

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article

The Evolution of Land System Terminology in the Crimean Khanate: From Chinggisian Roots to Ottoman Influences*

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Abstract

The administrative structure of the Crimean Khanate was based on a land system with a hierarchical division between the ruling dynasty and the tribal aristocracy. This system maintained the administrative traditions established during the Mongol Empire and was refined during the Golden Horde period and later adopted by various successor khanates. Despite the Crimean Khanate's integration into Ottoman political spheres from the late 15th century on, the land system, deeply rooted in tribal aristocracy, persisted. This study explores the Khanate's land system and its lexicon within the broader context of Mongolian administrative paradigms established by Chinggis Khan and adapted by the Golden Horde. The terminological and functional aspects of the administrative structure are examined through an analysis of primary sources, including diplomatic correspondence and significant historical documents from the Crimean Khanate period. The investigation includes a philological and historical analysis of institutional terminology to trace its lexicosemantic evolution through historical transitions.

Keywords

Crimean Khanate, Old Crimean Tatar, state institutions, land system, terminology.

* Date of Arrival: 4 August 2024 – Date of Acceptance: 3 February 2025

Citation: Arpacı, Mehmet, and Halil İskender. "The Evolution of Land System Terminology in the Crimean Khanate: From Chinggisian Roots to Ottoman Influences." *bilig*, no. 115, 2025, pp. 85-109, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.8280>.

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Çingizoğullarından Osmanlıya Kırım Hanlığı'nda Toprak Nizamı İstılahatının Tekâmülü*

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Öz

Kırım Hanlığı idari teşkilatı, hanedan üyeleri ile kabile aristokrasisi arasında hiyerarşik bir bölünmeye dayanan bir toprak nizamıyla tahkim edilmişti. Bu teşkilatlanma Moğol İmparatorluğu'yla doğan ve Altın Ordâ'da zenginleştirilip halefi hanlıklarca da benimsenen idari geleneklerin bir devamıydı. Kırım Hanlığı 15. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Osmanlı siyasi birliğine dâhil olmuş olmasına rağmen, kabile aristokrasisine derinden kök salmış olan toprak nizamı, devletin yıkılışına kadar büyük ölçüde muhafaza edilmiştir. Bu çalışma, Kırım Hanlığı'nın toprak nizamı ve ilişkili kelime dağarcığının, Çingiz Han zamanında vaz edilip Altın Ordâ'da tatbik edilen Moğol idare dizgesi içinde açıklamalı bir dökümünü sunmak gayretindedir. İdare yapısının terimsel ve işlevsel özellikleri, Kırım Hanlığı döneminden kalma diplomatik yazışmalar ve önemli tarihî belgeler gibi birincil kaynaklara başvurularak tahlil edilmektedir. Araştırma, kurumlar ıstılahatının tarihî geçiş dönemlerinde maruz kaldığı lügat ve mana evrimlerini takip etmek için filolojik ve tarihî bir tetkik sunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kırım Hanlığı, tarihî Kırım Tatarcası, devlet teşkilatı, toprak nizamı, ıstılahat.

* Geliş Tarihi: 4 Ağustos 2024 – Kabul Tarihi: 3 Şubat 2025

Atıf: Arpacı, Mehmet, ve Halil İskender. "The Evolution of Land System Terminology in the Crimean Khanate: From Chinggisian Roots to Ottoman Influences." *bilig*, no. 115, 2025, ss. 85-109, <https://doi.org/10.12995/bilig.8280>.

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Introduction

The Crimean Khanate, established around 1441 by Haji I Girey, marked a significant geopolitical development.¹ Centered on the Crimean Peninsula, it reached its peak in the mid-16th century, spanning from Bessarabia in the west to the Caucasus in the east and from the southern Black Sea coast to northern Russia. This sovereignty lasted until the Russian forcible takeover of Crimea in 1783 (Allworth 326; Fisher, *The Russian Annexation* 2-3; Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* 44; Ostapchuk 147). A key part of the Crimean Khanate's history is its change from a part of the Golden Horde to an independent state (Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences 879). Before the 15th century, the region was part of the Golden Horde and experienced major administrative and cultural changes. The new Khanate's administration centered on the *khan* and *khanzadas* of the Girey dynasty, incorporating aristocratic tribal lords and *miṛzās* who upheld Chinggis Khan's laws. This administrative model was deeply rooted in Golden Horde traditions and reflected old Mongolian social structures (Halperin 26).

The 1475 Ottoman conquest of Kefe² had a significant impact on the state organization of the Crimean Khanate, particularly during Mengli Girey Khan's rule (1478-1514) (Kizilov 40-41). The Ottoman influence intensified under Sahib I Girey Khan (1532-1551), who established the gate servant organization to strengthen central authority. İnalçık notes substantial Ottoman-inspired changes in the state's *Divân* organization during this period ("Han ve Kabile" 101). Despite the profound Ottoman influence in the 16th and 17th centuries, the core institutions of the Crimean Khanate's internal dynamics remained intact until its fall. These institutions were rooted in a land system managed by *begs* and *miṛzās* of the tribal aristocracy and *khanzadas*, descendants of Chinggis Khan.³ This framework, embedded in Crimea's traditional socio-cultural fabric, persisted until the state's dissolution (Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* 23-24). The persistence of these traditional structures raises important questions about how and why the Khanate maintained its administrative identity amidst external pressures.

To explore these complexities, this study employs a philological analysis, involving the meticulous examination of historical texts to trace the development, usage, and semantic shifts of specific administrative terms

over time. This method includes analyzing the etymology, morphology, and contextual usage of terms in primary sources. Complementing this is a historical analysis that situates these terms within the broader socio-political developments of their respective eras. By combining these methods, the research aims to understand the linguistic evolution and the administrative changes reflected in the terminology.

Primary sources analyzed include diplomatic correspondences, *yarlıg*s (decrees), and *bitigs* (letters) from the Crimean Khanate.⁴ These documents provide firsthand insights into the administrative practices and terminologies of each period.⁵ The study systematically examines these sources to identify key administrative terms and their usage, trace changes in meanings and functions across different historical contexts, and compare terminologies to highlight continuities and transformations.

The evolution of land system terminology in the Crimean Khanate reflects a deliberate effort to preserve traditional Mongol administrative practices while adapting to new political realities under Ottoman influence. The Khanate maintained core elements of Mongol administrative structures, as evidenced by the persistence of specific terminologies, despite external influences. When administrative terms change, it is a sign that governments, power relationships, and cultural interactions are also changing. By looking at these shifts in language, we can gain insight into how political structures work.

Key issues addressed include the origins of administrative terms and how their meanings and functions evolved from the Mongol Empire through the Golden Horde to the Crimean Khanate.⁶ The study examines the ways in which Ottoman political and cultural influences affected the traditional land system and its terminology. Additionally, it explores what these terminological changes reveal about the Crimean Khanate's strategies for maintaining its administrative identity and authority. By combining language and history, this study aims to deepen our understanding of how the Crimean Khanate's land system terminology evolved over time. The findings have implications for scholars interested in the intersections of language, culture, and administration in historical contexts.

From Clans to Khanates: Tracing the Development of Land Systems and Political Hierarchies in the Mongol Era

In the early Mongolian social structure (11th to 13th centuries), the land system was rudimentary. Before the 13th century, Mongol tribes and clans⁷ elected rulers, called *ka'ans*, from noble families. These rulers had limited and provisional authority and minimal hereditary power (Vladimirtsov 123). The Mongolian state organization, based on 11th to 13th-century social constructs, continued to evolve as Western Mongols distanced themselves from the central Mongol administration in the 13th century (Derman 345). This period brought changes in roles within the Turco-Mongol khanates, influenced by socio-cultural transformations. However, the core organizational principles from the Mongol Empire remained evident in the administrative structures of both the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate (Egorov 32).

In the 13th century, each tribe was led by its own *ka'an*, all holding equivalent status. These tribes operated independently without a unified political structure. This primitive administration changed after the Mongol Empire's establishment and the division of territories among the Chinggisids (Kemaloğlu, "Büyük Moğol" 33). Chinggis Khan's consolidation of Mongolian tribes in 1206 marked a fundamental shift in sovereignty. He established a military-centric administrative order, organizing subjects into tens, hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands (*The Secret History* 161-162). He became the supreme ruler, adopting the titles *kan* and *ka'an* symbolizing the "supreme khan, ruler of all Mongolia". Lands held by tribal lords were considered possessions of the Mongol khan and his tribe (Carpini 124).

In the Mongol Empire, the *ka'an* was the highest authority. The *kübegüns*, *khanzadas* of the Chinggis lineage, governed imperial territories under the supreme khan (Carpini 120; Kemaloğlu, "Büyük Moğol" 38). Chinggis Khan allocated state territories to his sons, who were considered *begs* holding fiefs. The *kübegüns'* lands were divided among their sons, expanding the number of *kübegüns* and their *hubis* within the empire (Vladimirtsov 151).

The *kübegüns'* lands were managed by *noyans*, who held various military ranks such as division commanders, majors, captains, and corporals. These *noyans* were subordinate to the land's original owner, the *khanzada* (<

Mongolian *kübegün*), and subsequently to the supreme khan (< Mongolian *қа'ан*) (Vladimirtsov 157).

The Golden Horde's conquest of the Idel-Ural region in 1236 under Batu Khan and sovereignty over Dashti Kipchak influenced the state's social and cultural fabric. Interaction with Kipchak tribes led to a Turkicization of the Golden Horde in language and culture, but the state structure rooted in Mongolian principles was preserved (Allworth 6; DeWeese 81).

In the early Golden Horde, suzerainty mirrored the absolute power of *қан/қа'ан*s under Chinggis Khan. The term *hān* referred to rulers from Chinggis Khan's eldest son, Jochi. *Hāns*, elected at *qurultays*, were considered the owners of the allotted fiefs that fell to *Jochi ulus*⁸ (Nedashkovsky 1-2; Yakubovskiy 71). They would distribute their own fiefs among their sons and appoint the landholders loyal to them (Derin 234-235).

Political turbulence and power struggles among the Chinggis lineage's *khanzadas* persisted in the Golden Horde post-Janibek Khan. From the mid-14th century, khans sought alliances with aristocratic Mongolian-origin tribal lords, the *қараңы begs*, to consolidate their rule. These *begs*, from tribes like *Şirin*, *Barın*, *Argın*, and *Kipchak*, influenced domestic and foreign policy and provided military support. Their power within the state's administration was significant since the reign of Uzbek Khan (Başer, "Kırım Hanlığı" 335; Derin Paşaoğlu 158; Manz 285; Öztürk, "Doğu Avrupa" 33; Kemaloğlu, "Altın Orda" 134; Favereau 290-293; Schamiloğlu 156-158).

The Golden Horde khans, supported by the *begs*, were considered landowners of territories ruled by Chinggis's descendants and the noble class's *noyans*. The khans' internal authority depended on their control over the *қараңы begs* (Derin Paşaoğlu 157; Ivanics, "Die Şirin" 28; Ostapchuk 150). From the mid-14th century, the Golden Horde *hāns* struggled to establish absolute authority due to ongoing political rivalries (İnalçık, "Han ve Kabile" 98).

Terms of Power: Tracing the Terminological Evolution in the Crimean Khanate's Land Administration

In the early period of the Crimean Khanate (15th century), its administrative structure mirrored that of the Golden Horde. The Khanate was governed by a land system, dividing state lands between the *hān* family and the *mīrās* (Derman 357).

By the 14th century, the Golden Horde's administrative order began to diverge from traditional nomadic structures due to urbanization. This mix of nomadic and sedentary regions led to aristocratic *begs* becoming more than just landowners with military obligations; they took on state positions. Thus, the Crimean Khanate was organized by the tribal aristocracy and influential feudal *begs* (Egorov 235; Ocaklı 25-26).

The Crimean Khanate's land system followed a hierarchy of *hān*, *oğlan*, *beg*, and *mīrzā*.⁹ The *hān* lineage traced back to the Golden Horde and the Mongol Empire, legitimizing the khan's rule over Crimea. However, the khan's power depended on satisfying noble tribal lords through successful plunder and military revenues (Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* 35-36).

Official Crimean correspondence indicates that after the *hān*, the *oğlans*, descended from Chinggis Khan, came next in the hierarchy (Egorov 220). Each of the *oğlans* had their own *ulus*, and these individuals also served as military commanders of administrative units such as *tümen* "ten thousand", *min* "thousand", and *yüz* "hundred" (Velyaminov-Zernov 4/7). During the Golden Horde era, the noble persons who were responsible for the administration of the lands belonging to the *oğlans* (members of the khan lineage) were known by the title *beg* rather than *noyan* (< Mongolian *noyan*). In official Crimean correspondence, the term *oğlan* also refers to *khanzadas* belonging to the Gerey dynasty (Velyaminov-Zernov 112/36). In official correspondence, this class began to be called *ulan künis* in the 17th century (Velyaminov-Zernov 15/99).

Subsequent to the sons of the Chinggis lineage in the state protocol were the four *ķaraķı begs*, who served as influential state officials and holders of feudal estates. These *begs* possessed the autonomous right to transfer their lands to their descendants without interference from the khan, thereby creating a balance between the khan's authority and the power of tribal lords within the state administration (Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences 144-147).

In the Khanate protocol, the four *ķaraķı begs*¹⁰, who had great influence in the state administration, followed the sons of the Chinggis line. The *ķaraķı begs* constituted the upper class among the state officials in the Crimean Khanate who were fief holders and not members of the Chinggis clan

(Başer, “Kırım Hanlığı Tarihinde” 77; Blaszczyk 40-41; Kołodziejczyk 455). According to the inheritance system, they could transfer their lands to their descendants. The Crimean *hāns* had no right to interfere with the property of the *ķaraķı* (Kırımlı 68; Klein 343). Accordingly, the state organization of the Crimean Khanate adhered to the old ways and the authority of the khan was balanced by the tribal lords who had a say in the state administration (Ivanics, “Die *Şirin*” 27; Klein 327; Tott 134). This system was based on the administrative organization of the Golden Horde, which was dominated by aristocratic tribal lords who, especially by the mid-14th century, gained influence in the state cadres and limited the authority of the khan (Egorov 235).

The *ķaraķı begs*, who played an active role in administration, also decided at the *ķurultay* to appoint a member of the Gerey dynasty as *hān* (Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* 18; Ivanics, “Die *Şirin*” 28; Królikowska-Jedlińska 94). Following the old Mongol custom, there was no system of patrilineal succession in the election of a new *hān*; the *ķurultay* had a direct role in this process (Favereau Doumenjou and Geever 460). In the Crimean Khanate’s land system, the *ķaraķı begs*, who held the highest rank in the Crimean tribal aristocracy, were followed by other begs and *mīrzās* (Velyaminov-Zernov 37/85-88). The Crimean *hāns* derived their administrative and military power from these *ķaraķı begs* and *mīrzās* in addition to the *ķaraķı begs*. The *sultāns* of the Gerey dynasty and the *ulans*, descended from Chinggis Khan, also played an important role in this organization. These individuals served as administrative and military leaders who managed the state’s fiefs. This structure was based on the Golden Horde’s state organization, which took its final form according to the Turco-Mongolian administrative structure (Findley 87; Kołodziejczyk 364).

İnalçık states that the administrative organization consisted of a hierarchy of *hān, sons* (khanzadas), *sultāns* (members of the dynasty) who were appointed to important positions, *ulan küyins* (*küni*) who traced their lineage back to Chinggis, four *ķaraķı begs*, *mīrzās* (sons of begs who held fiefs), and *nökers* (close servants) who served the *hān* in internal and external organizations (“Han ve Kabile” 87). A 1630 *yarlıĝ* from Janibek Gerey Khan to the Russian tsar Mikhail I outlines this protocol order, listing the *hān*, *ķalĝay/ķalĝa*, *nūre’d-dīn sultans*, other dynasty sultans, and *hān’s* sons and brothers

within the Gerey dynasty (Velyaminov-Zernov 14/21-22), followed by the four *qaraçı* begs, other begs, and *mīrzās* (Velyaminov-Zernov 14/22-23).

After the Crimean Khanate became an Ottoman vassal in 1475, its administration was influenced by the Ottoman system and the court organization of Crimea began to be reorganized particularly during Sahib Gerey Khan I's reign (İnalçık, "Kırım" 19). While maintaining old customs, a new organization incorporating Ottoman elements was established, preserving the traditional land system based on tribal aristocracy until the state's collapse.

Significant changes in the court organization of the Crimean Khanate that began in the 16th century were finalized in the 17th century. During this time, the palace located in Hansaray was organized following the Ottoman palace model (Yaşa, *Bahçesaray* 19-20). Thus, while adhering to the old customary order, a special organization was established that was also fed by the Ottoman administrative organization to which it was subordinated. Despite all these political consequences, the traditional identity of the land system, which formed the basis of the administrative organization of the Crimean Khanate, based on tribal aristocracy, was preserved until the collapse of the state. Accordingly, the social order rooted in the Golden Horde period was maintained (Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* 36).

In the Crimean Khanate, another remnant of the traditional land system is the position of the guard. In the Golden Horde period, the titles of *nöker* and *keşik* had an important place in the land system of the state. In the Golden Horde, *nökers* were noble tribesmen appointed to manage the lands belonging to the sons of Jochi. In the state, the families to which these individuals belonged could rule the assigned *ulus* lands by passing them down from generation to generation. Within this hereditary link, the families of the vassals were given the title of *bayrı* (Kafalı 129). It is observed that within the state structure, which was organized according to Mongolian legal principles, the sons of the landowners and their vassals constituted an integral component of the land system.

In the Golden Horde, the *keşik* organization was established to strengthen the central authority of the *ulu hān*. In the state, the *keşik* served as upper-class guard troops that balanced the military and administrative power of

the *begs* holding fiefs (Yakubovskiy 74). Accordingly, in the Golden Horde, which developed separately on the basis of the Turco-Mongolian state organization in the West after the 13th century, traces of the Mongolian land system of the Chinggis Khan period can be seen in the institution of *nöker* and *keşik* (Morgan 34-35).

In the state organization of the Crimean Khanate, the term *nöker* lost its importance within the land system of the state and was used in a much more specific sense. In this period, the term *nöker* referred to trusted individuals who were in the company of members of the dynasty or high-ranking bureaucrats. Since they were the personal bodyguards of the *hân* in the state, they occupied a special position and were kept separate from the ordinary military class (İnalçık, “Han ve Kabile” 90). *Nökers* also played an active role in state affairs. Crimean official correspondence shows that *they* were part of ambassadorial delegations (Velyaminov-Zernov 1/24, 261/184) and took part in hosting foreign envoys to Crimea (Velyaminov-Zernov 60/24-26). According to this, *nökers* were people who undertook diplomatic duties in the Crimean state organization in addition to their military duties and knew the palace protocol.

It is known that Sahib I Gerek Khan (1532-1551), in order to strengthen the centralized authority of the Khanate, prohibited his retinue from collecting taxes from the *re'âyâ* called *kara halk* (İnalçık, “Han ve Kabile” 100). Despite these initiatives, it can be argued that the influence of the *nökers* at the court persisted as a vestige of the old state organization until the last period of the Crimean Khanate.

Decoding the Administrative Lexicon of the Crimean Khanate

The lexical evolution within the administrative structures of the Crimean Khanate offers a unique lens into the dynamic interplay between governance, culture, and language. This section explores the adaptation and transformation of key administrative terms, which have their roots in Old Turkic and Mongolian origins, across different eras and reflects broader socio-political changes.

The term *ka'an*, originally from Old Turkic *kağan*, denotes a “ruler”. Historically used for clan chiefs with limited authority, this term underwent a transformation during Chinggis Khan's reign to signify a “great ruler”

or “leader of the entire nation”, reflecting his expansive leadership and centralized power (Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische III* 1161). *Hān*, meaning “prince, noble, lord” in Persian, originally derived from Old Turkic *kān/hān*, indicates how terminologies adapted and were adopted in different regions like the Golden Horde through Persian influence (Steingass 443b; Nadelyayev et al. 417; Clauson 630a; Özyetgin and Kemaloğlu 55). The political power of the *hāns* in the Crimean Khanate lacked absolute authority, as in the case of the *hāns* of the Golden Horde. Accordingly, the term *hān* in the state organization of the Crimean Khanate was far from the meaning of “absolute ruler” in the Ottoman and Mongol Empire (İnalçık, “Han ve Kabile” 87-88).

Similarly, the Middle Mongolian term *tümen* “ten thousand” originally referred to both a literal and metaphorical large quantity in Old Turkic. This term also described a military unit of ten thousand soldiers. Under Chinggis Khan, *tümen* not only retained its military connotation but also came to signify administrative units, as lands and populations were divided into decimally structured units overseen by aristocratic lords, known as *noyans*. This administrative stratification mirrored the military organization, which was based on a decimal framework (Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische II* 983; Clauson 507b; Arsal 372-373; Vladimirtsov 154-159). It is noteworthy that Öztürk expresses the view that the term *thema*, used in the East Roman Empire as a financial, military, and economic term starting from the 7th century, actually derives from the term *tümen* found in the organizational structures of the Turkic-Mongol states in Central Asia. Furthermore, Öztürk suggests that *tümen*¹¹ may have both an etymological and functional connection with the Ottoman term *timar* alongside the East Roman term *thema* (“Timar-Thema” 201-203).

The term *kübegün* in Middle Mongolian means “son, male offspring”. During Chinggis Khan’s era, it evolved to denote princelings or grandsons of the khan, specifically those entrusted with governing fiefs, known as *hubi*, a share of land conferred by the sovereign either as an inheritance or as a fief (Lessing 494; Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische I* 294).

The title *noyan*, which signifies “lord, prince, chief, commander, senior” in Mongolian, was historically used for chieftains of nomadic tribes, known as *oboh*, in the 11th and 12th centuries. In *Umdetü’r-tevârih*, Abdülgaḥḥar

Kırımî defines the title of *noyan* as “a nobleman belonging to the lineage of Chinggis Khan” (Derin 221). By the 13th century, this title was conferred upon offspring of princes or individuals of high nobility, denoting their esteemed status within Mongolian aristocracy (Lessing 589b; Grousset 222).

Additionally, Middle Mongolian *huriltay/hurilta*, which means “great assembly of Mongol notables”, represents traditional nomadic frameworks (Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische I* 305). The diminishing significance of *kurultays* in the Golden Horde, as it transitioned from nomadic traditions to a monarchical succession system, was notably analyzed by Egorov (Egorov 234).

The term *oġlan* originates from Old Turkic *oġ(u)l*, meaning “child”, combined with the suffix *(A)n*, which indicates association and plurality (Clauson 83b; Erdal 91). In the official *yarlıġs* and *bitiġs* of the Golden Horde, *oġlan* refers to individuals associated with the Chinggisid lineage,¹² emphasizing the continuation of tribal and familial structures within the administrative framework of the state (Özyetgin and Kemaloġlu 40).

In Middle Mongolian, the term *ulus* translates to “appanage” or “population of a country”, derived from Old Turkic *ulus* meaning “homeland” or “piece of land” (Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische I* 54; Clauson 152; Nadelyayev et al. 611a). During the Golden Horde period, *ulus* referred to the lands distributed among the sons of Chinggis Khan, with *uluġ ulus* signifying the supreme administration of the state. This term also marked the political organization that presided over medieval city-states and Chinggisid formations, reflecting the overarching state identity (Egorov 209-210; Özyetgin and Kemaloġlu 40). The term “Golden Horde” itself, commonly used to describe the state, only appeared in Russian annals post-dissolution from the second half of the 16th century onwards (Egorov 206). In the Crimean Khanate, *ulus* continued to be used, denoting a political continuity with the Golden Horde through terms like *uluġ ulus* and *uluġ yurt* in their diplomatic correspondences (Velyaminov-Zernov 5/3, 17/2).

The designation *beg*, meaning “a leader of a clan or tribe, a chief subordinate to someone”, also featured prominently in the Golden Horde’s *yarlıġs* and *bitiġs* (Clauson 322b; Özyetgin and Kemaloġlu 6). This term highlights the hierarchical yet federated nature of leadership within the Golden Horde’s governance structure.

The term *ulan küni* from the Crimean Khanate encapsulates the blending of Turkic and Mongolic elements, combining the Crimean Tatar *ulan* (from *oğlan*) and the Middle Mongolian *küni* (meaning “son, boy”), both signifying the lineage of Chinggis Khan (Stachowki 266; Lessing 509a). This special construction underlines the privileged status of *khanzadas* in the Crimean administrative organization and highlights the linguistic and administrative continuity from the Golden Horde period (Poppe 83a, 83b). Notably, the term *haraçu*, originally indicating “non-noble, person among the people”, shifted in the Golden Horde to denote landowning aristocratic families, a usage that persisted in the Crimean Khanate until the state’s collapse, underscoring significant shifts in societal structures (Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische I* 274).

The term *kalğay*, derived from Middle Mongolian *hağalg-a(n)/haalgā* meaning “great gate”, was used in the Crimean Khanate to denote the “sultan of the Gerey clan, heir to the khan”. This position, established in 1475 by Mengli Gerey Khan, represented a significant development as it did not exist in the Golden Horde. *Kalğay* sultans resided in Akmesçid and maintained their own court retinue and organization, playing active roles in the state’s administration, including diplomatic and military duties (Lessing 906; İnalçık, “Kalğay” 37; Velyaminov-Zernov 35/369-526, 40/316-387; Arpacı and Özyetgin 194-201; Ivanics, “The Military” 281).

Associated with the *kalğay* was the *nüre’d-dīn*, meaning “light of religion” in Arabic, a title first bestowed during the reign of Mehmed II Gerey Khan. This title designated the heir apparent of the *kalğay sultan*, further illustrating the integration of Islamic influences into the Crimean aristocratic titles (Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* 23; Halīm Giray 55; Velyaminov-Zernov, 31/191-237, 35/527-617, 40/388-442, 47/24).

The Crimean Khanate also saw the emergence of the *kapıkulu mīrzāları* (*kapıkulu mīrzās*), a class mostly comprising members of Circassian slave origin, such as the Kudalak, Avlan, Kemal, Uzic, and Kaya families. Influenced heavily by the Ottoman *kapıkulu* system, this class included the oldest clan, the Kudalak, who had the right to attend the *dīvān* on behalf of the *kapıkulu mīrzāları*. The *dīvān* itself was restructured to include both traditional representatives such as the *hān*, *kalğay*, *nüre’d-dīn*, *Şirinlerin begi* (*beg* of a prestigious family of the *karaçıs*), *ulu ağa* (the grand vizier of the

khan), *aķtacı beg* and new Ottoman-influenced positions¹³ like *ķāz* ‘asker, *ķāzī*, *ser-* ‘asker, *müftī*, *ķazāne-dār başı*, *defter-dār*, *kilerci başı*, *dīvān efendisi* and *ķullar aķası*¹⁴ (İnalçık, “Kırım” 21-23; Yaşa, *Bahķesaray* 21).

The term *nöker* has its etymological roots in Middle Turkic *nöker*, meaning “friend, comrade, partner” as documented by Argunşah and Güner (I 49a/20), tracing further back to Middle Mongolian *nöker*, which carries the connotations of “comrade, friend, helper” as noted by Doerfer (*Türkische und mongolische I* 388). The derivative *nökerlik* originally pertains to the social structure of old Mongol society and was later adopted by the state organization of the Golden Horde before being integrated into the Crimean Khanate’s governance framework.

Historically, during the early medieval period (11th-13th centuries), the term *nöker* identified individuals entrusted with the security of tribal and clan leaders among the Mongols. This role gained institutional prominence under the leadership of Chinggis Khan in the 13th century, as he unified all Mongolian clans (Morgan 34-35). The *nökers* not only continued their traditional roles but also ascended to prominent military and administrative positions, becoming integral members of the aristocratic ruling class under the unified Mongol state, as detailed by Vladimirtsov (133-138). In subsequent developments, the *nökers* expanded their influence within the administrative and military structures, forming their own elite military units at the behest of their leaders. This evolution marked the inception of a specialized corps within the Mongol military, akin to an elite guard, further elaborated by Vladimirtsov (142-146). This transformation highlights the *nökers*’ transition from personal guardians to influential aristocrats within the Mongol imperial framework.

During Chinggis Khan’s reign, the old Mongol tradition of *nökerlik* developed further with the establishment of *ķeşik* units, meaning “monarch guard”. These guards played pivotal roles both as the vanguard of the khan’s private army and as palace guards, eventually representing an upper class within the Mongol state organization. Notable military leaders were often selected from these elite *ķeşik* units (Dorfer, *Türkische und mongolische I* 331; Barthold 383; Grousset 213; Vladimirtsov 178).

In the Crimean Khanate, similar positions to *nökerlik* and *keşiklik* existed, such as *kazaktaşlık*, which designated trusted individuals in the khan's entourage. According to the Ottoman records, a group of Nogay nomads, accompanied by some Crimean Tatar nomads, migrated to Budzhak (southern Bessarabia) in 1560 due to severe poverty. They subsequently launched unauthorized raids on Polish and Ukrainian territories, leading Ottoman authorities to label them as *kazaks* in the sense of bandits and irregular troops¹⁵ (Lee 76). Lee explores the development of the institution of *kazaklık* in the post-Mongol Eurasia and asserts that it emerged due to the weakening of central authority in the khanates that arose following the fragmentation of the Mongol Empire (Lee 21-22).

Within the Crimean Khanate, however, the term *kazak* did not denote bandit groups but was instead used to describe slaves who attained a certain level of maturity and responsibility in the administrative and social structures of the Khanate (Yaşa, "Desperation" 200; Yaşa, "Slaves Holding Slaves" 138). Those who supported members of the ruling dynasty during internal conflicts and succession battles were called *kazaktaş*. These figures played crucial roles in the dynastic politics of the Khanate (İnalçık, "Han ve Kabile" 90). A similar role was observed in the Mughal Empire, where such individuals, also known as *kazak*, were central to the khan's military campaigns and intimately involved in his personal security. This illustrates the continuity and adaptation of Mongol military and administrative traditions within Turkic-Mongol state organizations (Zahîr al-Dîn Muhammad Bâbur Mîrzâ 39a).

This blend of terms from Mongol, Turkic, and Islamic sources reflects the complex overlay of cultural and administrative practices in the Crimean Khanate, illustrating the integration and evolution of various governance traditions influenced by historical legacy and contemporaneous political needs. By tracing the adaptation of these terms through the Mongol, Golden Horde, and Crimean Khanate periods, we gain deeper insights into the interwoven nature of language and power.

The table below shows the terminology related to the land system used in the study and its evolution from period to period:

Table 1

Comparative Overview of Land System Terms in the Mongol, Golden Horde, and Crimean Khanate Eras

Mongol Empire (13th century)	Golden Horde (13th-14th century)	Crimean Khanate (15th-18th century)
<i>ka'an, kan</i> “ruler”	<i>hān</i> “ruler descended from Jochi”	<i>hān</i> “ruler descended from the Gerey dynasty”
<i>kübegün</i> “a prince of the lineage of Chinggis Khan”	<i>oġlan</i> “a prince of the lineage of Chinggis Khan”	<i>oġlan</i> “a prince of the Gerey dynasty; a member of the lineage of Chinggis Khan”, <i>ulan küni/küyin</i>
_____	_____	<i>kalga/kalgay</i> “sultan of the Gerey dynasty, heir to the khan”
_____	_____	<i>nüre'd-dīn</i> “sultan of the Gerey dynasty who is the heir apparent of the Kalgay”
<i>noyan</i> “landed nobleman”	<i>noyan, beg</i> “landowning nobleman”	<i>beg/bey</i> “landowning nobleman”, <i>mürzā</i> “children of a bey”
_____	_____	<i>kapıkulu mürzāları</i> “noble families that emerged after the establishment of the <i>kapıkulu</i> system in Crimea”
<i>nöker</i> “companion, helper, guardian; landowning lord”	<i>nöker/nöger</i> “landowning gentleman”	<i>nöker</i> “khan guard”
_____	<i>ķaraķı</i> “aristocratic tribes”	<i>ķaraķı</i> “aristocratic tribes”
<i>tümen</i> “administrative and military unit”	<i>tümen</i> “administrative and military unit”	<i>tümen</i> “administrative and military unit”
<i>hubi</i> “appanage”, <i>ulus</i> “a share of land including the people”	<i>ulus</i> “a share of land that includes the people”	<i>ulus</i> “a share of land that includes the people”
_____	<i>uluġ ulus</i> “sovereign state institution that governs its subordinate nations”	<i>uluġ ulus</i> “sovereign state institution that governs its subordinate nations”
<i>ķeşik</i> “special sovereign guard selected from among the guards”	<i>ķeşik</i> “special sovereign guard selected from among the guards”	_____

Concluding Remarks

The Crimean Khanate's administrative structure initially followed the organization of the Golden Horde. Later, the Ottoman Empire significantly influenced Crimea's administration. Despite these influences, the land system rooted in the Golden Horde and old Mongolian social structure was largely preserved. In the customary order of the Crimean Khanate, the *hān* stood at the top of the land system. Below him were the Gerey dynasty's *oğlans* (*khanzadas*) who managed the land on behalf of the *hān*. The third tier comprised the *qaraçı* begs, other landowning begs, and *mīrzās*, whose nobility traced back to the Golden Horde. This structure mirrored the 13th-century Mongol state hierarchy of *ka'an-kübegün-noyan*, which continued in the Golden Horde and later in Crimea as *hān-oğlan-bey/beg*.

Remnants of the old Mongolian administrative structure include the *nöker* organization, which played a significant role in the state's land system. During the Crimean Khanate period, this organization lost its original function and came to represent a much more specialized position. From the 11th to 13th centuries, the term *nöker* originally denoted the guards of tribal lords within the old Mongol social structure. This institution was further developed during the reign of Chinggis Khan in the 13th century, evolving into the *keşiklik*, which formed the elite guard units of the *hān*. Although the *keşiklik* continued during the Golden Horde period, it disappeared in the Crimean Khanate. *Nökerlik* then lost its function within the state's land system, coming to denote a more specialized meaning as protectors and aides to the *hān* and other high-ranking individuals.

Despite changes in the court and *Dīvān* organization's functioning and terminology, the Crimean tribal aristocracy, absent in the Ottoman Empire, persisted until the collapse of the state. By the 16th century, the administrative structure had become a hybrid, integrating Ottoman institutions while maintaining the traditional organization divided by the dynasty, aristocratic tribal *begs*, and *mīrzās*. Thus, the Crimean Khanate was the last Eastern European state representing the land system-based state organization that began with the Mongol Empire and was finalized in the Golden Horde's administrative structure.

Contribution Rate Statement

The authors' contribution rates in this study are equal.

Conflict of Interest Statement

There is no conflict of interest with any institution or person within the scope of this study. There is no conflict of interest between the authors.

Notes

- 1 In the historiography of the Crimean Khanate, the pronunciation of the ruling dynasty's name, *Gerey*, shows notable diversity. Kırımli acknowledges various pronunciations of the word such as *Girey*, *Giray*, *Gerey*, *Kirey*, and *Kerey*. He emphasizes that *Gerey* is predominantly used in the regional vernacular of Crimea (43). Conversely, Jankowski's analysis outlines different orthographic variants. He notes that *Kirey*, *Kerey*, and *Keray* appear in Russian and Polish documents, *Giray* in Ottoman sources, and *Keray*, *Kiray*, and *Giray* in Hungarian records. Jankowski highlights the Kipchak root *Kerey* and explains its evolution under Ottoman influence into forms like *Gerey*, *Geray*, and *Giray*. He also suggests that the name *Giräyet biy*, a dynastic appellation among the Ural Nogai, derives from a fusion of the Kerey tribal name and the plural suffix 't', reflecting the linguistic transformation observed in Crimea. Considering all this information, Jankowski posits that although he acknowledges "Kerey" as the original form of the word, the variants *Girey/Gerey* may have become widespread over time due to the influence of Ottoman Turkish and the intention to distinguish the dynasty's name from that of the Kerey tribe (Jankowski 602-604). Notably, on a coin dated 1441/1442 minted in the name of Haji I Gerey, the first khan of the Crimean Khanate, the word is inscribed in Arabic letters as كرى (Ürekli 11). This spelling, كرى, is also observed on the tombstones of dynasty members in Turkey from the late 18th century; for example, the 1769/1770 tombstone of Batır Gerey Sultan in the Pınarhisar district of Kırklareli. Akdes Nimet Kurat, a renowned 20th-century Turkish historian of Tatar origin, suggests that the term may be of Mongolian origin. Based on the forms used by Polish and Swedish writers and the pronunciation in Crimean and Kazan Tatar, he asserts that the original form of the word should be *Gerey* (Kurat 209). Considering these linguistic and historiographical insights, this study uses the denomination *Gerey* when referring to the dynasty that governed the Crimean Khanate. This choice is informed by a careful review of the various spellings and their etymological trajectories documented in the cited scholarly works.
- 2 For information on the status of the Crimean Khanate as a vassal state after the Ottoman conquest of Kefe and the re-establishment of Ottoman-Crimean relations, see Öztürk, *Osmanlı Hâkimiyetinde Kefe* 74-76.

- 3 In historical analysis, the system established during Chinggis Khan's reign, characterized by dividing conquered lands between Chinggis Khan's lineage and noblemen, continued in the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate. This is often interpreted as Mongolian feudal system in various scholarly sources (Egorov 225; Yakubovskiy 60; Tott 134; Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* 20; Vladimirtsov 88). The question of whether this model was unique to the Mongols remains an academic inquiry. This study uses the term "land system" to denote this administrative framework, focusing on the territorial and organizational aspects of the Mongol, Golden Horde, and Crimean Khanate periods.
- 4 For an investigation dedicated to cataloguing the diplomatic terminology utilized in the official documents of the Crimean Khanate, refer to Arpacı, "Diplomatika Gelenegi".
- 5 The judicial registers from the Crimean Khanate era are critically important for identifying the administrative terminology used during that time. A comprehensive analysis of the terminology found in these extensive documents would be a separate research project in itself and is beyond the scope of this study. For a detailed catalog of these registers, the reader is directed to Yılmaz et al.
- 6 For a detailed scholarly examination of the diplomatic correspondences issued by the Crimean Khanate to major powers of the period, including the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Tsardom, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Swedish Empire, see Özyetgin's *Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Kazan Sahasına Ait Yarluk ve Bitiklerin Dil ve Üslup İncelemesi (İnceleme-Metin-Tercüme-Notlar-Dizin-Tıpkıbasım)* and Velyaminov-Zernov's collection of *Kırım Yurtına ve Ol Taraflarga Dair Bolgan Yarlıqlar ve Hatlar*. Atasoy's volumes, *Kırım Yurtına ve Ol Taraflarga Dair Bolgan Yarlıqlar ve Hatlar (1520-1742 Kırım Tatarcasıyla Yarluklar ve Mektuplar)*, provide a Latinized rendition of Velyaminov-Zernov's collection, which proves beneficial for facilitating the use of these documents without the need for additional Latinization. Nonetheless, it remains essential to cross-reference these with the original texts in Arabic script, as catalogued in the Velyaminov-Zernov edition, to fully preserve fidelity to the source material. For further exploration of the diplomatic engagements during the Golden Horde period, particularly with the Ottoman Empire and the Moscow Principality, the reader is referred to Özyetgin and Kemaloğlu.
- 7 The original term for that is *irgen*. Lessing defines *irgen* in Mongolian as "people, subjects" (414b).
- 8 The *Jochi ulus* refers to the appanage allotted to Jochi and the families, tribes, and clans living on this land (Egorov 221).

- 9 Please note that this paper does not provide an exhaustive discussion of all etymological aspects due to space limitations and thematic focus. For a comprehensive etymological analysis of the terms related to the land system found in Zernov's publication, refer to Arpacı, *Resmî Yazışmalardaki* (135-144).
- 10 Within the administrative framework of the Crimean Khanate, the influence of certain *ķaraķı* families fluctuated in accordance with prevailing political conditions. Notably, during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Mangit and Secevüt families, both of Mongolian descent, occupied a particularly prominent position among the *ķaraķı* families (Błaszczuk 41).
- 11 Turgay notes that *tümen* in Old Turkic functioned as the highest productive *base*, roughly comparable to a modern "trillion" ("A Minimalist" 137).
- 12 In Golden Horde usage, *oĝlan* has this specific meaning, but it exhibits varying meanings across different eras and languages, as it still has various senses in modern standard Turkish and other Turkic languages. For a prototype-based analysis of how such polysemy emerges, see İskender.
- 13 The 17th-century Crimean Khanate *tiyiş defters* (records detailing tribute payments from Russia) are highly significant for research purposes, as they offer valuable insights into the presence of Ottoman-derived titles within the Crimean Khanate's administrative framework. For additional information on the titles and terminology mentioned in these documents, see Arpacı, "Tiyiş Defterlerine Göre" (150–151).
- 14 From a linguistic perspective, this raises interesting questions about whether these compound-like designations were merely syntactic phrases (e.g., "treasury-holder") or had come to function as single morphological items in Crimean usage. For a theoretical framework questioning the strict boundary between morphological compounding and syntactic phrasing, see Turgay, "Lexicalism". Although the terms discussed here are not strictly multi-word structures, they illustrate how borrowed titles and compound expressions sometimes morph into unitary lexical items.
- 15 Such a way of life led to the Crimean Tatars becoming famous for their looting raids. Additionally, the ports of Crimea remained active as a slave trade center for an extended period. This situation reflects the region's deeply entrenched practice of slavery (Arpacı, "Kırım Resmî"; Yaşa, "Slaves and Violence" 436). In the Crimean Khanate, the practice of slavery was widespread, and individuals from all social classes were entitled to own slaves (Yaşa, *Desperation* 200). Enslavement was often temporary, with multiple pathways to freedom available. Once manumitted, former slaves could even become slave owners themselves. This structure enabled individuals to cross social and legal boundaries (Yaşa, "Slaves Holding Slaves" 134).

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