

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST MONOGRAPHS

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RUSSIA AND KAZAN

Conquest and Imperial Ideology

(1438 - 1560s)

by

JAROSLAW PELENSKI

1974

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Христині

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I

INTRODUCTION

The imperial and multinational aspects of the Muscovite state, as well as those of modern Russia, are relatively neglected areas of East European historical studies. Impressive national histories exist, both of Russia proper and of the various non-Russian peoples of the old Empire, and Soviet, as well as Western, scholarship has considerably advanced the knowledge of Russia's past through new factual material and also by its more sophisticated approach to social and economic history — areas outside the intellectual interests of traditional national historians. But this scholarship still tends to underestimate the ethnic, legal, administrative, and social variety of Muscovite and Imperial Russia. Only a very few authors have so far attempted to deal with these problems, and their ventures have necessarily suffered from factual and conceptual limitations.

B. Nolde's *La formation de l'Empire russe* (2 vols.; Paris, 1952-1953) remained an unfinished work. The author concentrated on the annexation of individual countries and regions and their subsequent administrative status within the Empire. Nolde's view of the Empire was also somewhat limited by his theory of incorporation, which is in need of modification. G. von Rauch, in his *Russland — Staatliche Einheit und nationale Vielfalt* (Munich, 1953), was able to avoid the pitfalls of a one-sided conceptual approach, but in spite of its many virtues, his work is somewhat fragmentary. It begins with the Treaty of Perejaslav (1654) and concentrates mainly on the nineteenth century.

While the situation in research and scholarship is unsatisfactory, it is even more so when it comes to educational materials. The need for textbooks and reliable general works has only partially been filled by H. Seton-Watson's *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917* (Oxford, 1967), the first general account of the nineteenth century to acknowledge the imperial character of the Russian state. All other major surveys, covering the period since roughly the sixteenth century, have been written on the premise that Russia was a unitary national state. For all its preconceived

ideas and concessions to changing ideological demands, Soviet historiography, in contrast to the work of most Western historians of Russia, has recognized Russia's multinational character. This is best exemplified by the voluminous *Očerki istorii SSSR*, which includes historical surveys of the individual non-Russian peoples, albeit written in accordance with official political enunciations.

The reasons for this lack of comprehensive studies dealing with the multinational character of the Russian Empire are manifold. One of the most important is to be found in Russian historiographic tradition. Russian imperial historians (M. N. Karamzin, S. M. Solov'ev and others) devoted a great deal of attention to the conquests and expansion of the Empire. Their works were nationalist in tone and consequently strove to glorify the successes of their country in acquiring territory, the forward march of Russian civilization, and her role in world affairs. Needless to say, they were either very critical of the non-Russian countries and societies which were drawn into the Russian orbit, or tried to minimize their contribution to the imperial development. In addition, under the influence of the Romantic concept of history, they adhered to notions such as national character, national uniqueness, and the organic growth and genetic development of societies. This in turn prompted them to make generalizations which often were artificially applied. However, for all their shortcomings these imperial historians knew the sources well, not only those pertaining to Russia proper, but also those that bore on the various other regions which formed the Empire.

In the last third of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries a tendency toward a more critical approach manifested itself in the works of historians such as V. O. Ključevskij and A. F. Platonov. They continued to follow the national imperial school concerning the general development of Russian history, but with regard to individual problems they displayed greater objectivity and detachment. The imperial theme of Russian history was not their immediate scholarly concern; nevertheless, some of their opinions indicate that they sensed its complexities.

A number of leading representatives of Russian historical scholarship succeeded in breaking away from the typical nationalist viewpoint of their predecessors during the period between the 1880s and the 1930s. V. S. Ikonnikov, M. A. Djakonov, A. E. Presnjakov, M. K. Ljubavskij, and P. Miljukov, to name a few, exhibited in their works an admirably critical attitude toward source materials, and they dared to question established concepts and ideas. They also combined great erudition with

new interpretations of a historicist quality. Unfortunately, this promising trend in Russian historical studies was brought to an abrupt end on account of the well-known political developments in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. In recent years, however, a revival of a more impartial and professional approach can be found in works by some leading Soviet scholars.

This evolution in historical method and thought was only faintly reflected in studies pertaining to the imperial nature of the Russian state. The more cautiously inclined historians concentrated on problems of the East Slavic past. The result of this gap in historical writing is that the overwhelming majority of Western scholars remain influenced by Solov'ev's views in their treatment of imperial problems. Nevertheless, scrutiny of the source material and especially the sober analysis of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muscovite chronicles undertaken by the critical historians had great impact on all research in the field of early Russian history.

The study of imperial Russia is further complicated by the natural antagonisms between the Russian and non-Russian national historians whose works mirrored the national aspirations of their respective societies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Russia and Eastern Europe, in particular, the lack of fully developed political institutions providing freedom of debate has prompted many gifted individuals to seek other outlets for their ideas; historiography, history of literature and ethnography afforded these outlets, and consequently often became platforms for furthering a national cause. Modern scholars display a healthy scepticism when they evaluate the various historical schools of the non-Russian nationalities which inhabited the former Empire. However, in dealing with the conflicting claims of these antagonistic national historiographies, the contemporary researcher ought to keep in mind that Karamzin, Solov'ev, and Ključevskij were also national historians with their own patriotic loyalties and predilections which one can respect, but need not necessarily share.

Another reason for the paucity of major contributions to research on the multinational Russian Empire is the scarcity of monographs and dissertations in this area. In particular, when one turns to Western scholarship, one finds scant evidence of professional activity in the field. For example, while the *corpus* of monographs on various aspects of Russian history has grown considerably in the United States and Great Britain in the last two decades, only a few works of varying quality have

been specifically devoted to the imperial problem.¹ One can only hope that international scholarship will continue to build a solid basis of specialized research upon which a reliable and meaningful synthesis can some day be erected.

The final conquest of the Kazan Khanate² by Muscovite armies in 1552

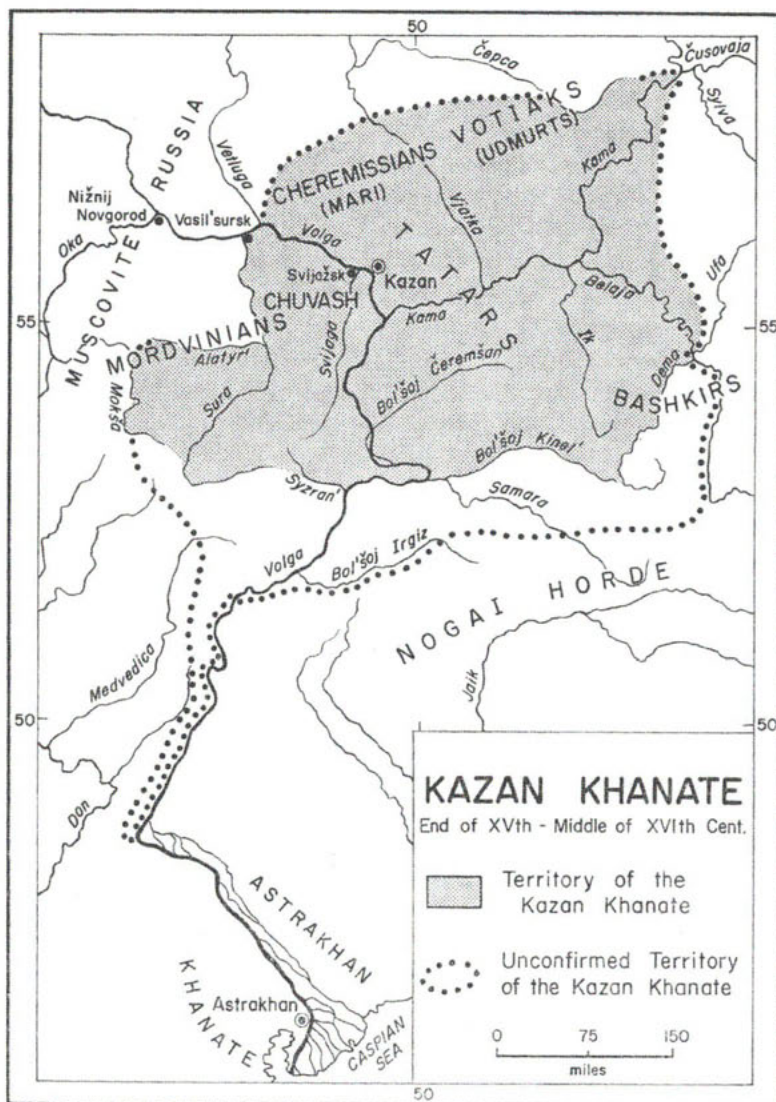
¹ G. Lantzeff, *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century: A Study of Colonial Administration* (Berkeley, 1943); M. Raeff, *Siberia and the Reforms of 1822* (Seattle, 1956); C. B. O'Brien, *Muscovy and the Ukraine: From the Pereiaslavl Agreement to the Truce of Andrusovo* (Berkeley, 1963); R. A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, 1960); S. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); A. S. Donnelly, *The Russian Conquest of Bashkiria, 1552-1740* (New Haven, 1968); A. W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783* (Cambridge, 1970).

² The boundaries of the Kazan Khanate appear to have undergone a few major changes from the end of the fifteenth century to 1551 (for the latest description of the various territories of the Khanate, see M. N. Tixomirov, *Rossija v XVI stoletii* [Moscow, 1962], pp. 20-24, 467-507). Its western border with Muscovy was the most clearly defined, since it coincided with rivers as natural boundaries (see Map 2). It ran roughly to the north along the Mokša River (from its source near the point where the Sura River leaves its westward course and flows away toward the northeast), turned sharply to the east along the Alatyř River which flows into the Sura, and then followed the latter to the north where it fell into the Volga. From there it paralleled the Volga to its confluence with the Vetluga River. The northern boundary of the Khanate departed from this confluence, moved in a quarter circle to the Vjatka River, and then followed a line to the east and slightly to the north which carried it south of the Vjatka land, for some distance along the Upper Čepca River, and finally to the point where the Sylva and Čusovaja rivers discharge into the Kama. In the east the boundaries can be only vaguely ascertained. They were rather indeterminate to the east of the triangle of the Kama and Belaja rivers and reached the area where the Ufa and Dema rivers discharge into the Belaja. The eastern boundary may have extended to the point where the Belaja turns sharply east. The southern limits of the Khanate's territory are equally difficult to establish. Tixomirov maintained that they ran along the southern tributaries of the Kama, probably not reaching the Samara River (pp. 486, 21). On his map of the northern Tatar states, B. Spuler proposes a line from the Upper Belaja to the south of the Lower Samara, and then to the Volga in the vicinity of Saratov (*Die Goldene Horde [Die Mongolen in Russland: 1223-1502]* [Wiesbaden, 1965³], p. 639). His southern line corresponds to that on the map of the Khanate in the *Bol'saja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija* (cited hereafter as *BSE*) XIX (1953³), p. 311. V. I. Buganov, on the other hand, chooses the Bol'soj Čeremšan River, the southern line of the finger-shaped turn of the Volga, the Syzran', and the emerging Sura as his southern limit (cf. the map with his article on the Kazan Khanate in: *Sovetskaja Istoričeskaja Enciklopedija* VI [1965], p. 782). It is quite possible that the Bol'soj Kinel', together with the Dema, or that part of it parallel with the Belaja, may have been the southeastern edge which extended to the Volga in the west. Neither has the southwestern border of the Kazan Khanate been satisfactorily clarified as yet. M. Xudjakov claimed that the right bank of the Volga, as far as Caricyn (contemporary Volgograd, former Stalingrad), was a possession of the Kazan Khanate (*Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo Xanstva* [Kazan', 1923], p. 12). His claim is reflected on the map of the Khanate in the *BSE*. The clarification of the southwestern boundary primarily depends on the evaluation of the onomastic evidence. The ancient name of Caricyn, as well as



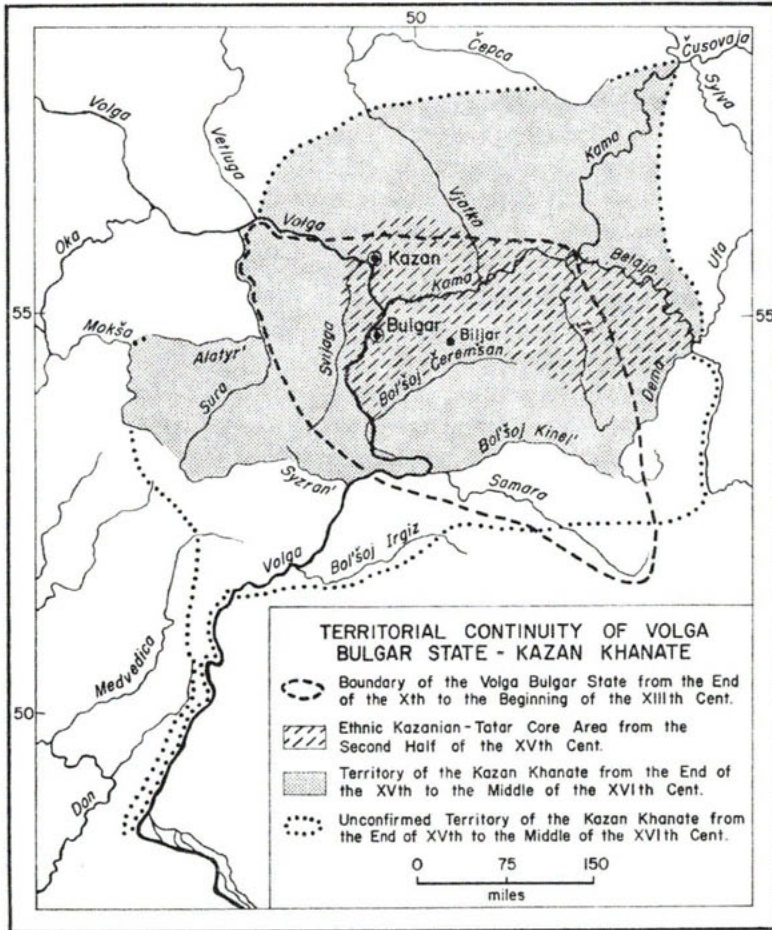
Map 1

that of the Carica River by which the former was located, is derived from the Tatar *sary-su* 'yellow water'. However, the Tatar origin of the name does not necessarily attest to Kazanian sovereignty over the entire area. While it could have been controlled by the Kazan khan, the possibility of an Astrakhan, Crimean or Nogai claim to it should not be entirely excluded. However, there is no doubt that the Khan of Kazan was in control of the Volga-Syzran'-Sura line.



Map 2

The core area of the Kazan Khanate was located in the Middle Volga basin around the confluence of the Volga and Kama rivers, with the former flowing north-south across the western part, and the Kama providing a rough east-west axis. This area approximately corresponds to the central and northeastern parts of the old Bulgar state



Map 3

(see Map 3), as well as to the territory of the present Tatar ASSR. The territory, predominantly a low, rolling plain, was inhabited by the Tatars, a Turkic people, a mixture of the old Bulgars and migrating Turkic elements from the Golden Horde. The Tatar language belongs to the Turkic language group. The Tatars adhered to the Muslim religion, were predominantly agricultural and had the most developed socio-political organization of all the peoples comprising the Kazan Khanate. The latter included a number of dependent lands inhabited by indigenous peoples. The territory to the southeast of Kazan was populated by Bashkirs, a pastoral-nomadic people of mixed ethnic origin, speaking a Turkic language. Only the northwestern hilly area of the Bashkir country came under Kazanian sovereignty in the process of the disintegration of the Golden Horde. Southwestern and southern Bashkir lands were under the domination of the Nogai Horde, while the eastern parts had submitted to the Siberian

represented Russia's first major expansion beyond the ethnic territories of the Great Russian nationality. It served as a point of departure for Russia's Eastern policy in the Muscovite, as well as the Imperial, period. In conquering Kazan, Muscovy acquired a relatively advanced country with its own political institutions, social system, specific economic conditions, Muslim religious and cultural values, and multi-ethnic composition. This conquest signalled the transformation of Muscovite Russia from a centralized national state into a multinational empire, a development of crucial importance for the subsequent course of Russian history. The factual aspects of the relations between Muscovy and Kazan in the period between 1438 and 1552 have mostly been covered in the literature,³ although a number of issues remain matters of controversy.

Khanate. To the west of the Tatar core was the land of the Chuvash, located between the Sura and Svijaga rivers with the Volga providing the northern natural boundary. The Chuvash language is classified as one of the Turkic languages (K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* [Wiesbaden, 1968], p. 61). The Chuvash people were agriculturalists, and worshipped nature before their enforced Christianization in the eighteenth century. The sovereignty of the Kazan khans extended over the lands of three additional peoples whose languages belong to the Finno-Ugric sub-family of languages. The hilly area, southwest of Kazan, roughly between the Sura and the Mokša, was populated by the Mordvinians, or, more specifically, by their Mokša branch. The northern branch, the Ėrzja, had already earlier come under Russian domination. The sedentary Mordvinians lived by agriculture, cattle-breeding and bee-keeping. The closest linguistic relatives of the Mordvinians were the Mari or Cheremissians, who lived to the north of Kazan. The Cheremissians were divided into two major branches: the *gornaja čeremisa* 'Mountain Cheremissians', residing mostly on the right elevated bank of the Volga, and the *lugovaja čeremisa* 'Meadow Cheremissians', populating the wooded area between the Vetluga and Vjatka rivers. Agriculture, cattle-breeding, hunting and fishing were the major sources of subsistence of the predominantly sedentary Cheremissians. Finally, the Udmurts or Votiaks, inhabiting the territory roughly between the Vjatka and Kama rivers, should be mentioned. Only the southern Udmurts were subjects of the Kazan Khanate, while their northern branch populated the areas which were incorporated into the Vjatka land. The main preoccupations of the Udmurts were agriculture, cattle-breeding and hunting. These three Finnic peoples adhered to various types of nature worship before their Christianization. Like the Tatars, the other Turkic, as well as Finnic, subject peoples of the old Kazan Khanate, continue their ethnic existence to the present day and are organized in Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics of the RSFSR.

³ The historical background of these relations was analyzed by Xudjakov, *Očerki ...*; I. Smolitsch, "Zur Geschichte der russischen Ostpolitik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts (Die Eroberung des Kazaner Reiches)", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (cited hereafter as *JGOE*) VI (1941), pp. 55-84; I. I. Smirnov, "Vostočnaja politika Vasilija III", *Istoričeskie Zapiski* (cited hereafter as *IZ*) XXVII (1948), pp. 18-66; S. O. Šmidt, "Pravitel'stvennaja dejatel'nost' A. F. Adaševa i vostočnaja politika russkogo gosudarstva v seredine XVI veka", unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Moscow University, 1948-1949; "Predposylki i pervye gody 'Kazanskoj vojny' (1545-1549)", *Trudy Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-arkivnogo instituta* (cited hereafter as *TGIAI*) VI (1954), pp. 187-257; "Vostočnaja politika Rossii nakanune 'Kazanskogo vzjatija'", in:

Equally essential for the understanding of the Muscovite expansion into the territories of the Kazan Khanate and further to the East is the comprehension of the motives which contemporary Muscovites recognized as having prompted their imperial drive. It is worthwhile to investigate their views of their Tatar neighbors, especially as reflected in official pronouncements, as well as their notions of Russo-Kazanian relations, and their image of themselves as an expanding and conquering nation.

An analysis of the justifications for the Kazan conquest goes far to demonstrate the development of Muscovite ideology, since that ideology focused on the case of Kazan during a decisive era in Russia's past. The periods immediately preceding and following this event — that is, the years between 1547 and the late 1560s — were of paramount significance in the history of Muscovite political thought, for they witnessed the appearance of a considerable number of remarkable historical and ideological works. Most of these works were written in one of the two centers: either the tsar's court or the metropolitan's chancery. The former produced official court chronicles, whereas the latter — particularly under the direction of Metropolitan Makarij — compiled interpretative works of a historical and religious character. Extant examples of this new court

Meždunarodnye otnošenija, politika, diplomatija (Sbornik statej k 80-letiju akademika I. M. Majnskogo) (Moscow, 1964), pp. 538-558; B. Nolde, *La formation de l'Empire russe* (2 vols.; Paris, 1952-1953); E. L. Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan' 1445-1552: A Study in Steppe Politics", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965; I. Ševčenko, "Muscovy's Conquest of Kazan: Two Views Reconciled", *Slavic Review* (cited hereafter as *SR*) XXVI: 4 (1967), pp. 541-547; E. L. Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy", *SR* XXVI: 4 (1967), pp. 548-558; J. Pelenski, "Muscovite Imperial Claims to the Kazan Khanate", *SR* XXVI: 4 (1967), pp. 559-576; O. Pritsak, "Moscow, the Golden Horde, and the Kazan Khanate from a Polycultural Point of View", *SR* XXVI: 4 (1967), pp. 577-583. For a comprehensive treatment of the complex issues of Russo-Tatar relations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see also V. V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o Kasimovskix carjax i carevičax* (4 vols.; St. Petersburg, 1863-1887), I; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* ...; B. Spuler, "Die Volga-Tataren und Baschkiren unter russischer Herrschaft", *Der Islam* XXIX (1950), pp. 142-216; B. D. Grekov and A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950); M. G. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoj Ordy (Učenyje Zapiski Mordovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta)*, vyp. XI (Saransk, 1960). Additional comments and observations on Muscovite foreign policy with regard to the Kazan Khanate can be found in: S. M. Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen* (15 vols.; Moscow, 1960-1966), III (Vols. V and VI of Solov'ev's *Istorija Rossii*, which comprise Vol. III of the new Soviet edition, originally appeared in 1855 and 1856); K. V. Bazilevič, *Vnešnjaja politika russkogo centralizovannogo gosudarstva (Vtoraja polovina XV veka)* (Moscow, 1952); G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, 1959); J. L. I. Fennell, *Ivan the Great of Moscow* (London, 1961); I. B. Grekov, *Očerki po istorii meždunarodnyx otnošenij vostočnoj Evropy XIV-XVI vv.* (Moscow, 1963).

historiography are the *Letopisec načala carstva carja i velikogo knjazja Ivana Vasil'eviča vseja Rusii* [The Chronicle of the Beginning of the Tsardom of the Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič of All Russia], which covers the period between 1533 and 1552, and the *Carstvennaja kniga* [The Imperial Book]. The *Letopisec* was incorporated into the Nikon and L'vov Chronicles, which, together with the voluminous Illuminated Chronicle (*Licevoj letopisnyj svod*), mark a high point in Muscovite imperial historiography.

In the Metropolitan's chancery, two extraordinary historic-ecclesiastical works were compiled under Makarij's inspiration and guidance: *Velikie minei četii* [The Great Menology], and *Kniga stepennaja* [The Book of Degrees of Imperial Genealogy]. The first represented an attempt to collect a *corpus* of all literary texts known in Muscovy, and was intended as a reference work for high church and state dignitaries. The second provided the Muscovite ruling elite with a Providential interpretation of history, combined with a historical scheme of Russian national development. These tendencies amounted to a centralization of ideology and historiography which resembled the political evolution of state affairs.

The main factors in the emergence of these voluminous historical and religious treatises were the coronation of Ivan IV as the first Tsar in 1547 which, in contemporary eyes, elevated Muscovy from the status of a Grand Principality to that of an Empire, and the rapid acceleration of the process of nationalization of the Russian Orthodox Church, as manifested in the work of the Church Councils of 1547 and 1549. Both contributed to the growth of historical and national consciousness and to an attitude of religious exclusiveness and national superiority among the imperial elite.

The works of this period had as one of their principal aims the establishment of a clear-cut line of continuity: Kiev – Vladimir – Muscovy. This *translatio* theory was to serve as the primary basis for Muscovite political claims.⁴ It was closely correlated with the notion of the unity of all Rus' lands and the historical concept of Muscovy's role in "gathering them".

⁴ Russian historiography of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was profoundly influenced by the historical ideas and ideological propositions of the Muscovite chronicles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In these chronicles, Russian historians of modern times were provided with a ready-made conceptual framework for early Russian history. In particular, the idea of "continuity" from the Kievan state to Muscovy was accepted as a matter of fact. For some acute remarks on this problem, see P. N. Miljukov, *Glavnye tečenija russkoj istoričeskoj mysli* (Moscow, 1913^a), p. 177; A. E. Presnjakov, *Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva (Očerki po istorii XIII-XV stoletij)* (Petrograd, 1920), pp. 2-3, 7, 19.

The emphasis on the exclusive and uninterrupted dynastic succession from the rulers of Kievan Rus' to those of Muscovy served to exalt the position of the Muscovite grand prince, and later the tsar. A similar approach can be observed in contemporary compilations which aimed at unifying and "streamlining" Russian history. These involved a retouching of the history of Kievan Rus', which was given the status of a tsardom by the compilers of the Book of Degrees.

It is against the background of these developments and tendencies in Russian political thought and historiography that one can begin to more clearly understand the evolution of Muscovite imperial claims to Kazan and the justifications for its conquest. Muscovite bookmen usually upheld the conquest of the Kazan Khanate with two principal claims and three major *ex post facto* justifications. Before the conquest of 1552, only legal and religious claims to Kazan had been mentioned; the former can be found in chronicles and — what is more important — in diplomatic correspondence, while the latter are attested in ecclesiastical statements written before the final Muscovite conquest. After the conquest, however, historical, dynastic, and national justifications also began to make their appearance in chronicles and religious works, while religious arguments were integrated by Muscovite imperial ideologists into an overall Providential interpretation of Russian history. After 1552 a new type of legal relationship evolved between the central Muscovite government and the inhabitants of the former Kazan Khanate, and for this reason legal claims formulated before the conquest lost their political actuality and were seldom mentioned.

This study is based upon the known available East Slavic and Turkic published and unpublished material, including diplomatic correspondence, chronicles, historic-religious treatises, legal documents, literary tales, epistles and hagiographic literature. Since these materials are so diversified and are characterized by a striking quantitative imbalance between those of Russian and Tatar origin — the former being numerous and extensive whereas the latter amount only to a few printed pages — some general observations about the nature of the sources used in this study are necessary.

With a few minor exceptions, all the diplomatic correspondence pertaining to bilateral Russo-Kazanian relations has been lost. Information about the Khanate must be extracted from records of Muscovite diplomatic relations with the Nogais, the Crimea, the Ottoman Porte, and Poland-Lithuania, most of which have been published. The major exceptions are the *Dela Krymskie* [the Crimean Records] for the period from 1533 to

1548,⁵ which so far have not been thoroughly investigated. It appears from published excerpts that they refer to the Muscovite–Crimean struggle for legal sovereignty over the Kazan Khanate.

Diplomatic papers (instructions, reports, and correspondence) are valuable source materials. However, their significance for the study of Russo–Kazanian relations and Muscovite ambitions vis-à-vis the Tatar Khanate should not be overestimated. While recognizing their value, one should not forget that diplomatic papers are not usually notable for their objectivity and impartiality, since they mirror the assumptions, intentions, and ambitions of a government. No less a scholar than Leopold von Ranke became a captive of his own sources when studying the famous Venetian *relazioni*, by considering these diplomatic reports as the only authentic historical evidence.

Officials responsible for Muscovite foreign policy wished to promote Russia's interests, as well as their own. For this reason, the *dela* contain unfounded allegations, theoretical claims for which little or no proof was presented, contentions which were later discarded and assurances which were never fulfilled.

All students of Russo–Kazanian relations and of the internal affairs of this Tatar Khanate rely for their evidence on the Muscovite chronicles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In dealing with the period between 1533 and 1552 specifically, the researcher is limited almost completely to the material found in these chronicles. They are not objective historical writings, although they were so regarded by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian national scholars, but are primarily works of a propagandistic and ideological nature aimed at glorifying the achievements of Muscovy and her rulers. These Muscovite chronicles, and even more the historic-religious interpretative treatises and hagiographic literature of the same period, quite naturally provide a biased view of Slavic–Tatar relations in general, and Russo–Kazanian affairs in particular. Regrettably, the lack of comparable works from the Tatar side prevents one from drawing valid parallels. Thus, the very nature of the sources in historiography and political thought makes it rather difficult to fully apply a polycultural and pluralistic approach. In addition, the authors and compilers of Muscovite codices were interested in exaggerating the

⁵ V. N. Šumilov (ed.), *Central'nyj gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov SSSR. Obzor dokumental'nyx materialov central'nogo gosudarstvennogo arxiva drevnix aktov po istorii SSSR perioda feodalizma XI–XVI vv.* (Moscow, 1954), p. 38 (Collection No. 123 [Relations between Russia and the Crimea], Books 8 [1533–1539] and 9 [1545–1548]). Cf. also S. O. Šmidt (ed.), *Opisi carskogo arxiva XVI veka i arxiva posol'skogo prikaza 1614 goda* (Moscow, 1960), Vvedenie, p. 13.

antagonism between the Muscovites and the Tatars, in emphasizing the superiority of the Russian religious culture over the Muslim enemy, and in magnifying the dangers which beset Muscovy from Tatar invasions and protracted wars.

However, Muscovite chronicles of the period contain a great deal of reliable information, extensive passages from diplomatic records, and many political documents and excerpts. At the same time, they include literary tales, additions of ideological intent, insertions and outright fabrications, such as fictitious speeches and letters. In the past, leading Russian scholars, such as Ikonnikov, A. A. Šaxmatov and Presnjakov, recognized the necessity of studying the Muscovite chronicles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in order to separate factual data from ideological and political conceptions. These scholars laid the foundations for modern study of Muscovite historiography as far as internal Russian affairs were concerned. However, much research still needs to be undertaken on the materials pertaining to the territories outside Great Russia itself.

While hardly depicting reality very accurately, the chronicles in question provide significant evidence for the attitudes and modes of thinking of their authors and compilers. These works also have considerable relevance for the study of Muscovy's ideology on account of their official, or at least semiofficial, character. In particular, the accounts which fall into the category of court history were written explicitly to present the authoritative view of historical developments.

Equally important for the perception of Russian political thought in the second half of the sixteenth century are the historic-religious interpretative works and hagiographic literature. They not only revealed the ideas prevalent among the leadership of the Muscovite clergy, but also provided a general framework of thought for their times. This literature also discloses the convictions and attitudes of the great majority of laymen; it represents the religious world-view which was generally accepted in the sixteenth-century Muscovy.

Among the Kazanian sources the *yarlıks*, written in Tatar, are the most valuable, not only on account of their pertinence for the political and social history of the Khanate, but also for the study of the language and culture of its inhabitants. So far, only four of these *yarlıks* have been found. These are (listed chronologically):

- (1) the diplomatic *yarlık* of Khan Ulu Mehmet of March 14, 1428,

addressed to Turkish Sultan Murat II;⁶

- (2) the diplomatic *yarlık* of Khan Mahmut, dated by scholarship April 10, 1466, addressed to Turkish Sultan Mehmet II;⁷
- (3) the *tarxan yarlık* of Khan İbrahim who ruled from 1467 to 1479;⁸
- (4) the *tarxan yarlık* of Khan Sahip Girey of 1523.⁹

Two diplomatic *yarlıks* of Khan Ahmet of the Golden Horde, addressed to the Turkish Sultan Mehmet II, from the years 1465-1466 and 1477¹⁰

⁶ Ulu Mehmet's *yarlık* was found by Turkish scholar A. N. Kurat in the archives of the Topkapı Sarayı (Istanbul) and published in 1937. A. N. Kurat, *Kazan hanlığını kuran Uluğ Muhammet hanın yarlığı* (Istanbul, 1937). Cf. also his *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (Istanbul, 1940), pp. 6-36. Since this *yarlık* was written when Ulu Mehmet was still on the throne of the Golden Horde, i.e., before he became the first ruler of the new Kazan Khanate, objections could be raised against its inclusion among Kazanian documents. From a purely formal point of view, it is a *yarlık* of the Golden Horde. However, the facts that the Kazan Khanate was founded by dissident elements from the Golden Horde and that Ulu Mehmet became the first Khan of the new Tatar state allow this *yarlık* to qualify at least as a borderline case.

⁷ Khan Mahmut's *yarlık* was discovered by T. Halasi-Kun in the archives of the Topkapı Sarayı in 1938. For its critical edition, as well as that of the *yarlık* of Ulu Mehmet, see the fundamental studies by T. Halasi-Kun, "Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan", *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, V) (cited hereafter as *Analecta*), Vol. I (1942), pp. 138-155; "Philologica III, Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (cited hereafter as *FD*) VII: 4 (1949), pp. 603-644.

⁸ İbrahim's *yarlık* is the most problematic of the four known in the Kazan Tatar language. It was found in the *Central'nyj gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov* (Moscow) by the Soviet scholar, R. Stepanov, in 1963. For the text and translation into contemporary Tatar, see M. Gosmanov, Ş. F. Muxamed'jarov, R. Stepanov, "Jana Jarlyk", *Kazan utlary* 8 (1965), pp. 146-150. The *yarlık* is not original, but, apparently, a late seventeenth-century copy, which was sent from the Kazan area to Moscow with a petition for the confirmation of *tarxan* rights. Although the language of this *yarlık* is ancient and the style and structure of composition reminiscent of other documents of this period, some mistakes in the seal of the Khan and new elements in orthography raise a number of issues, which will have to be solved by Turcologists before this document can be used without reservation by scholars.

⁹ S. G. Vaxidov discovered the *yarlık* of Sahip Girey in 1912. For an analysis of this document, the text and translations, cf. the various studies by S. G. Vaxidov, "Issledovanie jarlyka Saxib-Girej Xana", *Izvestija Obščestva arxeologii, istorii i etnografii pri Kazanskom gosudarstvennom universitete imeni V. I. Lenina* (cited hereafter as *IOAIE*) XXXIII (1925), vyp. 1, pp. 61-92; *Beznen Jul* 3 (1925); "Jarlyk Xana Saxib-Gireja", *Vestnik Naučnogo obščestva tatarovedenija* (cited hereafter as *VNOT*) 1-2 (1925), pp. 29-37; A. Battal, "Kazan yurdunda bulunmuş tarihi bir vesika. Sahip Girey Han yarlığı", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* II (1925-1926), pp. 75-101; Ş. F. Muxamed'jarov, "Nekotorye voprosy istočnikovdenija istorii Kazanskogo Xanstva", in: *Itogovaja naučnaja konferencija Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni V. I. Ul'janova — Lenina za 1960 god* (Kazan, 1961), pp. 46-48; "Tarxannyj jarlyk kazanskogo xana Saxib-Gireja 1523 g.", *Novoe o prošlom našej strany*. Pamjati akademika M. N. Tixomirova (Moscow, 1967), pp. 104-109.

¹⁰ Halasi-Kun, *Analecta*, pp. 152-154; Halasi-Kun, *FD*, pp. 633-642.

should also be mentioned. Both are in Qypcaq Turkic. They are useful for comparative purposes, although the data contained in them does not refer directly to Kazanian matters.

Some Kazanian diplomatic *yarlıks* have been preserved in translations in various Slavic sources, among them:

- (1) the diplomatic *yarlık* of Khan Mehmet Emin to the Polish King Aleksander Jagiellończyk from the late summer of 1506,¹¹ preserved in an East Slavic (proto-Belorussian) translation of the early sixteenth century;
- (2) the diplomatic *yarlık* of Prince Mamay and the Kazan land to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1549, in two seventeenth-century Russian translations.¹²

Finally, a number of Kazanian diplomatic notes and *yarlıks* can be found in Muscovite political correspondence, in contemporary Great Russian translations.¹³

Kazan Tatar historiographic sources are very scarce and originate from a period long after the conquest of the Khanate. Actually only two known fragments from Tatar chronicles dealing with the affairs of the latter are available:

- (1) a fragment from a Tatar chronicle, pertaining to the history of Kazan, compiled probably in the late seventeenth or the early eighteenth century, and later included in the various versions of the "History of Chingiz Khan";¹⁴

¹¹ The text of the *yarlık* and the reply of the Polish King Zygmunt I were included in the *Kniga posol'skaja* of the Lithuanian Grand Principality (1506). Cf., *Sbornik knjaz'ja Obolenskogo*, No. 1 (Moscow, 1838), pp. 37-39, 43-44.

¹² For the text, see Tixomirov, *Rossija v XVI stoletii*, pp. 489-490.

¹³ Representative examples of these documents are the messages and *yarlıks* from Khan Mehmet Emin to Ivan III of October 1490, August 1491 and November 1493; to Khan Mengli Girey of the Crimea of March 1492 and November 1493; and to his mother Nur Sultan of March 1492. Cf. *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva* (cited hereafter as *SIRIO*) XLI (1884), pp. 92, 131-133, 207; 146-147, 207; 147.

¹⁴ For the best edition of the various copies of the text and the Russian translations, see N. F. Katanov, I. M. Pokrovskij, "Otryvok iz odnoj tatarskoj letopisi o Kazani i kazanskom xanstve", *IOAIE XXI* (1905), vyp. 4, pp. 303-348. For the most recent evaluation of the Tatar historical sources, see M. A. Usmanov, "Tatarskie narrativnye istočniki XVII-XVIII vv. i ix osobennosti", unpublished Candidate's dissertation, Kazan University, 1968, especially Chapter III. Cf. also his "Tatarskie narrativnye istočniki XVII-XVIII vv. i ix osobennosti", Autoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie učenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskix nauk, Kazan, 1968, pp. 15-17.

- (2) a fragment from a Tatar chronicle, found in a manuscript collection of 1864.¹⁵

While the two fragments obviously do not qualify as primary sources, they reflect historical traditions and ideological attitudes shared by some Tatars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Finally, there is a literary tale with social content about a Tatar *molla* who allegedly lived in the sixteenth century.¹⁶ The date of its writing has not been established.

The scarcity of Tatar material can partly be explained by the destruction of Kazan which followed the Russian storming and conquest of the Khanate's capital. Furthermore a great number of Tatar, as well as Russian, sources covering bilateral Muscovite-Kazanian relations, which are attested in the descriptions of the tsar's archive of the sixteenth century and the archive of the *Posol'skij prikaz* (1614), have also apparently been lost.¹⁷

In conclusion, a few remarks about the methodology and the conceptual framework applied in this study may be helpful. An attempt has been made to combine traditional textual criticism with the analytical, "value-free" (*wertungslos*), and structural approach to intellectual history. A considerable part of this study is devoted to analysis of sources, comparative evaluation of texts and detailed investigation of the meanings of individual terms and concepts. This has been unavoidable because of the controversy surrounding certain sources and on account of gaps in textual research. It is obvious that serious conceptual propositions must rest upon the results of these detailed studies.

Since the concept of "ideology" is dealt with in this work, a definition of it ought to be offered.¹⁸ In the absence of a satisfactory, generally ac-

¹⁵ The text of the Russian translation of this fragment was published in N. L. Rubinštejn (ed.), *Istorija Tatarii v materialax i dokumentax* (Moscow, 1937), pp. 122-124.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105 (Russian translation of the text).

¹⁷ In the descriptions of these archives references are made to a variety of documents dealing with negotiations, agreements and treaties between Kazan and Muscovy, most of which have not been preserved. Cf. Šmidt, *Opisi* ..., pp. 18-20, 22, 24-26, 28, 39, 106-107. In his otherwise informative studies of the descriptions of the Tsar's archive of the sixteenth century, S. O. Šmidt has not analyzed the complex of Tatar documents. Cf. his "Carskij arxiv seređiny XVI v. i arxivы pravitel'stvennyx učreždenij", *TGIAI* VIII (1957), pp. 260-278; "K istorii carskogo arxiva seređiny XVI v.", *TGIAI* XI (1958), pp. 364-407; "K istorii sostavlenija opisej carskogo arxiva XVI veka", *Arxeografičeskij ežegodnik za 1958 god* (cited hereafter as *AE*) (Moscow, 1960), pp. 54-65.

¹⁸ The term "ideology" is of modern origin and was coined by A. L. C. Destutt de Tracy (*Éléments d'Idéologie* [4 vols.; Paris, 1817-1818* {1801*}]) although Bacon's theory of the *idola*, developed in "Novum Organon" (1620), is viewed by some as its

cepted and concise formulation, the following definition has been adapted for the purpose of this study: Ideology is a comprehensive system of ideas, beliefs and assumptions about man, society, and the universe, and their mutual relations. Ideologies can range from relatively open and internally loosely interconnected sociopolitical and cognitive systems of thought to extremely unified and all-embracing conceptions of the general order of existence. The latter partially converge with the monotheistic and sophisticated religions of the "people of the Book" (Jews, Christians and Muslims) or *Weltanschauungen* since they propose not only a conception of a general order of existence, but also an interpretation of history as well as a vision of the future. Quite often ideologies integrate secular theoretical concepts with an entire religious system or selected elements of a religion. This definition of ideology does not make a clear-cut distinction between "ideology" and "utopia" — a distinction first suggested by Karl Mannheim, who, however, did not fail to point out the extreme difficulty in determining what in a given case was "ideological"

theoretical antecedent. Destutt de Tracy used the new concept in a rather neutral sense, meant to denote a theory or a science of ideas. This was the area of concern for a group of French philosophers at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries who rejected metaphysics and tried to develop the study of ideas on anthropological and psychological-material foundations. The term ideology acquired its pejorative connotation when Napoleon contemptuously labelled these philosophers "ideologues" for opposing his imperial ambitions. The term retained a pejorative connotation in the formulation of Karl Marx, who used it to describe distorted and selected ideas, views and beliefs in defense of established social systems (mostly conservative). From a traditional Marxist point of view, ideology represents a manifestation of "false consciousness". In modern Marxist literature, emphasis is put on the genetic and functional character of ideology and the term is applied to all systems of ideas about the nature of society and the universe, serving the attainment of concrete aims. Karl Mannheim, approaching the problem from the position of the sociology of knowledge, attempted to formulate a more detached and objective definition for ideology. While he still tended to apply the term ideology primarily to conservative ideas and to regard ideological thinking as mainly distortional and "veiling", Mannheim was moving forward toward a "value-free" evaluation of the concept. He can also be credited with having provided an impulse for the structural analysis of ideological phenomena (*Ideologie und Utopie* [Bonn, 1929]; the English translation *Ideology and Utopia* [New York, 1954] also includes a chapter on the "Sociology of Knowledge"). In his work *Ideologiĉeskaja bor'ba v russkoj publicistike konca XV-naĉala XVI veka* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960), Ja. S. Lur'e refrained from defining his own concept of ideology. His usage of the notion "ideological struggle" indicates that he understood it to mean "struggle of ideas". Lur'e's general application of this notion could be construed as a partial return to the classical interpretation of Destutt de Tracy. For a recent sociological discussion and evaluation of this concept, see E. Shils, "The Concept and Function of Ideology", and H. M. Johnson, "Ideology and the Social System", in: *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* VII (1968), pp. 66-85.

and what "utopian".¹⁹ Certain types of utopias are permeated with ideological elements, whereas various ideological systems also include utopian projections. Most ideologies tend to be action-directed and their proponents do not regard autonomous intellectual search for truth or pursuit of knowledge for its own sake as relevant to their goals. However, it would be misleading to assume that ideologies are completely untruthful or consistently distortional. Ideological systems are characterized by the internal coexistence of truthful and sometimes scientifically verifiable propositions with distortions, half-truths or outright falsifications; the relationship of these elements differs with various ideologies. Historical experience indicates that regardless of their sociopolitical connotations and moral orientation, ideologies may be advanced by exponents of alienated as well as established groups of a society. Ideologies are usually characterized by a high degree of systematization, internal cohesiveness and integration. Furthermore they appear to concentrate on few values or propositions and consequently to eliminate internal inconsistencies and divergencies. Their simplification, streamlining and desire for completeness often increase in proportion to their radicalization and the urgency of the need for practical implementation. Ideologies usually insist upon absolute adherence to principles, righteousness of their ultimate cause, purity, exclusive "truthfulness" and faithful obedience on the part of their proponents and followers.

There are several possible approaches (polycultural, synchronic bicultural and monocultural) which can be used to analyze various aspects of Turco-Slavic intercourse in general, and relations between Muscovy and Kazan in particular; each of them has its advantages and its limitations. Depending upon the nature of the inquiry and the available sources, the historian may choose between the synchronic bicultural or the monocultural approach.

A bicultural approach appears to be the more appropriate if one considers the interactions of the successor states of the Golden Horde, including Muscovy, in commercial negotiations and in some aspects of their diplomatic relations. The activities of the merchant and the diplomat were, and still are, usually aimed at adjustment, accommodation and compromise with at least some pretense of recognizing the position of the "other side". The merchant and the diplomat must understand, or at least pretend to appreciate, the attitudes of his opposite number on the other side. The process of diplomatic negotiations requires the syn-

¹⁹ Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, p. 196.

chronizing of vocabulary, professional terminology and formal style. For all these reasons, the language of the diplomat bespeaks a sense of community, evokes a common ground of assumptions and principles, as long as he sits at the conference table. It may change character considerably in written reports, in off-the-record remarks, and in situations where his instructions require that the political demands and ideological position of the government be stated in unmistakable terms.

If, however, the historian chooses to examine ideological claims and justifications which are expansionist in intent, the virtues of the monocultural approach become apparent and the synchronic bicultural point of view offers few, if any, analytical tools, unless one undertakes a comparative study of ideologies. First of all, the task and the modes of thought of the ideologue, the expansion-directed politician and the imperial ruling elite are quite different from those of the negotiating diplomat or the merchant. The ideologue, the imperial politician or the member of an expansion-oriented elite is not usually interested in accommodation with the country and peoples to be conquered and absorbed. He has, at the most, accepted adjustment as a convenient device for the advancement of his final intentions. The imperial ideologue's function is not to understand the "other side" and to compare two or more cultures in a detached and dispassionate manner. His primary objective is to negate, to ridicule, to reject and to antagonize the "other", i.e., "hostile", equivalent. In short, by the nature of his task, he is a monist and not a pluralist. Even those ideologues who accepted the notion of the fundamental equality of all cultures, as for example the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment, were monists to the extent that they emphasized only the unifying and analogous elements and neglected the diversities and unique characteristics of the respective models. The imperial ideologue extols the values of his own culture, religion or politics. His ultimate aim is to eliminate all other alternatives for "truth", to defeat his opponent as a representative of "darkness", and to achieve complete victory, frequently by means other than those of intellectual dispute.

The historian who embarks upon the study of an ideology should, in the first place, attempt to follow the vagaries of the imagination of the ideologue and try, after the detection of deliberate falsifications, to assess the internal quality of his thought. He ought to examine the body of doctrine or the ideological formulations on their own merits and in the context of their own time. Particularly, if the historian intends to evaluate the expansionist ideology of a given country or its socio-political establishment (in this case Muscovy) which has no parallels on

“the other side” (the Muslim successor states of the Golden Horde), the bicultural approach will become less suitable.

The aim of this study is to obtain a model of an emerging imperial ideology. The history of Muscovite Russia offers a challenge and an opportunity to achieve this through an analysis of the thinking of the imperial elite, on the basis of the available material. This analysis should be facilitated by a reevaluation of the relations between Muscovy and Kazan in the period from 1438 to 1552.

PART ONE

II

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MUSCOVY AND THE KAZAN KHANATE, 1438-1552

The Kazan Khanate, which emerged from the political disintegration of the Golden Horde, confronted Muscovite Russia as a formidable power from the beginning. The date of its foundation has been the subject of considerable controversy. Traditionally two dates, 1438 and 1445, have been offered by historians. Those advocating the earlier date connect its foundation with Ulu Mehmet's activities after his ouster as Khan of the Golden Horde by a contending faction and his flight in 1437 and are also inclined to accept the narrative in *Kazanskaja istorija* [History of Kazan] concerning the "second origin of Kazan".¹ The evidence supporting the later date was first presented by Vel'jaminov-Zernov, who relied primarily on official Muscovite chronicles, but also cited some additional materials;² these sources credit Ulu Mehmet's son Mahmut with the establishment of the Kazan Khanate in 1445.

Actually the formation of the Kazan Khanate cannot be marked by any specific date; it should rather be looked upon as a continual process which started with Ulu Mehmet's exit from the Golden Horde and ended in 1445. However, since both of these dates also mark significant en-

¹ G. N. Moiseeva (ed.), *Kazanskaja istorija* (cited hereafter as *KI/M*) (Moscow-Leningrad, 1954), pp. 52-53. This view was accepted by Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii* ..., II, p. 401; Smolitsch, *JfGOE* VI (1941), p. 61; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* ..., p. 164; Xudjakov, *Očerki* ..., p. 26. Xudjakov distrusted *Kazanskaja istorija*, but held that a Tatar state organization already existed in the Middle Volga region in the years 1438-1445. Safargaliev is also convinced that the Kazan Khanate was established in 1438-1439 (*Raspad* ..., pp. 244-255).

² Vel'jaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie* ..., I, pp. 3-13. The relevant passage in the Voskresensk Chronicle states as follows: "During this autumn Tsar Mahmut took the city of Kazan, [and he] killed the patrimonial Prince of Kazan Libej, and he himself assumed the rule as Tsar" (*Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* [cited hereafter as *PSRL*] VIII [1859], p. 114). Safargaliev, following a suggestion by Vel'jaminov-Zernov, asserts on the basis of some evidence from later Tatar sources that Libej is a corrupted form of the name Ali Bek or Alim Bek (*Raspad* ..., pp. 246-248). Vel'jaminov-Zernov's arguments were accepted by G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven and London, 1953), p. 302; I. B. Grekov, *Očerki* ..., p. 122.

counters with Muscovite troops, they can be used as points of departure for the history of the relations between Muscovy and Kazan. The year 1438 is more useful if one is concerned with the relations between the exile, Ulu Mehmet, and his former Muscovite subjects. The date of 1445 is more appropriate if one thinks in terms of the beginning of intercourse between Muscovy and an already established Tatar Khanate of Kazan.³

After his ouster from the Golden Horde due to internal conflicts, Ulu Mehmet attempted to secure the benevolent neutrality of the Muscovite ruler Vasilij II, in exchange for hostages, including the Khan's son Mahmut, and for a promise not to collect any tribute (*vyxod*) in Russia.⁴ The Muscovites were not interested in easing Ulu Mehmet's difficulties and decided to seek a military solution against him instead. But they were defeated by Ulu Mehmet's forces in the battle of Belev (1438) in spite of their great numerical superiority.⁵ This defeat was masterminded by Grigorij Protas'ev, the former *voevoda* of Mcensk, who was in the service of the Lithuanian ruler.

In the summer of 1439, Ulu Mehmet attacked Muscovy, reaching the city of Moscow on July 3. He was not able to take the city itself, but he devastated its environs for ten days. Retreating from Moscow, Ulu Mehmet burned the city of Kolomna, took many captives and inflicted heavy losses on the Russian population. The battle of Belev and the invasion of 1439 are indicative of the military strength of the emerging Tatar Khanate. As a result, Muscovy was unable to benefit from the internal decomposition of the Golden Horde at that time. For a period of approximately five years after the invasion of 1439, relations between Ulu Mehmet and Vasilij were unmarred by any serious conflict.

This period of relative harmony ended in the spring of 1445, when Ulu Mehmet sent his sons Mahmut and Yakup to invade the Suzdal' area. Grand Prince Vasilij II decided to command his troops personally against this invading Tatar force, but the Muscovites lacked efficient military leadership and were routed in the battle of Suzdal' on July 7,

³ Keenan begins his analysis of these relations with the year 1432, when Vasilij II and his uncle, Jurij Dmitrievič, appeared in the Golden Horde to be invested with the Grand Principality ("Muscovy and Kazan' ...", p. 126). Ulu Mehmet, Khan of the Horde at that time, granted the *yarlık* to Vasilij II.

⁴ *PSRL XXVIII* (1962), p. 106; *PSRL XXV* (1949), p. 260; *PSRL XVIII* (1913), p. 189; A. A. Zimin (ed.), *Ioasafovskaja letopis'* (cited hereafter as *IL*) (Moscow, 1957), p. 28; *PSRL XXVI* (1959), p. 193; *PSRL VIII* (1859), p. 107; *PSRL XII* (1901, reprint 1965), p. 24.

⁵ *PSRL XXVII* (1962), pp. 106-107; *PSRL XXV* (1949), p. 260; *PSRL XVIII* (1913), p. 189; *IL* pp. 28-29; *PSRL XXVI* (1959), p. 193; *PSRL VIII* (1859), p. 107; *PSRL XII* (1901/1965), p. 25.

1445. They evidently fell victim to the well-known Tatar military tactic of simulated retreat and decisive cavalry counterattack.⁶ Grand Prince Vasiliy II was wounded and taken prisoner in this battle. He remained a captive until October, when he was released upon payment of a high ransom.⁷ It is possible, incidentally, that this ransom money was used for the development of the new Tatar state.⁸ The year 1445 marks the final consolidation of the Kazan Khanate, as well as the high point of its obvious military and political superiority over Moscow.

The Khanate retained a position of considerable prestige in its relations with Muscovy for at least another fifteen years. This is apparent from two letters which Metropolitan Iona forwarded to Kazan during the period in question. The first, written in 1455, was addressed to Prince Šaptiak, informing him that Iona was dispatching two of his servants with gifts to the state of the Khan Mahmut, beseeching him to intervene with the Khan for the Metropolitan's envoy, who was to discuss taxes and duties (*pošliny*), as well as other matters.⁹ In another letter of 1460 (or the beginning of 1461), Iona directly addressed himself to the Kazan Khan, again stating that he was sending a servant to him with presents. In this Letter, Iona once more asked for considerations regarding taxes and praised Mahmut's enlightened attitude toward foreign merchants.¹⁰ Iona's concern with commercial matters implies that the Muscovite Church must have had some concrete investment in the Kazan trade. It may even have participated in transactions of which the Muscovite Grand Prince was not aware. Negotiations pertaining to *pošliny* were definitely the prerogative of the Grand Prince; the Metropolitan's intervention, therefore, suggests some kind of irregularity.

In 1461, for unknown reasons, Vasiliy II decided to undertake a campaign against the Kazan Khanate. He advanced as far as Vladimir, but

⁶ *PSRL* XVIII (1913), pp. 193-194; *PSRL* XXVIII (1963), pp. 102-103, 270-271; *IL*, pp. 32-33; *PSRL* XXVI (1959), pp. 197-198; *PSRL* VIII (1859), pp. 112-113; *PSRL* XII (1901/1965), pp. 64-65; *PSRL* XX (1910), Part I, pp. 257-258.

⁷ Muscovite chronicles did not spell out the amount, but used the phrase "to give a ransom for himself as much as he can ..." (*PSRL* XVIII [1913], p. 195; *PSRL* XXVIII [1963], pp. 104, 271; *IL*, p. 34; *PSRL* XXVI [1959], p. 199; *PSRL* VIII [1859], p. 114; *PSRL* XII [1901/1965], p. 66; *PSRL* XX [1910], Part I, p. 259). The Pskovian Chronicle speaks of 25,000 and the Novgorodian Chronicle of 200,000 rubles, implying that some additional deal was concluded (*PSRL* IV [1848], p. 213).

⁸ Spuler expressed an opinion that the Tatars could have exploited their victory in political terms: "Ulu Mehmet wantonly threw away a great chance of completely subjugating the Grand Principality of Moscow!" (*Die Goldene Horde* ..., p. 165).

⁹ *Akty istoričeskie, sobrannye i izdannye Arxeografičeskoju Kommissieju* (cited hereafter as *AI*) I (1841), No. 266, p. 497.

¹⁰ *AI* I (1841), No. 67, pp. 119-120.

discontinued further military operations when the Kazanians sent their envoys to negotiate a peace treaty.¹¹ Bazilevič maintained (without much justification) that this peace treaty could not have been advantageous to Kazan and that the year 1461 marks the beginning of a "protracted struggle" between Muscovy and the Kazan Khanate which lasted with minor interruptions for almost a whole century.¹² This is an exaggerated contention — relations between the two states actually remained quite peaceful for more than two decades, from 1445 to approximately 1468.

Grand Prince Ivan III was the first Muscovite ruler to conduct an active foreign policy vis-à-vis the Kazan Khanate. Ivan's direct involvement in its internal affairs began with the dynastic struggle between İbrahim, a son of Mahmut, and Kasım, a brother of Mahmut.¹³ Kasım had been in Muscovite service as appanage prince of Meščera for more than twenty years, and was apparently a loyal and dependable servant of the Muscovite Grand Prince. While it is not clear to what extent Kasım was personally interested in the succession to the Khanate, and which of his moves was inspired by Ivan III, his candidacy probably had some local Tatar support. In 1468, a group of discontented Kazan princes, under the leadership of Abdülmümin, "deceptively" invited Kasım to become the Khan of Kazan.¹⁴ Ivan III gave Kasım military backing to take over the Khanate, but Kasım's expedition ended in failure. He was compelled to retreat with the Muscovite forces, "having achieved nothing"; it seems that the local support promised by the Abdülmümin faction subsequently did not materialize. The Muscovite intervention contributed only to the consolidation of İbrahim's position among the Kazan Tatars.

Kasım's defeat resulted in the "Kazan war" of 1469, involving two major Muscovite campaigns.¹⁵ In spite of the large-scale military effort,

¹¹ *PSRL* XXVIII (1962), p. 122; *PSRL* XXV (1949), p. 277; *PSRL* XVIII (1913), p. 214; *PSRL* XXVIII (1963), pp. 116, 284; *IL*, p. 52; *PSRL* XXVI (1959), p. 220; *PSRL* VIII (1859), p. 149; *PSRL* XII (1901/1965), p. 114.

¹² Bazilevič, *Vnešnjaja politika* ..., p. 59.

¹³ For an extensive analysis of the succession struggle, see Xudjakov, *Očerki* ..., pp. 29-36.

¹⁴ *PSRL* XXVII (1962), p. 124; *PSRL* XXV (1949), p. 279; *PSRL* XVIII (1913), p. 217; *PSRL* XXVIII (1963), pp. 117, 286; *IL*, p. 55; *PSRL* XXVI (1959), p. 223; *PSRL* VIII (1859), p. 152; *PSRL* XII (1901/1965), p. 118.

¹⁵ *PSRL* XXVII (1962), pp. 126-128; *PSRL* XXV (1949), pp. 281-283; *PSRL* XVIII (1913), pp. 220-222; *PSRL* XXVIII (1963), pp. 119-120; *IL*, pp. 57-61; *PSRL* XXVI (1959), pp. 225-228; *PSRL* VIII (1859), pp. 155-158; *PSRL* XII (1901/1965), pp. 120-123; K. N. Serbina (ed.), *Ustjužskij letopisnyj svod* (cited hereafter as *ULS*) (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), pp. 87-88. For an analysis of the campaigns, cf. Vel'jaminov-Zernov,