1970, 499-533; Agâh Sirri Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*[3] Ankara 1972, index; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*[2], Oxford 1968; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de çağdaş düşünce tarihi*[2], Istanbul 1979, index; Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, *Mehmed Emin Yurdakul'un eserleri. I. Şiirler*, T.T.K. Ankara 1969 (based on two files, prepared by the poet himself, in collaboration with Uluğ İğdemir of the Turkish Historical Society; contains M.E.'s collected works in verse with his own corrections and alterations. A promised second volume, which should contain a detailed biography, his prose writings and his translations, has not yet [November 1984] been published); for al-Afghānī's Turkish connections, see Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, passim; Osman Keskioğlu, *Cemâleddin Efgânî*, in *İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, x (1962), 91-102; Niyazi Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964, index; for translations from M.E.'s works into foreign languages, see O. Spies, *Die moderne türkische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, v/1, Leiden 1963, 360 ff. (Fahīr Iz)

MEḤMED ES'AD [see ES'AD EFENDI; GHĀLIB DEDE].

MEḤMED GIRĀY, Derwīsh Meḥmed Girāy b. Mübārek Girāy Čingizī, member of the Crimean Girāy [*q.v.*] dynasty, probably a brother of Khān Murād Girāy (1678-83) and historian. His chronicle, *Ta'rīkh-i Meḥmed Girāy*, preserved in the unique ms. H.O. 86, Austrian National Library, Vienna (Flügel, *Catalogue*, ii, 277-8), deals with Ottoman and Crimean history from 1094/1682 to 1115/1703, from Ḳara Muṣṭafā's unsuccessful Viennese campaign to Sultan Aḥmed III's accession to the throne, covering the reigns of the Crimean khāns from Murād Girāy to Selīm I Girāy (third reign, 1702-4); it was finished in Radjab 1115/Nov.-Dec. 1703. Written in clumsy Ottoman Turkish and being of narrow scope, it nevertheless offers an interesting view of Ottoman history in a critical phase by a Crimean prince; some passages, describing events in which the author took part, have the value of a primary source.

Bibliography: Von Hammer, *GOR*, vi, p. VI, ix, 206-7; idem, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim unter osmanischer Herrschaft*, Vienna 1856, 9; Babinger, *GOW*, 235-6; Z. Abrahamowicz, *Kara Mustafa pod Wiedniem*, Cracow 1973; M. Köhbach, *Der Tārīḫ-i Meḥemmed Giray—eine osmanische Quelle zur Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken im Jahre 1683*, in *Studia Austro-Polonica*, iii, Warsaw-Cracow 1983, 137-64. (M. Köhbach)

MEḤMED GIRĀY I, khān of the Crimea from Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 920/Feb. 1515 to Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 929/October-November 1523.

He was the eldest son, heir-apparent (*ḳalghay* [*q.v.*]), and successor of Menglī Girāy I. According to *Gülbün-i khānān*, Istanbul 1287/1870, 11, the title *ḳalghay* goes back to Menglī Girāy I, who appointed Meḥmed Girāy as his deputy. The relationship between the Crimean khānate and the Ottoman Empire was at that time still largely a corollary of the relationship between their respective rulers. Meḥmed Girāy remained khān until his death, although he was an inveterate opponent of his sovereign, Sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*], who was distracted by his wars against Persia and the Mamlūks. The rising Muscovite state under the Grand Prince Vasiliy III (1505-33) had created a new power among the heirs of the Golden Horde. Meḥmed Girāy reacted by alternately allying himself with Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, and by interfering in the dynastic affairs of Ḳāzān and Astrakhān [*q.vv.*]. He also tried to dominate the nomadic Nogay [*q.v.*] tribes of the region. In 1521 he refused Sultan Sülaymān Ḳānūnī's [*q.v.*] order to join him in a campaign against Hungary, and instead, led a great expedition against Muscovy, which so far had been on friendly terms with the Ottomans. Meḥmed Girāy's lifelong struggle for a new steppe empire remained without lasting success. He was temporarily able to impose the Crimean claim to the throne of Ḳāzān through his own brother (1521), but lost his life in a plot which he had devised to chase the Muscovite candidate from the throne of Astrakhān (1523). Abandoned by the Crimean nobility, whom he had alienated by his ruthlessness, disloyalty and dissolute life, he was massacred by his Nogay allies.

Bibliography: The main source for Meḥmed Girāy I is A. Bennigsen *et alii* (eds.), *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, Paris 1978, with further references; V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom otomanskoy porti do načala XVIII veka*, St. Petersburg 1887; S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, iii, Moscow 1960, s.v. *Magmet-Girej*, based on N. M. Karamzin's history of the Russian Empire. (B. Kellner-Heinkele)

MEḤMED ḤĀKIM EFENDI, 18th century Ottoman literary personality, statesman and official court chronicler (*waḳ'a-nüwīs*).

Born in Istanbul, his father was *seyyid* Khalīl Efendi, known as "Emīr Čelebi the knife-maker (*bičaḳdji*)". Meḥmed pursued his education under well-known scholars such as Yanyalī Es'ad Khōdja and Bursalī Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳī, received a certificate of competence in calligraphy from Suyoldju-zāde Nedjīb Efendi, author of the *Dewḥat al-küttāb*, spent some fifteen years in Egypt and became an adept of Sezā'ī Ḥasan Efendi, founder of the Sezā'ī branch of the Gülshenī mystical order (*tarīḳat*). Despite having completed a very specialised training, Meḥmed decided to forego a career in the theological field and instead filled successive positions as trainee (*khalīfe*) in the secretarial bureau of the Grand Vizierate, beginning in 1155/1742 as assistant to the chief at the Arsenal (*tersāne*), followed in quicker succession by posts such as bureau chief in the treasury department of imperial estates (*khāṣṣlar muḳāṭa'adjīsī*) in 1164/1753, chief secretary of the regiment of the armourers (*djebedjiler kātibi*) in 1172/1759, chief secretary of the cavalry regiments (*sipāhiler kātibi*) in 1174/1761, and a second appointment as *djebedjiler kātibi* in 1176/1763.

In addition to these secretarial positions in the departments of the treasury, Ḥākim was appointed official court chronicler (*waḳ'a-nüwīs*) from 1 Redjeb 1166/4 May 1753, when this position was vacated through the incumbent 'Izzī Süleymān Efendi's resignation prior to his performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Ḥākim strove to record all the events from the date of his appointment in 1753 until his resignation in mid-1180/October-November 1766. Four years later, on the night of Reghā'ib 1184/25-6 October 1770, he died and was buried in the cemetery of Ayrīlīḳ Česhmesi in Ḥaydar Pasha (see B. Kütükoğlu, *Müverrih Vâsıf'ın kaynaklarından Hâkim tarihi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, v/8 [1953], 70 ff.).

Meḥmed Ḥākim's command of both Arabic and Persian and his ability of composing poetical and other literary works was recognised by his contemporaries (see the lists of his works in Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlı mü'ellifleri*, Istanbul 1333, ii, 142, and Kütükoğlu, *op. cit.*, 74-5. See also *Rūḥī-i Baghdādī terkīb-i bendine naẓīre*, Ist. Univ. Libr. İbnülemin 3352, fols. 100b-105a; the *Nafḥat al-dhāt wa 'l-ṣifāt*, a com-

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Heirs of Chinghis Khan in the Age of Revolutions: An Unruly Crimean Prince in the Ottoman Empire and Beyond

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GÖZDEN GEÇİRİLMİŞTİR

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Abstract: Focusing on Cengiz Mehmed Geray, an idiosyncratic member of the ruling house of the Crimean Khanate, this article examines how a Crimean Prince became an active participant in the stormy politics of the Ottoman Empire and later of Europe, as a result of his distinguished Chinghisid pedigree, in the age of revolutions. The first section of this article discusses the place of the Geray and Chinghisid lineage within Ottoman imperial politics. The second section focuses on the period following the Gerays' departure from Crimea. It illustrates how members of the family, although scattered throughout the Balkans, operated in the provincial and imperial politics of the Ottoman Empire in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The following section introduces Cengiz Geray and his turbulent life between the Ottoman and Russian Empires, and discusses how he became an actor in a revolutionary age. The last section is a short discussion on Chinghisid charisma in the early modern Europe, Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Crimean Khanate, Russia, France, Balkans, Gerays, Chingis Khan, Napoleon, French Revolution, Cengiz Mehmed Geray, Osman Pazvantoğlu

Kırım Hanlığı - 111001
Mehmed Giray - 130987
Pazvandoğlu Osman - 160042

Introduction

We do not know whether Napoleon considered Cengiz Mehmed Geray Sultan (hereafter Cengiz Geray) a viable candidate to the Ottoman throne in 1801, when he received a letter implying that Cengiz Geray could play a major role after a possible removal of the Ottoman dynasty. Cengiz Geray was a member of the Geray house of Crimea. In Ottoman circles, the Gerays, the ruling dynasty of the Crimean Khanate, had long been considered, albeit not openly, a possible alternative to the throne of the Sublime Porte, should the Ottoman family be extinguished. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when Ottoman integrity was at stake in the Balkans, the Gerays participated in restructuring the new order. Focusing on Cengiz Geray, an idiosyncratic member of the family, this article examines how a Crimean Prince became an active participant in Ottoman provincial politics and later European diplomacy, as a result of his distinguished status.

The Geray dynasty was genealogically linked to Chinghis Khan through his son, Jochi. Following the dismemberment of the Golden Horde Empire in the early 15th century, the House of Geray was among a number of dynasties, which inherited its patrimony and claimed Crimea. The Gerays ruled the peninsula and its vast hinterland as the Crimean Khans until 1483. From 1475 to 1478, the Crimean Khan Meñli Geray I (1445–1515) accepted the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed II (1432–1481). Beginning in the 15th century and until 1783, members of the Geray dynasty gained a distinctive status within the Ottoman imperial hierarchy and played important roles in both domestic and inter-imperial politics. While the Khanate had a strategic function as a frontier power for the Ottomans against the Muscovite State, Poland-Lithuania, and Safavid Iran, members of the Geray family sometimes acted as obedient members of the Ottoman imperial elite, sometimes as allies and sometimes as unruly vassals of the empire.[1]

In 1783, when Russia annexed Crimea, virtually all members of the Geray house left their homeland and most of them immigrated to the Ottoman Balkans, where they already had estates that the Ottoman sultans had granted them. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Gerays spread out in the Balkans and became integrated into local life in the region. Cengiz Geray was one of these family members. After participating in the war against Russia in the Ottoman army, he then turned against the Ottoman central government. Upset because his estate was confiscated, Cengiz Geray gathered an armed militia and challenged the Ottoman state. Declared a rebel, he fled to Russia where he was honorably received as a member of the royal family in defiance of the Ottoman Empire. When Cengiz Geray returned to the Balkans, he became an ally of Osman Pazvantoğlu, a powerholder in Ottoman Bulgaria. Pazvantoğlu dragged Cengiz Geray to become a co-player in a plan submitted to Napoleon. According to the proposal, Cengiz Geray would become a ruler of a newly created kingdom consisting partially, perhaps entirely, of Ottoman lands. Cengiz Geray's case illustrates the political

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