

Development of the Ukrainian Cossacks and Activities of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky According to the Data from Turkish Written Sources and Historiography

Türk Kaynakları ve Tarihçilerine Göre Ukrayna Kazakları ve Dmytro Vyshnevetski'nin Faaliyetleri

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Abstract

This is a study of the development of the Ukrainian Cossacks, particularly the military activities of Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky. The policy of the High Porte has been described concerning prevention of actions from the side of Ukrainian Cossacks against the High Porte and the Crimean Khanate in the Near-Azov Sea Area. There has been analysed the political situation, which set in the relations between the Ottoman Empire, Muscovite Tsardom and Poland in the second half of the 16th century. The historical circumstances have been considered, that accounted for the strengthening of the significance of the Ukrainian Cossacks factor, as a cultural and social phenomenon in Europe, as well as the actual existence of stable contacts between the Cossacks and peoples of the Northern Caucasus.

Keywords: Turkish Ottoman writing source, Ukrainian Cossacks, Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, Azov, Crimean Khanate, High Porte, historiography.

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Bu makale iThenticate sistemi tarafından taranmıştır.

Makale Gönderim Tarihi: 28.02.2017

DOI: 10.17550/akademikincelemeler.306472

Öz

Çalışma, Ukrayna Kazaklarının, özellikle Ataman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky'nin faaliyetleriyle ilgilidir. Osmanlı hükümetinin Ukrayna Kazaklarının Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kırım Hanlığı'na karşı yürüttüğü faaliyetlerin durdurulması istikametindeki politikaları değerlendirilmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Moskof Çarlığı ve Polonya krallıkları arasında XVI. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısında cereyan eden ilişkiler analiz edilmektedir. Kazaklar ve Kuzey Kafkasya halkları arasındaki gerçek ilişkiler ve Avrupa'da sosyal ve kültürel fenomen olarak Ukrayna Kazaklarının öneminin artmasında tarihsel faktörlerin baş rolü oynadığı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Türk, Osmanlı, Yazalı Kaynak, Ukrayna Kazakları, Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, Azak, Kırım Hanlığı, Osmanlı Hükümeti, Tarihçilik*

The actual importance of studying the issue of the development of the Ukrainian Cossacks is in the point, that Turkish Ottoman written documents include important data about the military and political activities of Ukrainian hetmans, particularly those of Dmytro Korbut-Vyshnevetsky (life years: 1516/1517–1563; ruling years: 1553–1563). Studying these documents makes it possible to get a vaster-context look at the said historical person, and in particular – during his political activities in relation of the Ottoman Empire and Crimean Khanate¹. It has already been found, that the period of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky's ruling coincides with exacerbation of the interstate relations of the High Porte with the Muscovite Trardom during the ruling of the Muscovite Tsar Ivan IV (1547 – the crowning, 1584 – the end of the ruling). The government of the Ottoman State expressed its strong worrying about such a scenario of the events, and that fact was reflected in the written documents we have studied, partially in the ones kept in the “*Mühimme Defterleri*” Funds. For example, it was stated, that surrounding “by the Cossack guide “Dmytrash” by name² in the Fortress of Azov in 1559 made the ruling circles of the High Porte worrying, for the said fortress was the strongest of all the other Turkish

1 Relations between the High Porte and Crimean Khanate in the second half of the 16th century were studied according the data available in the fund “Registers of Important Documents” (“*Mühimme Defterleri*”), where are located registers of the documents relating to important events, decisions, resolutions concerning the activities of the Ottoman government, and which are kept in the state archive of the Ottoman-Empire period of the history of Turkey (BOA – Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv / Ottoman Archive of the Main Office of the Cabinet of Ministers (of the Turkish Republik)/ See: Emine Erdoğan Üzünlü, *Mühimme Defterlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı-Kırım Hanlığı İlişkileri, Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi, Sayı 27, Konya / Türkiye, Bahar, 2010, s. 489–503*; Also see: Yücel Öztürk, Dimitriy İvanoviç Vişnevetskiy ve Faaliyetleri, *SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Sayı 9, İsparta / Türkiye, 2003, s. 95–140*. For considering the issues relating the personality and activities of Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky in the Ukrainian Historiography relating to the 19th till the beginning of the 21st centuries see: Thesis in candidacy for the academic degree of the Candidate of Historical Sciences, Speciality – 07.00.06 “Historiography, sources studying and special historical disciplines” / Natalia Ivanivna Romantsova, *Zaporizhia National University, 2007, 20 pp.*; Romantsova Natalia. The personality of Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky in the Ukrainian Historiography relating to the 19th – 21st centuries: Monography / Natalia Romantsova. — Mariupol : Mariupolsky Derzhavnyi Universytet, 2013, 216 pp.

2 There is meant the Ukrainian Ruler Dmytro Vyshnevetsky.

fortification structures, that existed then within the areas, being in possession of the Ottoman, and adjoined the Azov seashore. It was for this reason, aiming at stopping the seizure of the fortification, the operation was performed by Ukrainian Cossacks headed by Dmytro Korubut Veshnevetsky, and from the capital of the High Porte there were discontinuously sent additional detachments of the governmental army and products as an urgent help. These actions reached their aim, and the army of the Ukrainian Cossacks were defeated in battles near Azov³. However, this victory of the armed forces of the High Porte did not last long. Due to the data from the manuscript documents we have studied, Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky got again together an army of 10,000 Ukrainian Cossacks and pushed forward to the attack on the side of Muscovia, but this army was defeated again. Though the Turkish government was not sure at all, that from that time on attacks of the Ukrainian Cossack Army on possessions of the High Porte in the said region would stop. That is why that government warned⁴ the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray [I] (ruling years: 1551–1577) against the probability of repeating those attacks and called the ruler of the Crimean Khanate to be cautious and ready for fulfilling tasks in such a situation.⁵ The documents show, that the offensive actions in the Northern Near-Azov Area of the Ukrainian Cossacks Army, being and ally of the Muscovite Trardom, headed by Prince Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky, were obviously dangerous for the military and political positions of the High Porte in the Near-Azov Area. Particularly, important information is available in the document that is being kept in the archive of the Topkapy Museum that is located in Istanbul. “Sultan Suleyman

3 There is meant the Cossacks Army under the commandment of Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky.

4 Probably, there is meant the warning of the Turkish government, particularly by Sultan Suleyman Kanuni.

5 Emine Erdoğan Üzünlü, aynı eser, s. 491–492; BAO, MD, Nu : 3 (Hicrî : 966–968 / Milâdî : 1558–1560), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu : 12, Dîvân-ı Humâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I, Yayına hazırlayanlar: Nezih Aykut, İdris Bostan, Murat Cebecioğlu, Feridun Emecen, Mücteba İlgürel, Mehmet vb, Ankara, 1993, s. 45–46.

Kanuni's order to a Kafa sanjak ruler (سَنجاق بَگی)⁶ Sinan-Bey⁷ dated from 1561. This document, which has the Sultan's tugra, was an instruction reply to the previously sent addressing from Sinan-Bey. The contents of this document demonstrates, that "Dmytrash" (Dmytro Vyshnevetsky) with all his Circassian detachments initially took an offensive attack on the fortress of Azov, and then he changed his mind and decided to conquer island fortresses. So Sinan-Bey was given the task to ensure defence of the Fortress of Azov and of other Turkish fortifications located in the said region. The needs of those undertakings, to the opinion of the Turkish sultan, was accounted for by the fact, that the armed detachments of Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky sieged the Turkish Fortress of Temriuk⁸, that is on the southern-eastern shore of the Azov, and after a three-day battle they conquered this strategically important point, set up in the Near-Azov Area by the High Porte in the defence system of this state. A high level of the military capabilities of the said army is manifested also on the basis of specific undertaken measures, which were to prevent further military actions from the side of the Ukrainian Cossacks unexpected for the military forces of the High Porte. Particularly, the ruler of a Kafa sanjak was supposed to be obliged the following: 1) to inform the government of the High Porte, through Khan Devlet Giray I, of the level of the preparation of the Ottoman Army's warriors mobilised for supporting of the military forces which opposed the Ukrainian Cossacks of Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky's army; 2) to inform of the tries of the Cossack Army to make attacks on separate formations of the High Porter's military

6 Sancak beyi – the title of the city ruler, as well as that of the commanfer of the Sipags, who was the owner of a timary, that is of a plot of land in th time of ruling of the Anatolian Turks-Seljuks and Turks-Ottomans that provided aa yearly profit in the amount of 320,000 akches. See: Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat, Yayına Hazırlayan: Aydın Sami Güneçal*, 11. Baskı, Ankara, Aydın Kitabevi Yayınları, 1993, s. 919, 955, 1195 s.

7 SMA, E. 9300 /14.

8 Ostapchuk Viktor. *Marches of the Cossacks to the Black Sea Area in the Maritime History by Katib Chelebi "The Gift of Great Men in Maritime Wars"*, *Mappa Mundi*. A collection of academic works for Yaroslav Dashkevych's 70th Anniversary. *Studia in honorem Jaroslavi Daškevyč septuagenario dicata*, Lviv, Kyiv , New-York : "M.P. Kots" Publishing House, 1996, p. 392.

forces, and, if anything like happens – to report where and when that occurred; 3) to keep track of possible reemployments and intentions of the army headed by Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky; 4) to identify opportunities for attacking the said army using the military forces of the high Porte aiming at destroying the first one; 5) to determine the opportunities for sending to the military forces of the High Porte, which were facing the army of Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky, new military detachments through the city being ruled by Sinan-bey⁹, or through some other city-ports¹⁰. Bearing in mind the source-study character of the problem, we have studied, we consider it is necessary to provide in appendices, as an example of the original facsimile, while giving below a transliteration, of the adapted text in Turkish, so as to understand right the contents of the text of this document. We provide here adequate translation of this document: “The Tuğra” to the Benevolent Ruler of Kafa sanjak ruler Sinan, a Strong Support of the Grand [People], Who Enjoys Great Respect and is Credited [by everybody]; Who Has Deep Knowledge, Specific Might and Respects a Lot Assistance from Great [Rulers], Let Him Be Glorious for a Long Time. After receiving this order of mine, you know, that it is my reply to your letter sent to me earlier to my palace with the message, that Dmytrash united with all the Circassians and decide to attack the Fortress of Azov, which was under protection. The said destroyer together with Circassians and Ruses available near the mentioned fortress, surrounded one fortress more – Temriuk, and he enslaved all the Circassians, invaded all their respective territory and the treasury and stayed there for the winter; you also wrote, that that enemy was very strong and aggressive, so you stressed the needs of having a numerous number of warriors. Therefore, in this respect a large army was sent to you, while I have to learn about the level of the [military] training of the army sent to you and, especially, about the enemy’s

9 There is meant the city of Kafa (Turkish: Kefe).

10 The text of the document consists of 18 lines, and it is written in the Ottoman Turkish language in the style *خط دیوانی* (Hatt-ı Dîvân-î), which in the English translation means “the style of writing texts of the documents for the Sultan’s divani”) and is kept in the archive of the Topkapy Museum. The date of writing this document was identified: it is approximately 4–14 June 1561 A.D. TSMA, E. 9300 /14.

position. I order you immediately, without any delays, to communicate to me the following data: is above mentioned destroyer still there?, how large is his army?, was he attacked, and when did that happened; if the said bandit has already left the place of his permanent deployment, or if he has already moved to another place, then what is the place he has moved to?, what was his aim and intentions?; is he going to change the place of his permanent dislocation, or has he vanished without any traces and become an invisible man?; if the location place of the said destroyer has been found, then will it be possible to destroy him together with his army?, and is there at all the enemy like the one he is spoken of? I sent the Grand Ruler Khan Devlet Giray [I] together with well-known commanders, so, how are they preparing [for fighting], where are and why?; what is known about the enemy's position? All that should be written to me about openly and to the point and sent to me through a respective letter-carrier. The time of favourable climatic conditions is coming to its end, that is why all the raised issues shall be communicated to me immediately and in details. Have already the sent ships with warriors arrived, or are they still dispersed on different places? If all the answers are in the affirmative, then how are the things concerning the supply of these warriors with provisions? Remember about the needs of informing me. Believe, what is said in our highly honourable Tugra? The place of writing [Istanbul]. The last decade of the Ramadan Month of 968 according to Hijri Calendar [4–14 June 1561 A.D.]”.

Having analysed all the data obtained from the above said considered hand-written documents, one can state, that under the historic conditions when the bulk of the military forces of the Muscovite Tsardom were involved in the military actions in the Volga Area, when those were intended on conquering Kazan Khanate and Astrakhan Khanate to Ivan, it was the Ukrainian Army headed by Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky, that happened to become the principal military force which carried out active military operations against the High Porte and Crimean Khanate in the Near-Azov Area. The same source enables us to analyse in more details the political situation that set in the relations between the Ottoman Empire, Muscovite Tsardom and Poland in the second half of the 16th century, and also to identify

the historical circumstances which account for rising the significance of the Ukrainian Cossack factor as the cultural and social phenomenon in Europe. ¹¹

The Turkish historian Yücel Öztürk, while studying the said problem on the base of the data available in the Ottoman Archive Fund “*Mühimme Defterleri*”, in his academic work, dedicated to analysis of the military and political activities of Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky, stated, that the formation of the Zaporozhian Cossackdom as a real political force between the frontiers of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire essentially effected the development of mutual relations between the said great states and the Muscovite Tsardom¹².

The analysis of the hand-written documents we are presenting here completely confirms the idea of the above said Turkish scholar. For the mighty army, headed by Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky, which consisted mainly of the Chercasy and Kaniv Cossacks, in the political situation, that existed in Eastern Europe in the middle of the 16th century, it was the military force which deterred the ottoman Empire from the military actions against Muscovia, so as to prevent the latter one from establishing its power over the said Turkish state formations in the Volga Area. The Cossack Army also compelled the Polish and Lithuanian Kingdom to active training, so as to counteract the aggression of the Muscovite Tsardom against the Livonian Order, that began after conquering by Ivan IV of Kazan Khanate and Astrakhan Khanate. In 1578 the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth had to get involved into the war with Muscovia¹³.

11 Yuriy M.F. Ukraine from the earliest time to the 18th century: the civilisational context of perception / M. F. Yuriy, L. M. Alexiyevets', Ya. S. Kalakura, O. A. Udod, Ternopil': Aston, 2012, Book I, pp. 578–687; Omeljan Pritsak, Rusların Kökeni, Omelyan Pritsak Armağanı (A tribute to Omeljan Pritsak), Editörler: Prof. Dr. Mehmet Alpargu, Doç. Dr. Yücel Öztürk, Sakarya Üniversitesi Yayını Nu : 51, Türkiye 2007, s. 41–97, Zaporog Kazakları Hakkında (bk.: s. 90–97).

Yücel Öztürk, Dimitriy İvanoviç Vişnevetskiy ve Faaliyetleri, SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Sayı 9, İsparta / Türkiye, 2003, s. 95–140.

Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s.103.

12 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s.103.

13 Rusyna O. V. The Livonian war of 1558–1583 / Olena Volodymyrivna Rusyna //

On the ground of the sources, which we have identified, we can more definitely identify the causes, scenario and the consequences of the above said military actions and, in particular, comprehend the geographical area, in which these events took place, as well as the time of the occurrence and chronology of the military marches under the head of Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky during 1559–1560. The first attack happened in June–July 1559¹⁴; the second one – in September 1559¹⁵; training for the third march started at the end of 1559 and lasted till the spring of 1560. Hence, the considered military actions of the Ukrainian Cossack Army in the Near-Azov Area took place 7 to 8 years after conquering by Ivan IV of Kazan, 3 to 4 years after conquering by Muscovia of the Astrakhan Khanate, and 2 years before the beginning of the Livonian War. Besides, there should be added, that Yücel Öztürk, having assessed the total number of the army of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky in 80,000 warriors, as well as the number of the Muscovite and Nogay soldiers (on the base of the archival documents available in the above said Fund), expressed the following idea: “The Kafa ruler Sinan-bey in regard with the information received from the Crimean Khan [Devlet Giray I] communicated to Istanbul, that Moscow had sent its two ambassadors to the Crimean Khan, so as to inform the latter about the point, that Dmytrash [Dmytro Vyshnevetsky] began an offensive on the Ottoman territory, aiming at not blaming them themselves with that¹⁶”. In this respect, the Khan informed the ottoman government of the following: “The Russians sent their numerous army in different directions, but because of the severe winter, or because they had grown weak and lost their martial spirit. Due to the data obtained from the intelligence service, there was identified the place of the location of Dmytrash [Dmytro Vyshnevetsky] in the vicinity of Orazga¹⁷ with 400 warriors; there was also revealed, that messages had

Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine: in 10 volumes / Editorial Board: V.A. Smoliiy (Head) et al., Kyiv : Naukova Dumka, 2009, Vol. 6 : La – Mi, 2009, pp. 202–203.

14 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s. 118–123.

15 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s. 123–127.

16 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s.133.

17 Orağzı – the name of a locality or an area in Rumeli (Halil İnalçık, Rumeli, İslam

been received about the arrival of 5,000 more well-armed warriors¹⁸. Taking in consideration these data, the scholar came to the conclusion, that because of all those undertakings of the Ottoman government, the third attack of the Army of Hetman Vyshnevetsky did not occur at all¹⁹.

The Turkish archival documents, being kept in the Fund “Registers of Important Documents”²⁰, also include a great deal of information about the political activities of Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky. This conclusion is confirmed with the data of the Turkish historiography of the Ottoman period, partially by the studies of contemporary Turkish historians. In the above said fund there are also documents including essential fixed data about the important events, decision and resolutions of the Ottoman government during the period 1558–1560, and besides, some of them concern the political activities of Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky. For example, these documents are as follows: 1) “Order to the Commander Dervish Mehmed of the Fortress of Azov” (the date of the document writing – 2 July 1559) under # 81. This archival document tells us about sending by Turkish ships a special forces detachment and a unit of Janissaries to the fortress of Azov, so as to ensure defending the said fortress. This measure was taken after the Kafa city Head Sinan-bey’s addressing with the request for assisting the military post of the fortress pf Azov surrounded by the enemy, particularly by the army of Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky²¹; 2) Archival Document n der the inventory # 83 dated from 2 July 1559, which contains data about the Order [of Sultan

Ansiklopedisi, Cilt 35, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmalar Merkezi, İstanbul, 2008, s. 232–235).

18 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s.134.

19 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s. 134.

20 BOA, MD, Nu: 3, Hicrî : 996–968 / Hicrî: Milâdî: 1558–1560, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu : 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I, Yayına hazırlayanlar: Nezih Aykut, İdris Bostan, Murat Cebecioğlu, Feridun Emecen, Mücteba İlgürel, Mehmet İpşirli vb, Ankara, 1993, s. 45–47, 463–464, 561–562, 562–563.

21 BOA, MD, Nu: 3, Hicrî : 966–968 / Milâdî : 1558–1560, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 12, Dîvân-ı Humâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I . . . , s. 45–46.

Suleyman Kanuni] addressed on the name of the Head of Kafa city [Sinan-bey], as the reply to the request of the latter one in relation of the military actions of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky's Army against the Ottoman lands, particularly against the Fortress of Azov. This order runs about the needs to strengthen the Turkish Navy, indicates the urgent necessity in regard of that to build a sea port, as well as about the needs to fulfil Sinan-Bey's request for the sultan to send Muscovite Tsar the instruction to stop the attacks. Besides, there was communicated about the cooperation between the Nogay beys with the Muscovite military forces and Ukrainian Cossacks²²; 3) Archival under # 1047 dated from 2 May 1560. This document informs about the order of the above said sultan to Silistra's (on Balkan Peninsula) Commander Sinan-pasha and mentions about the union between Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky and the Muscovite army. There were also stated the following points: aiming at putting the end to the danger from the side of the enemy, orders were sent to the Crimean Khan, the Ruler of the Fortress of Kafa and to Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet, for those, if any need arises, those would act jointly with the commanders of the Tatars, while the city of Akkerman would have to provide assistance for ensuring the defence of the city of Azov²³; 4) Archival Document under # 1265 dated from 18 June 1560, which includes the reply of the above said sultan to the reporting letter received from the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray in connection with the Russian Army. There is also communicated about the location place of the enemy – Dmytro Vyshnevetsky heading his army of 400 warriors armed with 5,000 rifles, and about the decision-making of performing repair works in the Fortress of Azov²⁴; 5) Archival Document under

22 BOA, MD, Nu: 3, Hicrî: 996–968 / Milâdi: 1558–1560, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu : 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ... , s. 46–47.

23 BOA, MD, Nu: 3, Hicrî: 996–968 / Milâdi: 1558–1560, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ... , s. 463–464.

24 BOA, MD, Nu: 3, Hicrî: 996–968 / Milâdi: 1558–1560, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ... , s. 561–562.

1266, which mentions the order from the Sultan to Sinan-Bey (dated from 18 June 1560) about the activities of Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky and includes data referring to writing a reply to the addressing of the Muscovite Ambassador, particularly about the point, that Moscow stopped being responsible for the attacks committed by Dmytro Vyshnevetsky on the possessions of the Ottoman State. There is also information which proves the fact of the preparation of the said for committing together with Circassian beys for an attack on the Fortress of Azov, and, in this respect, there is underlined the necessity to carry out the needed repair of the said fortress. The document also includes a call to be very cautious to the problem of ensuring the country's defensive capacity, that is to ensuring a reliable defence of the Ottoman Empire's possessions²⁵. The Muscovite Tsar did not use Dmytro Vyshnevetsky's military forces on the southern footholds in his struggle with the Ottoman State. Moreover, As a matter of fact, Ivan IV did not at all support the policy of the said hetman, and he tried to prevent the Ukrainian Cossackdom from getting stronger. For instance, he tried to drag Dmytro Vyshnevetsky's authority through the mud by using offensive and insulting words about the hetman during his conversation with the Polish ambassador²⁶. Hence, it turned out, that, when the owner of the Muscovite Tsardom only used the Cossack Army headed by Dmytro Vyshnevetsky for a temporary covering his southern frontiers from a possible offensive of the military forces of the High Porte on the territory of the Lower Near-Volga Area and the Northern Caucasus inhabited by Turkic ethnoses. However, when that danger stopped being resulting from offensive military actions of the Cossack Army, headed by Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, against the Turkish military forces deployed in the Near-Azov Area, the needs to have furtherly the union of Muscovia with Hetman Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky passed. Our ideas are confirmed with the data available in other Turkish Ottoman documents. Particularly, commenting on the

25 BOA, MD, Nu: 3, Hicrî : 996–968 / Milâdî: 1558–1560, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ..., s. 562–563.

26 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s.139.

Turkish Ottoman archival document known under the title “Nasuha’s letter to Sultan Suleyman Kanuni”²⁷ (date of writing that – 1563), the Turkish historian Yücel Öztürk paid a lot of attention to an analysing the information about the political activities of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky and the circumstances, under which this hetman was detained by the Ottoman military forces, and he stressed the significance of the document, we have studied in regards of the identification of the circumstances and date of taking Dmytro Vyshnevetsky prisoner by Turkish warriors on 31 August 1563, that is after the victory of the High Porte’s military forces over the army of the Ruler Steven the Great of Moldavia²⁸. After this event the Ukrainian hetman was delivered on 15 October 1563 to the capital of the High Porte and executed sometime after the 20th day in the October of 1563 roky²⁹.

The information about the circumstances of imprisoning by Moldavian warriors Dmytro Vyshnevetsky followed by his transfer to the Turkish, obtained from the above said document, is confirmed with writings of the chronicler Alessandro Guagnini, a historian well-known in Europe, in which there is described the military march of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky at the head of a 4,000-army against Moscow, as well as the circumstances of detaining this hetman. Guagnini wrote, that “... Prince Vyshnevetsky and his four thousand [warriors] left for Moldavia... was the first to reach the frontier, and he was to wait there for Mr. [Olbracht] Łaski³⁰ ... Moldavians sent the envoys to Prince Vyshnevetsky with the question, why that waited for Mr. Łaski, since all the Moldavians wanted to see on the throne only him personally... Prince Vyshnevetsky was moving with his army, when Moldavians attacked him from both sides and quickly battered [his] army”³¹.

27 TSMA, E. 7618; Yücel Öztürk, *Özü’den Tuna’ya: Kazaklar – 1*, 1. Baskı, İstanbul, Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2004, s. 281–282.

28 Yücel Öztürk, Dimitriy İvanoviç Vişnevetskiy ve Faaliyetleri, SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Sayı 9, İsparta / Türkiye 2003, s. 95–140.

29 Yücel Öztürk, aynı eser, s.139.

30 Gvanyini Olexandr. The chronics of European Sarmatia / Olexandr Gvanyini; arranged and translated from Polish Yuriy Mytsyk, Kyiv : The Publishing House “Kyiv Mohyla Academy”, 2007, pp. 166–167.

31 Ibidem, pp. 167–168; Drahomanov M.P. About the Ukrainian Cossacks, Tatars

Therefore, after Dmytro Vyshnevetsky's failure, he was imprisoned by the Moldavian Army commanders and then sent to Istanbul.

To check, if the authenticity level of the above said data, which concern directly the problems associated with the political activities of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, and, therefore – the theme of our study, we involved into the source-studies analysis a set of other, little-known documents, which are kept in an Ottoman archive. For instance, for us there are data included in the archive document “Suleyman-bey's order to the ruler of Vuchitrin”³² written on 26 June 1559. This document informs us the following: “The ruler [Suleyman.bey] of Vuchitrin³³ sent a letter to Istanbul. In this respect this order was issued and sent. In his letter the said ruler communicated the information, he had received from the Crimean Khan [Devlet Giray I], as well as the data the situation he himself was in. The said Crimean Khan communicated about the preparation for an attack by a Russianian³⁴, who had been given the order to send the ruler of Vichitin to the Crimean Khan. Vuchitin's commander reported, that the cavalry detachments were very dispersed, so he with his army left for Akkerman”. Taking in account everything having been said above, the mentioned commander received from the centre the order to arrive in Akkerman, to negotiate with the khan and undertake required measures aimed at ensuring counteractions against the said attack.

Another document titled “An order to the Kafa ruler [Sinan-bey]”³⁵ of 2 July 1559 tells us about the Cossacks' attacks³⁶ on the

and Turkish people: A Historic survey. With a supplement about the life of Mykhailo Drahomanov / Mykhailo Drahomanov, Kyiv : Dnipro, 1991, p. 29.

32 BOA, MD, Nu : 3 (Hicrî : 996–968 / Milâdî : 1558–1560), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu : 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ..., s. 28.

33 An area in the north of Kosovo on Balkan Peninsula.

34 We can suppose that there is said about Dmytro Vyshnevetsky.

35 BOA, MD, Nu: 3, Hicrî: 996–968 / Milâdî: 1558–1560, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ..., s. 45.

36 Probably, there are meant Ukrainian Cossacks.

fortress of Azov and on other possessions of the High Porte and the Near-Azov Area. We learned from that document, that the commander of the Cossack Army, which now and then attacked the fortress of Azov, was Dmytro Vyshnevetsky. These data are confirmed by other Turkish Ottoman archival documents. WE believe, that of importance there is also the message from the Kafa commander about the participation of Nogay Tatars in defencing the fortress of Azov.³⁷

There is worth paying attention the document tilted “An order to the commander [of a group] of sentinels in the fortress of Azov – Dervish Mehmed” (“Azak Kalesi Nöbetçileri Başbuğu Derviş Mehmed’e hüküm») ³⁸ dated from 2 July 1559, in which there is mentioned Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky’s name. It should be noted, that, beginning from that time on, because of attacks on the fortress of Azov, the name of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky is mentioned in a number of other documents. As for the “Order” of 2 July 1559, due to the data from this archived document, Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky, organised a powerful attack on the fortress of Azov. This attack was so dangerous for the High Porte’s possessions in the Near-Azov Area, that from Istanbul men-of-war were sent to help Azov. The ruler of Kafa – Sinan-bey, was also ordered to oppose as much as possible Vyshnevetsky’s actions.

We also find information about Dmytro Vyshnevetsky in the archival document tilted “An order to Kafa’s ruler Sinan-bey”³⁹ dated

37 Тунманн. Крымское ханство / Тунманн. — Симферополь : Таврия, 1990. — С. 42, 49. (Tunmann, *The Crimean Khanate*, Simferopol : Tavriya, 1990, pp. 42, 49). The Nogays – are a people speaking a Turkic language from the Kypchak linguistic group. The people originated after the grouping together of two tribes – a Turkic one and a Mongol one, which, on the initiative of the famous chief and ruler of the Mongol-Tatars – Chenghis Khan, separated in 1261 from the Golden Horde and, being headed by Chenghis Khan, spread on the territory from the Aral Sea to the Caspian Sea as far as Bujak. Also see: Yücel Öztürk, Dimitriy İvanoviç Vişnevetskiy ve Faaliyetleri, SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Sayı 9, İsparta / Türkiye 2003, s. 127, 128–134.

38 BOA, MD, Nu: 3 (996–968/1558–1560), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı. Yayın Nu: 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ..., s. 45–46.

39 BOA, MD, Nu: 3 (Hicri: 996–968 / Milâdi: 1558–1560), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet

from 18 June 1560. Kafa's ruler Sinan-bey sent a letter from Istanbul with a communication about the activities of Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky. He also informed the Crimean Khan Devlet Giray I (ruling years: 1551–1577) about the data, he had got from the Muscovite State. According to those data, Muscovia expressed its warning to the Ottoman State of the attacking plans of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky. This information was also confirmed by Kafa's commander Sinan-bey. Particularly, he communicated, that Dmytro Vyshnevetsky was deprived of any support from the side of the Muscovite Tsardom. The said document also includes the information received from Azov, that the hetman was preparing to make a military attack on the Ottoman possession called "Kyzuk". In respect with this information, from the capital of the High Porte Kafa's ruler received a warning about the necessity to undertake respective defence-aimed measures.

We understand, that it is also reasonable to present here the contents of the document "Nasuha's letter to Sultan Suleyman Kanuni"⁴⁰ (the representative of the Ottoman State in Bogdan Area⁴¹ to Sultan Suleyman Kanuni) from 1563, which describes the preparation of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky for a march on Moldova from the territory of Poland. In this respect, the Divan of the Turkish Sultan gave respective directives to his representative in Bogdan Area – Nasuha, and sent those instructions through Mahmud Chavush. The Divan of the Ottoman's ruler a directive to his envoy Ahmed was issued to meet the war-governor Stephan and other officials of the court nobility of Bogdan Area and let them know about the intentions of the said government in terms of agreeing with them provision of the needed support. When the messenger reached his place of destination, Dmytro Vyshnevetsky at the head of his army had already entered Bogdan Area.

While Dmytro Vyshnevetsky was making his attacks on Moldova, the war governor of that country Stephan was keeping his

Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 12, Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Sicilleri Dizisi: I ..., s. 562–563.

40 TSMA, E. 7618.

41 Now Moldova.

opponent, War Governor Yuvan, in the fortress of Suchava⁴². Hasuh, after receiving the order from the Centre⁴³, had a meeting with War Governor Stephan and agreed with him about a joint struggle against Vyshnevetsky and War Governor Yuvan, in such a way, actually, having made an anti-Ukrainian union. After the first attacks of the Ukrainian Cossack Army Dmytro Vyshnevetsky managed to conduct damaging blows to Moldova. However, despite these achievements, eventually War Governor Stephan the Great at the head of his army, which consisted of mainly Turkish and Tatar warriors, defeated the army of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, so the later one had to flee to the forest, where he was finally taken a prisoner⁴⁴. At that time it turned out quite possible to capture War Governor Yuvan too.

The said documents demonstrate, that, on one hand, Dmytro Vyshnevetsky's actions at the head of the Cossack armies caused concern of Ottoman rulers, while, from the other hand, these documents include significant data about the said Ukrainian Hetman showing him as a remarkable individual, who Muscovia, Poland, Moldova and other states had to take into consideration with. The principal objects for attacking by the Cossack Army under the commandment of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky were fortresses located in the basin of the Azov Sea, as well as those on the territories of the Crimean and Taman Peninsulas (Azov, Kafa, Temriuk and others). Besides there must be added, that at that time the fortress of Azov was of a large strategic significance for the High Porte and Moscovite Tsardom, therefore Azov was the fortress the main scenario was developing around.

Conclusion

However, the analyses of the contents of the above said Turkish Ottoman archival documents, we have carried out, give us grounds for making the following conclusions: 1) as an ally of the Moscovite Tsar Ivan IV, Hetman Dmytro Korybut-Vyshnevetsky, after heading

42 The capital of Bogdan Area (till 1565).

43 There is meant the Sultan's Palace Topkapy in Istanbul.

44 That happened in 1563. His date can be considered the date of writing the said document.

the numerous and battle-ready Ukrainian Cossack Army, during 1559 was engaged in active military actions against the military forces of the High Porte, which enabled Muscovia to conquer Kazan Khanate and Astrakhan Khanate. Victories gained by this army in the war, which was taking place on the territory of the Near-Azov, manifested the fact of the transformation of the Zaporozhian Sich into a military force capable effectively oppose the mighty army of the Ottoman Turkey; 2) this point concerned the government of Muscovite Tsardom , which after the events of 1559, considered the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine as a state formation, was dangerous for Muscovia's military and political positions on the lands extending to the north from the southern borders of this state formation. We suppose, that it was for that reason, that in 1560 Ivan IV actually denied allying with Dmytro Vyshnevetsky in his struggle against the High Porte; 3) despite such an unfavourable for Dmytro Vyshnevetsky change in the political situation in the Northern Near-Black Sea Area, this hetman before his acceptance in 1563 the partiality of King Sigizmund II, observed his allied commitments in regard of Muscovite Tsardom, and opposed the military forces of the High Porte; 4) hence, we can suppose, that the real fault of the execution of the Ukrainian hetman should be put not to the door of the Turkish Sultan, neither to the door of the Hospodar Stephan the Great of Moldavia, but to the door of the Muscovite Tsar Ivan IV, who betrayed his ally – the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine.

From the above said documents, we have studied, there also emerges an interesting fact of availability of continuous contacts of the Ukrainian Cossackdom with peoples of the Northern Caucasus, particularly those with Chircassions, that must have refilled the ranks of the Zaporozhian Army.

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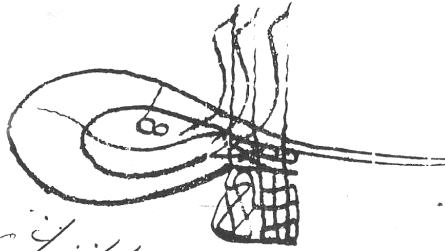
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ترونده گه راه کاهن من کبر و زلفی بزار و توره دهر که اشرف منی و عکرم السلام که بجای این مانع
 تو خشمم چون و در لعل و بی علم از دگر بوزنه اندامه سازند که گوی که زهر و جگر و دهنش عامه که ایستای خیال
 این و بنمیت از آن نصیبین ایروانده از جنت ایروانده و از معده ارینه غمناک و کمانی تو زلفین از کار خوش
 و راست اولونیم سوخ منند زور دسی و دو کله ایگر که کلنن طمان ایروانده کج و همکاران تو کبر
 منگینه سوزج که کلنن ولایت زلفه و در هر ارادون عله و کله دنیغ ایروانده از آن مکانه منولوب غیرت
 از من قتلادوب و من توین اولونچ غیر ایچنه عکله غم و ویویفن ایروانده کله طره عانی از دگر از دزن
 عیان کله قرار که اولونوب کوه ریشین ایروانده اولور کله اولور و عکله و عینی و غیره از آن که از دزن
 اولور کله عکله منولوب از دنی اولور ایچینم سوره کجه
 بهار قتل اولور ایچینم سوره کجه از دگر از دزن غیر اولور کله عکله میروانده مندر لیکار دنی و در عکله ایچینم
 توره اولدوغین سوره کجه از دزن در دهن مندر زور اولور کله توره تانور ایروانده می و از ریشنه عکله اولور
 کله و دهن سینه نهر اولور کله توره و منی توره کله و در زلفه و در ایروانده و غیر اولور کله عکله و ایچینم
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T SMA, Nu: E. 9300/14, Sultan Suleyman Kanuni’s order to a Kafa sanjak ruler (سنجاق بیگی) Sinan-bey.