

UDC 930.2:94(477)

DOI: 10.24919/2519-058x.15.204984

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Бібліографічний опис статті: Turanly F. (2020). Ukraine's Lands as an Important Factor of the Development of Trade and Geopolitical Contacts according to the Data from Arabographic Written Sources. *Shidnoyevropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 15, 35–53. doi: 10.24919/2519-058x.15.204984

UKRAINE'S LANDS AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND GEOPOLITICAL CONTACTS ACCORDING TO THE DATA FROM ARABOGRAPHIC WRITTEN SOURCES

Abstract. The purpose of the study: to analyse the historical conditions of rising and development of trade routes, as well as the geopolitical processes during 16th – 18th centuries between the countries of the historicogeographic area from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, which are referred to in Arabic and Turkish-Ottoman written sources. Implementation of the set up purpose has been achieved by observing the general theoretical and methodical principles of Historiography and Source Studies aimed at provision of defining the specific features of that development. **The Methodology of the study** is based on the principles of providing the historism, scientific objectivity, a specific historical systematicity, and also on the interdisciplinarity principle and the principle of identification of the authenticity and informational value of the data and facts having been found. While making this study there were applied general historical methods of making a historiographical, terminological, typological and textologic analyses, and also the comparativistics method. **The academic novelty of the study** is perception of the Historiosophy of Ukraine's History in the context of intercivilisational relations demonstrated by setting up in the said historiogeographical area of a great trade route, and primarily the socio-economic and geopolitical processes having taken place in Ukraine during the above said time, as well as that of the military and political situation all along during that period in the Northern Black-Sea Area and the situation in the Crimean Ulus, though the author's interpretation of the historic events while taking into consideration the data available in Arabic and Turkish-Ottoman written sources.

The Conclusions. Studies of Arabic, and particularly Turkish-Osman written sources give us grounds to state that in the Medieval times the port cities of Yumne and Constantinople were important trade markets, particularly the traded goods were transported along the rivers of Dnieper and Danube. But the city managed to keep its importance in the system of the international trading. The importance of

Ukraine's geopolitical situation within the system of international trade relations was accounted for by the fact, that through its territory trade routes were set which provided stable and long-lasting economic relations between the most influential ports and countries of Eastern Europe northwards of the Black Sea. The Baltic cultural and historic region that included the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was connected with the Black Sea through the territory of Ukraine.

The economic crisis, which lasted in the Ottoman Empire till the beginning of the 17th century, in the Northern Black-Sea Area new political forces emerged which before that had been in the vassal dependence and used by the great states within their own contact zones for a close economic, cultural and military cooperation of the border countries. Those border forces were, from one side – the Crimean Khanate, and from the other side – The Zaporozhian Host. Our study has shown that the Ukrainian problem has always been an actual item in the international policy of the High Porte.

We have studied the original manuscript "A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Andulkhamid I to the Kadee of the city of Izmir". The data we have obtained from this document proved the economic relations between the countries located within the above said historicogeographical areals to have been long-lasting, and there have also been identified conditions, in which the trade relations between these countries had been developing, and the routes having been set up through the territory of Ukraine.

Key words: the Scandinavian impact, a trade route, Arabographical sources, the Dnieper, the Black Sea, Lviv, Istanbul.

ЗЕМЛІ УКРАЇНИ ЯК ВАЖЛИВИЙ ЧИННИК У РОЗВИТКУ ТОРГІВЕЛЬНИХ І ГЕОПОЛІТИЧНИХ КОНТАКТІВ ЗА ДАНИМИ АРАБОГРАФІЧНИХ ПИСЕМНИХ ДЖЕРЕЛ

Анотація. *Мета дослідження* – проаналізувати історичні умови виникнення та розвитку торговельних шляхів, також геополітичні процеси між країнами Балтійсько-Чорноморського історично-географічного ареалу XVI – XVIII ст., що згадуються в арабських та османсько-турецьких писемних джерелах. Досягнення поставленої мети реалізується на основі дотримання загальних теоретико-методологічних засад історіографії та джерелознавства з метою забезпечити виокремлення характерних ознак цього розвитку. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, науковій об'єктивності, конкретно-історичної системності, а також на принципах міждисциплінарності, встановлення достовірності та інформаційної цінності виявлених відомостей і фактів. При проведенні цього дослідження були застосовані загальноісторичні методи історіографічного, термінологічного, типологічного, текстологічного аналізу, метод компаративістики. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в осмисленні історіософії історії України в контексті міжцивілізаційних відносин, про що свідчили створення великого торговельного шляху в зазначеному історично-географічному просторі, соціально-економічні й геополітичні процеси, які відбувалися на теренах України в окреслений час, а також військово-політична ситуація впродовж цього періоду у Північному Причорномор'ї та становище Кримського улусу; в автоторській інтерпретації історичних подій з урахуванням наявних відомостей з арабських і османсько-турецьких писемних джерел.

Висновки. Дослідження арабських, зокрібно османсько-турецьких писемних джерел дає підставу говорити про те, що у Середньовіччя портове місто Юмне і Константинополь були важливими ринками для торгівлі, зокрібно товари для продажу транспортувалися по Дніпру і Дунаю. Але в той же час місто зберегло своє значення в системі міжнародної торгівлі. Важливість геополітичного становища України в системі міжнародних торговельних зв'язків досліджуваного періоду визначалася тим, що через її територію пролягали торговельні шляхи, які забезпечували тривалість і стабільність економічних відносин між визначними портами та країнами Східної Європи на північ від Чорного моря. Балтійський культурно-історичний регіон, до якого входила Річ Посполита, був з'єднаний із Чорним морем через територію України.

Внаслідок економічної кризи, що тривала в Османській імперії до початку XVII ст., у Північному Причорномор'ї виникли нові політичні сили, які раніше перебували у васальній залежності та використовувалися великими державами у межах їхніх власних контактних зон для тісної економічної, культурної та військової взаємодії прикордонних країн. Такими силами були, з одного боку, Кримське ханство, а з іншого боку – Військо Запорозьке. Наше дослідження

свідчить про те, що українське питання завжди було актуальним у міжнародній політиці Високої Порти.

Досліджений нами оригінальний рукописний документ за назвою "Лист-наказ від турецького султана Абдульхаміда I до каді м. Ізміра". Отримані відомості з цього документа свідчать про тривалість економічних відносин, а також умови здійснення торговельних відносин між країнами названих історико-географічних ареалів, шляхи, які простягалися через терени України.

Ключові слова: скандинавський вплив, торговельний шлях, арабграфічні джерела, Дніпро, Чорне море, Львів, Стамбул.

The Problem Statement. The study we have made is relevant, as Arabic and Turkish-Ottoman written sources are important to study historical conditions of the emergence and development of trade relations between the countries of the Baltic and Black-Sea Region. When considering this problem, one should also underline the impact of the Scandinavian countries, particularly those of Norway, on the intercivilisational relations in the North, Central and East Europe and in the Middle East. For example, this factor accounted for setting up a trade route from Constantinople to the Western Baltic-Sea port city of Wolina (Jumne/Jum), that existed in the said period of time of the Medieval history and known as "The route from the Varangians to the Greeks", as it is mentioned by Omelian Pritsak on the ground of the data from Arabic written sources (Pritsak, 1997, 2003, pp. 488–496).

Analysis of the Sources and Recent Academic Studies. The problem of academic studies of related to the historical conditions and development of trade relations was considered in fundamental studies carried out by the following national and foreign scholars: O. Pritsak – "Origin of Rus" (1997, 2003), H. İnalçık – "An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300 – 1914" (1994), V. Beilis – "Al-Idrisi about the ports on the Black Seas and connections between them" (1988), M. Ürekli – "Kırım Hanlığının Kurluşu ve Osmanlı Himayesinde Yükselişi (1441 – 1569)" (1989), Ya. Kalakura – "The state-formation activity of Bohdan Khmelnytsky: the Ukrainian Historiography" (1996), V. Kriukov – "Al-Khuvarizmi about "Sarmatia as the land of the Burjans" and its country-neighbours" (2009), O. Mavrina – "Emergence of the Crimean Khanate in the context of the political situation in East Europe between the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century" (2004), V. Brekhunenko – "Cosacks on the Steppe Border of Europe": the typology of the Cosack communities for the period of the 16th century – the gist half if the 17th century" (2011), F. Turanly – "The military cooperation between the Crimean Khanate and the Zaporozhian Host in the second quarter of the 17th century" (2019), F. Turanly – "Written Documents on the Black Sea Diplomacy Vector of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky" (2019), F. Turanly – "The Cossack period in Ukraine's history in Ottoman Turkish written sources (the second half of the 16th – the first quarter of the 18th century)", (2016), Y. Öztürk – "Özü'denTuna'ya: Kazaklar-1" (2004), V. Stanislavsky – "Participation of merchants in the dissemination of information and transportation of the diplomatic dispatches between Russia, Ukraine and Turkey at the beginning of the 18th century" (2016) and some other ones.

The Purpose of the Publication. To analyse the data, which we have found in the studied Arabographical written sources, about the historical conditions of the origination and development of trade relations, particular also that concerning the political relations, between the countries of the Baltic and Black-Sea historiographical areal; as well as the socio-political, economic and geopolitical processes that took place on the territory of Ukraine from the second half of the 16th century and the 18th century, and also the military-political situation

during the said period of time in the North Black-Sea Area and the situation of the Crimean Ulus.

The Statement of the Basic Material. It should be noted here that importance of the geopolitical situation in Ukraine for the system of the international trade relations of that time was accounted by the fact, that its territory provided continuous and stable economic relations between the High Porte and East-European countries located northwards of the Black Sea. The Baltic cultural and historical region that included the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a connection with the Black Sea through the territory of Ukraine. However, river trade routes provided the economic connection of the Upper-Dnieper Area with the Baltic countries, as well as with the lands in the Middle- and Lower-Dnieper Areas, so the trade route from Constantinople to Jumne originated resulting from the activities of the Vikings, and that route connected the Baltic Sea with the Black Sea and promoted to an intensive development of the economic, political and cultural relations between the above said continental areas. This kind of the development of historic events is proved by Arabic and Turkish written documents, which are of much importance for studying the historical relations between the Scandinavian countries, particularly those of Norway, Ukraine and Turkey.

The Ukrainian scholar Yaroslav Kalakura did prove in his study that from the 16th century to the 18th century there was a historical period, which, from one hand, was the time for a formation and functioning of the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine, and, from the other hand, it was the peak in the establishment and development of the Ottoman Empire. Relations between these two states at that time were characterised by not only military invasions, but also by trends to getting mutual understanding and to mutually useful military cooperation and trade (Kalakura, 1996, pp. 151–155).

As for the other possessions of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the population on those territories (Greeks, Balkan Slavs, Romanians from the Lower-Danube Area, Hungarians, Ukrainians) were mainly Christians. They were called *raya* (رعايا – “raya”) (Devellioğlu, 1993, p. 880) and had to pay to the state a tax set up for them that was called *jizye* (جزية – “jizye”) (Ortaylı, 2002, pp. 345–352; Turanly, 2016, p. 123). From long ago the Black Sea was a water basin which connected East Europe, particularly Ukraine and the Caucasus, with the countries adjoining to shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The connecting part of the grand trade route between the two seas was the water system “Bosphorus Strait – Marmara Sea – Dardanelles Strait”, while the main port city there was the capital of the Byzantine Empire – the city of Constantinople. Proofs of an intensive maritime traffic through the said water system are available in the geographic work “The book of Routes and Kingdoms” (كِتَابُ الْمَسَالِكِ وَالْمَمَالِكِ) written in about 272 Anno Herigao (885–886 Anno Domini) by the Arabic scholar Abu'l-Qāsim ‘Ubayd Allāh ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Khurradādhbih (*Marquart*, 1903, p. 390). For example, in the data concerning “The Strait” (الْمَضِيقُ) and “The Constantinople Strait” (خَلِيجُ الْقُسْطَنْطِينِيَّةِ), that is the Dardanelles Strait and the Marmara Sea together with the Bosphorus Strait, there is said that the mentioned water system “is used for ships to go [down the stream] from the peninsulas of the Al-Khazar Sea¹ and from the localities [adjoining these peninsulas], and go up [the stream] я нею from the sea of Syria² to Constantinople” (وَأَسْفُرُ) (تَخْدِرُ فِيهِ مِنْ جَزَائِرِ بَحْرِ الْخَزَرِ وَتِلْكَ التَّوَجَى وَتَصْعَدُ فِيهِ مِنْ بَحْرِ الشَّامِ إِلَى الْقُسْطَنْطِينِيَّةِ) (Khordadbeh, 1889, p. 216). We add that the goods brought to Constantinople from the Black Sea were transported further southwards the basin of the Mediterranean Sea mainly by Venecian merchants (Heyd,

¹ The Kerch and Taman Peninsulas are meant.

² Ibn Khurradādhbih implied the Aegean Sea.

1879, pp. 124–125). I should be noted that it was “the Al-Khazar Sea, that the ancestors of the Ukrainians called in ‘The Book of Routes and Kingdoms’ as “Kievan Rus merchants” (نُجَارُ الرُّوسِ) supplied to the land possessions of “the Governor of the Byzantine Empire” (صَاحِبُ الرُّومِ) the traditional export goods of the Kievan Rus, and namely – “gentle pelage” (جُلُودُ الْخَزِّ), “fell of black foxes” (السُّودُ جُلُودُ الثَّعَالِبِ), that is furs, and “swords” (السِّيُوفِ). The trade route of Kievan Rus merchants was of much importance in the world trade of that time, and Ibn Khurradādhbih devoted a whole separate chapter to consider this point (Khordadbeh, 1889, pp. 154–155). We also can add that in the work “The Book of a Picture of the Earth” (كِتَابُ صُورَةِ الْأَرْضِ) by a great Arabic geographer of the second half of the 10th century Abu'l-Qāsim Mukhammad ibn Khaukala the capital of the Kievan Rus, the city of “Qayaba” (كَيْابَةَ), that is the city of Kyiv, is mentioned as the main supplier of furs to the land possessions of the Arabic Khakifate (*Haukal*, 1873, p. 281). Therefore, during the 9th c. – 10th c, Kyiv was a big transit centre of trading furs. Though, the trade route “Kyiv → Dnieper Estuary → Black Sea” was only one of the Black-Sea trade communications that reached Constantinople. The book “An entertainment of man tired of travelling around the world” (نُزْهَةٌ الْمُسْتَقَاتِقِ فِي إِخْتِرَاقِ الْأَفَاقِ) by the Arabic scholar of the 12th century Abu Qābdallah Mukhammad ash-Sharif al-Idrisi, where is available information about the trade routes set through the territory of Ukraine, mentions a Black-Sea trade route, which having been set along the western and northern seaside of the Black Sea connected Constantinople with the city of Tamatarkha on the shore of the Kerch Strait (Al-Idrisi, 1891, pp. 855–963; Beylis, 1988, pp. 67–76; Konovalova, 1999, pp. 164–165; Kriukov, 2009, 540 p.). Hence, during the Medieval period of time the city of Constantinople was an important market for trading goods imported by the Black Sea, including also the ones that were transported from the Dnieper and Danube, as well the centre of transiting such goods to the basin of the Mediterranean Sea.

It is clear that under the then political situation it was the Crimean Yurt³, that was the largest obstacle for the implementation of the above said aspirations of the Lithuanian princes. Obviously, the founder of the Crimean Khanate Gaji Melek I (Ruling period: 1420/1421 – 1455) understood all that too. And aiming at provision for himself reliable rears, he tried to support peaceful and friendly relations with the governors subordinated to the Grand Lithuanian Princes. These governors ruled on Ukrainian lands as apanged princes (Ortekin, 1938, pp. 1–10; Ürekli, 1989, pp. 9–11; Miroshnichenko, pp. 172–175; Pilipchuk, pp. 40–62). In addition, Gaji Giray may have taken into account the point, that all the territorial area located between the rivers of Dnieper and Danube along the Black-Sea shore, in the first half of the 15th century was covered with a lot of Lithuanian-Ukrainian fortifications and citadels, among which we think it reasonable to recall such ones, as Olesko Fort, Bar Fort, Kamyanets Fort, Nevytske Fort, Akkerman Fort and Zbarazh Fort. As for the lands located between the rivers of Dniester and Prut are concerned, beginning from 1401 they were parts of the Principality of Moldavia, which captured also Bilhorod, and, consequently, with that also the way out into the Black Sea. In 1454 the territorial possessions of Moldavia included also the town-fortress of Khotyn with its polyethnic, mainly Ukrainian, population (Mavrina, 2004, pp. 57–77; Gulevich, 2014, pp. 4–28).

Therefore, changes in the international situation in the above said region which occurred in the middle of the 15th century significantly impacted the character of relations between Ukraine and the Crimean Khanate; the latter had turned by that time into a powerful state and kept under control vast territories located southwards from the Black Sea. It were

³ “yurt” (Crimean Tatar) – “contry”, “motherland”, “native land” (a hearth).

the conditions of such a historical situation, when the formation of a military-political organisation of a specific social order was taking place in (Scherbak, 1997, 180 p.), and this order was made up from “representatives of the free people that lived on the southern lands of Ukraine and had not any governmental and legal limitations and standards for the population of the said area. In the 15th this social order became known as the one, which was aware of being itself the defender of the Southern Border Area...” (Khalymonenko, 2010, p. 306). Among the people populated the said area the word “Cossack” got expansion as the self-name of the community; this word was of the Turkic origin (Khalymonenko, 2010, p. 306; Scherbak, 1997, p. 21). It should be noted that the process of the formation of Cossackdom as a social phenomenon, being conscious at the same time of the own historical traditions, which were deeply rooted on Ukraine’s lands, during the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century reached a high level of the cultural and national enthusiasm of the Ukrainian society (Lepyavko, 1996, pp. 28–29; Scherbak, 1997, p. 6).

It should be noted that the significance of the geopolitical situation of Ukraine in the system of international economic connections at that time was accounted for by the point, that Ukraine’s territory was crossed by trade routes which provided reliable and stable economic relations of the High Porte with the European countries situated above the Black Sea. Indeed, it was through the territory of Ukraine, that the Baltic cultural and historical region, that also included the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, had connections with the Black Sea. For example, the trade routes used for transporting goods northwards and to the north-west from the Black-Sea shore and reverse, went along the rivers of Dnieper, Danube, Dniester and Prut. On seashores of the Black Sea and Azov Sea, not far from the basins of the above said rivers, Turks erected town-fortresses of Kafa, Taman, Azov, Akkerman and Ochakiv, which became important transit centres for existence of the northwards and north-westwards trade of the Ottoman Empire and were very important in the development of trade relations primarily with the East-European (Yakubova, 2011, pp. 93–94; Sereda, 2015, 312 p.). Particularly, the town-fortress of Kafa turned into the most important Turkish port in the East Crimea, from which marine trade routes went both from west to east, and from south to north. This logistic system also incorporated the Dnieper basin, as well as the town-fortresses located both in the delta of the Danube (Kilia), and near the estuary of the Dniester (Akkerman). The marine trade routes provided together the economic connection of the Upper-Dnieper Area with the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) and with the lands in the Middle – and Lower Dnieper Areas (Öztürk, 2000, pp. 272, 280; Yağcı, 2013, pp. 507–536). Therefore, the Dnieper was a trade communication that connected the Baltic Sea with the Crimean Peninsula. We note that a lot of archival documents include data proving a meaningful significance of this trade artery for the social-economic development of Ukraine at the Cossack period of time of its history.

However, the purpose for some Turkish fortification structures was only the defense function. For example, of this kind there were fortresses built in the estuary of the Dnieper: Ochakiv on the north of the Dnieper-Buh Liman and Kilburun on the other bank of the liman. It should be noted that the fortresses of Ochakiv and Azov were of special importance for the High Porte in regard of securing protection of the territory of the native state, which was situated northwards from the Black Sea. There are also available data that on the bank of Khodjabey Liman, where nowadays the city of Odesa is located, that is 30 kilometers eastwards from the mouth of the Dniester, the first governor of the Crimean Khanate Gaji Giray (Ruling period: 1420/1421 – 1456) built the town of Khodjabey (Işık, 2008, pp. 55–76).

As for the fortress of Akkerman is concerned that situated in the mouth of the Dniester river, it was actually the most important Turkish customs check-point control, a kind of 'a gate' that regulated the outcome in the Black Sea for the goods imported from the territory of Poland (Chelebi, 1997, pp. 8–17). According to the legal standards and norms provided in the so called "Book of Laws" ("*Kanunnâme*"), bound for this area, particularly, general trade rules were set up for the goods brought from Lviv to be sent to the Black Sea. For instance, to send from this customs check-point to the destination place of each mule and donkey five *akches* were to be paid (Turanly, 2016, p. 92). If to speak about the tariff for sending cattle, the payment was to be four *akches*, while that for two sheep was one *akche*. One *akche* was to be paid in addition for each dozen sheep in favour of the cap or owner of the ship which was going to be used for transporting the respective goods. Sending of smoked (dry) fish from Ochakiv, Kilia and other towns and cities payment of a tax fee was imposed too, while no tax was taken from the person who bought the fish products from Akkerman and then transported those on his own. Besides, the above said Book also has information about the bondmen-prisoners delivered from Kafa, and data about some other goods (OACMRT, Tahrir Defteri, No 483, p. 18). So the Ottoman government formed a special administrative body known as "the Shore Security Service" (يالى آغاليجي – *Yalı Ağalığı*)⁴. The person in charge (Head) of this organisation had to guarantee the military security along the Dniester bank and along the trade route which went from Akkerman to the town of Kamyanets (OACMRT, MD, Cilt 97, p.7/48).

Beginning from the 15th century, in Lviv there were seen merchants who arrived from the city of Bursa. Particularly, some data about merchants from the city of Lviv are available in the Registration Book of the city of Bursa (İnalçık, 1994, pp. 289–290).

It is important to note that at the time when the government of the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth was maintaining secure conditions on the trade route, that went from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea along the river of Dniester, the government of the Ottoman Empire preferred to carry out trading with the north through the route "Lviv – Akkerman". We should not in addition that the city of Lviv, beginning from the 15th century, turned into an important centre of the international trade, where merchant representatives of many ethoses – Turks, Italians, Jews, et. c. – made their trade operations. For example, a participation in such trading of an ethnically Jewish merchant, Yakuba by name, and the fact of saving and returning to him his property to his relatives because of the death of that merchant, are proved in a special archival document, and namely it is a message from the sultan to the Polish King dated from 11 December 1577 (OACMRT, MD, Cilt 29, p. 63/151).

Goods produced in Asian countries (they were spices, jewellery, fabrics, decorations, rice, black pepper) were transported through the city of Lviv (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 52, d. 1, c. 74; Turanly, 2016, pp. 140–141, 571) to the Baltic and Scandinavian countries. In the reverse way there were delivered fabrics of furs, wool, honey, wax, fish, caviar, wheat and other European goods and products. For the Baltic countries the city of Lviv was a kind of "a gate" in the southern direction (İnalçık, 1994, pp. 276–277). It should be underlined that such favourable conditions for the organisation and development of the international trade in the considered geopolitical area were accounted for by stable relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th century, which is demonstrated in another Turkish-Ottoman archival document "A Travelling Dispatch" issued by Murad III (Ruling period: 1574 – 1595) to Omara, an agent of Merchant

⁴ Coast Security Service.

Mahmud for the agent to cross Poland travelling to the Moscow's State and receive the money for the goods having been left, the original of which is still kept in Lviv (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 132, d. 1, c. 127). In general, these facts were important for the socio-economic development of the Cossack Ukraine.

Considering the military-political situation during the 16th century in the Northern Black-Sea Area one should note, that the Crimean Khanate, which was under protectorate of the High Porte, in fact was a powerful military force in East Europe. The point that the authorities of that state formation provided the military capability of its military forces on account of external supplying sources, and this accounted for the permanent invasions of Crimean-Tatar troops onto the territories of Ukraine and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Under the conditions Poland had to respond to the policy of the Ottoman Empire in the Black-Sea Area: to prevent attacks from the side of the Crimean Khanate there were створювалися formed military detachments, in which the majority was made of Ukrainian Cossacks that were Orthodox Christians. From the middle of the 16th century Dmytro Vyshnevetsky initiated down the Dnieper rifts and cataracts the movement "Cossack Brotherhood". This new military-political force became a serious problem in the occupational policy of the Ottoman Empire and Crimean Khanate (Öztürk, 2004, p. 293; Öztürk, 2003, pp. 95–140; Öztürk, 2005, pp. 55–95; Lemerrier – Quelquejay, 1969, pp. 258–279; Berindei, 1972, pp. 338–367). Such a scenario of events, that is the fact of using by Poland Zaporozhian Cossacks in its struggle with the above said states, relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the High Porte, which before that had been in the sense of strategy very friendly, changed radically. Polish noblemen who had noticeable domination in the foreign and domestic policy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, began to apply their own ways of protection the economic power of the native state on the territory of the basins of the Dnieper, Dniester and Prut, including also here the Ukrainian lands. Specifically, they managed to implement, beginning from 1550, a strengthened defense line set along the northern bank of the river of Danube (Çakır, 2006, pp. 73, 179–356). Many Turkish-Ottoman archival documents include data about the uprising organised by the Polish noblemen in 1565 against the presence of Turkish military forces, which was supported in Khotyn, Akkerman and Moldavia (OACMRT, MD, № 18, 17/30; OACMRT, MD, No 18, 17/26). In this context other documents tell us about the War Governor of Walachia's note of warning of an uprising in Moldavia, and about his order to provide support to the newly appointed governor of Moldavia (OACMRT, MD, No 18, 17/28; Yücel, 1996, Hüküm 30). Though, the external military-political activity of the High Porte in the Northern Black-Sea Area was negatively affected by the fact, that after the governing of Suleiman I (II) Kanuni a certain decay is was taking place in the economic development of this state.

The economic crisis that lasted in the Ottoman Empire till the 17th century resulted in the Northern Black-Sea Area in emergence of qualitatively new political forces, which before that were in vassal dependence and were used by large states within the limits of their own contact zones for close economic, cultural and military interactions between the bordering countries. These forces were represented, on one hand, by the Crimean Khanate whose position and situation in which was worsening by periodical Crimean-Tatar uprisings and rebellions against the central Ottoman government, while on the other hand, by the Zaporozhian Host, which acted jointly with the Crimean Khanate (Turanly, 2019. The military cooperation... pp. 39–55). It should be noted that Zaporozhian Cossacks that were subordinated to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth also rose against their oppression by the Polish noblemen, in such a way making serious problems for the authorities of that country.

In the first half of the 17th century the government of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth carried out fierce fightings against Cossacks, that ended in the victory of Poles, but that fact did not prevent from the occurrence of a qualitatively new Cossack national-liberating movement in the middle of the said century under the head of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Turanly, 2019, Written Documents... pp. 61–68).

Therefore, in the middle of the 17th century the Ukrainian Cossacks were a strong military-political force that had a large influence on the development of international relations in East Europe (Orhunlu, 1971, p. 64; Turanly, 2016, pp. 61–68.). Besides it should be added that the Zaporozhian Sich had not only developed economic and political relations with the High Porte and underwent a significant Turkic cultural impact (Dashkevych, 2011, pp. 204–208). While demonstrating its aspiration for liberating the Ukrainian people, the Zaporozhian Sich was at that time a natural ally of the High Porte in its counteraction to attempts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to maintain its domination in the Northern Black-Sea Area. The political authorities of the Cossack-Hetmanic Ukraine also considered the High Porte as its ally in the national-liberating struggle against the oppression by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was this coincidence in the foreign political interests of the two said states, that accounted for an important significance of the Ukrainian-Turkish-CrimeanTatar military-political union during the tumultuous events that occurred in East Europe in the middle of the 17th century. We note that the geopolitical role of Ukraine between the middle of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, particularly the Ukrainian problem in the international policy of the High Porte, becomes of an especially high importance (Turanly, 2016, pp. 234–422).

But because of losing by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and by the High Porte their power in East Europe, Moscovia increased there its domination. The united efforts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Sweden in the struggle against Moscovia in the beginning of the 18th century turned out to be also insufficient for the complete stopping the military-political activity of the Moscovian Tsardom because of the availability of serious contradictions between the said enemies of that country. As for the Ottoman Empire is concerned, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Karlovice in 1699, when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth suffered from devastating invasions from Moscovia, it supported peaceful relations with this state and even helped it. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian problem remained further unsettled, or, in other words, it remained actually important in the foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire. That is also supported by the data given in studies of the Ukrainian historian V. Stanislavsky about the active participation of merchants in the transportation of diplomatic correspondence between the Ukrainian Cossack State, Crimean Khanate, High Porte and Moscovia (Stanislavsky, 2016, pp. 25–35).

This conclusion is grounded with the contents of a text from a source material provided in Turkish-Ottoman manuscripts.

Let us continue to consider the touched on problem, particularly the development of trade routes between the countries of the above said historico-geographical areals, which expanded through Ukrainian lands. In this context there are important data obtained from another manuscript “A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Abdulkhamid I (Ruling period: 1774 – 1789) to Kadee (Turanly, 2016, p. 538) of the city of Izmir”. This manuscript was written in connection of addressing of the Temporary Charge d’Affaires of the Russian State in Istanbul with a request to the Sultan regarding trade aspects, it is dated from Zilkade Month, 1197 (according to the Islamic Hidjri Calendar (1–10 Zilkade, 1197), that is

28 September – 7 October, 1783 according to the Christian Calendar. This original document is kept in Kamyanets-Podilsky State Historical Museum-Reservation of Ukraine (Kamianets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum-Reservation of Ukraine. Repository, KV-27303, KD-d/p 667)⁵. We were the first to start using this document in academic circulation. If to speak about the typical features of the said document, we have identified the title of the document written in the Turkish-Ottoman language using the Arabic graphics. The document consists of the *Tugra* (Faizov, 1996, pp. 427–434; Turanly, 2016, p. 545)⁶ of the mentioned sultan and 12 lines of a text; the waxed paper with the text of the considered sheet according to the data from the inventory card is approximately 77 cm long and 52 cm wide. Because this order includes financial information, on the back side of the document there is the monogram of the Chief Financier of the state – *Defterdar* / “Defterdâr” (Kütükoğlu, 1998, p.79). When interpreting the text of the said archival document, we paid attention to the fact, that the sultan characterises the *Kadee* poetically too. Particularly, line 1 runs the flowing: “The Kadee of the Moslem judges and the leader of all leaders of the people that worship the one God – the Sovereign Lord, who is the source of solid knowledge and raises the banners of the Shariah and religion; who is the Haeres of knowledge of emissaries and predictors, chosen by the governor’s order and with the help of the Sovereign Lord, *the Kadee* of Izmir (May his amount of education rise still more!)! You are the pride of judges and masters, and also a connoisseur of great knowledge and words. Before starting from Istanbul to Izmir and onto the Mediterranean Sea islands (including those of the Aegean Sea)...”. Such grand respect and respective attitude of the governor to the above said statesman shows a large significance of the latter as the Chief Judge in ruling the Empire, inter alia in settling diplomatic affairs. Then in the said Letter-Order [line 2] the sultan instructs all executive state officials, including also commanders of military units, who are in charge for the customs control and collection of the “*jizye*” tax (Ortaylı, 2002, pp. 345–352; Turanly, 2016, p. 123) from foreign merchants. For instance, the text of the said document includes data of the obligatory reading by state officials the High order of the Sultan called “*Ferman*” (Turanly, 2016, p. 546), and also an addressing of the Temporary Charge d’Affaires of the Russian state, Knight Derkachov, who is Istanbul. The next lines [3, 4] of the document runs, that the respective diplomat delivered the Governor of the High Porte a letter on the problem having been touched upon. In this connection the said Letter runs that Russian traders may not “...neither be made pay the *jizye* and other taxes twice, if they travel on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, and as well that it is necessary to be friendly with Russian merchants according the conditions and terms of the Treaty on the goods which are to be sold from Russia and from other countries on the territory of their Ottoman Empire at special places for trading such goods. For goods for trading and brought by merchants on lands of the Ottoman Empire, so as to transport such goods onto the territory of Russia and that of other countries, a customs tax shall be paid in the places, where the respective goods were bought, in accordance with the provisions set up in the Tariff Book, in the amount of 3 %, and a receipt shall be given certifying the payment”. This information demonstrates that there were settled problems of Russian

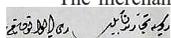
⁵ “A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Abdulkhamid I (Ruling period: 1774 – 1789) to Kadee of the city of Izmir”. A photocopy of the original of the said document is attached (See: Appendix 1). Inter alia, the author of this work expressed his personal acjbolegements to the collector of the funds of Kamyanets-Podilsky State Historical Museum-Reservation of Ukraine Ms. Inna Shvets, as well as to the senior official of the Institute for History within the national Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Mr. Vyacheslav Stanislavsky, for their facilitating him in using documewnts from the available funds.

⁶ *The contents of the given tugra*: “Khan Abdulkhamis [I], Son of [Sultan] Alhmed [III], is always the winner”.

traders while they were on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, and that there were set up specific tariff rates for taxing the respective goods. Further the Order [line 5] explains the application of the defined legal standard requirement, an namely: "...after receiving one tax fee the customs officers on the territories through which a merchant travels, the merchant shall not be compelled to pay again customs or other taxes, for example, under the pretext that the merchants have crossed the borders. But, if, contradicting this maintained order, the above said merchants pay the customs tax twice, that shall be returned to the payer...". Moreover, the text of the sultan's letter we have studied informs us of the existence of a treaty between the respective countries. For instance, we find in the next fragment of the document [line 6, 7, 8]: "...Due to the terms and conditions of the Treaty existing between the two states⁷, and in accordance with specific provisions of this Treaty, a Russian merchant by name Belisar Ivanov⁸, so as to make his trading, let us know about his trip through Istanbul to Izmir, and also onto some islands in the Mediterranean Sea (including those in the Aegean Sea too). Hence, it was necessary to observe provisions of the said Treaty properly, and bring no harm to the trader during his travelling and not make him pay repeatedly the customs tax, nor other taxes or fees, particularly the jizye tax, which would be against the terms and conditions of the concluded Treaty, nor make any attacks on the merchant, nor impede that merchant's traveling or trading, nor make any claims to the merchant's dressing elements, and nor practice any other obstacles...". Therefore, the given data makes it possible to speak about a treaty that was associated with the development of economic relations between the said states. The availability of such a treaty was the reason for Sultan Abdulkhamid I to issue the respective Order [line 8, 9, 10], in which he states the obligation to observe the terms and conditions of the mentioned treaty, as well as to guarantee the legal binding of that one in relation of the said Russian merchant, and namely: "...to provide conditions for the merchant to transport his goods, unless those are not illegal, through Istanbul to Izmir and onto some islands⁹. The goods for sale brought from other countries, for example the goods from the Russian state, in the places of their purchase and on the places of organisation of their sale shall be completely taxed, according to the terms and conditions of the said treaty and due to provisions of the Tariff Book relating the customs fee, in the amount of 3%, while the payer shall be given a receipt about having made the respective payment. Afterwards, neither payment of the customs tax while the merchant is travelling on the territory of the empire, nor that of the tax for crossing the borderline, nor that of other taxes or fees, shall be prohibited, particularly that of the jizye tax". The data we have obtained from this fragment of the document demonstrate that only one payment of a certain amount was imposed, a documental confirmation of making that payment being a must. The same legal requirements were also to be applied to traders from other countries, for example to merchants from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

It should be noted that the said Letter-Order included instructions concerning not only provision of the personal untouchability of a foreign trader, when that is travelling within the territory of the Ottoman Empire, but also to respect the dressing of such a merchant and his traditions. For instance, lines 10 and 11 of this document state as follows: "... not bring the merchant any harm and do not interfere with his travelling or making trade operations, do

⁷ The High Porte and the Russian Empire are implied.

⁸ The merchant's name is pronounced like Bisari or Belisary (...Rusya tüccârından Belisarı İvanof nâm...)  possibly *Belisar*.

⁹ The Mediterranean Sea and the Aegean Sea.

not set claims to his dressing, and fulfill properly all the terms and conditions of the Treaty. It was for that purpose, that our *Ferman* was made that reserves to be highly honored”. Further the Sultan warns the Judge that his Letter-Order deserves high honour, and that his instructions shall be fulfilled according to the defined terms and conditions¹⁰. The document has in addition data about obligatory thorough observation of the written requirements and informs of a severe punishment, if the order is not fulfilled. In the end of the Letter the date and place of writing that is indicated – the first decade of the month of Zilcade, 1197, according to the Islamic Hidjri Calendar (1–10 Zilcade, 1197), that is 28 September – 7 October 1783 due to the Christian Calendar. The place of writing the Letter-Order is Istanbul.

The Conclusions. Studies of Arabic and Turkish-Ottoman written sources give grounds to say that the port cities Jumne and Constantinople were important trade markets, particularly for the sale of goods transported by Dnieper and Danube. Istanbul had a special significance in the international trading system. Importance of the geopolitical position of Ukraine in the system of international economic relations was accounted for by that fact, that its territory was used for trade routes, which provided permanent and stable economic relations between important ports and countries of East Europe northwards from the Black Sea. The Baltic cultural and historic regions, that included the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was connected with the Black Sea through the territory of Ukraine.

The economic crisis, which lasted in the Ottoman Empire till the beginning of the 17th century, in the Northern Black-Sea Area new political forces emerged which before that had been in the vassal dependence and used by the great states within their own contact zones for a close economic, cultural and military cooperation of the border countries. Those border forces were, from one side – the Crimean Khanate, and from the other side – The Zaporozhian Host. Our study has shown that the Ukrainian problem has always been an actual item in the international policy of the High Porte.

We have studied the original manuscript “A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Abdulkhamid I to the Kadee of the city of Izmir”. The data we have obtained from this document proved the economic relations between the countries located within the above said historicogeographical areals to have been long-lasting, and there have also been identified the conditions, in which the trade relations between these countries had been developing, and the routes having been set up through the territory of Ukraine.

Acknowledgement. We appreciate very much the editors who enabled the publication of this study on the topical issues relating the territory of Ukraine as an important factor in the development of trade relations and geopolitical contacts, as well as on the socio-economic processes, which took place between the second half of the 16th century and the 18th century in the Northern Black-Sea Area, and also on the situation in and position of the Crimean Khanate.

Financing. The Author has not received any financial support for making his study and/or publication of this paper.

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¹⁰ The assumption of an interval in line 11 is conditioned by the method of writing handwritten documents for adding the name of the person who is later authorized to deliver this document to the addressee.

The original was written approximately in the second half of the 16th century. The title and the date of writing the document were specified. [in Turkish-Ottoman]

TsDIA Ukrayiny u m. L'vovi, f. 132, op. 1, spr. 127 “Podorozhna, vydana Muradom III u spravi pereyizdu cherez Pol'schu do Moskovs'koyi derzhavy Omara, ahenta kuptsia Mahmuda, dlia otrymannia nym hroshey za zalyshenyi tovar”. Oryhinal, napysanyi pryblyzno 3 – 13 chervnia 1581 roku za hrystyians'kym litochyslenniam (1 – 10 dnia dzhemazeyilevvela misiatsia 989 roku Hijry). [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv – **CSHAUL**, f. 132. d. 1. c. 127. *A travelling Dispatch issued by Murad III to an agent of Merchant Mahmud for the agent to cross Poland travelling to the Moscow's State Omara and receive the money for the goods having been left. The original was written approximately between 3 and 13 1581 A.D. (1–10 Jemazeyilevvel, 989 Anno Herigao)*]. [in Turkish-Ottoman]

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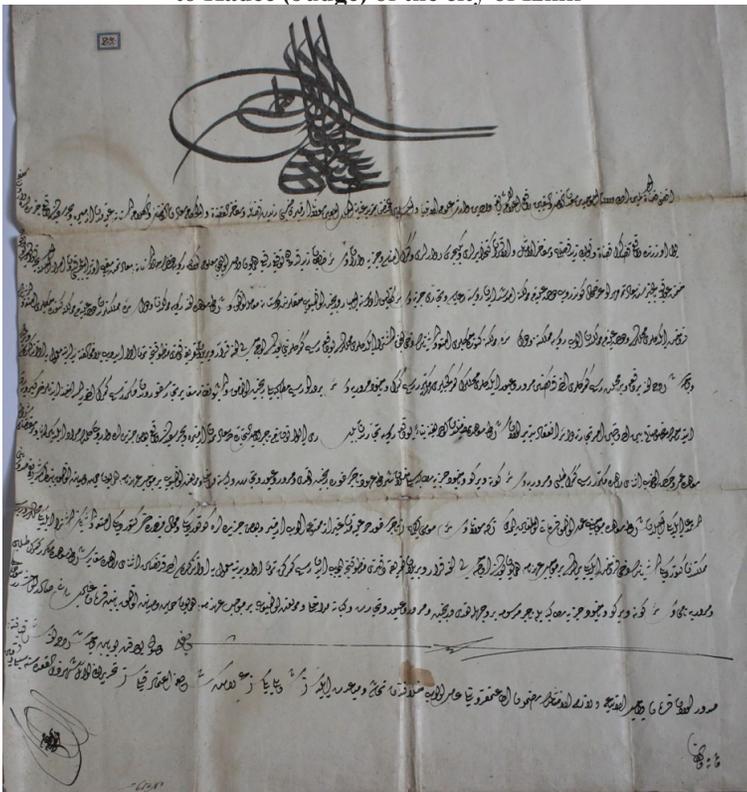
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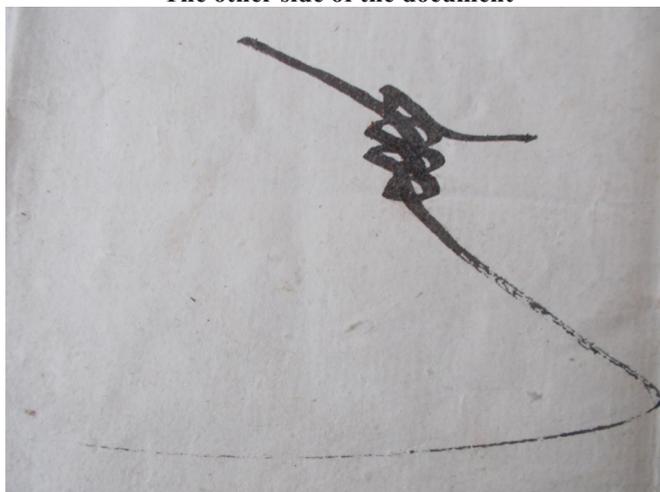
*The article was received on August 30, 2019.
Article recommended for publishing 20/05/2020.*

APPENDICES

1) A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Abdulkhamid I (Ruling period: 1774 – 1789) to Kadee (Judge) of the city of Izmir



The other side of the document



**A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Abdulkhamid I
to Kadee (Judge) of the city of Izmir**
Kamaynets-Podilsky State Historical Meseum-Reservation.
Repository. KV-27303. KD-d/p 667
(a photocopy of the original of the document)

2) Translation of “A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Abdulkhamid I to Kadee (Judge) of the city of Izmir”

Tugra

(Khan Abdulkhamid [I], Son of [Sultan] Akhmed [III], is always the Winner):

[Line 1] – “The Kadee of the Moslem judges and the leader of all leaders of the people that worship the one God – the Sovereign Lord, who is the source of solid knowledge and raises the banners of the Shariah and religion; who is the Haeres of knowledge of emissaries and predictors, chosen by the governor’s order and with the help of the Sovereign Lord, *the Kadee* of Izmir (May his amount of education rise still more!)! You are the pride of judges and masters, and also a connoisseur of great knowledge and words. Before starting from Istanbul to Izmir and onto the Mediterranean Sea islands (including those of the Aegean Sea)...”

[Line 2] – Judges and authorised representatives of judges of the countries situated along [Your] way, (May their high amount of education rise still more!), from towns and cities with the governmental administration, that inspire all [our] friends, commanders of Yanissaries, heads of customs controls and collectors of the jizye, as well other commanders and officers (May their power grow!), who are proud of You, after receiving personally this high governmental *Ferman*, shall know that the Temporary Charge d’Affaires of the Russian State, who is now in Istanbul and is one of the leaders of the Christian people and worships the Religion of Jesus, Knight Derkachov

[Line 3] – (May be happy and blessed the end of His life!) has handed me a stamped letter, sent to My High Threshold, that is a source of happiness, so as you would not make Russian people and traders pay the jizye and other kinds of taxes, if they travel through the territory of the Ottoman Empire, and also informing us of the needs to be friendly to those according to the terms and conditions of the treaty on the goods that are to be sold from Russia and other countries on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, particularly

[Line 4] – on the places for selling these goods. The goods that are to be traded with and bought by merchants on lands of the Ottoman Empire so as to transport them onto the territory of Russia and that of

other states, there shall be paid a customs tax on the places where the respective goods were purchased, as it is provided in the Tariff Book, in the amount of 3 %, a receipt shall be given for making such a payment.

[Line 5] – We are explaining to you that after receiving the customs fee one time, customs officers of the territories through which respective merchants travel, shall not compel the latter ones to pay customs or other fees again, for example under the pretext, as if those had crossed the borderlines. But, if, contradicting such a set up order, the respective merchants paid the customs tax for the second time, the paid amount shall be returned.

[Line 6] – There is another point. According to the Treaty, existing between the two states, and due to some provisions of that Treaty, a Russian merchant by name Belisar Ivanov, aiming at making his trading, informs us about his trip through Istanbul to Izmir, as well as onto some islands in the Mediterranean Sea (including islands in the Aegean Sea). Hence, we have to observe provisions of the said Treaty properly

[Line 7] – and neither bring any harm to the merchant during his traveling, nor make him pay the customs or other taxes repeatedly, particularly the *jizye* tax, which would be against the terms and conditions of the concluded treaty, nor attack him, nor interfere with his traveling or with his trade, nor make claims to his uniform or dressing, and nor make him any other blocking actions. The respective merchant addressed me and asked me to issue corresponding instructions on behalf of our sultanate.

[Line 88] – Following this request, I order you to fulfill the terms and conditions of the said Treaty properly. As you are the highest governmental officer, so it shall be provided for the said merchant conditions for his transporting his goods, unless those are not illegal, through Istanbul to Izmir and onto some islands. Goods for sale brought from other countries, particularly ones from the Russian state,

[Line 9] – on the places of their purchasing and on the places organised for selling those ones, shall be completely taxed, according to the terms and conditions of the above said Treaty and approved provisions of the Tariff Book in relation of the customs fee, in the amount of 3%, while the payer shall be given a receipt confirming the payment having been made. After that neither payment of the customs tax may be made when the trader is travelling within the territory of our state,

[Line 10] – nor that of other taxes, particularly the *jizye* tax. It is prohibited from the respective merchant. Do not bring him any harm and do not interfere with his travelling or making his trading business, do not set up claims to his uniform or dressing, and properly fulfill and observe the terms and conditions of the Treaty. That was the purpose, that our *Ferman* has been made for, which deserves high honour. I order that you,

[Line 11] – [space] when receive this Order of Ours, deserving high honour, in the way as I have explained it to you,

[Line 12] – should undertake measures required to provide exemplary observation of this Order of Ours as Our order to exemplarily fulfill your official duties. You should be afraid of failing to do the above said. Bear that well in your mind! And credit our Tugra!

Date of writing: written in Zilkade Month, 1197 according to the Islamic Calendar Hijri (1 – 10 Zilkade, 1197), that is 28 September – 7 October, 1783 according to the Christian Calendar.

The place of writing – Istanbul.

3) Translation of a reviewed text of the document “A Letter-Order from Turkish Sultan Abdulkhamid I to Kadee (Judge) of the city of Izmir”

The archival document in question was written in Turkish-Ottoman in Turkey by Sultan Abdulkhamid I to the Kadee of the city of Izmir in connection with addressing of the temporary Charge d’Affaires of the Russian State in Istanbul, Knight Derkachov, who was in Topkapy Palace in Istanbul, so as to address the Sultan with a request in relation of trade aspects. The Governor of the Ottoman Empire in his Letter-Order instructs the Kadee of the said city, that when the Kadee leaves Istanbul for Izmir or for some islands in the Mediterranean Sea or in the Aegean Sea, the Kadee shall inform the local authorised officials, so that those ones will not make Russian people and traders pay the *jizye* and other kinds of taxes, providing that such people are travelling within the territory of the Ottoman Empire; the Sultan also requires to provide necessary friendly attitude to such travelling people, according to terms

and conditions of the Treaty on the goods which are to be sold from Russia and from other countries on lands of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, particularly on the places of selling the said goods. Goods which are to be sold, but which were bought on lands of the said state, as well the right to transport such goods by merchants to the territory of Russian and onto territories of other states, shall be taxed for merchants on the places, where the respective goods were purchased, according to provisions of the Tariff Book, in the amount of 3%, and an official receipt shall be issued certifying the respective payment having been made. It is said that after receiving the customs fee one time, customs officers of the territories crossed respective trading merchants shall not make the latter ones to pay the customs and any other taxes repeatedly; if any customs or other taxes were received from the respective merchants more than one time, the repeated amounts shall be liable to their returning to the traders. For instance, the considered document runs about the Treaty between the High Porte and Moscovian Tsardom, which dealt with terms and conditions for settling trade relations, including here the provision of free travelling of Russian merchants within the territory of the Ottoman Empire and obligatory observation of the terms and conditions of the said Treaty. Aiming at settling all above said problems, one of the Russian merchants, addressed through diplomatic representatives in Istanbul, the Turkish Government with a request to issue a respective governmental Order in Turkey. The goods for sale brought from other countries, or purchased in Turkey for their sale in other countries, were to be completely taxed on the places of purchasing the respective goods or on the places organised for their sale according to the terms and conditions of the said Treaty and to the approved provisions relating the tax tariffs. After paying the required customs tax one may not require from the trading merchants any repeated customs taxes while such merchants travel within the territory of the Ottoman Empire, particularly the *jizye* tax. The Sultan in the document in question orders to undertake all required measures needed to provide implementation of the respective commission, as well as he warns about the responsibility for failing to fulfill the *Ferman*. This manuscript demonstrates the fact of the existence of diplomatic relations between the above said states, inter alia – the trade relations.

The document was written 28 September – 7 October 1783 in the city of Istanbul.