

T.R.
ISTANBUL MEDENİYET UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INTERNATIONAL OTTOMAN STUDIES

**QARASUVBAZAR: A CRIMEAN CITY AT THE EDGE OF TWO
EMPIRES (1750s-1900s)**

Master's thesis
by
ADILE EMINOVA

JANUARY 2022

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LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI OSMANLI ÇALIŞMALARI

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KIRIM ŞEHRİ (1750'ler-1900'lar)**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

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OCAK 2022

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

QARASUVBAZAR: A CRIMEAN CITY AT THE EDGE OF TWO EMPIRES (1750s-1900s)

by

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International Ottoman Studies, M.A. thesis, December 2021

Thesis Advisor: Asst. Prof. Zahit ATÇIL

Throughout the existence of the Crimean Khanate, Qarasuv (also known as Qarasuvbazar) was an important economic and commercial center. It was under the control of the *Kalga-sultan*, who was the second important figure in the Khanate. In addition, Qarasuvbazar was under the patrimony of one of the most powerful and influential Crimean clan – the Şirin. Qarasuv was one of the most developing and promising cities of the times of the Crimean Khanate. The changes that the khanate went after the Russian annexation of 1783 can be seen on the micro-example of one particular city. This work examines the history of Qarasuv from the moment of its foundation, its development and importance from the point of view of the history of Crimea, as well as its role in interstate relations.

Keywords: Crimean Khanate, Qarasuv, Qarasuvbazar, Ottoman-Crimean relations, Russian-Crimean relations, urban history

ÖZET

KARSUVBAZAR: İKİ İMPARATORLUĞUN KENARINDA BİR KIRIM ŞEHRİ (1750'ler-1900'lar)

ADILE EMINOVA

Uluslararası Osmanlı Çalışmaları, Yüksek lisans tezi, Ocak 2022

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Kırım Hanlığı'nın varlığı boyunca, Karasuv (Karasuvbazar olarak da bilinir) önemli bir ekonomik ve ticari merkezdi. Hanlığın ikinci önemli şahsiyeti olan kalga sultanının kontrolündeydi. Ayrıca Karasuvbazar, Kırım'ın en güçlü ve etkili ailelerden biri olan Şirinler'in merkezlerden sayılırdı. Karasuv, Kırım Hanlığı döneminin en gelişen ve gelecek vaat eden şehirlerinden biriydi. 1783 Rus ilhakından sonra hanlığın geçirdiği değişiklikler, şehrin mikro örneğinde görülebilir. Bu çalışma, Karasuv'un kurulduğu andan itibaren tarihini, gelişimini ve Kırım tarihi açısından önemini ve devletlerarası ilişkilerdeki rolünü incelemektedir.

Anahtar kelimeleri: Kırım Hanlığı, Karasuv, Karasuvbazar, Osmanlı-Kırım ilişkileri, Rusya-Kırım ilişkileri, şehir tarihi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

F.	Fund
ГАРК	[Государственный Архив Республики Крым] State Archives of the Republic of Crimea
с.	[страница] page
s.	[sayfa] page
ИТУАК	[Известия Таврической ученой архивной комиссии] News of the Tavric Scientific Archive Commission
DİA	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi
p.	page
ч.	[часть] part
в.	[век] century
гг.	[годы] years
т.	[том] volume
Q.Ş.S.	[Qarasuv Şer’iyye Sicilleri] Sicil notes of Qarasuv
fol.	folio
h.	[hüküm] verdict
оп.	[опись] inventory
л.	[лист] sheet
д.	[дело] case
вып.	[выпуск] issue
сост.	[составитель] compiler
ред.	[редактор] editor
В.О.А.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
об.	[оборот] back side [of the page]
OHRIS	[Крымский областной комитет по делам музеев и охраны памятников искусства, истории, старины и народного быта] Crimean Regional Committee for Museums and Protection of Monuments of Art, History, Antiquity and Folk Life

Glavnauki	[Главное управление научными, научно-художественными и музейными учреждениями] Main Directorate of Scientific, Artistic and Museum Institutions
d.	died
Н.	Hicri
PCE	[Народный Комиссариат Просвещения] People's Commissariat of Education
Crimean CEC	[Крымский Центральный Исполнительный Комитет] Crimean Central Executive Committee
NKVD	[Народный Комиссариат Внутренних Дел] The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

In the process of writing this work, it was not easy to determine the use and spelling of some proper names. The difficulty lay in the different transliteration in Russian, English, Crimean Tatar and Turkish languages. Each of these languages was used in the process of studying the literature on this topic. Because the topic of this work is one of the Crimean Tatars' cities it is only logical that rules of linguistics of the Crimean Tatar language were taken into account. In addition, the frequency of repetition of geographical and administrative names used in the work was taken into account. Thus, I decided to write the name of the city as Qarasuv and Qarasuvbazar, which are equivalent names for historical reasons. Due to the difference in the spelling rules in the Turkish and Crimean Tatar languages, the same city in Turkish historiography is known as Karasu/Karasubazar. However, in this work, the Crimean Tatar spelling will be used. In addition, other geographic names found within the geography of the Crimean Peninsula will also be spelled in the Crimean Tatar language. Links and possible quotes from Turkish sources will be used in accordance with the original.

Furthermore, the administrative and religious positions that were used during the times of the Crimean Khanate deserve special attention. As the same terms and names were used in the Crimean Tatar and Turkish historiography,; they were reflected in the same way in Russian historiography, but in accordance with the local transliteration, I decided to keep the Turkic-language spelling of these terms.

Some Turkic words, terms, or sayings were italicized. Praying house for Muslims was spelled as “mesjit”, and the bigger one was mosque (very rare, if it is important as proper name it could be written as “cami”).

In Turkish historiography, the inhabitants of Iran also were known as “ajems”. This term was also very common in Crimea, especially in Qarasuvbazar. As can be seen further in this study, Armenian merchants who arrived from Iran and settled in this city were called “ajems”. Their number was very impressive, and the quarter where they settled was named Ajem Maallesi. Since from an ethnographic point of view, they are not Iranians / Persians in the usual sense, and this term within the city characterized a very specific group of people, and, moreover, to this day has remained

in the memory of the local population, I decided not to translate this word, but to reflect its transliteration as close as possible to local pronunciation. Thus, hereinafter, the term Ajem will be used.

In addition, links to sources in the text were written exactly in the language in which they were read. Latin transliteration of all sources which were used is indicated in the bibliography.



INTRODUCTION

The history of Crimea from the 15th to the 20th century can be divided into two periods, when the Ottoman Empire and then the Russian Empire had the predominant influence in the region. Despite the fact that in the middle of the 15th century an independent state named Crimean Khanate was formed on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula, throughout its history it was subjected to direct or indirect influence from larger and more developed neighbor-states. Since the beginning of their existence, the Crimean rulers have shown themselves to be strong, independent leaders, able to maintain diplomatic relations with their much stronger ally, the Ottoman sultan. However, not limited to this, they have repeatedly proved their importance as a military force to be reckoned with, more than once coming to the aid of the Turkish troops. In turn, it is also worth taking into account the desire of the Muscovy to strengthen and expand its borders. Since the end of the 17th century this state took the modernization of its military power seriously, which very soon proved to be successful. Against the background of Moscovy's efforts, the Crimean Khanate did not differ much in the development and strengthening of both its military organization and political immunity. Moreover, the strong influence of the Ottoman Empire was felt right until the end of the khanate existence. Thus, by the end of the first half of the 18th century, the Russian state had achieved certain successes in the political, diplomatic, and the military areas. Subsequent results of the Russian-Turkish war of 1768-1774 can serve as the direct confirmation of these facts. Clearly, such successes of Moscow negatively affected the Crimean statehood and the Khanate's possible independence. Under the influence of the Ottoman sultans the Crimean government retained a number of privileges, income, lands and succession of the rulers. Later on, with the forcible arrival of the Russian administration to the territories subject to the Crimean Khanate in 1783, this situation changed dramatically.

Given the complex, centuries-old record of military and diplomatic interactions among the Crimean Khanate, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, this thesis zooms into a study of a specific city in the Crimean Khanate, Qarasuvbazar. Moreover, using it as an example of one of the Crimean settlements, the case helps trace the

change in the life of city's populace and functioning of the city that took place after the Russian annexation in 1783. This thesis aims at being an important step in the study of the historic dynamics of a particular 18th century city in the Crimean Peninsula, which has always been on the crossroads of the strong regional powers.

The study is designed to visually demonstrate the changes that the Crimean Khanate went through after the Russian annexation of 1783, using the example of Qarasuvbazar. It aims at structuring the relatively small amount of information about the history of the city that has survived to this day. Most often, scientific works of this type focus on a specific period - either "Ottoman" or "Russian" - and in general, such studies do not allow crossing the selected time boundary. Although, due to the scope and limitations of this work, this study cannot fully bridge this historical gap. It serves as a deliberate attempt to account for the existing historical records and to draw attention to the existing periodization problem in the scientific studies by examining the exemplary case at the crossroads of the centuries.

In other words, during the course of reading this work, one may not only observe the linear history of Qarasuvbazar, but also analyze the impact caused by the direct change of the administration of the entire region as a whole, and the city, in particular. The work examines the importance and significance of the city, its functioning and building structure, as well as political and economic life. In addition, its ethnic composition, the currently known data on the quantitative and religious diversity of Qarasuvbazar are assessed in a separate section.

It is necessary to shed the light about the title of this work, and, more specifically, about the name of the city itself. In the overwhelming majority of Russian and Turkic-language literature the word "Qarasuv" is recorded as "Karasu / Karasubazar (Qarasu / Qarasubazar)". However, from the point of view of the Crimean Tatar linguistics, this is not entirely the correct spelling. If you understand the intricacies and delve into the details, the name of the city originates from the name of the specific river, on the banks of which the city was founded – Qarasuv. If one translates it from Crimean Tatar, "*qara*" stands for "black", and "*suv*" refers to "water". As mentioned above, the use of this toponym without the letter "v" is widespread, which is incorrect, because in the language of the local population that gave the name, water will be "*suv*". "*Su*"

means “border”, and also on the southern coast of Crimea (where another dialect of the Crimean Tatar language is used, different from Qarasuvbazar’s, but close to Turkish), it is used in the meaning of “water”. In the course of this work, I decided to follow the rules of writing this toponym in accordance with the conventions and requirements of the local language and dialect. Thus, hereinafter, the city under study will pass as “Qarasuvbazar” and “Qarasuv”.

The time period covered by this study begins in the mid-18th century and continues practically until the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. According to the original plan, the time frame was more specific and compressed, it was assumed that the study would relate to the period roughly from 1750’s to 1850’s. The expansion of the time frame was facilitated by a wide range of archival information found for the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For the most part, these primary sources are related to the demographic situation and changes in this area. In addition, the few data on the architecture of the city that were found in written sources did not fit into the time frame mentioned above.

The main distinguishing aspect of this research work is the ability to cover two completely different periods of the history of one city, which followed each other without interruption. Thus, it becomes possible to track the specific changes that Qarasuv underwent throughout its long history of existence. In addition, one can see the imposition of a new state system, which came from a different culture, had a different religion, as well as a political, economic and agricultural system. Thus, using a micro-example of the realities of a typical medieval (in structure) city, which fell under the expansive policy of the Russian Empire in the late 18th - early 19th centuries we can imagine the fate of other cities on the Crimean Peninsula.

The first chapter is about the geographical position of Qarasuvbazar, as well as the climatic conditions of the city and its surroundings. In addition, the features of city management, as well as its brief history of foundation and development in the time of Crimean Khanate will be discussed.

The second chapter is fully devoted to the population of Qarasuv, its quantitative and ethnic composition. It is worth noting that the quantitative data are given not only according to official data and censuses, but also according to the sources left by European and Russian travelers who visited Crimea from the end of the 18th century

to the end of the 19th century. Separately, we examined the largest ethnic groups living in this city, among which were the Crimean Tatars, Krymchaks, Karaites, Armenians, Greeks and Russians. In addition, special attention is paid to the division of the city into quarters, a list of the names of these quarters (*maalle* in Crimean Tatar language) during the times of the Crimean Khanate and the Russian Empire is given. Thus, it is possible to track changes in the demography of the city, as well as in the very structure of Qarasuv. At the end of the chapter, a short description of the various religions of the inhabitants of the city is given.

The third chapter describes and evaluates one of the most essential aspects of Qarasuvbazar as the Crimean trading capital – international and local trade the city was engaged in, as well as the handicrafts. Two comparable periods of the city's history are analyzed separately. Special attention is paid to the markets - permanent and temporary, and caravanserais. In addition, the thesis explains new concepts for the Crimean region that came along with the Russian administration, such as the notion of “the honorary citizenship”, as well as the emergence of the merchant class among the urban residents, and its subdivisions. Both sicil and archival records provide a detailed description of the goods and household items that were used and sold in the city at that time. Throughout the analysis, this work assesses how certain crafts have changed, as well as the quantity and quality of the goods that were produced by local craftsmen.

In the fourth chapter, under the heading “The Architecture of Qarasuvbazar”, a general description of both the medieval Qarasuv, belonging to the Crimean Khanate, and the changes that befell the city during the period of the Russian Empire are presented. Unfortunately, there are practically no descriptions of medieval buildings in the city, not to mention the buildings themselves. An attempt was made to evaluate the commercial buildings of Qarasuv, religious buildings, premises reserved for schools and colleges, as well as socially significant buildings such as hammams and coffee houses separately. Religious temples are presented most fully in this chapter, but even here there is too little descriptive information about each individual religious building.

As for specific literature that was used in this research, there are two books which directly place Qarasuv as the main subject in their study, so it cannot be said that this city is fully unknown to the researcher. However, compared to the quantity of the

research about Bahesaray, Eski Qırım, and even Aqmescit-Simferopol, it stays much more unknown and understudied. The two books mentioned are “Karasu Kazası (1683-1744) Kırım Hanlığı'nda bir Yerleşme Örneđi” by Nuri Kavak and “Kırım Karasubazar'da Sosyo-Ekonomik Hayat” by Zeynep Özdem. Both are based on the surviving *sicil* notebooks of the city of Qarasuv, dating from 1682/1684 (notebook No. 25), 1698/1699 (notebook number 33), 1716/1717 (notebook number 47), 1743/1744 (notebook number 65). I got acquainted with the copies of the above-mentioned four *sicil* notebooks in the Republican Crimean Tatar Library named after I. Gasprinsky.¹ In addition, in the State Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, I managed to find several documents indirectly related to Qarasuv. These were documents of the 19th century, which indicated that despite the change in the political situation of the peninsula, friendly encounters and trade relations between the population of the Ottoman Empire and the inhabitants of Crimea remained the same.

Not all primary sources and records describe the particular time frame in which the traveler visited Crimea. However, the famous “Seyahatname” by Evliya Çelebi provides us with the information on time when Crimea Khanate were still strong and prosperous. More specifically, he visited Crimea in 1641 during the reign of Bahadır I Geray Khan, and in 1657, when he met then Crimean Khan Mehmed IV Geray Khan. During his journey through the lands of the Crimean Khan, the traveler visited the fortress of Or-Kapı, the cities of Kezlev, Aqmescit, Qarasuv, Bahesaray and Kefe. In addition to the geographical and climatic notes of this region, Çelebi talked about trade, the local population, praised the Crimean rulers, explained local customs and peculiarities. Despite the fact that one should be careful with the data indicated by Çelebi in his records, he is an irreplaceable source for researchers of this city. Of course, there are some inaccuracies that can be double-checked by the records of the *sicils*, as well as by the archival data that have survived from the period of the Russian Empire. Regarding other relevant sources from this period, unfortunately, we find a large omission of information here. Very little mention of the city and its surroundings is found in Abdulgaffar Qırımı's “Umdet ul-akhbar”. For the rest, we have to rely on indirect references to Qarasuv in the secondary sources describing this period. The

¹ The originals of which are kept in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.

“Gülbün-i hânân” by the Crimean prince Halim Geray Sultan,² unfortunately, was only useful for placing the political functions of *Kalga-Sultan*. The notes of the Prussian military Manstein, who lived in the first half of the 18th century, and left behind interesting information regarding the Russian campaigns of 1736 and 1737, were very informative.

As for the period of the Russian Empire, the sources of this time are much more diverse. In the Republican State Archives of the Republic of Crimea, I have found, examined and used both the provincial funds, which are broader in the temporal and administrative sense, and the records more specific to Qarasuvbazar. The first category, for example, includes such funds as the Foundation of the Chancellery of the Taurida Governorate (ГАРК [State Archives of the Republic of Crimea], F. 26, 36.202 storage units, 1803-1917), the Fund of the Taurida Provincial Government (ГАРК, F. 27, 44.884 storage units, 1803-1917), Fund of the Commission established for the analysis of disputes over lands and for the determination of obligations on the Crimean Peninsula (ГАРК, F. 24, 808 storage units, 1800-1810), Fund of the Investigative Commission for the eradication of abuse in the Taurida province (ГАРК, F. 23, 307 units storage, 1816-1819), Fund of the Taurida province for zemstvo and city affairs presence (ГАРК, F. 42, 1463 items of storage, 1901-1918), Fund of the Tauride provincial noble deputy assembly (ГАРК, F. 49, 6.071 items, 1803 -1919).

The second category, which directly contained the local city archives, consisted of such valuable funds as the Fund of the Qarasuvbazar City Duma (ГАРК, F. 169, 279 storage units, 1795-1879) and the city government (ГАРК, F. 356, 39 storage units, 1874-1920), Fund of the Qarasuvbazar bourgeois council (ГАРК, F. 177, 17 storage units, 1849-1914), Fund of the Qarasuvbazar police department (ГАРК, F. 427, 30 storage units, 1799-1882), Fund of the Qarasuvbazar Kaymakam court (ГАРК, F. 486, 1 item, 1786), the City Hall Fund (ГАРК, F. 65, 417 items, 1800-1866), the Fund of the Roman Catholic Court (ГАРК, F. 179, 344 items, 1782- 1871), the City Orphan's Court Foundation (ГАРК, F. 180, 89 storage units, 1828-1918) and others.

² Widely known historian work about Crimean history and biographies of the Crimean khans, was published in 1811.

During the Russian period, a much larger number of foreign travelers visited both Crimea and Qarasuvbazar. This, in turn, led to an increase in the number of written sources of eyewitnesses about the area. Notes of such foreign travelers as Elizabeth Craven, Charles Henry Scott, Ebenezer Henderson, Maria Guthrie, Mary Holderness, Lady Andrew Neilson, Frederic Dubois de Montperreux, Henry Danby Seymour and many others, later published as full-fledged books, gave us the opportunity to learn something new about the city or just proved early known records.

In addition to foreign travelers who visited the Crimea in the 18th-19th centuries we also see many Russian scientists, academics, travelers, the Russian elite and the military, who, having visited the newly formed Taurida province, left their notes and observations about these places, and also what interests us most in this work - about the city of Qarasuvbazar. Among the Russian travelers, who were later published, the works of Pallas, traveler Pavel Sumarokov are very important, both of these people were in the Crimea at about the same period - in the 1780-1790s. The memoirs of Princess Gorchakova, where she shared her impressions of the Crimea in general and Qarasuv in particular, were useful and informative. Also, memorandums of State Secretary Catherine II, gave us clarifying information about the visit of the Empress to the Crimea in 1787. An important contribution was also made by memorable books and descriptions of the population, which were published directly during the period described. In addition to these sources, many travel guides to the Crimea of the late 19th century were written by different authors. All of these sources influenced the description and promotion of this work to varying degrees, but one way or another, each of them was important in its own way.

Early research studies on this and similar topics have also greatly contributed to this work. Separately, it is worth noting the encyclopedic article titled “Karasubazar” by Hakan Qırımlı. Also, the article by R. Airchinskaya, published in 2008, “Qarasubazar - the city of prosperity”, and the study of I. Abdullayev “Mosques of Qarasubazar 1783-1939” were very useful in general educational and comparative terms for this thesis.

In conclusion, it should be noted that each study has its own limits in used sources. There is always more to read and add, and I can only hope that this work will

become another auxiliary source for studying the history of this amazing city in the future.



CHAPTER 1. DESCRIPTION OF QARASUV

The Crimean Peninsula, which is surrounded by the Sea of Azov from north and east, and by the Black Sea from south and west, is conventionally divided into three parts. Most of the land is occupied by the steppe zone in the north, then from north to the south goes Crimean Mountains and finally coast, which in the Crimean Tatar language called “*yalı boyu*”.

The Crimean Khanate was divided into six *Kaymakamlıks*, which also included Qarasuvbazar¹. We know exactly all the names of *kaymakams* that were in power at the time of the first Russian annexation of Crimea. As far as it considers our topic it should be known that Murtaza Ağa was the *kaymakam* of Qarasuvbazar. The city of Qarasuv was the center of the eponymous *Kaymakamlık*, which, moreover, was divided into nine more *Kadılıks*. In 1783, we see that there were nine *Kadılıks* in the Qarasuvbazar *Kaymakamlık*: Qarasuvbazar, Din Çongar, Nasıp, Argın, Burulçak, Boçalat, Orta Çongar, Küçük Qarasuv, and Tamak. In total, there were 312 villages in this *Kaymakamlık*.²

Qarasuvbazar, like other large cities of Crimea, is located in the foothill part of the peninsula. The city is based on both banks of the Büyük Qarasuv River and its tributaries – the smaller rivers Sarı-Suv and Tana-Suv (Tanas). 42 km southwest of Qarasuv is based Aqmescit (the current capital of the Crimea, Simferopol), in 40 km on the east is Eski Qırım (Staryy Krym) and in 60 km to the southeast, there is Kefe (Feodosiya).³

Qarasuv was the fourth largest city in medieval Crimea. Only twice as less in population as the Crimean capital, it retained its significance as the largest handicraft center for a long time. Also, it enjoyed the status of the trading capital of the khanate, which passed to the city from Eski Qırım.⁴

¹ Starting from here, all names of the area and all Turkic original names will be spelled as it is in the Crimean Tatar transcription.

² Ф. Лашков, «Камеральное описание Крыма 1784 года,» *ИТУАК* 6 (1888): с. 37.

³ Hakan Kırımlı, “Karasubazar,” *DİA* 24, s. 472.

⁴ В. Возгрин, *История крымских татар I*, (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2014), с. 293.

Qarasuv was surrounded by many villages and gardens, which determined the activities of the people living there. The local soil, the abundance of water sources, and the microclimate of the region disposed to the horticultural and viticulture industry. The city was located in a valley surrounded by mountains, on the western side, where there were no mountains, the valley goes down to the level of the Sarı-Suv river. As for the climate, in Qarasuvbazar it is very hot in the summer and cold in the winter. Full-flowing rivers passing through the city during the rainy seasons – in spring and autumn – repeatedly overflowed the banks and flooded Qarasuv.⁵

Büyük Qarasuv river takes its name from the color of the riverbed, colored in places by the sediments of the dark clay. This river begins on the Karabi Yayla, where it forms from the union of seven streams, making up a full-flowing river. Büyük Qarasuv bends over the western part of Qarasuvbazar, where in the past it irrigated many gardens and vegetable gardens, set in motion water mills, and, in some way, served several local factories. Despite many meanders of the river, severe blocking of some of its parts with stones, brushwood, and stumps, Büyük Qarasuv stretches for 128 km. With proper usage, this river could irrigate a vast expanse of land.⁶

Küçük Qarasuv was formed from nine small springs, it connected with Büyük Qarasuv before it flows into the Sivaş Strait. Both of these rivers flow into Salgir (the longest river of the peninsula) about 64 km after an independent flow. In the summer season, this river often dries out. Sarı-Suv river is one of the mountain springs that originate in the vicinity of the Tatar village named Sultan Saray, then connected to several other springs, merges with the waters of Büyük Qarasuv. However, when spilled this small spring causes great harm.⁷

It is known that the *kaza*, which bore the name of its main city, Qarasuv, got its name from the river that flowed within its borders. This fact is recognized by all researchers.⁸ The city remained known as Qarasuv throughout the entire existence of

⁵ П. Паллас, *Наблюдения, сделанные во время путешествия по южным наместничествам Русского государства в 1793-1794 годах* (Москва: Наука, 1999), с. 111.

⁶ В. Кондараки, *Универсальное описание Крыма III* (Николаев: Тип. В. М. Краевского, 1873), с. 93.

⁷ Кондараки, *Универсальное описание*, с. 99.

⁸ Nuri Kavak, *Karasu Kazası (1683-1744) Kırım Hanlığı'nda bir Yerleşme Örneği* (Bursa: On-Mat Öner Matbaacılık, 2014), s. 20-21.

the Crimean Khanate. *Kadı* notebooks for 1743-1744 confirm this. Besides, in the same notebooks, one can find that the city is mentioned as "*mahmie-i Qarasu*"⁹ - in this context, "*mahmie*" means a large protected city.

The name Qarasuvbazar, for the most part, begins to appear in notes and documents of travelers and merchants of the Western world, mainly from the 18th-19th century.¹⁰ It is noted that no official orders to rename the specified city from Qarasuv to Qarasuvbazar have been found.¹¹

The name Qarasuvbazar is translated from the Crimean Tatar as "market on the Black river". This name remained outside the city until the middle of the 20th century. After the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, many names of cities and villages were changed, including Qarasuvbazar, which after 1944 became Belogorsk.¹²

As for the date of the city's foundation, there is still no exact answer to this question. But most researchers agree that such an important trading post on the Qarasuv river existed from the 13th century.¹³ According to another version, Qarasuv was founded after the siege of Kefe in 1475, when merchants from that city fled from the Ottoman army.¹⁴

However, it is also worth taking into account the fact of the establishment of the new post of *kalga-sultan* by the Crimean Khan Mengli I Geray in 1475.¹⁵ For the first time in the history of the Crimean Khanate, the eldest son of the Khan, Mehmed Geray Sultan, was appointed as the first heir to the throne of the Crimean Khanate. Such Crimean cities as Aqmescit and Qarasuvbazar immediately came under the direct control of the *kalga-sultan*.¹⁶ From this, we can conclude that the city existed before 1475.

⁹ Zeynep Özdem, "İnsanları, Mekanları ve Kurumlarıyla bir Kırım şehri: Karasubazar (17. Yüzyıl Sonlarından 18. Yüzyıl Ortalarına Kadar)," *Karadeniz Araştırmaları Balkan, Kafkas, Doğu Avrupa ve Anadolu İncelemeleri Dergisi* 11 (2006): s. 72.

¹⁰ Zeynep Özdem, "Kırım Karasubazar'da Sosyo-Ekonomik Hayat (17. Yüzyıl Sonlarından 18. Yüzyıl Sonlarına Kadar)" (Yüksek Lisan Tezi, Kırıkkale Üniversitesi, 2006), s. 12.

¹¹ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 20.

¹² Л. Кравцова и др., *Административно-территориальные преобразования в Крыму 1783-1998* (Симферополь: Таврия-Плюс, 1999), с. 396.

¹³ Kırımlı, "Karasubazar," s. 472.

¹⁴ Nurettin Ağat, "Kırım Şehirleri: Karasubazar," *Emel* 58 (1970): s. 8.

¹⁵ Carl Max Korpeter, "Kalghay," *The Encyclopedia of Islam* IV, p. 499.

¹⁶ Halim Geray sultan, *Gülbün-ü Hanan - Kırım Hanları Tarihi* (İstanbul: İÜ Avrasya Enstitüsü 2013), s. 35.

The location on the ancient caravan route ensured Qarasuv the status of an important trading point. The city was densely populated and very diverse, representatives of various nationalities and religions lived peacefully in it.¹⁷ Despite some climatic features (researchers argue that the location and dampness of the city is among the contributors to fevers, and other similar diseases¹⁸), Qarasuv has always been a densely populated, lively city, gathering merchants and artisans not only from cities of the Khanate but also from other states.¹⁹ Also, the number of architectural structures that were built in the 16th century (such as Tekiye Khan mosque, Büyük mosque, Şor mosque, Büyük and Küçük Taş-khan²⁰, etc.) indicate the speed at which this city developed.²¹

Located on the ancient caravan route, Qarasuv from the first days of its existence was in the center of trade of the entire peninsula.²² Although the neighboring city of Eski Qırım for a long time retained the status of the trading capital of the khanate, Qarasuv very soon took its place and did not compromise on it until the end of the khanate's existence.

By the end of the 16th century, in terms of population, Qarasuv became one of the largest cities on the peninsula. The constantly growing number of urban quarters²³ confirms this fact (it grew from 32 to 42 in 70 years).²⁴ From 1624 to 1675, Qarasuvbazar was attacked and plundered four times by the Zaporozhian Cossacks. In the 18th century it was occupied by Russian troops several times.

Taking advantage of its location, namely, halfway between the Kefe port and the capital Bahçesaray, Qarasuv for a long time performed the role of a “collecting city”

¹⁷ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, kitap 7, c. 2, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), s. 548; Ağat, “Kırım Şehirleri,” s. 8.

¹⁸ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111.

¹⁹ П. Сумароков, *Путешествия по всему Крыму и Бессарабии в 1799 г. с историческим и топографическим описанием всех тех мест* (Москва: Университетская типография «У Риднеера и Клаудия», 1800), с. 51.

²⁰ *Khan*, here and further, caravanserai.

²¹ Nuri Kavak, “Kırım’ın Karasu Kazası 1683-1744 (Şer’iyye Sicillere göre)” (Doktora tezi, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2008), s. 21.

²² С. Сосновский, *Крым. Путеводитель* (Симферополь: Таврия, 1979), с. 241.

²³ Turkish *mahalle* is *maalle* in Crimean Tatar language.

²⁴ О. Гайворонский, *Страна Крым: Очерки о памятниках истории Крымского ханства* (Симферополь: ФЛ Аблаева Н. Ф., 2016), с. 48.

and a crossroads of Crimean roads, which is now assigned to Simferopol.²⁵ Tatars from Uskut²⁶ exported the grape harvest to Qarasuv for sale, qapsikhors²⁷, in turn, brought grain.²⁸ In general, the surrounding villages brought their goods to the city and thus supported local trade. That is why, the prices for goods in Qarasuv were significantly cheaper than in other cities of Crimea. Moreover, the city was famous for its handicraft production. Morocco and leather, candle, soap, pot, brick, tile factories, smithies, etc. they worked regularly both during the times of the Crimean Khanate and during the times of the Russian Empire. Their products were in great demand both in the local and foreign markets. Gardens, which yielded fruit and vegetables in abundance, also constituted an important part of the city's trade. Various kinds of livestock were sold in the local market every week and at more than affordable prices.²⁹

The Crimean Khanate occupied a special place in the politics of the Ottoman state from the very beginning of their relationship. At the beginning of these relations the khanate could declare its independence in the elected rulers and the choice of the direction of its own policy. Over time one can notice how the state of affairs has changed. At least until the middle of the 17th century the Crimean Khanate was perceived as an ally state, and therefore the relationship was built accordingly. Both sides were Muslim states, and were also somewhat dependent on each other's geopolitics.³⁰

The question of the khan's dependence on the Ottoman padishah seems difficult. First of all, because throughout the existence of the Crimean Khanate, minted coin with the name of the khan, just as in the khutba, the name of the Crimean ruler was mentioned first of all (at least until the 1580s). Considering that both of these facts are perceived in the Muslim world as indisputable signs of the independence of the ruler, we cannot speak of the direct vassalage of the Crimean Khan. In addition, on the territory of the khanate, it was the khan, and not the sultan, who was perceived by the

²⁵ Гайворонский, *Страна Крым*, с. 46.

²⁶ A village on the southern coast of Crimea.

²⁷ Residents of the village of Qapsikhors, on the southern coast of Crimea.

²⁸ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 94, 97.

²⁹ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111.

³⁰ M. Ivanics, "The Military Co-Operation of the Crimean Khanate with the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 275.

local population as the arbiter of justice (in saying so that's also indicates the independence of the descendants of Genghis Khan as rulers).³¹

Even the seeming compulsion to join the military campaigns of the Ottomans, according to the historian M. Ivanics, was beneficial to both the Ottoman and the Crimean side in ideological and material aspects.³² The Ottomans did not interfere with the principle of dividing the military booty of the Tatars. Although they tried to control the direction and number of their raids on neighboring lands. Thus, one can speak of some control by the Ottoman Empire. In practice, however, the Ottomans appeared to have trouble controlling the Tatars even when they were crossing their own territories.³³ As for the prestige of the title of the Crimean Khan, before the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, the khans of Crimea were respected because of their Genghisid origin. But during the period of the Thirteen Years' War, at the end of the 16th century, situation completely changed.³⁴ Despite this, in the 17th century one can trace the dynamics of the foreign policy of the Crimean rulers, in particular in Eastern Europe, although they were forced to correlate their actions with the Ottoman policy of that time.³⁵ In addition, tension in relations between these two states arose from time to time on the basis of military campaigns that were unprofitable for the Crimean Khanate, due to the high cost, both materially and physically.³⁶

Many official positions used in the khanate were taken from the example of their use in the Ottoman Empire (for example, *kadı*, *katip*, *naib*, etc.). In addition, the division of the territory into *kadılıks*, as a way of dividing the territory into administrative and legal divisions, were also common in these two states. In addition, the Crimean Khanate borrowed some types of taxes from the Ottomans, usually, this type of tax went to military expenses.³⁷

³¹ N. Krolikowska, "Sovereignty and Subordination in Crimean-Ottoman Relations (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century)," *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 56.

³² Ivanics, "Military Co-Operation," p. 278.

³³ Krolikowska, "Sovereignty and Subordination," p. 52-53.

³⁴ Ivanics, "Military Co-Operation," p. 294; Krolikowska, "Sovereignty and Subordination," p. 58.

³⁵ Ivanics, "Military Co-Operation," p. 295.

³⁶ Krolikowska, "Sovereignty and Subordination," p. 53.

³⁷ N. Krolikowska, "The Law factor in Ottoman-Crimean Tatar Relations in the Early Modern Period," *Law and Empire: Ideas, Practices, Actors*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 189.

In general, despite the common religious and ideological experience, in many areas one can note the difference in approach and management. Undoubtedly, the Crimean Khanate drew valuable experience from the Ottoman administration. Starting approximately from the period of the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, one from the family or relatives of the ruling khan was kept under the care of the Ottoman court, where he received the appropriate education and gained experience. With this order of things, it is not surprising that certain ways of doing business and approaching the solution of issues of national importance converged in these two countries. However, this does not mean that everything was the same. In addition to the Ottoman influence, the Crimean Khanate also took into account the Mongolian and Islamic traditions, which affected the life of the population and the inheritance of power

Completely different era began after the dramatic change of power in 1783. The Russian system of government differed significantly both from that adopted in the Crimean Khanate and from the one that was effective under the Ottoman Empire. The period of “accustoming” the new government to the local population of the peninsula - and vice versa - continued until the beginning of the 19th century. Even then it could not be said that the integration of the new political system was fully completed. The difference in language, religion, form of government, administrative and executive power were enormous. The local population of the peninsula - especially its Muslim part - was rapidly leaving their native lands. Being in disagreement with the changes in ancient traditions, and also fearing political, religious and ideological persecution. Some of the changes introduced by the imperial government will be discussed in more detail below. Taking all of the above into account, we will consider in more detail some aspects of the life of an ordinary Crimean city and the changes that it underwent in the 18th-19th centuries.

Such an important economic center of the khanate was formally under the control of the first heir of the state. The position of the first heir to the Crimean Khanate was first introduced by Mengli I Geray Khan in 1475 for his son Mehmed Geray Sultan.³⁸ Even though earlier in the Mongolian states, the institution of hereditary

³⁸ В. Смирнов, *Крымское ханство под верховенством Османской Порты до начала XVIII в.* (Санкт-Петербург, 1887), с. 353.

power was present, such a title was first introduced and began to be used in the Crimean Khanate. By order of the khan, it was decided that the main city for the first heir would be Aqmescit. *Kalga-sultan* also had many opportunities and privileges which khan had but on a smaller scale. Under his direct influence and control were the lands from Aqmescit to Qarasuvbazar.³⁹ Funds for the treasury of the heir also came from the city taxes of these two cities. Besides, he had an income from some customs and salt lakes.⁴⁰

The palace, as well as the council (*divan*) of the *kalga-sultan*, was a miniature copy of the same institutions of the khan. If the khan did not participate in the military campaign, *kalga-sultan* led the Crimean troops (in this case, the number of troops was less than those under the leadership of the khan). While the khan led his army, the *kalga* led the right-wing of it. In case of unrest on the part of the Ottoman Sultan or the Crimean aristocracy, a diplomatic solution to the problems was expected from the *kalga-sultan*.⁴¹ It is also known that the most influential dynasty of the khanate, Şirins, also had the position of *kalga-sultan*. It is also should be note that the already mentioned Şirins had an important influence on Qarasuv.

During the khanate period, Qarasuvbazar and the vicinity of the city were a patrimony and fiefdom of the Crimean aristocratic families.⁴² This applies primarily to the most influential and powerful family of the khanate - the Şirins. Since the first years of power in the Crimean lands of the Geray clan, the Şirins held the highest positions in the state. They were so powerful and close to the ruling house that they were the only ones that could not only marry the sisters and daughters of the khans but also add their family name "Geray" after their own.⁴³

In Qarasuvbazar there was a palace, a khan, a caravanserai, a mosque, and a madrasah built by the Şirin beys. The remains of the only caravanserai that has survived to this day - Büyük Taş-khan, also bears the name of Sefer Gazi Ağa. Sefer

³⁹ И. Тунманн, *Крымское ханство* (Симферополь: Государственное издательство Крым АССР, 1936), с. 29.

⁴⁰ Halil İnalcık, "Kalgay," *DİA* 24, s. 259.

⁴¹ Korpeter, "Kalgay," p. 500.

⁴² Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 151.

⁴³ H. Seymour, *Russia on the Black Sea and Sea of Azov: Being a Narrative of Travels in the Crimea and Bordering Provinces; with Notices of the Naval, Military, and Commercial Resources of those Countries* (London: John Murray, Alberies Street, 1855), p. 242.

Gazi was the chief adviser of the two ruling khans, as well as an influential representative of the Şirin family. Also, it is known that not far from Büyük Taş-khan was Küçük Taş-khan, which was also known as Şirin bey khan.⁴⁴

The lands of the Şirin beys stretched from Qarasuv to Kerch, along the border of the Kefe sanjak, which belonged to the Ottoman sultan.⁴⁵ Also, other Crimean clans settled near Qarasuv. Such were, for example, the Barıns, who lived mainly in the villages around Qarasuv. The Arğın clan lived in large numbers on the lands from Aqmescit to Qarasuvbazar.⁴⁶ In addition to them, in the Qarasuv *Kadılık* one could find villages and estates belonging to the Sedceut and Kipçak clans.⁴⁷

In Russian sources the limestone mountain, towering not far from Qarasuvbazar was called “Şirin’s mountain”. The reason for this was that whenever the Şirin and other clans were dissatisfied with the actions of the khan, they gathered a council to negotiate against him, and this mountain was always the meeting place.⁴⁸

1.1. CITY MANAGEMENT

Management of both the entire region and the city itself was in many ways reminiscent of a similar institution of management in the Ottoman Empire. Administrative positions in the Ottoman Empire were conventionally divided into *ehl-i örf* and *ehl-i ilim*. On the one hand, there were representatives of religion (*mufti*, *muderris*, *naib*, *nakibül-eşraf*, etc.) that had influence on city’s life. And on the other hand, there were all the other representatives of the bureaucracy who were not tied to religion (for example, the head of the Janissaries, *bölükbaşı*, *odabaşı*, etc.). Not only the appointed officials took part in the management of Qarasuv, but also the *kalga-sultan* and representatives of the Şirin, Arğın, and Barın clans significantly expanded

⁴⁴ Kavak, “Kırım’ın Karasu Kazası,” s. 22.

⁴⁵ H. İnalçık, *Kırım Hanlığı Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar*, (İstanbul: TİB Kültür yayınları, 2017), s. 89; Seymour, *Russia on the Black Sea*, p. 242.

⁴⁶ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 151.

⁴⁷ Ömer Bıyık, “Osmanlı Yönetiminde Kırım (1600-1774)” (Doktora tezi, Ege Üniversitesi, 2007), s. 49.

⁴⁸ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 112.

and at the same time complicated the management system of the entire region. It was also one of the main differences from the system adopted in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁹

The city of Qarasuv came under the control of the *kalga-sultan* simultaneously with the emergence of this position in the khanate. 10,000 kuruş was paid from the taxes of the city to *kalga*.⁵⁰ However, the actual management of the city was the responsibility of the *kadı*. We have several examples of *emr-i şerifs* (signed by the then *kalga-sultans*) with orders to appoint particular persons to the posts of *nakibül-eşraf* and *bölükbaşı*.⁵¹

Being responsible for the management of not only the city of Qarasuv, but also the entire region of the same name (*kaza*), the *kadı* possessed the highest executive power. The spheres of activity of the *kadı* were so wide that it is natural that in each separate area he had subordinate people responsible for each area.⁵² So, the chief of the janissaries was responsible for the safety and security of the city. It is also worth noting that to maintain the security in the city, warriors from various detachments were called up (for example, Janissaries, *cebeci*, *topçu*, etc.).⁵³ Also, there were such positions as *bölükbaşı* and *odabaşı*, the performers of which were called to monitor the safety and order in the city.

Among the other assistants of the *kadı* were *naib* (literally, deputy *kadı*), *muhtesib* (who was checking the conformity of the price and quantity of the sold/issued goods), *katip* (secretary), *muhzır* (representative of the law who implemented the rulings of the court decisions), etc. Mufti was an important representative of religion in the city. Taking into account that in the Crimean Khanate there was no position for *şeyh ül-Islam*, as in the Ottoman Empire, the highest position in religion, issuing the fatwa, remained the *mufti*. The influence of the mufti in the Crimean Khanate was great, as indicated by their position at the khan's council (*divan*). Moreover, their role in the religious and social life of the people was even greater than their political influence.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 37-38.

⁵⁰ Korpeter, "Kaghay," p. 500.

⁵¹ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 40.

⁵² İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kadı," DİA 24, s. 69.

⁵³ Özdem, *Kırım Karasubazar*, s. 24-26.

⁵⁴ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 60-65, 67.

As expected, the situation changed after the establishment of a new government throughout the peninsula. Even though Qarasuv played a large role as a trade center of the former khanate, and was also the administrative capital of the peninsula several times (including the time of the Russian rule in Crimea), already in the second half of the 19th century in written sources, Qarasuv begins to appear mainly as a “provincial town”. A provincial town was a settlement that bore the name rights of a city but was not an administrative center.⁵⁵

As it should be expected some changes were made to the management of the city as well. Thus, the board of directors of Qarasuv was headed by the mayor; among his subordinates, several new positions should be noted – burgomaster, ratman, mayor, and others. In addition, one more big, but not surprising change should be noted - all high-ranking positions after the arrival of the Russian Empire in Crimea were held by representatives of various ethnicities except the Crimean Tatars.⁵⁶ Of course, the Crimean Tatars still took part in the life of the city, but their functions began to be limited to the roles of administrative assistants, secretaries, etc.

In 1785, Catherine II published the “Charter on the Rights and Benefits of the Cities of the Russian Empire”, which secured a single estate status of the urban population, regardless of professional activity under the name “bourgeoisie”. A tradesman was any city dweller who owned real estate in the city, was engaged in trade or craft, paid taxes, and performed public services. There was also a so-called “honorary citizenship”. This title could be awarded to a city dweller at the request of the city council for exceptional activities aimed at the prosperity and well-being of a particular city. A feature of this status should be considered an exemption from recruitment, from the capitation salary and corporal punishment. In addition, an

⁵⁵ Л. Фейгин, *Путеводитель по Крыму и справочная книжка, с приложением некоторых календарных сведений, расписаний железных дорог и пароходов, подробной карты полуострова и планом Севастополя* (Москва, 1888), с. 59; Княжна Горчакова, *Воспоминания о Крыме*, ч. 2, (Москва: Типография общества распространения полезных книг, 1884), с. 111.

⁵⁶ ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 21, л. 1; ГАРК, Ф. 65, оп. 1, д. 95, л. 3.

honorary citizen had the right to participate in elections for immovable property in the city and to be elected to city public offices.⁵⁷

After 1783, the system of estates adopted in the Russian Empire also began to operate in Crimea. Thus, the entire urban population was divided into eight categories: the nobility, the clergy, “real urban inhabitants” (that is, those who own real estate), merchants registered in the guild (more on this in the third chapter), artisans in workshops, nonresident and foreign merchants, eminent citizens with a capital of at least 50 thousand rubles, as well as other townspeople. The previously mentioned letter of Catherine also introduced the institution of the General City Duma, consisting of the elected Mayor and Vowels⁵⁸ (one from each of the six categories of citizens). The Duma formed its own executive body - the six-seat City Duma, in whose meetings one representative from each category took part. The Mayor was the chairman. The City Duma resolved issues of ensuring the well-being, security, and prosperity of the city, the resolution of intra-class disputes, and urban planning. The Duma acted under the supervision of the Governor of the Crimea. To get the right to participate in the elections to the City Duma, it was required to meet the following characteristics: to reach the age of 25, own real estate, industrial or commercial enterprises, and / or engage in handicrafts or small trade, represent any class. It should be noted that legal entities and women participated in the elections through representatives.⁵⁹

1.2. RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1737

One way or another, any medieval city has its period of unavoidable changes. For Qarasuvbazar, such changes began in the 1730s in a very dramatic way. Military campaign between the Russian and Ottoman empires at all times were also accompanied by fights between the Crimean and Russian soldiers. Despite the fact that the results of the war of 1735-1739 were disastrous for Russia, by the end of the same

⁵⁷ А. Яновский, «Гражданство почетное,» Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона т. IXа, с. 523-524.

⁵⁸ The one who could speak and explain what actually peoples are wanted.

⁵⁹ В. Пашеня, *Государственное управление в России и Крыму в конце 18 – 19 вв. (1783-1990)* (Симферополь: ИП Бровко, 2016), с. 71-72.

century the Russian Empire received everything it fought for. But for Qarasuv, this military campaign was the beginning of the end, a point after which the city never regained its former greatness.

After a devastating raid on the Crimea (Bahçesaray and Aqmescit suffered the most⁶⁰) under the leadership of General Münnich in 1736, the capital of the Crimean Khanate was temporarily moved to Qarasuv.⁶¹ In 1737, a similar military campaign was again organized by the Russians under the leadership of Field Marshal Lacy. In the summer of this year, the 40,000 soldiers of Field Marshal Lacy, with the support of the Kalmyks, forced the Sivas and broke into the Crimea. On July 23, the Russian army was located 26 versts (27.7 km) from Qarasuv.⁶² Here they were attacked by Crimean army, which were led by their khan Feth II Geray. At first, the attack was quite strong, but an hour later the Crimean corps was put to flight and hid in the mountains.⁶³

The Russian troops remained in their former camp, but the light cavalry of the Kalmyks raided the nearby villages - robbed, burned houses, and also captured people into slavery (according to various sources, from 600 to 1,000 people were enslaved). On July 25, General Douglas was entrusted with a vanguard of 6,000 men - part of the infantry, part of the dragoons, and light cavalry - to march on Qarasuv. At a height, near the city, a camp was seen occupied by the Turks, their total number were in an amount of 12,000 (in other sources 15,000) warriors. Marshal Lacy reinforced Douglas' detachment with two more regiments of dragoons and ordered an attack on the city, which was done - the Turks fled after a small skirmish. The entire population of Qarasuv left the city, only a few Greek and Armenian families remained. Thus, Qarasuv was occupied with minimal resistance, plundered, destroyed, and

⁶⁰ Абдульгаффар Кырыми, *Умдет ал-Ахбар*, II (Казань: Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани, 2018), с. 168.

⁶¹ В. Смирнов, *Крымское ханство под верховенством Османской Порты в XVIII в.* (Одесса, 1889), с. 61.

⁶² Н. Сеит-яхья, «Военные действия в Крыму в 1735-1736 гг.,» *Qasevet* 33 (2008): с. 49.

⁶³ К. Г. Манштейн, *Записки Манштейна о России. 1727-1744 гг.*, (Санкт-Петербург: Типография В. С. Балашева, 1875), с. 125.

burned.⁶⁴ Cossacks and Kalmyks were instructed to penetrate as far as possible and burn houses of the local population.

At the time of Lacy's campaign, there were up to 6,000 houses in the city, almost all of which were built of stone, 38 mosques and tekke, one Gregorian and one Orthodox church, 50 watermills, and many other public buildings.⁶⁵ The Russian detachments were greatly enriched at the expense of the residents of Qarasuv, which, having fled in a hurry, and did not have time to hide their valuable property. The next day - July 26 - the Crimean army appeared on the opposite side of the Qarasuv River. The hot battle ended with the retreat of the Crimean army.⁶⁶ Despite such a success, the Russian army very soon began to suffer from the lack of food for soldiers and horses, also, fever and illness began to spread among the soldiers.⁶⁷ Thus, without any struggle, the Russian army turned back, the military campaign, which was quite successful at first glance, did not bring the Russian Empire any political victory in the Crimean area.

The city never recovered from this raid. Despite the attempts of Mengli II Geray and Şahin Geray khans to rebuild the city anew, Qarasuv never regained its former splendor.⁶⁸ This is confirmed by literally every published memoir of foreign travelers who visited here in the second half of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century.⁶⁹

The dynamic development of political events at the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century naturally affected the local Crimean population. Even

⁶⁴ Кырыми, *Умдет ал-Ахбар*, с. 173.

⁶⁵ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Kırım Hanlığı Tarihi*, çev. Seyfi Say, (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2013), с. 145.

⁶⁶ Манштейн, *Записки*, с. 126-127.

⁶⁷ Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, v. 5, (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2011), s. 512.

⁶⁸ И. Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара (1783-1939 гг.),» *Мир Бекира Чобан-заде*, (Симферополь: НАТА, 2013), с. 109.

⁶⁹ Миледи Кравен, *Путешествие в Крым и Константинополь в 1786 г.*, (Москва: Типог. У Риднгера и Клаудия, 1795), с. 270-271; Maria Guthrie, *A Tour Performed in the Years 1795-6, through the Taurida, or Crimea, the Antient Kingdom of Bosphorus, of the Once-Powerful Republic of Tauric Cherson, and All the Other Countries on the North Shore of the Euxine, Ceded to Russia by the Peace of Kainardgi and Jassi* (London: Nichols and Son, 1802), p. 196-197.

before the military campaigns of the Russian Empire in the 1770s, there was a certain division among the Crimean Tatars among those who intended to support the traditional way of life and actively resist any changes that might appear after the imposition of a new order by Russia. Another part of the people, it should be noted - a much smaller part of it - sought to modernize their state, and also hoped to get out of the influence of the Ottoman Empire, and both goals could be achieved with the help of the Russian Empire.⁷⁰

1.3. RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1771

The Russian campaign against Crimea in 1771 was supposed to ultimately decide the fate of the Crimean Khanate and its political position on the world stage. By that time, only the Nogai had firmly declared their separation from the Ottoman Empire.⁷¹ In 1771, Russian military detachments led by Prince Dolgoruky, one after another, without much effort and resistance, seized and plundered the Crimean cities - Orkapı, Kezlev, Qarasuv, and Bahçesaray. At the same time, in the east, General Shcherbatov also effortlessly took first Arabat, then Yenikale, Kerch, and Kefe. Under the threat of the Russian fleet in Azov, the Taman Peninsula also surrendered very quickly.⁷²

The Ottoman commander-in-chief, *serasker* Ibrahim Pasha, after the news of the surrender of Orkapı, left his post in the city of Qarasuv and went to Kefe. From Turkish sources we learn that Ibrahim Pasha tried to prepare the defense of Kefe, assuming in advance that the enemy would go there. He thought that there was a real chance to protect the city from invasion. But then the former *kalga* Şahin Geray sultan intervened, whom Empress Catherine II appointed as the Crimean khan instead of

⁷⁰ В. Грибовский, и Д. Сень, «Крымское ханство в период 1772-1783 гг. и судьба крымскотатарской государственности,» *История татар с древнейших времен: в 7 т. Т. 4 Татарские государства XV-XVIII вв.* (Казань: Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ, 2014), с. 267.

⁷¹ Е. Дружинина, *Кючук-Кайнарджийский договор 1774 года (его подготовка и заключение)*, (Москва: Издательство академии наук СССР, 1955), с. 131.

⁷² Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, s. 667.

Sahib Geray khan, who in turn was elected by the Crimean beys.⁷³ Şahin Geray khan, with a military detachment supporting his candidacy, ordered Ibrahim Pasha to retreat immediately. Taking into account all the attendant circumstances, the governor of Kefe, Mehmed Pasha was forced to leave the city along with the Ottoman soldiers. Ibrahim Pasha, however, remained in Kefe but was soon imprisoned by the Russians.⁷⁴ This situation clearly shows the split of the Crimean population, led by the khans appointed to this position by the Ottoman sultan on the one hand, and Şahin Geray khan, as well as the Şirin beys who supported him, on the other. During this campaign, Qarasuv, in fact, was surrendered by the Nogays, who favored the Russian Empire, and at that time were still present in the Khan's army.⁷⁵

The occupation of the Crimean Peninsula by the Russians became the main event of 1771. With the loss of Crimea, the Ottoman state lost its most important ally and could no longer dispose of the military forces of the Crimean Khan. In addition, the successful outcome of this campaign for the Russians allowed them to dictate additional conditions for concluding peace with the Ottomans. If earlier they claimed only the fortresses of Kerch and Yenikale, thus seeking the exit of the Russian fleet to the Black Sea, now they demanded that Ochakov and Kinburun be transferred to them as well.⁷⁶

1.4. QARASUVBAZAR TREATY

The situation in Crimea changed after the start of the Russian-Ottoman war in 1768, and especially after the Russian-Crimean pact which was signed in 1772 in Qarasuvbazar. A preliminary act on the obligation of the Crimean Tatars to secede

⁷³ Official representatives of Empress Catherine II initially recognized the legitimacy of the power of the Sahib Geray, but very soon changed their loyalty in favor of the Şahin Geray Sultan.

⁷⁴ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, c. 4, (Ankara: TTK, 1995), s. 408-409.

⁷⁵ В. Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, II (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2014), с. 346.

⁷⁶ Дружинина, *Кючук-Кайрджийский договор*, с. 141, 146.

from Ottoman state, enter into an alliance with Russia, and declare themselves an independent people, was signed in Qarasuvbazar on June 25, 1771.⁷⁷

On November 1, 1772, representatives of the Crimean aristocracy, under pressure signed an agreement in Qarasuv, which later became the basis for the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. This treaty declared the independence of the Crimean Khanate, and also under its terms the Russian fleet was allowed to enter the Black Sea, which had been closed for them until then.⁷⁸ Sahib II Geray khan, appointed to the post of khan in 1771, was recognized as an independent ruler by the Russian Empire in the person of the authorized general Evdokim Shcherbin. The Treaty of Qarasuvbazar was signed from the Russian side by Shcherbin and Sahib Geray khan - from the Crimean side. In addition to the signature of the khan, the peace treaty contained the signatures of the Şirin bey Can Geray, the great vizier Bahadır Ağa, Şagpal bey Mansur, Ismail bey Arın, as well as representatives of the Nogai hordes: the Edishkul horde - Karaşag Murza, the Edisan horde - Temir Şah Murza, Budjjak horde – Katir Şah Murza, the Dzhambuylutsk horde - El-Murzag Murza.⁷⁹

The Treaty of Qarasuvbazar spells out such points as eternal peace between Russia and Crimea, the adoption of laws and rituals remains with the decision of the khan, the election of the khan will depend on the general consent of the people. The election and resolution of the khan will be reported to the Russian court. Big and Small Kabarda will belong to the Russian Empire. Russia promises to protect and preserve the Crimean Tatar region in all its rights and initial conditions, and besides, during the martial law, Russian troops occupy all the Crimean fortifications. Yenikale and Kerch, after the end of the war, went into the use of the Russian Empire. Also, the Russian consulate will function properly in Crimea.⁸⁰ It is necessary to note several clauses of this agreement, indicating its inequality. Such points can be considered the requirement for the establishment of a Russian permanent embassy in Bahçesaray,

⁷⁷ *Крым в развитии России: история, политика, дипломатия. Документы архивов МИД России*, (Ижевск: Принт, 2018), с. 87-88.

⁷⁸ Возгрин, *История*, II, с. 349-351.

⁷⁹ *Крым в развитии России*, с. 96.

⁸⁰ *Крым в развитии России*, с. 96-98.

while the establishment of the same in Moscow was not even discussed. In addition, the right to free trade on the territory of the peninsula was declared. These and other clauses of the Qarasuvbazar Treaty give reason to consider it colonial, similar agreements were used by European states of that period during negotiations with the countries of the East. According to some historians⁸¹, the Qarasuvbazar treaty was concluded in very difficult and dramatic circumstances. It rather served as a guarantor of the safety of the Crimean population, which was exterminated by Russian troops. Many dissenters hid for a long time in the mountains and forests of the peninsula, hoping in this way to wait out the invasion of the Russian troops. In addition, these same groups of people, organizing small sorties to spoil the harvest, burn the grass, poison the water that was used by the enemy troops. We must pay tribute to these "partisan" tactics - this prevented the accumulation of a large number of Russian troops on the territory of the peninsula. But even despite this, the enemy units found a way to fight back, exterminated the civilian population, burned their homes.⁸²

Therefore, this treaty cannot be considered either a fully conscious action, much less desirable for Crimea. Other researchers point out that the treaty, although unwanted for the Crimean side, could be profitably used for both sides, neither the Crimean Khan nor the Crimean nobility took any measures for this.⁸³

1.5. TREATY OF KÜÇÜK KAYNARCA

The Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Russia and Ottoman Empire was signed in the small Bulgarian town called Küçük Kaynarca on July 21⁸⁴ 1774. This contract consists of 28 articles and two separate articles. Negotiations were conducted from the Ottoman side by Nişancı Resmi Ahmed Efendi and Ibrahim Munib Reis Efendi. The Russian Empire, on the other hand, was represented by Prince Nikolai Repnin. In the presence and with the signature of Count Pyotr Rumyantsev, the

⁸¹ А. Мальгин, «Карасубазарский мирный договор 1772 г. Заключение и итоги», *Крым. Проблемы истории*, ред. А. Юрасов, (Москва: Индрик, 2016), с. 100.

⁸² Грибовский, «Крымское ханство,» с. 270, 271.

⁸³ Мальгин, «Карасубазарский мирный договор», с. 100.

⁸⁴ К. Beydilli, 'Küçük Kaynarca Antlaşması', *DİA XXVI*, s. 526. In Russian documents it's 10 of July, because of calendar change (*Крым в развитии России*, с. 106-107).

agreement was signed and concluded, from the Ottoman side it was signed by the vizier Mussun-zade Mehmed Pasha.⁸⁵

In addition to the usual clauses in such treaties on the armistice and the fate of defectors, clauses on the change of faith by subjects of both states, the rules of international trade were also included. Furthermore, the permanent presence of the Russian ambassador or consul in Istanbul was agreed upon, and the use of the empress title, equated to the title of padishah, in all acts and letters was discussed.⁸⁶ Additionally, at the negotiations, the fate of the lands seized from both sides was decided. So according to the agreement, the Ottoman Empire would get Bessarabia, Voloskoye, and Moldavian principalities, all the Archipelago Islands, and Ochakov. In turn, the Russian Empire received at its disposal Kinburn, Kerch, Yenikale, Azov, fortresses Bogdachuk, Kutatis, and Shegerban (Georgia and Mingrelia). Big and Small Kabarda passes into the possession of the Crimean Khan.⁸⁷

The most important and well-known clause of this agreement was and remains the declaration of independence of the Crimean Khanate. According to the Treaty, the Ottoman sultan remained the caliph of the khanate. The borders of the independent khanate were declared the lands between the rivers Berda, Konka, and the Dnieper, besides, all the land up to the Polish border, lying between the South Bug and the Dniester should also be considered as khan's.⁸⁸ Also, the Ottoman Empire was obliged to pay the military expenses of the Russian Empire in the amount of 15 thousand sacks, which was equal to 7,500,000 piastres, i.e. 4,500,000 rubles.⁸⁹

On April 21, 1777, Şahin Geray khan, by a letter notified Count Rumyantsev that the Crimean population voluntarily refused to elect khan, both according to

⁸⁵ Дружинина, *Кючук-Кайнарджийский договор*, с. 268-273.

⁸⁶ Beydilli, "Küçük Kaynarca Antlaşması," s. 526.

⁸⁷ *Крым в развитии России*, с. 107-119.

⁸⁸ Дружинина, *Кючук-Кайнарджийский договор*, 280-284.

⁸⁹ *Крым в развитии России*, с. 118.

religious and traditional customs.⁹⁰ Taking into account all the achievements of the Russian Empire in the field of expanding its own territories, it should be noted the undermined influence of the Ottoman state on the Crimean Khanate. Despite the small hope of Ottoman intervention under the pretext of spiritual ties with the Muslim population of the peninsula, the Crimean lands remained under Russian influence until the very end of the Russian Empire.

After the annexation, the Russian military unit at Qarasuvbazar was headed by O. Igelstroman. This unit consisted of three hussars, four infantry regiments and a “Jager Battalion” led by Prince Volkonsky. Also, in the unit there were 39 field artillery guns, as well as three more regiments of the Don Cossacks.⁹¹

In 1783, in Qarasuvbazar, wooden buildings in most of its territory were burned or dismantled for firewood. Only a small number of stone buildings remain in the city center. Residents of the city, returning from the forests, where they hid during the hostilities, began to restore it. The city came to life and returned to its usual course, but in a much more modest size.⁹²

Academic Pallas in his notes mentions that after the establishment of the Russians in the Crimea, new landowners used hewn stones from Tatar cemeteries to build new houses.⁹³ Under the Russian Empire, Qarasuvbazar began to enter the Simferopol district. During her famous trip to Crimea in 1787, Empress Catherine II stayed in Qarasuvbazar (05/26/1787 - 05/30/1787).⁹⁴ A palace was built specifically for her on the banks of the Qarasuv.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Н. Дубровин, *Присоединение Крыма к России*, Том I, 1775-1777 гг. (Санкт-Петербург: Тип. Императорской академии наук, 1885), с. 493-494; Смирнов, *Крымское ханство*, II, с. 179.

⁹¹ А. Лугачева, «Камеральное описание Крыма 1784 г. Как свод статистических сведений о социально-экономическом развитии региона», *Ученые записки* №4 (48) (2018): с. 3.

⁹² Возгрин, *История*, II, с. 408.

⁹³ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111-112.

⁹⁴ *Памятные записки А. В. Храповицкого, статс-секретаря императрицы Екатерины II* (Москва: Университетская типография, 1862), с. 31.

⁹⁵ Ф. Миранда, *Путешествие по Российской империи*, (Москва: Наука/Интерпериодика, 2001), с. 63.

One way or another, all of the above events led to a complete change of power in the territory of the former Crimean Khanate. After the Russian Empire was able to annex these lands, new institutions of power were established, mass migrations began, the whole nature of local political and socio-economic relations changed.



CHAPTER 2. POPULATION

2.1. THE POPULATION OF QARASUVBAZAR DURING THE CRIMEAN KHANATE PERIOD

Being a large shopping center, Qarasuvbazar has always attracted many people from all over the world - not only Crimea, but also Anatolia, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. Since the 16th century the city grew and expanded rapidly. By the end of the century Qarasuvbazar was one of the largest cities on the Crimean Peninsula.¹ The constant influx of people and goods did not stop until the annexation of the Crimean Khanate in 1783.

Despite the fact that the numbers given by Evliya Çelebi should be approached with caution, he wrote that there were 5,500 houses in the city, owned by Muslims. According to rough estimates, this equates to 22-27 thousand people (only the Muslim population).² He also mentioned that 2,000 Armenians, 500 Greeks, and 300 Jews lived in the city.³ So, it can be said that about 30,000 people lived in the city at that time.⁴ This number continued to grow in the 18th century.⁵ Unfortunately, we do not have any more accurate information about the population in this period of history.

From 1624 to 1675 Qarasuvbazar was attacked by the Cossacks four times. However, it suffered much more damage during the campaign of the Russian troops led by Lacy and Douglas in 1737. After the attack of the Russian troops that year, only 1,000 houses remained untouched. In the meantime, population of the town decreased to approximately four-five thousand people.⁶ Population, suffered heavy losses during the Russian campaigns of the 18th century, significantly decreased in comparison with

¹ Сосновский, *Путеводитель*, с. 241.

² Kavak, "Kırım'ın Karasu Kazası," s. 117.

³ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 551.

⁴ Özdem, *Kırım Karasubazar*, s. 35.

⁵ Özdem, "İnsanları," s. 72.

⁶ Kavak, "Kırım'ın Karasu Kazası," s. 117.

the previous number. By the time of the annexation of Crimea, 759 Muslim families and 808 Christians⁷ lived here. In other sources, we find information that in 1784 there were already 1,567 houses⁸, which only confirms the previous figures.

As for the ethnic diversity of Qarasuvbazar, we find approximately similar information in various sources. The city was home to a large number of Tatars, Armenians, Krymchaks, and Karaites, as well as Greeks and Russians. Judging by the entries in the *kadiasker's* notebooks, Armenians, Urum, Persians, Jews, Gypsies, and Copts have lived on the peninsula and in this city since the founding of the Crimean Khanate. Taking into account that Qarasuv was located at the intersection of the routes from the Crimea to the Caucasus and vice versa, Circassians could often be found in the city as well. Also, in the *sicils* of Qarasuvbazar, you can find a mention of Arabs, Poles, Kurds, and Lazs.⁹

Starting from the 15th century, Qarasuvbazar became home to a large number of Krymchaks who previously lived in Kefe. In 17th century more than half of the total number of Krymchaks of Crimea lived in Qarasuvbazar.¹⁰ However, in Evliya Çelebi's "Seyahatname", we can find that all Jews living in Qarasuv were Karaites¹¹, which contradicts other available facts.

Also, from the records in the *sicils* of different years, you can see a large number of immigrants from the Ottoman Empire. Most of them, being traders, came from various cities of Anatolia and the Balkans, such as Trabzon, Diyarbakir, Sinop, Erzurum, Konya, Edirne, Giresun, Bolu, Çorum, Izmit, Tokat and others.¹²

In several sources related to the period of the Crimean Khanate, one can find information about the separation of the Muslim and non-Muslim population of the city. This can be explained by the fact that historically, Muslims of Qarasuvbazar settled on

⁷ Тюркские народы Крыма, с. 226.

⁸ Гайворонский, Страна Крым, с. 48.

⁹ Q.Ş.S., c. 65, fol. 31b, h. 147; Q.Ş.S., c. 33, fol. 101a, h. 912; Q.Ş.S., c. 33, fol. 16b, h. 130; Q.Ş.S., c. 33, fol. 28b, h. 255.

¹⁰ K. Banek, "The Krymchaks: An Ethnic and Religious Group," *Anthropos* (2014), p. 239.

¹¹ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 551.

¹² Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 113b, h. 1138; Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 112b, h. 1134; Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 68a, h. 732; Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 36b, h. 372; Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 36b, h. 373.

the right bank of the Qarasuv River, and non-Muslims, in turn, on its left bank.¹³ Despite this, by the end of the 18th century we see how this situation begins to change. In archival documents, there are numerous testimonies that Muslims and representatives of other religions lived close to each other.¹⁴

Table 1. Population of the Qarasuv city from the mid-17th century to the late 18th century

Author	Period	Population
Evliya Çelebi ¹⁵	1666-1667	Approx. 30.000
	Second half of the 17 th century ¹⁶	Approx. 35.000
	After 1737 ¹⁷	Approx. 4.000-5.000
	The 1780s ¹⁸	Approx. 4.500

¹³ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 548; Ağat, “Kırım şehirleri,” s. 8.

¹⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 1, д. 11141, л. 27; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 96.

¹⁵ As estimated by Nuri Kavak, see Kavak, “*Karasu Kazası*,” s. 107.

¹⁶ Özdem, “İnsanları,” s. 72.

¹⁷ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 106.

¹⁸ Ж. Ромм, *Путешествие в Крым в 1786 г.* (Ленинград: Издание Ленинградского государственного университета, 1941), с. 40.

2.2. POPULATION CHANGES AND MIGRATIONS IN THE END OF 18th CENTURY- BEGINNING OF 19th CENTURY

After the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Empire, almost the primary problem faced by the tsarist government on the peninsula was the sparse population of the region. Thus, one of the ways to solve this problem was free distribution of land to landowners from the inner Russian provinces. However, very soon this caused outrage among local residents. The Russian government initially declared the inviolability of the traditional rights and customs of the local population. At the same time, the distribution of allotments on the peninsula took place without a qualitative accounting of the land fund of the Crimean Tatar owners, which often caused conflicts between those who lived on this territory for a longest time and those who came after the annexation.¹⁹ When trying to resolve such conflicts, landowner deputies deliberately concentrated negative assessments of the Crimean Tatar population so that property rights issues were considered not in a legal context, but in a political one. Thus, landowners tried to emotionally pressure the authorities with the help of widespread stereotypes about the Crimean Tatars and the Crimean Khanate.²⁰

According to Müstecip Ülküsal²¹, about half a million of the Turkic population lived on the territory of peninsula during the time of the Crimean Khanate. On the eve of the Crimean War, this figure was already 295,357. This sharp decline in the population of this region was because of many political and demographic reasons. For example, we should consider that from the 1780s until the first half of the 20th century there were several massive waves of emigration. For the most part Muslim population of Crimea emigrated to the territory of the Ottoman Empire. But even despite this, the

¹⁹ Д. Конкин, «Российские помещики в Крыму (конец XVIII – начало XIX вв.): Новые люди со старыми взглядами,» *Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии XXIII*: с. 756-757.

²⁰ Конкин, «Российские помещики,» с. 759.

²¹ Founder of important for Crimean Tatars magazine – Emel.

numerical preponderance of the Muslim population on the peninsula continued until 1914.²²

In the Cameral description of Crimea of 1784, it was recorded that at that time 55,023 Tatars and Jews (only males) lived throughout Crimea, not counting the nomads.²³ An attempt to understand the issue of specific numbers of people living both on the entire peninsula and in Qarasuvbazar seems to be a very difficult task. This is due to discrepancies in the data of different sources, both official and private. So, for example, according to traveler Sumarokov in 1803, 187,977 people lived on the peninsula. A. M. Shchekatov believed that in 1804 there were 207 thousand people in Crimea, of which 73 thousand were male Crimean Tatars. From further research, it became clear that both Sumarokov and Shchekatov were wrong.²⁴ According to Crimean governor D. B. Mertvago, in 1804, 245,734 people were living in Crimea (excluding the city of Sevastopol). In 1823, governor D. V. Naryshkin reported that the number of Crimean Tatars continued to decrease and amounted to 102,632 people. The total population in the province in 1825 was 314,399 people.²⁵ Population of Qarasuvbazar in 1897 was 12,968, as it is known from first general census of the population of the Russian Empire. From the very same census we can say that at the time absolute number of all Tatars in Crimea was 187,943.²⁶

Also, as a result of the 4th and 5th census conducted in 1792 and 1796, it was found that the total number of inhabitants on the peninsula was 156,400. 87.6% were Crimean Tatars, 4.3% - Russians, 1.9% - Greeks, 1.7% - Gypsies, 1.5% - Karaites, 1.3% - Ukrainians, 0.8% - Jews, 0.6% - Armenians, and 0.1% - Bulgarians.²⁷

²² M. Ülküsal, *Kırım Yolunda bir Ömür. Hatıralar*, (Ankara: Şafak Matbaacılık, 1999), s. 335.

²³ Лашков, «Камеральное описание,» ИТУАК 6: с. 39.

²⁴ А. Непомнящий и А. Кравчук, «Крым в начале преобразований: на обочине Империи,» *Крым – проблемы истории* (Москва: Индрик, 2016), с. 145-146.

²⁵ Непомнящий, «Крым в начале преобразований,» с. 146.

²⁶ Н. Тройницкий, *Первая Всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, XLI. Таврическая губерния* (Санкт-Петербург, 1904), с. 6, 8.

²⁷ Я. Водарский, О. Елисеева и В. Кабузан, *Население Крыма в конце XVIII — конце XX века (численность, размещение, этнический состав)* (Москва, 2003), с. 121, 122.

Several emigration waves of the Crimean Tatars, as well as difficulties of resettlement of Slavic people which came from territories of the Russian empire, led to even greater desolation of the peninsula. It is also necessary to take into account forced resettlement of the Christian population of Crimea to the territory of present-day southeastern Ukraine in 1778. In addition, the idea of Pan-Slavism can be traced in the politics of Russia at that time. The Russian Empire tried to “average” the population as much as possible, uniting it under one banner of the imperial house of the Romanovs, the orthodox faith and Pan-Slavistic ideas. Thus, all those who did not agree with this policy, and did not want to obey the current order of things, tried to leave the territory of the empire as soon as possible. This hit the indigenous Muslim population of annexed Crimea especially hard, which can partially explain the massive waves of emigration.²⁸

From the Cameral description, we learn that in Qarasuv, after the wars and robberies of the last sixty to seventy years, a little more than seven hundred houses remained, some of which required serious repair work.²⁹ Also, after the wars of recent years and the subsequent annexation, most of the population left the city and emigrated to the Caucasus and Asia Minor.³⁰ The traveler Romm (1786) learned from the Qarasuvbazar kaymakam that there were approximately 3,500 Tatars in the city, this number also included women with children (approx. 400-600).³¹ Traveler Miranda (1786-1787), based on his observations, concluded that 5,000 people lived in Bahçesaray, 2,000 in Qarasuvbazar, 3,000 in Feodosia (Kefe), 3,000 in Kezlev, and 800 in Aqmescit.³²

Pallas (1793-1794) said that there were 1,500 male permanent residents in Qarasuvbazar. From ethnical point of view 1,000 were Crimean Tatars, more than 200 were Karaites, the same number of Armenians (mostly Gregorians), about 100 Greeks,

²⁸ S. Erkan, ‘*Kırım Kafkasya ve Doğu Anadolu Göçleri (1878-1908)*,’ Doktora Tezi, Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, 1993, s. 36

²⁹ Ф. Лашков, «Камеральное описание,» *ИТУАК* 7 (1888): с. 25.

³⁰ Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара,» с. 109.

³¹ Ромм, *Путешествие в Крым*, с. 40.

³² Миранда, *Путешествие*, с. 73.

and very few Russians. Also, he noted the presence of Italians, Jews - counting their total number as 200 people. Separately, he points out that there were no more than a thousand women.³³

In 1794-95 in Qarasuvbazar, local imams conducted a population census, according to which the bourgeois (townspeople) were recorded: Greeks - 48, Armenians - 37, Russians - 11, Catholics - 3, male Tatars - 826, female Tatars - 246.³⁴ In 1802, there were about 3 thousand inhabitants in Qarasuvbazar. In 1870, already 16 thousand people lived in the city.³⁵ In the notes of the Lady from the banks of the Alma River (Mrs. Andrew Neilson), published in 1855, it was indicated that the population of Qarasuvbazar were 15,000 people.³⁶ In the census of the urban population of Crimea by 1889, 13,414 people lived in Qarasuvbazar.³⁷

According to the Taurica Treasury Chamber in the second half of the 19th century 49,586 people (only males were counted) lived in Crimea. The number of townspeople in the major cities of the peninsula was also indicated, for example, in Qarasuvbazar, there were 1,699 male towns people.³⁸

In the second half of the 19th century, the Crimean authorities noted in official reports a massive departure of the Crimean Tatars from the peninsula. Because of such a sharp decrease in population, Crimean government was instructed to introduce measures to stop such escapes.³⁹ But they did not bring the desired effect. As a result, in 1860 alone, about a hundred residents of Qarasuv were known to have left the peninsula without a permit and a passport.⁴⁰ Next year, another 1,026 inhabitants received their passports and went to the Ottoman lands.⁴¹

³³ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111.

³⁴ Р. Аирчинская, «Карасубазар – город благоденствия», *Голос Крыма*, 8 августа (2008): с. 7.

³⁵ В. Кондараки, *Универсальное описание Крыма*, ч. 14, (Санкт-Петербург, 1875), с. 53-54.

³⁶ Mrs. Andrew Neilson, *The Crimea: Its Towns, Inhabitants, and Social Customs*, (London: Partridge, Oakey and co., 1855), p. 86.

³⁷ Пашеня, *Государственное управление*, с. 77.

³⁸ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 268, л. 2.

³⁹ ГАРК, Ф. 356, оп. 1, д. 1, л. 14.

⁴⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 235, л. 33-34.

⁴¹ Аирчинская, «Карасубазар», с. 7.

The archival records of the early 20th century noted that the Muslim population in Qarasuvbazar was 9,000.⁴² The total for the same period was indicated as 18.860 inhabitants.⁴³ Guidebooks of the late 19th - early 20th century provided a variety of figures for the city's population. For convenience, let's place them on a table:

As for the ethnic diversity of the city as a whole, all travelers repeat that Crimean Tatars (Tatars), Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Karaites and Krymchaks, and Russians lived in Qarasuv in both Ottoman and Russian periods.⁴⁴ The traveler Gustav Radde (1852-1854) noted that in Simferopol (Aqmescit), Qarasuvbazar, Feodosia (Kefe), most of the inhabitants were Tatars, but there is also a significant number of Armenians, Greeks, Karaites, and Russians.⁴⁵ Johann Tunnman, in turn, noted that many Armenians, Greeks, and Jews lived in the city, and also separately pointed out the presence of Tatars and Turks.⁴⁶

Even though a very large number of the Muslim population (both local and foreign) of the Crimean Khanate left these lands after the annexation of 1783, in the archives we can find references to subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Some continued to live here even after the change of state, others arrived at the beginning of the 19th century. For a variety of reasons, these people lived on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula, worked, traded, and died. So, in the archival records, we find a list of subjects of the Ottoman Empire and their main occupations (in 1830s). They worked as bakers, masons, shoemakers, tailors, silversmiths and goldsmiths, paper traders, dyers, and others. For the most part, they were Armenians and Greeks.⁴⁷

⁴² ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 1, д. 11141, л. 27.

⁴³ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 534, л. 7.

⁴⁴ E. Henderson, *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia* (London, 1826), p. 371; C. H. Scott, *The Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Crimea: Comprising Travels in Russia, a Voyage Down the Volga to Astrakhan, and a Tour through Crim Tartary* (London, 1854), p. 214.

⁴⁵ Г. Радде, *Крымские татары* (Киев: Стило, 2008), с. 71.

⁴⁶ Туннман, *Крымское ханство*, с. 37.

⁴⁷ В.О.А., HR.SFR.1, Dos. №33, göm. №74, 23.05.1872; В.О.А., HR.SFR.1, Dos. №33, göm. №83, 25.05.1872; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 88, л.2-4; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 96, л. 1-2.

2.3. MAIN ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CITY

2.3.1. CRIMEAN TATARS

Crimean Tatars are a Turkic-speaking, Muslim autochthonous population of Crimea. Representatives of many civilizations entered the peninsula and took part in the ethnic process, and they determined the peculiarities of race, language, religion, and traditional culture, the economic type of sub-ethnic groups of the Crimean Tatar people. The ethnic core of the people was formed in the 4th-16th centuries as a result of the synthesis of non-Turkic tribes (Tauro-Scythians, Goths, Alans, etc.) with Turkic tribes (Bulgars, Pechenegs, Kipchaks, etc.).⁴⁸

Traditionally, the Crimean Tatar language is referred to as the Kipchak Turkic subgroup of the Kipchak languages. However, the three Crimean Tatar dialects have a heterogeneous origin: South Coast dialect belongs to the Oguz group, the steppe dialect belongs to the Nogai subgroup of the Kipchak language. The middle dialect, being basis of the literary language, mostly belongs to the Kipchak-Cuman group, but also has great Oguz influence.⁴⁹

Researchers still did not agree on the quantitative composition of the population in Crimean Khanate (1441-1783). For example, they named numbers from 100 thousand people to 4 million people. In modern literature, we found such calculations as 250-300 thousand people lived in the Black Sea steppes and in the Crimea itself in the middle of 18th century. But by the end of the century, the active emigration of Crimean Tatars (mainly steppe inhabitants) began. The Crimean Tatar population

⁴⁸ Р. Куртиев, «Особенности условий этногенеза и этнической истории крымских татар»,» *Этнография Крыма XIX-XX вв. и современные этнокультурные процессы*, (Симферополь, 2002), с. 76.

⁴⁹ *Тюркские народы Крыма: Караимы. Крымские татары. Крымчаки*, ред. С. Козлов, Л. Чижова, (Москва: Наука, 2003), с. 147-148.

decreased by almost half. In 1783, the quantitative composition of the Tatar population was 120 thousand people.⁵⁰

During the mass emigration of the Crimean Tatars, some beys' families followed the majority of population. So, we know that the Barın and Sedceut clans, who lived for the most part on the estates around Qarasuv, practically completely left the territory of the former Crimean Khanate after 1783.⁵¹ Representatives of other beys' families, for example, Şirin, Arğın, Kıpçak clans for the most part did not leave their homes. Also, they tried to maintain an active role in the local administration. They were engaged in promoting education and raising the culture of the local population.⁵²

At the times of the Crimean Khanate, Crimean Tatars were fully present in the city life of Qarasuvbazar. From the executive branch to small artisans and merchants, representatives of these nation could be found everywhere. After the arrival of the Russian administration, this situation began to change. In the following years, until the 1920s, the Crimean Tatars ceased to occupy managerial positions in the city administration. They could still be found in local councils and dumas, but now they held lower positions of scribes, chiefs, caretakers at courts.⁵³

Despite the decrease in influence among the local authorities, due to their number, the Crimean Tatars, in all times, had a great influence in the handicraft workshops of Qarasuv. In the lists elected to the post of head chief of handicraft in 1858, we find the names of the Crimean Tatars both in the post of chief and in various roles of assistants.⁵⁴

In general, after dramatic changes of the 18th century in the Crimea it was no wonder that population of these lands suffered economic difficulties. At a meeting of

⁵⁰ *Тюркские народы Крыма*, с. 150.

⁵¹ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 151; Y. Öztürk, "Doğu Avrupa Türk Mirasının Son Kalesi: Kırım Hanlığı," *Doğu Avrupa Türk Mirasının Son Kalesi: Kırım* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2015), s. 44.

⁵² ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 88, л. 1; ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 1, д. 11199, л. 1; ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 2124, л. 8; ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 1414, л. 6.

⁵³ ГАРК, Ф. 180, оп. 1, д. 21, л. 1; ГАРК, Ф. 65, оп. 1, д. 95, л. 1-2.

⁵⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 217, л. 7; ГАРК, Ф. 65, оп. 1, д. 95, л. 3; ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 490, лл. 2, 3, 7.

the Indispensable Council, which was formally the highest advisory body of the Russian Empire, held on April 17, 1802, it was noted that the reason for the economic decline of this region was the constraint of its inhabitants, namely those who lived here for generations, which in turn forced the population to massive resettlement. Therefore, it was decided to free the local population from the land claims of the new landowners. Based on this, it was assumed that in land disputes, preference would be given to the Crimean Tatars.⁵⁵ However, according to the preserved archival records, it can be said that in practice, not all such decisions were really taken into account.⁵⁶ Previously, those in need, who regularly received material and food assistance from both the local authorities of the Crimean Khanate, waqfs, and wealthy locals, did not find such strong support in the new state. Thus, the lists of those in need of food received by the local administration grew every year. The largest number of those in need was among the Crimean Tatars.⁵⁷ It should be noted, however, that the anti-Tatar position of some of the Russian landowners in Crimea did not find sympathy and support in the final decisions of the imperial government, which is confirmed by the absence of openly discriminatory documents against Crimean Muslims (while there is documentary evidence regarding Jews).⁵⁸

2.3.2. KARAITES

The Karaites are people professing the religious doctrine of Karaimism, which is based on the recognition of exclusively the authority of the Torah (Pentateuch) and denial of the authority of the Talmud and any other interpretations of the Written Torah. With this, the Karaites opposed themselves to the Talmudic Jews. Taking into account the confessional affiliation, the word “Karaim” is derived from the Hebrew

⁵⁵ Конкин, «Российские помещики,» с. 764.

⁵⁶ ГАРК, Ф. 23, оп. 1, д. 15; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 60; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 72; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 59; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 2; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 74; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 283; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 284; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 285; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 382; ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 385.

⁵⁷ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 60, лл. 1-2.

⁵⁸ Конкин, «Российские помещики,» с. 764.

words “kara” – “read”, “karai” – “reader”, i.e. a person who in religious matters adheres to the reading of the text, namely the Holy Scriptures. The Karaites, which live on the territory of the former Russian Empire, and above all in the Crimea, consider themselves an independent people, whose ancestors most likely began to settle on the Crimean Peninsula in the 12th-13th centuries, and some groups, probably much earlier.⁵⁹

There are two main versions of the origin of the Karaites: Semitic and Khazar.⁶⁰ The term “Karaite” has a double meaning and denotes both nationality and an adherent of the Karaite faith of any nationality. As for Crimean Karaites, their name determines both nationality and religious affiliation.⁶¹

The earliest Karaite settlers in the Crimea in the 13th-14th centuries (the first evidence of the Karaites in the Crimea goes back to 1278). They were Turkic-speaking, having adopted the local Turkic language as a spoken language from their Tatar neighbors. Nevertheless, Hebrew was still used as the language of liturgy, worship, business correspondence, and poetry. Only in the end 19th century and then in 1930s, the Tatar and Karaite languages began to be introduced into the Karaite liturgy.⁶² The earliest known translations of the sacred texts into the Karaite and Tatar languages were from 17th-18th centuries.⁶³

The language of the Karaite people belongs to the Kipchak-Cuman subgroup of the Kipchak group of Turkic languages. Crimean Tatar language is one of the closest languages, especially its steppe dialect. A common language that would be used by all Karaites does not exist. Also, there is no common Karaite literary language at all.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Тюркские народы Крыма, с. 16.

⁶⁰ Ю. Полканов, *Караи – Крымские караимы – Тюрки. История. Этнография. Культура* (Симферополь, 1997), с. 18.

⁶¹ И. Баранов, «Самоназвание и термины национального именования крымских караимов-тюрков (крымских караев),» *Крымские караимы. Историческая территория. Этнокультура* (Симферополь: Доля, 2005), с. 128.

⁶² Previously in the Karaite literature they were referred as "colloquial jargon".

⁶³ М. Кизилов, «Караимы,» *От киммерийцев до крымчаков*, (Симферополь: Доля, 2010), с. 258, 261.

⁶⁴ Тюркские народы Крыма, с. 29-30.

In Crimean Khanate period, representatives of these people could be found in Çufut kale and Mangup kale, in the regions of Bakhchisaray, Eski Qırım, Sudak, Kefe, Aqmescit, and Qarasuvbazar. In 1800, the number of Karaites in the whole of Crimea was 4,000 people. By the beginning of the 20th century this figure has doubled.⁶⁵ Evliya Çelebi noted that the Jewish population of Qarasuvbazar was fully represented by the Karaites⁶⁶, which turns out to be incorrect.

During the time of the Crimean Khanate, according to most narrative sources, the Karaites enjoyed certain tax benefits from representatives of the khan's administration.⁶⁷ After the annexation of Crimea, the Karaites, like other Jews, fell under the discriminatory measures of the new government. It was expressed in the requirement to pay a double tax to the state. In 1795, after numerous appeals from the local Karaite population and statements about the difference between them and ordinary Jews, Empress Catherine II agreed to remove the double tax from them, leaving only the payment that was obligatory for all urban residents and merchants.⁶⁸ Also, they were allowed to acquire land properties.⁶⁹

In 1863, due to the absence of a Karaite prayer house in Qarasuvbazar, local Karaites had to perform their religious rites in the Feodosia synagogue.⁷⁰ Only by the end of the 19th century the Karaites managed to draw attention to the absence of a prayer house for them in Qarasuv. The Karaite society rented a house in the Yıldırım quarter from a local resident. However, since the house was in relative proximity to the Orthodox Church, this caused problems in the religious and legal part of the issue.⁷¹ Around the same period, the Karaites managed to register another building in Qarasuv

⁶⁵ Полканов, *Караи*, с. 25-26; *Тюркские народы Крыма*, с. 17.

⁶⁶ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 551; Seyyar Suleymanov, "Kırım Karayları," (Doktora Tezi, Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2012), s. 56.

⁶⁷ Д. Прохоров, «Караимы и проблема монетного производства в Крымском ханстве: историографический аспект,» *Этнография Крыма XIX-XXI вв. и современные этнокультурные процессы* (Симферополь: СГГ, 2012), с. 424.

⁶⁸ Г. Кириенко, «Ордера графа (князя) Платона Александровича Зубова правителю Таврической области,» *ИТУАК* 23 (1895): с. 18-19.

⁶⁹ Д. Прохоров, «Еврейское население Таврической губернии в конце XVIII – начале XIX в.: статистика, народное образование, организация религиозной жизни,» *Крым: проблемы истории* (Москва: Индрик, 2016), с. 172-173.

⁷⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 241, оп. 1, д. 64, л. 1.

⁷¹ ГАРК, Ф. 241, оп. 1, д. 597, л. 1.

as a prayer house, as well as a school for teaching Karaite children. The building was reportedly used as a prayer house for a long time, but it was not properly registered.⁷²

Despite the difficulties in getting used to the new state immediately after the annexation, by the middle and end of the 19th century Karaites firmly took their place in the city life of Qarasuvbazar. The surnames of some families of Karaites (Boboviç, Babakay) can be found in the lists of the City Council, and the ranks of wealthy citizens of Qarasuv.⁷³ Karaites were often engaged in small-scale trade (trade-in fruits, flour, dairy products, cigar paper, ready-made garments, etc.).⁷⁴

2.3.3. KRYMCHAKS

The Krymchaks are the self-name of representatives of a small ethnic-confessional community, which was formed on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula in the medieval period of history as a result of the integration of representatives of different ethnicities who professed Judaism. Judging by the written sources, the descendants of the Crimean Jewish population of Byzantium and Khazaria⁷⁵ became the core of the future community.⁷⁶

The ethnonym “Krymchak” was first recorded by the Russian administration in 1859 for the first time.⁷⁷ Krymchaks is a late and rather conventional term, which arose only after the annexation of Crimea to designate local Turkic-speaking Jews-Talmudists. It was necessary because they were sharply different from the rest of the Jewish population which begun to settle in the Crimea after 1783.⁷⁸ In sources of an

⁷² ГАРК, Ф. 241, оп. 1, д. 395, лл. 7, 9.

⁷³ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 450, л. 1.

⁷⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 215, л. 10-11.

⁷⁵ *Тюркские народы Крыма*, с. 370.

⁷⁶ Sometimes the Krymchaks are mentioned as Jews of Constantinople (*Воспоминания о Крыме*, с. 112).

⁷⁷ В. Леванда, *Полный хронологический сборник законов и положений, касающийся евреев, от Уложения Царя Алексея Михайловича до настоящего времени, от 1649 до 1873 гг.* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография К. В. Трубникова, 1874), с. 920-921.

⁷⁸ М. Кизилов, «Крымчаки,» *От киммерийцев до крымчаков* (Симферополь: Доля, 2010), с. 270.

earlier period, both originating from the Krymchak community and other authors, the ethnonym “Krymchak” is not used.⁷⁹ There was one try to simplify understanding of Krymchak’s origin by naming them as “Tatarified Jews”.⁸⁰

The Crimean language belongs to the Kipchak group of Turkic languages.⁸¹ They have a synagogue in common with other Jewish rabbis, but separate from the Karaites.⁸² The territory that Krymchaks occupied on the Crimean Peninsula changed depending on the political and economic situation. During the 10th-16th century they mostly lived in the south of Crimea.⁸³ In the 16th century they lived mostly in Qarasuvbazar, Aqmescit and in the mountainous area (Mangup kale and Çufut kale). By the end of the 15th century they settled in Qarasuvbazar and lived there for the next 400 years, as a close-knit group, located mostly on the left bank of the Qarasuv River.⁸⁴ In a later period - the end of the 18th century - Krymchaks could also be found in Kefe, Eski Qırım, Bahçesaray.

After the annexation, about 800 Krymchaks remained on the entire peninsula (they lived mostly in Qarasuvbazar and Kefe). By that time there were 93 houses in Qarasuvbazar that belonged to Krymchaks.⁸⁵ By the middle of the 19th century their number increased to 1,300 people, and by the end of the century there were already 4,600 Krymchaks, and more than half of them (57%) lived in Qarasuvbazar.⁸⁶ In other sources of the late 19th century notes that there were more than 2,000 Krymchaks in Qarasuvbazar.⁸⁷ In another source over the same years, we find that 5,700 of them lived in Qarasuv.⁸⁸

⁷⁹ И. Ачкинази, *Крымчаки. Историко-этнографический очерк* (Симферополь: ДАР, 2000), с. 226-227.

⁸⁰ *Новейший иллюстрированный путеводитель по Крыму и Кавказу на 1897-1898 гг.*, ред. К. Райсов (Одесса: Тип. Исакович и Бейленсон, 1897), с. 9.

⁸¹ Ачкинази, *Крымчаки*, с. 227.

⁸² Сосногорова, *Путеводитель*, с. 285.

⁸³ Which can be explained by the early existence of the Khazar Kaganate on this territory.

⁸⁴ Banek, “The Krymchaks,” p. 239.

⁸⁵ *Тюркские народы Крыма*, с. 376-377.

⁸⁶ Banek, “The Krymchaks”, p. 240; Сосногорова, *Путеводитель*, с. 283.

⁸⁷ Сосногорова, *Путеводитель*, с. 285; *Новейший иллюстрированный путеводитель*, с. 102.

⁸⁸ Nesrin Güllüdağ, “Kırımçak Türkçesi Grameri,” (Doktora tezi, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2005), s. 70.

In the “Qarasuvbazar period” of their history (from early 16th century to 1942), the Krymchak community lived compactly in the eastern part of the city along the left bank of the Qarasu River. This area at the beginning of the 20th century was called “Krymchak side”.⁸⁹ In an archival record dating from the beginning of the 20th century (1911) it was noted that mainly Krymchaks live in the quarter of Büyük mosque.⁹⁰

The attitude to the Krymchaks on the part of the administration of the Crimean Khanate was quite tolerant. Unfortunately, after 1783 they became subjects of discriminatory measures of Russian legislation against Jews. This were expressed in both political and economic constraints.⁹¹ For example, since 1794 a double taxation rate was established for Jews.⁹² It should be noted that the Krymchaks, like other Jews, were issued a residence permit, which also indicated their physical characteristics. In the event of departure from their place of permanent residence, they had to go to the police and present their documents, after which they could receive a special ticket indicating the period of stay in the new area.⁹³

In the 19th century the main occupations of the Krymchaks were handicrafts related to leather production. Among them were the production of leather and morocco, various footwear, saddlery, and the manufacture of hats.⁹⁴ Usually the craft coexisted with petty trade. A small part of the community in the second half of the 19th century was quite prosperous and was engaged in various trade operations.⁹⁵

Even though in the second half of the 19th century Krymchaks began to settle more often in other Crimean cities, Qarasuv remained their most important center.

⁸⁹ Ачкинази, *Крымчаки*, с. 240; *Крым. Путеводитель*, ред. К. Бумберг, Л. Вагин, Н. Клеппин, В. Соколов, (Симферополь: Типография Таврического губернского земства, 1914), с. 634.

⁹⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 2, д. 11141, л. 26.

⁹¹ *Тюркские народы Крыма*, с. 377.

⁹² Прохоров, «Еврейское население», с. 172.

⁹³ Пащенко, *Государственное управление*, 102.

⁹⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 215, лл. 7-11.

⁹⁵ *Воспоминания о Крыме*, с. 112; Ачкинази, *Крымчаки*, с. 239.

There were three pray houses, as well as their spiritual school.⁹⁶ The most numerous families of Krymchaks living in Qarasuvbazar were Achkinazi, Bakshi, Peysakh.

Shortly before the start of the Crimean War, part of the Qarasuvbazar Krymchaks received permission to move to the North-Western Crimea in the area of Donuzlav Lake for farming. However, after the end of the military campaign, by the tsar's decree, they were forced to return to their former place of residence - Qarasuvbazar.⁹⁷

2.3.4. ARMENIANS

The first evidence of the presence of Armenians in Crimea dates back to the Byzantine period. But an organized Armenian community began to take shape on the territory of the peninsula only in the 11th-13th centuries.⁹⁸ In the first half of the 14th century, with the settlement of Armenian migrants in Crimea, a populous colony of Armenians was formed in the eastern coastal region of the peninsula, with a rather diverse and variegated internal composition. Part of the population of the colony were local Armenians who settled on the Crimean Peninsula in the earlier periods of the Middle Ages. The other part moved here from various regions of Armenia and Cilicia. A significant proportion of the Armenian population in the middle of the 14th century were settlers from city of Sarai (the capital of the Golden Horde). Thus, in the second half of 14th century Crimean Armenian community represented both local and the most diverse regions of Historical Armenia.⁹⁹

The Armenians who came to Crimean Peninsula from Ottoman state for trade and handicraft affairs usually settled in Eski Qırım, Sudak and Kefe. In the course of time they were subjected to Turkization and some of them completely lost their native

⁹⁶ Ванек, "The Krymchaks," p. 241.

⁹⁷ Ачкинази, *Крымчаки*, с. 239-240.

⁹⁸ М. Араджони, «Армяне», *От киммерийцев до крымчаков* (Симферополь: Доля, 2010), с. 209.

⁹⁹ Т. Саргсян, «Обзор этнографии крымских армян (XVIII-XIX вв.),» *Этнография Крыма XIX-XX вв. и современные этнокультурные процессы* (Симферополь, 2002), с. 236.

language. Armenian communities during this period already had several churches and monasteries. Most of the Armenians were engaged in handicrafts, trade, including transit; usury; military affairs.¹⁰⁰

The Armenians of Crimea can be conditionally divided into two groups: one lived in this territory before the 1783, and the other was a new wave of settlers called here by the Russian government. The first group, during the time of khanate, paid the khan a personal tax and tithe from all their garden and rural products, but for this, they did not participate in military campaigns. Some of the representatives of these people settled in the main headquarters of the nomadic population of the khanate, as well as in the main ports of the region. Also, the Armenians were conventionally divided by religion into Armenian Gregorians and Armenian Catholics. The number of the Catholics was always much less.¹⁰¹

In 1778, as a result of the eviction of Christians organized by the Russian authorities, 12,598 Armenians were taken out of Crimea. For various reasons, only 1,500-2,000 Armenians were allowed to stay. About 2,000 Armenian Catholics settled in Yekaterinoslav¹⁰², where they received permission to return to Crimea in 1787.¹⁰³ Soon their ranks were replenished with new settlers from Eastern and Western Armenia. The Commemorative Book of the Tauride Province (1867) contains statistical data concerning Qarasuv. According to these data, there were 722 Gregorians, and 756 Catholics.¹⁰⁴

The language of the Crimean Armenians in the 19th century resembled Western Armenian, but with abundant use of Russian, European, Turkic, Persian words and expressions.¹⁰⁵ In archival documents dated 1804, there is a record that the Qarasuvbazar Armenian Catholics were exempted from military and other duties in

¹⁰⁰ Араджиони, «Армяне,» с. 214.

¹⁰¹ А. Скальковский, *Опыт статистического описания Новороссийского края*, ч. 1 (Одесса: Типография Нитче, 1850), с. 285-286.

¹⁰² Now the Dnipro city (nowadays Ukraine).

¹⁰³ Саргсян, «Обзор этнографии,» с. 238.

¹⁰⁴ Ханацкий, *Памятная книга*, с. 299.

¹⁰⁵ Саргсян, «Обзор этнографии,» с. 240.

the Russian Empire.¹⁰⁶ Despite its small population, the Armenian Catholic Church of Qarasuvbazar was one of the richest churches in Crimea.¹⁰⁷

Mainly Armenians traded in the largest caravanserai of Qarasuvbazar, Sefer Gazi Ağa khan.¹⁰⁸ Evliya Çelebi has a clarification that these were Iranian (Persian) Armenians. By the end of the 19th century most of Qarasuvbazar trade was in the hands of the Armenians. They also owned a large number of real estates in the city and shops.¹⁰⁹

Numerous Armenian schools operated in Simferopol (Aqmescit), Evpatoria (Kezlev), Eski Qırım, Kerch, Qarasuvbazar, and some other cities. For example, there was Catholic school founded by local Armenian priest, Minas Meditsi, in Qarasuv in 1820. In this school children learned Armenian and Russian languages, Math and Grammar.¹¹⁰ Initially they belonged to the spiritual zemstvo, but by the end of the 19th century these schools were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education.¹¹¹

2.3.5. GREEKS

During the early Middle Ages, there was active process of interethnic integration. It led to the formation of some similar cultural features, as well as elements of common self-awareness among the descendants of the late Antique population. Moreover, it was reflected in the name “Romei/Rum”. This name indicated, first of all, group’s political and religious identity. Over the next centuries, a rather rare process took place on the territory of the peninsula, during which a new identity group

¹⁰⁶ ГАРК, Ф. 49, оп. 1, д. 116, л. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Крымские путешествия Луи де Судак, Фернан де Мели, Альфред Рамбо. Французские путешественники в Крыму, XIX в.,* перев. Г. Беднарчик, (Симферополь: Н. Орианда, 2014), 159.

¹⁰⁸ Özdem, “İnsanları,” s. 74-75.

¹⁰⁹ Сосногорова, *Путеводитель*, с. 284-285.

¹¹⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 217, л. 58.

¹¹¹ В. Васильев, Н. Чемодуров, «Роль земств Таврической губернии в развитии народного образования в нач. XX в.,» *Крымский архив* 4 (23) (2016): с. 34-35.

was formed by the confluence of people that were not related by kinship. From the 12th to the 17th centuries the main consolidating factors were the commonality of religion (Greek Orthodoxy), the Greek language and culture. Also, a common territory and political citizenship (at that time, the principality of Theodoro) played its role in this. There was real need to rally in front of an external threat: the nomads of the steppes and the Genoese.¹¹²

After Southern Crimea became an Ottoman sanjak, the influx of Turks and Crimean Tatars gradually began to increase. Then Tatars begun to settle together with the Greeks, making up ethnically mixed villages. As a result, after some time Christian population of the Southwestern Crimea completely switched to the Crimean Tatar language. For example, at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries Greek inscriptions disappeared.¹¹³

There were not many Crimean Greeks, we know that because of Russian census in the 1770s. Together with the Armenians and Italians, number of Greeks did not exceed 50,000 people of both sexes. They lived on the peninsula in only four kadılıks: Bahçesaray, Aqmescit, Qarasuvbazar, and Kefe. There were 52 Christian villages inhabited by Greeks, Armenians, and Georgians. Also, in the city of Bahçesaray they had 485 houses, in Aqmescit - 23, Qarasuvbazar - 808, Kezlev - 81, Kefe - 222, and in Balaklava - 24 houses.¹¹⁴

Before 1783, the Crimean Greeks practically lost their traditions, language, and culture. Some of them were Islamized. The activities of the Greek Orthodox Church at that time were aimed at keeping their flock from converting to Islam. Priests published the gospel, liturgical and religious books in Greek and Tatar languages.¹¹⁵

On July 28, 1778, resettlement of Christian population begun. It was led by Metropolitan Ignatius of the Gotha-Kefiysk and supervised by the commander of

¹¹² М. Араджиони, «Крымские греки,» *От киммерийцев до крымчаков* (Симферополь: Доля, 2010), с. 199.

¹¹³ Араджиони, «Крымские греки,» с. 202.

¹¹⁴ Скальковский, *Опыт статистического описания*, с. 273-274.

¹¹⁵ П. Кесмеджи, *Греки Крыма* (Симферополь: Медиацентр им. И. Гаспринского, 2018), с. 198-199.

Crimean corps, Lieutenant-General A. Suvorov. Christians (a total of 31,386 people), among them Greeks (18,408 people), Armenians (12,598 people), Georgians (219 people), Vlachs (161 people) were forced to the nowadays Southern Ukraine. Many of the settlers died in the steppes from the cold and lack of food. In 1783, 10,000 Greeks remained in the Crimea, and they were joined by others who had moved out in 1778.

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In 1825 the Greek community in Qarasuvbazar opened specialized school for both girls and boys on its own money.¹¹⁷ In the Commemorative Book of the Tauride province for 1867, it is indicated that the number of Orthodox in Qarasuv (which were represented majorly by the Greeks) was 1,693.¹¹⁸ In this city, the Greeks were engaged in the production of soap and candles¹¹⁹, some of them were able to achieve positions in the local administration¹²⁰, but most of them were engaged in local trade and handicrafts.

2.3.6. RUSSIANS

Even though the Slavic population was always represented on the Crimean Peninsula, it has never outnumbered the local Turkic-speaking peoples up until the middle of the 20th century. Despite the regular raids of the East Slavic tribes to the Crimea, until the 18th century there is absolutely no information about Russian settlements on the territory of the peninsula. Of course, in the early period of medieval trade, representatives of different peoples and religions, including Russians, were coming and sometimes even constantly lived in Crimea. However, their number never outweighed the number of other similar traders. Also, we must not forget about the Slavic prisoners captured by the Crimean horsemen in numerous military campaigns. They, even having converted to Islam, belonged to separate groups (*çora*), within

¹¹⁶ Скальковский, *Опыт статистического описания*, с. 276, 277.

¹¹⁷ ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 269, л. 1; ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 217, 4.

¹¹⁸ Ханацкий, *Памятная книга*, с. 299.

¹¹⁹ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 205

¹²⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 76, л. 18.

which marriages were concluded. Besides for centuries they preserved the physical differences of the members of such sub-ethnic enclaves.¹²¹

After the Russian annexation, the local government actively tried to organized the resettlement of the Slavic population to Crimea. After the Crimean War and the abolition of serfdom, the number of Russians who moved to the territory of the Crimean Peninsula for permanent residence increased sharply. Still, the geography of Slavic settlement on the peninsula was not uniform.¹²²

Russians, albeit in a small percentage, were always present in the lists of merchants and traders of Qarasuvbazar.¹²³ Also, individual craft industries were virtually exclusively represented by the Russians (for example, cooper craft).¹²⁴

2.4. MAALLE DURING THE CRIMEAN KHANATE PERIOD

From the very beginning the Muslim population of Qarasuv preferred to settle on the mountainous area of the city. Considering, the commercial and economic importance of Qarasuvbazar, the number of non-Muslim foreigners who came to the city for work and stayed here for permanent residence increased over time. They settled close to each other, eventually forming their neighborhoods. So, for example, Persian (Iranian) Armenians formed their neighborhood - Ajem maalle.¹²⁵

Sometimes it was easy to find out who lived in a particular neighborhood only from the names of the quarters – Çingene, Ajem, Kenise, Rum. Sometimes the name could also indicate some iconic structure – most often it was a mosque (Tahta mesjit, Jami-i Kebir (Kebir mosque), Şor mosque). In some cases, the name of the quarter

¹²¹ Возгрин, *История*, I, с. 237, 239, 240.

¹²² А. Киселева, «Русское население Крыма в конце XIX в.,» *Этнография Крыма XIX-XX вв. и современные этнокультурные процессы*, (Симферополь, 2002), с. 60.

¹²³ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 200, л.1; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 150, л.16-17 об; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 265, л.287-304.

¹²⁴ Москвич, *Иллюстрированный практический путеводитель*, с. 633.

¹²⁵ Özdem, *Kırım Karasubazar*, s. 40.

drew attention to the local famous gardens (Bahçi içi, Kara ağaç). Very often you could find the name of an important person in the city, as usual it was someone from the city administration or just a locally respected person (Sinan Geray/Şahin Geray/Şan Geray, Hacı Arslan, Nakib Efendi, Hacı Şahmurad, Seyid Hasan).¹²⁶ During the time of the khanate, the most populated neighborhoods of Qarasuv was the Jami-i Kebir (Kebir mosque) maallesı.¹²⁷

Although some of the names of the quarters directly indicate that non-Muslims live there, it does not always mean that they never settled in traditionally “Muslim” quarters. Evidence of the proximity of representatives of different religions is found on the pages of local *sicils*.¹²⁸ In subsequent years, such a mixed neighborhood will become commonplace.¹²⁹

Table 2. List of the Qarasuv’s quarters from the *sicils*¹³⁰

1.	Kebir mosque
2.	Ajem
3.	Hacı İsmail
4.	Hacı Şaban
5.	Çorum
6.	Nakib efendi
7.	Kıbtıyan
8.	Hacı Aşır
9.	Hacı Şahmurat
10.	Hacı (Şeyh) Receb efendi
11.	Hacı Baki
12.	Sinan Geray

¹²⁶ Kavak, “Kırım’ın Karasu Kazası,” s. 27.

¹²⁷ Özdem, *Kırım Karasubazar*, s. 43.

¹²⁸ Nuri Kavak, “Kırım Tatarları’nda Gündelik Hayat (XVII.-XVIII. asır),” *Doğu Avrupa Türk Mirasının Son Kalesi: Kırım* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2012), s. 157.

¹²⁹ Yıldırım quarter – ГАРК, Ф. 323, оп. 1, д. 75, лл. 1 об.-3; Büyük mosque quarter – ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 1, д. 11141, л. 27.

¹³⁰ Özdem, “İnsanları, mekanları,” s. 73; Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 28-29.

13.	Şor (Şor mosque)
14.	Hacı Salih
15.	Kara ağaç
16.	(Kurban) Ali efendi
17.	Seyid Hasan
18.	Hacı Kudreş efendi
19.	Sadık efendi
20.	Tahta mescit
21.	Hacı Hasankeldi
22.	Hacı Bünyad
23.	Kara Çora
24.	Çingene
25.	Çeşme
26.	Hacı Kara Ali
27.	Hacı Esenkeldi
28.	Kenise
29.	Tarhanlı
30.	Aq Toprak
31.	Hacı Arslan
32.	Rum
33.	At pazarı
34.	El-hac Şaban

In the process of studying the *sicil* records, I was able to compare both of the above lists of Qarasuvbazar quarters with the original records. In addition, other data found during the writing of this paper also helped shed light on the accuracy of Kavak and Özdem's data. You can observe the difference in reading, as well as differing in the transliteration of some names and names of quarters. In one way or another, both researchers made some omissions in the list of the names of quarters, and this can be traced not only from the records of the *sicils*, but also from later sources. So, Z. Özdem's list lacks, for example, the Kurban Ali efendi quarter, in which, as we know,

there was a mosque of the same name, and which, in turn, is present in N. Kavak's list. In addition, it seems to us that Özdem could have made a mistake in reading the Hacı Esenkeldi quarter, most likely this is the Hacı Hasankeldi quarter, already noted in the list. Also, as for Kavak, we do not see the names of such quarters as Rum, Kara Çora, Sinan Geray, the names of which we meet in one form or another in later period records. In general, the list indicated by Özdem is the longest of all (both the period of the Khanate and the times of the Russian Empire), but it is necessary to take into account the already indicated shortcomings and be careful in further work on this topic.

2.5. MAALLE DURING THE PERIOD OF RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Later, from the archival data of the Russian Empire, we can see at least part of the same maalles. Over time, the population of the city has undergone significant changes, as well as the structure of the city and its quarters. The archival records mention that the quarter (*maalle*) of Kara Çora is considered the second largest in terms of population.¹³¹

Table 3. List of the Qarasuv's quarters in the end of 18th century to the late mid-19th century¹³²

1.	Yıldırım
2.	Kara Çora
3.	Şor mosque
4.	Acı Murat (Şahmurat, Şamrat)
5.	Acı Arslan

¹³¹ ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 1, д. 12039, л. 7.

¹³² Аирчинская, «Карасубазар», с. 7; ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 1, д. 2662, л. 2; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 60, л. 2 об.-3; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 150, л. 16-17 об; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 235, л. 33-34.

6.	Khan mosque
7.	Acı Osman
8.	Bahçi içi
9.	Acı Eli (Acıbey, Hacıbey)
10.	Tahta mosque
11.	Çilterli
12.	Büyük mosque
13.	Ulu haniy
14.	Ajem
15.	Şahin Geray (Şan Geray)
16.	Yeni mosque
17.	Kara Halil
18.	Ali efendi
19.	Hanlık

As you can see, the number of quarters has decreased at least in double. This can be easily explained by the large waves of migration of the local population, which were mentioned above. It is also necessary to remember several destructions of the city during the Russian campaigns of the late 18th century. It is worth noting that the names of the remaining residential areas have not actually changed. However, some names, like Hacı Şahmurad, have changed in everyday language, and even in the documentary they were displayed, as they were pronounced - Şamrad (another example is Şahin Geray - Şan Geray). Of the new names, one can notice Hanlık, Kara Halil, Bahçi içi, Ulu Haniy and Çilterli. An interesting detail is that the previously familiar neighborhoods, which immediately indicate the ethnic or religious affiliation of the people who lived there, have actually disappeared. This applies to the quarters of Rum, Kenise, and Çingene, although you can still see the Ajem quarter. The quarters containing the names of the local mosques simply reflected the location of the religious

building, rather than indicating the religious affiliation of the local residents. On a simple comparison of two lists of residential areas, you can see the dynamics of change in the number of population of Qarasuv.

2.6. RELIGION

Being such poly-ethnic city as Qarasuv, it is no wonder how much diverse religious life here was. Islam, Orthodoxy, Gregorianism, Catholicism, Judaism, Karaimism are just an incomplete list of religions of Qarasuv. Temples of these religions were represented in the city according to the number of believers.

Evliya Çelebi wrote that there were twenty-eight mosques in Qarasuv, five of which were used as Friday mosque (i.e., they are cathedral mosques).¹³³ In the 1730s, it is known that the number of mosques in the city increased to thirty-eight. However, after the military campaign of 1737, very little remained of these mosques. From that time its former greatness was never returned even despite the attempts of Mengli II Geray Khan and Şahin Geray Khan to restore the city.¹³⁴ There is also a mention that during this period there were two churches in the city, one of which belonged to the Armenians.¹³⁵ In the last years of the khanate, there were twenty one mosques and one tekke in Qarasuv.¹³⁶

According to the Cameral description (1783), there were seventeen mosques, one tekke, and three mektebs in Qarasuv at the time.¹³⁷ Pallas writes that at the end of the 18th century there were twenty-three mosques in the city. Also, he mentions three churches, one of which was Catholic. The Jews had a synagogue as well.¹³⁸ Pavel

¹³³ *Günümüz türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 552.

¹³⁴ Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара», с. 109.

¹³⁵ Ağat, «Kırım Şehirleri», s. 8.

¹³⁶ Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара», с. 109.

¹³⁷ Лашков, Камеральное описание, ИТУАК 7: с. 38.

¹³⁸ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111.

Sumarokov, during his trip to Crimea in 1799, noted that there were eighteen mosques and three churches in Qarasuv: Greek (Orthodox), Armenian (Gregorian), and Catholic (Armenian-Catholic).¹³⁹

In 1805, according to information provided by local mufti Seit Memet Efendi, there were twenty-two mosques in Qarasuvbazar: eight Friday mosques and fourteen regular ones.¹⁴⁰ During the Crimean War, there were already twenty-three mosques in Qarasuv.¹⁴¹ This was the maximum number of mosques that functioned during the Russian Empire in Qarasuvbazar. Out of twenty-three mosques, only Yıldırım mosque has survived. It was built at the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁴²

In 1867, twenty-three mosques, five churches, four synagogues, and one monastery (tekke) were registered in the Memorial book of Qarasuv.¹⁴³ By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the city had fifteen mosques, four churches, and six synagogues.¹⁴⁴ Some of these mosques stood until the early 20th century and were liquidated by the local government mainly due to unsuitability for spiritual services. Also, they were unsuitable due to the desolation and dilapidation of the building itself.¹⁴⁵ During the times of the Crimean Khanate, there were nineteen waqfs in Qarasuv.¹⁴⁶ By the end of the 19th century there were only thirteen waqfs in Qarasuv.¹⁴⁷

Several churches functioned for the needs of the Christian population. By the time of the annexation of the Crimean Khanate, three intact and three destroyed churches were recorded in Qarasuv.¹⁴⁸ In the archival records, we find the names of

¹³⁹ Сумароков, *Путешествие*, с. 51.

¹⁴⁰ И. Александров, «К истории учреждения Таврического магометанского духовного правления,» *ИТВАК* 54 (1918): с. 354-355.

¹⁴¹ ГАРК, Ф. 26, оп. 1, д. 15652, лл. 3, 33, 50.

¹⁴² Н. Kırımlı, vd., *Kırım'daki Kırım Tatar (Türk-İslam) Mimari Yادigarlari* (İstanbul: Bilnet, 2016), s. 646.

¹⁴³ Ханацкий, *Памятная книга*, с. 301.

¹⁴⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 534, л. 7.

¹⁴⁵ See ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1493; ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1495; ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1486.

¹⁴⁶ А. Türk, "Kırım Hanlığında İslamiyet," *Doğu Avrupa Türk Mirasının Son Kalesi: Kırım* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2012), s. 141; Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 101-104.

¹⁴⁷ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 492, лл. 33-33 об.

¹⁴⁸ Лашков, «Камеральное описание,» *ИТВАК* 7, с. 36.

two Orthodox churches: the Qarasuvbazar Greek cathedral St. Nicholas church¹⁴⁹ and the Qarasuvbazar St. Ilyinin church.¹⁵⁰



¹⁴⁹ ΓΑΡΚ, Φ. 302, оп. 1, д. 1.

¹⁵⁰ ΓΑΡΚ, Φ. 303, оп. 1, д. 3.

CHAPTER 3. CRAFTS AND TRADE

3.1. TRADE IN QARASUV

During the period of the Crimean Khanate, almost all coastal cities were very actively involved in both domestic and foreign trade. Such seaports as Kefe and Azak played an important role in the Black Sea trade. Both of these cities served as irreplaceable links for the transportation of goods from the Caspian Sea region to Anatolia, and vice versa. Through Kefe's port was arranged supply of fabrics (wool, silk, cotton) and spices to Akkerman.¹

Bahçesaray and Qarasuvbazar had great importance as inner cities of the peninsula.² In the middle of the 17th century Qarasuv occupied a prominent place in the economic and cultural life of the khanate.³

The goods that came to Kefe from the east were sent to Azak through the kaza of Qarasuv. The same road lay ahead for the items of trade that came from the Azak port. It was noted that the goods that arrived at the Kefe's port from Iran and the Far East were primarily sent to Qarasuv. Then they were distributed there for sale and further shipment. Thus, it becomes clear that the main role assigned to this city was trade in imported goods. Although trade had brought the main bulk of income to the city of Qarasuv, handicrafts, followed by animal husbandry, agricultural products, and war booty were indispensable source of income as well.⁴

As in many centers of the Ottoman Empire, the largest cities of the Crimean Khanate housed the slave markets. In Crimea, such cities were, of course, Bahçesaray,

¹ H. İnalçık, *Toplum ve Ekonomi Üzerine Arşiv Çalışmaları, İncelemeler*, 2. Bsk. (İstanbul: Eren Yay., 1996), s. 212-213.

² Zeynep Köse, "Kırım Hanlığı'nda Kölelik," (Doktora Tezi, Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi), s. 18.

³ У. Боданинский, «Карасубазарская старина,» *Собрание сочинений*, т. 1 (Казань-Симферополь: Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани, 2019), с. 115.

⁴ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 230.

Qarasuv, Kezlev, as well as Kefe, which, although it belonged to the Ottomans, was located on the territory of the peninsula.⁵

In general, at the time of the active development of the khanate, Qarasuv was a city that collected all trade routes from north to south and west to east. Local traders often traveled from here to the Black Sea steppes to trade with the Nogai tribes. Also, merchants often went to the Caucasus to exchange goods with the Circassians and Abazas.

Foreign merchants in Qarasuv were mostly represented by immigrants from Iran, as was known from sicil records. The presence of merchants from the Moscow principality and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth should also be noted.⁶ Traders, especially foreigners, needed to have a permit to sell the imported products, certified by the kalga sultan. It was noted that all merchants, regardless of religion, were forbidden to trade without permission in neighboring districts and villages.⁷

According to Evliya Çelebi, in the second half of the 17th century the city had eight caravanserais and 1,140 trade shops. Of these, 105 were shops of buza merchants, ten were coffee shops, and another forty were meyhanes (establishments where alcoholic beverages were sold).⁸

3.1.1. BAZAARS AND ÇARŞI

The difference between a bazaar and a çarşı was determined by whether the trading place had a roof and whether the market was permanent. The bazaars were a place for the trade without a roof and they were opened on certain days. Çarşı called

⁵ Köse, “Kırım Hanlığı’nda Kölelik,” s. 72.

⁶ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 106-109.

⁷ Özdem, “Karasu Kazası,” s. 116.

⁸ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 550.

the grouped covered shops, which stood in the center of the city at predetermined places, which were always the same.⁹

According to one of the travelers who visited Qarasuv in the middle of the 19th century there was a large Egyptian market (*Mısır bazaar*), where prices for grain (wheat, corn, millet, rye) crops were set for the entire region.¹⁰ It is known that Pabuççular çarşısı, i.e. shoe market, was located in the Şor quarter. All bazaars, except for Şor Bazaar, were located in the city center. Yukarı-Orta-Aşağı çarşısı, as well as Eskiçiler çarşısı were located in the Kebir mosque quarter.¹¹ Evliya Çelebi mentions Yayıncılar çarşısı¹² in his work, however, researchers did not find the mention this market on the pages of sicil notebooks. However, in the sicils, there is a record of the so-called Sultan çarşısı (Suk-i Sultaniler), where goods that were legally seized (often they were goods that were sold without legal permission, also it could be lost items whose owners were not found) could be sold. At this market the auction system operated. It was located next to one of the main mosques in the city – Tekiye Khan mosque.¹³

Table 4. List of Qarasuv's çarşı¹⁴

1.	Şeyh Abdulaziz çarşısı
2.	Gürkancılar çarşısı
3.	Eskiçiler çarşısı
4.	Kalpakçılar çarşısı
5.	Kuyumcular çarşısı
6.	Egerciler çarşısı
7.	Körükçüler

⁹ M. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, v. 1 (İstanbul: M.E.B. Yayınları, 1993), s. 30.

¹⁰ Mrs. Andrew Neilson, *The Crimea*, p. 87.

¹¹ Özdem, "Kırım Karasubazar'da," s. 67; Q.Ş.S., c. 33, fol. 49a, h. 1; Q.Ş.S., c. 47, fol. 55a, h. 4.

¹² Эвлия Челеби, *Книга путешествия, Крым и сопредельные области* (Симферополь: Доля, 2008), с. 147.

¹³ Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 114b, h. 3.

¹⁴ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 79-80.

8.	Eskigiler
9.	Kerestegiler

Table 5. List of Qarasuvbazar's bazaars¹⁵

1.	Şor bazaar
2.	At bazaar
3.	Davar bazaar

3.1.2. CARAVANSERAI

According to Evliya Çelebi, in the middle of the 17th century, there were eight active caravanserais (khans) in the city. However, the names of these khans (except Sefer Gazi aga khan and Şirin bey khan) weren't named.¹⁶ From the sicil records, we learn about two more caravanserais and their names.

It should be noted that some of caravanserais had several names. Sometimes it was the reason why some researchers were mistaken in this topic. It could be seen in the list of caravanserais in the book of Zeynep Özdem. Şirin bey khan in different documents and different periods was known as Küçük khan and as Şirin bey khan (there were other names, however, these are the ones that were used in *sicil* records). At Özdem's book we can see both of these names as separate caravanserais.

¹⁵ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 80.

¹⁶ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 549.

Table 7. List of Qarasuv's khans/caravanserais¹⁷

1.	Sefer Gazi Ağa Khan
2.	Şirin Bey Khan (Küçük Khan)
4.	Çakmak Atalık Khan
5.	Ahmed ağa Khan
6.	Feyzullah Khan
7.	Boşnak Khan
8.	Timas Mirza Khan
9.	Nakib Emir Ali efendi Khan
10.	Hacı Osman Khan

It should be noted that every caravanserai had its trade policy. In each of them, only a certain type of product could be sold, sometimes such restrictions affected merchants of a certain region.¹⁸ One of such caravanserais that were having restrictions on merchants was Sefer Gazi Ağa khan. It was named after the chief adviser of the khans Islam III Geray (1644-1654) and Mehmed IV Geray (1654-1665). He also was a representative of the Şirin clan. As mentioned before, some of the markets were named after important individuals who made a great contribution to a city or had a good reputation. Sefer Gazi ağa khan was known as Büyük Taş Khan and Upper Taş Khan. In addition to the Qarasuvbazar caravanserai, Sefer Gazi Ağa founded several waqfs throughout the khanate. Also, in Aqmescit there was his palace and garden, in Kezlev a bridge was built in his name, and in Bahçesaray there was another palace.¹⁹

This Qarasuvbazar caravanserai is the last of the 17th century buildings, whose physical presence we can observe. The date 1654/1655 (1065 H.) can be found on the plaque, now hung on the only survived wall. It should be considered that Sefer Gazi

¹⁷ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 82.

¹⁸ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 232.

¹⁹ O. Aslanapa, *Sanat, Tarihi, Edebiyatı ve Musikisiyle Kırım* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2003), s. 46, 47, 49.

Ağa did not build this khan, but only repaired and put it into proper form.²⁰ That's why the year indicated above is not the date of construction, but only gives us an idea of when it was renovated and possibly expanded. This khan was located in the very center of the city, around it there was *çarşı* (it could be assumed that it was Kalga *çarşısı*). From the side, the caravanserai looked like a well-fortified fortress, as it was numerous times said by different travelers who visited this city. The building was two-storied, with a total of 120 rooms.²¹ In this caravanserai, only Iranian Armenians were allowed to trade. The main goods distributed here were fabrics of various origins, types, and colors. There were coffee shops in the center.²²

In the 19th century the actual owners of Taş Khan were considered the Armenian-Gregorian community of the city.²³ By the end of the 19th century the caravanserai began to serve both as a warehouse and a local coffee house.²⁴ In 1891, part of its walls collapsed, and several shops attached to its walls were damaged.²⁵ By the beginning of the 20th century only the western part has survived.²⁶ According to U. Bodaninskiy, who visited the city on an expedition in the 1920s, the remains of Sefer Gazi Ağa khan were in a dilapidated state and were used as a stable.²⁷

In addition to Büyük Taş Khan, fabrics were also sold in Timas Mirza Khan. The difference was that in Timas Mirza khan only local merchants could sell their products. On one side of this caravanserai there was a *çorekçi* shop, on the other - the beginning of one of the city's *çarşı*. Timas Mirza was the only Qarasuv caravanserai, which was known as *bezazistan*²⁸ as well.²⁹

²⁰ Гайворонский, *Страна Крым*, s. 47.

²¹ Челеби, *Книга путешествия*, s. 148.

²² *Путеводитель по Крыму и справочная книжка, с приложением некоторых календарных сведений, расписаний железнодорожных дорог и пароходов, подробной карты полуострова и планов Севастополя*, сост. Л. Фейгин (Москва, 1888), с. 59.

²³ Москвич, *Иллюстрированный путеводитель*, с. 634.

²⁴ *Новейший иллюстрированный путеводитель*, с. 102.

²⁵ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, сост. Н. Головкинский (Симферополь: Типография Стифо, 1894), с. 406.

²⁶ Б. Засыпкин, «Памятники архитектуры крымских татар», *Крым* №2 (4) (1927): с. 159.

²⁷ *Охрана и изучение памятников истории и культуры в Крымской АССР: исследования и документы*, сост. А. Хливнюк (Симферополь: СГТ, 2008), с. 126.

²⁸ A certain type of covered bazaar, where precious items (such as jeweler, silk fabric, etc.) were kept and sold.

²⁹ Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 50b, h. 1; Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 112b, h. 6.

The valuable goods and precious jewelry were sold in Ahmed ağa khan. Even though it was carefully guarded, evidence of the theft of valuables has been preserved in the *sicil* records. Boşnak Khan (Bosnian Khan/caravanserai) was located in Şor quarter. It was built with a contribution of Bosnalı Hacı Mehmed Ağa and was named after him. In the *sicils*, the date of its construction recorded as 1697-1698 (1109 H.). There were many shops, as well as its own mesjit. The main goods were slaves captured in battles by Crimean soldiers. Nakib Emir Ali efendi khan was also in the Şor quarter. Feyzullah khan was located in Hacı Bünyad quarter, not far from the main road, inside the *çarşı*.³⁰

Small Taş khan was built as vizier market, but of a smaller size.³¹ This caravanserai had several names that were used with regular frequency at different times. First of all, it was known as Şirin bey khan, but also as Small (Maliy) Taş khan, Küçük khan, Lower Taş khan (caravanserai). The name of a specific representative of the Şirin clan, on whose funds this caravanserai was built, still is unknown. Şirin Bey khan mainly served as slave market.³² In addition, an open market for slaves (*köle bazaarı*) was organized on a wide square next to the caravanserai near the bridge.³³ On the other side of the caravanserai there was a bathhouse - Şirin Bey Hammam. The Small Khan was located in the Çorum quarter (the eastern part of the city).³⁴ By the beginning of the 20th century Small khan preserved better in comparison with above mentioned Sefer Gazi Ağa khan.³⁵ From the records of Bodaninskiy and Zasyypkin it is known that the structure has preserved stone walls on three sides. Inside, it had a vast courtyard and a two-story room. Şirin bey khan was covered with tiles, like all other structures of Qarasuvbazar. The date of its construction goes back to the 17th

³⁰ Q.Ş.S., c. 33, fol. 64a-65b, h. 1; Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 65a, h. 1; Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 62b, h. 3.

³¹ Р. Абдуджемилев, «Карасубазарский караван-сарай «Таш-хан»,» *Мир Бекира Чобанзаде* (Симферополь: НАТА, 2013), с. 106.

³² Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 65a, h. 1.

³³ Köse, "Kırım Hanlığı'nda Kölelik," s. 73.

³⁴ Q.Ş.S., c. 25, fol. 57b, h. 4.

³⁵ Москвич, *Иллюстрированный путеводитель*, с. 634.

century.³⁶ At the beginning of the 20th century the building was leased to Qarasuv citizen named Mimishev.³⁷ Slaves were also traded in Hacı Osman khan.³⁸

3.2. TRADE DURING THE PERIOD OF RUSSIAN EMPIRE

In the Russian Empire, the merchant class was a special class that united people who engaged not only in trade but also in production. Belonging to this class was initially achieved by purchasing a special certificate (for six months or a year), it should be renewed routinely. Thus, the merchant class was the only class, which required a monetary contribution in order to become its member. The Manifesto of the Freedom of the Nobility of 1762 and the Letter of Grant to the Nobility in 1785 approved the division into the following estates: nobility, clergy, peasantry, merchants, and bourgeoisie. The merchant class was exempted from the poll tax, corporal punishment (for merchants of the First and Second Guilds), and recruitment. Merchants had the right to move freely, with so-called “passport privilege”. The voluntary registration of merchants in one of the three guilds in the beginning of 1775 was a widespread phenomenon. The First Guild included persons who declared (voluntarily) a wealth of more than 10,000 rubles. To be included in the Second Guild one’s wealth should be from 1,000 to 10,000 rubles, as for the Third Guild members, their capital was from 500 to 1,000 rubles.³⁹ A guild fee was set at 1% of the declared capital.⁴⁰

³⁶ Засыпкин, «Памятники архитектуры,» с. 159.

³⁷ Абдуджемилев, «Карасубазарский караван-сарай,» с. 107.

³⁸ Özdem, “Karasu Kazası,” s. 92.

³⁹ In other sources we can see that merchants with an income of 10 to 50 thousand rubles were ranked as the First Guild, from 5 to 10 thousand rubles – as the Second, and from 1 to 5 thousand rubles – as the Third Guild. (В. Пашеня, *Государственное управление в России и Крыму в конце 18 – 19 вв. (1783-1990)*, (Симферополь: ИП Бровко, 2016), с. 71.

⁴⁰ С. Михеев, «К вопросу о динамике развития купеческого сословия Российской империи через призму эволюции Российского законодательства,» *Известия ПГПУ им. В. Г. Белинского*, 2011, №23, с. 531.

In 1832 the title of “honorary citizenship” was introduced to encourage merchants or stimulate merchants’ activities.⁴¹ To become an honorary citizen, one had to be a member of the First Guild for ten years, or at least twenty years member of the Second Guild. The right to become an honorary citizen was acquired by a birthright or by a petition (grant).⁴² Representatives of the Karaite families of Qarasuv, Boboviç⁴³ and Şişman had the status of hereditary honorary citizens of the city of Qarasuvbazar.⁴⁴

Eminent citizens and merchants of the First Guild had the right to conduct foreign trade, and also could apply the Court. The Third Guild was abolished in 1863 and the merchants became available to all segments of the population. Because of the reform of 1874 the exemption of this class from military service was canceled, and the merchants began to leave their organization. By the beginning of the 20th century the development of the Russian merchants was already going downward.⁴⁵

The list of Qarasuvbazar merchants who declared capital in 1852 included fifty-eight people. Among them only one (Russian) belonged to the Second Guild, and the rest were representatives of the Third Guild. It can also be noted that there were fifteen women among the merchants of the Third Guild.⁴⁶ In the lists from 1861 to 1864, twenty-four nonresident merchants declared their wealth. In 1870, only forty Qarasuvbazar merchants renewed their capital (five of them were women).⁴⁷ In 1874, seventy-four merchants from Qarasuv declared their capital.⁴⁸ There were only forty merchants in Qarasuv in the 1880s who wished to renew their certificate as a merchant class.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Михеев, «К вопросу,» с. 529.

⁴² О. Платонов, *Тысяча лет русского предпринимательства: из истории купеческих родов*, (Москва: Современник, 1995), с. 32-34.

⁴³ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 450, л. 2 об.

⁴⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 241, оп. 1, д. 597, л. 43.

⁴⁵ Михеев, «К вопросу,» с. 531-532.

⁴⁶ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 200, л. 1-2.

⁴⁷ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 265, л. 58, 68 об.-69, 287-304.

⁴⁸ ГАРК, Ф. 356, оп. 1, д. 1, л. 96.

⁴⁹ ГАРК, Ф. 356, оп. 1, д. 14, л. 1-2.

Sumarokov noted that the location of the city was ideal for trade, and also described it as spacious and populous. At the turn of the 18th century in Qarasuvbazar, there were up to 1,300 shops, together with bakeries, as well as those that were in the khans. There were eleven khans in the same period.⁵⁰

It is clear from Lady Craven's notes that morocco was the main commodity in the city. In terms of quality, variety, and cost, it distinguished itself favorably among other products. According to the testimony of the French traveler Frederic Dubois de Montperreux, the main income of the inhabitants of Qarasuvbazar was the sale of fruits and raisins.⁵¹ The gardens of Qarasuv and nearby neighborhood did produce fruits and vegetables in abundance, and the local villages also produced many fruits.⁵² According to Mrs. Andrew Neilson, Qarasuvbazar had the largest grain selection in Crimea.⁵³

As to the notes of the Latin American traveler Miranda, it can be assumed that by the end of the 18th century it was not only Iranian Armenians who could trade in the main caravanserai of Qarasuv - Sefer Gazi ağa khan, but also Turkish and Jewish merchants. Miranda also mentions the apparent cheapness of pack animals available in the local markets.⁵⁴ In the first half of the 19th century when Qarasuvbazar was still glorious for being a trade center of the peninsula, travelers repeatedly agreed that the best horses, saddles, harnesses, weapons, and cloaks were sold here.⁵⁵ This is also confirmed by Pallas, who visited Crimea around the same period as Miranda.⁵⁶ However, by the end of the 18th century, Qarasuv traded mainly with local villages and rural populations.

Mary Holderness, who visited Qarasuv in the first half of the 19th century, also spoke of the variety of local products (there were about two hundred shops selling fruit alone) and their cheapness.⁵⁷ Fruits came to the local market from the orchards of

⁵⁰ Сумароков, *Путешествие*, с. 51.

⁵¹ Монпере, *Путешествие*, с. 115.

⁵² Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111.

⁵³ Mrs. Andrew Neilson, *The Crimea*, p. 87.

⁵⁴ Миранда, *Путешествие*, с. 64-65.

⁵⁵ Пассек, *Очерки Крыма*, с. 37.

⁵⁶ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111.

⁵⁷ M. Holderness, *New Russia. Journey from Riga to the Crimea, by Way of Kiev with Some Account of the Colonization, and the Manners and Customs of the Colonists of New Russia* (London: Printed for Sherwood, Jones and Co., 1823), p. 92.

Feodosia, Simferopol, and Yalta counties.⁵⁸ The surrounding villages brought their produce to the city and supported trade, so prices were more moderate here than elsewhere. For example, the inhabitants of the Uskut village brought grapes to Qarasuv, from which local Jews made wine. Grain for sale was supplied from the Kapsikhov village.⁵⁹ Mrs. Andrew Neilson, who visited Crimea in the middle of the 19th century, spoke of the variety of leather goods made by local artisans. She also mentions that the khans and the main coffee houses were located in the central streets of the city.⁶⁰

Guidebooks of the late 19th century often mentioned that Armenians were mainly engaged in trade in the city.⁶¹ However, if you look at archival records and official statistics, you can understand that this area was much more ethnically diverse. For example, trade of Crimean wine, fruits, various food products, cigarette paper, clothing, footwear, and hats was widespread among the Krymchaks.⁶² In addition, they did such types of activities as leatherworking, the production of morocco, knives, and sewing of Tatar hats.⁶³

It should be noted that among the merchants of various nationalities represented in Qarasuv and traditionally engaged in trade, there were also women. As in many other spheres of life of this period of world history, they manifested themselves much less often in written sources. However, this does not mean their passivity and inaction. Yet, among the records we found, there is no evidence that Crimean Tatar women were engaged in trade in the same way as, for example, Armenian or Jewish women did. Among the lists of traders who submitted their capital for reporting for different years of the 19th century we did not find a single Crimean Tatar woman.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, с. 407.

⁵⁹ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 94, 97, 111

⁶⁰ Mrs. Andrew Neilson, *The Crimea*, p. 86, 87.

⁶¹ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, Фейгин, с. 59; *Воспоминания о Крыме* Княжны Е. Горчаковой, ч. 2, (Москва: Типография общества Распространения Полезных Книг, 1884), с. 112.

⁶² ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 215, л. 7-11.

⁶³ *Воспоминания о Крыме*, с. 112-113; *Энциклопедический словарь*, с. 457-458.

⁶⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 265, л. 287-304; ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 200, л. 1-2.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the annexation of the former lands of the Crimean Khanate to the Russian Empire did not deter Ottoman subjects from trade and handicraft in Crimea. In archival records of 1832, we found information about more than 150 Ottoman subjects (mostly Armenians and Greeks) who were engaged in Qarasuv trade. Of these, thirty people made paper, more than twenty-five worked in bakeries, fifteen people made shoes. There were also masons, tailors, dyers, soap-makers, goldsmiths, and silversmiths.⁶⁵ In the found list, the earliest date of the appearance of these artisans in the city was listed as 1807 (the latest, at the time of writing, was 1832).

In addition, the archival records contain lists of Turks and other foreigners engaged in permanent trade in Qarasuv. From the same list, it is clear that two of them, for example, were engaged in the wine trade, and the amount of money in circulation at the moment was 800 rubles. Another Turk traded in tobacco, with a total turnover of 400 rubles. Some traded in “Turkish goods”⁶⁶ in the amount of 8,000 to 10,000 rubles. In this list from 1831, there were sixty-three merchants.⁶⁷ A certain tax was also levied on foreign traders. So, in 1832, 182 foreign citizens were collected to submit in the amount of 5,018 rubles.⁶⁸

3.3. CRAFTS DURING THE CRIMEAN KHANATE

Almost from the beginning of the existence of the Crimean Khanate, Qarasuvbazar was known as the main trading point after Eski Qırım.⁶⁹ As a result, it enjoyed the status of a market of all-Crimean importance⁷⁰, both on the peninsula and beyond. Trade routes passing through the city played a very important role in the development of local production and handicrafts. In Qarasuv, artisans worked for both

⁶⁵ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 96, л. 1-3; Пассек, *Очерки Крыма*, с. 37.

⁶⁶ The wording of the archival record.

⁶⁷ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 80, л. 2-4.

⁶⁸ Айргинская, «Карасубазар», с. 7.

⁶⁹ А. Уманец, *Исторические рассказы о Крыме* (Севастополь: Севастопольский листок, 1887), с. 217.

⁷⁰ Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, I, с. 293.

the domestic and foreign sales markets. So, it is not surprising that this city was the center of the Crimean manufacturing industry.⁷¹

Local leather production was very popular; morocco (finely processed leather) made in Qarasuvbazar, was distinguished by its softness. In addition, a wide selection of colors was available. Also, local jewelry manufacturers were known for their craftsmanship. Qarasuv's town markets supplied all kinds of grain products. Travelers who visited this city shared their observations about a wide variety of pottery. The entire region was renowned for its diverse range of useful industries and quality manufacturing.⁷² Crimean clay was mined in various regions of Crimea, including in the vicinity of Qarasuvbazar, and then transported in large quantities to Istanbul, where it was used as a cosmetic product.⁷³

In the Crimean Khanate, such crafts as the production of felt, the manufacture of hats, various embroidery, and also weaving were developed.⁷⁴ During the times of the Crimean Khanate, saltpeter was brewed mainly in Qarasuvbazar, and was provided for numerous factories throughout Crimea.⁷⁵ The crafts associated with metalwork were also highly developed. The products of the gunsmiths of Bahçesaray and Qarasuvbazar were used by Crimean army, but also, it was exported in large quantities to the foreign market. In the second half of the 18th century the Crimea annually produced up to 400,000 knives with fixed handles, and Qarasuv was considered the first in this production.⁷⁶ Local bowmakers were very popular as well. There was also some evidence that the same masters produced bowed musical instruments.⁷⁷

Some features of the region where Qarasuvbazar was located, its climate, and soil properties had a great influence on the development of local crafts. So, weaving of various types was widespread here. Qarasuv kaza, along with the capital, Bahçesaray, produced the most felt. Felt goods were supplied for both foreign and

⁷¹ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, ред. А. Маркевич, А. Полканов (Симферополь: Крымгосиздат, 1925), с. 39.

⁷² Радде, *Крымские татары*, с. 44; Kavak, "Kırım'ın Karasu Kazası," s. 21.

⁷³ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 55.

⁷⁴ Е. Фелицын, "Западно-Кавказские горцы и ногайцы в XVIII столетии, по Пейсонелю," *Кубанский сборник*, т. 2 (1891): с. 10.

⁷⁵ Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, I, с. 409.

⁷⁶ Монпере, *Путешествие*, с. 117.

⁷⁷ Özdem, *Kırım Karasubazar'da*, s. 127; Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, I, с. 369.

domestic trade.⁷⁸ In the sicil records of the city of Bahçesaray, we could find lists of products made by artisans from all over Crimea. Among the Bahçesaray saddlers and cloth sellers, you can see products whose names directly indicate that they were produced in Qarasuv (for example, Qarasu *dulbenti*⁷⁹, Qarasu *bezi*).⁸⁰ The Qarasuvbazar hats were very famous in the region as well. The production was so widespread that there were shops in the city selling only these hats.⁸¹ In various notes of travelers of the 19th-20th centuries mentions remained that the Tatar hats (*qalpaq*) were mainly made by the Krymchaks.⁸² In general, the production of fabrics, carpets, and garments was widespread. All these products were dyed with local natural dyes (they were plant-, mineral-, and animal product based). In the records of inheritances, we could find descriptions of velvet, satin, linen, cotton fabrics, decorated with gold, silver, silk, and cotton embroidery.⁸³

Leatherworking was considered one of the most famous crafts of the city. For a long time, leather remained the main material for the manufacture of clothing, accessories, harnesses for animals, and other things.⁸⁴ Taking into account the fact that the production of leather goods took some time, and the raw materials directly went through all kinds of this processes, a large number of city residents were involved in this industry.⁸⁵ Another important craft with a similar resource was the fur trade. In the *sicil* records, we could find many descriptions of clothing, among which garments with fur occupied a large place. Therefore, representatives of this industry also occupied an important place among the Qarasuvbazar craftsmen.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ H. Akpınarlı, *Kırım El Sanatlarının Dünü ve Bugünü* (Ankara: Atatürk Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2004), s. 35.

⁷⁹ Light gauze fabric.

⁸⁰ F. Yılmaz, "XVIII. Asırda Hanlık Başkenti Bahçesaray," *Doğu Avrupa Türk Mirasının Son Kalesi Kırım* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2015), s. 207-209.

⁸¹ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, с. 241.

⁸² *Воспоминания о Крыме*, с. 113; Москвич, *Иллюстрированный практический путеводитель*, с. 632.

⁸³ Q.Ş.S., с. 47, fol. 58b, h. 1; Q.Ş.S., с. 47, fol. 68a, h. 2; Q.Ş.S., с. 47, fol. 77b.

⁸⁴ Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, I, с. 369, 409.

⁸⁵ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 256, лл. 1-2; Ханацкий, *Памятная книга*, с. 300.

⁸⁶ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 217, лл. 1-2, 7.

Also, for private needs, the manufacture of horseshoes for horses, as well as household utensils from metal, was widespread. Most often, the dishes were made of copper.⁸⁷ A large number of copperware production facilities were concentrated in Bahçesaray and Qarasuvbazar. It is worth noting, however, that there were no copper deposits on the peninsula, and therefore virtually all raw materials were supplied from the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁸ *Qumans*⁸⁹ and *cezve* made in Bahçesaray and Qarasuv, Kefe and Kezlev had a distinctive feature in the soldering, which gave them special strength and durability.⁹⁰

Gardening was also of great importance in the Qarasuv *kaza*. This branch was spread over all the main Crimean valleys. The best gardens were on the banks of rivers Qarasuv, Alma, and Kaça.⁹¹ The active processing of tobacco on banks of Qarasuv River also contributed to the improvement of the local art of making smoking pipes. The main manufacturers of smoking pipes were the craftsmen of those places where tobacco was grown and processed in large quantities. The most skilled craftsmen were considered the masters of Qarasuvbazar and Bahçesaray.⁹²

Animal husbandry has always been widely represented not only in the Qarasuv *kaza* but throughout the Crimean Khanate. Given the traditional attachment of the local population to animal products, this industry has always flourished. In the *sicil* notes, there are many records of the purchase, sale, donation of cattle and small ruminants. Poultry, presented in all possible variations, was also widespread. For example, Baron de Tott, being in Crimea in the middle of the 18th century, in his notes mentioned that he was amazed with the variety of species of geese.⁹³ In the same *sicil* records, detailed descriptions of animal products could be found.

⁸⁷ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, с. 241.

⁸⁸ Kavak, *Karasu Kazası*, s. 216.

⁸⁹ A tall water pitcher.

⁹⁰ Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, I, с. 410.

⁹¹ *Новейший иллюстрированный путеводитель*, с. 10.

⁹² Радде, *Крымские татары*, с. 75.

⁹³ Baron de Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlar Arasında* (İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Eser, 1968), s. 172.

Considering the number of trade shops left by Evliya Çelebi in his records, in the middle of the 17th century there were about 3,420 Qarasuvbazar artisans. Judging by the frequency of mention in the *sicils*, shoemakers, and *bezzaz* (cloth sellers) were the most numerous. The head of the craft unions in Qarasuv was considered to be “*reis*”, “*şeyh*”, or “*kethüda*”, and his assistant was “*yigit-başı*”.⁹⁴ The workshops in the Crimean Khanate were formed not only based on production and commodity, but also on an ethnonational basis. In workshops consisting of Christians and Jews, the foreman and one of his comrades had to be Christians. The foremen of each of the workshops had their cane. Craftsmen who were engaged in the same business were united in workshops. Usually workshop consisted of craftsmen (master), journeyman, and apprentices. For the formation of a workshop, there was a requirement of at least five craftsmen, otherwise, they were ranked to the similar production workshop. To move from apprentice to journeyman, an artisan must have worked for at least three years. When moving to the rank of apprentice, the artisan received a corresponding certificate, a new contract for work with a master, the status of a tradesman, the right to improve his skills at work with another master and in another city (after receiving a passport). It was also noted that it was forbidden for a journeyman to have his journeymen and apprentices. A student could study a certain craft for at least three, but not more than five years.⁹⁵

3.4. CRAFTSMEN OF QARASUV DURING THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

If during the khanate the main centers of handicraft production were the largest cities of the peninsula - Bahçesaray, Qarasuv, Kezlev, Kefe, then after the formation of the Tauride province, Simferopol (formerly Aqmescit) became the center of handicraft. Although craftsmen continued to produce and sell their products during the time of the Russian Empire, many factories and workshops also began to appear gradually.⁹⁶ In the 19th century the increasing growth of new individual factories (for

⁹⁴ Özdem, “Karasu Kazası,” s. 123, 125.

⁹⁵ Пашеня, *Государственное управление*, с. 129, 130.

⁹⁶ Scott, *The Baltic, the Black Sea*, p. 215.

example, for the production of candles, soap, morocco) both within the city and in its suburbs were very clear. In the second half of this century, there were four brick-tile factories in the city, nine candle and soap factories, one fat-melting factory, three morocco, and three rawhide factories.⁹⁷ As the analysis of the statistical description for 1818 showed, there were forty-seven tanners, eleven tile-potters, ten pipe-makers, and a paper goods factory in Qarasuvbazar.⁹⁸

It is known from archival records that three morocco factories existed in the Yeni mosque quarter over the past 100 years (i.e. from about the end of the 18th century). It also indicates that one of these factories belonged to a waqf (it is not specified which one it was, perhaps it was the waqf of the quarter of the same name), the second belonged to Hacı Abduraim Mamut oğlu, and the third was the property of hereditary honorary citizen Baranov.⁹⁹

Lady Craven, who visited Crimea at the end of the 18th century, mentioned in her notes, that from numerous flocks of sheep, which are the main material for morocco, they also produce very high-quality sheepskin.¹⁰⁰ The local production of morocco still was very diverse and popular.¹⁰¹ Craven, being in Qarasuvbazar, noted the wide selection of this material of various colors, its cheapness, as well as the skill of its execution.¹⁰²

One of the candles and soap factories was located in the Büyük mosque quarter. It belonged to Isaac Karagöz and functioned from the 1840s.¹⁰³ We already know that by the end of the 19th century there were four brick and tile factories in Qarasuv. Their owners were Asan Ömer oğlu, Abdul Kadir Kemal oğlu, the merchant Mosha Peisakh, and Yakov Küyüncü. In general, each of them had a similar structure and consisted of

⁹⁷ Ханацкий, *Памятная книга*, с. 301; Кондараки, *Универсальное описание*, с. 99.

⁹⁸ Пашеня, *Государственное управление*, с. 130-131.

⁹⁹ ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 13, д. 2506, л. 4; 5.

¹⁰⁰ В. Калашников, «Путешествие в Крым и Константинополь миледи Элизабет Кравен в 1786 г.,» *Британский взгляд на Крым (хроники, мемуары, дневники XVIII-первой половины XIX ст.)* (Днепропетровск, 2013), с. 89.

¹⁰¹ *Новейший иллюстрированный путеводитель*, с. 103.

¹⁰² Кравен, *Путешествие в Крым и Константинополь*, с. 281.

¹⁰³ ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 13, д. 2811, л. 2.

five ordinary stoves, three sheds, and one house for workers.¹⁰⁴ According to the testimony of Pallas, at the end of the 18th century in the city, there were quite a few artisans, morocco and leather factories, candle, soap, pot, brick, tile factories, and smithies. Greeks and Armenians worked in the soap and candle factories. It is known that, four factories produced only red morocco.¹⁰⁵

In the vicinity of Qarasuv, a small amount of light red clay was mined. It was used for making pipes and also for cleaning fur coats. In addition, not far from the city, at the foot of the Aq-Qaya, a keel was mined - a type of clay that residents used for cosmetic purposes. During the times of the Crimean Khanate, this clay was popular both in the domestic and foreign markets. Under the Russian Empire, however, its production was carried out in an insignificant amount.¹⁰⁶

Copper-making continued its development. Qarasuvbazar craftsmen made copper and tinware for general consumption, at the same time repairing all kinds of metal products. By the end of the 19th century practically all (95%) of the national industry produced in Crimea originated from Bahçesaray and Qarasuvbazar.¹⁰⁷ In the 19th century shoemaking - the production of Tatar footwear, nodding (where most of the Krymchaks were involved), copper tinning, felt, leather, saddlery, blacksmithing, metalworking, wool (by Tatars and Greeks), cooper (by Russians), were considered especially developed crafts of Qarasuvbazar.¹⁰⁸

The list of persons running for the position of craft foreman in 1858 included representatives of virtually all types of crafts in the city. Among them were fur coppers, morocco men, shoemakers, blacksmiths, hammermen, turners, wheel workers, locksmiths, pipe workers, tile cutters, barbers, bakers, tailors, haters, coppersmiths, silversmiths, coopers, carpenters, saddlers, chubuchniks (craftsman who made chibouk), cheese coopers, candle makers, cotton dispensers.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 13, д. 2013, л. 2; 6; 9.

¹⁰⁵ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111, 204, 205.

¹⁰⁶ Кондараки, *Универсальное описание Крыма*, V, с. 30-31.

¹⁰⁷ Н. Гумовский, «Крымская кустарно-ремесленная промышленность и перспективы ее развития», *Местная промышленность и торговля*, (Промиздат, 1926), с. 124, 126.

¹⁰⁸ Москвич, *Иллюстрированный практический путеводитель*, с. 633.

¹⁰⁹ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 217, л. 1-2.

In the previous chapter, there was a mention of the oppression of the Jews of Russia. One of the types of such oppression was increased control over the representatives of these people, their type of activity, which government always tried to keep under control. Proof of this is the decree of the Tauride provincial government on the provision of information about the number of Jews living in Qarasuvbazar, their occupation, the names of the crafts they were engaged in etc. This list included such handicraft professions as carver, saddle maker, tailor, saddle maker, hat maker, carpenter, cotton paper cutter, chubuchnik, as well as representatives of various trade trends.¹¹⁰

In 1838, there were 756 foremen in the workshops of Qarasuvbazar - foremen and their assistants.¹¹¹ The account of artisans and workers of the city of Qarasuv was made in the second half of the 19th century. Based on the data obtained, we can say that glaziers, locksmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, coopers, turners, bricklayers, brick makers, tile-makers, plasterers, chariots, carvers, braziers, millers, painters, goldsmiths, silversmiths worked here. Also, there were watchmakers, saddlers, saddlers, tailors, shoemakers, shoemakers, fur coppers.¹¹²

With the construction of the railway from Simferopol to Feodosia at the end of the 19th century (1896) the importance of Qarasuvbazar as a trading city, where all the roads were assembled, dropped significantly.¹¹³ After that, local production suffered great losses. The French traveler Louis de Sudak, who visited Crimea at the end of the 19th century wrote that if it were not for the excellent gardens that surrounded Qarasuv and increased the population of the city threefold during the harvest, the city would have died long ago.¹¹⁴

From the archival records of the late 19th-early 20th century it is known that fruits, vegetables, melons (watermelons and melons), tobacco, hay, grain, flour, livestock,

¹¹⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 215, л. 7-11.

¹¹¹ Аирчинская, «Карасубазар», с. 7.

¹¹² Ханацкий, *Памятная книга*, с. 300-301.

¹¹³ Москвич, *Иллюстрированный путеводитель*, с. 634.

¹¹⁴ *Крымские путешествия Луи де Судак*, с. 155.

rawhides, wool, bricks and tiles, white stone, footwear, and charcoal were exported from Qarasuvbazar for sale.¹¹⁵

3.5. CRAFTING GUILDS

The law of 1799 determined that each workshop was controlled by the Guild Council and had its Gathering (meeting). In this meeting foremen from all the workshops elected two Vowels and then there was election of the Craftsman. To be elected to the post of a craftsman during the rule of the Russian Empire, a candidate had to meet the following parameters: to be one of the workshop craftsmen, be able to read and write in Russian, have the appropriate moral principles, and be Russian Empire citizen. The one elected by the artisan's head had the right to wear a cane with the emblem of the city; in the assembly of artisans, he had the first position and two votes. In his absence, the duties were performed by the first foreman after him. In addition, the artisan's head had the right to inspect any handicraft production and charge fines for non-compliance with norms, control the artisan and guild treasury, and also reassign apprentices to other masters in case of poor training.¹¹⁶

The artisan's head was elected every three years by voting.¹¹⁷ In the elections of 1838, ten merchants (two of whom were Russians, one Greek, two Tatars, three Jews, and two Armenians), twenty-nine bourgeois (four Russians, five Greeks, two Armenians, and eighteen Jews) were accepted. In addition to these figures, the Crimean Tatars were indicated in this list separately, but not by social class, but by quarters. In total, there were ninety-two of them.¹¹⁸ Further, in the archival records, we find information about persons who ran for the post of foreman in craft in 1858. In this list, the difference was that the candidates were divided according to crafts, and not ethnic or social affiliation. According to the results of this year's voting, it is known that Adoni Ramazan Asan oğlu (blacksmith) was elected as the artisan's head, Bekir

¹¹⁵ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 534, л. 38 об.

¹¹⁶ Пашеня, *Государственное управление*, с. 128-129.

¹¹⁷ Аирчинская, «Карасубазар», с. 7.

¹¹⁸ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 150, л. 16-17 об.

usta Halil oğlu (furrier) was elected as his deputy. Also, during these elections, the assistants of the foreman were determined. They turned out to be: Seit Osman Umer oğlu (shoemaker), Mulla Ibraim Suin oğlu (carpenter), Mardiros Matosov (tailor), and Yako Kogen (hatter).¹¹⁹

All in the same archival records, copies of the oaths that the artisans took when entering a particular workshop have been preserved. In this oath, they promise to honestly and efficiently carry out their work, thereby benefiting their city - Qarasuvbazar. The oath was rewritten in triplicate - each copy for a representative of a different religion. Christians swear by the Bible, Muslims by the Koran, and Jews by the Ten Commandments.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 217, л. 1-2, 7.

¹²⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 150, лл. 20-24 об.

CHAPTER 4. ARCHITECTURE OF QARASUVBAZAR

4.1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL QARASUV DURING THE CRIMEAN KHANATE AND IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Qarasuvbazar, as mentioned repeatedly, was a classic example of a medieval eastern city. This was primarily reflected in the architecture and structure of the streets. Such characteristic features as low houses with blank walls which were facing the streets, the narrowness of these streets, the confusion and chaos of their construction - these and other signs of the city are described by travelers both in the 16th century and in the end of 19th- beginning of the 20th centuries. Despite the time, the changing management of the city and state in general, decline, and attempts to modernize the economy, Qarasuv remained and continues to remain true to its original architectural features.

If we draw parallels with other cities of the peninsula that underwent innovations and restructuring during the period of the Russian Empire, we can compare Qarasuv with Aqmescit. The French traveler Frederic Dubois de Montperreux, wrote that Empress Catherine left Qarasuv and Bahçesaray exclusively for the Tatars and therefore they retained their original form. He also noted that Qarasuv, down to the smallest detail, reproduced the East he had just left.¹ Aqmescit, renamed by Catherine II in 1784, to Simferopol, being originally the same classic example of an eastern town, turned out to be more susceptible to change. The old streets of Aqmescit did not begin to be completely rebuilt and destroyed, we can observe them in one state or another to these days. Instead, the new city administration began to build a “European city” close to the old one. “New” Simferopol was distinguished by long, flat, wide streets and avenues. The architecture of houses and shops tried to repeat the fashion trends of the architectural styles of Europe at that time period.²

¹ Монпере, *Путешествие*, с. 116.

² The division into "new" and "old" city remains relevant in Simferopol to this day.

The fact that Qarasuv lost its former greatness and relevance in production and trade was directly related to the fact that no one really wanted to “rebuild” it. On the one hand, thanks to this, we can still trace the features of the structure of the city during the times of the Crimean Khanate. On the other hand, such a connivance on the part of the authorities led to the fact that many classical examples of architecture simply fell into disrepair due to the lack of proper repair and maintenance. Thus, 90% of the public architectural structures of Qarasuvbazar were destroyed by time and the negligence of the local leadership, which remained indifferent to this situation, back in the first half of the 20th century.

It is known that many places of worship which were significant for the city were built in the 16th century. Those were Tekiye Khan mosque, Büyük mosque, Şor mosque, Sefer Gazi Ağa Khan, Şirin Bey Khan, Büyük Hamam etc.³ From the sicil records, we learn that house prices in Qarasuvbazar ranged from 5 to 600 kuruş, and the cost of one shop started from 10 to 150 kuruş. If in the 17th century prices, in general, were less than 150 kuruş for real estate, then already in the 18th century the minimum prices of 100 and 150 kuruş were much more common.⁴

According to the testimony of the Çelebi, it is known that there were twenty-seven sources of drinking water in the city. They were usually located near mosques. In addition, there were eight bridges in Qarasuv in different places, as well as more than a hundred water mills. Evliya Çelebi's notes confirm that all buildings in the city were covered with local tiles, including the mosques.⁵ Residential buildings did not exceed two floors. Often these were low, one-story buildings, with blank stone fences, behind which it was impossible to see the courtyard. Each house had its small garden

³ Kavak, “Kırım’ın Karasu Kazası,” s. 21.

⁴ Özdem, “Kırım Karasubazar’da,” s. 98.

⁵ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 549.

and vegetable garden, as well as its small fountain.⁶ Swedish pastor Lars Tarsenius wrote about the prevalence of gardens and parks in Qarasuvbazar in early 18th century.⁷

According to local government estimates, by the end of the 18th century, after the annexation of the Crimean Khanate (1783) in the city of Qarasuvbazar, there were seventeen mosques, one madrasah, and two schools (mektebs).⁸ Also, according to these estimates, there were 759 houses in the city.⁹ The information provided by travelers who visited Qarasuv at the end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th centuries, as well as the guidebooks of this period, largely converge, and sometimes even repeat each other. So, in one of the many Crimea guidebooks of the late 19th century we can see the following description of the city:

“Qarasuvbazar is a small Tatar city, which was once the temporary capital of the Crimean Khanate. Qarasuvbazar is located by the Büyük Qarasuv river and is surrounded by gardens. The city has retained its oriental character, back streets, and lanes with small gates leading to courtyards where dwellings are hidden; an extensive dark khan, mosques with minarets at every step, an abundance of “khans” i.e. hostelries with coffee shops”.¹⁰

Pallas, who visited Crimea a few years later, in his notes, already indicated that there were twenty-three mosques in the city and also there were three churches (one of which was Armenian Catholic), and one synagogue. According to his calculations, there were twenty-three caravanserais - large and small, 310 shops, twenty-three coffee shops, and 915 residential buildings. From the former number of water mills described by Evliya Çelebi, there were only seven that were functioning. In 1796 the main pharmacy of the entire peninsula was transferred to the Qarasuv from Yeni-Kale.¹¹ In

⁶ Özdem, “Kırım Karasubazar’da,” s. 43-44; *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 548.

⁷ Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, II, с. 61.

⁸ Лашков, «Камеральное описание,» с. 25, 38.

⁹ It was number of intact and ruined houses of the Crimean Tatars and Jews.

¹⁰ *Новейший иллюстрированный путеводитель*, сост. Райсов, с. 102.

¹¹ Паллас, Наблюдения, с. 111.

1805, by order of the governor, a field pharmacy was built in Qarasuvbazar.¹² In traveler Sumarokov's notes that were written in 1799, we see change in quantity of mosques (from twenty-three to eighteen). Also, total town shops were counted as 1,300 (with bakeries and khan's shops).¹³

In the guidebook of the early 20th century it was noted that four churches, fifteen mosques, six synagogues function in the city.¹⁴ Archival documents confirm these numbers, supplementing them with a listing of two printing houses operating at the same time.¹⁵ This can be explained by the increased number of non-Muslims who lived and worked in the city during the 19th century.

In 1926, a specially selected commission compiled a list of archaeological, architectural, and revolutionary monuments and museum buildings of Crimea under the jurisdiction of Crimea OHRIS [Crimean Regional Committee for Museums and Protection of Monuments of Art, History, Antiquity and Folk Life], and Glavnauki [Main Directorate of Scientific, Artistic and Museum Institutions] and that were nationalized. In the Qarasuvbazar region, thirteen such objects were recorded in the register. Eight of them were located directly in Qarasuvbazar: the ruins of the baths - Büyük Hamam and Ermeni Hamam, Büyük Taş khan, Küçük Taş khan, Khan mosque, Şor mosque, Büyük mosque, Bakşı's house with a “*kadı* room” along Rechnaya Street.¹⁶

In their report, dated August 12, 1926, B. Zasytkin, U. Bodaninsky, and A. Şeyh-zade noted that in Qarasuvbazar it is necessary to take into account:

Table 7. List of architectural structures registered in 1926

¹² ГАРК, Ф. 377, оп. 1, д. 531, л. 1.

¹³ Сумароков, *Путешествие*, с. 51.

¹⁴ Москвич, *Иллюстрированный практический путеводитель*, с. 633.

¹⁵ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 534, л. 7.

¹⁶ *Охрана и изучение памятников*, с. 61-62.

1.	The ruins of the old Krymchak synagogue (the ruins of the altar wall) along Rechnaya Street;
2.	In the Armenian-Gregorian church a gravestone with an inscription in Armenian and a bas-relief;
3.	The building of two coffee shops with arcades on Karaullar Meydanı;
4.	In the same place - coffee shop Sarı-Qave ¹⁷ ;
5.	Famsi Khan (Hamsi Khan) - trading rows with a stone arcature on pillars;
6.	Celal Khan - shopping arcade with a colonnade on Lunacharsky street;
7.	The building of the former coffee house Çerkez on Lunacharsky street;
8.	Sekekçi hostelry and Coffee House on Arabacılar-ıçi Street;
9.	A hostelry, a coffee house, and shops of the former Qarasu-başı Janibek on Fontannaya Street;
10.	In the Greek church there were four icons painted in 1794;
11.	A tombstone - a rotunda over the grave of Seyyid-Muhammad Enis efendi (1703 - 1115 H.) in the Çilterli mosque fence;
12.	Dugudciev's house (the old wing of the house in the courtyard);
13.	Ahmed efendi hostelry and Coffee House in Arabacılar-ıçi;
14.	A coffee house and a hostelry at the corner of Feodosiyskaya, Fontannaya, and Lunacharskaya streets;
15.	A coffee house and a hostelry in Sırlı-qave on Rechnaya Street;
16.	Minaret of Tokal mosque in Tokal Uçurum (Çurum) Maallesi;
17.	Minaret of Hanlık mosque (at the same street);
18.	Minaret of Büyük mosque (at the same street) ¹⁸ .

¹⁷ Built in 1776, belonged to the waqf of the Krymchaks.

¹⁸ ЦМММ [Central Municipal Archive of Moscow], Ф. Р-1, оп. 1, д. 514, л. 5.

In addition, in their report, they pointed to the dilapidated state of Büyük Taş Khan, which was used at that time as a barn.¹⁹

In 1927, the most destructive earthquake of the early 20th century caused enormous damage to the economy and development of Crimea. Residential buildings, educational institutions, religious buildings were destroyed, and human losses also incurred. On the eve of this earthquake, the Qarasuvbazar regional executive committee made several decisions on the liquidation of some mosques in the city, after their technical inspection.²⁰

4.2. TRADE BUILDINGS OF QARASUVBAZAR (caravanserais)

Many foreign travelers who visited Crimea in the 18th-19th centuries noted the number and size of the Qarasuvbazar caravanserais.²¹ The most ancient of the known buildings of the city is Büyük Taş khan. The beginning of the construction of this caravanserai dates back to the 15th century. The grand vizier of the Crimean khans Sefer Gazi ağa (d. 1664) made a significant contribution to the expansion and strengthening of this khan, for which it began to bear his name. It is known that this khan was completed in 1655.²² According to the information left by Evliya Çelebi, who visited this city in the 1660s, Büyük Taş Khan was like a fortress. In addition, it was the largest caravanserai not only in the city but, apparently, in the entire Crimean Khanate. Büyük Taş khan suffered greatly from the destructive raids and wars of the 18th century, and later, due to the lack of proper maintenance and regular repairs, fell into complete decay. By the beginning of the 20th century only western wall remained still.²³

In addition to the Big Taş Khan, the city could boast of the Small (Küçük) Taş Khan, which was also known as Şirin bey khan. Although the exact date of

¹⁹ *Охрана и изучение памятников истории*, 126. The same list is found in archival records of 1944-1945: ГАРК, Ф. Р-20, оп. 11, д. 7, л. 2.

²⁰ И. Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара,» с. 110-112.

²¹ Scott, *The Baltics, the Black Sea*, p. 218; Mrs. Andrew Neilson, *The Crimea*, p. 86.

²² Р. Абдуджемилев, «Таш хан,» с. 63.

²³ Н. Kırımlı, vd., *Mimari Yادigarları*, s. 648.

construction is unknown, the building dates back to the 17th century. It looked like a vizier market. Inside the caravanserai, there was a vast courtyard and a two-story room. Like all other buildings of Qarasuvbazar, Taş Khan was covered with tiles.²⁴ At the beginning of the 20th century Lower Taş Khan has preserved three outer walls.²⁵ It is known that during the time of the Crimean Khanate, a total of eleven caravanserais functioned in the city. Even though we do not have sources describing their appearance in detail, their names are known, and we have listed them in the previous chapter.

French traveler Frederic Dubois de Montperreux, who visited this city in the first half of the 19th century left a description of one of the caravanserais, calling it Armenian.

“One of the most recent khans, the Armenian, contrasts in its luxury with the other ones. It is built like a Parisian passage, only on a larger scale; it is wider, its high vault is illuminated by windows, and the benches stretching on both sides leave enough space for passage and even for walking, as in the galleries of Orleans”.²⁶

4.3. RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS IN THE CITY

According to Çelebi, there were twenty-eight mosques in the city, five of which were cathedrals.²⁷ Based on travelers' descriptions, Qarasuvbazar had the tallest minarets in Crimea.²⁸ Zasyarkin noted that in the early Crimean mosques, minarets were located at the corners of the building, and the spiral staircase leading to it was built in the thickness of the wall of the building itself. It is also noteworthy that most

²⁴ Засыпкин, «Памятники архитектуры,» с. 155.

²⁵ Абдуджемилев, «Таш хан,» с. 64.

²⁶ Монпере, *Путешествие*, с. 117.

²⁷ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 549.

²⁸ Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, II, с. 84.

often the minarets themselves were low.²⁹ Büyük mosque, Şor mosuqe, and Tekiye Khan mosque were considered the largest among the others.³⁰

The minaret of Tekiye Khan mosque stood out from others because it had two *şerfe*. According to the descriptions of U. Bodaninsky, Tekiye Khan mosque was built in 1727 (1140 H.) by order of Mengli II Geray Khan for a Sufi sheikh. Tekiye of dervishes were right next to the mosque.³¹ They were located in the southeastern part of the city, on a hill, in the quarter of the same name.³² The exact date of construction still not indicated, in the archival records it is noted that it was a "monument of antiquity." There is extensive correspondence about the failure of the religious community to carry out repairs at their own expense. In 1928 this mosque was registered by Crimea OHRIS as a monument of antiquity. It was noted that its repair should be carried out at the expense of this organization. However, already in 1930, the mosque was liquidated due to a written refusal of believers to maintain it, the building was transferred to the PCE [People's Commissariat of Education] of the Crimean ASSR as a monument of antiquity.³³ The interior decoration and painting of Tekiye Khan mosque stood out for its exclusivity and, according to scientists, it was put into the "highest category". They considered it necessary to include Şor mosque in the same category: in terms of its internal architecture and external decoration of openings, stone minbar, and wooden ceiling, this religious building differed from other similar mosques in the city.³⁴ Şor mosque was located in the center of the city. At the beginning of the 20th century the structure almost completely (except for the minaret) retained its original shape.³⁵ There is no exact date of construction in the archival records; the mosque is simply described as "ancient". In 1928 the mosque was registered in Crimea OHRIS as a monument of antiquity, it was noted that the repair should be carried out at the expense of this organization as well. However, in 1930

²⁹ As an example, Zasyppkin cites the minaret of Kebir mosque (Aqmescit), he notes a primitive transition from a trunk to a "şerfe"; minaret of the Büyük mosque in Qarasuv looked the same.

³⁰ Гайворонский, *Страна Крым*, с. 48.

³¹ Özdem, "İnsanları," s. 74-75; Засыпкин, «Памятники архитектуры,» с. 148, 155.

³² У. Боданинский, *Собрание сочинений*, т. 1 (Казань-Симферополь: Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани, 2019), с. 115.

³³ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1576, л. 1-2.

³⁴ *Охрана и изучение памятников истории*, с. 127-129.

³⁵ Засыпкин, «Памятники архитектуры,» *Крым* №2 (4): с. 147.

Crimean CEC [Crimean Central Executive Committee] already decided to liquidate this mosque due to a written refusal of residents to maintain it. Based on this refusal, the building also was transferred to the PCE.³⁶

Unfortunately, there is only fragmentary information on the subsequent mosques of Qarasuvbazar. Based on the conclusions made by Bodaninsky and Zasyrkin, the Büyük mosque's minaret was considered one of the oldest in the city due to its form. Büyük mosque was liquidated in 1927 because of the danger to visit it. In the reports preserved in the archives it was indicated that the building must be dismantled.³⁷

Even though we do not have much information about further mosques it would not be right to not mention these facts. It was recorded in 1802 from Mustafa efendi, a resident of Qarasuv, that Şahin Geray Khan, while being the Crimean ruler, donated four houses and two trade shops to Yeni mosque.³⁸ Also in quarter Kara Çora there was mosque with the same name, and in the beginning of 1920s it was quite desolated, but in 1927 it was leased to the group of believers.³⁹ According to the state archive, the Ulu Haniy mosque was commissioned by believers under an agreement dated May 13, 1927.⁴⁰

From the sicil notebooks we know that, one of the Armenian churches was located in the Kenise quarter and a Greek church in the Çesme or Rum quarter. One of the tekke was located in the Şor quarter, next to the Nakib Emir Ali efendi caravanserai. And the other was at the beginning of the shoe market (Pabuççular pazarı).⁴¹

³⁶ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1576, л. 1-2.

³⁷ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1493, л. 2.

³⁸ ГАРК, Ф. 24, оп. 1, д. 73, л. 1-2.

³⁹ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1494, л. 2-3.

⁴⁰ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1495, л. 1.

⁴¹ Абдуджемилев, «Карасубазарский караван-сарай,» с. 107.

Table 8. List of mosques built during the Crimean Khanate⁴²

1.	Friday Mosque of Mengli II Geray Khan (Tekiye Khan mosque)
2.	Friday Mosque of Hacı Muzaffer efendi
3.	Mosque of the Hacı Murat quarter
4.	Friday Mosque of Qırım Geray Khan
5.	Mosque of Şah Murad quarter
6.	Mosque of the Çorum quarter
7.	Friday Mosque of Şahin Geray Khan
8.	Mosque of Hacı Arslan quarter
9.	Friday mosque of Sadık efendi quarter
10.	Friday Mosque and Tekiye Receb Şeyih efendi
11.	Mosque of the Tahta mosque quarter
12.	Mosque of Kara Halil quarter
13.	Mosque of Bağçe İçi quarter
14.	Mosque of Hacı Kara Çora quarter
15.	Friday mosque of Kurman Ali efendi quarter
16.	Friday mosque of Hacı Ismail quarter
17.	Friday mosque of the Hacı Bey quarter
18.	Mosque of Hacı Osman quarter
19.	Friday mosque of Şor mosque quarter
20.	Mosque of Ulu Hani Sultan quarter
21.	Friday Mosque of Ajem Quarter ⁴³

After the military campaigns of the Russian Empire in the 18th century many buildings of Qarasuvbazar, in particular mosques and residential buildings, were destroyed. It should be noted that the religious buildings of the city were partially

⁴² The list was compiled in 1785.

⁴³ ГАРК, Ф. 315, оп. 1, д. 1525, л. 178-180.

restored, and new mosques and churches were built to replace the destroyed ones. By the beginning of the 19th century according to the information provided by Mufti Seit-Memet efendi, there were eight cathedral mosques and fourteen quarter mosques in the city.⁴⁴ By the middle of the same century, another one was added to the list of Qarasuvbazar mosques, equating the total number of religious Muslim buildings to twenty-three.⁴⁵ According to testimonies dating back to the same period, it is known that there were five churches, one monastery, and four synagogues in the city.⁴⁶

The dramatic events of the early 20th century harmed the life of Qarasuv. Along with the adoption of the Decree on the separation of the church from the state, Muslim religious buildings were transferred to the use of religious communities. Control over the activities of these communities was carried out by one of the departments of the Crimean Central Executive Committee and the NKVD [The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs].⁴⁷

Çilterli mosque was built in 1874 from a mudbrick on a stone foundation, covered with "Tatar tiles". The measurements of the building remained in the archival records - the length was 12.5 arshins (8.89 m), the width was 7 arshins (4.9 m), and the height was 5.5 arshins (3.9 m). The mosque was fenced with a mudbrick, an ancient cemetery was located nearby.⁴⁸ The mausoleum located on the territory of the cemetery was built in 1769 over the grave of Said-Muhammad Enis efendi.⁴⁹ In 1925, the presidium of the Qarasuvbazar regional executive committee petitioned the Crimean Central Executive Committee to liquidate the Çilterli mosque, due to its dilapidated state. It was reported that the windows, doors, floor, and ceiling were broken down and carried away, half of the roof fell off and the tiles were broken. The mudbrick that encloses this mosque and the cemetery adjacent to it collapsed in two places, and through these holes, there was free access to the garbage dump.⁵⁰ It was noted that five Crimean Tatar families lived in the quarter of this mosque, and they did

⁴⁴ Александров, «К истории учреждения,» *ИТУАК* 54: с. 355.

⁴⁵ ГАРК, Ф. 26, оп. 1, д. 15652, л. 3, 33, 50.

⁴⁶ Ханацкий, *Памятная книга*, с. 301.

⁴⁷ И. Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара,» с. 110-111.

⁴⁸ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1256, л. 1-2.

⁴⁹ Засыпкин, «Памятники архитектуры,» с. 128.

⁵⁰ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1256, л. 2, 3.

not want to rent the building to use it. In the fall of 1925, mosque was removed from the register of the religious buildings of Qarasuvbazar.⁵¹ In the same year and for the same reason, the Uzun Çarşı mosque, located on Torgovaya street, was liquidated, it was built in 1875.⁵²

The Kurman-Ali mosque was built from a mudbrick, the total area of the building was 5x8 arshins. The exact date of construction is unknown. In 1927, by the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the building of the mosque was recommended for demolition due to the inexpediency of repairs.⁵³ Next the archival records indicate that the Kara Halil mosque was built of stone and mudbrick in 1843, the roof was covered with tiles. The construction area was only 4x3 arshins. By 1927, the mosque was in a dilapidated state and by the decision of the Crimean Central Executive Committee, the building of the mosque was liquidated in the same year, for the very same reasons as the rest of such buildings.⁵⁴

The mosque in the Şah-Murad quarter bore the same name, but in Russian-language sources and archives, it was recorded as Şamrat. This mosque was built in 1854 of stone and mudbrick, like other structures from this period. The total area was 5x3 1/3 arshins. By 1927, the building fell into disrepair and began to collapse, by the decision of the Crimean Central Executive Committee in the same year, the Şamrat mosque was liquidated, due to the inexpediency of repairs and the lack of believers.⁵⁵

After a technical inspection of the Acı Osman mosque by employees of the local regional executive committee, showed that building was in a dilapidated state. The minaret was made of piece and slab stone; and it was also half destroyed. The height and width of the minaret were seven and two meters, respectively. A month after this inspection, it was decided to liquidate this mosque for the same reasons that were attributed to all other religious Muslim buildings.⁵⁶

⁵¹ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1256, л. 5, 7, 9.

⁵² ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1253, л. 5, 6, 10.

⁵³ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1484, л. 2.

⁵⁴ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1486, л. 2-3.

⁵⁵ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1487, л. 2.

⁵⁶ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1729, л. 118-123.

After two earthquakes in 1927, the Crimean Central Executive Committee received a report from Qarasuvbazar that

“in total, three prayer buildings in the city suffered from the earthquake ... was recognized as dangerous to visit, and as a result, Büyük mosque and Tekiye Khan mosque were temporarily closed until repairs were carried out ... there are no prayer buildings to be dismantled.”⁵⁷

To eliminate the consequences of these earthquakes, several Qarasuvbazar buildings were classified as protected architectural monuments, including Tekiye Khan mosque, Şor mosque, and Büyük mosque.⁵⁸ In the same year, the Crimean Commissariat of Education allocated 1,500 rubles for the repair of Tekiye Khan and Şor mosques. Already in 1929, the Crimean Central Executive Committee decided that

“Khan mosque and Şor mosque in Qarasuvbazar must be liquidated, as a result of a written refusal of the believers. ... The buildings of the named mosques shall be transferred to the People's Commissariat for Education of the Crimean ASSR as monuments of antiquity”.⁵⁹

In the 30s of the 20th century, a harsh purge was carried out among the educated population on the territory of the former Russian Empire. The government at the state level began to support atheism, and anti-religious propaganda was actively developing. The clergymen were subjected to massive repression. Under the pretext of unsatisfactory technical and sanitary conditions, the refusal of spiritual groups to use religious buildings, mosques, churches, synagogues were massively closed and liquidated.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1486, л. 2, 5.

⁵⁸ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1487, л. 2, 5.

⁵⁹ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 10, д. 1493, л. 1, 3.

⁶⁰ Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара,» с. 114.

By 1935, only one mosque functioned in Qarasuvbazar and it was Yıldırım mosque which was located on the Voroshilov street.⁶¹ The building of this mosque has survived to this day, but it is used as a house for several families. Even though Şor mosque was remained untouched after 1930s it was destroyed after the deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944.⁶²

As for the places of worship of other religions, it is known that by the beginning of the 20th century in the city, there were two Orthodox churches - St. Nicholas and St. Elias, as well as one Armenian Gregorian and one Armenian Catholic church.⁶³ There are also references to six synagogues that functioned during the same period.⁶⁴

It is known from archival records that one of the Orthodox churches was located in the Çilterli quarter. When in 1894 the Karaite society rented a house from the Qarasuvbazar resident Taras Mardirosov in the Yıldırım quarter to establish a prayer house there, a conflict arose among the Christians and Karaites of the city. The room, which the Karaites were going to use as a prayer house, was located at a distance of 75 arshins from the Greek Orthodox Church (approximately 150-200 m), which was unacceptable by religious law. Unfortunately, the archival records do not clarify exactly how the conflict was resolved.⁶⁵

A traveler who visited Crimea in the middle of the 19th century, Mrs. Andrew Nielson, in her notes pointed out that one of the Greek (Orthodox) churches had green domes, and if it had not been for it at all, the structure would have had a completely "oriental" appearance.⁶⁶ Another traveler, Seymour, who visited Qarasuv at about the same time indicated the number of mosques as twenty-two, and noticed that in his taste none of them were actually beautiful. He also described one of the Orthodox churches (but did not indicate its name), it was built in the form of a cross with a dome located in the middle of the building.⁶⁷

⁶¹ ГАРК, Ф. Р-663, оп. 18, д. 46, л. 65.

⁶² Абдуллаев, «Мечети Карасубазара», с. 115.

⁶³ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 492, л. 32-33 об.

⁶⁴ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 534, л. 7.

⁶⁵ ГАРК, Ф. 241, оп. 1, д. 597, л. 1.

⁶⁶ Mrs. Andrew Neilson, *The Crimea*, p. 86.

⁶⁷ Seymour, *Russia on the Black Sea*, p. 241-242.

4.4. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF QARASUVBAZAR

Education was always important in the Crimean Khanate period. According to Evliya Çelebi, there were five madrassas in Qarasuv, where special attention was paid to hadiths. Also, there were eight schools for children.⁶⁸ In kadiasker's notebooks, there were only three madrassas (Hacı Subhankulu Gazi Ağa madrassa, Mehmed efendi madrassa, Hacı Yahya madrassa) and one school, which was located in the Çorum quarter. Madrasah named after Mehmed efendi was located in the Receb efendi quarter.⁶⁹ In the end of 18th century in Cameral description, was note about only three schools for children.⁷⁰

As for the period of the Russian Empire, in the archival records of the late 19th century you can find information about the number of Crimean Tatar schools, and even some information about their students and teachers. In 1837, by the administration order was opened local Tatar specialized school, and the local representative of the clergy, Molla Umer, was elected as the overseer.⁷¹ By the end of the 19th century, there were two male madrassas in Qarasuvbazar (in the quarters of Büyük mosque and Acı (Hacı) Yahya), three waqf male mektebs (quarters of Ulu Hani, Yıldırım, Şamrat/Şah Murat), and also two non-waqf mektebs (quarters of Acı (Hacı) bey and Tokal mosque). Besides, it should be noted that there were also ten girls' schools in the city (two in the Acı Arslan quarter, one in the Ulu Hani, two in the Yıldırım, three in the Kara Çora quarter, and one each in the Yeni mosque and Bahçi İçi quarters).⁷² As usual, schools were opened in private houses, and the money for teachers' salaries and school supplies was collected by residents of a particular quarter.⁷³

⁶⁸ *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi*, s. 549.

⁶⁹ Q.Ş.S., c. 47, fol. 28a, h. 2; Q.Ş.S., c. 47, fol. 29a.

⁷⁰ Лашков, Камеральное описание, ИТУАК 7: с. 38.

⁷¹ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 152, л. 1, 14.

⁷² ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 2124, лл. 133-137.

⁷³ ГАРК, Ф. 27, оп. 13, д. 5023, л. 20, 21, 26.

Numerous Armenian schools that were operating throughout the Crimean Peninsula has its examples in Qarasuvbazar as well. All of them were parish, and their position, both materially and legally, directly depended on the church. Initially, they belonged to the clerical zemstvo. But in 1897 the Armenian schools were transferred to the Ministry of Public Education.⁷⁴ In the first half of the 19th century Abbot of the Qarasuvbazar Catholic Church, Minas Medicine, with the help of the local community, established a Catholic school for Armenians.⁷⁵ In 1825, a parish school was opened at the expense of the Qarasuvbazar Greek society.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, we do not have any information describing these institutions in terms of architecture.

4.5. SOCIALLY SIGNIFICANT ARCHITECTURE OF THE CITY

Evliya Çelebi wrote that there are four large baths (hammam) in the city, but he named only two of them - Şirin bey hamam (located next to the caravanserai of the same name) and Taymaz Mirza hamam. From other sources, such baths as Büyük Hamam and Ermeni Hamam were known.⁷⁷ From the sicil records, we can conclude that there were also public baths such as Çay Hamam, Büyük Hamam, Tayma Mirza, Şirin Bey, Hacı Murad Hamam, and Sadık efendi maallesi Hamam.⁷⁸

Sicil records confirm Evliya Çelebi's testimony of a large number of coffee houses and establishments selling alcohol (meykhane).⁷⁹ According to Demidov, who visited Qarasuv in the middle of the 19th century there was a special quarter in the city, located on a spacious street, paved better than others, in this quarter the central coffee shops of the city were concentrated.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ В. Васильев, Н. Чемодуров, «Роль земств Таврической губернии в развитии народного образования в начале XX в.,» *Крымский архив* № 4 (23) (2016): с. 40.

⁷⁵ ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 217, л. 58.

⁷⁶ ГАРК, Ф. 100, оп. 1, д. 269, л. 1-2.

⁷⁷ Возгрин, *История крымских татар*, II, с. 82.

⁷⁸ Q.Ş.S., с. 33, fol. 1b, h. 1; Q.Ş.S., с. 47, fol. 19a, h. 2.

⁷⁹ Q.Ş.S., с. 33, fol. 83b, h. 755; Q.Ş.S., с. 33, fol. 76a, h. 682; Q.Ş.S., с. 47, fol. 56b, h. 380.

⁸⁰ Демидов, *Путешествие в Южную Россию*, с. 446.

CONCLUSION

Located at the crossroads of trade routes between west and east, north and south, Qarasuv has had significant potential since its beginning. Even though the exact date of the city's foundation is unknown, most researchers agree that this area was inhabited already in the 13th century. In the time of the Crimean Khanate it was known as so-called trade capital of the state. During the time of the Russian Empire, significant changes in the functions and general significance of the city should be noted.

Although Qarasuv was attacked several times in the 17th century, the biggest blow for it was the Lacy campaign in 1737, as well as the Russian campaign of 1771. Qarasuv's shaken stability after those campaigns was never fully restored. It should also be noted a sharp change in the population after the annexation of Crimea in 1783, which was also followed by a decrease in the quality and quantity of local production. The new government deliberately shifted the focus of attention and influence from the main cities of the Crimean Khanate (like Bahçesaray and Qarasuv), which also prevented the city from returning to its former positions.

It is also worth noting that during the period of the Crimean Khanate, the city was under the direct control of the *kalga-sultan*, the first heir to the khan. Also, Qarasuv and its surroundings were considered the home of the most influential Crimean family - the Şirins. Representatives of this family had great power at the khan's court and held the highest positions there. Considering Qarasuv an important city for themselves, representatives of the Şirin clan built palaces, houses, mosques, schools, bridges etc. here.

City really changed in commercial and handicraft aspects after the establishment of Russian power on the territory of the former Crimean Khanate. If during the period of khanate Qarasuv was considered not only the trading capital of this state but also the center of international trade and production in the Black Sea region, then in the subsequent imperial period the city could only claim the status of a local market.

In addition to the areas already mentioned, the ratio of the ethnic diversity of people in high positions has also changed. After 1783, both on the territory of the entire peninsula and in Qarasuv, in particular, the Muslim population ceased to be a leading and driving force in government and decision-making. This can be considered an

additional reason (to the already existing political, religious, cultural, and ideological reasons), according to which the indigenous Muslim population continued to migrate from the territory of the peninsula throughout the 19th century. Qarasuv has come a long way from one of the largest and most populous cities on the peninsula to an almost no-name imperial town.

Summing up the overall result, we can say that, in general, the accession of Crimea to the territory of the Russian Empire changed position of Qarasuvbazar in the international trade arena, as well as its significance as a city of the peninsula as a whole. It should understand that changes in the management system directly affected all spheres of life of the population. As for Russia, this empire achieved its long-term goal and secured a passage to the “southern seas”, as well as extend its lands by adding new territories. Also, we must not forget about the elimination of their old enemy - the Crimean khan.

For Crimea, this turned out to be the acquisition of a new government, completely different from the one that has been here for the past four centuries. Demographic changes caused by the migration of the Muslim population, as well as the forced eviction of the local Christian population (mainly Greeks and Armenians), affected the economic and agricultural development of the region. Against the background of such cities as Aqmescit-Simferopol and Akyar-Sevastopol, the former capitals of the Khanate - Bahçesaray and Qarasuv turned out to be less adaptive to the changes that befell these territories.

The comparative structure of the narrative of this work, as well as the analysis of the main aspects of the city of Qarasuvbazar, demonstrated the changes that one city of the former Crimean Khanate underwent with the influence of imperial Russia. Undoubtedly, there is still a lot of work to be done to fully disclose this topic. Such a complex issue requires more attention and detailed elaboration on the part of a group of specialists. However, I dare to hope that this small study made it possible to visually trace the changes and understand the possibilities of direction for subsequent work.

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APPENDIX – 1



1. Carlo Bossoli. Karasou-bazar. 24 views of the Crimea, taken from nature and lithographed by C. Bossoli in 1842: [album] / [lithograph. K. Bassoli]. - Odessa: Lithograph. D. Klenova, 1842.

APPENDIX – 2

Population of the Qarasuv city from the late 18th century to first half of the 20th century

Source	Author	Year	Population
Traveler notes	Romme ¹	1786	approx. 3,500
Traveler notes	Miranda ²	1786-1787	2,000
Observations	Pallas ³	1793-1794	1,500 (only males)
Archive	Local census ⁴	1794-1795	1,169 (only townspeople)
General-purpose description	Kondaraki ⁵	1802	3,000
Traveler notes	Montperreux ⁶	1843	15,000

¹ Ромм, *Путешествие*, с. 40.

² Миранда, *Путешествие*, с. 73.

³ Паллас, *Наблюдения*, с. 111.

⁴ Аирчинская, «Карасубазар», с. 7.

⁵ Кондраки, *Универсальное описание*, с. 53-54.

⁶ Ф. Дюбуа де Монпере, *Путешествие по Кавказу, к черкесам и абхазам, в Грузию, Армению и в Крым* (Симферополь: Бизнес-Информ, 2009), с. 116.

Traveler notes	Mrs. Andrew Neilson ⁷	1855	15,000
New Russian calendar ⁸		1863	10,317
Commemorative book	Khanatsky ⁹	1867	10,317
General-purpose description	Kondaraki ¹⁰	1870	16,000
Guidebook	Sosnogorova ¹¹	1871	10,317
Guidebook	Livanov ¹²	1875	10,000
Reminiscence	Gorchakova ¹³	1884	Over 11,000
Guidebook	Feigin ¹⁴	1888	Up to 12,000

⁷ Mrs. Andrew Neilson, *The Crimea*, p. 86.

⁸ «Состояние народонаселения в колониях иностранных поселенцев южного края России в 1865 году: По вероисповеданиям,» *Новороссийский календарь на 1867 год* (Одесса, 1867), с. 76.

⁹ К. Ханацкий, *Памятная книга Таврической губернии, изданная Таврическим губернским статистическим комитетом*, вып. 1, (Симферополь, 1867), с. 298.

¹⁰ Кондараки, *Универсальное описание*, с. 53-54.

¹¹ М. Сосногорова, *Путеводитель по Крыму для путешественников* (Одесса: Типография Нитче, 1871), с. 283.

¹² *Путеводитель по Крыму с историческим описание достопримечательностей Крыма*, ред. Ф. Ливанов (Москва: Типография Т. Рис, 1875), с. 4.

¹³ *Воспоминания о Крыме*, с. 112.

¹⁴ Фейгин, *Путеводитель по Крыму*, с. 59.

Population census	Paschenya ¹⁵	1889	13,414
Archive	Taurica Treasury Chamber ¹⁶	Sec. half of 19 th century	1,699 (only male townspeople)
Guidebook	Golovkinsky ¹⁷	1894	14,923
Encyclopedic dictionary ¹⁸		1895	14,812
Guidebook	Bezchinsky ¹⁹	1904	17,000
Archive ²⁰		1913	18,860 9,000 (Muslims)
Guidebook	Moskvich ²¹	1914	18,860
Guidebook	Vagin ²²	1923	5,851

¹⁵ Пашеня, *Государственное управление*, с. 77.

¹⁶ ГАРК, Ф. 169, оп. 1, д. 268, л. 2.

¹⁷ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, сост. Н. Головкинский (Симферополь: Типография Спифо, 1894), с. 98.

¹⁸ *Энциклопедический словарь*, т. XIV А (Санкт-Петербург, 1895), с. 457-458.

¹⁹ А. Безчинский, *Путеводитель по Крыму* (Москва: Типография Кумнерев, 1904), с. 415.

²⁰ ГАРК, Ф. 42, оп. 1, д. 534, л. 7.

²¹ Г. Москвич, *Иллюстрированный практический путеводитель по Крыму с приложением* (Санкт-Петербург: Редакция «Путеводителей», 1914), с. 633.

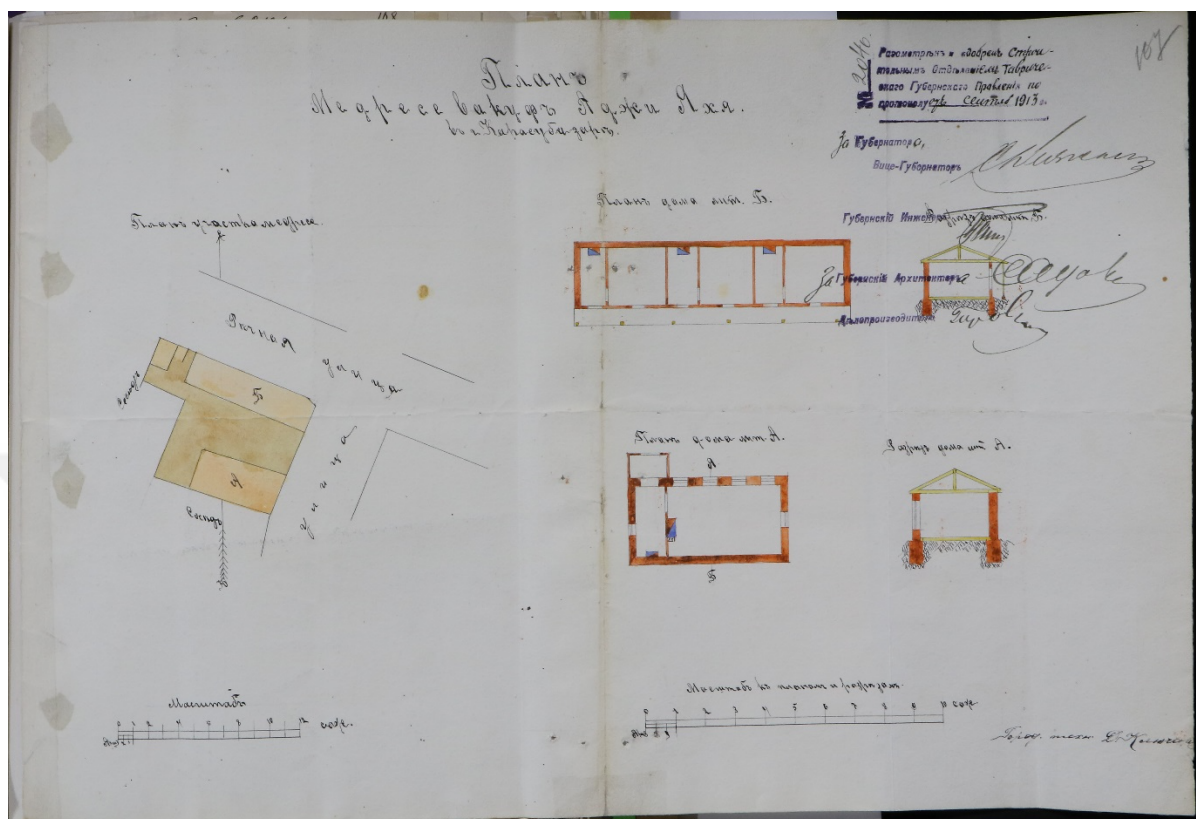
²² Л. С. Вагин, Е. В. Вульф, П. А. Двойченко, и В. В. Соколов, *Крым. Путеводитель* (Симферополь: Крымиздат, 1923), с. 229.

Guidebook	Markevich and others ²³	1925	In the last days of the khanate – 40,000 In 1914 – 17,000 In 1923 – 5,749
Essays on Crimea	Voloshinov ²⁴	1929	7,625

²³ *Путеводитель по Крыму*, ред. А. Маркевич, А. Полканов, Н. Эрнст (Симферополь: Крымгосиздат, 1925), с. 39.

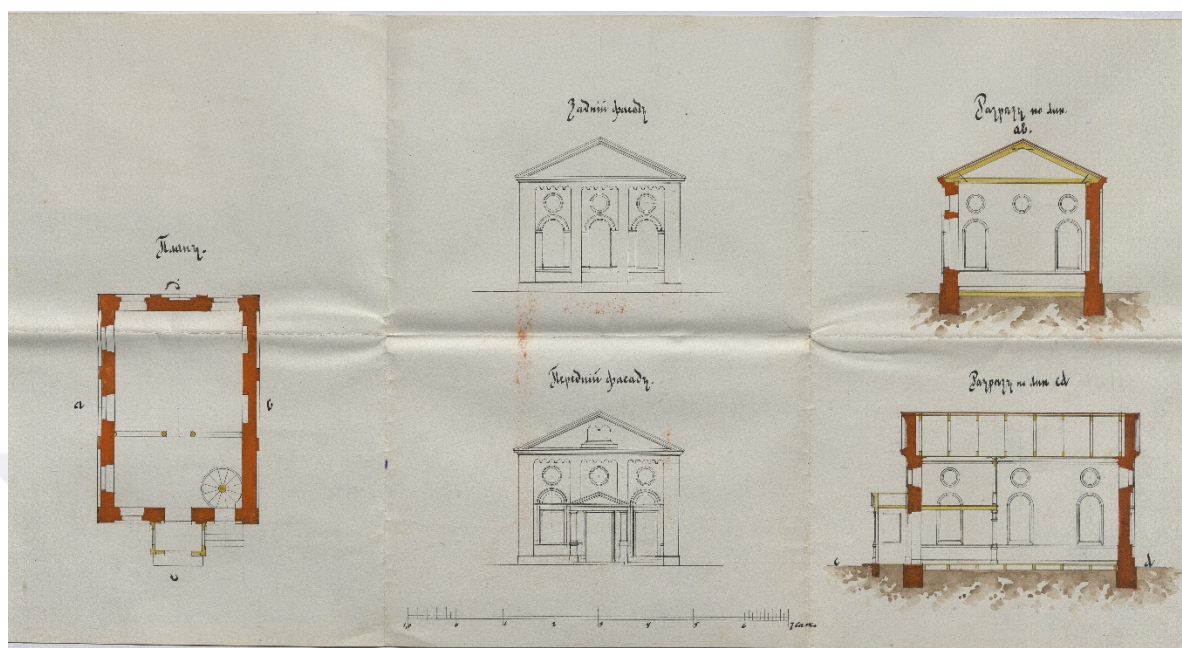
²⁴ *Крым. Путеводитель*, ред. И. Волошинова (Симферополь: Крымское государственное издательство, 1928), с. 266.

APPENDIX – 3



3. The plan of the Acı Yahya waqf madrasah in Qarasubazar. ГАРК, Ф. 27, он. 13, д. 4712, л. 107.

APPENDIX – 4



2. Plan of the prayer house of the Karaite community in the city of Qarasuvbazar. ГАРК, Ф. 241, он. 1, д. 1602, л. 1.