and bound=ABL outside compliment joy complete message=POSS=3SING=n-ABL after inform and communicate be=REFL=PART, PRES this=PRED which *خواقين سالفين رحمهم الله*
- (36) all majesty=POSS=3PL, with, you-PL=GEN ancestors=POSS=2PL king=PL with sincere friend be=GER one-to-another-POSS=3PL=n-DAT enemy=ABSTR do=NEG=AOR=3PL-PAST, PART permanent affection according-to be=GER envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC one-to-another=POSS=3PL=n-DAT
- (37) send=AOR=PL-PAST.PART that way, by, friend be=INF for, magnificent=ADJ khan glorious majesty=POSS=3PL great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC send=ITER, we also you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT
- (38) friend=ABSTR for, conjunction and favourable-disposition-of-planets, high envoy=POSS=1PL Rustam, master, increased, power=POSS=3SING message=POSS=1PL, with, spend=PAST=1PL *الله تعالیٰ* arrive become=PART=POSS=3PL=n-LOC health=POSS=2PL fine keep=GER
- (39) friend be=PART=1PL=DAT trust and believe do=PRES=2PL *الله تعالیٰ* long time friend be=GER always friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL work=GER happiness=ADJ khan illustrious
- (40) majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT and qalga sultan majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT good-(of) education keep=GER between=POSS=2PL=LOC sincere-amity, eternity and well-disposed, for ever, building and making-smth-regularly=POSS=3SING-n=DAT, beauty (of) effort be=REFL=INF
- (41) definitive=PRED, it=ḡ-DAT see=ADV you-PL also partner and friend be=GER great envoy=POSS=2PL send=GER friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL thus well-known be=REFL=PRES
- (42) الحروسه باقى و الدعاء على من التبع الحودى year 1060 residence Bakhchisaray

TRANSLATION

*He is the Helper.*

[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of Her Majesty the Queen Mother.

*Glory be to God [and] His favourite friend. May Allah, the Most High, bless and greet him.* The esteemed Mother, who is the queen of the time, Khadija of the epoch, the beauty of the world, [the Mother] of His Majesty the felicitous, magnificent and illustrious Islam Geray Khan — may [God] last his greatness till the Day of Judgement — the great ruler of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars, innumerable Noghays, the foreign tribes, and the adornment of the mountains, Circassians, [sends] many greetings and countless joyous compliments to Her Majesty [lacuna], the Queen of Sweden — may her life be eternal — our friend, [who is] the sovereign of the great country and of the great state, [the ruler] of numerous Christians and of all Christian peoples. [Now], let it be known [to you] that since there was sincere friendship between your royal ancestors and

<sup>10</sup> In the text — *qalya* (the slip of the pen) instead of *qalya*.

all [our] rulers — *may Allah rest [the souls] of the khaqans of the past* — they did nothing hostile to one another. Because of this permanent affection, they sent envoys to one another. Likewise, since His Majesty the magnificent and glorious Khan sends his high envoys [to you] to be [your] friend, we also, at the time of a favourable conjunction and disposition of the planets, are sending our great ambassador, Rustem-bek — may his abilities be increased — to Your Majesty the Queen, with our letter. On his arrival — *Allah, the Most High, willing* — please, pay him due respect and believe in our friendly feelings. *Allah willing* — being the old friend of yours, we do our best [to maintain] friendship [between you and His Majesty the Khan]. Be sure that following [our] good breeding [demanding our being obedient to the will] of His Majesty the felicitous and glorious Khan, as well as of His Highness *qalya* sultan, we make our efforts in order to strengthen and maintain eternal sincere friendship between you. Therefore, you, too, being our friend and good-willer, please, send your great ambassador [to us], do not evade making friendship [with us]. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path.* The year of 1060. *Bakhchisaray protected by God.*

## LETTER NO. 4

The letter is registered under No. 150 in Zettersteen's catalogue [31]; it is dated by A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650. The letter (30.0×22.0 cm) is from Lady Farakh, the daughter of 'Adil Shah and the chief wife of Khan Islam Geray III (r. 1644—1654). The letter contains 12 lines; the first line consists of two words placed at the top of the

leaf. The text itself is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line — 15.5 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward; the last words in the lines do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (2.0×1.5 cm) and the sender's address are below the text, on the left.

## TRANSCRIPTION

- (43) هو المعين  
 (44) h(a)z(r(ä)t(-i) ulu bi(vi)m(i)z söz(i) m(i)z  
 (45) uluḡ orda v(ä) uluḡ yurt-niñ v(ä) d(ä)št(-i) q(i)hb(ä)q<sup>11</sup>-niñ  
 (46) v(ä) t(a)x(t(-i) q(i)r(ä)m-niñ v(ä) şans(i)z köb tatar-niñ v(ä) barça ümm(ä)t(-i) m(u)ḡamm(ä)d-niñ uluḡ pad(i)şahî s(a)'ad(ä)tlü v(ä) s(ä)vk(ä)tlü islam g(ä)r(ä)ḡ xan  
 (47) uluḡ m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t-niñ v(ä) köb  
 (48) x(i)r(i)stian-niñ v(ä) barça m(i)ll(ä)t(-i) m(ä)s(i)ḡa-niñ uluḡ pad(i)şahî dost(u)muz işv(i)tsa q(i)r(ä)li bolḡan ~ q(i)ral  
 (49) dam(ä)t h(a)z(r(ä)tl(ä)r(ä)rinä köpdin köb s(ä)lam v(ä) x(a)dd(a)n birun(-i) p(ä)ḡyam m(ä)s(ä)rr(ä)t ängam iblay(i)nd(a)n ş(o)ḡra inha v(ä) i'lam ol(u)nan  
 (50) old(i)r k(ä)ş(ä)vk(ä)tlü xan 'alışan h(a)z(r(ä)tl(ä)ri s(i)z q(i)ral h(a)z(r(ä)tl(ä)ri bilä dost v(ä) m(u)ḡ(a)bb(ä)t bolmaq içün uluḡ älcil(ä)rin  
 (51) könd(ü)rmäkin b(i)z d(a)xi dostl(u)q içün q(u)run h(ä)m q(i)ran uluḡ älcim(i)z könd(ü)rd(i)k اللہ تعالیٰ vaşil bolḡanda  
 (52) m(ü)hb(ä)k xaḡ(i)r(ä)ḡuza xoş olub uzun uzaq dostl(u)q bolḡan(i)na i't(i)mad v(ä) i't(i)qad äy(i)ḡäs(i)z v(ä) s(i)z d(a)xi dost  
 (53) v(ä) m(u)ḡ(a)bb(ä)t üzr(ä) bolub da'ima dostl(u)q-da olub älcinüz könd(ü)rm(ä)kd(ä)n xali bolm(a)ḡay-s(i)z اللہ b(ä)ḡn(i)ḡüzä  
 (54) b(i)z d(a)xi uzun uzaq dostl(u)ḡuza çal(i)şm(a)q m(u)ḡ(a)rr(ä)rd(i)r söylä m(a)'lüm ol(u)na باقى و الدعا على المحروسة bag(ä)saray 1060 d(ä)r bag(ä)saray من التبع الحودا

## WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION

(with grammar forms indication)

- (43) هو المعين  
 (44) majesty(of) great lady=POSS=IPL word=POSS-IPL  
 (45) great horde and great country=GEN and steppe Qipchaq=GEN  
 (46) and throne-(of) Crimea=GEN and calculation=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and all people-(of) Muhammad=GEN great king=POSS=3SING happiness=ADJ and magnificent=ADJ Islam Geray khan  
 (47) land=GEN and big country=GEN and many

<sup>11</sup> This word is spelled as *qibca* in the original text.





(48) Christian=GEN and all nation-(of) Messiah=GEN great king=POSS=3SING friend=POSS-1PL Sweden king=POSS=3SING be=PART ~ king

(49) bouquet friendship majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT many=ABL many greeting and bound=ABL outside compliment joy complete message=POSS=3SING=n-ABL after inform and communicate be=REFL=PART, PRES

(50) this=PRED which might=ADJ khan illustrious majesty=POSS=3PL you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL with, friend and partner become=INF for, great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC

(51) send=ITER we also friend=ABSTR for, conjunction and favourable-disposition-of-planets, high envoy=POSS=1PL send=PAST=1PL *اللّٰه تعالٰی* arrive become=PART=POSS=3PL=n-LOC

(52) blessed health=POSS=2PL=DAT fine bc=GER long time friend=ABSTR bc=PART=POSS=3SING=n-DAT trust and believe do=PRES=2PL and you-PL also friend

(53) and partner, according-to bc=GER always friend=ABSTR=LOC bc=GER envoy=POSS=2PL send=VN=ABL stop become=NEG=OPT=2PL *اللّٰه* between=POSS=2PL=LOC

(54) we also long time friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL=DAT work=INF definitive=PRED thus well-known bc=REFL=PRES *المحروسه الحودى* *الدعا على من التبّع الحودى* year 1060 residence Bakhchisaray

#### TRANSLATION

*He is the Helper.*

[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of [Her Majesty] the Chief Wife.

Many greetings and countless joyous compliments to Her Majesty [*lacuna*], our friend, the great sovereign of Sweden — may her life be eternal — the ruler of the great country and of the great state, [the queen] of many Christians and of all Christian nations, from Her Majesty the Chief Wife of His Majesty the felicitous and magnificent Islam Geray Khan — *may Allah the Most High last his greatness till the Day of Judgment* — the great ruler of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars and of all Mohammedans. [Now], let it be known [to you] that since His Majesty the glorious and magnificent Khan send his high envoys [to you] in order to display [his] friendship and amity to Your Majesty the Queen, we also, at a favourable conjunction and disposition of the planets, are sending our great envoy [to you as a token of our] friendly feelings. On his arrival — *Allah, the Most High, willing* — please, do him your precious favour and believe in our invariable amity [to you]. You, who show [your] friendliness and amity [to us], and are in permanent friendship [with us], also, do not hesitate to send your ambassador [to us]. Be sure that — *Allah willing* — we also do our best [to develop] the old friendship between you [and the Khan]. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path.* The year of 1060. Bakhchisaray.

#### Notes

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2. K. V. Zettersteen, *Türkische, Tatarische und Persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala, 1945), pp. 78—128.

3. A. von Gabain, "Briefe der Uigurischen Hüen-tsang Biografie". *Sitzungsberichte der (Berliner, d. h.) Preussischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 29 (1938), pp. 375—451.

4. See, for example, A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (İstanbul, 1940); M. Ivanics, "Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to Princes of Transylvania". *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XXIX (1975), pp. 213—24; T. I. Sultanov, "Pis'ma zolotoordynskikh khanov" ("Letters of the Golden Horde Khans"). *Tiurkologicheskii sbornik*, 1975 (Moscow, 1978), pp. 234—51; M. A. Özyetgin, *Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Kazan sahasına ait yarlık ve bitiklerin dil ve üslup incelemesi* (Ankara, 1996).

5. *Osmanlı Devleti ile Kafkasya, Türkistan ve Kırım Hanlıkları arasındaki münasebetlere dair arşiv belgeleri (1687—1908 yılları arası)* (Ankara, 1992); M. P. Pedani-Fabris, "La dimora della pace", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi, Studi e Testi*, 2 (1996), pp. 73—91.

6. L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narechii* (A Comparative Dictionary of Turkic-Tatar Dialects) (St. Petersburg, 1869), i, p. 234.

7. See Kurat, *op. cit.*

8. See *Osmanlı Devleti*.

9. *Drevnetiurkii slovar'* (Old Turkic Dictionary) (Leningrad, 1969), p. 541; cf. Ivanics, *op. cit.*, pp. 217, 218.

10. B. Grekov, A. Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia orda i ee padenie* (The Golden Horde and its Fall) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1950), p. 262.

11. H. Jankowski, *Gramatyka języka krymskotatarskiego* (A Grammar of the Crimean Tatar Language) (Poznań, 1992). G. Doerfer, "Das Krimtatarische", in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 369—90; A. N. Samoïlovich, *Opyt kratkoi krymskotatarskoi grammatiki* (An Attempt at a Concise Crimean Tatar Grammar) (Petrograd, 1916).

12. Jankowski, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

13. See Budagov, *op. cit.*, i—ii.

14. Sh. Asanov, A. Garkavets, S. Uscinov, *Krymskotatarsko-russkii slovar'* (The Crimean Tatar-Russian Dictionary) (Kiev, 1988).

15. A. Memetov, "Nekotorye foneticheskie izmeneniia glasnykh zvukov v persidskikh leksicheskikh zaïmstvovaniiah v krymskotatarskom iazyke" ("Some phonetic alternations of vowels in lexica of the Crimean Tatar language borrowed from Persian"), *Sovetskaiia tiurkologiia*, 5 (1973), pp. 111—4.

16. K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 257.
17. See, for example, Ivanics, *op. cit.*
18. Kurat, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 7.
19. See, for example, Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*; Doerfer, *op. cit.*; Jankowski, *op. cit.*
20. Cf. Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
21. Asanov, Garkavets, Useïnov, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 203; Doerfer, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
22. Özyetgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 218.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 217.
24. Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
26. Jankowski, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
27. *Ibid.*
28. We use here the results of the seal's analysis made by Zettersteen, see his *op. cit.*, No. 139.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*

### I l l u s t r a t i o n s

- Fig. 1.** Letter (between 1637 and 1641) from the mother of the Crimean Khan Bakhadir Geray I, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 39.0×28.0 cm.
  - Fig. 2.** Letter (A. H. 1047 / A. D. 1637—38) from the chief wife of the Crimean Khan Bakhadir Geray I, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 38.0×27.0 cm.
  - Fig. 3.** Letter (A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650) from Lady Dewlet, the daughter of Ghazi Bek and the mother of the Crimean Khan Islam Geray III, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 40.0×28.0 cm.
  - Fig. 4.** Letter (A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650) from Lady Farakh, the daughter of 'Adil Shah and the chief wife of Khan Islam Geray III, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 30.0×22.0 cm.
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