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УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ КОМІТЕТ З ВИВЧЕННЯ
КРАЇН ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЇ І ПІВДЕННО-СХІДНОЇ ЄВРОПИ

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У наукових розвідках, вміщених на сторінках пропонованого читацькому загалу видання, розглядаються маловивчені питання вітчизняної історії з найдавніших часів до кінця XVIII ст., які висвітлюються в контексті європейського цивілізаційного процесу. Зацікавлений читач знайде у них відповіді на ціле коло проблем, що досліджуються вперше або по новому оцінюються з позицій сучасної історичної науки.

Для науковців, викладачів, усіх, хто цікавиться історією України та Центрально-Східної Європи.

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The collection includes articles devoted to some less studied questions of the domestic history from Antiguity to the late of the 18th century. This edition addressed to the wide circle of curious readers: scholars, lectures, all who are interesting by the history of Ukraine and countries of East and Central Europe. The authors of the collection propose the new approach or reevaluation of the problems of the Past in the light of European Civilization process.

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Fırat Yaşa
Yaroslav Pylypchuk

Strategy, Diplomacy, and Actors: Relations between the Crimean Khanate and Sweden in the 17th Century

One of the most interesting aspects in the history of the Crimean Khanate is its relations with the Kingdom of Sweden. Unlike the history of mutual relations with the Russian State (Muscovy), the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, this aspect has not been studied well enough. The given study will be a consideration of relations between the Crimean Khanate and Sweden in the 17th century. The aim of this study is to make an analysis of the dynamics of the mutual relations between the two countries and of the data from archival documents and written sources related to the problem.

Keywords: *Crimean Khanate, Sweden, Benjamin Baron, Kamber Agha, Letters.*

Одним з найцікавіших аспектів історії Кримського ханства є його відносини з Королівством Швеція. На відміну від історії взаємовідносин з Російською державою (Московією), Османською імперією та Литовсько-Польською співдружністю, цей аспект не вивчений досить добре. Дане дослідження буде розглядом відносин між Кримським ханством і Швецією в 17 столітті. Метою цього дослідження є аналіз динаміки взаємовідносин між двома країнами за даними архівних документів та писемних джерел, пов'язаних із проблемою.

Ключові слова: *Кримське ханство, Швеція, Бенджамін Барон, Камбер-Ага, Листи.*

Introduction

The history of the relations between the Crimean Khanate and Sweden in the 17th century had its own pre-history. Data about relations of Sweden with the Crimean Khanate are contained in Tatarik's File of documents from the Swedish Royal Archive. For example, in the letter of 15 September 1556 the King of Sweden Gustav Waza mentioned the Crimean Khan, stating that he could gather 80,000 warriors. According to a dossier of information dating to the reign of King

Yukhan III, in 1579 an ambassador from Mehmed Geray Khan II arrived in Stockholm and announced the Khan's wish to start a march against the Russians heading an army of 200,000 warriors. The King of Sweden accepted the Khan's proposal to enter into an alliance and gave generous presents to the ambassador. In 1592, the Crimea was visited by envoys headed by Eric Falk and Sigfried Rolamb. They took their time on the journey while making their way to the Crimea through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For being late Falk was reprimanded by Yukhan, which resulted in Falk's taking the side of the King of Poland Sigiezmund III Waza. The Khan's envoys achieved nothing, as the Russians managed to oppose both the Swedish invasion, and the Crimean one, and the King of Sweden preferred to make peace with the Russians. Restoration of relations with the Crimeans took place only during the reign of Gustav Adolf[1].

After Gustav-Adolf there were attempts from the Crimeans to restore the alliance with Sweden against Poland and Moscow. In 1637 a regular Crimean delegation arrived in Sweden and offered to make an alliance with them against any of their enemies. In 1650 the Crimean Ambassador Hadji-Mustafa offered to make an alliance with Queen Christine. However, the suggestion of Islam-Geray III with regard to an alliance was regarded by A. Oxenshern as being un realistic, so the Crimean offer once again received a polite refusal. Johanes Maier planned to travel to the Crimea through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but his intentions were thwarted by the new Ukrainian-Polish war and by his journey to the Crimea. Only in 1657 Sweden received a significant amount of data about the Crimean Khanate. In 50 pages of his diary, Maier discussed topics including cities and towns, ports, populations, administrations, spiritual and palace hierarchies. There is also information about the vassalage of the Nogays and Crimeans. However, the correspondence with Sweden did not prevent the Crimeans from negotiating with other countries. Bakhadyr-Geray wrote to Mikhail Fiodorovich Romanov, that he had sent envoys to Sweden, in order to alarm the Russians. Mehmed-Geray informed Alexey Mikhailovich of the victory over the Transylvanians, and that the Ukrainians and Swedish had left the Hungarians. He warned the Russian ruler not to break the oath. Besides, he spoke of the attacks of the Danube Cossacks on Crimean possessions, and stated that the Swedish King intended to take Poland into his ownership, and then, after making an alliance with Poland, to bring trouble to the Ottomans. He expressed his pleasure at the Russians having paid the tribute, but he added that the Russians should not delay the envoys. He went on so say that the Hungarians would be punished, and that the Crimean Army was gathered and ready to start on a march. In addition, that the Khan, was in a fury at the Vilno Truce, and he warned Yan-Kazimir, that the

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[1] *Возгрин В.Е.* Материалы по шведско-крымским отношениям в XVI–XVIII вв. в архиве ЛОИИ СССР АН СССР // Вспомагательные исторические дисциплины. — Вып. IX. — Л., 1978. — С. 318–321; *Zettersteen K.W.* Turkische, tatarische und persiche Urkunden im schwedischen Reichsarhiv. — Uppsala, 1945. — S. 79–91.

Danes and the Austrians had been told by his envoys, that the Polish King was an ally of the Crimean Khanate[2].

The relations with the Swedish were still kept on. In February 1661 Khan Mehmed-Geray wrote a letter to the Swedish King Karl X Gustav. The son of Khan Ahmed-Geray also wrote a letter to the King. The King received letters from Selim-Gerey and Vezier Sefer-Gazi in addition. In 1666 the new Khan Adil-Geray wrote to the Swedish King a few letters between September and October 1666. Even before Adil-Geray, Kyrym-Geray wrote to the Swedish in 1664−1665. The Swedish king received as well letters from Devlet-Geray-Sultan, That-Geray, Husam-Geray (sons of Fath-Geray). The Swedish Royal Archive includes a reference to Farah, which is called in correspondence daughter of Mehmed-Geray IV and the mother of Adil-Geray. In the letter of 11 June 1668 the Crimean Kalgay Kyrym-Geray reminded the Swedish King of their friendship and brotherhood. Nureddin Devlet-Geray wrote a letter to the Swedish Monarch before 9 August 1668. The envoys to Sweden were headed by Kurkuza-Mirza, who arrived in Stockholm in 1670. During 1669−1670 Haji-Geray (a son of Kyrym-Geray) sent a letter to the Swedish King. Sweden was also addressed in the form of letters by Murtaza-Ali-Agha — the Great Vizier of Adil-Geray. The letter was sent with a mission of Arslan-Agha. Then there was a break for a few years. In 1677 the Swedish King received a letter from Khan Selim Geray (a son of Bakhadyr-Geray). Sweden was offered an opportunity to make an alliance with the Crimean Khanate against the Russians. Besides the Khan, Sweden was addressed as well as by Kalgay Seliamet-Geray (a son of Bakhadyr-Geray) and by Nureddin Safa-Geray (a son of Safa-Geray), and also by the Great Vizier Bakhadur-Agha. In 1679−1680 the Swedish King received a letter from Khan Murad-Geray (a son of Mubarek-Geray). He was also addressed by Kalgay Toktamysh-Geray a son of Safa-Geray). Nureddin Saadet-Geray wrote to the Swedish King still earlier, during 1678−1679. After that letter the Swedish Royal Archive got letters from Haji-Geray and the Great Vizier Ahmed-Agha. Letters from Khan Murad-Geray were dated from 1681, as were letters from Kalgay Toktamysh-Geray, Nureddin Saadet-Geray (a son of Kyrym-Geray), Sultan Mubarek-Geray (a son of Mehmed-Geray), the Great Vizier Ahmed-Ahga. In a letter without a date Khan Murad-Geray wrote of his friendship with King Karl XI and about his affairs with the Russians. The letters were sent with the Janish-Agha mission. The year of 1682 was the date of letters from Kalgay Toktamysh-Geray, Sultans Haji-Geray, Gazi-Geray and Mubarek-Geray[3].

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[2] *Возгрин В.Е.* Материалы по шведско-крымским отношениям… — С. 324–326; *Zettersteen K.W.* Turkische, tatarische und persiche Urkunden im schwedischen Reichsarhiv. — S. 79–91; *Вельяминов-Зернов В.В.* Материалы для истории Крымского ханства. — СПб., 1864. — С. 235–236, 441–442, 513–516, 519–522, 880–881.

[3] *Zettersteen K.W.* Turkische, tatarische und persiche Urkunden im schwedischen Reichsarhiv. — S. 97–122.

A Letter and Its Analysis

The following letter, which is written in Latin and is composed of two pages, is very important for the history of the diplomatic relations. This letter was sent from Crimean Khan Janibek Geray to the king of Sweden on 2 December 1631. It is not the first letter exchanged between the two states, but at the same time it is interesting to understand the diplomatic relations that existed in that period[4].

It starts with the description of dominance "The great and renowned prince, lord Janibek Geray Khan, by the grace of God free and all-powerful king of the innumerable European, Crimean and Nogay Tatars, of the Great Horde and of all the Circassians, wishes from the bottom of his heart, peace, safety and a successful future to our brother and dearest friend, the most serene lord Gustav Adolf, free and most powerful king of the Swedishes, the Goths and the Vandals, great prince of Finland, ruler of Estonia and Karelia, and also lord of Ingri".

The standard title of Crimean Khans was used also in the correspondence of Crimean Khans with the ruler of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Wladislaw IV Waza. The Gerays supposed themselves to be rulers of the Crimeans, Nogays and Circassians. The Circassian Principalities were vassals of the Gerays, which was also true about the Nogays from Bujak[5].

Crimean Khans addressed this way both Sigiezmund III, and Wladislaw IV Waza, because representatives of this dynasty considered the Kingdom of Sweden their legitimate legacy, so he included in his title of the King of Sweden (Svealand) the Goths (Esteroeland and Westeroetland) and Vandals (there were implied Pomerania and Ruegen which are populated by Germans, but in the past there lived Slavs (Germans called them Vends, whom the Medieval Chronists sometimes considered vandals). Sigismund was Swedish by origin. Duke Karl of Soedermanland (he was also the future Karl IX) being at the head of the Swedish nobility deprived Sigismund of the throne, because the latter was a Catholic, while the King-Catholic was unacceptable in Lutheran Sweden. That resulted in the Swedish occupation of South Estlandia and a part of Livonia. The Lithuanian Army won in the battle at Kirchholm, but the Swedes were more successful in the war. Sweden had the advantage of Polish intervention in the War in Muscovia. During 1617 and 1618, using the fact that the Polish Army of the King's Son Wladislaw was in Muscovia, Gustav Adolf, King Karl's Successor, started his attack in Livonia and occupied all the territory, except Riga and Duenamuende. Anyway, the Swedes also took part in the Russian War, but they did not become as involved as the Poles did. During the reign of King Erik they invaded Ingria and Karelia being on the side of Vasily Shuisky against False Dmitry II, who was

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[4] Archivio di Stato di Modena, Cancelleria Ducale Estense Estero, Corteggi e documenti di Stati è Città Italia, Stati Varii, Tartaria, Busta 193, Specie Unica.

[5] *Kołodzejczyk D*. The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th — 18th century): a study of peace treaties followed by annotated documents. — Leiden–Boston, 2011. — P. 885–889.

supported by the Lithuanians and Poles. In 1621, Gustav Adolf resumed the war with the Lithuanians and Poles and occupied Riga and Duenamuende. They tried to take Kurlandia under their control but were unsuccessful despite initially having subdued Mitava and Lev Sapega's Army having defeated at Kokenhausen even invaded Livonia and retook Dinaburg. Though, the Swedish soon resumed their attack and defeated the Polish-Lithuanian Army at Wahlhof. After that a peaceful agreement was signed for a while, then the war was resumed. In 1626 Gustav II Adolf began a war with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for controlling Prussia. The Swedish wanted also to get Polish Pomerania under their control, together with Gransk, but the Poles succeeded in defending the city. In 1626 in the battle at Gnev no side could get the advantage, and only in 1629 in the battle at Guzhno German Wrangel defeated the Poles completely. However, the Austrain Corps, headed by Georg von Arnim-Boitzenburg, came to help them and then the Austrian Commander-in-Chief invaded Swedish Pomerania. Attempts of the Poles to win back Prussia from the Swedish met with failure and they had to agree on peace. The peace treaty was signed in Altmark, according to which Riga and Duenamuende were assigned to Sweden, while Prussia remained a vassal of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had problems in the form of Cossack uprisings and invasions of the Crimean Tatars[6].

The letter continues, "We have received your letter[7], full of a remarkable well-disposed feeling, together with your gifts, another letter (was delivered) by your great ambassador, a man of noble birth, faithful to you, Benjamin Baron[8], who first of all brought us news about your good health, as we desired and always desire to know, then he asserted your friendship and brotherly love, then he explained the state of your affairs with the Polish and the fact that the Roman Emperor is very hostile to you and at the same time he explained to us the several causes of this hostility, and finally he asked that the army divisions of the Tartars, which had recently been offered by us through our ambassador against any of your enemies, especially against the Polish, should be sent against Caesar into any province under his control, to make an invasion, and, if we give you our approval, he promised us in your name that the more support we offer you against the man himself (i.e. Caesar), the greater the sum of money you will order to give us either in Constantinople, or in Venice".

The King of Sweden sent envoys to the Crimea headed by Benjamin Baron. Yet in 1630, the Crimean envoys headed by Kamber Agha visited Sweden. Janibek Geray offered a joint march to the German lands, Polish-Lithuanian

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[6] *Kołodzejczyk D*. The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania… — P. 905–911; *Frost R.I.* The Northern Wars, War, State and Society in Northerneastern Europe 1558–1721. — Singapore, 2000. — P. 46–47, 62–69, 102–114.

[7] In Latin 'letter' is always plural.

[8] See the detailed information about Benjamin Baron cfr. Porshnev B. F. Muscovy and Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, 1630–1635. — Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. — P. 131.

Commonwealth and Russia. The King of Sweden chose the German direction, that is the Austrian one. In response Swedish envoys were sent headed by Benjamin Baron, who started out for the Crimea through Russia, but he fell ill there and stayed till 1632 (Porshnev 1995, p. 130). Anyway, on arriving in the Crimea the Swedish ambassador was warmly met by the Khan. They knew in the Crimea, that Sweden had joined the Thirty Years' War[9].

Janibek Geray's expression on the letter: "We send you our very grateful thanks for your friendship and brotherly love that has already been shown twice and in our turn we offer this to you, that our brotherliness and friendship will last for ever, and you will always and on every occasion find us to be the friend of your friends and the enemy of your enemies, as we have already declared and promised to you, and in a short time you will easily perceive the effects of our brotherly love and friendship. With regard to our army that was requested from us against Caesar for the Spring that has just passed, we are deeply sorry (literally: we are afflicted from our inmost heart) that we did not have the opportunity to comply with your wishes at that time, the reason being that the Ottoman Emperor, who is allied to us in religion, brotherhood and friendship, not once but three and four times demanded from us very strictly for his Persian war, having transferred a very large sum of money to us at Constantinople for Tartary, those divisions that I had intended to dispatch to Austrian territories as a gesture of friendship to you, and since it was only right for us to assent to him in this, we sent them to the lands of Asia under the command of our younger brother, as your most faithful ambassador will testify on our behalf when he arrives back in your presence".

At the said time Janibek Geray, as a vassal, had to join the Ottoman's Army in their war against the Kyzylbashes (Kızılbaş). On the eastern border of the Ottoman Empire the situation was serious. Abbas I, the Great from the dynasty of the Safavids was preparing to his revenge. Janibek Geray had regularly to send Tatars to help the Turks. In 1615 the Turks started their preparations for a new war, for Abbas began to wide his possessions in Georgia. Messengers were sent to the Crimeans with a request to provide an army for a war with the Safavids. Janibek Geray Khan sent through the sea above 3,000 warriors. However, soon the events in the South Caucasus changed the requirements of the Ottomans, who demanded more warriors. The Georgian ruler Teimuraz began an uprising against the Safavids. He also had a union with the rulers of Dagestan. Derbent overthrew the lordship of the Safavids, as did Shirvan also. The Turkish Army was in its winter quarters, and the Sultan wanted to send them to fight instead of the Crimeans. Janibek did not feel like getting involved in the war, so he was delaying sending his army. Meanwhile Abbas invaded Eastern Georgia and Shirvan. Janibek asked he could deliver the army from Kefe (Kaffa) to Trabzon, but the Sultan insisted on the overland route to Derbent. Janibek Geray finally agreed on that, but he did not keep his word. A year later the Tatar ruler had to send his people to Anatolia. This time they were brought across the sea. Though Ottoman sources give an estimate

[9] *Возгрин В.Е.* Материалы по шведско-крымским отношениям… — С. 322.

of 40,000 Crimeans, the figure of 10,000 warriors seems to be more realistic. From Trabzon the Crimeans invaded the Safavids possessions in the South Caucasus. They devastated the area at Giandzhi, Nahcıvan and Culfa. From there they moved to Diyarbakır and spent the winter near Cizre. On coming back from the winter quarters in 1617, the Crimeans left for Tebriz. Bahadır Mirza and Sofi Mirza made an invasion on the area of Nahcıvan. In August of 1617, while moving towards Ardebil, Turks and Crimeans reached the plain of Serav. At Pol-I and Shikeste (Kyrykkoepriu) a battle occurred, in which 15,000 warriors of the allied Crimean-Turkish army died. Janibek Geray was nearly captured. In 1630 Khosrov-Pasha asked to be sent 30,000 Tatars to help him. When in 1631 the Tatars got to Mardin, the march was stopped because of unrest in the army, and they retreated to Erzurum. The war with the Ottoman was lost, and the Sultan had to admit that. In 1633 the Safavids sieged the fortress of Van. Sultan Murad IV asked for a help from the Crimean Khan and sent him gifts. Janibek rejected that request, as he felt offended because of the cheep long boots having been sent to him[10].

The letter continues: “And because we have promised to be the friend of your friends and the enemy of your enemies, for that reason, if you have need of our divisions quickly and soon against the Roman Emperor or anybody else, send some trustworthy ambassador from your men with the sum of money that has been offered to us to the Most Serene Ruler of Transylvania (if he is on friendly terms with you), because the crossing through Transylvania to Austria is a convenient route for us and our army, to ensure that he allows our divisions to pass without any harm or damage through his territories towards Austria, but if he agrees he should also add his own legate to yours and should send them both to Tartary to show their loyalty to us and to assure us about a safe crossing and that we would come to no harm; and we promise that an army of thirty thousand or perhaps even more will be sent across, immediately and with no other plan, against Caesar for you my brother and friend, and we promise to do this same thing against the Polish people (if you so desire) when the period of the truce has expired, if they have not fully satisfied you. Your delegate explained us to the best of his ability the situation in the meantime, and demanded in your name that, if the King of Poland surrendered his spirit to his Creator within the period of the truce, as soon as his death reach our ears, we should send our ambassadors to the senate of Poland to the effect that, if they should choose everlasting friendship and brotherhood with us, they should elect no other person as their king but you, since we see nobody else more worthy of such a crown than you, and when you have been installed in that position, you promise that you will give us 150 thousand tolars in one payment and every year you promise also that you will pay us that sum of money which the Polish government has been accustomed by law to pay to Tartary”.

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[10] *Купели О.* Походы крымских татар и Османов против Ирана // Золотоордынское обозрение. — № 2. — Казань, 2014. — С. 232–237; *Roemer H.R.* The Safavid Period, The Cambridge History of Iran. — Vol. 6: The Timurid and Safavid Period. — Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. — P. 265–272, 283–287.

The Transylvanian Prince was informed about the envoys by Emiddio Dortelli d'Askoli[11]. Besides, throughout the Hungarian area of the Ottomans the Crimean Tatars seized the possessions of the Habsburgs in Hungary, Moravia and Slovakia. Their marches were described by Nikolas Witsen, Paul Ricaut and Evliya Çelebi[12].

As far as the King of Poland is concerned, this is said about Sigiezmund III: At the time the letter was written he was still alive, and he died only on 30 April 1632, during the truce, that is when Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were not at war. The Russians began the Smolensk War, when Sigiezmund had already died, while Wladialslaw IV had not been crowned. The Crimeans knew from the Russians about the preparations for war with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Gerays hoped that the Swedish would take part in that conflict, and that would weaken the rears of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It as not a secret either, that the Poles sympathized with the Habsburgs. However, the Swedish were busy in Germany, and the Polish-Lithuabian Army defeated the Russians. As for the money required by the Crimeans, if Gustav Adolf became the king of Poland, that requirement was accounted for by the point, that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was paying the Crimean Khanate upomynkas (diplomatic gifts for the peace). The amount of 150,000 tallers was equal to 15,000 florins[13], that amount was required by the Crimeans as a standard payment from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth[14].

Janibek's letter ends the sentences: "We also promise that we will do this for you, our brother, and we will do our best with all our efforts to satisfy you in every way. But, if God grants it, if your plans are brought to the end that you long for, so that you are chosen to be king of Poland, we also seek one thing of you that we cannot reveal just now. If you promise by means of your message that you will do

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[11] He is one of the most famous missionaries in the Crimea region. The letters he wrote make reference to the Crimean Khan, his palace, the city of Bakhchysarai, the slave trade, Crimean ports, especially Kaffa, and noblemen of Crimea; they give also general information about the Black Sea region and have been recently published by Eszer A. Die (Die 1972). There were also other missionaries going to the Crimea and near environments. In the Vatican (Città del Vaticano) there is the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide. Whereas, in the first one, can be found the diplomatic correspondence of the popes with foreign rulers even of far off regions, in the second, there are records about priests and friars and their missions. In Rome (Italy) it is possible to find also other sources kept in religious institutes. For instance, already in the Middle Ages Popes decided to send Dominican friars to Crimea. Thus, in the Archivio Generale Padri Domenicani in Santa Maria sopra Minerva there are documents about Dominican missions in Crimea.

[12] *Калашников В.М.* Британский взгляд на Крым (хроники, мемуары, дневники XVII — первой четверти XIX столетия). — Днепропетровск, 2013. — С. 44–45.

[13] Filori or filorin is not the local currency in Crimean Khanate. The official currency of Crimean Khanate was "akçe». 15,000 florin correspond to 2,250,000 akçes (*Yaşa, F.* Bahçesaray 1650–1675. — Sakarya, 2017. — P. 145–146.

[14] *Kołodzejczyk D.* The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania… — P. 912–934; *Веджвуд С.В.* Тридцатилетняя война / пер. с англ. И. В. Лобанова. — М., 2012. — С. 338–339.

this, I in my turn will report that to you through my messengers. Concerning the rest, just as we sent Kamber, a nobleman faithful to us, to you to arrange your friendship, so now at this present time we are sending to you Musa, a nobleman, and our faithful Nurali Oğlan, in order to continue this friendship towards you that is already begun, together with a sign of our friendship which will be given for ever and a pledge of our promise. Farewell, may God, the Best and Greatest, preserve you in your present state of good health, wishing you, our brother and friend, long and happy days and a prosperous outcome of your undertaking, especially against the enemies of both of us".

The Crimean Khan was aware of the differences between Sigiezmund III Waza and Gustav Adolf. He suggested the details of the war against the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth to be discussed, if the King of Sweden considered the invasion in Poland to be more actual. Envoys were sent to Sweden. Benjamin Baron started on his way back together with the Crimean envoys, and he was delayed for some time in Russia, arriving somewhat later in Stockholm. Nurali Oglan stood in front of the Riksrod (the Royal Council), though the nobility did not make independent decisions, and they sent him to Gustav Adolf. But the King and Nurali Oglan were not to meet, as Gustav Adolf died in the battle at Luetzen in 1632. In 1631 he left Pomerania for Magdeburg, but the Austrian Army was the first to get there and made a pogrom in the city. The Swedish headed by Gustav Adolf managed to begin a counter-attack and having crossed Central Germany they invaded Bavaria. In the battle on the river of Lech Tilli, Commander of the Austrail army, was killed, and the Swedish got Muenchen. To prevent an invasion in Austria, the Kaiser sent Wallensein to Saxony, and the Swedish were supposed to move here too, so as to prevent the capitulation of Saxony. The Swedish King died in the battle at Luetzen, while the battle itself ended without a winner. A. Oxenshern politely refused to give money to the Crimean. He was more interested in providing supplies for his own Army. From 1634 the Kaiser's Army started their counter-attack, and at Nerdingen the Swedish-Saxony Army was defeated, after what France openly joined the war on the side of the Protestants. The Crimeans had to fight independently in the war against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Though, in that Kantemir Mirza distinguished. In 1629, the people from Bujak and the Crimeans arranged a joint military march to Podillya. There were about 20,000 warriors in the march, but only 5,000 of them returned. Kantemir's son died in the march, while the future Janibek Geray Khan was captured.

The Nogays were of a very high status during the ruling of Janibek Geray, and the wars of the Crimea Khanate against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were active owing to the activity of the Nogays. The Power of Kantemir Mirza was increasing. However, that did not exclude opposition from his army's invasions. I. Yerlych reported, that at Burshtyn the Poles of S. Chmelecky and Cossacks of H. Chorny defeated a thousand of Tatars, and in that battle Kantemir Mirza's son was killed. In 1630 Colonel Kalinowski communicated about the

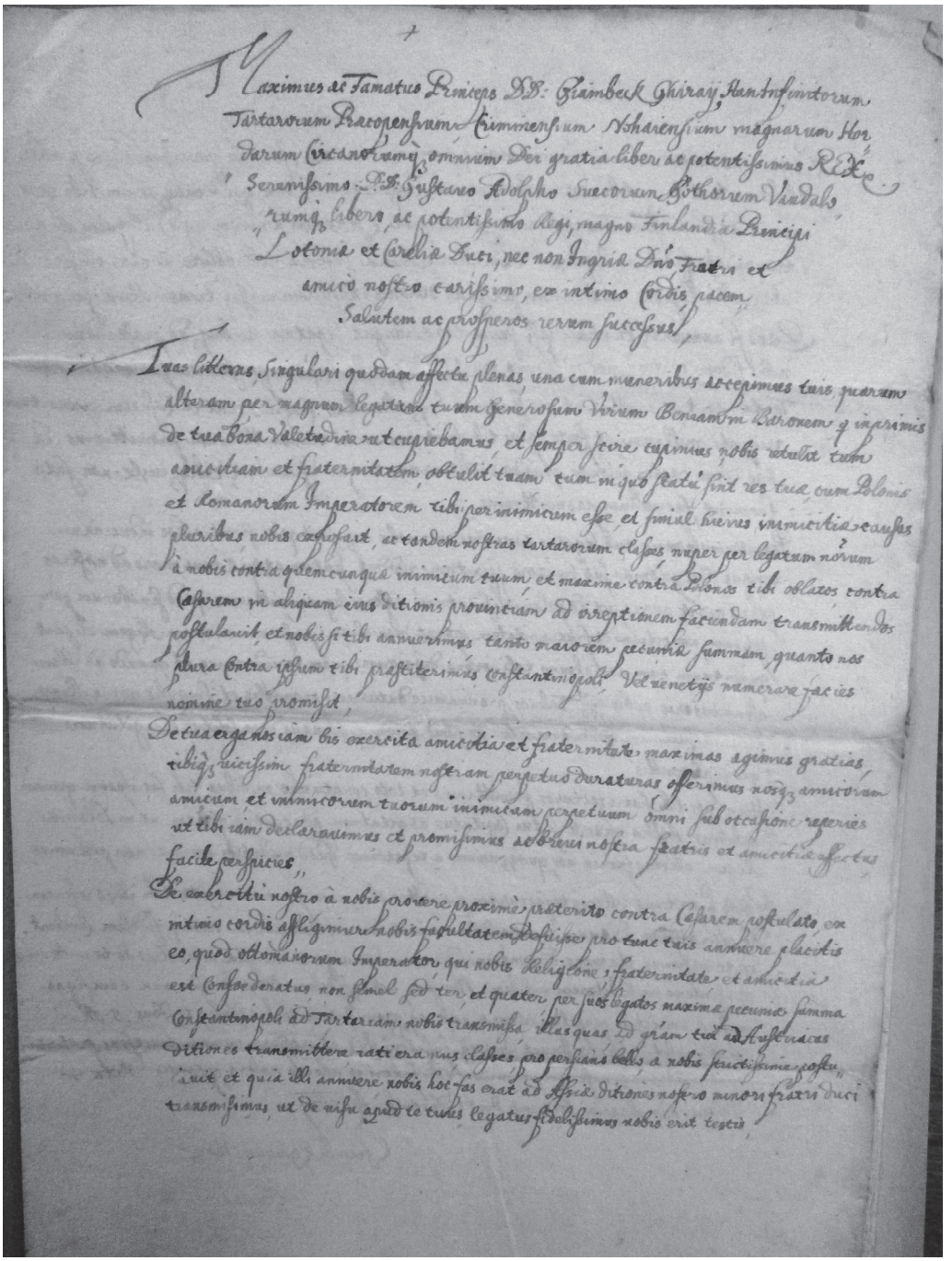
coming of a few thousands of Tatars in Bujak. In 1632 Hetman Petrżycki described attacks from the Budjak direction. In 1631 Russians sent Kantemir Mirza upominki in an attempt to guarantee his support in the future Smplensk War against the Russians[15].

Conclusion

Thus, we arrived that the following conclusions. The initiative of concluding the union in most cases came from the Gerays. Of Swedish kings, Gustav-Adolf showed great interest in the union with the Tatars. After his death, the Swedes did not show much interest in the union. The Crimeans continued to send embassies to Sweden trying to involve the Swedes in an alliance against the Russians or Poles.

[15] *Parker G*. The Thirty Years War. — London–New York, 1988. — P. 86–130; *Возгрин В.Е*. Материалы по шведско-крымским отношениям… — С. 232.

Appendix I:
A letter from Janibek Geray to Gustav Adolf — 2 December 1631

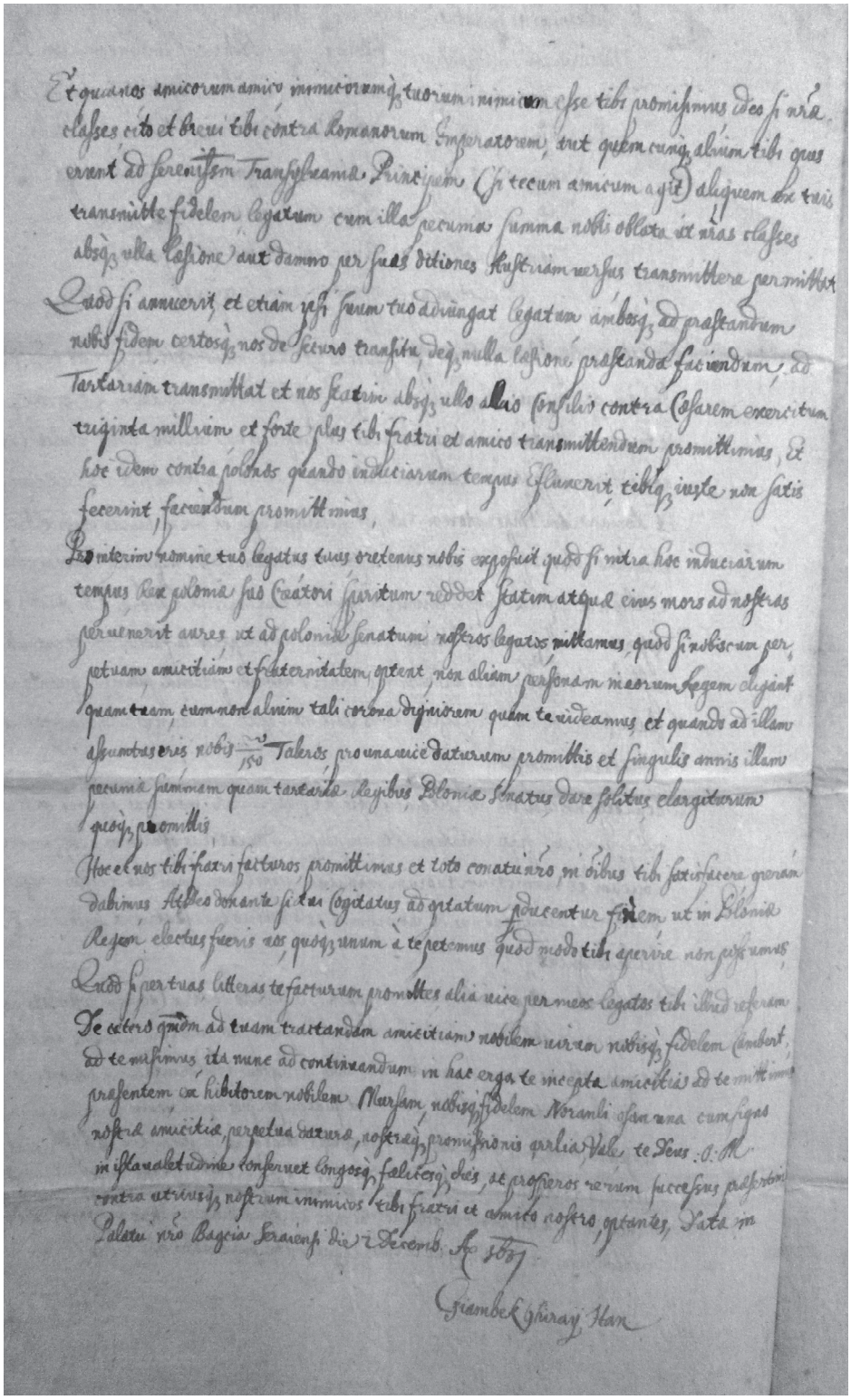


Maximus ac Famatus Princeps DD: Gramback Ghiray, Kantmsimtorum,
Tartarorum Precopensium Cimmensium Nharensium magnarum Hor
darum Circassorumq; omnium Dei gratia liberi ac potentissimi Regis
Serenissimo D.D. Gustavo Adolpho Sueciorum Gothorum Vandalo
rumq; liberi ac potentissimo Regi, magno Finlandiæ Principi
Lotonie et Carelie Duci, nec non Ingrie Dno Fratri et
amico nostro carissimo, ex intimo cordis pacem
Salutem ac prosperos rerum successus,

Tuas litteras singulari quodam affectu plenas una cum muneribus accepimus tuis quarum
alteram per magnum legatum tuum generosum Virum Benamum Baronem q ipsimis
de tua bona Valetudine ut cupiebamus et semper scire cupimus nobis retulit tuam
amicitiam et fraternitatem obtulit tuam tum in quo statu sint res tua cum Polonis
et Romanorum Imperatorem tibi per inimicum esse et simul breves inimicitiæ causas
pluribus nobis exposuit, ac tandem nostras tartarorum classes nuper per legatum nostrum
à nobis contra quemcunque inimicum tuum, et maxime contra Polonos tibi oblatos contra
Cæsarem in aliquam eius ditionis provinciam ad diversionem faciendam transmittendos
postulavit, et nobis si tibi annuerimus tanto maiorem pecuniæ summam quanto nos
plura contra ipsum tibi profuturos confidentes polliceris Venetijs numerare facies
nomine tuo promisit,

De tua erga nos iam bis exercita amicitia et fraternitate, maximas agimus gratias
tibiq; vicissim fraternitatem nostram perpetuo duraturam offerimus nosq; amicorum
amicum et inimicorum tuorum inimicum perpetuum omni sub occasione reperies
ut tibi iam declaravimus et promisimus ac boni nostra fratris et amicitiæ effectus
facile perspicies,

De exercitu nostro à nobis proxime preterito contra Cæsarem postulato ex
intimo cordis affligimur nobis facultatem defuisse pro tunc tuis annuere placitis
eo, quod ottomanorum Imperator qui nobis religione, fraternitate et amicitia
est confœderatus non semel sed ter et quater per suos legatos maxima pecuniæ summa
Constantinopoli ad Tartariam nobis transmisit illasque D. gratiæ tuæ ad Russiacas
ditiones transmittere ratio erat nos classes pro persianis bellis a nobis feliciss. confu
cuit et quia illi annuere nobis hoc fas erat ad Asiæ ditiones nostro minori fratri duci
transmisimus, ut de eius apud te tuos legatus fidelissimus nobis erit testis,



Appendix II:
The letter's Transcription

Maximus ac Famatus Princeps Dominus Giambeck Ghiray Han Infinitorum Tartarorum Pracopensium Crimmensium Nohaiensium magnarum Hordarum Circanorumque omnium Dei gratia liber ac potentissimus REX Serenissimo Domino Gustavo Adolpho Suecorum Gothorum Vandalorumque libero ac potentissimo Regi, magno Finlandiae Principi, Lotoniae et Careliae Duci, nec non Ingriae Domino, Fratri et amico nostro carissimo, ex intimo cordis pacem salutem ac prosperos rerum successus.

Duas litteras, singulari quodam affectu plenas, una cum muneribus accepimus tuis, quarum alteram per nostrum, alteram per magnum legatum tuum generosum virum tibi fidelem Beniaminum Baronem, qui imprimis de tua bona valetudine, ut cupiebamus, ac semper scire cupimus nobis retulit, tum amicitiam ac fraternitatem obtulit tuam, tum in quo statu sint res tuae cum Polonis, & Romanorum Imperatorem tibi perinimicum esse, et simul huius inimicitiae causas pluribus nobis exposuit, ac tandem nostrorum Tartarorum classes nuper per legatum nostrum, a nobis contra quemcunque inimicum tuum, ac maxime contra Polonos tibi oblatas, contra Caesarem in aliquam eius ditionis provinciam, ad irruptionem faciendam, transmittendas postulavit, ac nobis si tibi annuerimus, tanto maiorem pecuniae summam vel Constantinopoli, vel Venetiis aut ubi nobis tibique commodum erit, numerari facies, quanto nos plura contra ipsum tibi praestiterimus, nomine tuo nobis promisit.

De tua erga nos iam bis exercita amicitia et fraternitate maximas agimus gratias tibique vicissim fraternitatem (et amicitiam) nostram perpetuo duraturas offerimus nosque amicorum amicum et inimicorum tuorum inimicum perpetuum omni sub occasione reperies ut tibi iam declaravimus et promisimus ac brevi nostrae fraternitatis (?) et amicitiae effectus facile perspicies. De exercitu nostro a nobis pro vere proxime praeterito contra Caesarem postulato ex intimo cordis affligimur nobis facultatem defuisse pro tunc tuis annuere placitis eo quod Ottomanorum Imperatorem, qui nobis religione,fraternitate et amicitia est confoederatus, non semel sed ter et quater per suos legatos, maximae pecuniae summa Constantinopoli ad Tartariam nobis transmissa, illas, quas ad gratiam tui ad Austriacas ditiones transmittere rati eramus, classes pro Persiano bello a nobis strictissime postulavit et quia illi annuere nobis hoc fas erat ad Asiae ditiones nostro minore fratre duce transmisimus, ut de visu apud te tuus legatus fidelissimus nobis erit testis.

Et quia nos amicorum amico, inimicorumque tuorum inimicum esse tibi promisimus, ideo si nostrae classes cito, et brevi tibi contra Romanorum Imperatorem aut quemcunque alium tibi opus erant, ad Serenissimum Transylvaniae Principem, (si tecum amicum agit), aliquem ex tuis transmitte fidelem legatum cum illa pecuniae summa nobis oblata, ut nostras classes absque ulla laesione, aut damno per suas ditiones Austriam versus transmittere permittat, Quod si annuerit, et etiam ipsi suum tuo adiungat legatum ambosque ad praestandum nobis fidem

certosque nos de securo transitu, deque nulla laesione praestanda faciendum ad Tartariam transmittat et nos statim absque ullo alio consilio contra Caesarem exercitum triginta millium et forte plus tibi fratri et amico transmittendum promittimus, Et hoc idem contra polonos, quando induciarum tempus Effluxerit, tibique juste non satisfecerint, faciendum promittimus.

Pro interim nomine tuo legatus oretenus nobis exposuit quod si intra hoc induciarum tempus Rex poloniae suo Creatori spiritum reddet statim atque eius mors ad nostras pervenerit aures ut ad poloniae senatum nostros legatos mittamus quod si nobiscum perpetuam amicitiam et fraternitatem optent non aliam personam ni eorum Regem eligant quam tuam cum non alium tali corona digniorem quam te videamus et quando ad illam assumtus eris nobis 150 millia Taleros pro una vice daturum promittis et singulis annis illam pecuniae summam quam Tartariae legibus Poloniae senatus dare solitus elargiturum quoque promittis.

Hoc et nos tibi fratri facturos promittimus et toto conatu nostro in omnibus tibi satisfacere operam dabimus. At Deo donante si tui cogitatus adoptatum perducentur finem ut in Poloniae Regem electus fueris nos quoque unum a te petemus quod modo tibi non possumus. Quod si per tuas litteras te facturum promittes alia vice per meos legatos tibi illud referam. De cetero quemadmodum ad tuam tractandam amicitiam nobilem virum nobisque fidelem, Cambert, ad te misimus, ita nunc ad continuandum in hac erga te incepta amicitia ad te mittimus praesentem exhibitorem nobilem Mursam nobisque fidelem Noranli ogan una cum signo nostrae amicitiae perpetuae daturae nostraeque promissionis arrha. Vale, te Deus Optimus Maximus in ista valetudine conservet longosque felicesque dies ac prosperos rerum successus praesertim contra utriusque nostrum inimicos tibi fratri et amico nostro optantes. Data in Palatio nostro Bageia Seraiensi die II Decembris Anno 1631.