

THE REBELLION OF ŞAHİN GİRAY SULTAN (1746–1747)

Alper Başer

*Afyon Kocatepe University
Afyonkarahisar, Turkey
baseralperhidayet@gmail.com*

Abstract: *Research objectives:* This study aims to analyze the reasons, development, and consequences of Şahin Giray Sultan's Rebellion in the history of the Crimean Khanate, based on data retrieved from Ottoman archival sources.

Research materials: The main sources of data for this research are documents held in the Archive of the Topkapı Palace Museum and the Department of Ottoman Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State. These documents have been compared with the Ottoman-Tatar chronicles of the period (İzzi Tarihi, Çelebî Akay Tarihi, Tarih-i Said Giray Sultan).

Results and novelty of the research: The most detailed evaluation of the rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan can be found in Smirnov's book on the Crimean Khanate which echoes the information given in the Ottoman chronicle, İzzi Tarihi. In the present study, Topkapı Palace Museum Archive documents numbered TSMA-E 408-55, TSMA-E 569-58, and TSMA-E 751-49, as well as the Mühimme Defters and Kalebend Defters held by the Department of Ottoman Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives, are compared with statements in different sources. In the light of these documents, the rise and progress of the rebellion headed by Şahin Giray Sultan are subjected to a new evaluation. Documents considered important and providing details of the life of Şahin Giray Sultan and the course of the rebellion have been transliterated and presented for the use of researchers.

The Noghays residing in the Bucak region constituted the social base of the Şahin Giray rebellion. The rebellion broke out due to the Porte's desire to deploy Tatar forces on the Iranian front, the increasing centralization efforts of the Ottoman Empire on the Russian-Polish and Ukrainian borders, and the pressure put on Tatar society for the return of Russian captives of 1736-39 War. The rebellion broke out prematurely after the Porte and Selim Giray Khan conspired to neutralize Şahin Giray Sultan. The extreme measures taken by the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate prevented the revolt from spreading, and the rebels led by the Şahin Giray Sultan were easily defeated, thus causing the suppression of the rebellion.

Keywords: Şahin Giray Sultan, rebellion, Ottoman Empire, Crimean Khanate, Noghays

For citation: Başer A. The rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan (1746–1747). *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie=Golden Horde Review*. 2022, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 672–692. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2022-10-3.672-692

Introduction: Collective Violence in the History of the Crimean Khanate

Collective violence used within a political organization to change the regime, rulers of the political community, constitution, or the structure of the administration is defined as political violence or civil strife. Civil wars, rebellions, revolts, mutinies and uprisings are all considered acts of political violence. [1, p. 1107; 2, p. 3–4; 3, p. 133–136]

The historiography of the Crimean Khanate includes studies of the rebellions that can be defined as political violence, and with a few exceptions, they were generally written to document the political history of the Crimean Khanate or the Noghay Tatars [4, 125–146; 5, p.74–113]. Evaluating the rebellions in the history of the Crimean Khanate, which endured for over 300 years as a political entity, can be problematic. Although the Crimean Khanate became a vassal of the Ottoman Empire after 1475, it remained a political structure with its own state organization, ideological legitimacy and ethnic base. Towards the end of the first half of the 17th century, following the dismantling of the Great Noghay Horde, the Noghay tribes began to migrate to the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman lands, which continued into the first quarter of the 18th century. As a result of the migrations, the tribes and their beys became involved in the political and ethnic structure of the Crimean Khanate as new political actors, and these intertwined facts make it difficult to evaluate the rebellions in the history of the khanate.

The period from 1441 to 1783 saw many outbreaks of political violence in the Crimean Khanate, from major civil wars to small-scale uprisings. Taking into account these examples of political violence as a whole, they reveal two basic forms of rebellion. In the first, the Crimean Khans rose against the Ottoman Porte and rejected the authority of the sultan, while in the second, the Crimean elite, dissatisfied with the administration of the current khan, rebelled to have him changed. The first form of rebellion saw a hostile attitude being taken against the Ottoman Porte, characterized by separatist tendencies. The rebellion of Mehmed Giray II in 1583–1584¹; the rebellion of brothers Mehmed and Şahin Giray in 1624 and 1627–1628 [7, p.49–91, 149–164; 8, p. 101–116] and the rebellion of İnyet Giray Khan in 1637 [9, p. 209–224; 8, p. 122–125] serve as examples of this form of rebellion, and all can be considered as part of the phenomenon referred to by Alan Fisher as “*Crimean separatism*” [10, p.79–92]. In the second category – political violence within the Crimean Khanate – two separate tendencies can be noticed. The first involved members of the Giray dynasty fighting with each other for the throne, which was seen most often at the time of the establishment of the Crimean Khanate, when Ottoman interventions were less obvious than in the later centuries. The struggles between Mengli Giray Khan I and his brother, and Sahip Giray Khan I and İslam Giray Khan I can be given as examples of such conflicts. [11, p.47–68; 12, p.8–14; 13, p. 21–25.]

Within the Crimean Khanate, aside from the struggles for the throne within the Giray dynasty, the second form of political violence that came to prominence surrounded the problems in the internal structure of the Crimean Khanate in which the tribal leaders, who were part of the feudal structure of the khanate, rebelled against the authority of the Crimean Khans. The rebellions of the Karaçi Beys – especially

¹ II. Mehmed Giray emphasized the independent character of the Crimean Khans with these words, “...*Ben sâhib-i sikke ve hutbe pâdişâh iken beni azl u nasba kim kâdir olur ...ve ben başlı başına pâdişâhım ma'zûl olmam ...*”, [6, p. 90–91].

the Şirin and Mangıt tribes – and those of the tribes of the Great Noghay Horde who became a component of khanate after 1640, can be included in this group. The conflict of the Şirin tribe with the Crimean Khan Adil Giray [16, s.144–145], the rebellion of the Bucak Tatars under the leadership of Gazi Giray Sultan in 1699 [8, p.161–168] and Adil Giray Sultan in 1728 [14, p. 1589–1591], the Baht Giray Sultan rebellion [14, p. 1602–1603] that flared intermittently in the Kuban region in the first quarter of the 18th century, and the Yedisian Noghay Rebellion of 1756–1758 [5, 84–108; 29, p. 151–157] were examples of the political violence that broke out within the khanate.

It should be clarified here that classification of the political violence in the Crimean Khanate is no easy task, as the rebellions that took place in the history of the khanate were all intertwined in some way.

Who was Şahin Giray Sultan?

Şahin Giray Sultan was the son of Adil Giray Sultan, himself one of the sons of the famous Hacı Selim Giray Khan. During the reign of Saadet Giray Khan II, he was assigned the post of *nureddin*, and *kalgay* under the reign of Mengli Giray Khan II. Shortly after being removed from the post of *kalgay*, he assumed the leadership of the Bucak Noghays rebellion against the Saadet Giray Khan in 1724–1725. After the rebellion was quashed, he was pardoned and resided in the Rumelia for a while. In the third reign of Kaplan Giray Khan I, he was once again appointed as *kalgay*. Adil Giray Sultan died when Russian forces launched an invasion of the Crimean Peninsula, following the arrival in Crimea of the new khan Feth Giray Khan II [15, p. 81, 83, 87, 89; 17, p. 426–427, 432–440].

The first mention of Şahin Giray Sultan – the son of a dynamic and active father – can be found in the records of French consul A. Yavorka, who served in Crimea for some time, until 1736. A. Yavorka placed Şahin Giray Sultan in sixth place among the members of the Giray family in the order of importance [18, p. 137]. In the Ottoman sources, he is first recorded in 1737 due to a problem with his annual salary (*salyane*)². Then there are two different documents, one from 1740 and the other from 1741, describing him as the *serasker* of Bucak³. Şahin Giray Sultan, who was appointed to the post of *nureddin* after 1741, and as *kalgay* on January 28, 1744⁴, thus becoming the second in command in the Crimean Khanate. In the 18th century, the male members of the Giray dynasty could hold the posts of *kalgay*, *nureddin*, and the *seraskerliks* of the Bucak, Yedisian, and Kuban regions within the Crimean Khanate. Thus, Şahin Giray Sultan held all the highest-ranking offices in the Crimean Khanate and served at all career levels of a Chinggisid prince.

According to Hurremi Abdullah Efendi, the most important act of Şahin Giray Sultan in his role as *kalgay* was the Circassian Campaign. During this successful expedition, 600–700 slaves were captured, to the great satisfaction of the Ottoman Porte [19, folio 111b]. That said, another chronicler of the period, Said Giray Sultan, put forward a different description of the event, claiming that the chief of the

² Department of Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey henceafter BOA. BOA, Ali Emiri, SMHD I (Sultan Mahmud I) 773.

³ BOA, Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilâtı Mühimme Defterleri henceafter, A.DVNS.MHM 147, p. 246/905; p. 329/1157.

⁴ BOA, Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze henceafter C. MTZ 198.

Kömürköy tribe was invited to Crimea and was arrested upon his arrival to the peninsula. In a subsequent message to the Kömürköy tribe, they were told that their chief would be released on the condition that a thousand captives would be given to the Crimean Khanate. In the ongoing negotiations, it was agreed that the Circassian chief would be released in exchange for 800 slaves. After this agreement was struck, Şahin Giray Sultan went to the Caucasus with his retinue and a military force of 5000 men, and after accepting the captives, he returned the Circassian chief to his tribe. Another important event in this campaign involved the relocation of the Kasay and Kaspulat Noghay tribes. Upon the order of Selim Giray Khan, parts of these tribes were brought to the Crimean Peninsula, where they were settled in the villages devastated by the war [20, 105a-b, 114b].

The Causes and Expansion of the Şahin Giray Rebellion

Literature on the rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan is very limited, with the most elaborate account being found in Smirnov's book on the history of the Crimean Khanate. Smirnov's account of the rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan is a summary of the section of the chronicle *Tarih-i İzzî* [21, p. 503]. Aside from the work of Smirnov, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı also provides a concise account of the rebellion. [22, p. 21, footnote 1].

The first events contributing to Şahin Giray Sultan's decision to launch a rebellion began with the enthronement of Selim Giray II to the Crimean Khanate. Selim Giray Khan II inflicted violent punishments against his opposition in Crimea as a means of strengthening his authority. Even the governors of cities such as Hotin, Bender, and Akkerman on the Black Sea were informed about this policy of the Khan. The Porte issued orders that no Tatars fleeing Crimea to the Ottoman territory should be granted asylum and no one would be allowed to come without the “*yarlıg*” of khan.⁵

The problem in the khanate dated back to the reign of Selamet Giray Khan II. The 1736–1739 Ottoman-Russian War concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Belgrade, under which captives taken from Russians were to be returned. Selamet Giray Khan II, however, failed to return the captives and was dethroned. The new khan, Selim Giray Khan II, carried out this task vigorously, leading the Tatars to refer to him as “*Kati*”, meaning severe and harsh [15, p. 92]. The primary reason for the opposition to the khan was his violent behavior and the issue of returning the captives. It is likely that Şahin Giray Sultan got closer to the opposition groups during this period and became their leader.

What was the motivation behind the rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan? According to İzzi Süleyman Efendi -the official chronicler of the period- Şahin Giray Sultan had been removed from the post of *kalgay* and was ordered to return to his manor in the town of Enez. After being notified of the decision, Şahin Giray Sultan, with unfounded fears for his life, opted not to return to Enez, and left his farm stating his intention to visit Selim Giray Khan II, but fled to Poland. Misleading and provocations of his followers and friends and disobeying the orders of the Ottoman administration and the Crimean Khan fueled the fears of Şahin Giray Sultan,

⁵ BOA, A.DVNS.MHM 150, p. 201/738. The date of the document is 6–15 January 1.

leading up to the rebellion [23, p. 526–527]. The statements of İzzi Süleyman Efendi were almost found in the same way in the *mühimme defters* of the period.⁶

Were Şahin Giray Sultan's fears groundless, being only empty delusions? Was he really in no danger? The Topkapı Palace Archives contain three documents relating to these events⁷, among which is the correspondence of Selim Giray Khan II with the Ottoman administration which makes no mention of Şahin Giray Sultan's name, although there is no doubt that he is the person referred to as "*şahs-ı mâhud*" (known person) in the document. All of these documents bear the seal of Selim Giray Khan II. In three of these documents, the date is not indicated although one document in the Topkapı Palace Archive (numbered 408/55), gives an exact date of November 5, 1746, which helps us understand the chronological order of the events. The decision to take action against Şahin Giray Sultan in 1746 before Selim Giray Khan II's visit to Istanbul is clearly stated in these documents, in which it can be further understood that in the first phase of this conspiracy, Şahin Giray Sultan was ordered to go to the Bender. In Bender, in cooperation with Serasker of Bucak Hacı Giray Sultan, Bender Muhafızı Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa and the commander of the volunteers İbrahim Ağa, the plan was to capture and eliminate Şahin Giray Sultan (*ahz u istisali*), although state officials close to Şahin Giray Sultan warned the former *kalgay* about the plan, compelling him not go to Bender, but instead into hiding in the steppe surrounding the Bender.⁸

Despite the failure of the plan to eliminate Şahin Giray Sultan, at the beginning of 1747, Selim Giray Khan II removed him from the post of *kalgay*, and the Porte ordered Şahin Giray Sultan to return to the town of Enez. In an edict (*ferman*), sent by the Porte to the officials on the border of Lehistan (Poland), and to the hospodars of Boğdan (Moldavia) and Eflak (Wallachia), Şahin Giray Sultan was ordered to be taken into custody, but with respect. The edict also stated that if the sultan was captured, he was not be released until a new order came from the Crimean Khan.⁹ On June 30, 1747, a new edict (*ferman*) was issued, addressed to Şahin Giray Sultan, stating that he had been dismissed from the post of *kalgay*, but that his crimes up to that time had been pardoned. Şahin Giray Sultan was reminded that when the descendants of Chinggis Khan were dismissed from their posts, they returned to their farms in the Ottoman Rumelia, where they continued their lives in their manors, and the Porte stated that the same attitude was expected from him, ordering him to go to Yanbolu and to reside on his farm.¹⁰

It can be understood from the archival records that Şahin Giray Sultan disobeyed the orders of the Porte, and fled to Poland in the earliest days of November 1747. Thereupon, the Ottoman Porte ordered the state officials in Bender and Hotin, and the hospodars of Boğdan and Eflak, not to allow anyone from the Tatar

⁶ BOA, A.DVNS.MHM 153, p.67/205.

⁷ TSMA-E 408/55; 569/58 and 751/49. In the book *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı* provides a summary of these documents and presents further information. However, these documents were not evaluated in the context of the Şahin Giray Sultan rebellion. [30, p. 217–220]

⁸ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi-Evrak henceafter TSMA-E 408-55; TSMA-E 569-58, TSMA-E 751-49.

⁹ BOA, A.DVNS.MHM 153, p. 67, h.205.

¹⁰ BOA, A.DVNS.MHM 153, p. 69–70/218.

communities to cross the border into Poland to communicate with or visit the Şahin Giray Sultan.¹¹ The Porte's intentions in this regard were to isolate Şahin Giray Sultan by cutting his ties with the Tatar Hordes in Bucak and Yedisán, although it became apparent that the Porte was unable to achieve this goal, as, despite the efforts of the Ottoman administration, the rebellion broke out.

In December 1747, vizier Numan Pasha, who was serving in Bender, reported the developments surrounding the Şahin Giray Sultan situation to Istanbul. The report stated that Şahin Giray Sultan, together with his accompanying Tatars, had been able to cross the frozen Turla (Dniester) River on the border, and had arrived in Hotin. From here, he entered Bucak territory and established his headquarters in the village of Şeklak, where he began gathering people around him. The Serasker of Bucak Hacı Giray Sultan and vizier Numan Pasha in Bender sent messengers to Şahin Giray Sultan to admonish him and suggest he give up the rebellion. After seeing Şahin Giray Sultan continue with the rebellion unabated, Hacı Giray Sultan took action with his forces and defeated the rebels. However, Şahin Giray Sultan together with his retinue, was able to escape to a heavily forested area in Moldavia. Dealing with the captured supporters of Şahin Giray Sultan, The Porte ordered to the local officials to hand the Ottoman-oriented supporters over to Ottoman officials, while the Tatar supporters handed over to the Serasker of Bucak Hacı Giray Sultan [23, p.527].¹²

Şahin Giray Sultan managed to escape the pursuing Ottoman-Tatar forces and once again took up refuge in Poland. Thereupon, the governor of Özi, Numan Pasha, wrote a letter to the Polish Hetman, demanding that Şahin Giray Sultan and his retinue be resettled in a region far from the Ottoman border. [23, p. 528]. After fleeing the Ottoman lands, Şahin Giray Sultan took up residence in Gorodets in the Kingdom of Poland-Lithuania. According to the information given by the Ottoman authorities to the Crimean Khan, Şahin Giray Sultan, who was not wanted in the country by the Polish rulers, was seeking to continue the rebellion and planned to go to the Caucasus with his 18 men, and amass an army of Noghays and Circassians. Selim Giray Khan II, in his letter to the Zaporog Hetman, stated that, in line with the signed treaties, Şahin Giray Sultan and his companions were to be prevented from crossing the Bug River and should be stopped, dead or alive [24, p. 413–414]. The harsh measures taken by Selim Giray Khan II and the Ottoman Porte against the rebellion forced Şahin Giray Sultan to come to terms with the Crimean Khan. Şahin Giray Sultan whose negotiations with Selim Giray Khan II seem to have begun before March 1748, was permitted at the request of the Crimean Khan to return from Poland on the condition that he would be exiled as “*kalebend*” on the island of Rhodes¹³. Soon after, however, upon the intervention of Crimean Khan Selim Giray Khan II, the exile location was moved from Rhodes to Chios. Şahin Giray Sultan's brother, Mahmud Giray Sultan, who had been by his side throughout the rebellion, was permitted to reside in their manor in Yanbolu.¹⁴ Upon the death of Selim Giray Khan II on April 17, 1748 [15, p. 92], Arslan Giray Khan was appointed Khan in Crimea. As a result of the endeavors of Arslan Giray

¹¹ BOA, A.DVNS.MHM 153, p. 154/588.

¹² BOA, A.DVNS.MHM 153, p. 176/670.

¹³ BOA, Divan (Beylikçi) Kalemî Kalebend Defterleri henceafter A.DVNS.KLBd.10, p.23.

¹⁴ A.DVNS.KLBd.10, p. 20.

Khan at the Porte, Şahin Giray Sultan was pardoned in August 1749 and was allowed to return to his manor, named Çapakçın, in the town of Zağra-i Atik.¹⁵

Was Şahin Giray Sultan's rebellion merely a response to his dismissal from the post of *kalgay*, or was there a more widespread social base? According to Izzi Süleyman Efendi, aside from his retinue, the gypsy population of Rumelia, and low-class people, nobody acted in support of Şahin Giray Sultan. Information given by Izzi Süleyman Efendi reflected the point of view of the Ottoman administration aimed to play down the importance of the rebellion. Said Giray Sultan, another witness of the period, provided a different perspective of the rebellion. Having assumed the post of *Seraskerlik of Bucak* 10 years after the rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan, Said Giray Sultan had a good knowledge of the region's recent history, and wrote that while the Bucak Tatars supported Şahin Giray Sultan, the Yedisian Noghays did not. [20, f. 117a]. In addition to this information, the fact that Şahin Giray Sultan wanted to leave for the Kuban steppes suggests that the rebel sultan also had support from the tribes living in the Kuban region, aside from Bucak Tatars, and Şahin Giray Sultan may have established close relations with the local powers during his Caucasus campaign in his *kalgay* period. It can thus be understood that Şahin Giray Sultan had support from both the Tatars in the Bucak region and the Noghay communities in the Caucasus, revealing a serious social base to Şahin Giray Sultan's rebellion.

To understand the root causes of Şahin Giray Sultan's rebellion, it is necessary to look at developments in the Crimean Khanate at that time. First, the Porte constantly made use of, or sought the participation of the Crimean forces on the Iranian front in the ongoing war with Nadir Shah, who ruled in Iran between 1730 and 1745 [25, p. 87–88, 91–92, 97–100]. The main reasons for the 1583–84 rebellion of Mehmed Giray Khan II and that of Inayet Giray Khan in 1637 were the consistent Ottoman demands for the Crimean forces on the Iranian front and their use in this protracted war. In the Ottoman chronicles, the reason given for the enthronement of Mehmed Giray II was his unwillingness to go to the Iranian front¹⁶. After his accession to the throne, strict orders were sent to Inayet Giray Khan regarding his participation in the Iran Campaign, and especially after 1636, these orders became more definite. Although Inayet Giray Khan was keen to join the Iran campaign, he was dissuaded by the Crimean aristocracy, who along with people from different classes, spoke with a unified voice about the difficulties on the Iranian front. The consensus was that the involvement would place Crimea in danger and leave it defenseless, and so they opposed the demands of the Ottoman administration for the participation of Tatar forces in the campaign. It was this attitude of the Crimean aristocracy that led Inayet Giray Khan to rebel [26, p.264–265]. As can be seen, the root cause of these rebellions was the Ottoman Porte's desire to use the Crimean

¹⁵ A.DVNS.KLBd.10, p. 253.

¹⁶ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali narrated this event as this, "...*Ammâ han-ı mezbûr gâh Cengiz'e müntehi olan nesebine mağrur olub edâ-i hizmetde cüst ü çalak deprenmemişdi. Gâh ben Osmanlı'nun ümerâsında mıyım ki bana böyle teklifât iderler diyü Şirvan'a gitmeyüb ta'allül tar'ikına gitmişdi...Pes üçüncü senede ki tekrâr Şirvan'a teveccühi emr olunmuşdı. Bu kerre inâd u muhâlefet dâyiresinde sâbit-kadem bulundi. Hatta edâ-i hizmetteki kusûrundan mâadâ bâis-i gayret ve fütur bazı sözler söylediği nakl olundu...*" [34, p. 1037–38].

Tatars on the Iranian front, and the Ottoman Porte's demands in the reign of Selim Giray Khan II, to use the Tatar forces in the war against Nadir Shah led to great unrest in the Crimean Tatar society. It was from this unrest that the social base of the Şahin Giray Sultan Rebellion emerged.

In the 18th century rebellions that occurred in the Crimean Khanate, the ending of the raids intensified during the times of war, the efforts of the Ottoman Empire to increase its control over its borders and over the nomadic Tatars, and its demands for the return of the captives after the war were other factors leading to the rebellions, including those of Gazi Giray Sultan in 1699 and the Devlet Giray Khan in 1702 following the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) and the Istanbul Treaty (1700). The strict control of the borders and the return of the captives were addressed in the Treaty of Karlowitz in the following way:

“The fourth article: None of the troops dependent on the high state, and especially the Tatars, should attack Polish subjects and transgress the Polish borders under any kind of excuse, pretext, or title, nor should they drive any captives or animals nor should they cause any other damage. And it will be clearly commanded and confirmed by noble orders. To the viziers and beylerbeyis, to the felicitous Crimean khan, kalga, nureddin, and the other princes and to the hospodar of Moldovia that they should respect and preserve with the utmost care the order on the frontiers and the provisions of this peace...The ninth article: The prisoners taken during the war from among the Poles will be set free after the price of their purchase, confirmed legally or revealed by their owners with an oath, is repaid in the manner described in the ahnames given in the past.” [27, p. 587–593; 595, 597] and brought about events that led to the rebellions of both Gazi Giray Sultan and Devlet Giray Khan.

After the end of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1736–39, the Crimean Khan, and the Porte sought to increase their control over the border regions with the Russian Tsardom (such as the Caucasus-Kuban Line and the Özi/Dnieper area) [25, p.79–80] and to bring about the return of the captives of war by putting pressure on the Tatar society.¹⁷ These developments led to a severe loss of income and gradual centralization, especially along the Russian border, and could have been a secondary motivation for the Şahin Giray Sultan Rebellion. The Tatar communities suffered significant losses, both human and economic, at the hands of the Russian forces on the Crimean Peninsula, the Kuban region, and even around Özi [28, p. 90–92], and this was another cause of unrest that led to the rebellion of Tatar society.

A final reason for the rebellions in the Crimean Khanate in the last days of the 17th century is related to the Noghays. Since the second half of the 17th century, the Noghay population within the Crimean Khanate had gradually been increasing, and in parallel to this population increase, the importance of the Noghays [politically and militarily] gained ground within the Crimean Khanate [29, p. 115–131]. The Crimean Khans developed a system named “*seraskerlik*” to keep the Noghay

¹⁷ II. Selim Giray Han II's predecessor, II. Selamet Giray Khan II was dethroned due to his failure to return the captives of war taken in the 1736–1739 Ottoman-Russian War. In contrast, Selim Giray Khan II was rewarded for his success in this matter. [15, p. 91–92].

groups under control, and the Seraskerliks of Yedisian, Bucak and Kuban subsequently emerged. In this system, a male member of the Giray family was appointed *serasker*, that is, governor, of the Noghay Hordes [8, p.198–200; 31, p.18; 33, p. 114; 32, p.14].¹⁸ Despite the establishment of the Seraskerlik system, the Noghays could not be fully controlled, and rebelled under the leadership of the Giray Sultans, whom they considered close to them, and reacted strongly against the Crimean Khans and to the Porte. The rebellions in the Crimean Khanate, from the rebellion of Gazi Giray Sultan in 1699 to the 1756–1758 Yedisian Noghay Rebellion, all emerged as a result of the Noghays' search for political influence within the khanate, or in their reaction to the khanate or the Ottoman Porte [33, 114–115]. In a way, the Rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan can be considered a reaction of the Bucak Noghays to the khanate's administration. Consequently, all these combined reasons contributed to the social basis of the rebellion.

One last question remains about the rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan, and that is "Why did the rebellion fail?". Taking a general overview, the main reason was Şahin Giray Sultan's inability to gain the support of the Yedisian Noghays, which limited the military strength of the rebels considerably, as well as their geographical depth. In addition, the Zaporog Cossacks, acting in accordance with the wishes of the Crimean Khan, prevented Şahin Giray Sultan from uniting with the Tatar communities in the Kuban and the Caucasus, thus preventing the continuation and spread of the rebellion. Upon this, because of the conspiracy of the Porte and Crimean Khan toward the Şahin Giray Sultan, the rebellion occurred prematurely. Şahin Giray Sultan could not focus the support of all the dissidents in the organization of a rebellion. The strict attitude and uncompromising acts of the Porte can be given as the final reason for the failure of the rebellion. While this rebellion, limited to the Bucak area, was quelled, the tensions in the socio-economic structure of the khanate continued, culminating in Yedisian Nogay Rebellion in 1756–1758, on a much larger scale.

¹⁸ BOA, Ali Emiri, (Sultan Mustafa III) SMST III 29050, a sample document addressed to the serasker of Yedisian; BOA, Ali Emiri, (Sultan Mahmud I) SMHD I 6461, a sample document addressed to the serasker of Kuban].

**Facsimile and Transliteration of Selected Documents
on the Life and Rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan**

Document I: C.MTZ. 4/198: 13 Zilhicce 1156/28 Ocak 1744.

Sahh

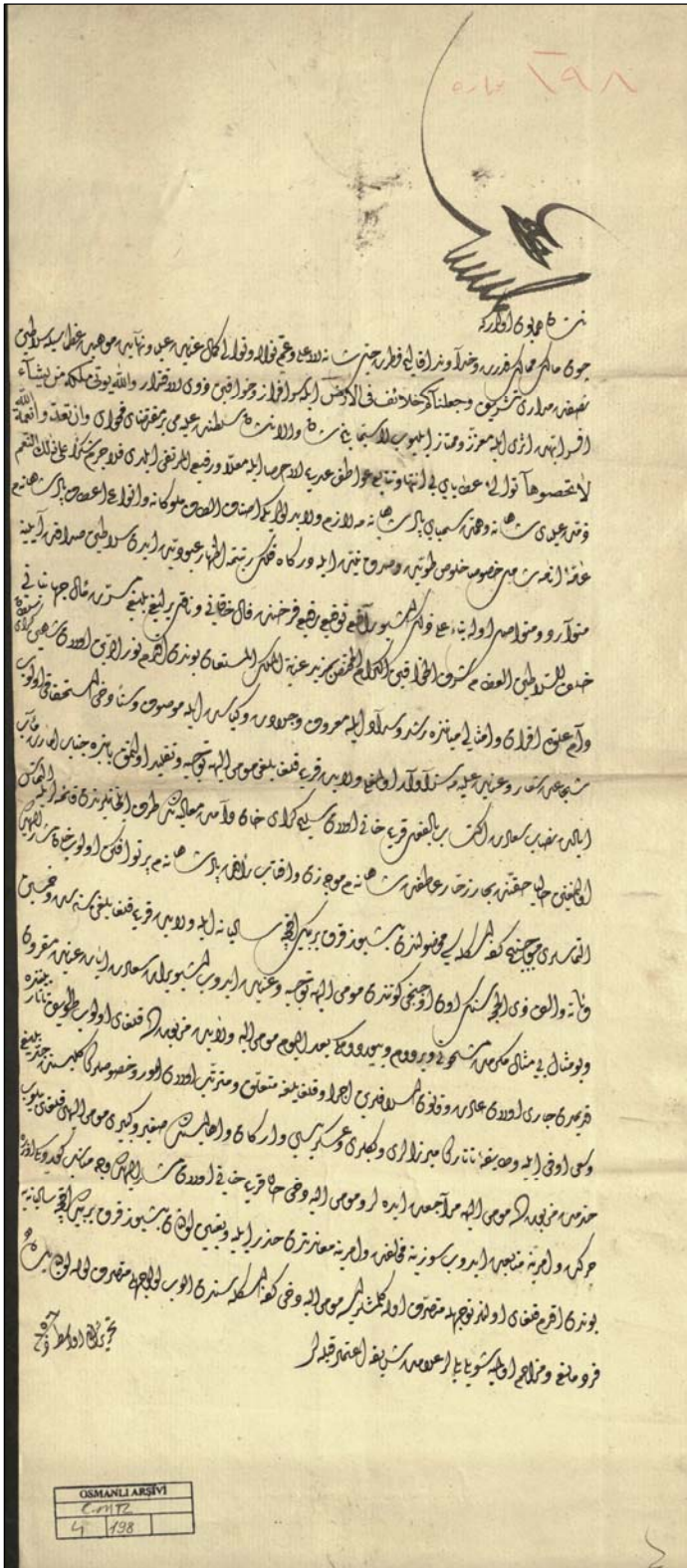
Buyruldu

Nişân-ı hümâyûn oldur ki

Çün mâlik-i memâlik-i kudret ve hüdâvend-i ekâlîm-fitrat celle şânühû'l alâ ve âmme nevâlühû ve tevâlî kemâl-i inâyet-ulyâ ve nihâyet-i mevhîbet-uzmâsıyla selâtin-i nasafet-medârı teşrif ve ce'alnâküm halâife fi'l-arz ile ser-firâz ve havâkîn-i zevî'l-iktidâr vallâhu yûti mülkühû men yeşâ' efser-i übbühet-eseri ile mu'azzez ve mümtâz eyleyüb lâ-siyyemâ benim şân-ı vâlâ-nişân-ı saltanat-ı alıyyemi ber-muktezâ-yı fehvâ-yı ve in-te'adde ve nimetu'llâhi lâ-tuhsuhâ tevâlî-i atâyâ-yı bî-intihâ ve tetâbi'-i avâtıf-ı adîmül-ihsâ ile mu'allâ ve refi'u'l mürtefâ eyledi. Felâ-cerem şükrân alâ-zâlike'n-ni'am zimmet-i ulyâyı şâhânem ve himmet-i simyâ-yı padişâhâneme lâzım ve lâbüd oldı ki esnâf-ı eltâf-ı mülükâne ve envâ'ı e'tâf-ı padişâhânem âmme-i enâma şâmil husûs-ı hulûs-ı taviyyet ve sıdk-ı niyyet ile dergâh-ı felek-rütbetime izhâr-ı ubûdiyyet eden selâtin-i sadâkat-âyîne mütevârid ve mütevâsıl ola binâen-alâ-zâlık işbu râfi'-i tevkî'-i refi'-i ferhunde-fâl-i hakanî ve nâkil-i yarlıg-ı belîg-i meserret-me'al-i cihân-bânî helefû's-selâtinî'l-izâm şerefü'l-havâkîni'l-kirâm el-muhtâs bî-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-meliki'l müsteân bundan akdem Nureddin olan Şahin Giray Sultân dâme ulüvvühu akrân ve emsâli meyânında rüşd ü sedâd ile ma'rûf ve celâdet ve kıyâset ile mevsûf ve sinnen dahi istihkâkı olub şecâat-şîâr ve inâyet-i alıyyeme sezâvâr olmağla vilâyet-i Kırım Kalgaylıgı mûmâileyhe tevcîh ve taklîd olunmak bâbında cenâb-ı emâret-meâb eyâlet-nisâb saâdet-iktisâb bi'l-fi'il Kırım Hanı olan Selim Giray Han dâmet me'âliyehünün taraf-ı ilhânilerinden kâimeleriyle iltimâs olunmağın hâliyâ hakkında bihâr-ı zahhâr-ı âtîfet-i şâhânem mevc-zen ve âfitâb-ı re'fet-i pâdişâhânem pertev-efken olub Han-ı müşârünileyhin iltimâsları mucebince Kefe İskelesi mahsûlâtundan beş yüz kırk bir bin akçe salyâne ile vilâyet-i Kırım Kalgaylıgı sene sitte ve hamsin ve mi'ete ve elf zilhiccesinin on üçüncü (13 Z. 1156 / 28 Ocak 1744) gününden mûmâileyhe tevcîh ve inâyet idüb işbu berât-ı saâdet-âyât-ı inâyet-makrûn ve bu misâl-i bî misâl-i mekremet-meşhûmı virdüm ve buyurdum ki; ba'de'l-yevm mûmâileyh vilâyet-i mezbûrede Kalgay olub tevâif-i Tatar beyninde kadîmden cârî olan âdet ve kanûn-ı eslâfların icrâ ve kalgaylıgâ müte'allik ve müterettib olan umûr ve hususların küllisinde cidd-i belîg ve sa'y-ı evfâ eyleye ve tâife-i Tatarın mirzâları ve beyleri ve askerîsi ve erkân ve ahâlisinden sagîr ve kebîri mûmâileyhi kalgay bilüb hizmet-i mezbûrede mûmâileyhe mürâcaat ideler ve mûmâileyh dahi hâlâ Kırım Hanı olan müşârünileyhin vech-i münâsib gördüğü üzere hareket ve emrine mütâbaât idüb sözüne muhâlif ve emrine muânedetden hazer eyleye ve ta'yîn olunan beş yüz kırk bir bin akçe salyâneye bundan akdem kalgay olanlar ne vechile mutasarrıf ola gelmişler ise mûmâileyh dahi Kefe İskelesinden alub o vechile mutasarrıf ola.

Ol bâbda ferd mâni' ve müzâhim olmaya, şöyle bileler alâmet-i şerîfe i'timâd kılalar.

Tahrîren fi evâsıt-ı Z. 1156 / 26 January-3 February 1744



Document I: C.MTZ. 4/198: 13 Zilhicce 1156/28 Ocak 1744.

Document 2: A.DVNS.MHM. d.153, Page: 177, Edict: 673.***Buyruldu sûreti Han-ı âlişân tarafına tesyîr kılınmıştır.******5 M. [1/161***

Bender Muhâfız Vezir Numan Paşa'ya hüküm ki,

Kalgay-ı sâbık Şahin Giray Sultân bundan akdem ba'zı efkâr-ı fâsideye teba'iyet ile Leh cânibine firâr eyledikten sonra Hotin cânibinden memâlik-i mahrûsem toprağına duhûl idüb rızâ-yı hümâyûnuma mugâyir tavr u harekete ictisâr ve Bucak Seraskeri Hacı Giray Sultân ile muhârebe ve cidâle ibtidar ve esnâ-yı bî-kârda birkaç nefer adem ile münhezimen Boğdan toprağında vâki' Mişe-zâr tarafına firâr eylediği sen ki vezîr-i müşârünileyhsin tarafından ve Kırım Hanı cenâb-ı emâret-me'âb eyâlet-nisâb saâdet-iktisâb Selim Giray Han dâmet me'âliye hu cânibinden Dersâdetime i'lâm ve iş'âr olunmuş öteden beru rızâ-yı hümâyûnuma muhâlîf vaz' u harekete cesâret idenlerin keder ve vehâmeti yine kendülere âid ve râci' olageldiği ma'lûm ve bâ-husûs Sultân-ı mûmâileyh şâh-ı düdmân-ı Cengizîye'ye irâs-ı kesr u ta'yis edecek böyle bir emr-i nâ-mülâhiye mukadder olmak hasebiyle cümle beyninde ma'lûm ve mezmûm olmağla bundan sonra bir ferd kendüye sâhip çıkmayacağı bir dürlü yardım ve i'ânet itmeyeceği zâhir ve husûsan bundan mukaddemce sâdir olan evâmîr-i âliyyem mucemberince tarafına bir kimse varmak ve anın etbâ'ından berü cânibe ferd-i vâhid gelmemek üzere sedd-i bendi iktizâ iden mahaller tahassun ve teşdîd olunduğu eğerçi meczûm ve bâhirdir lakin sultân-ı mezbûr ber-minvâl-ı mestûr hem Devlet-i Aliyyeme ve hem Kırım Hanına ve hanedân-ı Cengizîye'ye bir gûne habâset ve adem-i itâat itdikleri için tecessüs ve tefahhus olunarak Memâlik-i Mahrûsem hudûdu dahilinde bir yerde olduğu haber alunur ise derhâl bulunduğu mahalde kendüsü ve yanında ma'iyeti olan hâinler yakalatdurulub alâ eyyi hâl ahz ve ele getirülmek ve sultân-ı merkûm ve yanında bulunan Tatar taifesi ahz olunduklarında Bucak Seraskerine teslim ve Osmanludan olan ma'iyetleri ma'rifetiniz ile muhkem habs ve tazyîk ve keyfiyetleri i'lâm ve tefhîm olunmak fermânım olub ve husûs-ı mezbûr Hotin ve Özi muhâfızlarına ve Boğdan Voyvodasına başka başka evâmîr-i âlişânımla tenbîh olunmağla sana dahi işbu emr-i şerîfîm ısdâr ve () ile irsâl olunmuştur. İmdi vusûlünde sultân-ı mezbûra dâhil-i hudûd-ı Memâlik-i hüsrevânemde olanlardan bundan böyle herkim i'ânet ider ise ol dahi âsî ve bâğî olacağını ifhâmî iktizâ idenlere izhâr ve ve işâat ve ele girdiklerinde bilâ-eman haklarından gelineceğini derhâl i'lâm ve işâret iderek Bender hudûd-ı dâhilinde olan memur ve mu'berleri mukâddema sâdir olan emr-i şerîfîm mantûki üzere muhkem sed u bend ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsem hudûd-ı dâhillerinde kendüsünü ve mai'yetlerini dâima tecessüs ve tefahhusdan bir an halî olmayarak ve memûr olan mumâileyhüm ile haberleşerek ve Han-ı müşârünileyh tarafından dahi eğer bir haber vârid olur ise muktezâsıyla hareket eyleyerek dâhil-i hudûd-ı Memâlik-i Mahrûsemde bir yerde olduğu haber alunur ise bağteten cümlesini ahz ve sultân-ı mûmâileyhi ve ele giren Tatar tâ'ifesini serasker sultâna teslim olunduktan sonra Osmanlu makûlesini tarafından muhkem habs ve keyfiyeti arz idüb lakin bu bâbda ziyade taharrî ve basîret ve kemâl-i ihtiyât ve dikkat üzere hareket ve nâ-mülâyim bir nesne hudûsundan be-gayet tehâşî mübâadet eylemen bâbında fermân-ı âlişânım sâdir olmuştur.

Fî Evahir-i Z 1160/24 December 1747-1 January 1748

Bir sûreti Özi kalesi Muhâfızına ve Yeniçeri Zâbitine

Bir sûreti Hotin Muhâfızına ve Alaybeğisine ve Yeniçeri zabıtine

Bir sûreti Boğdan Voyvodasına,

Bir sûreti Bender Muhâfız Beyi Yunus Beye ve Yeniçeri Zâbitine

Document 3: TSMA. E. 569/58.

Benim saâdetlü mekremetlü semâhatlü birâder-i celilü's-şânım düstûr-ı âli-unvân hazretleri

Hemvâre masûn vikâyetü'l-avn-i samedâni olmakda deymûmiyetleri duâsından sonra şahs-ı ma'hûda tarafımızdan re'y verilmek musammem idüğü bundan mukaddemce Divân efendileri bendeleri vürudunda kendüye tefhîmen cânib-i şeref-i câlib-i vezîrânelerine ifâde olunmuşdu.

Hâlâ merkûm-ı ma'hûda tasmîm olunduğu üzere re'y virilüb tarafımıza vürüd eylediğinden fîmâba'd Bender'e duhûlden teneffür ve tevahhuş eylememesi zâhir ve bedîhi olmağla ba'd-ezin muhlis-i bi-müberrâları Devlet-i Aliyye'ye varub avdet idince merkûmın hakkında menvî ve derkâr olan emrin infâz ve icrâsı ta'vîk ve fîmâba'd muhlisiniz ile meyânede tekrâr muhâbere oluncaya dek teennî ve tehîr buyurub ol taraflara vardıkça kendüden def'i-vaşete bâdî ve min külli'l vücûh selâmet ve emniyeti mü'eddî muâmeleleri müşâhedesine ve bu misüllü istimâlet haline himmet-i aliyyeleri derkâr buyurulmak muktezâ-yı halden olmağla bu husûs ma'lûm-ı saâdetleri buyurulub ve keyfiyet şimdilik iktizâ-yı hale göre cenâb-ı saâdete bu siyâkda tavsiye olunduğu inşâllahu teâlâ Devlet-i Aliyyeye vusûlümüzde irâd ve ifâde olunacağı dahi karîn-i ilm-i şerif buyurulmak için kâime-i muhabbet-hitâm tahrîrine ibtidâr olundu. Bi avnillahi teâlâ ahvâl muhât-ı ilm-i saâdetleri oldukda merkûm ol caniblere vardıkça kendüye tahsil-i emniyeti mü'eddî muâmele olunarak hakkında bundan evvel derkâr olan husûs icrâsı muhlisiniz Devlet-i Aliyyeye varub avdet idinceye dek te'hîr ve tekrâr cenâb-ı saâdetleriyle meyânede muhâbere olunmasına ta'lik buyurulması me'mûldür. Şimdilik iktizâ-yı hal bu vech üzere olmağla İnşallah bundan sonra lâzime-i ahvâl yine savb-ı pür-şerefe ifâde olunur

Selim Giray Han

ب

۱۱۵۹

۳۸۰۴

بنام ساد نو مکر منو سما خلو براد و جلیل نام سبور حقیقہ احمدی
 هواریه مهون وقایه العون صدقانی اولمعه و مجتهدی دعای
 سکریه شخصی مایوده طرزون رای و بریلان مضم امرونی بوزن
 مقدسجه دیوان افندی بنی و ری و رود و کندی و غیره
 جانب سرف خالب و زبانه لزمه افاده افندی حاله مرفوم
 مایوده نصیم اولدی و اوزره رای و بریلان طرز و رود
 ایدر کین بقا بعد بندره و خوردن تنفر و خوشی ایلمی
 حق و برایی اولمعه بعد ازین مخلص براری دولت عیدیه
 واروی عودق ابرخه مرفوم حقیق منوی و درکار
 اولی امرای افاده و اجرایی نوبه و بقا بعد مخلص
 میانه و خوار خابره اولمعه دن نانی و ناخیز بوری
 اولمعه و اردمجه کندی و درخ و حشنه با دی و
 کل الوجوه سلامت و استیغ مودی معامله ری مشاهد
 و بونقله امانت حاله حق عودی و درکار سیدیه
 حادین اولمعه بوضوح معلوم ساد نری بوری و نسبت
 شد بلان اقتضا حاله کوره جناب مایوده بوسایقن نوصیه
 اولدی آن الله فانی و کندی و صلیبده و صلیبده ایراد افاده
 اولمعه حقیق و بی علم شریف بوری ایچون فاعه تحت ختام
 کوزینه ایدر اولدی بعونه فانی اموال محاط علم ساد نری
 اولمعه مرفوم اولجا بنیره و اردمجه کندی به تحصیل استیغ مودی
 معامله اولمعه حقیق بوزن اولی و درکار اولان خصوصی
 اجرایی مخلص دولت عیدیه واروی عودق ایدر خدی و ناخیز
 و خوار جناب مایوده میانه و خابره اولمعه فلیق سیدیه
 منظر شد بلان اقتضا حال بودجه اوزره اولمعه آن الله
 بوزن سکوه لازمه احوال بنی صلیب سرف افاده اولمعه

TSMA-E 569/58

4

Document 3: TSMA. E. 569/58.

Document 4. A.DVNS.KLB. d.10, Page: 20.

Kalgay-ı sâbık Şahin Giray Sultâna ve dergâh-ı mu‘allâm gedüklülerinden olub mukaddemâ mûmâileyhi Rodos’a isâle mübâşir ta‘yîn olunan Abdurrahman zide mecduhûya hüküm ki;

Sen ki sultân-ı mûmâileyhsin düdmân-ı Cengizye’nin ulüvvü kadr u şân semmû-rif’at ünvanı ne derecede idiği ma‘lûm ve hanedân-ı merkûmeye müntesib olanlar dahi Devlet-i Aliyyemin kulluğunda ve Kırım Hanlarının itâ’etlerinde ne rütbede sebât-kadem üzere oldukları meczûm olmakdan naşi sen dahi ol hanedân-ı alîşân ve ol düdmân-ı meâli-unvanın keşide rişte-i silsilelerinden olman hasebiyle tabi‘iyet-i asliyenin pâk ve mücellâ ve şîme-i himmetin nâ-hemvâr vaz’ u hareket irtikâbından beri ve mukarrer hod be hod senden na-marzî hâlet zuhûr değil belki zelle sudûru bile vukû’ bulmak emr-i muhâl ad olunub ve hatta mukaddemâ tarafından hudûs iden ba‘zı gûne nâ-münâsib vaz’-ı mücerred sû-i karîn beliyyesi idüğü vâzih ve aşîkâr olduğunu ve sen zâtında asil ve nesîb olmağla her halde ribka-ı itâati zîver-kerden rızâ ve ubûdiyet ideceğini bi’l-fiil Kırım Hanı cenâb-ı emâret-meâb eyâlet-nisâb saâdet-iktisâb Selim Giray Han dâmet me‘âliyhû cenâbları mukaddemâ tahrîr ve inhâ ve afvın husûsu iltimâs ve ricâ eylediklerine binâen ta‘yîn olunan salyânen ile gelüb Rodos Cezîresinde ikâmet eylemen bâbında Han-ı alîşân -ı müşârünileyhin iltimâsları karîn-i kabûl ve bu vechile emr-i şerîfim ısdârıyla mübâşir-i mûmâileyh me’mûr olmuş idi. El hâletü hâzihî vârid olan tahrîrât muktezâsınca zâtında olan rüşd ü kiyâset ve asâlet ve necâbeti icrâ ve düdmânınızın revnak ve izzeti olan madde-i itâat ve inkıyâdı ibkâ ve ni‘am-ı afv ü inâyet-i hüsrevânem teşekkürünü icrâ zımında bilâ-tehîr emr-i şerîfime itâat ve mübâşir-i mûmâileyh maiyyeti ile savb-ı memûre azîmet eylediğin sem‘-i hümâyûnuma vâsıl olmak hasebiyle bu gûne vaki olan hüsn-i hareket ve emr-i şerîfime sür‘at-ı imtisâl ve mutâvaatın hakkında olan gerdûn-ı dûn ve iğbibârı bi’l-küllîye izâle idüb karîben müsâade-i hümâyûnum zuhûru ile yine çiftliğinde gelüb ikâmete sühûlet ve medâr olmak için Rodos’a olan memûriyetin Sakız Cezîresine sarf ve tahvîl ve sebkât iden afv ve inâyet-i mülûkânem şimdilik bu vechile tezyîl olunduğundan mâadâ sana vesîle-i mahzûziyet ve bâis-i teselliyet olmak için yanında olan karındaşın Mahmud Giray zide mecdûhû gelüb Yanbolu’da senin çiftliğinde ikâmet eylemek üzere izn-i hümâyûnum erzânî kılınmağla işbu emr-i şerîfim ısdâr ve () ile irsâl olunmuşdur. İmdi taraf-ı hümâyûnuma olan mutâvaat ve inkıyâdın icâletü’l-vakt bu vechile semere ve fâidesi zuhûr eylediği ma‘lûmın oldukda bundan böyle dahi hüsn-ü hareket ve etvârın mesmû’ oldukça hakkında olan mekârim-i mülûkânem müterakki ve müzdâd ve müddet-i kalîle zarfında çiftliğinde gelüb ikâmete müsâade-i hümâyûnum sudûruyla mesrûru’l-fuad olacağını fikr ve mülâhaza iderek şimdilik doğru Sakız’a gelüb anda ikâmet ve ta‘yîn olunan salyâneyi ahz birle devâm-ı ömr-i devlet-i şâhânem de‘avâtına muvâzabet eyleyüb ve karındaşın Mahmud Giray’ı Yanbolu’da olan çiftliğine gönderüb ol dahi anda meks itmesi tavsiye ve tenbîh eylesin ve sen ki mübâşir-i mûmâileyhsin bervech-i muharrer sultân-ı mûmâileyhi doğru Sakız’a isâl ve vusûlünü müş‘ir senedât ile Dersaâdetime avdet eylemen bâbında fermân-ı alîşân sâdir olmuşdur.

Fî Evâhir Rebiülahir sene [1]161/20-28 April 1748

(1) ... (2) ... (3) ... (4) ... (5) ... (6) ... (7) ... (8) ... (9) ... (10) ... (11) ... (12) ... (13) ... (14) ... (15) ... (16) ... (17) ... (18) ... (19) ... (20) ... (21) ... (22) ... (23) ... (24) ... (25) ... (26) ... (27) ... (28) ... (29) ... (30) ... (31) ... (32) ... (33) ... (34) ... (35) ... (36) ... (37) ... (38) ... (39) ... (40) ... (41) ... (42) ... (43) ... (44) ... (45) ... (46) ... (47) ... (48) ... (49) ... (50) ... (51) ... (52) ... (53) ... (54) ... (55) ... (56) ... (57) ... (58) ... (59) ... (60) ... (61) ... (62) ... (63) ... (64) ... (65) ... (66) ... (67) ... (68) ... (69) ... (70) ... (71) ... (72) ... (73) ... (74) ... (75) ... (76) ... (77) ... (78) ... (79) ... (80) ... (81) ... (82) ... (83) ... (84) ... (85) ... (86) ... (87) ... (88) ... (89) ... (90) ... (91) ... (92) ... (93) ... (94) ... (95) ... (96) ... (97) ... (98) ... (99) ... (100) ...

REFERENCES

1. Gurr, Ted Robert. “A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices”, *The American Political Science Review*, December 1968, Vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 1104–1124.
2. Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, New York, 2016. 423 p.
3. Eckstien, Harry. “On the Etiology of Internal Wars”, *History and Theory*, 1965, Vol. 4, no. 2, 1965, pp. 133–163.
4. Klein, Denise. “Tatar and Ottoman History Writing The Case of Nogay Rebellion 1699–1701”, *The Crimean Khanate Between East and West*, edited by Denise Klein, 2012 Wiesbaden, pp. 125–146.
5. Bülbül, İsmail. “Yedisian-Bucak Nogaylarının 1756 ve 1758 İsyancıları”, *Türk Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.1, Sayı 1, 2016, s. 74–113. (In Turkish)
6. Peçuylu İbrahim Efendi, *Tarih-i Peçuylu*, Vol. 2, Matbaa-i Amire, İstanbul, H. 15 Safer 1283/29 Haziran 1866. 487 p. (In Ottoman Turkish)
7. Ostapchuk, Victor. *The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier and the Relations of Porte With the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy 1622-1628*, unpublished PHD, University of Harvard, 1989. 322 p.
8. Başer, Alper. *Bucak Tatarları*, unpublished PHD, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Afyon 2010. 242 p. (In Turkish)
9. Söylemez, Yavuz. “Osmanlı Sarayında Katledilen Bir Kırım Hanı: İnalet Giray Han”, *Karadeniz Araştırmaları XIV/55 Güz*, pp. 209–224. (In Turkish)
10. Fisher, Alan. “Crimean Separatism in The Ottoman Empire”, *Between Russians, Ottomans and Turks: Crimea and Crimean Tatars*, Isis Press, İstanbul 1998, pp. 79–92.
11. Oleksa Gaivoronski. Poveliteli dvukh materikov. Tom. 1: Krymskie Khany XV–XVI Stoleti i Bor’ba za Nasledstvo Velikoi Ordy, Kiev; Oranta, Maisteriä Knigi, Bakhchisarai 2010. [Олекса Гайворонский. Повелители двух материков. Том. 1: Крымские ханы XV–XVI столетий и борьба за наследство Великой Орды, Киев; Бахчисарай, 2010], 396 p. (In Russian)
12. Gökbilgin, Özalp. 1532-1577 Yılları Arasında Kırım Hanlığı’nın Siyasi Durumu, Sevinç Matbaası, Ankara 1973, 101 p. (In Turkish)
13. Kaysunizade Remmal Hoca, *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han*, edited by. Özalp Gökbilgin, Baylan Matbaası. Ankara, 1973. 313 p. (In Turkish)
14. Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Târîh-i Çelebizâde*, (1134–1141/1722–1729), edited by. Abdülkadir Özcan, Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır, Klasik Yayınları, İstanbul 2013. 1952 p. (In Turkish)
15. Halim Giray, Gülbün-ü Hanan [Kırım Hanları Tarihi], edited by Alper Başer-Alper Günaydın, İstanbul Üniversitesi Avrasya Enstitüsü Yayınları, İstanbul, 2013. 121 p. (In Turkish)
16. Abdulgaffar-ı Kırımı, *Umdetu’l Ahbar*, Volume I, Seriya «Yazma Miras. Pis’mennoe Nasledie. Textual Heritage». edited by Derya Derin Paşahoğlu, Kazan: Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences Publ. Kazan 2014, 419 p. (In Turkish)
17. Seyyid Mehmed Rızâ, *Es-Seb’üs-Seyyâr Fî Ahbar-ı Mülûki’t-Tatar (İnceleme-Tenkitledi Metin)* edited by Yavuz Söylemez, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2020, 470 p. (In Turkish)
18. Avakov P.A., Bespyatykh Yu.N. The Crimean Khanate in 1736 according to the Account of the French Consul, Adam Yavoroka. *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie=Golden Horde Review*. 2020, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 127–146. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2020-8-1.127-146 (In Russian)
19. Hurremî Abdurrahman Efendi, *Çelebi Akay Tarihi*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, nr. T 399. (Manuscript in Ottoman Turkish)

20. Said Giray Sultan, *Tarih-i Said Giray Han*, Berlin, Staasbibliothek. (Manuscript in Ottoman Turkish)

21. Smirnov, V.D. Osmanlı Dönemi Kırım Hanlığı Tarihi, Translator: Ahsen Batur, Selenge Yayınları, İstanbul 2016. [В.Д. Смирнов, Крымское ханство под верховенством Османской Порты до начала XVIII века. СПб., 1887], 681 p. (In Turkish)

22. Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV. Vol. 2. Kısım, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 2011, 681 p. (In Turkish)

23. İzzî Süleymân Efendi, İzzî Tarihi (Osmanlı Tarihi 1157–1165/1744–1752), (İnceleme-Metin), edited by Ziya Yılmaz, Türkiye Yazma eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları: 119, İstanbul, 2019. 1282 p. (In Turkish)

24. Arkhiv Kosha Novoi Zaporoz'koi Sichi. 1734–1775. Korpus dokumentiv. Tom 1. Kiiv, 1998; Document : 329. Holovne arkhivne upravlinna pry Kabineti ministriv Ukraïny; tsentral'nyi derhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukraïny [*Архив Коша Нової Запорозької Січі. 1734–1775. Корпус документів*. Т. 1. Київ, 1998], 692 p. (In Ukrainian)

25. Kırım Hanlarına Name-i Hümayun (2 Numaralı Name Defteri), edited by Murat Cebecioglu, etc. T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, Yayın nu: 123, İstanbul, 2013, 288 p. (In Turkish)

26. Novoselskiy A.A. XVII. Yüzyılın Birinci Yarısında Moskova Devleti'nin Tatarlarla Mücadelesi, Translator: Kemal Ortaylı, edited by. İlyas Kemaloğlu-Erhan Afyoncu, Türk tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2011. [Новосельский А.А. Борьба Московского государства с татарами в первой половине XVII века. М.: Издательство Академии Наук СССР (1948)], 484 p. (In Turkish)

27. Kolodziejczyk, Darisuz. Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century) An Annotated Edition of Ahnames and Other Documents, Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2000. 721 p. (In Turkish-English)

28. *Sbornik Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva. Tom 80*, Tipografia Imperatorskoï Akademii Nauk, Saint Petersburg 1892. [Сборник Русского исторического общества. Т. 80, Типография Императорской Академии Наук, СПб., 1892], 932 p. (In Russian)

29. Kochekaev, Bi-Arslan Bal'bekovich. *Nogaysko-Russkiye Otnosheniya v XV–XVIII*, Alma-Ata, Izd-vo «Nauka» Kazakhskoi SSR, 1988. [Кочеекаев Б.-А.Б. Ногайско-Русские отношения в XV–XVIII вв, Алма-Ата: Наука КазССР], 267 p. (In Russian)

30. Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı, présenté par Alexandre Benningsen, Pertev Naili Boratav, Dilek Desai, Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejey, Mouton Editeur, Ecole Des Hautes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1978. 458 p. (In French)

31. Mustafa Kesbi, İbretümâ-yı Devlet (*Tahlil ve Tenkitli Metin*), Haz. Ahmet Öğreten, Türk tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2002. [According to Feridun M. Emecen, İbretümâ-yı Devlet is written by Mehmed Haşim Efendi not Mustafa Kesbi], 654 p. (In Turkish)

32. Peisonel' M. Issledovanie Torgovli Na Cherkessko-Abkhazskom Beregu Chërnogo Moria v 1750–1762 Godakh, v Izlozhenii E.D. Felitsina, Izdanie Obshchestva izucheniya Adugeïskoi avtonomnoi oblasti. Krasnodar, 1927. [Пейсонель М. Исследование торговли на Черкесско-Абхазском берегу Чёрного моря в 1750–1762 годах, в изложении Е.Д. Фелицина, Издание Общества изучения Адыгейской автономной области. Краснодар, 1927] 35 p. (In Russian)

33. Başer, Alper. “Conflicting Legitimacies in the Triangle of the Noghay Hordes, Crimean Khanate, and Ottoman Empire”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 36, no. 1–2, 2019, pp. 105–122. (In English)

34. Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, edited by Ali Çavuşoğlu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. Ankara, 2020. 1169 p. (In Turkish)

About the author: Alper Başer – Associate Professor of the Department of History, Afyon Kocatepe University (Ahmet Necdet Sezer Kampüsü Merkez, Gazlıgöl Yolu, 03200, Afyonkarahisar Merkez/Afyonkarahisar, Turkey). E-mail: baseralperhidayet@gmail.com

*Received April 28, 2022 Accepted for publication August 24, 2022
Published September 29, 2022*

ВОССТАНИЕ СУЛТАНА ШАХИН-ГИРЕЯ (1746–1747)

Альпер Башер

*Университет Афьон Кокатепе
Афьонкарахисар, Турция
baseralperhidayet@gmail.com*

Цель исследования: анализ причин, развития и последствий восстания султана Шахин-Гирея в истории Крымского ханства.

Материалы исследования: документы, хранящиеся в архиве дворца-музея Топкапы и в Департаменте османских архивов Государственного управления при Президенте Турецкой Республики. Эти документы сопоставляются с османско-татарскими хрониками того периода (Иззи Тарихи, Челеби Акай Тарихи, Тарих-и Саид-Гирей Султан).

Результаты и научная новизна: наиболее подробную оценку восстания Шахин-Гирея Султана можно найти в книге В.Д. Смирнова о Крымском ханстве, которая перекликается со сведениями, приведенными в османской хронике Иззи Тарихи. В настоящем исследовании архивные документы дворца-музея Топкапы под номерами TSMA-E 408-55, TSMA-E 569-58 и TSMA-E 751-49, а также дефтеры (Mühimme и Kalebend), хранящиеся в Департаменте османских архивов Управления государственных архивов при Президенте Турецкой Республики, сравниваются с другими источниками. В свете этих документов дается новая оценка восстанию под предводительством султана Шахин-Гирея. Документы, считающиеся важными и содержащие подробности жизни Шахин-Гирея и хода восстания, были транслитерированы и представлены к публикации.

Ногайцы, проживающие в Буджакском районе, составляли социальную базу восстания Шахин-Гирея. Восстание вспыхнуло из-за желания Порты развернуть татарские силы на иранском фронте, нарастающих усилий Османской империи по централизации на русско-польской и украинской границах, а также давления на татарское общество с целью возвращения русских пленников войны 1736-1739 гг. Восстание вспыхнуло преждевременно после того, как Порты и Селим-Гирей-хан сговорились нейтрализовать Шахин-Гирея. Крайние меры, предпринятые Османской империей и Крымским ханством, предотвратили распространение восстания, и повстанцы во главе с султаном Шахин-Гиреем были легко разбиты, что привело к подавлению восстания.

Ключевые слова: султан Шахин-Гирей, восстание, Османская империя, Крымское ханство, ногайцы

Для цитирования: Başer A. The rebellion of Şahin Giray Sultan (1746–1747) // Золотоордынское обозрение. 2022. Т. 10, № 3. С. 672–692. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2022-10-3.672-692 EDN: EXZRWJ

Сведения об авторе: Альпер Башер – доцент кафедры истории, Университет Афьон Кокатепе (Афьонкарахисар, Турция). E-mail: baseralperhidayet@gmail.com

*Поступила 28.04.2022 Принята к публикации 24.08.2022
Опубликована 29.09.2022*