

# Historical Context of the Treaties Between Genoa and the Golden Horde 1380 - 1381

**Victor Mykolayovych Talakh**

Independent Researcher, Kyiv, Ukraine

**Email address:**

[victornykolayevich@gmail.com](mailto:victornykolayevich@gmail.com)

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**Abstract:** The year 1380 became one of the critical points in the history of Eastern Europe: the twenty-year civil war in the Ulus of Jochi ended, the Tatars suffered their first major defeat from Moscow in the Battle of Kulikovo, and a long-term system of political relations between Genoa and the Golden Horde developed in the Crimea. Each of these topics has a significant historiography. However, until today there is no comprehensive, systematic and holistic analysis of the relationship between these events. Even their mutual chronological sequence is not entirely clear. The causal relationships between them on the basis of the same sources are interpreted inconsistently, and in some cases - mutually exclusive. Important documents reflecting the political situation in the Ulus of Jochi at this turning point are two treaties signed by the Genoese consul of Caffa and the Tatar governor of Solkhat in November 1380 and February 1381. This material analyzes political, legal, and economic provisions of the treaties of 1380–1381, the composition of the persons who participated in their signing, the circumstances of the concluding. Although the content of both documents is identical, and they differ only in the composition of the persons who signed them on the Horde's side, the author believes that these are two independent acts. According to the author, both agreements were concluded on behalf of and in the interests of Toqtamış Khan. Wherein, based on numismatic data, the dating of the yarliq (jarlyg) to Bek Hajji and records in the Book of Caffan Massaria, the author is inclined to an early (before March 1380) dating of the establishment of Toqtamış Khan's power in Crimea. The author is of the opinion that the existence of two agreements was in connection with a change of administration in Solkhat (although the details of this are unclear). He also considers N. Murzakevich's assumption as highly probable in that the cession to the Genoese of Soldaia district and Crimean Gothia, stipulated by treaties, was a reward for the murder of Mamai which occurred perhaps between 28 November 1380 and 23 January 1381. The author offers three alternative scenarios for the development of events in the Crimea in autumn 1380 - early 1381 and propose further steps to establish the true one.

**Keywords:** Genova, Caffa, Ulus of Jochi, Crimean Gothia, Soldaia, Toqtamış, Mamai

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## 1. Introduction

Despite more than two hundred years of history of relations between the Genoese and the Ulus of Jochi, as well as its successor, the Crimean Khanate, very little documentary evidence of them remains. Therefore, of particular interest are two treaties between Genoa and Golden Horde dated according to the Muslim calendar 30 Shaban<sup>1</sup> and 28 Zu-l-Qa'dah 782 AH. Abbe Gasparo Luigi Oderico was the first to mention them in his essay "Lettere Ligustiche" (1792) [15, p. 180–181]. Researchers of the 19th century limited

themselves mainly to brief comments when publishing texts or in review papers [18, p. 52-58; 43, c. 51-53; 5, v. II, p. 19-22; 16, p. 71-75; 26, c. 180-181; 24, c. 224-226; 10, p. 205-207; 8]. A relatively detailed analysis of the provisions of these treaties is contained in the studies of Kuun Géza [13, o. 22-49] and Vasily Smirnov [68, c. 132-138]. The authors of the 20th and 21st centuries also, as a rule, give only concise descriptions of the legal and economic provisions of documents [20, p. 177-179; 1, p. 457-459; 6; 67, c. 89-90; 9, p. 124-127; 25, c. 106-107; 44, c. 44; 31, c. 156; 77, c. 191; 23, c. 602-603; 12, p. 101-102; 66, c. 430-434]. The historical context in which these acts appeared is analyzed, in some degree, in the works of E. Basso [2; 3, p. 98-100] and V.

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<sup>1</sup>Other option: 29 Shaban [3, p. 99].

Ciociltan [7, p. 230–232], however, quite quickly, as well as by the author of this article [69]. The political situation in Caffa at the time of the conclusion of the treaties and immediately after that is considered in detail on the basis of documentary sources by A. V. Dzhanov [32, c. 63–80]. He also performed an annotated translation of documents into Russian on the basis of archival originals [33, c. 698–708]. Ukrainian translations of treaties are made by the author of this article [70].

## 2. Content Overview

### 2.1. Political Provisions

Both treaties are agreements on a political union between the Republic of Genoa, represented by the community of Caffa, and the unnamed "Emperor of the Tatars", that is, the Khan of the Ulus of Jochi. The Genoese, who were both in Caffa and in other cities subordinate to the Republic of St. George, promised that "everyone will be loyal and devoted to the Emperor, and they will be friends to his friend, and they will be enemies to his enemies" ("*sera fide e leay a lo Impao de lo so amico amixi sera de li soy Inimixi inimii sera*"). In addition, the treaties contained a special condition that the Genoese "would not accept enemies of the Emperor, nor those rulers who would turn their faces away from the Emperor, into their cities and their fortresses" ("*A le soe Citay ni a le soe castell[le non li] re[cete]ra [l]i inimixi de lo Impao, ni anchora quelì baroy, chi vozera viso da lo Impao*"). The Caffa leaders undertook to provide diplomatic support to the Khan: they promised that "they will exalt the name of the emperor in accordance with their capabilities, as they did in the days of former emperors" ("*accrescera lo nome de lo Impo segudo lo lor poey, si como i faxea pe li Imperao passay*") [33, c. 699–700]. We can, of course, consider these provisions of the treaty as a purely protocol formula, but in the Treaty between Horde and Genoa of August 1387 there are no such obligations, they are not also in the Malagina Treaty of the Genoese with the Ottoman Ruler Murad in 1387 [18, p. 59–64]. The Genoese agreements of that time with the eastern rulers generally avoid discussions on general topics, it is always a response to very specific circumstances.

In exchange, the ruler of Solkhat, on behalf of the Khan, gave Genoa 18 villages of the Soldaya district and Gothia from Soldaya to Chembalo, that is, almost the entire Crimean South Coast: "those eighteen villages that were subjugated and given to Soldaya, when the Commune took Soldaya, and then Lord Mamai took them away by force, these named villages shall be under the authority and administration of the Commune and the Consul, and shall be free from the Empire. Likewise, let Gothia with its settlements and its people who are Christians, from Chembalo to Soldaia, belong to the Great Commune and may the aforementioned settlements and people with their lands and their waters be free" ("*queli dixoto casay li quay era sotemixi e rendenti a Sodaya q(ua)n(do)lo Comup(re)yse Sodaya poa Mamai segno ge li leua p(er) forsa quelì dixoto Casay sea(m) i(n) la voluntay e bayria de lo Comu(n) e de lo Consoro e seam franchi da lo Imperio*").

*Semeieyueme(n)ti la Gotia cu(m) li soy casay e cu(m) lo so pouo li q(u)y sum xr(ist)iay(n) da lo Cembaro fim in Sodaya sea de lo grande comu(n) e sea(m) franchi li sourascriti casay lo pouo cu(m) li soy terre(n) cu(m) le soe aygoe*" [33, c. 702.]).

### 2.2. Legal Provisions

The first common legal provision of both treaties is the obligation of the parties to comply with their provisions: "agreements and conditions have been concluded, and contrary to these agreements they will not act".

Another legal provision of the treaties concerns the delimitation of powers in the field of legal proceedings between Genoese and Horde officials. It was established that the court over the subjects of the khan, who are in Caffa or coming there, will be carried out by an official designated in the treaties as "titanus". For a long time, researchers identified the "titanus" of the 1380/81 treaties with a *tudun*, a Tatar official whose presence in Caffa is attested for the 70s of the 15th century. [1, p. 829; 35, c. 26; 44, c. 44]. However, as shown by A. L. Ponomaryov, in the Genoese documents the word "tudun" was written "Todum", not "titanus" [53, c. 384]. "Titanus" can be compared with another Mongolian bureaucratic title mentioned in the Laurentian, Simeonovskaya and Voskresenskaya Chronicles, and also, probably, in Mamai's *yarlyq* (*jarlyg*) to elected Metropolitan Mikhail-Mityai: *ti-tyam*, which probably comes from the Chinese "*ti-dyan*", administrator, inspector [59; 33, c. 690–691].

The texts of the treaties specifically stipulate that "titans can enter Caffa", "titans will enter Caffa", that is, at the time of signing, between November 1380 and February 1381, this official was not in the city. Meanwhile, in the the Book of the Caffan Massaria (registration book of the Treasury of the Genoese colony in the Crimea) for 1381–1382, under May 4, 1380 it is indicated that the Governor of Solkhat "came to the garden of Caihador tityam" ("*venit ad viridarium Caihadoris titani*") [38, c. 202]. Thus, either the location of the tityam in the spring of 1380 was outside the territory of Caffa, and in accordance with the treaty was transferred to the city, or for some reason between May and November, the tityam left Caffa. At the same time, the jurisdiction of the inhabitants of Caffa to the Genoese consul was established.

Special rules of jurisdiction were established for the category of the population designated as "*khanluks*" ("*khanluchi*"). A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy translated this term as "le sujet du khan" [18, p. 58], however, the treaty text designates the latter "*homi de lo imperao*" and distinguishes them from *khanluks*. A. Ponomaryov on the basis of the analysis of the Book of the Caffan Massaria admits that this was the name of the settled population of the southern coast of Crimea, regardless of ethnic and confessional affiliation [53, c. 384–386]. According to the agreements, their jurisdiction was distributed depending on the parties of litigation and territorially: according to the treaty of 1380, litigations between the *khanluks* and the Genoese were under the jurisdiction of the Caffa consul, in other cases the *khanluks* were judged by the tityam in Caffa or by the Governor of

Solkhat. The treaty of 1381 extended the jurisdiction of the consul to all litigations in which the Genoese and any subjects of the khan were parties.

### 2.3. Economic Provisions

The economic clauses of both treaties are almost the same. In general, their analysis is contained in the commentary to A. Dzhanov's translation [33, c. 689-692].

The treaties established that the Horde customs house would be located in Caffa and an imperial tax (duty) on trade (*comerho de lo imperao*) would be levied "according to the original custom". From Janibek's charters - *yarlyqs* to the Venetians is known that the "imperial tax" ("khan tamgasy") initially amounted to 3 percent of the value of the goods sold, from 1347 it was increased to 5 percent; for undressed skins of small and large cattle a fixed rate of 40 and 50 aspros for one hundred pieces was applied; precious stones, pearls, gold and silver were exempted from this tax [30, c. 19-22]. In Caffa in the second half of the XIV century *comerho* in favor of the community was 1 percent of the value of any imported or exported goods; at the same time, a 3 percent rate was applied to goods originating from Licostomo (Kiliya), which was located on the territory of Prince Dobrotitza, unfriendly to the Genoese [1, p. 408-409].

The parties showed interest in the development of trade, in connection with which the Horde side promised: "let all arriving and departing merchants be safe in the lands of the Emperor, and no new customs will be established regarding them". It seems that the practice of the twenty-year "great turmoil" of 1360-1380, when the new government established new rules for foreign merchants, irritated Italian tradesmen, and they especially demanded protection from it.

A separate provision of the treaties provides for the right of the Genoese, or those who are subordinate to them, to sow and graze cattle on the lands of the khan, while a special tax, *ambar*, had to be paid for the use of Horde pastures and lands (for his character, see: [33, c. 692]). It is worth noting that a mirror rule existed regarding the use of the Genoese lands by the khan's subjects: according to the data of the Caffan Massaria for 1374, the annual payment of the khanluks for the use of the pastures of the Genoese was 4000 aspros [53, c. 385].

Finally, the treaties specifically regulated the amount of remuneration for the capture of runaway slaves (from which we can conclude that their escapes were quite common): it could not exceed a fairly modest amount of 35 aspros.

## 3. Parties of the Treaty on 30 Shaban 782 AH

### 3.1. Horde Side, Sovereign

In the main text of the treaty, the name of the khan is not indicated. The political situation in Crimea at the time the treaty was signed was complex and not entirely clear. Therefore, there are at least three assumptions about the ruler of the Golden Horde, on whose behalf an agreement was

concluded with the Genoese on November 28, 1380.

#### 3.1.1. Mamai

From August 1365 Crimea was controlled by Beglaribeg Mamai [44, c. 42-43], from Kiyat tribe, who in the mid-1360s - 1370s ruled the western part of the Ulus of Jochi on behalf of the nominal khans. V. Myts and V. Sidorenko believe that the Governor of Solkhat, who signed the treaty of 1380, could be a supporter of Mamai [44, c. 6, 25; 66, c. 432-434]. However, analysis of the agreement makes this possibility unlikely:

"Lord Mamai" is mentioned in the text negatively, as a person who forcibly took away the settlements belonging to Soldaya from the Genoese;

in the introductory formula of the agreement, "In nome de Dee posselo esse", a slightly redacted Islamic *tasmiya* is obviously guessed, "In the name of God, the Merciful Benefactor" (*bi'sm'illāh' l-raḥmān' l-raḥīm*), which has become common in the acts of the Ulus of Jochi since the time of Toqtamış, while in the act of Mamai, the *yarlyq* to Metropolitan Mikhail-Mityai of February 27, 1379, the old Mongolian formula appears, "By the power of Eternal Heaven and by patronage of Great Grace" [37, c. 844];

according to one of the interpretations of the Chronicle Lengthy Story about the Mamai War, the puppet Mamai's Khan Tulaq-beg died on the Kulikovo Field [49, c. 79; 44, c. 178-179; 38, c. 139], and in the autumn of 1380 Mamai could not conclude agreements on behalf of any khan (albeit, Mamai could proclaim a new nominal khan in the Crimea);

The possibility of obtaining asylum in the Genoese possessions in the autumn of 1380 did not make any sense for the winner Toqtamış and was very relevant for the defeated Mamai, but he could not conclude an agreement against himself.

#### 3.1.2. Konakbey

In the list of witnesses at the end of the text of the Treaty of 30 Shaban there is an entry "Omarcoia messo de lo Imperao Conachbey" [33, c. 701; 18, p. 55]. Starting with the first publisher of the document, A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, the words "messo de lo Imperao" ("emperor's ambassador") were attributed to Omar-Khoja, and the entry "Conachbey" was considered as the name of the following witness: "Omar-Khoja, ambassador of the emperor; Konakbey".

However, E. Basso suggested that the name "Konakbey" is an apposition to the word "Imperao", accordingly he read the text as: "Omar-Khoja, ambassador of the emperor Konakbey". In his opinion, Konakbey was «uno dei competitori di Toqtamış nella lotta per il trono dell'Orda d'Oro», «si può supporre che si pattasse di uno dei tanti principi tatari che, durante il lungo periodo di disordine politico, si arrogarono il titolo di Khan» [3, p. 99]. The point of view about Khan Kunakbeg / Konakbey, who was recognized in the Crimea for a short time in the autumn of 1380, was supported by A. Ponomaryov, V. Myts, M. Balard and A. Dzhanov [55, c. 173; 44, c. 6, 25; 23, c. 603; 32, c. 68-69; 33, c. 683-685]. Nevertheless, such an interpretation does not correspond to the order of names and titles adopted in the document, and is not consistent with the form of a similar treaty between Horde

and Genoese of 1387. In other sources, written, epigraphic or numismatic, Khan Kunakbeg is unknown. But in the act of the Genoese notary from Chilia Antonio da Ponzo dated February 21, 1361, the thousand-man "Conacobey" is mentioned (more precisely, the slave trader "Tatar Temir from a thousand Konakobei, from a hundred Kelogi, from a dozen Khojimai", "*Themir tartarus de miliario de Conachobei de centanario Cheloghi de decena Cogimai*"), which is most likely identical to the witness of the Treaty of 1380 [17, p. 22; 31, c. 146; 69, c. 119-120.]. However, a thousand-man could not be a Chingizid (in such a case it would be designated as "*oglan*"), and a non-Chingizid could not be a khan.

### 3.1.3. Toqtamış

Back in 1792, Gasparo Luigi Oderico suggested that the Treaty of November 1380 was concluded on behalf of Khan Toqtamış [15, p. 180]. Later this point of view was supported by A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, N. N. Murzakevich, V. D. Smirnov [18, p. 53; 43, c. 51; 68, c. 133].

However, among modern researchers the point of view prevails that Toqtamış crossed the Volga in the autumn of 1380, after the Battle of Kulikovo and as a result of it (for instance, [64, c. 268-269]). But, there are a number of factual data that raise doubts about the correctness of this interpretation of events.

A. Currently, more than two dozen coins are known with the name of Toqtamış and the date 781 AH (04/19/1379 - 04/07/1380 Julian), minted in the Volga region and to the west of it (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Coins with the name of Toqtamış minted west of Yaik in 781 AH<sup>2</sup>

Place and time of minting (AH)	Origin, number					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Saray, beled (district) Saray, 781		7		1	1 <sup>c</sup>	9
Saray al-Jedid, 781		7	1	1		9
Beled Saray, 771 <sup>f</sup>					1 <sup>g</sup>	
Azak, 781	1	3			1 <sup>h</sup>	5
Qyrim (Crimea), 781			1		1 <sup>i</sup>	2
						25

I - Kubaevsky treasure, 1867<sup>a</sup>; II - Buyerachny treasure, 1954<sup>b</sup>; III - Tsarevsky treasure, 1972<sup>c</sup>; IV - Karatunsky treasure, 1986<sup>d</sup>; V - other; VI – total.

<sup>a</sup>73, c. 172; <sup>b</sup>73, c. 156; <sup>c</sup>74, c. 251; <sup>d</sup>75, c. 109, 144, 319, табл. 9, 331, табл. 21; <sup>e</sup>14, p. 171; <sup>f</sup>Obvious cutter error: 'vvv' instead of 'vvv'; <sup>g</sup>40; <sup>h</sup>57, c. 31; <sup>i</sup>39, c. 11, 18.

Then, V. A. Sidorenko refers the coins of Toqtamış, minted in Saray in 780 AH and in Saray al-Jedid in AH 781, to erroneously or dubiously determined on the basis that "coins are unknown" [65, c. 274]. Unfortunately, the author does not disclose the content of this characteristic. But even if this means that when examining collections with materials from the Buerachny treasure in the late 1990s, there were no such artifacts in them, it does not follow from this that they were not there between 1954 and 1960, when they were seen and described by G. A. Fedorov-Davydov. It only means that they were lost (stolen, seized).

Seven coins of Toqtamış with the date 781, minted in

Beled Saray and found in the Buerachny treasure in 1954, according to V. A. Sidorenko are incomplete impressions of the "sides of the Saraichuk coin of 782 AH of Toqtamış" [65, c. 274]. However, in the edition of S. Lane-Poole, to which V. Sidorenko refers, it points out the similarity of this coin with the coin of Khorezm 781 AH (No. 515 in the catalog), and not Saraichuk of the next year: "Serāī (?) year 781. Rev. similar to (515)" [14, p. 170, 171, 172].

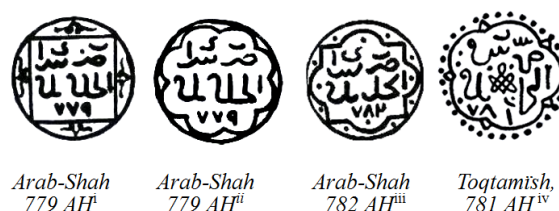
Thus, a presumably Sarai coin of 781 AH from the catalog of S. Lane-Poole cannot be "an incomplete impression of the sides of the coin of Saraichuk 782 AH" from the same catalog; but V. Sidorenko does not refer any other coins of Saraichuk 782 AH.

Further, in the date on the coin 781 from the publication of 1881 the number "١" is in the center of the coin field and could not be distorted by the "incomplete impression" of the number "٢" (not to mention the fact that the additional upper bow of the Arabic numeral "٢" ("2") is on the right, and only the left edge could be cut off with an "incomplete impression"). Finally, distortion due to "incomplete impression" could be on one coin, but seven coins of Toqtamış of Beled Sarai issue were found in the Buerachny treasure.

V. Sidorenko reasonably indicates that on the Toqtamış coin from Azak, the date on which P. S. Savelyev read "781" AH, in fact, the number "787" is stamped [65, c. 274]. However, without any argumentation, this observation extends to three coins from the Buerachny treasure, found a century after the publication in 1858 of the work of P. Savelyev, the dates on which were determined by G. A. Fedorov-Davydov.

E. Goncharov and Y. Seleznyov question the authenticity of dating the Toqtamış coins of 781 AH based on general considerations. For example, Y. Seleznyov points out that "in Jochid numismatics, there are cases when the obverse side with the name of the khan does not correspond with the reverse side with the year and place of minting" [64, c. 270; cf.: 27, c. 60.]. This is possible either when mint masters used the stamps of previous years for reverse of coins, or during unofficial coinage, which copied the sides of coins of different times and did not always attach importance to their compatibility [65, c. 269]. In both cases, a specific analysis of reverses and comparison with coins of other issuers having the same dates is necessary. But in the case of Sarai, Crimean and Azak coins of Toqtamış 781 AH there is nothing to compare them with, since the coins of other khans minted in Sarai, Solkhat and Azak with the date 781 AH unknown.

The closest in time to the Sarai al-Jedid coinage of Toqtamış of 781 AH are the coins of Arab-Shah of 779 and 782 AH (Figure 1):



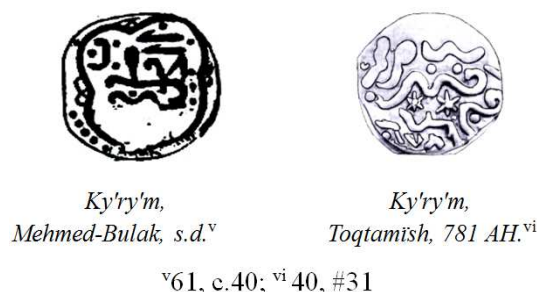
i – iii 61, c. 42; iv 56, c. 319, табл. 9.

**Figure 1.** Arab-Shah and Toqtamış Coins from Sarai.

2 The table was compiled on the basis of summaries of I. Mirgaleev [42, c. 44] and A. Artemov [22].

However, the coins of Arab-Shah and the coins of Toqtamış, except for the date (in all cases, well readable), have a different pattern. There can be no question of any use of the same stamps or imitation.

The closest to the Crimean coinage of Toqtamış is the undated coin of Mehmed-Bulak (between 777 and 780 AH) (Figure 2):



**Figure 2.** Crimean Coins of Mehmed-Bulak and Toqtamış.

There is a stylistic similarity between the two coins, but objective differences are more significant: the coin of Mehmed-Bulak has no date, on the Toqtamış coin it is clearly read "٧٨١" (781); Mehmed-Bulak has a place of issuance in 2 lines: "Coinage of Qyry-/al-Jadid-m", Toqtamış coin has issuance data in 4 lines: "Minted / in Ky'ry'm / year / 781" [40, #30, 31]. Both coins were issued at the same mint, but without using the same stamps and were not imitations of each other.

So, between the end of April 1379 and the middle of April 1380, coins with the name of Toqtamış were minted in the Volga Saray, Azak near the Azov and in the Crimea, there are no convincing refutations of these facts.

B. The subject of a long discussion is the dating of the tarkhan yarlyq (immunity letter) for Syutköl El (district) in the Crimea, issued by Toqtamış to a certain Bek-Hajji. A. P. Grigoriev, who conducted a rigorous analysis of the document, found that the original dating formula of the charter was not preserved (the corresponding part of the sheet was torn off), but was duplicated by a later scribe in a different handwriting. At the same time, an internally contradictory date came out, Hijri date written in Arabic is: samanuna wa sab'ymy'a, "eightieth and seven hundredth" (year), 780 AH, – and the date indicated in Turkic for the twelve-year "animal cycle": Bicin jil qilindi, "in the year of the Monkey is committed" [29, c. 83-85.]. However, the day 24 Zu al-Qa'dah 780 AH, specified in the document, does not correspond to the year of the Monkey, because it falls on February 14, 1379, and the year of the Monkey began on February 6, 1380 and ended on January 25, 1381. A. P. Grigoriev quite reasonably assumed that the scribe no longer had a record of the number of years (the corresponding piece of the charter was lost before the paper fell into his hands), but instead of restoring the date in the only possible way: 24 Zu al-Qa'dah 78[1] AH, the year of the Monkey, which corresponds to March 2, 1380 (Julian) [see: 36, c. 31; 45, c. 112-114], – proposed date Zu al-Qa'dah 78[2] AH, February 19, 1381 [29, c.

86], which is not the year of the Monkey, but the year of the Hen (01/26/1381 - 02/12/1382). It is impossible to admit that the officials of the khan's office did not know in what year they live according to the generally accepted calendar in Golden Horde. Arguments in favor of the opinion of A. Grigoriev, cited by Y. Seleznyov [64, c. 269-270], has the character of an emotional assessments, and not of an analysis of facts. True, there is an option proposed by I. Berezin and V. Tsybulsky: 24 Zu al-Qa'dah 794 AH, the year of the Monkey, October 12, 1392 [76, c. 72-73]. But in this case, it should be assumed that the scribe not only did not see the sheet or missed the number of years, but also incorrectly copied the indication of the number of decades, writing "80" instead of "90". However, confuse written in Arabic letters the numerals *ثمانون* "eighty") and *تسعون* ("ninety") is very difficult.

Consequently, it follows from the documentary source that as early as the beginning of March 1380, the power of Toqtamış was most likely recognized in the Crimea. Since the distribution or confirmation of rights to lands, as a rule, took place when a new ruler was established in a particular area, it can be assumed that Toqtamış took possession of the Crimea at the end of the winter of 1380.

C. In the Book of the Caffan Massaria for 1381-1382, a trade tax is mentioned, "collected in Caffa in the previous year and in the current one, namely, at the discretion of Lord Mamai before the rule of Lord Sarychi, at that time Lord of Solkhat" ("*comerihii canlucorum collectum in Caffa anni preteriti et presentis videlicet a districtionem domini Mamai usque ad adventum dominationis domini Sarihi tunc domini Sorchati*") [38, c. 224.]. The entry can be understood as an indication that Mamai owned the Crimea for at least part of 1380. However, the "discretion of lord Mamai" can also be interpreted as certain rules, the procedure for collecting taxes, once (it is not known when) established by Mamai. In any case, these "discretions" ceased to operate after the new chief Horde tax collector in the Crimea, "lord Sarychi", took office. And this happened no later than May 1380, since, according to another entry in the same Book of the Caffan Massaria, the Caffan official Joanne de Camogli then met with Sarychi in Solkhat: "day May 17, for Hajji Mehmet, a Saracen, and this [money] for the purchase of one horse taken by Joanne de Camogli on the occasion of a trip on public affairs to Solkhat to lord Sarychi, [and] to another lord of Solkhat, and who died" ("*die XVII madii pro Agimamet sarraceno et sunt pro emenda unius equi capti per Iohannem de Camulio occasione eundi pro negociis comunis in Sorchati ad dominum Sarihi alius dominum Sorchati et quo decessit*") [38, c. 202]<sup>3</sup>. Consequently, in May 1380, Mamai no longer owned Crimea.

<sup>3</sup>The year of the event is determined on the basis of the introductory note, that "expenses incurred during the time of the massario Mr. Bernabò Rizzo with a companion in the consulate Janone de Bosco" ("*expense facte tempore massarie domini Bernabonis Ricii et socii consulatus domini Ianoni de Bosco*") (38, c. 201).



D. "The Tale of the Captivity and the Coming of Takhtamyskh the Tsar, and the Capture of Moscow" ("Повѣсть о плѣненіи и о прихожденіи Тахтamyша царя, и о московскомъ взятъи") from the Novgorod IV Chronicle, written by a contemporary of the events, reports that the Moscow campaign of Toqtmāsh in August 1382 "be in the 3rd year of Toqtmāsh' reign, reigning in the Horde and in Sarai" ("бысть въ 3-ее лѣто царства Тахтamyшева, царствующу ему въ ордѣ и въ Сарай") [49, c. 84]. From this, however, it does not follow that the third year of his reign is the third March year in which he sat on the throne (then the first year was March 1380 - March 1381), this is simply the third period of 365 days that came after the accession and on which August 1382 fell. But in this case, the first year of the reign of Toqtmāsh in Saray al-Jedid lies between September 1379 and July 1381, including the time between September 1379 and August 1380 (Table 2).

**Table 2.** Early and late options of 3-d year of Toqtmāsh' reign.

	Early option	Late option
First year	September 1379 – August 1380	August 1380 – July 1381
Second year	September 1380 – August 1381	August 1381 – July 1382
Third year	September 1381 – August 1382	August 1382 – July 1383

E. In the notice from the Chronicle Legend "About the great battle, that is on the Don" ("О великомъ побоищи, иже на Дону"): "News came to him [= Mamai] that some king from the East named Toqtmāsh from the Blue Horde would go against him" ("И се прииде ему вѣсть, что идетъ на него нѣкий царь со востока именемъ Токтамышъ изъ Синее Орды" [51, стб. 141]), – "East" rather indicates the place of origin of Toqtmāsh, and not the starting point of his campaign, although the movement from the middle Don to Kilchen is also the movement from East to West. The distance from Saray al-Jedid (Selitrennoye Gorodische in the Astrakhan region) to Kilchen is about 1320 km, the path of Toqtmāsh's army, if he set off from Saray and walked without stops, should have taken at least 44 days, and if he left Yaik, who was border of Ak-Orda and Kok-Orda (distance 1740 km) – 58 days. Accordingly, Toqtmāsh should have set out from Sarai before the time between August 22 and September 4, and from Yaik between August 8 and 21, in all cases before the Battle of Kulikovo. However, it would be very imprudent to attack Mamai without knowing the result of his campaign against Moscow.

So, in the winter of 1379/1380 - spring of 1380, Toqtmāsh captured Saray al-Jedid and crossed to the western bank of the Volga. In this conflict, he was initially successful: no later than mid-February 1380, the new Khan was recognized in the coast of the Sea of around Azak, on the Middle Don, where the Toqtmāsh headquarters was located [29, c. 81-82], and in Crimea.

Soon the situation changed: in 782 AH coins of Khan Tulaq (Mamai's puppet) are minted in Hajjitar Khan [75, c. 16-17, 105], at the same time, Arab-Shah minting is resumed in Saray [75, c. 76; 61, c. 42.], finally, in Sygnak-Saray in 782 AH the coinage of a certain Kunche Khan begins [58, c. 90-92.]. It is

impossible to take possession of Hajjitar Khan without cutting off the Don region, where Toqtmāsh was then supposed to be, from Saray and the lands east of the Volga. Obviously, this was the strategic plan of Mamai. It is difficult to say whether he then collaborated with Arab-Shah, or the latter took advantage of the situation to return to Sarai, or whether Arab-Shah first opposed Toqtmāsh, and this was used by Mamai. It is important that between April and August 1380, Mamai launched a counteroffensive, although the Don, Azov and Crimea remained loyal to Toqtmāsh. The most likely Khan, whose authority was recognized in Solkhat in the second half of 1380, was Toqtmāsh.

### 3.2. Horde Delegation

- The main person who signed the agreement of November 1380 from the Horde side was the Governor of Solkhat "Lord Cherkas" ("Jharcasso segno"). A few lines later, the same person is designated in a completely different way: "Lord Ziho / Siho" ("segno Zicho"). M. Balard believes that Jharcas Zicho is a double name [23, c. 603], whose first and second parts could be used separately. A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy suggested that "Zicho" is a corruption of the Arabic "Cheikh", "elder, respected man" [18, p. 56–57]. The same point of view is supported by V. Smirnov and W. Heyd [68, c. 134–135; 10, p. 207]. However, in the text of the treaty itself and in the Book of the Caffan Massaria, the name "Sheikh Hassan" is transcribed in Latin as "Sichassam" or "Sicassam" [32, c. 61, прим. 55], which rules out its identity with "Zicho". F. K. Brun expressed the opinion that "Zicho" is nothing more than a translation of the ethnonym "Circassian", quite common in the Horde onomasticon as a personal name [24, c. 224]. The same assumption A. Grigoriev made regarding the Horde ruler of Tana-Azak, in 1342 and 1346 mentioned in Venetian documents in Latin as "Siechus" [30, c. 49]. Decisive are the entries in the Book of the Caffan Massaria for 1386–1387, where "lord of Zichia" ("dominis de Zichia") is mentioned, called in another place "Teort-Boga Zicho, the brightest lord of the tumen" ("Teorto Bogha Zicho serenissimo domino de tomano") [32, c. 97, прим. 142]. Thus, "Zicho" is an indication of the ethnic origin of the Solkhat Governor, Circassian or Adyg.

Cherkass was the Governor of Solkhat at least from the beginning of May 1380, because in the Book of the Caffan Massaria it is indicated that on May 4, 1380, the Caffiots "offered the cup to Cherkas, the lord of Solkhat" ("tenerunt coppa alius Jharcasso domino Sorchati") [32, c. 64, 202].

- Another person who witnessed the agreement from the Horde side was the "emperor's ambassador" (obviously, the one who arrived with the Khan's message, confirmed by the paiza). His name may be Omar-Khoja, or Kochkeldy Omar-Khoja, where the first part is Turkic (lit. "well / perinently arrived"), and the second is Muslim, Arab-Persian.
- Another participant in the signing of the treaty (named the first of the witnesses) is Akbuga-beg. Akbuga's

father in the original text is called a Latinized name "Allexandro bey". It is difficult to say whether the Europeanized record of the name "Iskander-beg" takes place here, or Akbuga's father belonged to the Horde Christians. Akbuga himself is known from the materials of the Caffa Massaria for 1374 – 1375: after Mamai and his horde settled in the Crimea in the summer or autumn of 1374, during 1374/75 the Genoese several times sent embassies to Solkhat to meet with the Beglyaribeg himself, his puppet Khan Mehmed-Bulak, the "lord of Solkhat" Hajji-Mehmed and, among others, with Akbuga [54, c. 118]. In May and July 1381 and in March 1382, gifts were presented to his ambassadors at the expense of the Caffa Treasury (though rather modest) [38, c. 203, 211, 214]. Under July 3, 1381, Akbuga was named "lord of the Illiche district" ("*domini contractibus Illicis*"), that is, the vicinity of the Genoese castle of Illiche-Lerici at the mouth of the Dnieper [38, c. 203; 12, p. 137]. At the beginning of the reign of Toqtamış, a certain Akbuga-Bahryn played a significant role in the Golden Horde, whose ulus in 1389 was located on the lower Don [63, c. 29]. Perhaps Akbuga received it from Toqtamış instead of or in addition to his Dnieper possessions.

- d. The third of the witnesses from the Horde side, Toglu-beg, the son of Hajjimash-beg, is closer unknown.
- e. The fourth witness is Maulana Moharram. The title "*maulana*", "teacher, mentor" indicates belonging to the Muslim clergy. The "ambassador of the lord" probably indicates that he was the personal representative of the ruler of Solkhat.
- f. About the last of the witnesses to the Treaty on Shaban 30, 782 AH. Konakbeg /Konakbay, see 3.1.2.

### 3.3. Genoese Delegation

- a. The main representative of the Republic of Genoa at the time of signing the treaty was Janone da Bosco, who was called "the consul of Caffa and all the Genoese in the Empire of Gazaria living in it". According to A. Ponomaryov, he took office in November 1379 [53, c. 323]. Thus, de Bosco was appointed by Doge Niccolo Guarco in the time of an acute conflict between Genoa and Venice, the so-called "War of Chioggia". In this regard, two galleys with crews of about 150 people were sent from Caffa to help the metropolis [53, c. 383]. One of them was equipped by Joanne Fereiyo, and the other by Paolo de Reza [38, c. 175, 184, 201, 220, 233, 236]. In connection with the War of Chioggia in Caffa an emergency tax was even introduced on the movable property of non-Catholics (Muslims, Armenians, Greeks and Jews), the so-called "*cotum*" [1, p. 403].
- b. Along with the consul on the Genoese side, the treaty was signed by Bernabò Rizzo and Teramo Pichinotto, who were called "the syndics and massarias of the Caffa community". The rank of syndics indicates that Rizzo and Pichinotto were members of the consul's council. At the end of the XIV century he consisted of 6 people and

decided financial affairs, administered justice, represented the Republic of Genoa in foreign relations [1, p. 370–371].

More importantly, Rizzo and Pichinotto were massarii, that is, persons in charge of the Caffan Massaria (Treasury), and controlled the financial life of the colony. The eldest of them was Bernabò Rizzo, who is always mentioned by name in the Books of the Massaria, while Pichinotto is descriptively designated as "comrade" (*socius*). Rizzo and Pichinotto arrived in Caffa with de Bosco and exercised their powers until March 16, 1381. In addition, Pichinotto was a member of the Board of Greek Affairs ("*officium super rebus grecorum*") [53, c. 322, прим. 15].

- c. Among the witnesses from the Genoese side, Lucio de Liturffi is listed first. Lucio (or, more commonly, Luciano) de Liturffi was a significant person, one of two (along with Abrano de Gentile) Caffan bankers, through whose banks the Massaria carried out transactions. In addition, he was often involved in diplomatic missions. In particular, Liturffi financed the trips of Caffan envoys to Solkhat in 1374, visited Solkhat in January and March 1382 [32, c. 57, 79–80]. In the first half of 1382, Liturffi was one of the governors of Gothia [32, c. 92].
- d. Another witness from the Genoese side was Marco Spinola, a representative of a well-known Ligurian noble family. He also acts as a creditor of the diplomatic activities of the Caffan community, together with Liturffi participates in the embassy to Solkhat in March 1382 [32, c. 71; 80]. At the same time, the documents mention Jacobo Spinola, the captain of the Caffa fortress, and also one of the governors of Gothia, Giorgio Spinola, the ship owner, and Oberto Spinola, probably relatives of Marco [38, c. 185, 194, 198, 203–206, 209, 220, 224, 228].
- e. The third witness from the Caffa side – Raffè (Rafaele) de Facho – was the collector of the tax collected in Caffa in favor of the khan [38, c. 187, 224].
- f. The fourth Genoese witness mentioned in the treaty was Joanne de Camogli (Camulio). Under 1375, he was repeatedly mentioned as a sabarbarius, an official who oversaw the arsenal and weapons, and was also in charge of construction work in the city [32, c. 155, 156, 159, 163, 168]. In the same year he buys slaves [32, c. 161]. In May 1380, Camogli "on public affairs" visited Solkhat, where he met with one of the "lords of Solkhat" Sarychi [38, c. 202]. In the future, he advanced his career, and under February and April 1381 was named in the documents of the Massaria as "lieutenant general of the seaside Gothia" or "lieutenant general of the coast of Gothia from the sea" ("*Iohannes de Camullio vicarius marine Gotie*"; "*Iohanne de Camullio vicario ripperie Gotie de verssus marinam*"), he held this position until at least mid-February of the following year [38, c. 217]. Later, in the same 1382, Camogli received the second most important post in Genoese Gazaria, this of consul of Soldaya [5, v. II, p. 335].

- g. The text mentions Giovanni Rizzo (perhaps a relative of the massario Bernabò Rizzo) as the consul's interpreter (*"Iohannus Ricius torcimanus"*). He is repeatedly mentioned in the Book of the Massaria as the recipient of payment from the Caffan administration, including in connection with trips to Solkhat in 1381-1382 [38, c. 196, 199, 201, 203, 206, 209, 213].

#### 4. Circumstances of the Conclusion of the Treaty on 30 Shaban 782 AH

In the second half of August 1380, Mamai begins a campaign against Moscow. The reasons for this decision are not entirely clear. According to the Lengthy Edition of the Chronicle Story "On the Battle of the Don", the conflict that resulted in the Battle of Kulikovo developed initially as a property dispute: "And start Mamai to send to Prince Dmitry to ask for the tribute, what was under the King Janibek, and not according to his treaty" (*"И нача Мамай слати къ князю Дмитрію выхода просити, како было при Чанибекъ цари, а не по своему докончанию"*) [49, c. 77]. Apparently, Mamai needed funds to fight against Toqtamish. According to the "Tale of the Mamai Battle", before going to Moscow, for some time Mamai stood at the confluence of Voronezh River with the Don [50, c. 47, 49.]. From here, he could descend to the south, where Toqtamish was most likely located, or rise north, in the direction of Moscow. Mamai chose the second option.

The Battle of Kulikovo is the subject of much and fierce controversy. The subject of discussion are the place, the composition of the participants, the forces of the parties, the course of the battle, losses, results, consequences, the year of the battle, and even the reality of this event. Therefore, we will only agree that the battle between Mamai and the Great Prince of Moscow Dmitry Ivanovich really took place on September 8, 1380 (according to the Julian style), and, according to its results, Mamai retreated from the battlefield.

Further events are covered in more detail than other sources by the Russian Cronicle Legend "About the great battle, that is on the Don" (*"О великомъ побоищи, иже на Дону"*): "Then Mamai with a few fled from the Battle of the Don and ran back to his land with a small squad <...> And the news came to him that some king from the East named Toqtamish from the Blue Horde would go against him. Mamai, prepared an army against him, with that army ready to go against him, and met on Kalki" (*"Тогда же Мамаи не во мнозе утече съ Доньского побоища и прибѣже въ свою землю въ малъ дружинъ <...>. И се прииде ему вѣсть, что идетъ на него нѣкый царь со востока именем Токтамышъ изъ Синее Орды. Мамаи же, уготовалъ на ны рать, съ тою ратию готовою поиде противу его, и срѣтошася на Калкахъ"*) [51, стб. 141]. In a slightly rethought form, Crimean historian Abdulgaffar Ky'ry'mi gives the same information: "The horde of Mamai-beg was on the [river] Yylky flowing from the Dnieper <...> Roaming, Toqtamish arrived to visit Mamai-beg" [21, c. 65]. V. N. Tatishchev, followed by N. M.

Karamzin and M. S. Solovyov, identified the Kalka river with the Kalchik, a tributary of the Kalmius, but V. G. Laskoronsky showed convincingly that this is the Kilchen River, a tributary of the Samara, the left tributary of the Dnieper [41, c. 84–89].

There was no battle between the opponents as such. According to the Russian Chronicle: "The lords of Mamai, having dismounted from their horses, fell prostrate before King Toqtamish and swore allegiance to him according to their faith, and wrote an oath to him, and joined to him, and left Mamai, as if outraged" (*"Мамаевы же князи, сшедше с коней своихъ, и биша челомъ царю Токтамышу и даша ему правду по своей вѣрѣ, и пиша къ нему роту, и яшася на него, а Мамаи оставиша, яко поругана"*) [51, стб. 141]. Since there are about 795–800 km between the Kulikovo field and Kilchen, and the speed of movement of the medieval army is no more than 30 km per day, Mamai with the army could not be on Kalki-Kilchen earlier than the middle of the first decade of October. On the other hand, after the political catastrophe that befell Mamai on Kalki, Toqtamish "from there send his ambassadors to the Russian land to the Great Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and to all the princes of Russia, telling them his coming and how to began to reign, and how to defeat your opponent and their enemy Mamai, and himself walked for govern in the kingdom of the Volga" (*"отъуду послы своя отпусти на Русскую землю ко князю великому Дмитрию Ивановичю и ко всѣмъ князѣмъ Русскимъ, повѣдая имъ свои приходъ и како вѣцарися, и како супротивника своего и ихъ врага Мамаи побѣди, а самъ шедъ съде на царствѣ Волжскомъ"*), and in response Dmitry of Moscow "sent his kilicheys [= messengers] Tolbuga and Mokshey to the Horde to the new king with gifts and offerings" (*"отпустилъ въ Орду своихъ киличеевъ Толбугу да Мокишя къ новому царю съ дары и съ поминки"*) [51, стб. 141, 142]. The Nikon Chronicle even gives the exact date of sending this embassy: October 29, 1380 [32, c. 69]. Since the distance from Kilchen to Moscow is approximately 940 km, and the speed of a horse courier is 80-100 km per day [34], the journey of the messenger of Toqtamish to Dmitry of Moscow could not take less than:  $940: 100 = 9.4$ , i.e. 10 days. Hence, if we trust the dates of the Nikon Chronicle, the *terminus ante quem* for the events at Kalki turns out to be October 18–19. So, the meeting of Toqtamish with Mamai and the betrayal of the emirs of the latter took place between October 5 and 18, 1380.

The distance from Kilchen to Solkhat is about 490 km, the average speed of movement of the equestrian embassy was approximately 60 km per day. From here, the journey took:  $490: 60 = 8.16$  days, – that is, representatives of Toqtamish could not arrive to Solkhat before October 13/26. But since this implies a practically unhindered movement of ambassadors and troops, it is more likely that the arrival of the Khan's envoys should have happened even later. Thus, between the arrival of messengers of Toqtamish and the signing of an agreement with the Genoese, no more than five weeks should have elapsed (and most likely less). Meanwhile, the analysis of legal and economic provisions shows that they have been worked out very carefully; it is unlikely that they will be developed and agreed upon in a month and a half.



Moreover, the text of the treaty states that it was concluded "by order of the Great Community" ("*con la comandamiento de lo Grande Comun*"), that is, agreed with the government of Genoa, which in principle could not be done in five weeks. Most likely, the preparation of the text began before the Battle of Kulikovo and the betrayal of Mamai by the emirs on the Kalka (see: [25, c. 106; 45, 110]).

On the eve of the conclusion of the treaty, some complications arose. It is known from the Book of the Caffan Massaria that on November 20, 1380, a week before the signing of the treaty, a certain Teofillato Segnorita was entrusted "to kill Ilyas, a Saracen from Solkhat, an enemy of the people and the community and the whole of Caffa, and this is in accordance with the decision of the Consul of Caffa with the massarii, and advisers, and officials of the Treasury" ("*interficere Ellias Sarracenum de Sorchati inimicum hominum et communitatis ac totius universitatis Caffae et hoc ex deliberacione domini consullis Caffae massariorum et consilii ac officii de moneta*") [38, c. 242]. V. Ciociltan believes that "Ilyas-Saracen" was Ilyas-beg, the future Governor of Solkhat and the signer of the next treaty with the Genoese [7, p. 231], but from the records of the Massaria it follows that Segnorita received a reward for his labors in a solid amount of 50 sommos, meanwhile, Ilyas-beg remained not only alive, but also a friend of Genoa. According to A. Dzhanov, the entry refers to "the costs of eliminating the enemies of Elias Bey the Saracen" [32, c. 66 - 67], but such interpretation does not agree with the grammar of the passage. In any case, it is not known why the murdered man so worried the Caffa rulers on the eve of the treaty conclusion.

## 5. Treaty on 28 Zu al-Qa'dah 782 AH

### 5.1. Document Status

On February 23, 1381, 87 days after the conclusion of the first treaty, a new agreement was signed between the Horde Governor of Solkhat and the Caffan Consul Janone de Bosco. In terms of content, it almost does not differ from the November one, although some changes have occurred concerning political and legal provisions. The new version, in particular, indicated: "and also Gothia, the people with land and water, Lord Ilyasbeg gives to the Great Community" ("*anchora la Gotia, lo povo cun li terre e cun le aygue Elliasbey segno a lo Grande Comun a donao*") [33, c. 705]; that is, if, according to the previous agreement, only the Christian population of Gothia was transferred under the rule of the Genoese, then under the terms of the new one, everybody.

C. Desimoni considered both texts as one treaty, negotiations on which took place from November 1380 to February 1381. [4, p. 171; 8, p. 161–162]. According to W. Heyd, the November text was not signed and is only a draft agreement, formally concluded in February next year [10, p. 206, note 1]. The same point of view, in one form or another, is shared by a number of other researchers. [20, p. 177; 25, c. 106; 45, c. 116; 31, c. 156; 67, c. 89-90; 68, c. 136].

But, as V. Ciociltan points out, W. Heyd's argument about the "unsigned" treaty of 1380 "is considerably undermined once we remember that the first text was not the original treaty of 27th November 1380 but a later copy, which we might expect to be unsigned but which nevertheless mentions all Tartar and Genoese parties to the treaty; the notary who drew up the copy confirms that it was taken from Caffan official documents" [7, p. 230, n. 344]. At the same time, in the treaty itself there is a direct indication that the scribe made a note about the attestation of the text by five or six representatives of the Horde. So, the treaties of November 1380 and February 1381 are two separate acts, the existence of which is due not to a difference in legal nature, but to the specific historical circumstances of signing.

The Genoese themselves apparently regarded both documents as having legal force. At least in July 1383 p. the then consul of Caffa, Meliaduce Catanei, commissioned to make notarized translations of both treaties [33, c. 698-699, 704].

The most important difference is the complete change in the composition of the Horde Delegation, which is now headed by the new governor of Solkhat Ilyasbeg, the son of Qutlugh-Bugha. In the light of data from the Book of the Caffan Massaria for 1381 - 1382, there is no doubt that he represented Toqtamış. It is not known what happened between November 28, 1380 and February 23, 1381 with Cherkas. Besides to changing the khan (which, as we have seen, is unlikely), he could be caught or suspected of disloyalty to Toqtamış and pay for this with his position and head. He could have been killed or simply died of old age or illness, and since the agreement of November 1380 was concluded both on behalf of the khan and on his own, Caffa authorities decided to play it safe and renegotiate an agreement with the new ruler of Crimea. In any case, the updated agreement did not significantly change anything, it confirmed the current situation.

### 5.2. Treaty of 1381 Horde Delegation

- a. On behalf of the Khan of Ulus of Jochi, the second treaty was concluded by the new governor of Solkhat Ilyas-beg, the son of Qutlugh-Bugha.

M. Balard, V. Myts and E. Khvalkov believe that Ilyas-beg took the position of the Crimean governor until December 25, 1380, since on that day he attended a feast with the Caffan Consul [1, p. 460; 44, c. 44; 73, p. 102]. However, a more detailed analysis of the records reveals that they are talking about St John's Day, June 24, 1381: "... for the Treli wine and dishes consumed on the feast of St. George, on the eve of St. John, where Ilyasbeg, Lord of Solkhat, received a treat, when he came to a meal with Lord Consul, and on the feast of the Nativity of the Lord" ("*...pro vino Trellie et confectis consumptis in festo Sancti Georgii vigillia Sancti Iohannis in tenendo coppam Eliasbey domini Sorchati quando venit ad prandium cum domino consule et in Festo Nativitatis Domini*") [38, c. 211]; expenses for the celebration of Christmas are not associated with Ilyas-beg. The opinion of M. Balard and others, in all likelihood, is based on the publication of N. Jorga,

in which the union "et" between "cum domino consule" and "in festo nativitatis Domini" is omitted [11, p. 40] Thus, the visit of Ilyas to Caffa in question took place in June 1381, there is no direct data on the governorship of Ilyas in December 1380, the time of his assumption of office – between the last days of November 1380, when Cherkas was still the governor, and the 20th of February 1381, when he already signed the new treaty.

Ilyas's father, Qutlugh-Bugha, who has the title "*inak*", that is, "friend", "close" (to the khan), came from the tribe of the Naiman-Endzhly [60, c. 124, 130]. He was first mentioned in Janibek's *yarlyq* to the Venetians dated December 26, 1347, among the three highest dignitaries of the Ulus of Jochi. Al-Mukhibbi, referring to the diplomatic correspondence of August 1351, indicates that Qutlugh-Bugha Inak belonged to "four, which, according to custom, are the main ones in the lands of Uzbek", that is, he had the rank of ulusbeg, the ruler of one of the four parts of the state; in addition, the used title "head of the emirs of the Two Worlds" indicates that at that time Kutlugh-Bugha was also beglaribeg, that is, he headed the military-territorial administration of Khan Janibek [71, c. 348–349]. Under Berdibek, Qutlugh-Bugha seems to lose the position of beglaribeg, but remains among the ulusbegs, in particular, he submits for consideration by the khan the *yarlyqs* to Metropolitan Alexy of Moscow, dated November 12, 1357, and to the Venetians, dated September 13, 1358. Then, in September 1358, he received from Khan's Mother Taidula as compensation for the damage caused by the Venetians a huge amount of 1105 bezants (only Beglaribeg Moghul-Bugha received more) [30, c. 205–206, 208–209]. A. and V. Grigoriev believe that at that time he was the governor of the Crimea, but there is no direct indication of this. After the start of the civil war in the Ulus of Jochi, in the fall of 1360, Kutlug-Bug was in Sarai, where he supported Khizr Khan, a native of the eastern part of the Horde, against his former benefactrice Taidula [72, c. 51–52].

Approximately around 1362, later Lithuanian sources name Kutlug-Buga among the participants in the so-called Blue Water Battle [52, c. 66, 74]. Maciej Strykowski reports the death of the Tatar leaders [19, p. 6–7]; however, due to the stylistic features of this Baroque author, his reports cannot be completely trusted. The indication that Qutlugh-Bugha and his brothers were the owners of Podolia (that is, they had the right to tribute from it) allows us to assume that his possessions were located somewhere between Podolia and the Black Sea.

In the spring of 1380, Qutlugh-Bugha may have been governor of the Crimea for some time under Toqtamış, at the end of the same year, he acts as an ambassador of Toqtamış to the Lithuanian Great Prince Jogaila.

True, there is no certainty in the identity of Qutlugh-Bugha, acting in 1347–1362, and Qutlugh-Bugha of a later time. Alike, in this case there is no way to indisputably determine the son of which particular Qutlugh-Bugha was Ilyas. The circumstance that Qutlugh-Bugha of the 1380s was for some time in the official subordination to Ilyas, seems to indicate that the latter was the son of Qutlugh-Bugha-naiman, Beglaribeg under Janibek.

Ilyas himself was first mentioned in 1365/66 as Horde ambassador to Lithuania: "the same winter came from Lithuania, [by] spring Ilyas, Qutlugh-Bugha son, was in Tver" ("*Тое же зимы еда из Литвы[, к] весне Ильяс Коулту-бузин сын был в Тфери*") [51, стб. 79].

A. Dzhanov admits that Ilyas-beg arrived in the Crimea no later than the spring of 1380, since on May 2 the Genoese representatives handed gifts to "L(ord) Elia[s] Bey" (d. Eliaboy) [32, c. 64, прим. 64]. However, the indicated interpretation of the text of the Book of Caffan Massaria for 1381 is not indisputable.

b. Six persons are named as ambassadors of Ilyas-beg, who directly negotiated with caffioti:

Khoja Komarichi (or Khoja Komardzhi), son of Akbash-beg, probably the head of the embassy. His participation in the "negotiations about Gothia" ("*tractandi pacta Gotie*") confirms the entry in the Book of Massaria [38, c. 244]. He maintained a high position in Solkhat at least until the summer of 1387, when he acted as a witness at the conclusion of the next treaty between Horde and Genoa [18, p. 64; 13, o. 52; 3, p. 280].

Khoja Hasan, the son of Ahmat, "a Muslim from Solkhat" ("*Coia Azao sarraceno de Sorchat*"), later performed some kind of embassy to the Kaffa Consul in January 1382 [38, c. 208].

Bayram Khoja is mentioned as the envoy of Ilyas-beg, it was he who delivered the Khan's paiza.

Three other Horde ambassadors: Khoja Isa, son of Hajji-Davud, Mehmet from Tana, and Alaeddin are closer unknown.

Alaeddin is designated in the contract as one "*de lo dio de loro*". The literal translation of this phrase is "from their god", from where G. Kuun suggested that he was a clergyman [13, o. 48]. A. Dzhanov suggests that the record is distorted, and this is about the name of some area from which the ambassador came [33, c. 687–688]. With that "*loro*" may correspond to the Türkic animate plural suffix *-lary* and indicate the clan/tribe from which Alaeddin came (possibly a corruption of *Jandar Ogullary*, a beylik on the southern coast of the Black Sea: *Jandar Ogullary* → *Dandarlary* → *Dadalary* → *Diodeloro*).

c. After the agreement was approved by Ilyas-beg, the will of the Solkhat governor was confirmed by four witnesses:

Rejeb, the son of Iturlu, Meret-Buga, the son of Yagaltai (perhaps this is the same Yagaltai, who under Janibek was one of the most prominent nobles of the Ulus of Jochi, one of the four ulusbegs and, for some time, a vizier [63, c. 223]), already known to us Komarichi and his brother Kara-Bugha, the sons of Akbash-beg.

### 5.3. Treaty of 1381 Genoese Delegation

The Caffa officials who signed the treaty in February 1381 are the same as in November of the previous year: consul Janone de Bosco, who continued to perform his duties, since his successor had not yet arrived in Caffa, and his two massarii and syndics, Bernabò Rizzo and Teramo Pichinotto.

Unlike the treaty of November 28, 1380, the witnesses who

certified the text from the Genoese side are not indicated.

## 6. Treaties on 30 Shaban and 28 Zu al-Qa'dah 782 and the Death of Mamai

The conclusion of agreements between the Horde and Genoa in November 1380 and February 1381 coincides in time with the disappearance of Mamai. Is there a deeper connection between these events?

The fate of Mamai after the events on Kalki is covered in sources in several versions that do not agree with each other.

An early, Brief Edition of the Legend "About the Great Battle on the Don" from the Moscow Chronicle of 1408 [about dating see: 62, c. 4] reports that after the betrayal by the emirs on Kalki, "Mamai, seeing this, soon run away with her advisers and like-minded people. Tsar Toqtamish sent his soldiers after him, and [they] killed Mamai, and he himself went to take the Horde of Mamai, and his queens, and his treasury, and his ulus seized the whole, and the wealth of Mamai was divided by his retinue" (*"Мамай же, то видѣвъ, и скоро побѣжа со своими думцами и съ единомысленики. Царь же Токтамышъ посла за нимъ въ погоню вой своя и оубиша Мамая, а самъ шедъ взя Орду Мамаеву, и царици его и казны его и улусъ весь поима, и богатство Мамаево раздѣли дружинъ своею"*) [51, стб. 141].

A notice similar in content is given by Ötemish Hajji: Toqtamish "went on a campaign and went to Kiyat Mamai. And Mamai came to meet with a large army. A fierce battle ensued. Mamai's army was defeated, and he himself was captured. Killed (him)"; at the same time, an additional detail is reported, which is important for the authors of nomadic genealogies: "the daughter of Khazret Janibek Khan was with Mamai, after his [Mamai] capture, she went to Toqtamish Khan. He married her to Uryk Timur, a son was born from her, he was named Teqnebek" [72, c. 58, 59].

A resembling, although more detailed version is given by Ky'ry'mi. His central figure is Uryk-Timur (Rek-Timur), the head of the Shirin's Clan (in Ky'ry'mi, who himself belonged to the Shirins, Uryk-Timur plays a key role in all important events of the reign of Toqtamish). According to the Crimean historian, Toqtamish caught up with Mamai on the Yilki River, a tributary of the Dnieper (Konka), and started false negotiations with him, although "his desire was to kill the beg". During these negotiations, "one of the evenings, Toqtamish and Rek-Timur retired and talked secretly, no one knew about it. Rek-Timur woke up alone at midnight, saddled a horse, went to the horde on the northern bank of the river, and from there secretly turned to the beg. Beg was lying with his wife and, hearing him, asked: "Who is this?", – he replied: "Rek-Timur. My Sultan Toqtamish has a conversation with you about one big matter. He invited you, but no one should know about it". Beg always had at the back [of his yurt], one black horse who stood ready. Rek-Timur took a saddle from the tent and put it on this horse; without even telling the servants, the beg went out into the street. He was an old man, over 90 years old. Rek-Timur put him on a horse. Even his

wife did not know that they had left. When they were about to cross the Yylky River, Rektemur hit him on the head with an ax and killed him without noise. He hid his body, and let the horse go" [21, c. 65]. However, in this story is a glaring logical contradiction: the murder was planned and carried out in deep secrecy, but is described in great detail. Aware of this inconsistency, Ky'ry'mi adds a romantic explanation: suspecting the death of Mamai, "according to Mughal customs, they held a wake, distributed treats and strong mead, everyone became drunk. Drunk Rek-Timur kissed the hem of Toqtamish's robe, saying that he had one request. Toqtamish replied: "Don't you know that your requests will not go unanswered?". Rek-Timur said: "I want your relative Hanush". Hanush, moaning and crying, went away. Toqtamish thought and said with pain: "It is difficult for me to control myself, as you humiliate our family and behave obscenely with my relative. I thought differently about you, but once I lay wounded on the banks of the Syr Darya under the reeds, and although all the promises which I made turn against me, I endured everything. However, we do not know if Mamai-beg is alive or dead. How can you marry his wife to someone else?". To this drunken Rek-Timur said: "It was I who killed Mamai, and his body is in such and such place" [21, c. 65-66]. But this explanation finally undermines the credibility of the veracity of the story. Firstly, it contains the motive of rescuing Toqtamish on the Syr Darya by Rek-Timur, who in fact had nothing to do with him. Secondly, Ky'ry'mi again admits a logical inconsistency, which this time he does not notice: Mamai is commemorated, but it is unknown if he is alive or not. Ky'ry'mi's story is a literary work designed to show Shirins long-standing relationship with the Khan's house, and not a reflection of real events. Accordingly, the place of death of Mamai indicated in his writing cannot be considered reliable.

Another indication of the place where Mamai fled after Kalki is contained in the Lengthy Edition of the "Zadonshchina", created, according to most researchers, before 1393: "The pagan Mamai jumped out of his retinue like a gray wolf and fled to the Caffa City. The Italians told him: "Why are you, pagan Mamai, encroaching on the Russian Land? <...> Run away, pagan Mamai, from us through the woodland!" ("Отскочи поганый Мамай от своя дружины серым волком и притече к Кафе граду. Молвляше же ему фрязове: "Чему ты, поганый Мамай, посягаеши на Рускую землю? <...> Побежи ты, поганый Мамай, от насъ по задлешью!") [46, c. 104]. However, the literary, fictional nature of the text is obvious, so there is no reason to trust the details presented in it. The author of "Zadonshchina" had information about the flight of Mamai to the Crimea, but did not know the details and speculated them at his own discretion.

R.Y. Pochekaev tried to reconcile the "Zadonshchina" and the Brief Edition of the Legend "About the Great Battle on the Don". In his opinion, Mamai fled to the vicinity of Caffa, but the Genoese did not let the defeated Beglaribeg into the city. "Mamai had to, hiding from the Toqtamish sidings, get to Solkhat <...> Perhaps he planned to go from there to his

possessions in the West, where he could enthrone a new legitimate Khan, with the help of which he would lure a significant part of the Toqtamışh army to his side without a fight <...> However, Mamai's plans were not destined to come true: at the very end of 1380 or the beginning of 1381, he was overtaken by supporters of Toqtamışh near Solkhat or in the city itself and killed" [56, c. 140]. However, there is no information given here in any source, this is exclusively the fruit of the speculative assumptions of the researcher.

Ibn-Khaldun (his work describing the events of the end of the 14th century was created between 1395 and 1406) reports, that after defeating other rivals, Toqtamışh "went to the Crimea against Mamai, who fled before him, had no information about him, and then the news of his death was confirmed" [71, c. 391]. That is, according to the Arab author, Mamai died in the Crimea, but in the Horde capital, from where Ibn Khaldun received his information through diplomats and merchants, they did not know about the circumstances of his death.

In the Chronicle Lengthy Story "On the Battle of the Don" (created, in all likelihood, after 1437), the events after the defeat of Mamai on the Kulikovo field are initially described in the same way as in the short version, but between the words "sent his soldiers after him" ("*посла за нимъ въ погоню вой своя*") and "he took Horde of Mamai" ("*взя Орду Мамаеву*"), instead of the laconic "and [they] killed Mamai" ("*и оубиша Мамая*") a rather large insert was made: "Mamai who was pursued, he running before the persecutors of Toqtamışh, and ran to the city of Caffa, and entered into relations with the Caffians according to agreement and promises of safety, so that he would be accepted for salvation until he got rid of all those who were pursuing him; and they allowed him, and Mamai ran to Caffa with great wealth, gold and silver, then the Caffians conspired and deceived him, and he was killed by them, and such was the end of Mamai", ("*Мамай же гонимъ сый, бѣгая предъ Тахтамышевыми гонители, и прибѣжа близъ града Кафы, и съслася съ Кафинци по докончанію и по опасу, дабы его пріяли на избавленіе, дондеже избудеть отъ всѣхъ гонящихъ его; и повелѣша ему, и прибѣже Мамай въ Кафу съ множествомъ имѣнія, злата и сребра, Кафинци же свѣщавшеся и сътвориша надъ нимъ облесть, и ту отъ нихъ убьенъ бысть, и тако бысть конецъ Мамаю*") [49, c. 83].

In the later "Tale of the Mamai Battle" (first quarter of the 16th century), another version of Mamai's death in the Crimea appears. In the "Printed Version" of the Main Edition, it is stated as follows: "The pagan Tsar Mamai, who fled [from the Don] and ran away, where there is the city of Caffa; he hid his name, and there was recognized by some foreign merchant, and was killed" ("*Поганому царю Мамаю отсель [с Дона] збѣжавшиу и добеже, идѣже есть градъ Кафа: имя же свое потаилъ бяше и познанъ бысть нѣкимъ гостемъ купцемъ ту и оубиенъ*") [47, c. 66-68]. Unlike other options, here Mamai secretly flees to Crimea directly from the Kulikovo field. In further revisions of the story, Mamai's flight to Caffa is doubled: the first time he runs there from the Kulikovo field, and the second - after the defeat by Toqtamışh

[48, c. 215]. Late and inconsistently presented, this version, as a rule, is not taken into account by modern researchers.

A. Dzhanov considers the version of the murder of Mamai in Caffa unreliable due to the complete absence of any mention or hint of this in the records of the Caffan Massaria [32, c. 67]. However, the Book of the Massaria on a regular basis records only events related to the expenses of the Caffan Treasury between March 17, 1381 and June 11, 1382. What happened at another time was not necessarily recorded in it. The absence of information about the murder of Mamai in the Book of the Massaria only indicates that it happened before March 17, 1381.

The flight of Mamai to the Crimea, at first glance, refutes the assumption that the peninsula then no longer obeyed to Mamai. However, after the events on Kalki, he had no subject lands left, and he went to where he believed he had supporters and it was easy to find asylum.

It is known that between the end of 1379 and the spring of 1381, Mamai had some diplomatic contacts with the Genoese. In the Book of the Caffan Massaria on March 17, 1381, the ambassadors of the "Emperor and Mamai" Inak and Khoja-Berdy are mentioned: "1381 March 17 <...> On the same day, unforeseen expenses incurred on Inak and Khoja Berdy, ambassadors of the emperor and Mamai, due to falcon birds captured in past times in Soldaya, our obligation to the said massaria, transmitted from the said Lord Bernabò and his comrade" ("*MCCCLXXXI die XVII marcii <...> Ea die avaria facta per Ayna et Coia Berdi messayguos domini Imperatoris et Mamai de avibus falconibus captis tempore retroactis in Soldaya debet nobis pro dicta massaria assignata per dictos dominum Bernabonem et socium*"); "1381, day 17 March. Unforeseen expenses incurred on Inak and Hodja-Berdy, ambassadors of the lord emperor and Mamai, sent to Kaffa, through a claim for compensation for the falcons captured in Soldai, or their prices, our obligation to the massaria, transmitted from Lord Bernabò Rizzo and his comrade", ("*MCCCLXXXI die XVII marcii Avaria facta per Aynam et Coiabardi mesaiguos domini <...> imperatoris et Mamai missos in Caffa pro requirendo emendeam de avibus falconibus captis in Soldaya vel precium debet nobis pro massaria assignata per dominum Bernabonem Ricium et socium*" [38, c. 175, 230]). Based on these records, M. Balard concluded that in mid-March 1381 Mamai was still alive [1, p. 457-458; 23, c. 602]. However, as A. Ponomaryov and A. Dzhanov have shown, the entries in the Book of the Massaria dated March 17, 1381 relate to the transfer of accounts from one financial administration of the colony to another, and the mention in them of unforeseen expenses for Mamai's ambassadors only means that these expenses took place under the treasurers who surrendered and at the time of the transfer were not repaid at the expense of Caffa's income [53, c. 323, 334; 32, c. 47-48.]. In the records, along with Mamai, the "Emperor", that is, the Khan, is mentioned. If Tulak-bek really died on the Kulikovo field, the embassy of Inak and Khoja-Berdy took place before September 8, 1380. It is worth noting that Mamai's envoys arrived in Caffa not by the usual route through Solkhat, but by an uncomfortable mountain road

from Soldaya, which may indicate that Mamai did not own Solkhat at that time. It is likely that it was this embassy that concluded the agreement that promised Mamai the asylum mentioned in the Chronicle Lengthy Story. However, it was not fulfilled.

How could the diplomatic activity of the second half of 1380 affect the fate of Mamai? N.N. Murzakevich, comparing the text of the Treaty of November 1380 in the publication of Silvestre de Sacy with the notice of the Chronicle Lengthy Story about the death of Mamai, suggested a self-evident conclusion: Gothia was ceded to the Italians as a reward for the murder of Mamai, which became for Toqtamış "bloody proof of the adherence of the Caffians to him" [43, c. 51-53].

The transfer of Gothia to the Genoese took place in January 1381. Already on January 23, 1381, Corrado de Guasco and Jacobo de Turre went there to "swear in all those who had the custom of being khanluks of the Genoese" ("*eundo per totam Gotiam usque Cimballo cum Conrado de Goasco et Iacobo de Turre qui iverunt pro ducendo ad grariam omnes qui soliti erant esse canluchi pro Ianuenses*") [38, c. 241, 242], five days later, an Italian guard detachment of 32 men arrived in Gothia under the command of Giorgio del Orto, who was there until February 28 [38, c. 217]. The Solkhat rulers should be considered very naive people if they gave the Crimean Gothia to the Genoese before Italians would fulfill their part of the obligations. Therefore, the most likely time for the murder of Mamai is the period between November 29, 1380 and January 23, 1381. This assumption is consistent with the information of the Egyptian writers Ibn-Hajjar al-Asqalani (d. 1449) and Abu-l-Makhasin Ibn-Taghriberdi (d. 1470), who, based on diplomatic documents, indicate that Mamai (they, however, inaccurately call him "king" or "khan") died in 782 AH, that is, before March 27, 1381 [71, c. 452]. Whether Beglaribeg was killed in the city itself or in its environs, whether there was an episode with his recognition by a certain merchant, it is impossible to say today.

## 7. Conclusion

Based on the foregoing, at least three alternative scenarios for the development of events in the Crimea in the autumn of 1380 - early 1381 are possible.

- I. In the autumn of 1380, the Crimea was under the rule of Mamai. After the events at Kalki, he went there and proclaimed a new nominal Khan (possibly Kunakbey), in whose name a treaty was concluded with the Genoese on November 27/28, 1380. Between the end of November 1380 and the 20th of February 1381, Mamai died, the power of Toqtamış was established in the Crimea, on whose behalf the new governor Ilyas-beg renegotiated the treaty.

The weakness of this hypothesis: the Treaty of 30 Shaban 782 AH most likely was not concluded by Mamai.

- II. In the early autumn of 1380, the Crimea was under the rule of Mamai. After the events on Kalki, on the way to the peninsula, he died on Konka. In the Crimea, Kunakbey began to be recognized as a Khan, on behalf

of whom on November 27/28 a treaty was concluded with the Genoese. Between the end of November 1380 and the 20th of February 1381, the power of Toqtamış was established in the Crimea, on whose behalf the new governor Ilyas-beg renegotiated the treaty.

The weakness of the hypothesis: Kunakbey, in all likelihood, was never a Khan.

- III. In the autumn of 1380, the Crimea was under the rule of Toqtamış. After the events on Kalki, Mamai tried to hide on the peninsula. For protect himself from a possible alliance between Mamai and the Genoese, Toqtamış concludes a treaty with the Italians on November 27/28, ceding to them district of Soldaia and Gothia. Between the end of November 1380 and the last ten days of January 1381, Mamai dies (probably killed by caffioti). At the same time, no later than the second half of February, for unclear reasons, the administration in Solkhat is changing. On February 23, 1381, the new governor, Ilyas-beg, renegotiates the treaty with Genoa.

Despite the unusualness of a number of assumptions, this scenario best fits the data of the sources.

In any case, the treaties between Genoa and the Golden Horde of 1380-1381 turn out to be connected with the end of the civil war in the Ulus of Jochi. In them, the Genoese used the situation that had developed among the Tatars to their advantage, achieving important territorial concessions. However, the justification for choosing one or another option requires further research.

One of their directions may be further analysis of numismatic materials in order to accurately establish the authenticity or anachronism of Toqtamış coins with dates of 781 AH.

It is not excluded the discovery of new numismatic or epigraphic data that can confirm or finally refute the hypothesis of the existence of Khan Konakbey. An information confirming or refuting the hypotheses put forward may be contained in the acts of notaries from the Genoese colonies of the Black Sea basin.

Extremely important and interesting, and on some issues - decisive - data could be provided by the Books of Caffan Massaria for 1379 - 1380 and 1380 - 1381. Unfortunately, these documents have not yet been found.

A promising direction may be the analysis of the further development of events around the Genoese colonies in the Crimea, in particular, the "Solkhat War" of 1386-1387.

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