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DERBEND-NÂMEH,

OR

THE HISTORY OF DERBEND;

TRANSLATED

FROM

A SELECT TURKISH VERSION

AND

PUBLISHED WITH THE TEXTS

AND WITH

N O T E S,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, ANTIQUITIES &c. &c.

OCCURRING THROUGHOUT THE WORK,

BY

Mirza A. Kazem-Beg.

PROFESSOR OF THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF ST. PETERSBURG; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE IMP. UNIVERSITY OF KASAN; COR. MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF ST. PETERSBURG; FOREIGN M. OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND; MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS; OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF THE ANTIQUARIES OF THE NORTH; OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND NUMISMATICAL SOCIETIES OF ST. PETERSBURG; OF THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF KASAN &C.

ST. PETERSBURG,

PRINTED FOR THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

1851.

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P. H. Fuss.
Secrétaire perpétuel.

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TO

HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS,

THE

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS GRAND DUKE,

CONSTANTINE.

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YOUR IMPERIAL HIGHNESS!

A hundred and twenty eight years ago, a manuscript of « *Derbend-nâmeh* » was presented to YOUR HIGHNESS's illustrious ancestor, PETER THE GREAT, at the period of the conquest of Daghistan by that MONARCH. The presentation, on that memorable occasion, of the MS. in question, which contained the narrative of the protracted sufferings of the people of Derbend and of the whole country, was designed, as it were, to fullfil the twofold object: that of hailing with *a salute of welcome* the renowned conqueror, and to serve as a kind of *appeal* in behalf of the land, which it had pleased Providence to consign to the sway of a new and enlightened administration.

The GREAT MONARCH graciously condescended to accept this literary tribute, which was subsequently confided to the care of the college of Foreign affairs. Sometime after, the learned Academician Bayer made known the existence of the MS. to the Orientalists of Europe. More than a century, however, elapsed without any further notice having been taken of this interesting document, with the exception of an extract from another version of the work which was published by Klaproth in the year 1825.

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Desirous of making better known this precious memorial of Eastern literature, doubly dear to me from the circumstance of my being a native of the town it describes, I resolved, after due investigation and persevering researches, to publish a select version of the « *Derbend-nâmèh* » in the *Aderbijanian* Turkish language, with an English translation, and accompanied with notes, illustrative remarks and historical and geographical notices, in order that this publication might, at the same time, serve as materials for the history and geography of *Daghistan*.

My task is now completed and has been honoured with the approbation of the IMPERIAL Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, which has been pleased to undertake the publication of the work.

Under these circumstances will not YOUR IMPERIAL HIGHNESS be graciously pleased to pardon me, if I have presumed to believe that to none could this first edition be more appropriately offered than to a descendant of that ILLUSTRIOUS SOVEREIGN whose hand first presented the Derbend-nâmeh to the literary world.

The permission, most graciously granted, to adorn this edition with the name of YOUR IMPERIAL HIGHNESS, is the proudest reward that could have compensated the labour of

YOUR HIGHNESS'S

Most humble, most obedient and most devoted servant,

MIRZA ALEXANDER KAZEM-BEG.

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*) In putting before the readers the contents of our remarks and illustrations we shall not point out such of them as have little interest, or regard merely variations between the different versions of the Derbend-Nâmeh.

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* In the last note to these remarks (page 126 note 1) I have expressed my suspicion that الس of the present day may be not the الس of the ancient geographers? But reading the note 87 to the Appendix, one may clearly see that it is an error into which I have fallen.

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APPENDIX.

Article I. Extract from Teberi. Description of the conquest of Aderbijan:

Semdk, *Ismet* and *Bekir*, in different directions, are by the order of Omar the Khalif, sent on expeditions to Aderbijan. *Isfendiyar*, a prince of Aderbijan, is taken a prisoner by *Bekir*. — *Behram*, another prince, is defeated. Bekir, having conquered Aderbijan, proceeds to Derbond. — *Suragkeh* and *Hazifeh* at the head of brave Arabian warriors are sent by the order of Omar to aid Bekir. *Habib* also follows them. — The Arabs make the stipulations of peace with the inhabitants of the southern part of Daghistan, and having taken possession of the difficult passages (*derbends*) and of Derbend of this day, prepare to go against the Khazars. *Saragheh* dies and his place is filled up by *Abdur-Rahman*. — Prince *Shehrizar*. — Abdur-Rahman penetrates with his Arabs into *Balkhar* or *Bulkhar*. — Abdur-Rahman's death etc. The account given to the Khalif of this expedition etc. . . . . 157—164

NOTES ON THIS ARTICLE *

The first general who conquered Aderbijan was *Mughireh* (Note I). — The signification of Derbend etc. (N. 6). — The appellation *Tatar*, was known to Arabs yet in the IX and X centuries (N. 7). — The meaning of the word *Sunnet* (N. 8). — Different readings of the word سناب (N. 9). — The different readings of the *Shahrizar* of our text (N. 11). — How far the Arabs went in Caucase? Belenjar of the Eastern Geographers must be the Balkhars or the Vallagars of this-day (N. 12). — Who were the Alans of the Caucase in *Teberi* at that time? etc. (N. 14). . . . . 157 — 164

* The number of the notes on the Extracts, or Articles of the Appendix is 122; we shall only put here the contents of such of them as more or less deserve the attention of our readers.

Article II. Extract from Ibnul-A'asam. The conquest of Armenia &c.

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Selman-Ibnu-Rabi'a's expedition. The alarm of the people of Armenia. Selman makes the stipulation of peace with the inhabitants of *Bilgh'an*, *Burda'*, *Badjervân* and *Shirwan*. — In *Shabrân* he makes peace with the princes of Daghistan and proceeds on towards the *Bâb* (Desbend), where the *King of the Khazars* resided. — The Khazars teke to flight and Selman follows the Khagkhan till he comes to *Berghûa* and thence to *Bulkher*. — Here there follows a dreadful battle in which Selman with all the Arabs are perished. — Othman sends Habib to take vengeance on the Khagkan. He passes by the way of the defile of *Benizevâreh* and arrives in *Akhlat*. His success here. — He proceeds to *Metâhir* or *Surah* where, haviny summoned the princes of the Khazars to his presence, he makes a treaty of peace with them. — Habib is dismissed by the Khalif and his place is given to *Hadzifah*. — *Sileh* is appointed for the conquest of the country. *Sileh* succeeds. — Hadzifah's office is given to *Mughireh* and after him to *Asha'as* who governs the conutry till Othman's death. . . . . 164—171

NOTES TO THIS ARTICLE.

The contents of the first part of the chapter quoted from *Ibnul-Asam* (N. 19). — The definition of *Arrân* (N. 21). — The definition of *Badjervan*, the etymology of *Bilgha'n* (N. 23). — *Shirwan*, always the name of a province, was sometimes applied to the capital town of the province — *Shamakhi* (N. 24). — *Mesgkat* in ancient times was a town (N. 25). — *Legzs* or the *Lezghins* (N. 26). — *Berghûa* I take for *Tarkhou* (N. 28). Tha *Bulkhers* in this place are different from *Vallagars* of the Note 12, (N. 31). — The situation of the defile of *Zerâreh* (N. 34). — The situation of *Khalat* (N. 35) — *Metahir* (N. 36). —

Article III. Extract from Benakity.

Hâtemi-Rabi'i at the head of 4000 men sets off by the order of *Omar* of the dynasty of *Umeiyeh* and punishes 20,000 *Gkiptchakians* who had made irruptions into Aderbijan . . . . . 171—172

Article IV. Extract from Teberi. Description of the wars with the Rebels of Armenia.

The expedition of Djerrah. He comes to *Roudbar*, then to *Bab*, then to *Nahrevân*. — Narjil the son of the Khagkan encounters Djerrah. The Arabs conquer, they proceed hence to Hasin, then to *Kush*, then to *Yerghoa*

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(Tarkhou?) where the enemy solicite mercy upon the terms of peace; Djerrah comes to *Bulkher* where information of the death of the Khalif reached him . . . . . 173 — 175

NOTES TO THIS ARTICLE.

Roudbar (N. 44). — An omission in our MS. of Taberi, which being very interesting in regard to the narrative of the Derbend-Nameh (Part. IV), we have put in this place in an English translation (N. 45). — *Nahrevân* (N. 46). — The *Kush* of ou text must be a mistake for the persian word *Kes*, a person (N. 47). —

Article V. Extract from Teberi. Continuation of the preceding chapter.

Djerrah by the order of *Hisham* returns to Daghistan. — He comes to *Vergkan*, then to *Oudebil*. — The king of the Khazars, assisted by the Khagkan of *China*, marches against Djerrâh. — The Musulmans shelter themselves by the advice of *Merdân-shah* at the mount of *Silân*. — The Musulmans are defeated and Djerrah killed. — *Sa'id* comes with a new army to *Ardenden* then to *Akhlat*, then to *Berda'*, then to *Bailghân*; every where he succeeds and the defeated enemy takes to flight and comes to *Ardebil*. Here also he disperses them and proceedes to *Bakhou* (Bajirvan?). — A *mysterious personage* leads Sa'id in different directions till at last he totally defeats the Khazars and delivers the family of Djerrah from captivity. — After having perfectly defeated the Khagkan, who was captured by Sa'id, he reposes himself for some time in Bakhou . . . . . 175 — 184

NOTES TO THIS ARTICLE.

Vergkan of our MS. must be the *Verthan* and *Vernan* of other MSS. (N 51). — A comparative note; *Silan-Dagk*; its present name and situation (N. 52). — The *Ardenden* of our MS. must be the *Ardenek* or commonly *Ordonk* of this day (N. 55). — The *Bakhou* of our MS. must rather be *Badjervan* (N. 58). — A comparative historical and geographical notice on the theatre of the war between Sa'id and the Khazars. — Derbend here in some historians is expressed by *Verzend* or *Berzend* etc. (N. 61). —

Article VI. (Continuation of the preceding) Muslimeh is sent instead of Sa'id.

Muslimeh's arrival in Shirwan. His ill conduct towards *Said*. *Hishâm's* anger. Said is reconciled. Muslimeh begins his conquests. He proceeds to *Babul-*

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Abwab; then to *Balkh*, then to *Samarqand* (Semend?). The Khagkan is defeated. — Muslimeh returns to Derbend, divides the town into four parts etc. and having appointed *Mervan* in his place returns to Syria. — Mervan's expedition to the country of the Khazars. — Sa'id takes Mervan's place. — Again Mervan takes Said's place. — He comes to Babul-Abwab, then to *Semender*, then to the country of *Sigklab*. *Hezar-tarkhan* is defeated by Mervan. — The Khagkan is converted to *Islam* by *Nouh*. — Mervan passes to the country of *Serm*. — Mervan's artifice. The prince of Serm agrees to the treaty of peace proposed by Mervan. Mervan returns to Aderbijan and conquers *Mûgkan* and *Ghilan* etc. . . . . 184 – 163

NOTES TO THIS ARTICLE.

The defects of our MS. are in some parts of this chapter supplied and explained (Notes 63, 64, 65, 67, a, b, c, and 70). — *Tarkhans*: their privileges (N. 71). — *Serm*, in other versions *Sermer* or *Sermez*, is rathen the *Serir* (N. 72). The general form of letters from great persons to those who are considered to be lower than thouselves etc. (N. 73). — A comparative note in which we have supplied the defects of our MS. of Teberi, towards the end of the chapter, from the Persian and Djaghistai translations of the work (N. 74).

Article VII. Extract from Risaletul-Intisâr. On the lesser wall of Alexander &c.

Different names of this wall or of the Caucase: *Djebelul-Fat'h*, *Al-Gkabgk*, the *first Alexandrian Wall* and *Babul-Abwal* known by the appellation of *Demir-Gkapi* and conquered by *Ocman-Pasha*. — Why it was called Alfath? — *Anoushirvan* After Alexander repaired it and built there 360 fortifications etc. — *Four* people of the Caucase descending from a Turkish race. — *Bedûn*. — *Djafar-Pasha*, after the son of *Uzdemir*, ruled over Daghistan. A *chain* was drawn by Anoushirvan on the *harbour* of Derbend etc. What signifies *Al-Abwab*? — *Babullan*; *Babusserir* and other passages. The report that in those mountains there were 300 towns etc. is justified by a quotation from *Ibnul Haugkal*. The country of *Shirvan-Shah*; of *Legzs*, of *Velvend*, of *Gourge*, of *Khan-dagk* (Gkaitagk) of Tabaristan, (Tabasaran), of *Zerneguan* (Zerehgheran) of *Sidân* (Sandan?), of *Doudani*, of *Sheki* and of *Kashuk* . 194—204

NOTES TO THIS ARTICLE.

Demir-Gkapi; the tradition on Alexander's constructing *iron gates* on the passage of Hyrcania or Caspia does not belong to the Musulmans: it existed in the first century of the Christian aera (N. 75). — The names of the four people descending from a

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Turkish race (N. 76). — A historical notice on the expedition of *Osman-Pasha* to Daghistan etc. (N. 79). — On the *chain* of *Alexander* (N. 80). — The etymology of *Gkâf* etc. (N. 81). — The passage of *Allan* (N. 82). — The situation of the passages mentioned in the text (N. 83). — A defect in our text is supplied (N. 84). — *Georgo* (N. 85). — *Doudani*, *Loudanie* etc. (N. 86). — *Sheki*; its situation and boundaries (N. 87). — *Kashuk* or the *Cossags* etc. (N. 88).

Article VIII. Extract from the work of Mulla Raff. On the history of Daghistan.

The inhabitants of Daghistan before the *Islam*. — *Now-sall*, the prince of *Awar*. His power and the tribute he received from different lands. — The history of the introduction of Islam into Daghistan. — *Sheikh-Ibrahim*, *Sheikh-Ahmed*, and *Sheikh Mitti* of the descendants of *Amir-Hamzeh*, as well as *Sheikh Mumehhid* and *Sheikh Nesirud-din* of the descendants of *Abbas* (both these progenitors were the Oncles of «the Prophet» Muhemmed) arrived with their followers in Shirwan and prepared an expedition to Daghistan. — Their success in these countries estatlished the religion of Islam there and the princes of the country afterwards were usually chosen from amony the descendants of Amir-Hamzeh. — The first prince was called *Sham-Khal*. — The unbelieves of Daghistan with united forces, assisted by *Rüss* were gathered together about *Tchour* to attack and extinguish the Musulmans, but they are all poisoned and the victorious Musulmans take possession of *Khaidagk*, over which one of the descendants of *Sheikh Ibrahim* (i. e. of the lineage of Al-Abbas) is chosen as a sovereign who appoints for his residence the fortress of *Ferish* (*Gkarish?*). — They invade *Gkoumougk*, then *Awâr*, where they brake down *Khoumzagk*. — Here they appoint *Mawsoom-beg*, one of the descendants of *Sheikh-ahmed* (i. e. of the lineage of Amir Hamzeh) a ruler over them. — A list of the revenue gathered by the *Sham-Khal* or the prince of *Gkoumugk*. — A revolt amony the infidels of Daghistan: one of the descendants of tho above mentioned *Nowsall* claiming his rights, collects a great army, and aided by the *Alans*, unexpectedly makes incursions into the Musulman dominions and puts to death *Amir-Hamzeh* etc. — The hostility exists during 24 years; but at last it is terminated with a treaty of peace. — A long time after there arose disturbances in all Daghistan. The prince of *Awar*, aided by the *Turks*, falls on *Gkoumugk* and cuts into pieces all the Musulmans. — The descendants of *Abbas* and *Hamzeh* are dispersed throughout all Daghistan; so that there could not be found any of them with evident testimony, proving their true lineage. — An *exhorta-*

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tion of the auther to honour and revere any one of the posterity of *Amir Hamzeh* and *Abbas*. — A quotation from Teberi intimating that *Babul-Abwab* was under the dominion of the Musulmans yet in the days of *Omar* the Second Khalif etc. . . . . 205—223

NOTES TO THIS ARTICLE.

Shehri-Sál is not the same with *Shali?* (N. 90). — The measure *Kail* or *Kilah* (N. 94) — The source of the tradition regarding the emigration of the sons of Abbas and Hamzeh (N. 100). — The explanations of some words expressing *war engines* (N. 101). — The explanatio of *Bábul-harb* (N. 103). — Explanation of *Wáli* (N. 105). — On the etymology of *Sham-Khal* (N. 107). — A notice on the intercourse of the Russians with the Musulmans etc. (N. 108). — Tchour: is it uot the same with *Tzour*, or Soul (N. 108. — *Tousch:* its situation etc. (N. 111). — The usage of taking tolls in Daghistan (N. 112). — The measure *Sá* (N. 113). — Gunpowder was prepared in *Kubetchi* (N. 114). — *Kawser-Shah* of the Turks etc. (N. 117). — The extinction of the posterity of *Hamzeh* and *Abbas* (N. 120). —

Supplement to my preface.

On the MS. of the Derbend-Nameh belonging to the *Rumantzoff's museum;* its preface quoted and translated. — The preface shows that *the original Derbend-Nameh* was composed in *the Persian language*, and that Awabi *translated* a part of it containing the history of Derbend etc. into the Turkish language. — Some observations particularly on the MS. of the Rumantzoff's museum with a quotation from the last part of it etc. etc. . . . . 224—230

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PREFACE.

When I was a boy of about 14 years of age, I well remember that the public reading of the Derbend-nameh, with explanatory illustrations and remarks, occupied, for a few days, the attention of that small circle of curious and semi-civilized young men of Derbend, who — be it recorded to their honour — passed the tedious hours of their winter evenings in assembling together and amusing themselves with reading, *out of ancient MSS.* popular stories, fictions and romances, concerning the antiquities of Asia, the exploits of its ancient heroes, and the enterprises of renowned adventurers.

The fame of this little MS. had long before attracted the attention of that community, and the extreme scarcity of the work contributed much to the hearty welcome with which its first appearance was hailed! — Many had heard of the existence of *The history of Derbend*, but very few indeed had experienced the pleasure of perusing it. This scarcity, even more than the reputed merits of the work, had excited in certain «*book-lovers*» an eager desire to procure it — not for the sake of its perusal or of reaping any real benefit from it, but merely in order to add it to the number of other valuable MSS. which they possessed, and which are, in general, left to moulder and decay in their book-cases.

It thus happened, that among all the inhabitants of Derbend, this valuable work was in the possession of only three almost illiterate merchants, who, according to the existing custom, had shut it up among their other MSS. and would, on no account, lend it to any one, for reading or copying. At last, however, one of the members of the *reading society* above alluded to, obtained, by some means, a tolerably correct copy of the long-desired work, and offered it for general perusal. The enthusiasm with which this interesting book was received, arising simply from curiosity, soon disap-

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peared, when this impulse had been gratified, and very soon afterwards the very name of het Derbend-nâmeh was never uttered by those who had lately shown such ardour in procuring the work.

Some years after a change which occurred in my life and fortunes and when I had been taught the full value of knowledge, especially when I found the fame of the Derbend-nâmeh diffused throughout the learned world of Europe, it was too late to regret my past carelessness in not having procured a copy of the work before I quitted Derbend. I did not fail, however, to address myself to some friends in that town and to solicit their aid in obtaining for me a correct copy. But it was, not until after the lapse of many years — namely in 1839 — that I received a fair MS. through the friendly efforts of *Mirza Kerim*, Secretary to *Ibrahim Beg* of *Gkartchagh* (see rem. 33 to Part I.); and this copy, according to the information I have since received from Derbend, was, after much difficulty, taken from an elegant MS. preserved in the book-case of one of the three merchants above mentioned.

§ 1.

The earliest information respecting the Derbend-nâmeh, and the epoch of its first apppearance in Dâghistan.

It would appear that it was not until the beginning of the last century, that the earliest information respecting the existence of the Derbend-nâmeh, was obtained by the learned world of Europe. The Academician Bayer, in one of his treatises (*de muro Caucaseo*) published in October 1726, says: «The Muhammedans under command of *Gherai-Khan*, having taken possession of the towns of Derbend and Andery, Muhammed Auabi-Akrassi received an order to consult the writings of the Arabs and Persians, and to compose, in the Turkish language, a treatise on the antiquities of Daghistan [1] etc.» This vague information we also find in Klaproth, but with some alterations which render it still more indefinite. We shall here place before our readers Klaproth's assertion, marking the difference between him and Bayer by putting in *Italics* those words, expressions and entire phrases which we find either varied in Klaproth or added to the account given by the Academician Bayer. He says: au temps où *l'islamisme se répandit dans le voisinage de* Derbend, et où Gherai, Khan *de Crimée*, conquit *les pays entre la Kouma et la mer Caspienne* ainsi qu'Endery, il donna *ordre à*

[1] Cum Mahometani duce Gjerai Chano Derbentum et Anderum urbes occupassent, Muhamed Auabi Akrassi jussus est, ut, excussis Arabum Persarumque scriptis, antiquitates Dagestanas Turcice commentaretur &c. (Commentarii Academiae scientiarum Imp. Petropolitanae T. I. p. 459.)

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un habitant de cette ville nommé Muhammed Awâbi Ak-thâchi (محمد اوابی اقطاشی) de faire en langue turque *pure*, un extrait des meilleurs historiens Arabes et Persans qui traitent de l'histoire du Daghistan. *Les circonstances étaient très-peu favorables et empêchèrent pendant longtemps Muhammed de composer son ouvrage; toutefois il l'acheva etc.* [2] »

With all due reverence to the memory of these two illustrious men, whose meritorious labours we cannot but highly esteem and whose errors we must excuse, I feel compelled to make a few observations. — 1. Both these learned men — though their names are cited as those of acknowledged authorities — should have informed us of the original source from which they borrowed their information on this subject. If both of them have drawn it from *one and the same original well-spring*, which however we do not positively know, how is it that we find, in their respective assertions the difference which we have above remarked? — But if Klaproth consulted Bayer alone, why did he make his own additions? — additions, which, instead of explaining Bayer's text, conduce to render it still more indefinite. We do not permit ourselves to be guided by the latter conjecture, but rather suppose the existence of some original source common to the researches of both Bayer and Klaproth although to us unknown [3].

2. We do not find in history that any of the khans of the Crimea *conquered* Andery and Derbend. It is true that some of these khans, at different periods and at the head of their brave Tartars, accompanied the Ottoman troops into Persia, and, more than once, visited many parts of Daghistan on their way; — but this was always done without either hostility or bloodshed proceeding from the authority of the khans themselves, and the earliest period at which this intercourse between the Crimea and Daghistan commenced was about the close of the XVI century (1578 — 1583).

3. The promulgation of Islam in Daghistan, undoubtedly took place some centuries before even the first appearance of the title of *Gherai;* — and

4. None of the versions of the Derbend-nâmeh, which we have as yet seen, are written in the *pure* Turkish idiom. Even *Ali-ydr*, who translated it into Persian about the beginning of the present century (see hereafter §. 3.), and who possibly had in his possession several versions of the original work, positively says, that the Turkish idiom,

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[2] Nouvelle Journ. Asiat. for June 1829. T. III. p. 439.

[3] This supposed *original source* of the researches of both Bayer and Klaproth, might probably exist, either in some notes of Khantemir, Prince of Moldavia, who visited Derbend in company with Peter the Great, and to whom we are indebted for the learned dissertation of Bayer on the *Wall of the Caucasus;* or in the MS of the Derbend-nâmeh which, according to Bayer's assertion, was presented to Peter the Great in Derbend, and which was preserved in the College of Foreign Affairs (Is liber a praefecto urbis dono datus est PETRO Augusto, atque nunc in collegio exterorum negotiorum asservatur. Comment. Acad. Scient. etc. T. I. 1726. p. 459.): neither of which are within our reach.

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in which the Derbend-nâmeh was written, being *heavy*, *irregular* and *difficult of comprehension*, he undertook to translate it for his friends into Persian etc.

All these circumstances lead us to suppose that both Bayer and Klaproth, especially the latter, wishing to explain, by means of some extra-historical hints, the text of the *supposed* original source of information concerning the Derbend-nâmeh which they may have consulted, made their own additions without having examined the subject.

However, giving full credit to the assertion of Bayer with regard to the substance of its contents, (which is, that *the Derbend-nâmeh was composed in the Turkish language by a certain Muhammed-Awabi in consequence of an order given by one of the Gherai-Khans of the Crimea*), — we shall here examine *which* of the khans of the Crimea is meant by this assertion, and consequently to *what period* we are to attribute the first appearance of the treatise of Awabi on Derbend.

As we have remarked above, the earliest intercourse between the Crimea and Daghistan began about the close of the XVI century. It was during the famous expedition of the Ottomans to Aderbijân and their conquests in Shirwân and Daghistan, in the commencement of the reign of *Sultan Murâd III.* In the first year of the reign of *Khudâ-Bendeh* the frontiers of Turkey were disturbed by a sudden incursion of the Persians, which excited the Ottoman Porte to make great preparations for a protracted war. *Mustafa Pasha* was therefore dispatched with an immense army to Shirwân to encounter the Persian troops commanded by *Toughmagh Khan*, the late ambassador at the court of Murad III. and now *Serdâr* of *Khudâ-Bendeh;* the Khan of the Crimea *Muhammed Gherai* was also invited, at the same time, by the Sultan to lead his Tartars through Daghistan and Derbend to aid the Ottoman troops in Shirwân.

This Khan, surnamed in history *Semiz* or the Fat, whose excessive stoutness contributed much to his natural indolence, and whose unbecoming pride prepared for him a wretched end, dared not disobey the *first* order which he received from his master after his establishment on the throne of the Crimea. He collected his brave Tartars and left his country accompanied by his second brother and his *Gkalgka* (i. e. the heir to the throne) *Adil-Gherai*, his son *Sa'adat-Gherai*[4] and his third brother *Ghâzi-Gherai*. They passed through Daghistan *without any opposition* and arrived at Derbend in the course of a month: this took place in 1578.

After some time, Mustafa Pasha being recalled to Constantinople, his authority devolved on his son *Othman Pasha*, the governor of Daghistan. In consequence of this, the ambitious Khan, who would not submit to the authority of one whose father he had considered his equal, soon took his departure for the Crimea, without the permission of his sovereign, with the intention not again to return. — He left in Daghistan, however, his two brothers, Adil-Gherai and Ghazi Gherai and his son Sa'adat Gherai with

[4] Hammer makes Sa'adat-Gherai the brother of Adil-Gherai; — see Hist. de l'Empire Ott. T. VII. p. 96.

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the greater part of his army to aid the Ottomans [5]. These princes passed nearly 6 years, partly in Derbend, partly in Daghistan and some of them were occasionally engaged in war in Shirwân and other places on the frontiers.

Another period of repeated intercourse between the Crimea and Daghistan, was about the middle of the XII century of the Hijret or from 1734 to 1742, which date is subsequent to that in which the earliest information concerning the existence of the Derbend-nâmeh appeared in Europe, and therefore does not answer our purpose. Between these two periods we have been unable to discover any expedition of the Crimeans through or into eastern and southern Daghistan.

Thus we may positively assert, that the Khan meant by Bayer was *Semiz Muhammed Gherai* Khan, and that the first appearance of the Derbend-nâmeh, therefore was *about the close of the XVI century.*

The following circumstances may also be taken as a further illustration of the subject. One of the brothers of the Khan, named *Ghâzi-Gherai*, who had assisted in these expeditions, and who ascended the throne of the Crimea four years after the unfortunate end of his brother, and who is numbered by Sayid-Riza among his *seven planets*, is known in history for his love of learning. He took great pleasure in the society of Sheikhs, Ulemâ and philosophers; he was a great lover of poetry and was himself a Poet. [6] Twelve of his beautiful odes, with two letters in verse and a third in prose in elegant Turkish, and some of his verses in the *Djaghatai* language, are quoted by Sayid Riza in his history (see السّبع السّيار p. ۱۲۴ — ۱۱۲). This Prince having been present at the expeditions of the Ottomans in Aderbijân and Daghistan must certainly have been acquainted with many learned men of those countries, or at least with such as professed his religion. We do not doubt therefore that his love of learning might have inclined *Muhammed Awabi* to begin his treatise on Derbend.

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[5] I have followed *Assab-'us-sayiâr* (see there, p. ۱۰۱ and ۱۰۳). Hammer says in one place, that after Mustafa-Pasha quitted Georgia the chief authority over the Ottoman troops in Daghistan was given to Muhammed Gherai, but that this Khan after the captivity of his brother Adil-Gherai, would by no means consent to remain in Daghistan (see Hist. de l'Empire Ottom. T. VIII. p. 112); in another place he says, that the reinforcement from Muhammed-Gherai, who had now been a year on the throne of the Crimea, (here he speaks of the Khan of the Crimea for the first time.) was led by Adil-Gherai, who soon after, during an engagement fell into the hands of the Persians (see ibid. p. 94 — 95.): — Where was the Khan himself at that time? — In a third place he says: that Muhammed Gherai quitted *Baghdjeserai* the 26. of June 1579 at the head of 2000 Tartars and in a month's time reached the walls of Derbend, where he only remained till the winter, and having left his brother Ghâzi-Gherai there, himself returned to the Crimea etc. (ibid. p. 98—99.). This signifies that the Khan was a *second time* in Derbend. — *Sayid-Riza* says positively, that when the Khan was invited a second time to Daghistan, he sent one of *his sons* Murâd-Gherai in his place; and the *third time* he did not obey at all. (see السّبع السّيار p. ۱۰۳).

[6] His Takhallus, or poetical name, is *Ghazâi* i. e. warrior for religion.

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§ 2.

The causes of the variety of versions of the Derbend-nâmeh.

The variety of the Turkish versions of the Derbend-nâmeh arises from the following causes. 1. *The susceptibility of the Arabic characters to different changes through the least neglect or ignorance of the copyists.*

I can positively affirm, that there does not exist in any of the Mahommedan countries, a single copied MS., whether in Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, that cannot be, more or less, charged with this defect; — the only correct MSS. are the *few* that are handed down to us in their original forms. Even the Koran, notwithstanding the great care and assiduity with which it has been preserved since the days of its author, has been subjected to similar inaccuracies during the first periods of Muhammedanism [7]. This variety of versions of the eastern writings is in some cases of little importance, but in others renders the subject totally obscure: — it arises chiefly from the degree of estimation in which any particular composition is held among the Musulmans, as also from its popularity, and to these causes consequently may be attributed the care or negligence with which a MS. is transcribed. It is for this very reason that one of the great poets of the East, *Mulla Muhammed Baghdâdi-Fuzouli*, after having finished his beautiful *Divan*, which he calls «*the only offspring of his thoughts*», at the time when he prepared «to send it into the world», invoked the blessing of God upon it and committed it to His protection. He prayed the Almighty to preserve that beautiful production from all evil and corruption, — especially from *three* great misfortunes, viz: 1 — bad copyists: — 2 — bad readers; and 3 — from false pretenders to criticism. The following is his curse on the first class of corrupters:

قلم او لسون الی اول کاتب بدتحریرك * که سواد رقمی سور مزی شور ایلر

کاه برحرف سقوطیله قیلور ناصری نار * کاه برنقطه قصوریله کوزی کور ایلر

May the hand of that evil transcriber be cut off, whose orthography changes our

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[7] After the first Khalif had compiled the Koran, not only from the Palm-tree leaves and pieces of skin on which they were originally written, but also from the lips of those followers of Muhammed who had committed them to memory, there soon appeared various versions of the whole in the hands of the primitive Mussulmans. The third Khalif in order to put an end to this variety, took care, with the assistance of some of the *companions* of Muhammed, to take exact copies from the Koran of Abû-bekr, which had been carefully preserved under the guardianship of *Hafadzeh* (the daughter of Omar and one of the wives of the Prophet) and to disperse them in several provinces: this being effected the old copies were ordered to be suppressed. — After the appearance of the vowel characters, there again arose great disputes between the scholars of *Basrah* and *Kûfah*, and their various readings are marked down in some Korans to this day. We refer our readers to Sale's Koran Vol. I. Prel. dis. p. 74 — 92. and to the Korans in folio generally published in Kazan: on their margins may be found the variations.

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joy into *bitterness*[8]: sometimes by the omission of a single letter he writes *fire* for water[9], and at another time by scratching out a *black speck* he *blinds the eye*[10].

2. *The partiality and self-confidence of many transcribers, or possessors of books, which lead them to change some parts of their MSS. by various additions and omissions, or to embellish them with explanatory notes of their own etc.*

This is also a species of tyranny to which many works in the East have been subjected, and from which even the Koran itself might have suffered in the earliest periods of Islam[11]. The variety of versions of many ancient books on religion, especially those of traditions, as well as the diversity of versions of many historical works current among Mussulmans of both the principal sects, is chiefly owing to this cause. If we were to compare, for example, two versions of any ancient history of the Khalifs and their successors etc., the one transcribed in Bukhara, or in some parts of *Máweráún-nahr*, and the other in Persia, the result of our research would clearly show the truth of our opinion. The two chapters at the end of the version of Dr. Dorn (see § 3.) entitled شهد الرى باب الأبواب and طواف نامهٔ دربند, as well as the conclusion of the IX part of our version (see Part IX Rem. 3. note g.), — with some other parts which we shall notice in their proper places — are mostly additions of this kind.

3. *The existence of two versions of the Derbend-námeh: — the one the original Turkish, and the other, the retranslation from the Persian translation of this work.*

We know one Persian translation of this work (see hereafter § 3.) from the original Turkish, by a certain *Ali-yar*, made some 45 years ago. Even taking it for granted that the translator was faithful to the text, without making any addition of his own or even omitting any part of the original (both which cases are very doubtful[12]), a retranslation of this work again into Turkish, must certainly have produced a separate version, wholly different — at least in the style of the language — from the original Turkish versions. — But if we add to this, that both Ali-yar and the translator of his

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[8] سور without any dots signifies *joy*, *entertainment*, etc.; whereas by the addition of three dots over the first letter it expresses *bitterness* etc.

[9] ناصر *Násir*, *a protector — a quantity of water in a channel* (the vowel *i* is added in English to express its pronunciation), by throwing out the ص *s*, will be *Nár*, which means *fire*.

[10] *Ghuz* with a dot (كوز) means *the eye*, but *kour* (كور) without the dot signifies the blind.

[11] See Sale's Koran, The Prelim. discourse p. 84.

[12] See § 3. There does not exist a translation of any work, either in Persian or Turkish, that is not defective either in the details of some of its parts or in the contraction of others. The same freedom in adding or omitting any thing, to which we have above alluded, is yet more liberally exercised by the Musulmans in their translations than in their copies. Every enquirer will be convinced of the truth of this, if enabled to compare any part of Teberi, having before him different versions of that eminent work in the Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Djaghatai languages.

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Persian version back into Turkish, each in his turn, introduced some changes into their works, we at once perceive what a vast difference must consequently exist between the two Turkish versions!

4. *The liability of the diction and style of any work, written in one of the Turkish idioms in a country, to fall under the influence of another established idiom in another.*

We have many evident proofs that the diction or the style of a book, written in any of the Turkish idioms, suffers greatly from the laws of another idiom of the same language under whose influence it falls; and the easier the style of the language is, the greater will be the changes [13]. Take for example any composition written in pure but easy Turkish, and give it to a Tartar of Kazan or Orenburg to transcribe; afterwards confide the transcription to a second Tartar and so on: the fifth reproduction of the work will present a great difference in the language, and this difference in every transcription will increase so materially that you will hardly recognize the original in the fifteenth. —

§ 3.

The versions of the Derbend-nâmeh with which I am acquainted.

A) *The Turkish versions.* — There are, besides those which I had already heard of in Derbend, five Turkish copies or versions of the Derbend-nameh respecting which I am able to give my opinion.

1. The version of the Royal Library of Berlin, from which Klaproth has made his *Extrait du Derbend-námeh* etc. — 2. The version of the Royal Library of Paris, procured by M. Steven (Nouveau journal Asiat. T. III. p. 439.); — 3. and 4. The two versions in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg, from one of which my learned friend Dr. Dorn, has taken a separate copy with which he has favoured me and at the same time shown the variations between it and the other; this is what I call throughout my work « Dr. Dorn's version »; — and 5. My own version, sent to me from Derbend.

All these differ from each other, and sometimes so materially, that one may be induced to take them for wholly different compositions; but, after reading them through attentively, we discover the identity of each, and find that these considerable changes are no other than such as they must have undergone upon the principles above mentioned.

All these versions [14] are in the idiom of Aderbijan, which, however, by the altera-

[13] I mean if the language consist chiefly of original Turkish words; — but if you take a composition in elegant Turkish, embellished throughout with Arabic and Persian words and expressions — you will then of course meet with *few* Turkish words susceptible of idiomatic changes.

[14] In speaking of the diction and style of the versions in the Royal Libraries of Paris and Berlin we found our opinion on some specimens of both, which are to be found in the *Extrait du Derbend-námeh* by Klaproth.

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tion of some few words, and by changing the terminations of all the nouns and pronouns in their oblique cases and according to the Grammar of the *Osmanli* idiom, may pass for common Turkish. The versions in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg (especially one of them [15]) have, in this respect, undergone the least change; and next to them follow the versions of the Royal Libraries of Paris and Berlin. The style of our version differs considerably from that of either of these, being written in the modern idiom spoken in the northern parts of Aderbijan. It contains, however, a great number of Arabic words and Persian expressions, which are not formed according to the principles of the Turkish language. They are sometimes arranged so irregularly as to suggest at once the idea of their being *borrowed* from a Persian original, and to lead us, with the assistance of some other arguments, to suppose that the whole version is a retranslation from the Persian version of *Ali-yar*, of which we are about to speak.

B) *The Persian versions.* — We know two versions of the Derbend-nameh in the Persian language: one in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and the other in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg. We shall here insert some lines from the beginning of the MS. of the Asiatic Museum, indicating at the same time the variations between it and that in the Imperial Public Library [16]. For these lines I am indebted to the obliging care of my learned friend Mr. Gottwaldt, formerly attached to the said Imperial Library of St. Petersburg.

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[15] I mean to say the one from which Dr. Dorn's version has been copied; it begins thus: حمد وثنا اول خلاق رحمانه کم فهم وادراك انسانه ویردی وصلوات بی منتها اول برگزیده لروکم طریق بزلره کوسترد یلر «Praise and glory be to that merciful creator who favoured man with sagacity and understanding; and blessings be upon the chosen ones (Prophets) who have guided us to the true faith!» — It was transcribed at Tiflis by a Russian Officer in April 1829; but I do not know by what means it was procured for the Imperial Library. — At the bottom of the last page of the MS. we read the following lines written by the transcriber: تمّت الکتاب بعون الله الملك الوهّاب فی شهر اپریل سنة ۱۸۲۹ المسیحیّة در بلده تفلیس نوشت طوپو غراف دویم کلاس میخائیل السّرجو ف which signify: «This book was finished by the aid of God, the gracious (heavenly) King in the month of April of the Christian year 1829 in the town of Tiflis. It was written by the *Topographer* of the second class Michael Saradjoff.

[16] We have put in parentheses all the words and expressions that are wanting in the MS. of the Imperial Library, and have exhibited the variations of this latter at the bottom of the page by the letters I. P. L. That which is referred to by the word *read* — is our correction of both the texts.

[کتاب دربند نامه که بعض (a) ازحالات باب الأبواب دربند وسایر فتحات داغستان (b) ایضاح وبیان می نماید]

بسم الله الرّحمن الرحیم

الحمد لله ربّ العالمین والصّلاة (c) والسّلام علی خیر خلقه محمّد وآله اجمعین امّا بعد بر رأی (d) معنی آرای ارباب ادراك مخفی وپوشیده نماناد (e) که چون این تاریخ بزبان ترکی تالیف شده بود که برخوانندگان ومطالعه کنندگان [کران و] غلیظ (f) ونامربوط بود که (g) چند نفراز برادران دینی وصدّیقان یقینی التماس تصریف وتبدیل این تاریخ بزبان فرس ازین فقیر [کثیر التّقصیر علیار (h) بن مرحوم المغفور الحتاج الی رحمة الله تعالی کاظم] نمودند واین فقیر باقلّت بضاعت التماس ایشانرا مقرون باجابت داشته عنان همّت بایراد مقصود ایشان مصروف ومعطوف گردانید [عنانی چند از معدن خیال بساحل آمال رسانید در رشتهٔ تحریر کشید] امید که چون بنظر صاحب البصایر ظاهر وهویدا گردد رقم عفو برجریدهٔ جریمهٔ فقیر کشیده از مکمن سهو وغلط (i) بعرض اصلاح و اصحاح رسانند [وتوفیق تالیف این تاریخ مقرون بریان (j) اعلیحضرت مظهر قدرت قضا (k) توان دارا در بان قاتل عدان (l) دافع (m) دشمنان قالع خصمان قامع کبران وقاهر کافران سکندر حشمت چنگیز بسالت تهمتن شجاعت حاتم سخاوت مربّع صلابت کیوان مهابت فلك رفعت عیوّق منزلت قاآن نخت وفیروز بخت دشمن کش عرصهٔ جنك زمت کش طریق نام وننك شایستهٔ افر (n) واو رنك قاآنیه ضرغام الدّهر خسرو امراء الغنام نتیجة الخواقین العظام نظر کردهٔ لطف یزدان ابو السّیف سلطان (p) اعنی شیخعلی خان خلّد الله ملکه وسلطانه وادام الله عمره الی یوم القیام گردیدر امّا راویان اخبار وناقلان آثار بر رأی ارباب فطانت وبردل صاحب ادراك ذکایت (q) ظاهر ومبرهن بوده باشد چنین فرموده اند (r) که سلطان البرّین وخاقان

(a) Read بعضی. — (b) Read داغستانرا. (c) I. P. L. والصّلوة which is preferable. — (d) I. P. L. برأی. — (e) I. P. L. نماند. — (f) I. P. L. غلیظ. — (g) I. P. L. پس which better suits the place. — (h) Read علی پار (i) Read غلط — (j) Read بزمان. — (k) Read قضا — (l) Read عدولن. — (m) Read ذابح. — (n) Read افسر. — (p) Rather والسّلطان. — (q) Read وزکایت. — (r) The construction of the whole phrase must be thus: اما بر رأی ارباب فطانت وبردل صاحبان ادراك وذکایت ظاهر ومبرهن بوده باشد که راویان اخبار وناقلان اثار چنین فرموده اند

البحرین شهنشاه ایران وتاج بخش ملوك عرب وتوران خدیو جهان خسرو سروران نظرکردهٔ لطف یزدان
ابو السّیف سلطان (s) قباد شاه [که] پدر [امیر الامرآء الکرام وسلطان العظمآء الفخام اعنی خاقان]
نوشیروان عادل [است که تا می مملکت (t)] عرب وعجم [درتحت تصرّف آن حضرت میبودند دربیان
پیوند مزاولت ومصالحت او با خاقان شاه تبیین این مقال انکه (u)] خاقان شاه [که] دربانب شمال که
عبارت از ترکهٔ خضری بوده باشد می بود وتمامی [ولایت و] مملکت مسکو وروسیه وقرات وقریم وسائر
سرحدّات مطیع ومنقاد قلم نخوت توأم او بود واورنك سلطنت (v) او درکنار دریا [ی چین] مرجع
از لؤلؤ ومرجان آراسته وچهار صد هزار بهادر خونخوار وسپاه نامدار [در اطراف وحوالی آن تخت
مهیا و] (w) آماده می بودند ودائم الأوقات متوالی سنوات در فی ما بین امیرین بغض وعداوت
وشراره [دشمنی وکرورت (y) در میانین اشتغال میداشت وبالأخره (x)] قباد شاه راضی بصلح وراغب (z)
بخواستکاری صبیّهٔ ان ارجمند (aa) کشته وخاقان شاه قبول بدادن صبیّهٔ خود کشته بنیاد [و] بغض
وعداوت (bb) تبدیل بانواع عزّت ومکرمت کردید وقباد شاه نامهٔ محرمت (cc) خاقان شاه نوشت
مشعر بر اینکه الحمد لله ربّ العالمین [17] الخ

(s) Read rather والسّلطان. NB. Instead of all that we read here between the two parentheses, in the MS. of the I. P. L. we have: روایت است در زمانی که پادشاه شوکت دستکاه شهریار سکندر جاه —

(t) In the MS of I. P. L. فرمان رای کلّ ممالك. — (u) I. P. L. only بود for all that we read here between [ ]. — (v) I. P. L. فرعونیه instead of سلطنت. — (w) I. P. L. کرد اکرد تخت ان بدبخت مهیّا in which مهیّا is mistaken for مهیا. — (y) Read کدورت. — (x) I. P. L. شقاوت بوقوع می پیوست وبالأخر — (z) I. P. L. erroneously راغبست. — (aa) I. P. L. بدسلیه. — (bb) I. P. L. وشرارت. — (cc) I. P. L. erroneously کل منست

[17] The reader will at once perceive, that the two versions of the translation, whose appearance, we beg to observe, could not have taken place above 40 years previously to our date, differ materially from each other; and this difference is owing chiefly to the *second cause* which we have noticed in § 2. — The expression also in the version of the Asiatic Museum وفقراتی چند از معدن خیال بساحل آمال رسانیده در رشتهٔ تحریر کشید. *He (the translator) having brought up some (jewels of) sentiments out of the mine of imagination to the level of desire, has strung them on the thread of writing.* — may be taken as an evident proof of my argument.

We have not added the translation of these lines, their contents being almost the same as those in the beginning of our version; with the exception only of the introduction, of which we shall here give the sense. After praising God and invoking blessings upon «the Prophet and his posterity» the author [18] says: that in consequence of the Derbend-nâmeh being composed in a Turkish idiom which was difficult, rude and disagreeable for its readers [19], some of his intimate friends requested him to translate it into the Persian language. He embraced the proposal of his friends with readiness, and, having finished his work, submitted it to the condescension of the critics, whom he entreats (as do generally all the writers of the East, either at the beginning or end of their works,) to excuse him, in case they should discover any faults in his work, and to correct them. — The period of the translation of the work, the author says, was in the reign of His Highness &c. &c. *Sheikh Ali-Khan.*

I as yet know nothing concerning this author of the Persian translation; but the epoch of the appearance of his work must be placed at the very close of the last century, since Sheikh Ali-Khan, of whom he makes mention, was the sovereign Khan of Derbend and Kŭbba about that time. He was the second son of the famous *Fat'h Ali-Khan* (see Part. IX. of this work Rem 3.) and during the last discord between him and his brother, and the progress of the Russian arms in Georgia and the neighbouring Muhammedan states, was taken as hostage by the Russians. After the death of his brother *Ahmed Khan*, the Emperor Paul conferred on him in 1796 the dignity of *Khan of Derbend and Kŭbba*, which however he did not retain long. He fled to *Agkúsha*, a very strong village in the most mountainous part of Daghistan (see P. V. Rem. 16.) where he remained till his death.

Having examined the *beginning* of the Persian Derbend-nâmeh and compared it with that of our version (the introduction excepted) and with those of the versions of St. Petersburg and Berlin, I am constrained to declare, that our version is a true and faithful translation of the Persian one. I found my opinion on these two principal arguments: 1. The similarity, with regard to the arrangement of ideas, between *our* Turkish version and the Persian ones (especially that of the Imperial Public Library), coupled with the corresponding difference, that exists between each of them and the Turkish versions of St. Petersburg and Berlin, leads us to the conviction that one of the two former must be a faithful translation of the other. — 2. Our Turkish version, as we have above remarked, contains a great number of Arabic words and Persian phrases, the last of which are scattered here and there altogether contrary to the laws of the Turkish lan-

[18] He calls himself in the version of the Asiatic Museum, *Ali-yâr* the son of *Kâzem*.

[19] If we may believe the author, the idiom of the Turkish versions of the Derbend-nâmeh which he may have consulted could not have been pure Turkish: otherwise he would not call it, تاموبوط which means in such cases — *broken, rude, having no logical connexion etc.*

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guage, so that we may suppose them *borrowed* from a Persian original. At the same time, in the course of some few lines of our version, we meet with the following words and expressions, which we read almost word for word in the Persian versions and none of which are to be found in the Turkish MS. of St. Petersburg: سرحدلر ; مملکت ; تمامی ; عبارت دریا کنارنده ; عدلیت ; اطراف ; دایم الاوقات ; (راضی بصلح) مصالحه به راضی ; مطیع ; (سرحدات) &c. (هرکنار دریا/ وشمال طرفنده Besides these, the phrase in our Turkish version درجانب که عبارت از طایفهٔ خضری دن او له is an irregular translation of the Persian text: مهندس پیشه لو شمال که عبارت از ترکهٔ خضری بوده باشد. Further, we read in our version لولان معمارلر وصاحب وفوق اولان فعله لر which is also a bad translation of the text of the Persian version معماران مهندس پیشه وعمّالان صاحب وفوق. — Had I been able to consult any of the Persian versions of the Derbend-nâmeh, or any passages from it more than what I am favoured with by my friend Mr. Gottwaldt, I should certainly have been enabled to discover stronger proofs in corroboration of my opinion.

§ 4.

Reasons for selecting this particular version of the Derbend-nâmeh.

With regard to my choice of the present version, it owes its origin to the following circumstances. — 1. As I have above observed, it was the first MS. of this work that I was able, in 1839, to procure. My intention was at first to translate it into English and prepare it, with some *few* notes in addition, for the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. But after having finished the translation and some notes annexed to it, I was informed by my friends in St. Petersburg of the possibility of obtaining correct copies of the MSS. of this work preserved in the Imperial Public Library; and as, by the laws of that institution, no MS. may be taken out of it, unless by the especial order of His Imperial Majesty, a great length of time was required for the transcription of copies from the said MSS. in the Library. This laborious task was undertaken by Dr. Dorn, who consecrated his leisure hours to this undertaking and, after some months, procured for himself a correct copy of one of the two MSS. having also added the variations of the other in the margin. This version of Dr. Dorn's I received in the beginning of the summer of 1841.

2. After examining Dr. Dorn's version, and comparing it with my own and with Klaproth's *Extrait du Derbend-nâmeh*, I discovered the great difference existing between them, of which I have more than once made mention, and at the same time a

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great similarity in the principal points between the version of Berlin and that of Dr. Dorn. Therefore, as an extract of almost the same version as that sent me by Dr. Dorn had been already published by Klaproth, I thought it best to continue my work and to publish separately a version differing materially from that *already given to the world* (read note 20).

3. The great similarity that I found between my Turkish version and the Persian versions of St. Petersburg, with regard to the succession of the ideas &c. which has been treated on in the preceding §, also inclined me to the preference which I have given to the present version for publication.

§ 5.

The plan adopted for the publication of my version.

In writing my remarks and illustrations to the translation of the Derbend-nâmeh I became insensibly diverted from the first plan which I had chosen for its publication, — the remarks to the *first part* alone, proving equal in length to the *whole* of the original. On receiving Dr. Dorn's version, the necessity of adding some notes on the *variations* existing between the two versions, also contributed to increase the bulk of my illustrations and, in consequence of this, I felt obliged to give up my original plan and to adopt a new one, which might be more useful and more consistent with the extent and nature of the work.

Having it in my power to communicate to the curious the two principal *forms*[20] of the Derbend-nâmeh current in Aderbijân, I deemed it adviseable to submit *both* of them to their inspection. I therefore added the whole of Klaproth's *Extrait* to my own translation and supplied the deficiency in the MS. of Berlin (see Part VIII. Rem. 8, the note.) by annexing to it the continuation of Dr. Dorn's version (see Part IX); so that the reader, on examining the two forms, will have a just idea of the arrangement of both. In my remarks I have also taken care to insert the facts and narrations in Dr. Dorn's version, which are not to be found in Klaproth's *Extrait*, and to refer to those of the same *Extrait* which are wanting in Dr. Dorn's version. I have added besides to this work extracts from some of the most interesting historical works in my possession with the originals (see § 6.) which mostly serve as illustrations to the text of the Derbend-nâmeh and as authorities for my remarks.

[20] I mean the *two systems of arrangement* of this work, under which forms they are known to us. The reader of our Preface is now aware, that the versions of the R. L. of Berlin (of which Klaproth has given us an *Extrait*) and those of the I. P. L. of St. Petersburg, by the great similitude which we find between them in regard to the arrangement of the ideas, exhibit as it were, when compared with our Turkish version and with the Persian ones of St. Petersburg, two distinct forms of the Derbend-nâmeh.

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In this manner my edition of the Derbend-nâmeh will consist of *two* divisions; *The first division* will contain *the Turkish text* with the *English translation*; Klaproth's *Extrait*; and my *Remarks and Illustrations*. The second, which I call *The appendix*, will contain *eight extracts* with their translation into English and notes.

In consequence of my version containing Ten small *chapters*, the first division of this work consists of as many *parts*. Every part includes *separately*: a) *The Turkish text* with the *English translation*; b) The corresponding part of Klaproth's *Extrait*, and c) *My remarks and illustrations* having reference to the variations of the text and to the etymological, philological, geographical and purely historical points of the whole.

Finally, I have annexed to the whole an *index* of the proper names, technical terms and expressions, which I have arranged in alphabetical order.

§ 6.

The Manuscripts from which I have selected my Extracts.

I. تواريخ طبرى (Extracts I. IV. V. VI.). — A Turkish version of this famous history was transcribed for my use, by my scribe, in 1837, from the MS. in Rumeantzoffs Museum in St. Petersburg. It consists of 3 volumes in folio, each containing two parts, so that the whole work includes six.[21]. This Turkish translation of Teberi is the same, of which M. Dubeux makes mention in his preface to the «*Chroniques de Muhammed Tabari*» (Paris 1836 p. VII) and the quotations that he has introduced there perfectly agree with what we read in the MS. of the said Museum.

The author of this translation of Teberi remains as yet wholly unknown; but our unwearied researches into the language of the whole work, lead us to attribute the time of its first appearance to the earliest period of the progress of the Turkish language in Asiatic Turkey. I am therefore disposed to recognize in the person of *Amîru-l-umerâ Ahmed-Pasha*, by whose especial order the unknown author translated the work, the Amir of the same name (the son of Ramadzan) who founded the dynasty called بنى رمضان *Beni Remedzân* in the province of *Adanah*, and who is said to have been a *mighty Prince*[22].

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[21] The first and second parts, or the first volume, of the MS. in the above mentioned Museum are dated 1237 (of the Hidjret); nearly the same date that M. Dubeux *in his Chronique de Tabari*, attributes to the MS. of the same work procured by the *Bibliothèque du Roi* from Algiers, and marked in his preface (p. XXXVI) by the letter H. — The third and fourth parts (vol. II.) show no date, and the fifth and sixth (vol. III.) are dated 1140.

[22] See تقويم التواريخ of Katib Tchelebi p. ١٦٨; تنقيح التواريخ of هزارفن under the title of رمضانلو. — Amir Ahmed conquered a part of Syria and the sovereign of Egypt «*was proud of the honour of being married to his daughter*». — The dynasty of the Beni Remedzan existed from 780 to 970 of the Hidjret, or from 1378 to 1485 of the Christian era; and its founder Amir Ahmed reigned from 780 till 819 i. e. 39 years.

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II. The Persian translation of تاريخ الفتوح «*The history of the triumphs*» of the first Khalifs (Extract II.). — The original Arabic work was composed in the beginning of the IV*th* Muhammedan century, by *Ahmed* the son of *Al-A'atham* or *Al-A'asam-Alkoufi* (احمد بن الاعثم الكوفى). The Persian translation hereof appeared at the commencement of the VII*th* century of the *Hidjret*[23].

III. روضة لاولى الالباب فى معرفة التواريخ والأنساب *A garden for the curious for investigation into history and geneology;* by *Fakhrüd-din Benákiti* (Extract III.) — This is one of the very interesting works on the universal history of Asia; commencing from Adam down to the days of the author, i. e. 717 or 1317. The learned D'Ohsson gives a short extract of its introduction, regarding the nature of the work and the arrangement of its contents &c. (see *Des peuples du Caucase*, Paris 1828. p. XVIII.). — The copy of this work in my possession, is transcribed from the MS. which I lately procured for the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg.

IV. رسالة الانتصار لقدوة الاخيار *A treatise on the victories of the most distinguished of the chosen*, (i. e. Sultan Murad III.) by *Harimi Dedeh-Afendi* (Extract VII.). — We know the author of this little treatise by another and a better work محاضرات الاوايل ومسامرات الأواخر «Lectures on *beginnings* and conversations on *conclusions*[24]. The *Risáleh* contains the description of the victories of the Ottoman troops in Daghistan, under the command of Othman Pasha, during the reign of *Sultan Murad III.* The author has divided his little work into four sections, having each a separate conclusion: Section I. *On due obedience to the sovereign.* II. *On the predictions of the Prophet relative to the establishment of the Ottoman power.* III. *On the first or lesser wall of Iscander, which is known by the name of Damir-Gkapi; on the mountain of victory, and on the mountain of Gkabgh:* and IV. *On the second or greater wall of Iscander, generally called the mound of Yadjoudj and Madjoudj.* — The third part is also divided into two chapters: chapter I*st* contains a prediction of the Prophet in regard to the *Gkizil-bdshes*, or Per-

[23] Sultan Muhammed Kharezm-Shah in the beginning of the XIII*th* century ordered one of his learned Poets Muhammed the son of *Ahmed*, the son of *Aboubekr Al-katib*, entitled *Almustowfi* and surnamed *Redziud-Din Ar-Rawásy*, to translate the interesting history of Ibnul-A'atham. Scarcely were some few chapters of the first volume translated, when Almustowfi was attacked by a severe illness and died. The continuation of this useful labour was then confided to another accomplished man who happened merely by chance to have the same name, family and title, but surnamed *Al-máiznábádi*. This second Muhammed the son of Ahmed, the son of Aboubekr Al-katib Al-mustowfi Almáiznábádi, continued the work from the place where his predecessor left off.

[24] This is a curious work in Arabic, which treats on the *first* appearance of remarkable inventions, arts, enterprises, actions, titles &c. and on the extinction or conclusion of the same. The first part is a compilation from the works of *As-Süyouti* and *Al-Askari*, but the second part is a production of the author himself.

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sians, — whom the Turks and the generality of *Sunnies* regard as heretics, — and their fall below the power of the Ottoman monarchy &c. — Chap. II. treats on some wonders of *The mountain of victory*. We have made our extract from the III section [25].

V. *A quotation from the work of Mulla Muhammed Rafi', surnamed Dziâûd-din* (Extract VIII.). — This is a very interesting piece which I have received lately, (i. e. just after finishing the preceding extract) from Derbend [26]. — Its *exordium* is as follows:

قد رقمت هذه الأرقام من رقعة عتيقة مندرسة منقولاً من تا ليف ملّا محمّد رفيع المكنّى بأ بى الفتح الملقّب بضيآء الدّين المدعوّ بمحمّد الموسوم بلسان الأعجام بملّى جلّى الرّفيع ابن المولى المحقّق فى عصره المدقّق فى زمان مولانا عبد الرّحيم الشّيروانى الحسن العلوىّ الصّفوى قاضى قموق حين خرّبه يد التّرك

i. e. « I transcribed these words from an old and mutilated paper, copied from the composition of *Mulla Muhammed Rafi'*, entitled *Abûl-fat'h* surnamed *Dziâûd-din*. His proper name was *Muhammed*, but among the Persians he is known by the name of *Mulla Jeli Ar-Rafi'*. He was the son of the most profoundly learned doctor of his age — the philosopher of the days of *Abdur-Rahim* of Shirwân — *Alhasan*, the descendant of *Ali* by the lineage of *Safi*, and judge of Gkûmougk at the time when it was ruined by the hands of the Turks » [27].

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[25] This little work is characterized by bigotry and prejudice. The descriptions of the Antiquities of Daghistan and of the greater wall of Iscander &c. are borrowed mostly (sometimes almost word for word) from the خريدة العجايب of Ibnûl-Vardi. We have extracted from it only those parts which suited our purpose. Another complete history of the first expedition of the Ottomans to Georgia and Aderbijan &c. is known to us by a similar title: *Nusret-nâmeh*, i, e. « *The book of victory* : » it was composed by *Ali*, the secretary to *Ser-Askar-Mustafa-Pasha*, during the expedition of this general in 1577 — 78 to Georgia and Shirwân.

[26] My late friend in Derbend, *Hadji-Mulla-Tagki*, one of the corresponding members of the University of Kasan, whom I had requested to make inquiries concerning the existence of any source of information relating to Daghistan &c., was so kind as to copy this quotation out of a separate paper he found in an old Arabic MS. written in Daghistan, It is to be regretted however, that he does not make any mention of the MS. itself, nor of the means by which this interesting article might have found its way into it.

[27] The last phrase حين خرّبه يد التّرك might, most properly, be translated: « *When he* (i. e. the judge of Gkûmougk) *caused that town to be destroyed by the hands of the Turks* ». We have no information concerning the *particulars* of the expedition of the Turks, or Ottomans, to Daghistan, we only know, that during the expedition of *Ferhad-Pasha* against the Persians in 1582 — 83, Osman-Pasha penetrated into Daghistan in order to humble the pride of the mountaineers: it may be that the judge of Gkûmougk, as a man of great influence, acted in favour of Osman-Pasha and, by contributing to his speedy success in that country, was regarded as the *cause* of the ruin of the town.

The author to whom this historical work on Daghistan is attributed, is not known to me. If he was *the son* of the *Gkadzi* of Gkûmougk, who was famous at the time when that town was taken by the Ottomans, he must have lived at the very close of the X^th^ and in the beginning of the XI^th^ centuries. In the chronological tables تقويم التّواريخ of Katib-Tchelebi we find the name of a learned man ميرابوالفتح Mir-Abul-fat'h, who died in 999. Might not this be the same author, who, by genealogy a descendant of *Ali* by the lineage of *Safi*, added the title of *Mir* to his name, according to the general custom?

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This historical document, in so far as I am able to judge, must be the introduction of the author to *a separate history of Daghistan*. He seems to have begun his work with an account of the propagation of Islam in Daghistan, by the efforts of religious emigrants from the families of *Abbás* and *Amir-Hemzeh* — a tradition extremely current to this day among the inhabitants of the country. After giving a description of the progress of the princes of these families &c., he gives us some short hints concerning the fall and extinction of their races, with an exhortation to all true Musulmans to revere all such whose claims to belong to those families, might prove just and authentic. He thereupon commences his history with the progress of Islam at the time of the first Khalifs, and introduces a short and faithful sketch of Teberi[28], by doing which he probably intended to proceed to the description of the expedition of the Arabs into Aderbijan and Daghistan[29]. — This interesting work might be very useful to those who wish to make researches into the history and antiquities of Daghistan, and we shall use our best efforts to procure either the work itself or some exact information about it, through our correspondents in Derbend[30].

§ 7.

The system chosen throughout this work for expressing the pronunciation of the proper names &c.

Common consonants are pronounced in the usual manner. — *Gk* expresses the Arabic ك. *Kh* — the letter خ. *Gh* — the letter غ. *d* — the letter ذ, which we have, however, on many occasions, expressed by a simple *z*. — *T'h* expresses the two letters ثع when they come together, as in فتحعلى *Fat'h-Ali*. *Dz* — ض, ظ. — *Zh*, the Persian ژ. — *Dj*, the letter ج, which in some cases we have also expressed by a simple *j*. The ع and

[28] Compare the last words of the author concerning the limits of Aderbijan, with the recital of Teberi inserted at the end of Remark 14 to Part I. of our work.

[29] Our opinion that this fragment is part of a separate history of Daghistan, may be supported by the words of the author himself, who, referring to the extinction of the family of Hemzeh, says: «The posterity of Hemzeh, the Arabian, shared the fate which we have *mentioned in its proper place*», under the events of 718 of the Hidjret. —

[30] Hitherto we have not succeeded in our efforts. Hadji-Mulla-Tagki, to whose kindness I was obliged for the quotation referred to, died soon after, and my correspondents in Derbend could not find among his few books the desired MS. The last information I received about this from Derbend, intimates that the MS. belonged to the library of *Abbás-Gkúli-Agka Bakikhanoff* and that it was for a time in Hadji-Mulla-Tagki's hands; but in the catalogue of this library presented some five years ago to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg by Mr. Berezin, I could not find out the name of any historical work on Daghistan. P. Ad.

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medial Hamzah (ء) we have expressed by an apostrophe ('), but in the beginning of the proper names, already well known to European Orientalists, we have often employed *a* to express ع and ء. — The letter ث is sometimes rendered by *th* (sharp), and sometimes by *s*. — Between ه and ح we have made no difference, both being expressed by *h*.

The vowels we have rendered as follows: *á* expresses آ; — *ai* and *ay* are used for *i* in *bind* — *ou* and sometimes *ú* for *oo* in *food*; *ow* for the same in *now*, and *ü* for the French *u*, as in *une*. The rest may be pronounced as they are in English.

The article ال before the *solar* letters (حروف الشّمس) I have expressed by inserting a dash (-) between the double letters, as الرّشيد *Ar-Rashid;* رضى‌الدين *Radziüd-din*. In this way of expressing the article in which the elementary sound is *l*, I have followed the orthoepy adopted in the east during more than a thousand years. In no Muhammedan country *l* in the Arabic article is pronounced before ت, ث, د, ذ, ر, ز, س, ش, ص, ض, ط, ظ, ل, ن, which are technically called in the grammer of the Arabic language *solar* letters: it is slided always into the letter following after it, so that a تشديد *teshdid* (ـّـ) on the latter doubles its sound without the least notion of the existence of the radical *l*. So in my method, which is wholly contrary to that generally adopted by European orientalists, the little dash (-) between the double letters will indicate that *the first* of the two is intended for the primitive *l*.

Before the *lunar* letters (حروف القمر), we have employed *l*, which in some cases is placed between two dashes (-l-) as عبد المناف *Abdü-l-menáf*.

In the course of the translations and texts, all that we have placed in parentheses are such additions as we have made in order either to explain the sense of the phrase or to propose our own reading of dubious words or expressions of the text; but whatever is placed between the marks [ ] we consider either as an error, or as an addition made by the scribe, having no meaning suitable to the place. The mark of interrogation (?) expresses our doubt.

In publishing the *text* of the Derbend-nâmeh I have adopted the orthography of my manuscript, which clearly expresses the idiomatical difference with which the Aderbijanian dialect is distinguished among other idioms of the Turkish language.

Kazan,
December 15.
1844.

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DERBEND-NAMEH.

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تاریخ دربند نامه

ربّ یسّر ولا تعسّر

بســـــــم الله الرّحمن الرحیم

راویان اخبار وناقلان آثارکتب سلفدن بیله نقل ایدرلرکم ایران طرفنده قبادشاه (آدلو برپادشاه) عظیم الشان (وارایدی) که تمامی ممالك ترکستان وعجمستان آنون تحت اطاعتنده اولوردی وانوشیروان عادل قبادشاهنك اوغلیدر وشمال طرفنده که عبارت [از] طا یغهٔ خزردن اولا خاقان شاه آدلوپادشاه عظیم الشّوکت وار ایدی که تمامی مملکت روسیه ومسکو وقزان وقریم وغیر سرحد لر آنون امرینه مطیع وفرمان بردار ایدیلر. روایت ایدرلر که خاقان شاهنك پادشاهلق تختی دریا کنارنده عدل چاینك قراغنده انواع جواهرات ایله مرصّع اولنمش وارایدی دائم

Târikhi-Derbend-Nâmeh.

O Lord! facilitate (this undertaking) and do not cause it to be difficult! [1]

(PART I.)

In the name of the most merciful and most gracious God!

Historians and narrators of events have thus transcribed out of ancient books, that in the land of *Irán* there was a great king named *Gkúbád* [2], under whose government were all the kingdoms of Turkistân and Adjemistân. *Anúshirván* [3] *the just* was the son of this Gkubâd. In the North, that is among the Khazar tribes there lived a majestic sovereign whose name was *Khágkán-shah* [4], to whom all the kingdoms of *Russia*, *Moscovia* [5], *Kazan*, *Crimea* and other countries were in submission and subjection. — It is stated, that the royal throne of Khâgkân-shah, adorned with different kinds of precious

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الاوقات دورت یوزمین پهلوان دلاور اول تختنك اطرافنده خاقان شاهنك پاسباننده اولوب همیشه
متوالی قباد شاه ایله خاقاننك آراسنده عداوت (و)جنك ومقاتله اولوردی آخرالأمر قباد شاه
مصالحه یه راضی وخاقاننك قیزنی عقدایلمکه راغب اولوب خاقاننك حضورینه ایلچی کوندروب
خاقاننك قیزینی خواستکار (لق) ایلدی خاقان دخی رضامند لق ایله قیزینی قباد شاهه عقد ایلیوب
ندارکات فراوان وانواع جواهرات ایله قباد شاهنك پای تختنه کوندردی عداوت لری دوستلق
ایله (دوستلغه) مبدّل اولوب طرفین بوامره خوشحال اولدیلر * نچه وقتدن صنکره قباد شاه ایلچیلر
ایله خاقان شاهه برنامه یومضمون ایله یازوب کوندردی که حمد وثنا اولسون [که] پروردکار
عالمنك حضرتلرینه که قرابت ودوستلق بزم آرامزده واقع (اولدی) امید وارم که بوندنصکره
هیچ وجه ایله بیزوم مابینمزده نقض عهد ومقاتله اولمز امّا توقّع اولندر جنابنکزدن که بین الطّرفینده
برسد وصنور مقرر ایده سز که بزم ایله سزنك دولتنك آراسنده احداث اولنسون که بوندنصکره
بین الطّرفین ده فتنه وفساد بولنمسون خاقان نامه تنك مضموننه مطّلع اولندنصکره اعیان دولتین
جمع ایدوب جواب یازدیلر که اسکندر ذوالقرنین احداث ایدن سدّ ایکی دولتین آراسنده صنور
اولوب شهر تعبیر ایلسونلر *

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stones, was placed on the sea-shore on the banks of the river *Adil* (or Volga), and that four hundred thousand [6] brave warriors guarded this throne. Perpetual wars and enmity existed between Gkûbâd-shah and the Khâgkân; at last, Gkûbâd-shah consented to a peace, and, being desirous of marrying the daughter of Khâgkân-shah, dispatched an ambassador to the latter prince to make the declaration. The Khâgkân accepted the proposal with pleasure, and having betrothed his daughter to Gkûbâd-shah, sent her with great pomp and splendour to the seat of his empire: thus their enmity was changed into friendship; and joy was established on both sides.

Some time after this, Gkûbâd-shah again dispatched ambassadors to the Khâgkân, with a letter to the following effect: « Praise be to the Lord God of worlds for the re-« lationship and amity which are established between us! I hope that from henceforth there « shall never take place on either side any faith-breaking or war; nevertheless, I request « your majesty to erect between our two dominions a wall of boundary, which, being con-« structed, may in future prevent any revolt and disagreement between the two kingdoms. »

The Khâgkân, on becoming acquainted with the contents of this letter, summoned the grandees of his empire and returned the following answer: « that the wall built by

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راوی اخبار بیله دیر که نامهٔ خاقان قبادنك حضورینه وارد اولنن عسکره اوزننك اعیان لرینه فرمان ایلدی که چوخ خرینه آلوب مهندس پیشه لو اولان معمارلر وصاحب حرف اولان فعله لر اطراق وجوانبده اولان رعایالردن جمع ایدوب اون مین قشون ایله کیدوب اسکندرنك سدّی نك بوطرفندن سدّه متّصل برعظیم شهر تعمیر ایدوب منه معلوم ایده سز آعیان دولت قدارخان فرمان ایله اسکندرنك سدّنه یتشوب کوردیلر که سدّنك بر باشی دریانك ایچندن دشیله برفرسخ چکلوب مغرب طرفنه قدر دنکزه دکین کیدر القصه اعیان دولت شهر تعمیر ایلمکه شروع ایدوب بدّی آی تمام اولنجه شهری تعمیرایدوب قاپولرین دمرزدن ترتیب ایلیوب باب الأبواب دربند آدیله آدلیوب قبادشاهه یازوب معلوم ایلدیلر که الله تعالی ننك عنایتیله وپاد شاهنك نظر مرحمتلری ایله اسکندرنك سدّیته متّصل برشهر عظیم تعمیر وباب الأبواب دربند آدیله موسوم قیلمشوق *

راوی بیله روایت ایلر که قبادشاه فرمانیله چوخ طائفه ایران اهلندن کوچوب دربند شهرنده ساکن اولنر عسکره خاقانون قیزیله قباد بکارئین زایل اعمش آتاسی یانته روانه ایلدی بومعنایه

« *Iskenderi-dulgkernein* » should be chosen as a boundary between the two kingdoms, and » that they (the Persians) should build a city there ».

Historians relate, that when the Khâgkân's letter reached Gkubâd-shah, he gave the following order to his grandees: « Go, said he, « and gather from among my subjects, « scattered in the different parts (of my kingdom), skilful architects, able workmen, and « great treasure, and with an army of ten thousand men set out, and build on this side « of the wall of *Iskender*, close upon it, an extensive city; — after (the construction of) « which you will transmit to me the information ». — The grandees, after great preparations, set out on their journey, and on arriving at Iskender's wall they found that one end of it, built of stone, jutted into the sea to the distance of a *farsakh*, and that (the rest) extended to the West even to the black-sea [8].

The grandees began, in fine, the building of the city which was finished at the expiration of seven months [9]; after which, having constructed iron gates, and named the city *Babul-abwâb-Derbend* [10], they gave notice to Gkubâd-shah in the following letter: « By the grace of God and under the auspices of our king, we have built an extensive « city, close upon the wall of Iskender and named it Babul-abwab-Derbend ».

Historians relate that a great many people removed from *Irân*, by order of Gkubâd-shah, and settled in Derbend. This accomplished, Ghubâd-shah sent the Khâgkân's daughter invio-

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کم مرکاه بوقزدن اولادی وجوده کلسه مرور ایام لردین دولتین آراسنه نزاع دوشوب طائفهٔ خضری ایران سرحدلرینه متصرّف اولمسون . آلقصه قباد شاه اوزینك اوغلی انوشیروان ایله دربندشهرینه کلوب تماشاقیلوب شهزاده انوشیروانی شهرده قویوب اوزی مدائنه مراجعت ایلدی . خاقانون قبزی بروقت ده آناسینك پای تختنه یتشدی که خاقان انواع جشن وسرور ایله مجلس آراسته ایدوب بادهٔ نابدن مست وسرخوش (ایدی لمّابیدار) اولدوقده قیزینك احوالندن مطّلع اولندنصکره غضبناك اولوب دوستلق لری عداوته دوندی وهمیشه بربریله جنك ومخالفت ایلدیلر شهزاده انوشیروان مادامیکه اناسی تختنده ولرایدی چوخ قشون ایله دربند شهرنده اولوب شهری محافظت ایدردی *

مورّخلر بیله یازویلر که انوشیروان قبادشاهنك فرمانیله اوچ (یوز) التمش شهروقلعه چه دربندنك حوالی سنده تعمیرقیلوب تمام قلعه چه لری فارس وآذربیجان اهلندن کتوروب دولدوروب قویدی قلعه چه لرنك جمله سندن در شهر سمند وشهر انجی وقلعهٔ بلخ (بلخر ؟) وشهر کیوان واحران وکلباخ وقلعهٔ سرخاب وکچی ماجار ولولوماجار وغیری قلعه چه لرداغستانده تعمیرایلدی روم سرحدلرینه دین ودربندنك

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late [11] back to her father, apprehensive that, were children to be born of this marriage, such an event might in future ages be a cause of discord between the two kingdoms, and might give occasion to the tribes of Khazar to possess themselves of the frontiers of *Irân*.

In the mean time Gkûbâd-shah, accompanied by his son Anûshirvân, set off for Derbend, and, having entertained himself for some time, left the Prince Anûshirvân there and returned himself to *Medâyen* [12].

The Khâgkân's daughter, on the other hand, arrived at her father's court at a moment when he had become intoxicated in the midst of a triumphal entertainment. When awakened and informed of the circumstances relating to his daughter, he was moved with passion, and his friendship was changed into resentment. From this time, continual discords and wars were again renewed between the two sovereigns. The Prince Anûshirvân, during his father's reign, resided in Derbend and defended this city with a numerous army.

Historians inform us, that Anûshirvân, according to his father's mandate, built in the neigbourhood of Derbend three (hundred?) and sixty [13] towns and considerable fortresses and peopled them with the inhabitants of *Fârs* and Aderbyijân [14]. Amongst these were: the city of *Samand* [15]; the city of *Inji* [16]; the fortress of *Balkh* [17]; the cities of *Keivan* [18]; *Ihrân* and *Gûlbâkh* [19]; the fortresses of *Sûrkhâb* [20], *Kitchi-madjâr*; *Oulou-madjar* [21]. Some other insignificant strongholds, also he built in Daghistan [22] on the fron-

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قبله طرفنده شهرلروقلعه چه لرتعميرولرينك ايلدى شابران طپراغنده چاى كنارنده برعظيم شهر بنا ايلدى
ومشكوردە كوكب قلعه سى وشاه اباد وكيران وحول آدلو قلعه لرى تعميرايلدى وچوخ خلايق عراق وفارس
ولايتلرندن كتوروب ساكن ايلدى ايمدى اول مشكوردە اولان قلعه لرخراب اولوب بيشه اولوبدر ودربند
شهرننك اوچ فرسخنده برسدّ احداث ايلدى كه دوقسان ايكى فرسخ مسافتى ولردر * شاه زادە اتاسندن
صكره تخت سلطنت ده قرار دوتوب فرمان ايلدى تمامى شهرلرى ودربند حواليسنده اولان قلعه چه لر
وسرحدلرى قشون ايله دولدوروب كندى تختى مداين شهرنده فراغت اولوب سرحدلرى ساخلاماغه
ثابت قدم اولدى وخاقان شاهنك قشونى اهران قلعه سنده وكلباخده اولوردى * كلباغه ايمدى آندرى
ديرلر وسرخاب قلعه سى خراب اولوبدر ايمدى قزلار بنا اولوب سند شهرى ترخو قلعه سى در وانچى
خراب اولوبدر دريا كنارنده ترخوننك اوچ فرسخنده درچوخ عظيم شهر در وسمرى قلعه سنه ايمدى قيه كند
ديللر * بومذ كور اولان شهرلر وقلعه لرتمامى انوشيروان عادلنك معموره لريدر ومنظور نظرى بوقلعه لرى
تعمير ايلمكده بواولوبدر كه خاقان شاه وطايفهٔ خزرى دربندشهرينه غالب اولمسون امّا خاقان شاه اهران

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tiers of *Rûm* (or the Byzantine Empire) [25]. In like manner, he built several cities and small fortresses in the southern parts of Derbend; namely: a great city on the banks of a river in the land of *Shabrân* [24], and also the fortresses of *Kawkeb*, *Shâhâbâd*, *Kirân* and *Houl* [25] in the land of *Mashkour* [26], and peopled them with inhabitants transported from the countries of *Arâk* and *Fârs*. The fortresses which were built in Mashkour are now desolate and hid in forests. — He also erected a wall, at the distance of three farsakhs from Derbend which extended to the distance of ninety-two farsakhs.

The Prince Anûshirvân on the death of his father ascended the throne of the Kingdom and reigned. He filled with warriors all the cities and fortresses lying around Derbend, and on the frontiers; and himself retired to his metropolis Medâyen, where he remained with a firm resolution to defend the boundaries of his Empire.

The armies of Khâghân-shah were stationed at that time in the fortresses of Ihran and Gulbakh. Gulbakh is now called *Anderey* [27]. The fortress of Surkhâb is ruined and (in its place) is now built *Gkizler*. The city of Samand is the *Tarkhû* of the present day; that of Indji has been destroyed: (this last-named town), formerly situated on the sea-shore at the distance of three farsakhs from Tarkhû, was a large city. The fortress of *Hûmree* is now named *Gkaye-kend* [28]. All these cities and strongholds were built by Anûshirvân, the just. His object in building these towns and fortresses was to prevent

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وکلماغ شهرینی نوشیروانینك سردار لغنك اختیارندن خجاروب ضبط ایلدی * آهران چای برعظیم چای در
کلباغدن کیچر ایدی اونه قوی صو دیرلر خاقانینك حاکمی اهران شهرنده اولوردی ایدی اهرانه
آولرستان پای تختی دیللر آوقان ایدلو طایفه در اهران شهرنده ایدی طولزکی سی دیللر آنلری
خراساندن کتوروب ساکن ایلدی واولارنك جولرنده یعنی قیطاق ملکنده وقیطاغنك یوخاروسنده زره کران
طایفه سنی که ایدی کوپچی دیللر ساکن ایلیوب اونلره حاکم (تعیین) ایلدی ودربند شهرینك فوقندن
طبسران ملکنده وقبوق داغنه دك جوخ خلایق کاشاندن وکیلاندن کتوروب ساکن ایلدی و قالان سرحدلره
خلق تابوللق ایچون مشکوره وکوره ومسکنجه یه اوزقبیله سندن کتوروب ساکن ایلدی واونلره حاکم
اوز سلسله سندن تعیین قیلوب حاکم لره قبغن ایلدی که سرحدلری محافظت ایلسونلر * مادامکه نوشیروان
مسند حکومتنده پادشاهلق ده قایم واریدی خاقان وطایفهٔ خزری در بندشهرینه غلبه ایده بلمزدی کافری
طرفنده اولان قلعه لر وسرحدلرده خزری طایفه سی ایله جنك ومقاتله اولوردی تاکه انوشیروان دنیادن

Khâgkân-shah and the Khazarians from having it in their power to conquer Derbend for the Khâgkân had already taken Ihrân and Gulbâkh from the Serdar (or commander in chief) of Anûshirvân and was in possession of them [49].

Ihran-tchai is a great river which is now called *Gkoi-sou* [50]. The governor appointed by the Khâgkân resided at Ihran, which is now a district of *Avaristân* (see rem. 18. to Part I.) This city was inhabited by a people called *Lugkan*, who are now known by the name of *Taw-lezghi-si* [51]: they were removed thither from *Khurâsân*. In the neighbourhood, (i. e.) in the country of *Gkaitâgh* and farther up, he established the people named *Zerehgherân*, now called *Kubétchi* [52], and gave them a governor. He also brought a vast multitude from *Kâshan* and *Ghilân* and established them above Derbend in the country of Tabaserân [53], as far as the mountain of *Gkûmûgk* [54]; in order also to increase the population, he removed a part of his own tribe and spread them in *Mashcour Kureh* [55], and *Miskinjeh* [56]. He appointed for all of them governors, out of his own family, and strictly ordered them to defend the boundaries of his dominion.

As long as Anûshirvân occupied the throne of the kingdom, the Khâgkân and the people of Khazar could not conquer Derbend; yet in the fortresses and the frontier towns lying in the north, hostilities with the Khazar tribes continued. But no sooner had Anûshirvân departed from this world than the Khazar tribes carried their invasions beyond the frontiers, took possession of Derbend, passed from thence to Aderbijân and

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وفات ایلدی طایفهٔ خزری سرحدلره ودربندشهرینه غالب اولوب عراق واذربیجان ولایت لرینی قتل وغارت ایدوب مراجعت ایدللرایدی * پس کچن پادشاه لردربند شهرینی محافظت ایدوب ساخلارایدیلر که طایفهٔ خزری دربند شهرینه غالب اولسون (زیرا) هرکاه طایفهٔ خزری دربندی تصرف ایلیه لر تمامی فارس وآذربیجان ولایتلری اولارنك پای تختی اولور القصّه ایران پادشاه لری دربندی طایفهٔ خزری دن ساخلادیلر تاکه حضرت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وآله رسالته مبعوث اولندی طایفهٔ خزری دربنده غالب وطایفه روم وایران اسلام طایفه سنه هرطرفدن هجوم ایلدیلر پیغمبر دورت مین قشون اوزبننك معتبر اولان سرکرده لری ایله روم وخضری طایفه سنك مقابلنه کوندردی اسلام عسکری پالین قلنجلر وجان ستان اولان نیزه لر ایله اونلاره (آنلره) حمله ایدوب قتل وغارت بی شمار ظهوره کتوروب مراجعت ایلدیلر ولیکن حضرت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلّم بیوروبدور که دربند شهری مجموع شهرلرنك قاپوسی در هرکاه دربند شهرینی خضری طایفه سی ضبطایلیه بی شك مجموع فارس وآذربیجان ولایتی وسرحدلری اونلارنك پای تختی اولور *

Arâk, and having desolated these towns by slaughter and pillage, returned back to their own country [37].

Thus the ancient kings endeavoured to defend Derbend in order that the Khazars might not gain possession of it; for if the Khazars could have taken Derbend, all the kingdoms of Aderbijân and Fârs would inevitably have fallen under their dominion.

In a word, the kings of Irân defended Derbend against the Khazars up to the period when the holy prophet Muhammed, upon whom be the mercy of God! was called to prophecy. At this time the Mussulmans were attacked on every side by the Romans and Persians; but the prophet sent four thousand warriors under the command of some of his principal generals against the Khazars and Romans. The troops of Islâm, having attacked and vanquished them with naked swords and soul-piercing lances, returned home with innumerable trophies. — The prophet, upon whom be the mercy of God, has said, « The city of Derbend is the gate of all cities: so that if the people of Khazaria seize Derbend, without doubt all the countries of Fârs and Aderbijân will fall under their government [38]. »

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth,

Answering to Part I. of our translation.

Les historiens qui se sont occupés des temps anciens, racontent que le célèbre *Kobâd* قباد, roi de Perse, qui régna de 491 à 531 de J. C. et fut père de *Nouchirvân* نوشيروان, qui occupa le trône de 531 à 579, soutint une guerre longue et sanglante avec le Khâkân خاقان des *Turcs* ترك et des *Khaszari* خضري (les Khazars). Ce Khâkân avait une armée de quarante mille hommes; il étendait sa domination sur *Miskâth* مسقط, *Naukrat* نوكرت (*Viatka*) et *Ourous* اوروس (*les Russes*). Le roi Kobâd, lassé d'une guerre pénible et désastreuse qui n'était décisive pour aucun des deux partis et qui les affaiblissait tous deux sans résultat, se décida à suivre le sage conseil de son ministre, et, de même que son adversaire, il deposa les armes pour faire la paix. Afin de rendre leur amitié plus solide, le Khâkân envoya un ambassadeur au roi Kobâd, et lui offrit sa fille pour épouse; celui-ci l'accepta. Le mariage terminé et la paix conclue, Kobâd envova également une ambassade au Khâkân, et lui fit dire: «Nous voulons élever un mur sur la limite de ton territoire et du mien, afin que ni toi ni moi nous ne puissions, dans notre colère, nous faire du tort et nous attirer mutuellement la guerre.»

Lorsque l'on fut convenu respectivement de cet objet, Kobâd fit aussitôt des préparatifs pour la construction du mur. Toutefois, comme on ne savait pas dans quel endroit on poserait la première pierre, l'ange *Djebraïl* (*Gabriel*) indiqua le lieu où jadis *Iskender Dzulkarnaïn* avait bâti un mur semblable: en conséquence, Kobâd fit poser le sien sur les anciens fondemens qui existaient encore; mais comme ils étaient couverts par le sable de la mer, qui empêchait de les voir, il fallut d'abord les déterrer. Il employa tous ses efforts à ce travail, et au rétablissement d'un mur au sud: quand il fut terminé, il en commença un autre, depuis la mer jusqu'à la limite extrême du *Thabaserân* طبسران, qui était éloignée de 90 *aghatch* de Derbend; il y plaça des portes de fer dans les endroits où c'était nécessaire et praticable, et finit le tout dans l'espace de sept ans. Par-là non-seulement Derbend mais aussi tout son royaume furent à l'abri des invasions des *Khaszari*, puisque cent hommes à chaque porte pouvaient arrêter cent mille ennemis: et ainsi le Chirvân et l'Adzerbaïdjân jouirent d'une tranquillité durable.

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Kobâd, ayant ainsi protégé par des fortifications les limites de son royaume, renvoya au Khâkân sa fille, avec laquelle il n'avait couché qu'une nuit, ne voulant pas qu'un fils qui naitrait d'elle montât sur le trône de Perse. Le Khâkân fut obligé de dévorer cet affront fait à sa fille et à lui-même; le mur le mettait hors d'état de se venger. Kobâd, après avoir confié la garde de ce rempart à ses guerriers les plus braves, retourna dans l'Adzerbaïdjân et l'Irak: [Le Khâkân regagna également ses états; ils comprenaient le *Decht Kiptchâk* دشت قپچاق (les steppes entre le Don, le Volga et la Mer Caspienne), *Samender* سمندر, nommé aujourd'hui *Tarkhou* ترخو, *Balkh* بلخ, qui est le bourg d'*Endery* اندري, (*le Vieux Endery*), la seigneurie d'*Ihrân* اهران, qui s'appelle maintenent *Gulbâkh* گلباخ (c'est le territoire entre le Koï-sou et Derbend), et *Djoulâd* (dans la petite Kabardah sur le Terek), ou *Tâtâri-chehr* تاتارى شهر, c'est-à-dire, *la ville des Tatars* (*Tatartoup*), qui a reçu ce nom parce qu'après sa destruction, tous les habitans allèrent vivre sous la domination du Khan de Crimée, et ensuite y revinrent avec beaucoup de Tatars. Indépendamment de ces seigneuries, le Khâkân en possédait plusieurs autres, et son premier général demeurait dans l'Ihrân, sur la rivière qui se nomme aujourd'hui *Agrakhân*, mais par corruption, car son vrai nom est *Aghir Khâneh* آغرخانه (c'est le bras moyen du Koï-sou). Les mines de cuivre du Khâkân étaient sur la frontière de l'Ihrân, et les mines d'argent au-dessus de Tarkhou: leur produit servait à solder toute l'armée qui gardait ces cantons.

Les monarques qui, après la paix conclue entre Kobâd et le Khâkân, occupèrent le trône de Perse, fortifièrent toujours de plus en plus Derbend et le mur; et Nouchirvân construisit sur cette frontière, de même que dans l'ouest sur celle de la Grèce, plusieurs villes. Derbend avait été bati par Iskender Dzulkarnaïn; et avant Kobâd, la partie méridionale de cette ville avait été débarrassée du sable par *Jezdedjerd*, fils de *Bahrâm Gour* (440 à 457); mais Nouchirvân l'acheva, et le fortifia entièrement à-peu-près quatre vingts ans avant la fuite du prophète (542 de J. C.). D'autres historiens racontent que Kobâd et Nouchirvân, après avoir fini les travaux de Derbend, envoyèrent de Perse plusieurs colonies dans ce canton, et y bâtirent beaucoup de villes et de châteaux forts (سدّ), dont le principal était *Elpen* البن ou *Kilmikhem* كلميخم. Ils élevèrent trois cent soixante tours sur le mur qui s'étendait de Derbend à la *porte d'Allan* (Babi-Allân باب الان). Mais la forteresse d'Elpen existait depuis long-temps; elle avait été bâtie par *Isfendiâr* اسفنديار, fils de *Gouchtâsb* گوشتاسب, fils de *Lohrâsb* لهراسب]. Lorsque Nouchirvân demeurait à la porte d'Allân, il fonda, avec la permission de son père, les villes suivantes: *Chabrân* شابران, *Kurkureh* كركره, et, un *âghatch* plus loin, *Gourbar* گوربار, dans la province de

Mouchkour موشکور, et *Kirâl* کیرال, qu'il peupla d'habitans des autres provinces. Au nord de ces quatre villes, il en bâtit une cinquième, nommée *Cheher-i-Sal* شهرسال (ville de Sal), et enfin, à trois *aghatch* de Derbend, une fortification qui avait 92 *aghatch* de longueur; et sur les deux territoires, à une distance de huit heures de marche, une ville de laquelle on allait dans l'Ihrân, qui fut la capitale de la province de Gulbâkh, et la résidence du commandant des troupes du Khâkân, qui y séjournait constamment. Le Khâkân fonda, à 20 *aghatch* de Derbend, *Samender* سمندر, qui est Tarkhou ترخو; il éleva aussi le fort d'*Indji* اینجی (ou *Intché*). Le but de Nouchirvân le Juste était de mettre en sureté Derbend contre les *Khaszari* infidèles (ی)خضری کافرلر. Pour être lui-même parfaitement tranquille, il nomma gouverneur de cette place un homme de sa tribu. Les historiens rapportent que, depuis les remparts d'*Elpen* jusque dans l'Ihrân, il se trouve sept climats. Avant Nouchirvân, ces places étaient au pouvoir du châh Isfendiâr, qui confia le commandement de tous ces lieux à des hommes attachés à son service. A cette époque, il résidait dans l'Ihrân ou Gulbâkh, et il avait transporté du Khorasân les habitans des villes. Il jugea également à propos de donner à l'*Ihrân-tchaï*, اهران چای, rivière qui vient de l'interieur du Gulbâkh, le nom d'*Akhâr-ul-h'ol* لخار الحول, comme chacun sait. Le fort de *Nârin-kalah* نارین قلعه était du coté du Kiptchâk, et avait un commandant. Aujourd'hui il est connu sous le nom de *Koïoun kend* قوین کند, et le Gulbâkh sous celui d'*Endery* اندری (c'est-à-dire, canton d'Endery).

Ces villes furent embellies et agrandies par Nouchirvân le Juste. Il y avait aussi là un peuple nommé les *Toumân* تومان, qui s'étendait de l'Ihrân à *Houmrieh* حمریه: il leur donna un gouverneur qui fut ensuite nommé le *Toumân-châh* تومان شاه, et qui devint très-fameux. Plus loin se trouvent le pays des *Kaïtâk*, la partie supérieure du pays des Kaïtâk et le *pays des Orfèvres* (Zerkerân زرکران), qui sont connus sous le nom de *Koubitchi* کوبچی. Au-delà du Koubitchi, on rencontre le pays de *Thabaserân* طبسران, qui est l'avant-poste des guerriers de Derbend. Comme on avait transporté dans le climat (pays) des *Lezghi* لزگی des habitans d'Ispahan, leur gouverneur fut appelé *Hidjrân-châh* هجران شاه (prince des exilés). Dans un autre canton, on voit le chateau de Thabaserân, qui est en plaine. Le peuple nommé *Lezghi*, qui habite les monts *Koumuk*, y a été amené du *Ghilân* گیلان: il a reçu la dénomination de *Keïlân* قیلان, et son gouverneur celle de *Keïlânchâh* قیلان شاه. Un autre canton est celui de *Miskath;* il est plus agréable que le Thabaserân et le *Kaïtâk*. Ses habitans sont venus de Chirâz. Leur gouverneur fut nommé

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H'ou châh حوشاه. Les cantons les plus beaux, qui sont peu nombreux dans ces climats, reçurent de Nouchirvân le Juste des gouverneurs pris dans sa famille. En tout il renouvela, depuis Derbend, cent soixante villes qui, à la vérité, existaient déjà, mais étaient très-déchues. Ces villes désertes furent repeuplées par Nouchirvân: il y envoya des habitans tirés de la Perse, parce que son intention était qu'ils pussent défendre et garder Derbend, pour empêcher les infidèles *Khaszari* de venir dans cette contrée et de ravager l'Adzerbaïdjân et l'Irâk. C'est là le motif qui a valu à cette ville le nom de *Derbend* دربند (porte formée), parce qu'elle protégeait l'Ihrân dans ce temps-là.

Lorsque le prophète, que la bénédiction soit sur lui, eut paru, et que la religion de l'Islam se fut consolidée, le gouvernement de la Perse était tombé en décadence; les infidèles *Khaszari* et le peuple grec l'attaquaient souvent. Mais Dieu accorda son secour et le succès à la foi, à l'Islam, au prophète, que la bénédiction divine tombe sur lui, et à ses sectateurs; des armées furent envoyées dans tous les pays du monde, et elles firent de grandes conquêtes. Le prophète avait, selon la tradition, prononcé cet axiome: «Derbend a de nombreux avantages». Voilà pourquoi il s'engagea une lutte qui avait pour objet de priver les infidèles du bonheur de posséder Derbend; car tant qu'il restait entre leurs mains, l'Adzerbaïdjân n'était pas à l'abri de leurs invasions. (Nouveau Journal Asiatique, for the year 1829, Tome III. p. 439—448.

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE FIRST.

Remark 1. page 3 line 2 and 11. رب يسر ولاتعسّر

This is a very common expression, used by the generality of Musulman writers at the beginning of their works on every subject. It is the first part of the following short prayer, common to the Muhammedans af all sects: «O Lord! facilitate it and make it not difficult! facilitate it to us through thy mercy and grace, o most gracious God!» the prayer is taken and paraphrased from a passage in the 184th verse of the second sourah of the Koran (البقرة) يريد الله بكم اليسر ولايريد بكم العسر

رَبِّ يَسِّرْ وَلَاتُعَسِّرْ عَلَيْنَا بِفَضْلِكَ وَكَرَمِكَ يَا رَبَّ

Remark 2. page 457 line 4 and 15. قباد

This supposed founder of the wall of Derbend and the favorite of many historians, was the father of the famous *Ktsri-Anoushirvân* and a son of *Feerouz*, whose reign was disgraced by the diffusion of the doctrine of مزدك *Mezdek* under his protection. — Although he prospered in the beginning of his reign, and was successful in war against the Emperor *Anastasius I*, yet his tyranny and evil conduct at home excited the anger of his subjects and the generality of historians consider the principal reason of his unpopularity, to have been his profession of the Mezdekian creed.

The prophet, so favourably protected by a sovereign, and surrounded by thousands of knaves, who were, certainly, pleased with the alluring principles of their master's doctrine, soon extended his power over all the kingdom, but on the other hand oppression and tyranny did not fail to arouse the indignation of the people. Many historians write, that Gkubad was dethroned by his exasperated subjects, who put him in prison and raised up his brother جاماسپ *Jâmâsp* in his place; that the dethroned monarch was saved from prison by the artifice of his sister, fled to Turkistân, and afterwards regained his kingdom through the aid of the هياطله *Heyâtileh*, a powerful nation of the Turkish race, known in Chinese history by the name of *Tielé*, *Thiele* or *Tchilé*, whose arms, more than once, threatened destruction to many famous nations of Asia. But *Tebert*, one of the most authentic historians of the East, does not even mention his imprisonment and flight. He says, that Gkubad's nobles, after having formed a conspiracy against him, endeavoured once more to retract his favour from Mezdek and his doctrine before prosecuting their intention. In this they succeeded through the eloquence of one of his favourites, named زرمهر *Zar-mehr:* The monarch's opinion was changed; the Mezdekians were oppressed in their turn and Gkubâd regained his former popularity. — Be this as it may, the eloquent and worthy Gibbon is too severe and unjust in his expression: « A prisoner in the hands of his subjects, an exile among the enemies of Persia, *he recovered his liberty by prostituting the honour of his wife &c. &c.* »; because the ignoble action through which Gkubad, according to the assertion of that illustrious historian, recovered his liberty, far preceded the conjectural dethronement, and it is considered as one of the principal reasons that provoked against him the indignation of his subjects.

Gkubâd reigned 43 years, and extended his empire. He was characterized by the love of improving his country, and during his reign were built many towns and cities in Persia. See *Târikhi-Teberi*, Vol. II. for حديث پادشاهى كيقباد; — *Mir-Khond's Ruuzetus-Safa*, Vol. I. for ذكر سلطنت قباد بن فيروز; — *Pococke*, *Specimen Hist. Arab. p.* 71, and Gibbon's *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. XLII for the *state of Persia.*

Remark 3. page 457 linie 6 and 16. انوشيروان

In the European histories he is famous under the name of *Chosroes.* He was the most illustrious prince that ever filled the throne of *Sasan.* His justice is proverbial in the East. His love of learning procured him the title of « *a disciple of Platò!* » and his zeal for the prosperity of his Empire, together with his other merits, (exclusive of despotism, which characterized all the Asiatic monarchs) gave him, in the eyes of the best and most important writers of critical history, the preference over Justinian, his contemporary.

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He was the third son of Gkubâd, who, charmed with the extraordinary prudence and merits of his really unequalled offspring, appointed him his heir, regardless of the natural and customary order of succession.

The prevailing power of Gkubâd had almost inclined the Byzantine court to a proposal that his son *Ktsrt*, or Choroes, should be adopted by the Emperor Justine the elder; but Proclus the Questor or Quaestor of that period, by involving the case in some misunderstanding, prevented its successful result; which might have been indeed injurious to both nations.

Ktsrt was raised to the throne, though apparently against his own consent, by his father's nobles, who were as much charmed as his father by the extraordinary merits of this prince. His reign is distinguished by the total destruction of Mezdek and his followers in *one day*, who amounted, according to some, to a hundred thousand men! This extraordinary event obtained him, on the same day, the title of Anûshirvân, which signifies, *the new sovereign of sovereigns*. See *Mir-khând* and *Tebert* for the reign of كسرى انوشيروان; read also D'Ohsson's *Voyage d'Abou-el Cassim* p. 153.

Remark 4. page 3 line 7 and 18. خاقان شاه

It is rather an imaginary title, composed of *Khagkân* and *Shah*. The first expressed among the ancient Turkish races of Northern Asia, the supreme degree of regal dignity to which their sovereign princes were entitled. No research can be made into the etymology of the word. Its first appearance is attributed by *Visdelou*, to the very beginning of the IV^th^ Christian century and the first royal prince who assumed the title, he says, was *Touloun* or *Touroun*, who changed the Imperial title of *Tshen-yu*, or rather *Shen-yuë*, to Khaghân (*Visdelou Hist. de la Tartarie* p. 37. 133.). — Father *Hyacinth* ascribes it to the reign of *Mao*, the first prince of the house of *Day*, or to the middle of the III^d^ century (Записки о Монголіи, part III. p. 70). At any rate the first appearance of the word, among the Northern tribes, must have been beyond the record of history, and though, perhaps, it was not always used to express an Emperor, or a sovereign, at least we know that it was applied sometimes to administrators, and sometimes to personages of great influence. We find an original identity between this and the Hebrew word כהן (in Arabic كاهن, bearing the same meaning,) which, according to eminent Hebrew scholars, signified a man of *great power* — one whose dignity is next to that of a sovereign (as in Mongol and Manjour ᠬᠠᠨ, pronounced *Khan*), when it refers to the laity; and a *priest*, or one, who, by his divine qualities intercedes for the guilty, when it refers to religion; (see Brown's dictionary of the Holy Bible, for the word *priest;* and Joh. Simonis Lexicon, for the word כהן). This, and other few instances of identity between some old Mongol or Turkish, and Hebrew words, which may lead any one to suspect a *Semitic* origin in some pure Mongol and Tartar words of the present day, might add something in favour of those (*Postel, Manassé*, see Deguignes *Hist. gen. des Huns*, T. II. p. 11.), who conjecture that the origin of the Turks and Tartars is derived from the ten tribes of Israel, led in captivity by *Salmanasar*, had there not been stronger reasons to disown it and attribute this pretension to the original partiality of Manassé, the celebrated Jewish author.

The second is an old Persian word for *king*, from which is derived *Pad-shâh* meaning *The king of the throne*, or the great king. — Thus the compound word *Khâghân-shâh* is a na-

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turalized Persian expression, the word *Khâghân* being taken as a proper name, in the same manner as the word التون or rather التان in التان خان, the title given by the Eastern writers to the Emperors of the dynasty of *Gin*[a].

Remark 5. page 3 line 7 and 20. روسیه ومسقو

a. We sometimes meet with the words *Rûsstyeh* and *Mosgkou* together, in some of the Eastern authors; by the former we should understand rather *Slavonia*, and by the latter the *Russia* of later centuries. The word *Mosgkou*, the name of the great capital of the country, has for many ages been used as a proper name for all Russia by the Ottomans, the same as *Moscovy* by some European writers. The word *Mosgkowly*, i. e. *Moscovian*, denotes among the Ottomans the Russians in general; and its contraction, namely *Moscal* was, with many other Turkish words, introduced among the *Malo-Russian*, or the inhabitants of little Russia, as a proper name for their Northern brethren.

b. The *Muscat* of the version of Berlin in this place we do not find in either of the two others. It is now a village in Tabasarân commonly called *Mogksat*, which reading we find in another place of Dr. Dorn's version; see in this work the continuation of Dr. Dorn's version, note I; look also for this word مسقط in the *Extract from Ibnu-l-A'asam.*

Remark 6. page 4 line 1 and 15. دورت یوزمین

In Klaproth's translation instead of 400,000 there stands 40,000. The corresponding passage in Dr. Dorn's version speaks also of 400,000.

Remark 7. page 4 line 12. ذوالقرنین

This is a name which in all the traditions and writings of the East, both civil and religious, is involved in general incertitude. Some commentators on the *Koran* suppose *Dulgkarnain* to be a different personage from Alexander the Great, whom they endeavour to distinguish by the surname of *Pheelipûs*, intimating the son of Philip; whilst others suppose them to be one and the same person. Though the first opinion indeed may be correct with regard to the epithet ذوالقرنین, yet the identity of the names[b], and some other circumstances, have given occasion to the Muhammedans in general to mistake the one for the other, and to attribute to the favourite of the Koran, all the exploits, achievements and fame of the *great hero* of Macedonia, and these exploits constituted a felicitous and wonderfully harmonious *fantasia* for the

[a] Both التون, in Tartar, and *Gin*, in the language of the ancient *Neuchies*, mean *gold*; by this name was qualified the extensive Empire of the Tartars, founded by *Aguda*, and their former name *Neuchy* was changed to that of *Gin*. The Eastern historians distinguish their Emperors by the compound title of التان خان i. e. *Golden Emperor*, or The Emperor of the *Golden Empire*.

[b] The personage whom some of the commentators take for the hero of the Koran, is supposed by them to have had also the name of *Iskender*.

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harp-strings of Eastern traditions, although the true and guiding *theme* may be distinguishable only to the delicate ears of the real critic.

The word *đûl-gkarnaîn*, we have reason to believe to be a very ancient Arabic one, given, among many other epithets beginning with ذو (as for example ذوكلاع, ذويزن and others) to the kings of *Emen*. By this same epithet is known in the history of the Arabs, the VIII^th^ *Tubba'* of Emen, called *Shemer* whom *Hamzeh*, the Ispahanian, a writer of the X^th^ century (350 — 961) supposes to have lived in the time of *Kishtâsb* (or 558 years before Christ) or even before that time (see تاريخ الامم ch. VIII.); and to whom historians attribute the foundation of the present *Samarcand*, or properly *Shemercand* i. e. the city of *Shemer*, on the ruins of the ancient capital of the *Sughds*, named, according to Teberi, *Tchin*. — *Hamzeh*, the Ispahanian thinks with others, that the surname was given to *Shemer* because of his having extended his power from *East* to *West*. But many eminent historians give the epithet of ذوالقرنين to one صعب, *Sa'b*, son of *Râish* رايش, the great grand son of *Hemyar*. They place *Shemer* about 136 years before the birth of Christ, and do not attribute to him the qualities described by *Hamzeh*, the Ispahanian. The author of the اوغيانوس *Ughianûs*[c], a learned commentary on *Gkâmûs*, following *Kattb-Tschelebi*, positively says that Alexander of Macedonia never was called *đûl-gkernaîn*; and that it is a mistake, into which the generality of writers have fallen; but that *đûl-gkernaîn* was no other than one *Sa'ab*, the contemporary of Abraham[d], between whom and Alexander there elapsed 1950 years. — I shall here quote some of his arguments, which must be regarded as very precious relics of the anthmuhammedan literature of the Arabs. The first consists of five distichs, belonging to the metre of كامل. The *Ughianûs* ascribes these verses to one of the *Tobbas* called اسعد *As'ad*, and surnamed *Abû-bekr*, one of the kings of the dynasty named the middle *Tubba'*, تبع الأوسط, whom the author takes, according to this prince's words, to be a descendant of *Sa'b*. These are the verses: ان كان ذوالقرنين جدّى مسلّما * كل الملوك لملكه كالسجد

ملك المشارق والمغارب عالماً * يبغى علوماً من كريم مرشد ويرى مسير الشمس عند غروبها * فى عين حامية لها تتوقد

فلقد اذلّ الصعب صعب زمانه * واثار غرّة عزّه بالمفرقد * حكم الامور فاحكمت ابياته * فجرى الى اجل له وبموعد

«If my grand father *đûl-gkernaîn* were alive, all the powers (of the earth) would prostrate themselves beneath his sway! He went around the world from east to west, and acquired knowledge from a generous guide.» (i. e. the Prophet *Khidzr*, who is said to have accompanied him in search of the Water of Life.) «He saw the paths of the sun in the west, over the black spring which he illumined[e]. *Sa'b* verily despised the difficulties of his time, and raised the

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[c] The eminent author السيّد احمد عاصم افندى finished his work in 1225 and it was published in the year 1230—33 of the Hijret or 1814—17 A. D. in Constantinople.

[d] Some call this «*Sa'b* the son of *Raish*», others «the son of *đi-merâsid* ذى مراصد; a third calls him «*Al-mas'ab* the son of *Merâsid*.»

[e] The *Koran* says: «and he (i. e. đûl-gkernaîn) followed his way, until he came to the place where he sun setteth; and he found him to set in a spring of *black mud*», which, *Al-Baidzâwi* says, was the ocean, that so appeared to him.

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star of his honour to the Zenith! He ruled the affairs of his kingdom and thereby his memory is perpetuated[f]; he flowed on to his destiny and his promised death.»

The second argument consists in some very eloquent lines, which were recited by غث *Ghess*, the son of سعيدت الاياذي or صاعدة الاياذي *Sa'idetu-l-ayádi*, a poet of the antimuhammedan period, in the market-place, *Ukádz*, while sitting on his camel, before the assembly of Arabs: ايها النّاس هل اتاكم ما لم يأت آبآئكم الأولين * لم اخذتم عهداً من السّنين * لم عندكم من ذلك اليقين * لم اصبحتم من ذلك آمنين * والله اصبحتم فى غفلة لاعبين * اين الصّعب ذوالقرنين * جمع الثّقلين * وساع الخافقين * وعمّر القرنين * لم يكن عنده الاّ كلحظة عين *

«O people! has any thing happened to you that has not happened to your ancient fathers? Have you taken an oath from the years (that they will not betray you.)? Are you assured of it? Have you risen this morning with secure confidence in it? Nay! by God, you are got up in neglect and pleasure! Where is *Sa'b* the *đul-gkernain?* He possessed both worlds (men and spirits.); he travelled to both horizons (east and west) and lived 2000 (years)[g]. — All this period was to him as the twinkling of an eye!» — I do not know on what occasion these lines were delivered, but it appears from the sense, to have been at the time of some misfortune, at which the Arabians had murmured. Whatever was the occasion, these two arguments, with which the narration in the Koran agrees, distinctly show to what a degree the Arabs preserved their traditions concerning the *two-horned* hero; and even the following words of *Ali*, the son-in-law of Muhammed, prove their popularity even in his time: وحدّثوا عن حمير فانّ فى حديثها عجايب وذوالقرنين ملك تبّع «Speak ye of the *Hemyars;* verily in their history there are wonders, and (to their history belongs the wonderful) *đul-gkernain*, the king of *Tubba'*.»

The result of all this is in my opinion: 1)That the title *đul-gkernain* is an ancient one, adopted by some of the sovereigns of Arabia, as *Sa'ab*, *Shemer*, and perhaps some others.

2) That the *đul-gkernain* of the Koran *must* be the great hero of Macedonia: a) because it was about *him* that the *Jews* put the question to Muhammed.[h] b) because we have no satisfactory argument for attributing either to *Sa'ab*, *Shemer* or any other Arabian or Persian king of the period, all the qualities ascribed in the Koran and in the traditions of the East to đul-gkernain. — and c) because we have many convincing proofs that it was Alexander the great's fame and conquests, that gave birth to tales of *dark regions*, *the water of life*, *the great wall* against the Monsters of the North, and many similar ideas in the traditions of the East. — If *Shemer* had a right to this title for having extended his expeditions from west to east, as *Hamzeh* maintains, have we not reason then to believe that Alexander had a better right to be named *The Master of the two horns*, for having conquered *Media* and *Persia*, which were called by the Prophet Daniel, the *two horns* (see ch. VIII v. 3, 20.); or

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f Verbally: «his remonstrances (or tokens of his memory) are strengthened.»

g The period of his life might have consisted of the latter years of the *first thousand* and of a certain number of years of the commencement of *the second*.

h See the Koran 18th Sourah v. 95 — 104.

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for having conquered (or, as Muhammed says in a tradition[1], *travelled to*) the East and the West? Have we not reason to think, that this, and another allegory used by the Prophet, who calls the king of *Javan*, the *he-goat* with *one horn* (ch. VIII. v. 5. 21.), caused the Jews to confound the epithet *horned* with the *two-horned*?

Thus, the confusion suggested by the two arguments of the author of the Ugkianûs, may be attributed merely to the partiality of *As'ad* and to the Arabian Poet *Ghess*, who imputed to their own national hero some of the high deeds of the other. — Moreover, our conjecture may be maintained by a modification which we find in some histories, that the great hero of Macedonia is designated by the title of ذوا لقرنين الثانى dûl-gkernain the *second*, in order to distinguish him from *Sa'b*, called the *First* dûl-gkernain of the *Hemyars* ذو القرنين الاوّل الحميرى. — But as to the favourable expressions of the Koran that lead most commentators to ascribe the prophetic dignity to the dûl-gkernain, and which cause many writers to deny Alexander the great to be such, — they arise from two circumstances: from the ignorance of Muhammed, who knew almost nothing about the hero but his name that had become so famous amongst the Jews and heathens, by his exploits and wonderful deeds; and from the favourable opinion which the Jews had formed of that prince grounded on the Prophecy of Daniel.

Remark 8. page 5. line 22.

a. The author means by this, one of the walls of Derbend, which, according to some, bears the name of سد الاصغر الاسكندرى, *The lesser Alexandrian wall*. The traditions concerning the wall of Alexander are as much confounded as those about the dûl-gkernain himself; on this subject we refer our readers to two separate chapters, quoted in the appendix to this work, entitled, *The description of the greater and lesser walls of Iskander*; also to *D'Herbelot's* article *Jagiouge* and *Khazar*; to Bayer's *opusc.*, p. 94.

According to the description given by our author, as we find in our version and in that of St. Petersburg, the supposed wall of Alexander extended from the Caspian to the Black Sea. But the length of the longest wall of Derbend, at the present day, is not certain: the southern wall rises from the depths of the sea and its ruins penetrate into the mountains, as far as *the gates of Alan* or *Darial*. — *Kâtib-Tchelebi* says, that the wall of Derbend is 10,500 cubits in length (or something more than 3 English miles), and contains 70 bulwarks. Such was the state of the walls at the time of this eminent author, (see جهان نما, printed in Constantinople in the year 1145 of the Hijret p. ۳۴۹, also read Part V. remark 2. of this work.)

b. In our version nothing is said of *Gabriel* ac. as we read it in Klaproth's translations. In Dr. Dorn's version we find the following: قباد پاد شاه بارو پاپاغه قصد ابتدى توروبة ايچنده شمس (ابنمش) ايدى (كه) نبه كره جبرئل عليه السّلام اشارتى برله بويرده اسكندر ذوالقرنين سدّ چكوب ايدى ديوب بويرده قازديلر لسكى بارو ظاهر اولدى لوّل كه (اوّلكى) سدّى قوم وتوز باسوب ايدى خيلى مدّت ايدى قبادديورلر لشكرى چوق (كوندروب) اولى زمان اول سدك پوزولان بريرلرنى (برلرن؟) دوزتديلر

[1] It is said in the tradition طاف قرنى الدّنيا i. e. »he travelled to both *horns* of the world«, meaning the *East* and the *West*. See سغنية الرّاغب published in Boulac in 1255 of the Hidjret. P. ۶۲۰.

«The king Gkubâd intended to construct the wall. It was written [k] in the Old Testament [l] that Iskanderi-dûl-gkernain had, by the repeated directions of *Djebrâil*, erected a wall in a certain place; that same place they dug, and there appeared the old rampart. The ancient wall, in consequence of the great length of time, having been covered up with sand and earth, Gkubâd ordered a great army to be sent that for the time repaired the defects of the wall», &c.

Though mention is here made of Gabriel, yet the difference of the sense between this and Klaproth's translation is such, that I am in difficulty whether to attribute it to a real difference in the version of Berlin or to an error in the translation. Bayer's extract in this place however agrees more with Klaproth's translation. It is there said that Gkubâd in a dream was informed by an Angel of the place of the wall of Alexander. See *De Muro Caucaseo in comment. Acad. Scient. T. I. p.* 459.

Remark 9. page 5 line 7 and 24. يدّى آى تمام اولنجه

In the Berlin MS. the time specified is 7 years, which is more probable. In the Petersburg version nothing is said about the time. Bayer's extract asserts that they finished the eastern part of the wall during the rest of the year, and that the other parts were terminated in the space of seven years. *Ibid.*

Remark 10. page 5 line 7 and 25. باب الابواب

The Gate of gates, or *the principal gate*. The derivation of this epithet is founded upon historical records, purporting that in ancient times difficult passes between two mountains, or between mountains and the sea, were metaphorically called gates الابواب (*pylae*). The number of these gates in the Caucasus was consistent with the number of the passes. To these belong. باب صول [m] - باب ايران شاه - باب فيلان شاه - باب السرير &c, on which we shall have occasion to say something in the appendix. But the place where Derbend is situated, being the strongest and most remarkable of all, and its ramparts the largest and most inaccessible, it was called, for distinction, by the epithet of *the gate of gates*. — The same is known by the name of دمرقاپو (in Turk.) and باب الحديد (in Arab.); both of which mean the *iron gate*: for tradition says, as we read it in the text, that the gates of the ramparts were made of *iron*. The common

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[k] In the copy sent to me by my learned friend Dr. Dorn, there are two readings, شمش ايدى and اشيمش ايدى, neither of which has any meaning. I think the word must be either كلمش ايدى or اينمش ايدى, which signifies: *it has taken place* or *come down from heaven*: i. e. written by the command of God &c.

[l] The word توريه, in Hebrew תורה or תורת, strictly speaking, means the *Pentateuch*: but in its full import it may be taken for the whole of the Old Testament.

[m] For صول *Soul* or the *Tzour* of Procopius (*Gothicae historiae* lib. IV.) see our appendix باب صول.

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name of the fortress is Derbend, which in the Persian language signifies *the shutter of the gates* i. e. the defender of the pass, and not « *porte fermée* », as translates it Klaproth.

Remark 11. page 5 line 11 and 29. بکارغین زایل انمش

In the St. Petersburg version we read قزلوغین الوب الخ « having *deprived* her of her virginity », which agrees with Klaproth's translation. But the essential reason, for which Gkubâd resolved to send back the daughter of the Khâgkân, being one and the same in all the three versions, the preference must be given to what is stated in our MS. i. e. the apprehension of future discord in consequence of the princess bearing a child, which Gkubâd naturally wished to avoid, *would not* permit him to have any connexion with her.

Remark 12. page 6 line 3 and 17. مدائنه مراجعت ایادی

a) *Meddyen* is the Arabian name of the ancient *Ctesiphon*, the residence of the kings of *Sasân* afterwards ruined by the Arabs in the time of *Omar*, and of *Almansour*. The word has been always used in the plural (the singular being مدينة), and not in the *dual* as Major Keppel states and as the word should perhaps have been, if we believe that it expressed at once *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*. The present form of the word, مدائن distinctly proves that the appellation was invented by the Arabs, whereas its antiquity (for we are persuaded that even in the time of the *Kisri* it was called by the same name), suggests the idea of the word's being at least of common origin with the Persian. In the *Burhân* we find that مدينا *Medyend*, in the old language of the *Zend*, signified a city; this may lead us to suspect, that the metropolis of the *Kisri* was called by this name before the invasion of Persia by the Saracens, since which time the pronunciation has insensibly changed to that of *Meddyen*. — Its being in the plural has suggested to some etymologists that the name signified at once seven towns in the *Arakt-Arab*, namely 1) The metropolis itself, which, being the most extensive of all, was named by the general appellation of *Medayen*; 2) قادسيه, *Gkadisiyeh*; 3) رومیه, *Rûmiyeh*; 4) هترا, *Hatreh*; 5) بابل, *Bâbil*; 6) حلوان, *Halvân*, and 7) نهروان, *Nehrevân*. In the *Burhân* it is said مدائن صفت شهر بود ابادان درحوالی مدائن وبابل اکنون خراب ایست ودرعربی جمع شهر است

« *Meddyen* consisted of seven flourishing cities about Hemedân, and Babil, now they are decayed and in ruins. In the Arabic it is the plural of *city* »

The author of *Tarichu-l-umem* تاریخ الامم (see book I. ch. 4.) says: وبنی انوشیروان عدّة مدن منها مدینة دخلت فی عداد مدن مدائن السبع وسماها به لزاندبوخسرو وهی للسمّاة رومیّة المدائن ومعنی به لزاندبو لخیر من انطاکیه

* see *Mushetâl-ghulât* for مدائن

« Anushirvân, among many other cities, built one which belongs to the *seven* towns (just referred to) and he named it *bth-az-andeevi-khusrou*. The same city was called *Rûmietul-meddyen*. The signification of *Bth-az-andeev* is: *better than Antioch.* »

From these lines we may understand, that Anushirvân, after having embellished the metropolis of his fathers, gave it the above mentioned name, in order to mark its superiority over the famous *Antioch* of Seleucus Nicator, which claimed the greatest celebrity in the east both before and at his time.

This Metropolis of the Sasanian kings, claims to this day the attention of the curious, by the relics of the palace of Anushirvân. The following words from خريدة العجايب will not be superfluous in this place: المدايين وهى مدينة قديمة جاهليّة وبها آثار هايلة وبها ايوان كسرى المضروب به المثل فى العظم والشاخة والارتفاع والاتقان واقليمها يعرف بارض بابل i. e. *Almeddyen* is an ancient city of the time of *ignorance* (the antimuhammedan ages); in it there are terrible ruins, among which may be seen the palace of *Kisrt*, known in proverbs for it's grandeur, sublimity, height and firmness. Its climate (province) is called *the land of Babel.* »

Katib-tchelibi says of this famous building: وايوان كسرى عجايب ابنيه دن درعرض اونوز التى آديم وطولى يتمش دورتدر ارتفاعى يتمش ذراع وشرفه لرينك ارتفاعى يوز اللى ذراع ايدى « The palace of *Kisrt* is one of the most wonderful buildings: its width is 36 steps; its length 74 steps, and its height 70 cubits. The height of its pinnacles was 150 cubits. » — This measurement is the same as that given by Major Keppel, excepting as regards the height of the pinnacles which are now broken down; but that worthy gentleman's words: « Tradition asserts that the palace, when entire, was double its present height », favours the description of *Tchelebi*. — see *Personal Narrative* of travels in Babylon, Assyria &c. by *Major, the Hon. George Keppel*. London 1827. V. I. p. 132—140.

b. In neither of the two other versions of Derbend-nâmeh is there any mention of this city, or of Gkubâd's personal expedition with his son to Derbend. Klaproth's translation says, that Kubad *returned* to Adzerbaidjân and Irak. The version of St. Petersburg says nothing even of his return: there we find قبادشاه ايكى باروحكم اولدوغنه خاقان اوزكه سنه يمان لق يتمزيلوب خاطر جمع اولدى which rather should be read: قبادشاه ايكى باروحكم اولدغين خلقاندن اوز اولكه سنه الخ i. e. « Gkubâd-shah, in consequence of the two walls being strong, became tranquil, thinking that from the Khagkan there could happen no evil to his kingdom. »

Remark 13. page 6 line 8 and 25.

There is a mistake here in our MS. It must either be التمش اوچ 63, or يوز التمش اوچ 360, as it stands in the versions of Berlin and St. Petersburg. The same number we find in the description of Derbend or *The mountain of Triumph*, *by Hertmi-dedeh;* who says that, « after Alexander, it was Anûshirvân who invaded the mountain, fortified it, renewed its walls and buildings and filled them with troops, and erected 360 *buildings* (or fortifications) in its strong passages. » Read Extract VII. added to this work.

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Ibn-Hawgkel says, that he would not believe the assertion of *Mes'oudi*, that in the *mountain of trtumph* there were 300 towns or habitations, until he witnessed the truth himself (see ibid.).

In our MS. here no mention is made of the detail which we read in Klaproth's translation, except the names of towns, districts and fortresses &c. which are to be met with in different places and which we have explained in our remarks. In Dr. Dorn's version we find a very incorrect detail, which we take the liberty of introducing in this place, after correcting it according to our comprehension. It seems to agree with the detail of the MSS. of Berlin and Paris, with the exception only of some confusion in the order. The corresponding part of Klaproth's translation we have put in our addition between two parentheses [ ]. صکره (بومعامله دن ؟) خاقان دخی بومعاقله دن اوز تختنه (تختکاهنه ؟) کلدی که ایدل سوی اوستنده ایدی سندر وانجه وکیوان (here or about this place something is wanting) وبلخ حاکمی اندرای ایدی وایدی اندری دیمك (ایله) مشهور در (و) قلعهٔ سروخاب که قزلیار دیمك (ایله) مشهور در وکیچه ماجر واولوماجر وجولات وشهر تانار که اننك ادی تانارتوب آنون ایچون دیدیلر کیم شهری خراب اولنده خلقنك چوخی قرم ولایتنه کتوروب (کلوب ؟) ساکن اولدیلر قرم تاناردر پس بو شهره تانارتوب دیرلر یعنی تاتاردن اصلی دیمك اولور بوجابنده نچه شهروار ایدی شهرکاسه وشهرخذل اما اولو حاکمی وسرداری اعران حاکمی ایدی قزل یارون یاخوننده قزل معدنی وترك باشنده کش معدنی وار ایدی ایکیسیده اعران حاکمی ننك النده ایدی وخاقانك جمله لشکری بوسرحدلرده اولور ایدی سرداری اعران حاکمی ایدی اننك ایچون کم اعرانده اسفندیار التوندن تخت ایدوب اوتوردی بواقلیمنك پادشاهنه (پادشاهلغنه ؟) تختکاه اعران دیرلر خاقان اوز تختنه اوتوردی قباده دل (قبادایله ؟) ایتدوکی عهدی پوزمدی وهرپادشاه که فارس ولایتنده تخته اوتوردی بوسرحدّه (بوسرحدّده ؟) بربنا ایتدی چون نوشیروان تخت عدالتده اوتوردی بوجانبده بنالرچوق ایتدی روم سرحدینه وارنجه هر برده قلعه لرپاپردی روایت ذوالقرنین [عیسی] علیه السلامدن صونك یوز اون ایلده (مینك یوز لون بلده ؟ [o]) بناقیلدی قبادشاه دن اوّل اسکندر سدّ نین برینی خسروشاه (سدّنی یزدجردشاه [p] read ra her

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[o] In Klaproth the time is not specified; but the word صونك, otherwise written in the margin of Dr. Dorn's version صك, suggests the idea of its being منك a thousand, which is more consistent with probability; the word عیسی must be a false addition here.

[p] Another reading in the margin of the same version is سدی نی یردجبر which certainly must be a corruption of our reading.

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بهرام گور اوغلی قوم دن پاك ایدوب بعض برلرین دوزتمش ایدی اماانوشیروان زما نندہ محکم اولندی روایت اولنور که قبادیله نوشیروان بوایکی سدی [9] محکم ابتدیلر پارس ولایتندن چوق حشم حکمتیله (حکمیله ؟) کتوروب بوسرحده شهرلر یا پدر دیلر ایدی باروچای [r] دیکیله مشهور در دربند ده (دربند اطرافنده ؟) اوچ یوز التمش شهر یاپدردی بوصدنك (سدّ) التنده (الپن ؟) اولدن وار ایدی اماچوق برلری بوزولمش ایدی اسفندیار کشتاسب اوغلی سهراب (لهراسب) اوغلی اولنجی (اول الپن ؟) سدّینی باشدن یاپدردی طاغدن دنکزه یتوردی اول سدی قاپودوزدی انکا آلان قاپوسی دیرلیدی روایت قباداوغلی نوشیروان آلان قپوسنده اوتوردی الخ

Remark 14. page 6 line 9 and 25. آذربایکان

See the words of *Hertmit*, referred to in the preceding note. — The etymology of this word, agreed upon by almost all, as composed from آذر, *fire*, and بادکان or بایکان *the conserver*, is already known to many who have had occasion to consult Meninsky's Dictionary; but the author of *Burhânt-Ghaty* gives us another curious explanation, which I will here present to the reader: کویند وقتی که اغوز آن ولایت را کرفت صحرا ومرغزار اوجان که یکی از ولایات اذربیجان است اورا خوش آمد فرمود که هر یك از مردم اویك دامن خاك بیاورند وآنجا بریزند وبنفس خود یك دامن خاك آورد وبریخت تمام لشکر ومردم او هریکی دامنی خاك بیاوردند وبریختند پشتهٔ عظیم بهم رسید ونام آن پشته را آذربایکان کرد چه آذربلغت ترکی بلنداست وبایکان بمعنی بزرکان ومحتشمان وآن جارا بدان نام موسوم کردانید ومعرّب آن آذربیجان است i. e. « When *Oughuz* subdued that region, the fields and groves of *Aujan*, one of the districts of that country, pleased him; he ordered that every man of that quarter should bring a skirtful of earth and throw it in one place; he himself also brought a skirtful of earth, and threw it in the same place, as did every one of his soldiers and men, so that there appeared a great hill, and that hill he called *Azerbâtgân* (i. e. the hill of the great); for *Azer* in the Turkish language means *high* and *bâtgân* signifies, great and celebrated men; he therefore called the hill by that name — which in the Arabic is changed to Azerbaijân. »

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9 In Klaproth's translation, or rather in the Berlin MS. we read دربند instead of the *two walls*.

r In this part of Klaproth and consequently of the Berlin MS. nothing is said of *Bârûchai*; and I think it is no place for it here. In the same version it is said that باروچای is the name of the wall of الپن consequently it has no concern with the towns built by Anushirvân. Read, remark 7 to part VII.

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Whatever may be the truth — the name now, as many centuries since, expresses that part of Persia, which anciently consisted of *Media Atropatene*, and of a part of *Armenia*. Teberi says, that this name is given to a country commencing with *Hemedân*, *Abher*, *Zendgân* (now *Zengân*) and finishing with Derbend of the *Khazars*. آذربایکانك اوّل حدی همدان دن وابهر وزندکان دن دوتار تاآخر خزران دربندنه یتشور بوآلقده نقدر شهرولرایسه کلّسنه آذربایکان دیرلر see Teberi, Part V. for خبرکشادن اذربایکان &c.

Remark 15. page 6 line 10 and 27. سمندر

This name, in the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg, is سمندر *Semander;* it was the ancient name of *Tarkhou*, to this day the residence of the *Shamkhâls*. In the copy of Teberi that I have in my possession, the word is شمدر which is probably a mistake, but in the خریدة العجایب it is also سمندر which is the best reading. — According to this author, *Semender* was one of the principal cities of the *Khazars;* it abounded in grapes, and the Russians, or rather Slavonians, ruined this city. — See the words ارض الخزر and سمندر in that work. In the *Mesâlikul-memâlik*, which I have in my possession, we find the same misunderstanding in the reading of *Semender*. The author says, that there was a city in Khazaria named سمید which was rich in gardens abounding with grapes. This is his description which in many points is identic with that of *Ibnt-Haukal* in regard to سمندر; (see Frähn *Ibn-Foszlan* p. 65.) ودر خزرشهری هست که آنرا سمید خوانند باغ وبوستان بسیار دارد ۴۰۰۰۰ گویند که این شهرچهل هزار باغ دارد وبیشترهمه انگوربود ودرین شهر مسلمانان بسیارباشند ومسجدها دارند وبناها ازچوب سازند وپادشاه ایشان جهوداست وباپادشاه خزرخویشی دارند

« In Khazaria there is a city called *Semid*, which has a great many fruit and flower-gardens; they say that it has 40,000 gardens, and that the greater part consists of vineyards. In this city there are many Musulmans who have their own mosques. The inhabitants build their houses of wood. Their King is a Jew, and is in relationship with the King of the Khazars ». — The same description we find in Tchelebi's geography, referring to سمید or اسمید (see p. 368 of that work). Both these accounts apparently show the identity of سمید or اسمید with سمندر; but many other circumstances evidently prove the existence of two towns under the names of سمندر and سمید or اسمید which have been confounded by our writers: 1) Katib Tchelebi takes سمید to be a principal town of Khazaria, wholly different from طرخو which he describes separately. 2) Though the author of *Mesâlik*, and that of *Djehan-numâ* make no mention, whether اسمید and سمندر were different towns, yet when we take into consideration the accounts of these same authors as to the distances between the towns and cities of the Khazers and Daghistân, (see

Mesalik p. 75. and Djehan-numa p. 399.) it is evident that both of them meant سمندر to be different from سميل. — *Hamdul-lah-Almustaufi* says nothing of سميل; his description of سمندر contains nothing more than what we find in other authors, only he says that *Semender* was built by Anushirvân, that it is at the distance of two or four days journey on foot from Derbend or rather from *Sertr* and that at the author's time it was called سراى باتو, the residence of *Batu*. See نزهة for the word سمندر. —

Remark 16. page 6 line 10 and 27. انجى

Inji is the name of a great city, which, according to our author was situated at the distance of 3 *pharsaks*, or about $9^1/_2$ English miles (reckoning every *pharsakh* to contain something *more* than 19,000 feet) from *Tarkhou*, on the very shore of the Caspian sea. Reineggs supposed it to have been in the same place where Peter the Great built the fortifications of *Búlágk;* but we find, between Derbend and Tarkhou, a little river bearing to this day the name of *Inji*, at the mouth of which, according to Klaproth, the Turcomans suppose the ruins of this ancient city to be, and pretend to find traces of them. But, according to all the copies of the *Derbend-námeh*, *Inji* or *Indjeh*, is supposed to have been to the North of Tarkhou. — The foundation of this city and of Semender is attributed, in our MS. and in the version of St. Petersburg, to *Anushirvân*, but in Klaproth's translation it is attributed to the Khaghân. From *Mass'oudi* and some others we may understand that this town as well as Semender was *built by Anushirvân*, but afterwards became the *Capital* of the Khâgkân. See *Voyage d'Abou-el Ćassim*, p. 20.

Remark 17. page 6. line 10 and 27. بلخر

In the MS. in my possession it is بلج *belj*, which is a mistake; in the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg we find بلخ *belkh*. In the translation of *Ibnu-l-a'asam* (*Kitábul-futúh*, or the book of victory) by *Ahmedi-l-máiznabadi*, as well as in Teberi, it is mostly بلخر *bulkhar*, which is given by the best authors for a city of the *Khazars*, although their description of the city bearing this name, is in general confused and inexact. Teberi says that the country of *Bulkhar* lies beyound the Khazars and that its limits are at the distance of 200 *pharsakhs*, or some thing more than 830 English miles, from Derbend. But the author of *The book of Victory* says, that بلخر was a Khazarian city, which, according to his description, must have been situated at no great distance from Derbend[s]. He says, that *Selmán* having been sent by the *Khalif* (Osman) against the Khazars, arrived at Derbend; but not finding the enemy there, continued on his way until he came to a city called برغوا *Berghua;* here, also, he did not find them, and he therefore went on in pursuit of the Khaghan, till at last he arrived at the city of *Bulkhar*, where Selmân lost the battle and his life. (See the Appendix Extract II.) This بلخر

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[s] *Abu-l-feda* calls it بلنجر *Belenjer* and many follow him in this reading.

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Teberi calls بلخ in one place (see Extract VI in the Appendix) and again بلخر in another place (see Appendix; IV Extr.). This, and similar misunderstandings concerning the proper nouns which we meet with, even in the best Eastern authors, we must attribute chiefly to the carelessness of the copyists, who, with all their experience of the susceptibility of the Arabic characters to expose any word to unavoidable ambiguity and error, through the change even of a dot, — would not sacrifice the slightest attention to decipher the names given by the first writer; — and partly to the indifference of the original authors themselves, who used to write down every word according to their own hearing and reading. Upon these grounds we must always expect, as we have already experienced, to be entangled in difficulties, arising from the false reading of proper names in every MS, which may fall into our hands. The beforementioned two contemporary writers, for instance, agreed in *Bulkher's* being a Khazarian city, but having followed different geographical works of the IX century, they seem to differ in their ideas regarding its situation and extent. In Teberi's description of بلخر (Extr. II.). I rather suspect his mistaking it for بلغار, although in such case the distance of 200 farsakhs between it and Derbend must be almost doubled. In Abu-l-fida's بلنجر I recognize the same بلخر or بلخ. The contradiction between Teberi and Ibnu-l-A'asam in regard to the situation of that city may arise from the different demonstrations of the Geographers of IX century respecting the residence of the Khagkan: some maintained that it was not far from Derbend; others placed it in the North beyond Astrachan on the shores of the Volga (the *Atil*). The fact is that both indications are true, that in different periods the Khagkan's residence was in different places, but it was neither *Belenjer* nor *Bulkher;* and that the *Balkh* or the *Bulkher* of our author must have been a fortified town, not far from Derbend, and it appears to have been the ancient name of *Anderay*, (so called from the name of its governor, see the following remark 19), which was situated about 3 miles to the south of the present *Anderay*, as we have it explained in the MS. of Berlin, where بلخ is said to have been the town of اندری. *Hamdulla* also mentions that بلخ is a town near Derbend founded by Anûshirvân. See his نزهة for the word بلخ. Consult also D'Ohsson's des peuples du Caucase p. 55. — In the version of the Derbend-nâmeh belonging to the Royal Library of Paris we read that بلخ was situated on the river which flows through *Ihrân* and supplies all Georgia with water.

Remark 18. page 6 line 10 and 28. كيوان

Kivan or *Ketvan*. We thus read the name in our MS. and in the version of St. Petersburg; in Klaproth's translation we do not meet with this name.

Remark 19. page 6 line 10 and 28. اهران كلباخ

The former of these two towns اهران or اهران i. e. *Ihrân*, in the time of our author was under the government of *Avâristan*. He says ایدی اهرانه اوارستان پای تختی دیرلر «now Ihran is called the *Pâi-takht* of Avâristan». This word (*Pai-takht*) means in general a metro-

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polis, a capital town, and sometimes a *territory* and a part of the neighbouring country taken and joined to a kingdom. The word has been used in both senses in this work: In one place our author says هرگاه دربند شهرینی خضری طایفه سی ضبط ایده لر بی شك مجموع فارس وآذربیجان ولایتی وسرحدلری اولارنك پای تختی اولور « if the Khazars should take possession of Derbend, then without doubt all the countries of Aderbijan and Fârs with their territories shall fall *under their government* ». — In another place he says نوشیروان کندی پای تختی مداین شهرنده فراغت اولوب الخ « Anushirvân (returned) to his *metropolis* Medâyen, where he reposed himself &c. » Here we have preferred the expression of being *under the government*, because we take Ihran for a whole district.

In the MS. in my possession Ihrân sometimes is stated to be a fortress sometimes a town, but in those of Berlin and Paris the names اهران بلخ and اندری are confounded; in one place it is said that *Ihran* was the same as *Gulbâkh*, and in another, that *Gulbâkh* was the same as *Anderay* (see rem. 27); in a third, *Anderay* the same as *Balkh*, and in a fourth that *Gulbâkh* was the governor of *Ihran*, as *Anderay* was the governor of *Balkh*. The confusion is still worse in the version of St. Petersburg. But, from the whole series of our investigations we may conclude, that *Ihran*, *Balkh* and *Anderay*, were three primitive towns or fortresses, which afterwards received the names of their governors, as, it appears, was the custom of that time; and that *Gulbâkh*, being a powerful chief both of *Ihran* and *Anderay*, gave his name to them both, in the same manner as *Anderay* (another Anderay a governor of *Balkh*) gave his name to Balkh; also that the name of *Ihrân* was extended for a like reason to a whole district on the river *Gkoi-sou*. — In the MS. of Paris (see Nouveau Journal Asiat. for 1829. p. 445.) as regards the explanation of *Ihran*, we find something that tends to satisfy our curiosity on this subject, but which is wanting, both in the MS. of Berlin and in that which I possess. — It is there stated that Iran was the same as what is now called صاحب السریر *Sâhibus-serir*, which the Arabs otherwise named خاتم الجبال *Khâtemul-djibâl*. The same idea we gather from the confused text of the St. Petersburg version where we read: اهرانده اسفندیار آلتون تخت ایدوب اونوردی بواقلیمنك پادشاهنه (پادشاهلغنه read) تختگاه اهران دیرلر i. e. *Isfendiar*, having erected a *throne* of Gold in Ihran, resided there; and the kingdom of this climate is named the government of Ihran. — Taking this for granted we may form a correct idea of the extent, and even of the boundaries of Ihran from the explanation of the word صاحب السریر or simply سریر as illustrated in all ancient geographers. The result of all that has been written concerning سریر we may find in Tchelebi, who says, that the *Serir* of the ancient geographers was the *Dâghistân* of his time, which, according to his account, was limited, on the west, by the country of the *Tcherkesses*; on the south by the *Georgia* of that time; on the east, by the Caspian Sea, and on the north by Khazaria; and which was formerly called سریرالّلان (see جهان نما p. 401 and 368: read also our remark 28 to this part). — But there where *Ihran* and *Gulbâkh* are spoken of as separate cities (see p. 5, 6. of our translation of the text) we must

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consider the second as *Andrey*, or *Anderay* or *Balkh*, and the first as the original fortress or town, whose name, as I have mentioned above, was applied to a whole district. — Notwithstanding all this, there still exists to the N. or NW. of Derbend, a village bearing the name of *Gulpakh*. which may indeed be that part of Ihran which, to this day, has preserved the ance nt general name of its governor. On the very shores of the *Gkot-sou*, not far from the ruins of the ancient *Hemry* (see above remark 2.) there is still a village bearing the name of *Irgana*, which may be a corruption of Ihran.

Remark 20. page 6 line 11and 28. سرخاب

According to the words of our author, this was an ancient fortress, upon whose ruins stands the present *Gkizler*. — In the Berlin MS., as we may judge by Klaproth's translation, this name is not mentioned. In the St. Petersburg version we find it *Srúkhâb* سروخاب, explaned by the name قزلیار *Gkizil-yar*, which in common reading, is *Gkizler* and whose significations: *the Golden shore* explains the etymology of both names[t], for tradition pretends that near Gkizler there, were mines of gold as is stated in the version of St. Petersburg: قزل یارنك یاخوننده (i. e. یاقننده) قزل معدنی وترك باشنده کموش معدنی وار ایدی

« There was a mine of gold near *Gkizil-yar*, and a mine of silver at the springs of *Terek* ». Thus we find an identity of meaning between the two words سرخاب and قزل یار, both of which may signify *red water* [u].

Remark 21. page 6 line 11 and 29. ماجار

Kitchi is the abbreviation of *Kitchik*, little, and *Oulû*, that of *Oulûgh*, great; thus the little *majar* and the great *majar*, are the names of two towns derived probably from the name of their inhabitants. This name is now unknown in *Dâghistân*; but towards the N. W. of this country, beyond *Kabarda* there still exists a small town called *Majari* mentioned in the history of Russia (Повѣствованіе о Россіи, Кн. III. No. 588.). It is situated on the right bank of the *Kúma*, to the north of *Georgievsk*, which in the beginning of the XIV century, as asserted by *Ibni-Batûteh* (see the translation of this work, London 1829, p. 76.) was a large and handsome city. I believe that this name, *majar*, among many other appellations of the Turkish races, who, during the V. VI. and VII. centuries, made continual irruptions into the northern and western parts of the Caspian Sea, was applied in consequence to different towns and places occupied by the race of that name. (Consult. Deguignes Hist. gen. des Huns. T. III. p. 509 &c.)

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[t] Read the following note.

[u] In the Turkish language قزل means *red*; but in the dialect of Aderbidjan it signifies *gold* (which in Turkish and Tartar is *Altin* التون). The word یار *yar* signifies sometimes *deep water*; sometimes the *shore* of a river. In this way Gkizil-yar may signify at once *golden shore* and *red water*. The last is a verbal translation of the persian expression سرخاب *Surkhâb*. —

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Remark 22. page 460 line 15.

داغستان i. e. mountainous country. It is a name by which are at once denoted all those countries lying between the rocks, mountains and vallies, approaching the Caspian Sea as also between the *Terek* and the frontiers of Georgia and *Aderbijan*. The Arabs called all these by one name الجبل or الجبال, the mountains, and more definitely جبل القبق the mountains of Caucas. (see our appendix for this expression). Afterwards all these countries became known under two general names: *Shirwan* formed the southern and eastern parts, lying towards the frontier of Georgia and Aderbijân; and *Dâghistân*, the western and northern parts. During the last centuries both of these principalities, were subdivided into various *Khandoms*, which were ruled by different princes and Khans, tributary to Persia or to Turkey. The Dâghistân of the present day, consists of all the eastern ridges of the Caucasus, running towards the Caspian Sea, including a part of the principal chain and of the plains near the sea. It is divided into four principal parts: the dominion of *Shemkhall*, on the southwest of which is that of *Gkara-Gkaitaghs*, on the south of this *Tabasaran* and to the west of Tabasaran the province of Derbend. It is bounded on the east by the Caspian Sea; on the west by the principalities of *Awar* and *Gkazi-Gkoumûgh* &c.; on the north by the river *Gkoi-sou*, and on the south by the river *Semour*.

Remark 23. page 6 line 11. روم

By this name the ancient Muhammedan writers meant Greece, the Roman Empire, and Byzantia, distinguishing each of them by some addition. The expression رومية الكبرى indicates the western Roman Empire, and رومية الصغرى the eastern or Byzantine. Here the author means the Empire of Justinian (consult D'Herb. under *Roman*).

Remark 24. page 7 line 1 and 14. شابران

It must be the ancient city of *Shabran* after which name the whole district is called and which, to this day, forms a considerable portion of the province of (قبه) *Gkubbeh*, including, according to the last revision, 81 villages. There are some coins of *Toghtamish-khan* stamped in Shabran about 1388 AD. (see Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum, by Ch. M. Fraehn, St. Pétersburg 1826. p. 338.) — In the St. Petersburg and Berlin MSS. it is simply said, the town of Shabrân.

Remark 25. page 7 line 2 and 15.

Keukeb, *Shâh-Abâd*, *Kiran* (or, as it may be read, *Kestrân*) and *Haul*, are the names of the four towns built by Anuschirvân in the land of *Mushkûr*. — In Klaproth's translation instead of these we have كركر, which is the كركر *Kur-kur* of the Paris MS. (see Nouveau Journal Asiatique for 1829 p, 444. Notes 2, 3, 5 and 7.); — كورباز; the كوزباز of the same MS.; مشكور *Mushkûr*, — the Muskour of the same MS.; كيرال *Ktral* —, the Kiran, or Kesiran of our version, and

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كشران of that of Paris; and شهرسال *Shehri-Sâl* or سعل Sa'al of the MS. of Paris. In Dr. Dorn's MS. we have سبران *Sebrân* (or شبران *Shebran*); كبود *Keboud*, (or كبود اباد *Keboud Abâd*), which may be the *Keukeb* of our version; كركر *Kerker*, at a distance of one farsakh from which was built the former كبران; and صول which last may be the حول of our version.

The شاه اباد of our version may possibly be the *Shehri-Sal* of the Berlin MS., which, as Klaproth notices, is mistaken by Reineggs for *Kara-Kaitak* (see ibid. Note 7.) —

Remark 26. page 7 line 2 and 15. مشكور

This is also a *Mehâl*, or district of the province of *Gkübbeh* which, with the addition of the district of *Tip*, contains at present 90 villages.

Remark 27. page 7 line 7 and 24. اندرى

There were, it seems, two towns known by this, or rather by two consonous names. The one the *Anderay* of the present day, once called also by the name of the governor *Gulbakh*; the other *Anderary*, to the south of the first, anciently called *Balkh* (see remark 17). In the geography of *Katib-Tchelebi*, both these towns are said to have existed in Daghistân (see p. 401 and 402.). — Some writers (Bergmann, in his history of Peter the Great) erroneously count Anderey among the forts built by orders of *the Tzsar Theodor* the son of Johann, during the expedition of the Russians to Daghistan in the close of XVI century.

Remark 28. page 7 line 9 and 28. حمرى — قيه كند

This name حمرى we do not find in the number of those of the towns and fortresses mentioned before in our version; but it is now explained here at once, among others already referred to, and is given for the *Gkayeh-kend* of the time of the author. From this we may conclude, that there must be some omission in our MS. In the MS. of Berlin, *Humri*, or حمريه *Humriyeh*, is said to have been at some distance from Ihrân, and that there dwelt, between these two towns, a people named *Tûmân* (which name we find in one place in our MS. but without any explanation). In the version of St. Petersburg, all that we find is تومان ادلوبرطائفه اعراندن حمريدن ملك وردى انكا حاكم قويدى ادينه تومان شاه دير لرايدى which, without any change, may be translated: »A people named *Tûmân* gave land (to Anushirvân?) out of *Ihran* (and) *Humri*. He appointed them a governor whom they called *Tuman-Shah*»; but a more correct reading must be تومان ادلوبرطايفه به اعراندن حمريه به ملك ويردى. « He (Anushirvân) gave to a people named *Tûmân* the land lying between *Humri* and *Ihran* » &c

In fact there were two consonous names of towns; *Humri* (or *Humriyeh*) and *Himri*. The first was situated on the very banks of *Gkoi-sou*, not far from the present fortress of *Temir-Khan-Shora* (about 12 miles to the SW.). The ruins of it are still to be seen at the same spot near which *Gkûzû-Mûlla* finished his treacherous life. The other was, and now is, a vil-

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lage of *Gkara-Gkaitagh*, lying on the river *Himri-uzen*, near which (about 7 miles to the east), upon the shores of the sea, lies the present *Gkayé-kend*, for which Klaproth has invented a new name, يتين جنابر (see remark 12 to Part II.). Our author, it seems, confounds the two names, and the supposed omission in our MS. increases the misunderstanding. There is however one circumstance which may throw light on the subject, and solve the question, why *Humri* is explained by the name of *Gkayé-kend*. Tradition asserts that every village and habitation situated among the hills and mountains of *Humri*, was anciently named *Gkayé-kend*, which means a *tumulose town* or a *town situated on rocks*.

Remark 29. page 8 line 13.

In our MS. the reader finds nothing of the passage in the Berlin MS. regarding « *Chah-Isfendiar* » &c. as quoted in Klaproth's translation. The version of St. Petersburg also gives us the following: (?) انوشيروان اوز أهل بيتندن انلره حاكم قويدى سدّينك التين دن (سدّالبن دن ؟) اهرانه يتنجه يدّى اقليم ايتدى نوشيروان دن اوّل بو اقليم لرده اسفنديار پادشاه قلعه لر ياپمش ايدى اوز اهل بيتندن انلره حاكم قويمش ايدى خراب اولدى اسفنديار تختگاه اهراندن (اهرانون or اهرانبك) وكلباخون آدملريني خراساندن كتوردى « Noushirvan chose them a governor from among his own family (relations); he divided the distance between *Saddi-Alpen* and *Ihran* into seven *climates*, (or districts). Previously to Noushirvan, *Isfendiar-padishdh* built in these *climates* (some) fortresses, over which he had appointed a governor from among his family. (These were) ruined. The inhabitants of the residency of Ihran and of Gulbâkh were brought by Isfendiar from Khorasân », &c. — In this place in the MS. of Paris, according to Klaproth, we may read the following: قلعهٔ اهرانده اسفنديارنك پيشه كارلرى زرين تخت ايدوب اوتورلر (اوتوررلر) ايدى اننك اجون (ايجون) اهرانه صاحب سرير ديرلر اما عربلر خاتم الجبال ديرلر « The artisans of Isfendiar had worked up in the fortress of Ihrân a golden throne where they (he, i. e. Isfendiar?) resided wherefore Ihran is called *Sâhib-serir* (the possessor, or the place, of the throne.); but the Arabs name it, The seal (the end) of the mountains. » This quotation, to which we have once referred our readers, does not at all belong to this place in the Derbend-nameh, and we find very nearly the same in the MS. of St. Petersburg, about two pages previous to this place: اهرانده اسفنديار التون تخت ايدوب اوتوردى بو اقليمك پاد شالقنه تختگاه اهران ديرلر « Isfendiar, having erected a throne of gold in Ihran, resided there. The kingdom of this climate is called *The residency of Ihran.* » (see above, rem. 19 and 13.).

This account in all three versions of the Derbend-nameh, which we do not find in our MS., is, in my opinion, the result of a corruption of some traditions, which we find in the ancient historical works of the Arabs and Persians. One of these traditions says, that a king of Persia had appointed one of his relations a viceroy over all Aderbijan, Armenia, and over all the frontiers of the Khazars. This was, according to the authors of *Nuzhet* (see there the word سندر), *Rouzetus-safa* and *Mesâlik*, the famous *Bahramt-tchoubin*, whose exploits are pro-

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verbial in the East. This viceroy, having the right of sitting on a throne, had erected a very rich one of silver, on the very frontiers of his dominion, and thence his residence was named السّرير. This word began afterwards to be known among the vulgar and became a proper name: so that the surname given by some historians (*Hamzeh*) to the viceroy of Anûshirvân in *Serir*, or in a part of Daghistan — is سريرشاه *Serir-Shâh*. — According to *Hamzeh the Ispahânian*, سرير is a Persian word signifying *a little throne*, i. e. not of a powerful king, but of a king of minor authority. He says: والسّرير ليس بعربيّ ولكنّه اسم فارسيّ واقع على التّخت الصّغير

In the ancient legends of Persia, besides this, we have the names سرير and سرير افراز as expressing a town near which stands, they say, the cave of *Kai-Khosrou*. This being supposed to be in *Turkistân*, where, another tradition says, *Isfendiar* the son of *Kishtâsb*, so much celebrated by Firdousi, conquered the Turks and seized « *The golden throne* » of *Afrâ-Siâb* and sent it to his father; and to this same *Isfendiar* there being attributed an expedition into *Armenia* and *Aderbijân*, — the eastern writers have, naturally, confounded the subject. Consult تاريخ الامم book I. ch. 4. under كسرى انوشيروان; — روضة الصفا T. I. under كيخسرو; — مسالك الممالك under سرير; and جهان نما of *Tchelebi* under طاغستان. —

Remark 30. page 8 line 2 and 14 قوى صو

It is a considerable river in Daghistân, which was, and is now, known by different names. Its general appellation is *Gkot-sou*. It flows from different springs. Those of the mountain of *Ltdokhits* form its southern branch, which receives, near the village *Jalgha*, another little river *Sirour* or *Sirouz*, and runs on, till, at *Tcherkat*, it unites itself with the northern branch. This southern branch mostly is called *Soulagk* and sometimes *Gkot-sou*. — The northern branch flows from the mountains of *Anterâtal* and is called *Gkot-sou*. From the place of the confluence of the two branches down to the present *Anderay*, the river again bears the name of *Gkot-sou*; but from thence to where it empties itself into the sea, it is known by the name of Soulagk. — Ancient geographers considered Gkoi-sou and Soulagk as two entirely different rivers. The first they called قوين صو or نهر كوسفند both which mean *The river of the sheep*. This river flowed, according to them, from the southern parts of Daghistân, or as it is said, from the mountains of *Shamkhal*. — The second they called صولغ or صولاق, which took its rise on the west of Daghistân and *emptied itself into the sea*. (see for نهر كوسفند and صولغ in the geography of كاتب چلبى). It appears that they meant by صولغ the southern branch of the *Gkot-sou* to which we have just referred.

In the Berlin MS, this river, or rather that part of it which passes through *Gulbakh*, is called اخار الحول which name I have never heard and which I can not analyze[r]. Another part of

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[r] The word اخار is the 3 person sing. Present tense ind. mood of the verb آخق or more correctly

it is called there *Aghir-kana* or *Agra-Khan*, which Klaproth takes for the middle branch of the Gkoi-sou. In fact Agra-khan is now the name of a piece of land which forms a cape by the winding of the southern branch, or Soulagh. Both these names are not mentioned in our MS. or in the version of St. Petersburg.

Klaproth, in his translation at this part of the *Derbend-nâmeh* gives us an idea of the existence of a fortress by the name of *Nârin-kala* which was, as he supposed, probably situated on the *Gkoisou* towards the *Kiptchâk* &c. but this is an error, into which he might easily fall, by his not knowing the meaning of the word, which he takes for a proper name. The same error he repeats more than once in other parts, in the course of his translation (read rem. 25 to Part IV.) *Narin kala* always means the *citadel* of a city, or the *more fortified* part of a town, or even of a fortress. The true etymology of the word is unknown to me. Some of the modern writers spell it نارنج قلعه which signifies *the orange fortress*, indicating, probably the resemblance of the fortified part of a town, which is generally of a circular shape, to the figure of an orange. But the orthography is mostly نارین قلعه which may be composed of the ancient Persian *Narin* i. e. *neat*, *elegant*, and *beautiful*, and of the Arabic *Gkal'a fortress*, both which together may signify an *elegant* or *beautiful fortified place.* — The text of the St. Petersburg version which, I think, agrees with the Berlin one very closely, may lead every one, who is unacquainted with the adopted signification of the word نارین قلعه, into the same error. It is there said اهرلن چای کلباخون ایچندن اخار .... نارین قلعه سی اول سوینك قپچاق جانیده (جانبنده) در « The river of Ihran (*Ihran-tchai*) flows through Gulbakh ..... its *Narin-Gkala* is (situated) on the *Gkiptchaktan* (or northern) side of that river ». — This citadel of *Gulbakh* was afterwards called *Gkûioun-kend* or *Gkoi-kend* [s], and Gulbakh itself became known by the name of *Anderay.*

Remark 31. page 8 line 3 and 17. طولزکی سی

Tow lezghi-si, or the Lezghies of *the mountains.* By this name, corrupted from طاغ لکزیسی are called, to this day, the inhabitants of the most mountainous parts of *Lezghistân*, as for instance: *Gkot-sou bouls; Avârs; Khidats; Ikhels; Agkûshians*, &c. — The words طو and لوقان we do not find in the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg.

اقمق *to flow*, to run (water). The same word we find in the MS. of St. Petersburg, in the description of *Gkoi-sou*; it is there said اهران چای کلبا خون ایچندن آخار ایدی انکا قوی سودیر لر . *Ihran-tchai* flows through *Gulbakh;* now it is called *Gkoi-sou.* » I suspect that Klaproth has mistaken the آخار of the MS. of Berlin, most probably used in the same sense, as we have explained, for a proper name with the addition of another word likewise unknown to him.

[s] It is unknown to us, for what reason the river, the citadel, and perhaps some other places of these quarters, were called by this name. If we believe that the Greeks were called *Egeans* and their

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Remark 32. page 8 line 4 and 19. قيطاق — كوبچى

1) *Gkaitágk.* — Those parts of the mountains and vallies situated between the Province of Derbend, a part of *Tabaseran*, the lands of *Gkazi-Gkumúkh* and the dominions of the *Shamkhál* of *Tarkhú*, are since many centuries called by the name of *Gkaitagh*. This country, until the present century, was governed by a Prince bearing the title of *Usmi*, but the greater part of it, having lost its former independence by being subdued by Russia, the power and title of *Usmi* by degrees was put an end to, in consequence of some circumstances which took place after the rebellion of *Adil-usmi*, the last Prince of that country. In former ages Gkaitagh gave its name to all the mountains surrounding the country; so much so, that once the appellation جبل القبتق was a general name for almost all Daghistân (see جهان نما p. 402.) —

This country is divided into two parts: the lower, and the upper *Gkaitagh;* the latter bearing the name of *Gkara-Gkaitagh*, or *the Black Gkaitagh*. Both these Gkaitaghs, when governed by *Usmies*, included a *mountainous* part of Daghistân, having in length about 9 and in breadth about 6 geographical miles. The part now under the government of Russia is divided into 10 *Mehâls*, or cantons, forming in all about 10400 households[t].

2) *Kubetchi* is now numbered among the villages of the fourth canton, called *Gkank*. — Our author says, that, « Anushirvân settled this people in the country of Gkaitagh and in the upper parts of it, and that in ancient times they were named *Ztreh-gherán* (the plur. number of *Ztreh-gher*, a Persian word, meaning *a maker of coats-of-arms*, which being translated into the Turkish language, was changed into كوبه چى which has exactly the same signification). Klaproth reads زره كرلن erroneously زركران, translating it *des orfévres*. In the MS of خريدة العجايب which I possess, as well as in the رسالة الأنتصار we find زرنكوان, undoubtedly a corruption of زره كران which might be copied first thus زرهكران, afterwards زرنكران and at last زرنكوان. In the geography of كاتب چلبى, printed at Constantinople in 1145 of the Hijret, or AD. 1732 we find كونچى which is a manifest typographical mistake for كوبچى. It is there said وقبتق براولكه در كه قاعده مملكتى كونچى نام شهردر .... كونچى عظيم قصبهٔ معموره ومشهوره درعلماسى وصلحاسى چوقدر علمايه غايت رغبت ورعايت ايدر لر i. e. Gkaitagh is a country whose capital is *Guntchi* (Kubetchi). Guntchi (Kubetchi) is a large, cultivated, and famous town, possessing many learned and pious men. The inhabitants pay much attention and respect to the learned. (see جهان نما p. 401.).

The inhabitants of this village are to this day famous for their great skill in making arms, and every kind of instruments, and, what is remarkable, pretend to be the descendants of a

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sea the *Egean* sea, because that country and its islands abounded in goats — why then can we not take it for granted, that *Gkoi*, *Gkhion*, which means *sheep*, from their abundance in those quarters, could as well give the name to a river or a town?

[t] Reckoning in every household about 3 persons of male sex (as it is generally done in Caucase), the number of the inhabitants will not rise above 30,000 men. See the note to the following remark.

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colony, emigrated to that quarter from Europe. We refer the curious, to consult, on this subject, the very learned dissertation written upon it by our illustrious Academician Dr. Fraehn (see Bulletin Scientifique of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, for 1838—T. IV. N° 3 and 4.

Remark 33. page 8 line 21. طبرسران

The same assertion we find in *Mesalik*, whose author says, that the kings of Persia appointed a people to guard Derbend, and called them Teberseran وپادشاهان عجم قومی را جهت محافظت ذکر ارمنیه وران see مسالك الممالك under این شهر تعیین کرده اند که ایشان را طبرسران خوانند for the word دربند. —

It is now a part of Daghistan, situated between the province of Derbend, Gkara-Gkaitagh, Gkazi-ghûmûgk and *Kûreh*, containing about 32 square miles. This country, so famous once for its population [a] is now divided into two principal parts: The *lower* and *the upper*. The first is now wholly in subjection to Russia, whereas the second, consisting of many towns and large villages still retains its independence. Tabaseran was ruled by two chiefs, *Ma'sûms* and *Gkadies* (See part V. rem. 13). The greater part of the lower country is now governed by a prince named *Ibrahim-beg* of *Gkarchagh*, who is in the Russian service; a few villages are under the management of the Gkadi *Isâ-bek*, and the rest belongs to different noblemen. All these parts of the lower Tabaseran consist of 51 villages, containing, according to the last revision, about 2000 families, or households. Besides these, there are 9 villages, containing 1200 households, which in the last century formed a part of Tabasaran, but now belong to the province of Derbend. (Обозрѣніе Росс. влад. за Кавказомъ; T. IV.)

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[a] The names of the different parts of Daghistân, taken in their extended signification, have, in general conversation, been always conjoined with numeral adjectives, qualifying their supposed statistical character. The word طبسران for example, is generally accompanied by the expression قرق مينك forty thousand; that of قيناق by اوتوز مينك thirty thousand, and that of قموق by يوز مينك a hundred thousand. This same style of expression we find even in the present day, in the political correspondence held between the Princes of those countries. The same adjectives we also find in a letter addressed from *Bûdai-Shamkhal* of Daghistân to the *Voevoda*, or governor of Astrachan during the reign of Alexis (in the second half of the XVII^th^ century) which I have in my possession. It begins عزتلو ورفعتلو ومهابتلو قرق مينك طباسران اوتوز مينك خبداق يوزمينك قموق كلّ داغستان ماكمى شغال دولت اشتمال حضرتلرينك استرخان كناسى بخشى كناس اولوباد شاهلرينك برلغاشلغى كنازينه i. e. From the illustrious, the great, the Majestic ruler of 40,000 *Tabasaran*, 30,000 *Khaidagh*, 100,000 *Gkûmugh*, even of all Daghistân, his highness, the prosperous Shamkhâl — to the Prince (chief) of Astrachan, the chosen one of great kings &c. — At present days these numbers cannot be attributed but to the inhabitants of the male sex, though the natives pretend them to mean the families or houses, and though the same idea is favoured by Katib-Tchelebi, who says, that Tabasarân contains 40,000 households. (see his جهان نما p. 403.)

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Remark 34. page 8 line 6 and 21. قومق or قوبق

The author means the mountains of the present *Gkazi-Gkumugk*, which, being the residence of some of the former *Shamkhals*, once gave its name to the greater part of Daghistân, as we may perceive by the expression يوزمينك قوبق inserted in the note to the preceding remark. During the reign of Sultan Murad IV., Mahmûd-Khan of *Gkâmugk*, on his pilgrimage to *Mekkeh* arrived at Constantinople, where he was kindly received by the Sultan. In 1058 of the *Hijret*, his eldest son *Gkorgkmaz* قورقماز having fallen in a battle with the *Tcherkesses*, his second son *Tchilinder* چلندر occupied the throne of his father, and became a powerful khan of all Daghistân (see جهان نما p. 401.)

In the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg, it is said, that *Gkumugk* being inhabited by a people brought from كيلان, was named قيلان and their chief was called قيلان شاه, for which we have in the version of St. Petersburg قيلان شاه and erroneously قيلان شاه. This name we have not in our MS., but in the history of *Ibni-l-a'asem* and of *Hemzeh*, as well as in *Mesâlik*, we find قيلان and قيلان شاه which must be a mistake and which favours the narrative. In *Nuzhet* it is said that قيلان and قيلان شاه were the names given to Derbend and to its governor; see there باب الأبواب

Remark 35. page 8 line 7 and 23. كوره — كره

Kureh. It is a country situated between the river *Semûr*, the Caspian sea, Tabasarân, and *Gkazi-Gkumâgk*. The inhabitants of this country are more timid than those of other parts of Daghistan, and visit Derbend and *Gkubbeh* in great numbers, in order to provide themselves with the necessaries of life by working. This country has been in subjection to the Russians from the very beginning of their conquests in Daghistân, and its Khans are now appointed by the commander in chief of the Caucasus.

Remark 36. page 8 line 7 and 23. مسكنجه

Miskindjeh. It is a considerable village in the province of *Gkubbeh*, situated on the right bank of the *Semûr*. Its inhabitants are all *Shiites*, and are famous for their courage. It contains a great number of learned *Mullâhs*, or scholars of the Arabic language, among whom one ملا عبد العزيز *Mulla-Abdul-aziz*, to whom I am obliged for a part of my oriental studies, still supports his fame for his excellent knowledge of Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Theology and the mysteries of the Koran.

Remark 37. page 9 line 12.

This is one of the authentic facts which we find in many historical books, but which is wanting in the MSS. of Berlin and of St. Petersburg. The curious may find it nearly word for word in the famous *Mir-khond* T. I. under the description of *Hurmuz* the son of *Kisri*; he says:

واهل خزر از دربند كذشته بوسط ولايت آذربيجان وارمنيه را غارت كردند

Remark 38. page 9.

Here finishes the first part of our Derbend-nâmeh. The text of our version towards the close of this part, though it accords in the principal points with the translation made from the Berlin MS. and with the text of the St. Petersburg version, still, in some measure, does not agree with them in the arrangement of the ideas, as well as in some circumstances which are connected with them. Klaproth's translation shows here the identity of the narrative of the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg, with but very little difference, and that of no consequence. — But the assertion contained in all three copies, that the Prophet sent troops (according to our text, 4000 warriors) against the Khazars &c., has almost no foundation; for I could not find, in any historical traditions in my possession, that Muhammed's conquests extended so far as these quarters, neither could it be so, since during the few years of his flourishing power, he had to deal with his own Arabs, with the Syrians, Egyptians, Ethiopians and partly with the Persians and Romans[y]. We must therefore take this assertion of the Derbend-nâmeh either for a corruption of the historical record, that, « *the Prophet sent messengers to all the kings and administrators of the surrounding world calling upon them to embrace* Islam, which *Mirkhond* minutely describes in the 2nd volume of his history, under the title of ذکرارسال رسولان بجانب ارباب حکم, where we do not find anything about Derbend; — or number it among many other *traditions* that have no historical foundation. — The tradition concerning Derbend, attributed to Muhammed in all the three copies of the Derbend-nâmeh, with some difference in the very expression, we also could not find in *the books of traditions*[z].

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[y] The following quotation from Teberi tends positively to prove, that no expedition was undertaken to Derbend until the reign of Omar. The curious will find it with more details in the third volume (part V.) of Teberi in the chapter entitled خبر اسیر شدن اسفندیار بکیره *Bekireh* to Aderbijân, and on the success of *Surâgkeh* سراقه and of *Abdur-rahmân* in Derbend in the time of Omar &c. — عبدالرحمن اولوب یولد اشلرندن برکشی کم اول غزالرده بله اولشیدی امیرالمؤمنین عمرقاننه کلدی حضرت عمراکا صوردی ایندی که اول صرب دربندلری نجه کچدوکوز اول اقلیم لری نجه فتح ایلدوکوز ایندی یاامیرالمومنین اول شهر لر جمیعی کافرایدی خزر والان دیدکلری ایللر ترکستانه واشقدر بزی کوردیلر قتی عجبلد یلر زیرا اول ولایته یاغی چریسی هنوز کرمش ایمش بزی کوریجك ایندیلر الخ

After the death of Abdur-rahman, one of his companions, who had accompanied him in all those wars, — came into the presence of the *Amiru-l-muminin* Omar. His Majesty asked him «how did you pass through those strong passages? and how did you subdue these countries?» He answered, and said «O *Amiru-l-muminin!* All (the inhabitants of) these cities are infidels; they bear the name of *Khazar* and *Alan*, and their kingdom extends unto *Turkistân*. When they saw us, they wondered: because until *yet no troops of the enemy had entered that country*. When they saw us they said» &c. See append. Extract I about the end.

[z] There are several authentic books containing the traditions attributed to Mohammed and his disciples. The best of them is a concordance موضوعات in which the materials are arranged on a lexicographical system.

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ذكرجنك [ابراهيم و] سلمان باهلى

رآوى بيله روايت ايدر كه هجرتنك قرخ برنجى ايلنده (يلنده) بنى اميّه خليفه سنك عصرنده خبر يتشدى كه طايفهٔ خضرى دربند شهرينه غالب اولوب آذربيجان سرحدلرينه قتل وغارت ايدللر (ايدرلر) دى خليفهٔ زمان ابراهيم وسلمان باهلينى دورت مبن بهادر تيغ زن ودلاور صف شكن ايله دربند شهرينه مأمور ايلدى مذكور اولان سركرده لرعزيمت علين اوجالدوب دربند طرفنه كلديلر آذربيجان سرحدلرنه يتشدوكده تمامى سرحدلر اهلينى قلنج ضربيله مسلمان ايليوب دربندشهرينه يتشديلر دربندنك نارين قلعه سنده اولان خضرى طايفه سى اسلام عسكرينك عزيمتن ايشدوب قلعه دن جخوب حمرى قلعه سنه

(PART II.)

Description of the expedition
of
[Ibrâhim and] Selmânu-l-bahili. [1]

Historians relate that in the 41st year of the Hidjret, in the reign of the (first) Khalif of *Beni-Umayieh* [2], information was received that the Khazars, having taken Derbend, had invaded *Aderbijân* [3]. The Khalif of the period appointed [*Ibrâhim* and] *Salmanu-l-bâhili* to set out for Derbend with four thousand brave and experienced warriors. The above mentioned generals, having raised the banners of the expedition, directed their way towards Derbend. As soon as they arrived at the frontiers of Aderbijân, they compelled on the way all the inhabitants, with the sword, to embrace the religion of Islam. At last they reached Derbend. The Khazars, who were in the citadel of this town, being informed of the approach of the army of Islam, quitted the fortress and withdrew to that of Humri,

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یعنی قیه کنده قاچدیلر اوّل طرفدن خاقان چین بوز مین قوشون ایله دربندشهرینك ایچنده اولان اسلام قوشوننك برابر ینه کلوب دروازق چایی قراغنده نزول ایلدی خاقان چین شیله که عرب طایفه سنك قلنج ضربین ایشتدی اوزونك کلمکندن پشیمان اولوب مراجعت قیلوب قایتماق استدی اعیان دولتی قایتمقه (قایتمغی) صلاح بلمیوب طوردیلر اسلام عسکری دخی دربند شهرندن چخوب دروازق چایی ننك قراغنده اونلارنك مقابلنده دوردیلر خاقان چین همیشه سولردی که ای منم امنالرم دیللربوعرب طایفه سنه قلنج ونیزه کاراتمز عرب ولایتندن بیزوم دعوامزه کلوب لر بونلار ایله جنك ایلمك صلاح دکلدر کوردیلر برعرب عریان غسل ایدر بغرنیزه ایله کلوب اول عربی زخمدار قیلوب باشن کسوب خاقاننك حضورینه کتوروب دیدی بو اول عرینك باشیدر که هیچ سلاح آنکا کارکر اولز خاقان بونی ملاحظه ایدندنصکره خبر ایلیوب صف لرین راست ایلدی ولشکر اسلام دخی صفلرین راست ایلیوب الله اکبردیوب یالین قلنج ایله آنلرنك صفلرینه حمله ایدوب اول کون اخشام لولونجه جنك ایلدیلر ایکرمی منك ادم

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now called *Gkayekend*[4]. From another direction, the Khâgkân of China[5], with an army of one hundred thousand men came against the Musulman troops, who were stationed in Derbend, and encamped on the banks of the *Darvâgk-tchai*[6].

But the Khâgkân of China, as soon as he became aware of the power of the Arabian sword, repented of his coming, and made up his mind to return; but the grandees of his realm did not consider this advisable; therefore he remained. On the other hand, the army of Islam, having issued from Derbend, placed itself on the banks of the river Darvâgk, in front of the enemy's forces.

In the mean time the Chinese Khagkân continued to repeat: « O, my trusty friends! « they say that neither the sword nor the spear can produce any effect on these Ara- « bian tribes; these are come from Arabia to encounter us, but it is not prudent for us « to make war with them[7] ».

(On this occasion), however, an Arab was seen naked washing himself: one (of the enemies) approaching him, wounded him with a spear, cut off his head, and brought it into the presence of the Khâgkân, saying: « Lo! this is the head of one of the Arabs, on whom (you imagined) no weapon could produce any effect. » The Khâgkân seeing this, ordered that his troops should be arranged for battle.

The Musulman army having also put its troops in order, rushed forward with unsheathed swords, exclaiming *Allahù-akbar*[8]. They fought till the close of eve, and slaughtered twenty thousand men of the Khazar tribes. In the evening each party retired

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خضری طایفه سندن قتله یتوروب اخشام هرکروه اوز اوردوسنه قایتدیلر صبح گاه آفتاب طلوع ایدندنصکره
ایکی لشکربرینك مقابلنه یوریوب قلنج ونیزه وکمان ایله عصرنمازی اولنجه جنك ایتدیلر اول کون مین
ادم اونلارهن وایکی یوز ادم اسلام دن هلاك اولدیلر هرایکی لشکر اوز اوردولرینه قایتدیلر آوچیجی
کون لشکر الله اکبر دیوب شیرمست کمی انلرنك دسته لرینه حمله ایدوب چوغ پهلوانلر ایکی طرفدن قتله
یتشوب کنه اوردولرینه قایتدیلر دوردمجی کون لشکر اسلام اوز صفلرین راست ایدوب اونلارنك
دسته لرینه هجوم ایلدیلر شیله که لشکرخاقان چین اسلامنك ضربه سن کوردیلر تاب مقاومت کتورمیوب
قاچمقه یوز قویدیلر لشکر اسلام اولارنك آردنجه یورش آپاروب جمع کثیر قتله یتوردیلر اسلام لشکرندن
دخی چوغ آدملرمجروح ومقتول اولوندی خاقان چین اوزلشکرینه طعنه نعره سن اوروب اسلام لشکرننك
مقابلنه قایدوب عظیم جنك لرایلدیلر جمع کثیراسلام لشکرندن مجروح وهلاك اولندی اخشام کنه هرایکی
کروه اوز اوردولرینه قایدوب بشنجی کون خاقان چین اوز لشکرینه قدغن ایلدی که هرکس بو
دفعه دشمندن یوز دوندروب قاچسه تخم وجودین بریوزندن پوچ ایدرم کرکدرمجموع لشکر فوج فوج

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to their respective encampments. On the morning of the following day, after sunrise, the two armies again met in combat; they fought with swords, spears, and arrows, till the afternoon prayers [9]; on that day on the side of the enemy fell one thousand men and two hundred men on that of the Musulmans; after which the armies again retired to their respective encampments.

The third day, the (Musulman) warriors, like furious lions, again rushed, with the exclamations of *Allahu-akbar*, upon the troops of the enemy. Many heroes fell on both sides, and (in the evening) the two armies again retired to their tents. The fourth day, the Musulman troops ranged themselves (anew) and attacked the enemy with such spirit that the army of the Khâgkân of China, having felt the power of their blows, which they could no longer resist, were put to flight. The Musulman army pursued the enemy, and slaughtered great numbers. In the army of Islam, also, a great number were killed and wounded. The Chinese Khâgkân loudly reproaching his troops (with their cowardice) led them back against the Musulman warriors and a great battle took place, in which numbers of Musulmans were slain and wounded. On the evening of that day the two armies again retired to their respective hordes. The fifth day, the Chinese Khâgkân gave a strict order to his army, saying: « every coward who this day shall turn his face from the enemy « and take to flight, his seed of existence I will annihilate from the face of the earth! « All of you, in close ranks, must attack the Musulman troops and conquer them ». —

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اسلام لشکرینه حمله ایدوب اونلری مغلوب ایلاسز ویوطرفدن سلیمان [و] ربیعهٔ باهلی قرخ نفرمبارزجان بازایله دوطلب اولوب قارشوده وقالان دسته لرعقبنجه الله اکبر دیوب خاقاننك دسته لرینه قارشوب برده شیله جنك ایلدیلرکم ایکرمی منك نفر انلردن هلاك واولزلری دخی شهید اولدیلر اول قرخ نفردخی دربندشهرنده در اونلاره قرخلر دیللر خاقان چین باقی لشکری ایله حمری قلعه سنه که قیه کند اوله کندی اول قلعه ده قاراول قویوب انجی قلعه سنه کندی انجی قلعه سندن کلباخه روانه اولدی انجی قلعه چوخ عظیم شهردر ترغونك اوچ فرسخنده وباقی لشکر اسلام مجروح وزخمدار در بندشهرینه داخل اولوب بر آز وقتدنصکره شام طرفنه روان اولدیلر طایفهٔ خضردن برقدرقشون کلوب دربند شهرینه متصرّف اولدیلر .

On the other side Selman [and] Rabi'ai-bâhili [10] with forty reckless warriors advanced as partisans with a challenge: the rest, exclaiming *Allahu-akbar*, followed them in battalions and broke into the ranks of the enemy. They fought so furiously that 20,000 men of the enemy were slaughtered and they themselves became martyrs. The (relics of) these forty are now in Derbend, and are known by the name of *Gkirkhlar*, or the Forty [11]. After this, the Chinese Khâgkân with the remainder of his army, retired to the fortress of *Humri*, which is now called *Gkaye-kend*, and having left a garrison there, proceeded to the fortress of *Inji* and from thence to Gülbakh. The *Inji-Gkal'a* is a great city and stands at the distance of three farsakhs from *Tarkhou*.

The remaining Musulman troops, wounded and exhausted, returned to Derbend, and after some time set out for Syria. About this time a party of the Khazars came and took possession of Derbend [12].

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth,

Answering to Part II. of our translation.

Les historiens racontent qu'Ibrahim, fils de *Ghaïats* (غیاث اوغلی ابراهیم), le saint *Selman* (حضرت سلمان) et Rabiât-ul-Bâhly (ربیعة الباهلی), pour qui Dieu soit miséricordieux arrivèrent dans ce beau pays quarante-un ans après la fuite du prophète, et, avec 4000 braves guerriers, marchèrent sur Derbend. Le *Khâkân Tchin* خاقان چین (Khâkân de Tchin) s'avança contre eux, à la tête de 300,000 hommes, pour combattre Selman; mais ayant entendu parler de la valeur des armées des musulmans, il n'osa pas se mesurer avec eux. Il était ainsi arrivé jusque sur les rives du *Dervâk-tchai* درواق چای. Il voulut prendre la fuite, mais ses visirs lui dirent: « O empereur! cela n'est pas convenable pour l'état, et c'est une honte pour une si grande armée. Il vaut mieux mourir avec gloire que de vivre dans l'inquiétude ». Le Khâkân de Tchin leur répondit: « O visirs! les sabres et les flèches sont impuissans contre cette troupe, et il n'est pas possible de la tuer: voilà pourquoi personne ne peut leur résister. Ils conquerront encore beaucoup d'autres pays. Maintenant ils sont venus pour s'emparer des nôtres. Si cela n'était pas ainsi, des Arabes ne seraient pas arrivés dans cette contrée. Notre armée n'est pas en état de combattre contre eux. »

Un maudit infidèle entendit ces paroles; il prit son arc, et ses flèches, et s'avança pour montrer son courage. Il s'approcha ainsi de l'armée de musulmans et se cacha dans l'eau, au milieu des roseaux: un musulman, obligé de faire ses ablutions, alla sans défiance jusqu'aux roseaux, se dépouilla de ses vêtemens, et sauta dans l'eau. L'infidèle lui tira de loin une flèche et le tua, lui coupa la tête et l'apporta au Khâkân, en lui disant: « O Khâkân de Tchin! cette tête est celle d'un homme de cette armée d'Arabes dont on raconte que nulle arme n'est efficace contre eux; regarde, cette tête est celle de l'un d'eux. » Le Khâkân, entendant ces mots et voyant la tête, prit courage, fit lever son armée, et avec ses 300,000 hommes attaqua les 4000 musulmans. Ceux-ci poussèrent leur cri de guerre, *Allah-akbar!* (Dieu est grand!), et animés par la foi, frappèrent fortement. Ils tuèrent beaucoup d'infidèles et les envoyèrent en enfer; mais la nuit étant venue, ils se retirèrent du champ de bataille et firent la prière.

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Les infidèles aussi s'étaient retirés; le combat se renouvela chacun des jours suivans: les Arabes firent des prodiges de valeur et battirent complètement les *Khaszari*. Le dernier jour, quarante musulmans signalèrent sur-tout leur valeur; seuls, ils exterminèrent 50,000 ennemis et moururent sur le champ de bataille de la mort des martyrs. Ces quarante braves sont enterrés à *Bab-ul-ebvab* ou Derbend, au lieu nommé *Kirkhlar* قرخلر, ou les quarante. Après cette grande défaite, le Khâkân s'enfuit jusqu'au fort de *Jettin-Djinâber* يتين جنابر, qui est situé sur une montagne au delà du cours du *H'oumri-tchai*, et que l'on aperçoit de la mer. Maintenant, ce fort est nommé *Kaïah kend* قايه كند. De là, il fit reconnaître les musulmans, qui, après la bataille, s'étaient retirés dans leur camp; il chercha à couvrir Derbend; et, avec le reste de son armée, se replia sur le fort d'Indji, qui était situé au-dessous de Tarkhou, sur le bord de la mer; ensuite il rétrograda encore et entra dans l'Ihran.

Une grande disette survint dans Indji; beaucoup d'hommes moururent: elle ne cessa que lorsque les habitans par le conseil des moines et des astrologues, eurent cherché sur le champ de bataille les corps des quarante martyrs, de *Selman* et de *Rabiat-ul-Bahly*, et les eurent enterrés avec toutes les cérémonies prescrites par le Coran. Plusieurs de ces infidèles embrassèrent l'islamisme, firent des fondations pieuses, et construisirent des aqueducs; les environs d'Indji étaient très-bien cultivés, et cette ville était importante. (Nouveau Journal Asiatique for the year 1829, T. III. p. 448—451).

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE SECOND.

Remark 1. page 39. ابراهيم وسلمان باهلى

The word باهلى in our version, is erroneously written باهكى *Bahiki*. — There is some manifest error in all the three copies of the Derbend-nâmeh in my possession, concerning the person to whom this expedition of the Musulmans against the Khazars was entrusted. According to our version, there were two such. In the beginning of the chapter they are called *Ibrahim* and *Selmân;* but at the end of it they are named *Selmân* and *Rabi'ah* (read remark 10 to this part). According to the version of St. Petersburg, there were also two: *Selmân* and *Rabi'ah;* but, according to the version of Berlin, there were three: Ibrahim, Selmân, and Rabiah.

In the history of *Ibni-a'asam*, the person who led this expedition, is said to have been Salmân or

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Suleimân, the *son* of Rabi'ah Al-Bahili; and in the version of St. Petersburg, Ibrahim the son of Ghias, is said, to have been the historian who *related* the expedition of Selmân; it is there said: روایت غیاث اوغلی ابراهیم دن که. — These two circumstances clearly show the errors into which the copyists of the Derbend-nâmeh were led: 1) by taking a person, to whom the narration of a fact is attributed, for the person to whom is ascribed the fact itself: 2) by writing سلمان وربیعه with the conjunction instead of سلمان ربیعه without the conjunction; the first of which means Selmân *and* Rabia; and the second, Selmân, the *son* of Rabia. In our MS., as well as in that of Berlin, there is no mention whatever of Ibrahim in the course of the description of the expedition, except in the beginning, to which we have referred the reader.

All these circumstances tend to prove that the leader of the Musulmans in this expedition was سلمان ربیعه الباهلی *Selmân the son of Rabi'ah Al-Bahili* alone, as it is said in the history of Ibnu-l-A'asam. I shall lay before the reader, in the appendix to this work (see Extract II.), an extract from the description of this expedition made by that author, with an English translation of the same which in many points will serve to illustrate this chapter of the Derbend-nâmeh.

Remark 2. page 39.

In Klaproth's version and in that of St. Petersburg nothing is said about the Khalif; in the latter it is stated نبی دن فرق برده which must be هجرت نبی دن فرق برده «in (the year) 41. of the flight of the Prophet», just as we read in the translation of Klaproth. In the history of *Ibnu-l-a'asam* and others, this expedition is attributed to the reign of Othman, the 3rd Khalif; i. e. at least 10 years before the period referred to by our author. The reason of this anachronism, and of the double mistake in our version, may be the following: *Mo'avieh* (the founder of the dynasty of *Umayteh*, viceroy of Syria during the reign of Othman, and the most powerful man of the Saracen Empire, next to the Khalif) was the first, who, on receiving the mandate of his sovereign, made preparations for sending an expedition to *Armenia*; and it was he, who nominated *Habib*, the son of Muslimeh, for this purpose, at the head of four thousand horsemen and two thousand foot soldiers. (See appendix, *Extract II. from Ibnu-l-a'asam.*) Therefore we may admit, that the author having mistaken Mo'aviyeh for Othman, did not make mention either of the one or the other, but attributed the event solely to the epoch (41 of the Hijret) in which the Khalifate of the dynasty of *Bent-Umayteh* commenced, and the author of *our* MS., adding his own explanation to it, doubles the mistake of the original.

Remark 3. page 39.

With regard to the Khalif's having received information concerning the irruptions of the Khazars into Aderbijan &c. there is nothing mentioned in either of the two other versions of the Derbend-nâmeh. According to Ibnu-l-a'asam, 6000 warriors, under the command of *Habib*, were sent by Mo'aviyeh to Armenia; but information being received that one of the Greek generals, with a great army, was on his way to *Semisat*, Selmân, the son of Rabia, was dispatched

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to the aid of Habîb with an army of 10,000 *Kûfians*. After having put the Greek army to flight, this same Selmân received new orders from the Khalif to continue his journey, with the Kûfian soldiers, into Armenia. He continued to advance till he arrived at Derbend, and he had several battles with the Emperor of the Khazars (see appendix, ibid. and the note 19 to it.).

Remark 4. page 40.

Nothing is said of these circumstances in the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg, but in Ibnu-l-a'asam it is stated that the Emperor of the Khazars, being informed of the approach of the Arabs, left Derbend (Bâb) and fled. (see ibid.)

Remark 5. page 40.

In the Berlin MS. nothing is said of the Emperor of the Khazars, and in that of St. Petersburg nothing of the Chinese Emperor. The number of 300,000 men however, is dwelt upon by both of them. The same number of soldiers we find in Ibnu-l-a'a-sam, relative to the army of the Emperor of the Khazars, whereas our MS. decreases the number of the Chinese army to 100,000 men only without mentioning the number of the Khazars, to whose aid the Chinese were come. The preference in this respect however must be given to the statement in our MS.

The report of our version, with regard to the share taken, in this war between the Arabs and Khazars, by the Chinese Emperor, is certainly a subject attracting curiosity, and, in my opinion, not without foundation. Considering that our author has gathered his information *only* from different Muhammedan historical works, some of which are accessible to our researches, he cannot in many respects be looked upon as a critic, whose investigations into the gloomy regions of history and antiquity might lead him to distinguish that which is true from what is doubtful, mistaken, or mere hypothesis, without any foundation. Therefore, the report given by him of the Chinese Emperor's being with his army on the confines of Khazaria, must not be imputed to his own invention. We are to blame the original sources of his investigation for inaccuracy and indifference. The following circumstances may throw some light on the subject, though seemingly so absurd to our readers, and point out a trace to the true fact.

1) The power of the Chinese Empire was in a very flourishing state, before and at the period referred to by our author. The Chinese had about that time, repeated intercourse with the Arabs, Persians, Turks and even the Romans. *Firouz*, the son of the infortunate *Yezdejerd*, had fled for refuge to the court of *Kaotsong* from the Saracens (in 662 AD.), and claimed his own rights at the feet of that Emperor's throne: this, together with some other circumstances, occasioned a discord between the Chinese and the Arabs, which continued a long time. (see Mailla's *Hist. générale de la Chine* T. IV. p. 153. Deguignes, *Hist. gén. des Huns.* T. I. p. 57.)

2) The Occidental Turks, or *Tulgâs* of that time, who were of the same race with the Khazars, having lost their former power, put themselves for a time under submission to the Chinese Emperor, who, after having subdued all their tribe, appointed «in the north» two *Protectors*, ten commanders of corps, and 22 governors. Their dominion extended to the Caspian sea and even further, to the west; for the dominion of the Occidental *Tulgâ's* some years afterwards, is said to have extended in the west even to the frontiers of the *Barbarians*, i. e.

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the Romans. (see Mailla, T. IV. p. 4. 122. &c. Deguignes, *Hist. gén. des Huns*, T. II. p. 480—494. *Записки отца Іакинеа* T. III. p. 121.)

3) Though Ibnu-l-a'asam makes no mention of the Chinese here, we find it stated in *Teberi*, in the description of events belonging to a subsequent period (about 20 years later) that the Khazars after having made an irruption into Aderbijân, when they were informed of the intention of the Arabs to make war upon them, *solicited the aid of the Emperor of China.*

These circumstances alone, even without many other historical records now inaccessible to my researches, may clearly indicate, that the Chinese had indeed a share in the war between the Arabs and Khazars. If we take away from our author's statements the exaggeration which characterizes all the Eastern writers, and if we consider the Chinese Emperor with his army to be a Tulgaic, or even a Chinese general, appointed to the aid of the Khazars by the court of the central Empire, there will then remain scarcely any reason to mistrust the narrative of our version.

Remark 6. page 40.

This word is otherwise read دریاغ چای ; it is a little river, that flows through the northern frontiers of Tabasarân, and empties itself into the Caspian sea, about 3 miles to the north of Derbend. A village of the same name, *Dervâgk* is there situated on it, to the N. W. of this fortress at a distance of 4 miles.

Remark 7. page 40.

See appendix to this work; *Extract II. from the translation of Jbnu-l-Aasam's work* &c.; also the I^st extract from Teberi.

The manyfold victories of the Arabs over their enemies, had indeed spread numerous superstitious reports among the vulgar of the time, one of which was, that no weapon could have any effect on an Arab. This instance of vulgar superstition we often find in many other historical works, even in *Mir-khond* in the descriptions of the wars carried on by the Arabs of the time of Muhammed and of the four Khalifs.

Remark 8. page 40.

It is a peculiar exclamation, technically termed by Musulmans تکبیر i. e. *the gratifying* or saying الله اکبر « *God is great* ». The use of this expression at the time of combat or battle, belongs to the earliest days of Muhammedanism, even to Muhammed himself and his disciples. In modern times also, it is used among the Arabs, Persians and Turks during a hot battle and at the moment of their attacks. The Turks add to it another term of exclamation of their own: *oura!* which is the second person singular of the Imperative of اورمق *ourmagk* to strike, to beat, — with a final *a* of interjection. The term being used generally at the moment of enthusiasm the European neighbours of the Ottomans have adopted it at the early periods of intercourse with them and now it belongs almost to all the European languages.

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Remark 9. page 41. عصرنمازی

Is a prayer performed after noon. The most proper time for this prayer is considered to be, when « The sun is half way between the meridian and the horizon ». — The *Shi'ites* join it to the prayers at noon نمازظهر, believing that if this be performed with due solemnity the proper hour of the other will succeed; but the *Sunnites* perform it separately at its fixed time.

Remark 10, page 42

In this place in our MS. it is said: Selmân *and* Rabi'ai-Bahili; it is the error to which we had occasion to refer the reader above. (See remark 1.).

Remark 11. page 42.

This most curious sepulchre is to be seen to this day, nearly half an English mile to the north of Derbend, on the right hand side of the way that leads out through the gates of the same name (see قرخلرقپوسی Part V. Rem. 7.). It consists of forty and more tombs, each covered by a long slab of stone, mostly of a cylindrical form, some parts of which are covered with earth: of these, there are some in length about 9 feet, and in diameter 2 and a quarter though there are others even less than 5 feet in length and one and a quarter in diameter. These stones are covered with a kind of dark green coating, indicating their antiquity. The sepulchre is surrounded by a wall or a harbour composed of great slabs of stone, each about 6 feet in length and one and a half in breadth. The stones stand closely one to another, and it seems they formed a strong solid wall, terminating by an entrance on the western side. Near this entrance there is an *Otchagk*, or sacred monument, of the *Ptr* or principal saint *, which especially attracts the attention of the superstitious inhabitants of the town, who yearly, on the last wednesday preceeding the *Nourouz* (i. e. first day of the new year, the very day of the vernal equinox), visit this sepulchre in great crowds, bring their vows to the *Ptr*, and distribute alms. Close to this old sepulchre lies a large burying ground, therefore in later years (in 1826) a Mosque has been built between the entrance of the both where people come to pray for the souls of the dead. (Consult Part X^th^ to this work.) *

Besides the name *Gktrkhler*, the ancient sepulchre bears another appellation, شهید طاشلری or *The stones of the Martyrs*, otherwise قبور الشهدا or *The graves of the Martyrs*.

Remark 12. page 42.

Comparing the statements of our MS. with those of the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg, we find scarcely any essential difference between them. In the translation of Klaproth, the description of the war is very short, whereas in our version, and especially in that of St. Petersburg, it is very long and exaggerated. This last, in many points concordant with the version

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* Lately I was informed that the *Otchagk* mentioned here was repaired some years ago, that it has now lost its former interest, and that its appearance suggests the idea of its being a tomb recently erected.

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of Berlin, contains various details which are not worthy of attention, and for that reason we do not insert them here. In Klaproth's translation it is said, that the Khaghan, after having been wholly defeated, betook himself to flight, until he came to the fortress of *Jettin-Djtnu-bir*, which is situated on a mountain beyond the course of *H'oumri-tchai*. This may be also numbered among other errors into which Klaproth has fallen in the course of his translation. In the version of Dr. Dorn we read: چون خاقان قاچدی قلعه یه بتنجه (یتنجه) برایکت قایتوب صواشدی واول قلعه [خاقانبون] حمری چای اوستنده طاغ باشیدر اندن دریاکورونور ایدی اونه قایه کند دیرلر الخ « When the Khaghan took to flight, no warrior could turn to combat, *until they reached* the fortress. This fortress [of the Khaghan?] is on the river Humri-tchai, upon a mountain from which is seen the (Caspian) Sea; now it is called *Gkayeh-kend* ». — In our version this is called the fortress of Humri, now *Gaye-kend*. It seems Klaproth has taken بتنجه بر or یتین جن بر for a proper name. (Consult Rem. 4. to Part IV.)

In our version it is said, that the Musulman troops returned to Syria, which we do not find in either of the two others; and in the MS. of Berlin it is said, a great number of the infidels embraced the religion of Islam, which we do not find in ours.

Ibnu-l-a'asam's description of this expedition (see appendix, the *II. Extract from the translation of Ibnu-l-a'asam's works*) agrees in general with those of all three copies of the Derbend-nâmeh. The following are the only essential differences: 1) The author of the *Futûh* makes no mention of the Chinese Emperor, as we have already remarked, and attributes all to the Emperor of the Khazars. — 2) When the Emperor of the Khazars was convinced that weapon could produce an equal effect on the Arabs as on other nations, he lost no time in collecting his army, consisting of 300,000 men, and attacked that of the Musulmans consisting of 10,000, *all of whom, without any exception*, were cut down, and even Selmân was killed. — And 3) This engagement took place in the plain near بلغر *Bulcher*, where the troops of the Martyrs were buried, and the sepulchre was called قبور الشهدا or « the sepulchre of the Martyrs ».

Moreover we find in Ibnu-l-a'asam, the continuation of his account of the affairs of Derbend during the last years of the reign of Othman, which we have not in any of our versions of the Derbend-nâmeh. (See ibid. the conclusion.)

All these show: 1) that the differences noticed, are occasioned by the difference of the sources from which our author and Ibnu-l-aasam have borrowed their information, and from which the correctors and translators of the original Derbend-nâmeh have chosen their own supplementary additions. 2) That the author of the Derbend-nâmeh had never seen the work of Ibnu-l-aasam (though there is no doubt that he had many other valuable books in his hands); as, had it been otherwise, he would certainly have borrowed from it the continuation to which we have just referred.

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ذکرفرستادن ولیدبن (عبد) الملك قشون بطرف دربند

تاریخ کتابلرنده مسطور (در) که هجرتنك آلتمش دردنجی سنه سنده ولید عبدالملك اوغلنه خبر یتشدی که طایفهٔ خضری کلوب دربندشهرینه غالب اولوب اسلام ولایتلرینی قتل وغارت ایدللر اوزقرداشی مسلمه آدلویه بیوردی کم قرخ مین مبارزرزم کپش شام کروهندن مکمل ومسلح جمع ایدوب چوخ خزینه وتدارکات ایله دربندشهرینه کیدوب تمامی سرحدلری وقلعه چه لری ضبطایدوب دربند شهرنده توقف ایدوب منه معلوم ایلیه سن جناب مسلمه دخی قرخ مین مبارز شام اهلندن زبده لیوب لوای عزیمتین طبل جنك ایله اوجالدوب دربند طرفنه کلدی بولده اولان قلعه لری فتح ایدوب تازه حاکم لر قویوب شروان ومشکور شهرلرینه یتشدی واونلاره حاکم لر نصب ایدوب رویاس کنارینه یتشوب دوردی

(PART III.)

Description of the expedition

sent to Derbend by

Velid the son of Abdul-melik [1].

It is related in history that, in the year 64 (94?) of the Hijreh [2] a report reached Velid the son of Abdul-melik, that the Khazar tribes, having conquered Derbend, were laying waste the lands of Islam with slaughter and devastation. He gave an order to his brother *Muslimeh* [3], saying: « Gather together forty thousand warlike men of the Syrians, « well supplied with arms and ammunition, and set off for Derbend, taking with thee the « necessary treasure and plenty of provisions; there take possession of all the fortresses « lying on the frontiers, and thyself reside in Derbend, sending me information thereof. » — His highness Muslimeh, in consequence of this order, having chosen forty thousand warriors in Syria, raised his standard, and, beating the drums of the expedition departed for Derbend [4]. He conquered all the fortresses lying in his way, appointed new governors, and arrived at Shirvân and Meshkour. Here also having appointed new governors he proceeded further till he reached the banks of the *Rubás* [5], where he encamped.

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امّا دربند شهرنده اوچ مین نفر اول خضری طائفه سندن نارین قلعه نی ساخلامقه وار ایدی اسلام لشکری روباس دن کچوب دربندی محاصره ایلیوب دعوا ایلدیلر اوچ آی قلعه بندلق ایدوب هیچ طرفدن قلعه ده کی قشونه کومك کلمدی و (باوجود ؟) شهری المقلقدن عاجز اولوب استردی (که) مراجعت ایلسون ناکاه کجه شهردن برنفر آدم چیخوب جناب مسلمه یانه کلوب دیدی که هرکاه خضری طائفه سنك غنیمت مالندن منه ویرسون (ویرسنك) من قلعه نی آلمغه کومك ایدرم جناب مسلمه عهد ایلدی که نه قدر مال طلب ایدرسن انعام ایدرم (قیلورم another reading) القصّه جناب مسلمه آلتی مین مبارز نقیب (نقب) زن عبد العزیز [و] کاظم باهلی ننك سرکرده لکی ایله جاسوسه قوشوب قلعه یه کرمکه امر ایلدی *

جاسوس مذکور درواق طرفندن اولان قپودن که بر آلتنده وار ایدی کجه نقیب (نقب) اوروب اول قاپودن نارین قلعه یه داخل اولوب صبح کاه طایفهٔ خضری خبردار اولوب قلعه ننك ایچنده جنك ومحاربه ایلدی جناب مسلمه دخی طشره ده سنکر لری بروجه یتوروب نارین قلعه ایچنه داخل اولدی وتمامی خضر

In the city of Derbend three thousand Khazarians were appointed to defend the citadel. The troops of Islâm crossed the Rûbâs, beseiged Derbend and fought a battle.

The siege continued three months, and (although) the garrison could, by no means, have recourse to any quarter for help, Muslimeh could not penetrate into the fortress, and in despair (of success) had resolved to return [6]. But during the night a man unexpectedly came out of the fortress and said to Muslimeh: « If thou wilt permit me to have a share « in the spoil that shall be taken from the Khazars, I will aid thee in taking the fortress ». His highness Muslimeh promised to bestow on him as much as he could desire.

Now his highness Muslimeh confided to the care of the spy six thousand brave engineers, under the command of *Abdul-aziz* [and] Kazem [7] (Hâtem?) al-Bahili, and ordered them to enter into the fortress. The said spy led the troops to the secret gates, which were in the way to Dervâgh and, the same night, having undermined the ground which concealed the gates, passed through them into Naringkala (or the citadel). In the morning when the Khazars became aware of this there ensued a battle in the fortress. On the other hand his highness Muslimeh arranged his fortifications in such a manner *) from without, (as by degrees to approach) and enter the citadel. They now

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* The expression بروجه I read *bir vedjh* (which properly should be بروجهله *bir vedjhileh*); but if we take it for *buroudjeh* (dative case of برودج) the signification will be: *arranged his fortifications from without up to the bulwarks* (of the fortress) *and entered the citadel.*

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طایفه سنی قتل واسیرا یلدیلر وجوق اسباب وغنیمت ضبط ایلیوب تمامی مال غنیمتی مبارزلره وجاسوس
لره باغشلدی جناب مسلمه اعیان دولت ایله مشورت ایلدی که هرقدر قشون بوقلعه ده قویوب بیزمراجعت
انسك طایفهٔ خضری کنه کلوب دربندی تصرّف ایلرواول قوین مبارزلری قتله یتوروب هیچ کس اونلاره
کومك ایده بلمز صلاح اولدرکیم نا رین قلعه ننك برج وحصارین خراب ایدوب معاودت ایده روك (ایدك)
عبد العزیز باهلی دیدی بوفکر صلاح دکل در زیراکه طایفه خضری کنه کلوب قلعه نی تعمیر ومحکم ایدوب
طورر داخی قلعه نی آلق مقدور بولمز (اولمز) وهرایل عراق وآذربیجان ولایتلرین قتل وغارت ایدللربو امرجناب
مسلمه به ناخوش کلوب بیوردی که قلعه ننك برج وباروللرین خراب قیلوب وعبد العزیزی کتجه (و) شیروان
ایالتنه سرافراز ایدوب اوزی شام طرفنه مراجعت قیلوب کتدی طایفهٔ خضری کنه کلوب نارین قلعه نی
تعمیر واستوار ایدوب ساغلادی وهرایل مشکور وشیروان سرحدلرندن کچوب عراق وآذربیجانه قتل وغارت
ایدوب کتدیلر (کیدرلر) ایدی * تاریخ هجرت یتمش ایلده اولاندہ جناب مسلمه (به) خبر یتشدی که طایفهٔ

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slaughtered and enslaved all the Khazars (that were in the citadel) and seized much spoil and many trophies, of which all the former were distributed to the warriors and bestowed on the spy [8]. His highness Muslimeh then held a council with the grandees of the realm, and said: « If we return (to our country) leaving here as strong a garrison as we can « for the defence of the fortress (of Derbend), the Khazarian tribes will come back « again, seize Derbend and massacre all the warriors appointed (for its defence); for they « will not be able to have recourse to any quarter for assistance; it is therefore advise- « able to destroy wholly the walls and towers of the citadel and then to return ». — Abdul-aziz-Bahili answered and said: « This is not at all adviseable, for the Khazarians « may again return and rebuild the fortress and fortify it in such a manner as to render « it hereafter perfectly inaccessible and (then having secured this spot) make yearly in- « cursions into Aderbijân and Irak ».

This contradiction did not please his highness Muslimeh who ordered the walls and towers of the fortress to be destroyed. Having done this and bestowed on Abdul-aziz the governorship of the provinces of *Ghendjeh* and Shirwân, he returned to Syria [9].

The Khazarians (indeed) came again, and rebuilt and fortified the citadel. When once possessed of it, they used every year to pass the frontiers of Meshkour and Shirwân, and massacre and plunder the inhabitants of Aderbijân and Irâk.

In the year 70 (100?) of the Hijreh, his highness Muslimeh was informed that the Khazarian tribes had again seized the citadel of Derbend and that they repeated their

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خضری نارین قلعهٔ در بنده داخل اولوب اسلام سر حدلرینه قتل وغارت ایدللر کنه قرخ مین مبارز ایله دربند شهرینه کلوب قلعه نی آلوب تازه دن برج وحصارین تعمیر ایلیوب وعمارت لروانبارلرتعمیر ایدوب بش مین مبارز قلعه ده قویوب اوزی شام طرفنه کتدی * قجرتنك یتمش اوچنده اعیان دولین (دولت ؟) ولیدبن عبد الملکی خلافتدن عزل ایدوب قرنداشی (یزیدبن ؟) عبد الملك مروانی مسندخلافتده پایدار ایلدیلر خلیفهٔ شامه خبرپتشدی که دربندشهریندہ قویولان مبارز لرمحاصره ده قالوب طایفهٔ خضری نارین قلعه بویننده کچوب اذربیجان وهم داغستان دن کچوب روم سرحدلرینه قتل وغارت ایدللر *

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descents upon the frontiers of Islam, in consequence of which he undertook another expedition with forty thousand men. — He reconquered Derbend, renewed its fortifications, built many edifices and storehouses and having left there five thousand warriors for the defence of the fortress again returned to Syria[10].

In the year 73 (102?) of the Hijreh the grandees of the realm deposed Velid the son of Abdul-melik (*Yezid* the son of *Mahleb?*) from the Khalifate, and elevated and established his brother (Yezid the son of) Abdul-melik the son of Mervân[11] on the throne. The Khalif was informed in Syria that the warriors who were left in Derbend for its defence, were besieged and blockaded in the fortress, and that the troops of the Khazars had already passed by the western passage*) of Derbend, and, having broken through Daghistan and Aderbijân, spread slaughter and pillage to the frontiers of *Rûm*[12].

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* Verbally; *by the neck* of the citadel; see the Rem. 12 to this part.

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth.

Answering to Part III. of our translation.

Il se passa ensuite un temps assez considérable jusqu'au Khalife *Velid*, fils d'*Abd-oul-melik*. Celui-ci réfléchissant sur les paroles du prophète, « *Bab-ul-ebvab* (ou Derbend) *a de nombreux avantages* », il ordonna, l'an 64 de l'hegire (684 de J. C.), à son frère *Mouslem* d'aller en Syrie, d'y équiper 40,000 hommes des plus braves, toutefois sans que personne pût soupçonner où il voulait les conduire. *Mouslem* ayant accompli sa mission, le Khalife appela *Asad* fils de *Sefir*, qui était alors gouverneur de *Medine l'éclatante*, et l'envoya à son frère *Mouslem*, avec l'avis secret de marcher avec ses 40,000 hommes sur *Bab-ul-ebvab* (Derbend), et de prendre cette ville. *Mouslem* força des fortresses et des villes, pénétra jusque dans le Chirvân, dont il se rendit également maître, et arriva sur les rives du *Roubas* روباس. Trois mille infidèles étaient renfermés dans Derbend; *Mouslem* fit le siége de cette ville: il combattit long-temps avant de l'emporter. Il était sur le point de renoncer à son entreprise, lorsqu'un transfuge sorti de la ville vint le trouver, et lui offrit de l'y conduire, s'il lui accordait une part du butin. *Mouslem* convoqua les chefs des guerriers, et leur demanda lequel d'entre eux voulait hasarder cette tentative; tous gardèrent le silence, excepté *Abd-oul-aziz Bahly*, fils de *H'atem*, fils de *Bahly:* il accepta, en mettant pour condition que tout le butin appartiendrait à sa tribu et à lui. *Mouslem* y consentit; et *Abd-oul-aziz Bahly*, prenant avec lui 600 hommes des siens, se présenta devant Derbend. Le traître les conduisit sur les bords du *Dervâh* (Darbâkh), à une porte qui fermait un souterrain menant dans la ville. *Abd-oul-aziz Bahly* y entra avec ces hommes, et, dans la nuit, pénétra dans la ville. Les infidèles se défendirent avec beaucoup de courage, parcequ'ils combattaient pour leurs femmes et leurs enfans; mais *Mouslem* ayant en même temps fait une attaque, enfonca les portes, et s'étant précipité dans la place, ils succombèrent et la ville tomba au pouvoir des musulmans. Suivant quelques récits ceux-ci en furent chassés; mais cela n'est pas fondé *.

* Here I suspect an omission in the MS. of Berlin. Read rem. 9 and 10 to this part.

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Du reste, les *Khâszari* faisaient tous les ans des irruptions dans l'Irak et l'Adzerbaïdjân, qu'ils livraient au meurtre et au pillage, parceque le *Chirvân* شيروان et le *Gandjah* كنجه n'étaient pas alors assez fortifiés pour leur résister. Les *Khaszari* envoyèrent une seconde armée contre *Mouslem;* mais elle fut repoussée; il mit dans Derbend une garnison de braves guerriers, puis retourna en Syrie.

Sous le règne du Khalife *Soliman*, fils d'*Abd-oul-melik*, successeur de *Velid*, les Arabes furent contraints d'évacuer Derbend et ne purent s'y maintenir contre les infidèles, qui emportèrent cette ville et envahirent l'Arménie et l'Adzerbaidjân. *Abd-oul-alla Bahly*, qui était alors gouverneur de l'Arménie, soutint de fréquens combats contre eux. — (Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Tome III, p. 451 — 453.)

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE THIRD.

Remark 1. page 50.

This part of our author's work contains some details concerning the expedition of *Muslimeh* to Derbend, by order of his brother *Velid*.

In Teberi, and in the great work of Mir-khond, which I possess, we may find some information concerning this and other expeditions sent to Aderbijân and against the Khazars by the Khalifs of *Beni-Umayteh*, part of which I shall take care to bring before my readers in the appendix to this work; but, to my great disappointment, I have not in my possession the *second* volume of Ibnu-l-aasam; which, no doubt, would contribute a great deal to the good result of our researches. In the work of *Benâkiti* we find a description of the expedition made by the order of Omar the son of *Abdu-l-Aziz* against the *Kiptchakians*, or the Khàzars, who had made irruptions into Aderbidjan about the very beginning of the 2d century of the Hidjret or about five years later than the date here meant by our author (see remark 2.). The leader of that expedition, says Benakiti, was *Hatemi-Rabi'i* حاتم ربيعى. — In the chronological tables تقويم of *Hajee-Khalifah*, or *Katib-tchelebi*, we find two statements, which directly refer to the different expeditions of this same *Muslimeh;* they are 1) فتح باب الابواب بدست مسلمه «The conquest of Derbend (Babul-abwâb) by Muslimeh», which, according to the above tables, took place in the year 95 of the Hijret; and 2) وقعهٔ طين در ميان مسلمه وخزر درباب الابواب «the battle of *Tin* between Muslimeh and the Khazars at Babul-abwab», which occurred in the

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110 year of the Hijret. The first event must be referred to the last years of Velid's reign, (see this Part, rem. 2.) and the second, to the fifth year of the reign of *Hishám* (see rem. 2. Part the fourth). To this last refer the words of Mir-khond وهشام حکومت اذربیجان وشیروان وشماخی را به مسلمه برادرخودارزانی داشت ومسلمه باستقلال تمام بآن ولایت شده ازدربند آهنین که مردمش دمرقاپی میکویند بکذشت وبامردم دشت قبجان (قپچاق) حرب های عظیم کرد الخ « And Hisham bestowed the vicegerency over *Aderbéján*, *Shirvan* and *Shemakhi* on his brother Muslimeh, who with the power of superior authority arrived in those parts, passed the *Iron-passage* called by its inhabitants commonly *Demir-ghapi* (iron gates) and made great wars with the people of *Gkt-han* (which must be *Gkiptchagk*, or rather the Khazars) » &c.

In fact, it seems that from the time of Velid, down to the reign of his brother *Hisham*, there have been several expeditions which are referred to, partly by our author, Teberi, Mirkhond and Tchelebi, and partly by some of them only. The reader will have occasion to distinguish them in the course of our remarks added to this and the following parts of our author's work.

Remark 2. page 50.

In the text is written هجرتنك التمش دوردنجی سنده i. e. in the year sixty four of the Hijret. The same error we find in the MSS. of Berlin, of St. Petersburg and probably in that of Paris, since Klaproth, after noticing and correcting the errors of the MS. of Berlin, does not say anything about the epoch mentioned in the MS. of Paris, which he consulted through the whole of his translation. The generality of this error in all the said versions leads us to attribute it to the author of the Derbend-nâmeh himself, who might fall into it very easily by reading indifferently the Arabic Numeral اربع وسبعين for اربع وستين. Indeed the middle letters ب, س both in ancient and modern writings, when the necessary dots are omitted, are frequently mistaken the one for the other, unless the copyist take upon himself the trouble of making out the true signification of the word by due investigation. The learned Klaproth then, has justly corrected this mistake; for Velid, the son of Abdul-melik, began his reign in the year 86 of the Hijret, and died in the year 96, after a reign of 9 years 7 months and 29 days (see *Hemzeh the Ispahanian*, section V. of ch. X.); and according to Tchelebi, as we had occasion to notice in the preceding remark, in the 95 year of the Hijret Muslimeh subdued Derbend, consequently the expedition commenced in the year 94.

Remark 3. page 50.

This name in our MS. is written every where ابومسلم *Abúmuslim*, in that of Berlin *Muslim*; but I have followed the true reading, which is found in Teberi, Tchelebi and in the version of St. Petersburg. It is the name of one of the four brothers of *Velid*, who, through his repeated conquests distinguished the reigns of all his brothers with unfading glory. In our version his name is confounded with that of the celebrated ابومسلم of Khorasan (see Part VI.

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Rem. 2.), so famous in the history of the East, and who was contemporary with our Muslimeh, but who began to be known eight years after his death, i. e. in the year 129 of the Hijret.

Remark 4. page 50.

The reader may observe some difference between the statement of our MS. and that of Berlin. The text of the version of St. Petersburg, though full of faults in this place agrees with the version of Berlin. There we read زافر for the *Sefir* of Klaproth. — Of Asad we find a separate section in the copies of St. Petersburg and Berlin, to which we shall have occasion to refer our reader (see p. VI. Rem. 1.), I could not find, either in Teberi or in Mir-khond, anything concerning *Asad* the son of *Sefir*. The governor of *Medineh* at this time and some years before this period, was *Omar*, the son of *Abdul-aziz*, who afterwards, i. e. in 101 of the Hijret, filled the throne of the Khalifate. (See Mir-khond Vol. III. under the tittle ذکرخلافت ولیدبن عبدالملك

Remark 5. page 50. روباس

Rúbás is the name of a small river which divides the lower Tabasaran from the upper, forming the northern boundaries of the former. It takes its rise in the mountains of *Gkartchagk*, (in the upper Tabasaran) and falls into the Caspian sea to the south of Derbend, not far from the village named *Aghlebi* اغلبی. —

Remark 6. page 51.

I have added some words here, as well as in the text, in parentheses, in order to make the signification clearer. The text of the version of St. Petersburg is اوچ مینك دربنده (دربندده) غضری کافرلرندن وطن دوتوب دورورلردی مسلمه اول کافرلرایله چوق زمان صواشدی هیچ وجهله دربندنك فتحی میسّر اولمدی ایسه مسلمه دربندن دونمکه قصد ایتدی

Remark 7. page 51.

As I mentioned above, I could not find any *particular* information concerning the expedition of Muslim to Derbend, in any of the works in my possession, consequently this name remains unknown to me. In Klaproth's translation we find *Abdu-l-aziz Bahili* the son of *Hatem* the son of *Bahili*. In the MS. of St. Petersburg we read عبدالعزیز باهلی حاتم باهلی اوغلی *Abdul-axtxi-hahili*, the son of *Hátemi-bahili*. — Since in no other place of our text there is any mention of کاظم, and since the whole account given in our version also suggests the idea of there having been only *one* chief to whose care were confided the 6000 brave men (in the translation of Klaproth 600 men), who were to make the secret assault on Derbend — the reading of

the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg I think to be preferable, the more so when we know that by a slight change in حاتم the copyist might write كاظم [a].

This عبد العزيز must not be mistaken either for the Uncle or Nephew of Muslimeh mentioned in Mir-khond and in Teberi.

Remark 8. page 52.

In the description of the battle in the fortress, there is wanting in our MS. what we find in the MSS. of St. Petersburg and Berlin, namely: that the infidels fought bravely *for their children* &c. — In Klaproth's translation nothing is mentioned of the distribution of the spoils &c. of which we find also an account in Dr. Dorn's version (read the following remarks 9 and 10.)

Remark 9. page 52.

We do not find in Klaproth's translation all that is stated in our MS. and in that of St. Petersburg concerning the breaking down of the walls and bastions of Derbend &c. Perhaps this might arise from an omission in the MS. of Berlin — as I shall notice it at the end of this remark, — I do not suppose however that this statement could have any true foundation, for two reasons: 1) because by breaking down the walls and bulwarks of Derbend Muslimeh would have destroyed the plan and design for which these walls were erected, viz: the protection of Aderbijan and Irân from the repeated incursions made by the different hordes of the north, and would thereby have acted against the supposed tradition of their Prophet; which though various in our copies of the Derbend-nâmeh, recommends the fortress to the care of the Musulmans (see above, Part I. rem. 9.).

2) If we must admit that the walls of Derbend, after their first erection, were ever broken down by any of the Khalifs, we should certainly have more authentic facts, in the history of the east, concerning so very important and extraordinary an exploit.

But the assertion may either refer to *some parts* of the walls of Derbend, that extended to the west, and whose ruins are still to be remarked in some spots in one and the same directiou (see above, Part I, rem. 8.), which being broken down there might be hoped an easy entrance for help in time of need; or, more probably, it may be a result of some information we have concerning some towers or fortifications, that, from ancient times, stood close to Derbend and which were often *broken down* and many times *repaired* according to necessity and circumstances, and of which the two last were destroyed lately, just after the revolt of *Kûzi-Mûllâ* [b].

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[a] We do not think that *HAtem* of *Benâkiti* above mentioned (Rem. 1.) has any connexion with this, since the one is surnamed *Rebi'i* and the other *Albahili*.

[b] These towers, or rather fortifications, were built on the mountain, just opposite to *Narin-kala* about 1/3 of an English mile to the N. West from it. They were designed to defend Derbend in the time of necessity, and generally stood empty when no war was expected with the neighbouring countries. But being many times suddenly taken during the night by the enemy, who, on gaining so commanding a position, was enabled to prolong the siege of the fortress, and even sometimes to succeed in it — they were several times broken

Moreover, as we have already noticed in the preceding remark, we do not find in Klaproth's translation what is stated in our MS. and in that of St. Petersburg respecting the division of the spoil &c. and no word of the appointment of *Abdul-aziz* as governor of *Gandje* and Shirvân (read the following remark). The want of these circumstances in the said translation, we can not attribute to any other reason than to an omission made in the MS. of Berlin: 1) because our MS. agrees in this point with both the MSS. of the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg [c], and probably the same statements may be found in the MS. of Paris. 2) because the irregularity of ideas in this part of Klaproth's translation contributes very much to realize the suspicion of an omission in the MS. of Berlin, for it is there said: « Du reste les *Khazart* faisaient tous les ans des irruptions dans l'Irak et l'Adzerbaidsan, qu'ils livraient au meurtre et au pillage, parceque le *Shirvan* et le *Gandjah* n'étaient pas alors assez fortifiés pour leur résister »; and here he continues « *Les* Khazari *envoyèrent une seconde armée contre* Mouslem, *mais elle fut repoussée*, &c. We do not doubt but that the reader, even without comparing this place with our translation, will suspect some omission in it (read the following remark). —

Remark 10. page 53

The omission suspected in the MS. of Berlin extends to this place. — I shall take the liberty of bringing before the curious the detail which we find in this place of the version of Dr. Dorn's with the different readings referred to by that orientalist, which I shall mark in parentheses with a letter *v*, adding my own corrections of the faults and errors of the MS. of St. Petersburg: جمله مسلمان لشکری قلعه یه گیردیلر کافر لری (هپ read لهب v) قردیلر کافر لرغنیمتی بریره یغدیلر نج یك (پنج یکن) آیردیلر قالاننك (قالانن) عبد العزیز باهلی یه طاپشوردی ایسه اول دخی اول التی مینك غازیلره اوشتردی (اولشتردی) اول یول کوسترن (اول قولاوز اولان v) کیمسیه چوق مال ویروب وجه معاشنی قرار ایتدیلر ایسه مسلمه دیدی اکرموندہ ساخلملق (ساخلق) ایچون آدم قویارسن (قویارسك read قویوب شك v) کافرلرکلوب چوردرلر (چوورورلر read چه ورولر v) ینه آلورلر مسلمانلره مدد اولز پس مصلحت اولدر که بودربند قلعه سن خراب ایدوب کیده لوم جمله ارکان دولت واعیان حضرت بوسوزی بکندیلر اما عبد العزیز باهلی دیدی ای امیر بو عبث فکردر (درر v) که ایلش سن زیرا که

down by the inhabitants in order to avoid such misadventure. But they were again constructed, lastly (as it is said) by *Fat'h-Ali-Khan* and stood till some years ago. The same misfortune, however, having taken place at the sudden appearance of the treacherous *Kuzi-Mûlla* before the very walls of Derbend — the consequence was, that after the defeat and death of the rebel, these empty and disused towers were broken down by order of the government.

[c] The reader is already acquainted with a little description of the version of *D*erbend-nâmeh copied out of the two MSS. belonging to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg by Dr. Dorn. The different readings that are marked down by that learned Academician on the margin of this place of his copy, manifestly indicate the existence of these statements in both MSS. of the Library of St. Petersburg.

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كافر الندن بوقلعيه (بوقلعه نى) مونجه حيله ايله الدون (الدونك) ايمدى خراب ايدوب كتسنك (كشك .v)
كافرلرينه كلوب اوّلكى دن دخى محكم ايشلر كورورلر (محكم ايشلر دخى مسلمانلر .v) كلوب بوقلعه نى آلق ممكن
اولماز (ممكنين اوليه .v) اكربوقلعه كافرالنده اولسه ارامنه واذربايجان كافرلرشرندن امين اولنلر مسلميه
عبد العزيزون (عبد العزيزنك) سوزى برمدى (يار امادى read يرآمدى .v) بيوردى ايكى ياننده بارونى
خراب ايتديلر عبد العزيز باعله (باعلى) نى كنجيه وشيروانه حاكم ايدوب كيتديلر ينه كافرلركلوب دربنده
كيردىلر (اما اوّل تك نيكوب انده ساكن اولديلر .v) امّاقورخديلر كم مسلمانلر كلوب اوزلرينى قره لر قلعه نى
خراب ايلر لرد يوب دربنددن كچوب هريل عراق واذربايجانى قتل وغارت ايدرلرايدى آنكچون ينه مسلمه
(يه) آدم كوندروب احوالينى (احوالى) بغايت سوز (و) دليله ديوب ينه مسلمه لشكرى ايله دربنده كلوب
دربند قلعه سنى عمارت ايدوب انى ساغلمق ايچون چشى بهادريكيت لردن برمقدار لشكر قويوب كيتدى

«All the troops of the Mussulmans entered the fortress and slaughtered all the infidels; the spoils they gathered in one place and having excluded the fifth [d] he (Muslimeh) delivered the rest to *Abdul-aziz*, who divided it among the 6000 warriors. To the person who had been their guide they gave much goods and appointed him his pension. Then Muslimeh said: «If we shall leave here garrisons to defend (the fortress) the infidels will come, surround it, and take it again (from) the Musulmans (who) will have no aid; therefore it is adviseable to break down the fortress of Derbend and go away.» All the grandees of the Empire and the chosen ones of his highness applauded this saying, except *Abdul-aziz* who said: «O Amir! this is a vain thought thou hast expressed, for thou hast taken this fortress from the hands of the enemy after so much trouble, and if thou breakest it down now and goest away, the infidels will come again, rebuild it still stronger, and the Musulmans will not be able to take it any more; and if this fortress be in possession of the infidels, all Armenia and Aderbijan can not be secure from danger». The answer of *Abdul-aziz* did not please Muslimeh, who ordered the walls of the fortress to be broken down on both sides. (Muslimeh) after having appointed *Abdul-aziz* governor of Shirvân and *Gandjeh* returned. — Again the infidels came and entered into Derbend, and having rebuilt it as before, dwelt therein; but they were afraid lest the Musulmans would come again and put them to death and break down the fortress; they therefore passed Derbend and every year caused massacre and plunder in Irak and Aderbijan. The Musulmans (after Muslimeh's return to Syria, having no power to resist the infidels) sent a messenger to him and fully explained the matter. Therefore Muslimeh came again with his army to Derbend, repaired the fortress, and having appointed a portion of very brave warriors to defend it returned home».

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[d] The *fifth*, so technically called (*Khums*, خمس) because the fifth part of all spoils belonged to the بيت المال or the treasury of the theocratical Empire.

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Remark 11. page 53.

This is a manifest mistake. I suppose it to arise from a similar circumstance which occurred to a different personage who must be meant here, and whom we shall endeavour to point out. Setting aside the anachronisms which characterize every part of our versions of Derbend-nâmeh, to which we have had occasion to refer more than once (Part II. rem. 2. and Part III. rem. 2.) and which excuse our author in his errors, a mere impartial investigation into the history of the time may throw some light upon the subject and serve to explain the error of our MS. — We have remarked above (Part III. rem. 1.), that according to some historical informations which we read in Teberi, Benâkiti, Mir-khond and others, there must have been several expeditions to Derbend from the time of Velid down to the reign of *Hisham* his brother. The expedition of Muslimeh just referred to in our text, was undertaken at the close of Velid's reign, i. e. in the year 94 of the Hijret; another expedition, perhaps the continuation of the same, sent under the command of *Hâtemt-Rebt't* (see in the appendix the quotation from *Benâkiti*), belongs to the reign of *Omar* the son of *Abdul-aziz*. A third expedition, sent under the command of *Djerrah*, of which we find the details in the fourth and following part of our Derbend-nâmeh, belongs to the reign of *Yezid* the son of Abdul-melik, and of which we find also in Teberi a description that we shall have occasion to lay before the reader in our appendix to this work. It follows then that the *Khalif in Syria* who, before preparing an expedition to Derbend, *was informed of the irruption made by the Khazarian tribes into Aderbijan* &c., was *Yezid*, who, after the death of *Omar* the son of *Abdul-aziz* was established on the throne of the Khalifate in the month of *Redjeb* of the year 101. — The circumstances from which the misunderstanding or error in our MS. arises is, in my opinion, the following: *Yezid* the son of *Mahleb*, the then viceroy of *Irâk*, at the commencement of the reign of Soliman, having by some artifice, obtained from the Khalif the dominion of *Khorâsan*, had extended his arms to *Gurgan* otherwise *Djurjan* and *Tebristân*, (where no Muhammedan force had before been established), and become very powerful and dangerous.

After Soliman's death, his successor *Omar* the son of *Abdul-aziz*, perceiving the danger, seized *Yezid* and under some pretext threw him into prison, where he was kept during the whole of his reign; but some days before *Omars* death, and some time previous to the reign of his successor *Yezid*, the son of *Abdul-melik*, the imprisoned Yezid escaped and saved himself by flight. Being a man of the greatest valour, and through many other qualities, having acquired considerable influence over the spirits of the age, *Yezid* the son of *Mahleb* did not encounter much difficulty in reinstating himself in a new authority, which however could not last long: there did not elapse much time ere, through the aid of his own brothers *Mafzal Muhammed*, *Djebel*, *Abdul-melik*, *Mervân* and others, he gathered a numerous army and encamped on the banks of the Euphrates; but fortune having ceased to aid his brilliant military enterprizes, he could no longer meet with any success; he was met by Muslimeh, the brave and experienced brother of the Khalif, at *Anbâr* [e], and was totally defeated. — This circumstance, called in history the destruction of the house of *Mahleb*, was considered as the means of the *reestablishment of peace* in the Theocratical Empire and of the safety of *Yezid*, the son of Ab-

[e] An ancient town on the Eastern banks of the Euphrates. The Author of *Nuzhet* says that it was founded by *Luhrâsb*, and that it went by this name in the time of Nabuchadnezzar for his removing the *prison of the captives* (زندان اسیران) from Jerusalem to this town: Ambar, means a storehouse; a prison &c.

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dul-melik on the throne of the Khalifate; after which he sent *Djerrah* on an expedition against the Khazars. (See Teberi Vol. 3. Part 6. the articles خبرولایت یزیدبن مهلب till خبراعدن یزیدبن مهلب بصواش یزیدبن عبدالملك; also روضة الصفا v. III. article خبرمحاربهٔ ال‌مهلب وانجام کارایشان

Upon this ground I have added to our translation in a parenthesis *Yezid the son of.* — The reading of our text then should be اعیان دولت یزیدبن مهلبی عزل ابدوب یزیدبن عبدالملك بن مروانی مسندخلا فتده پایدار ایلدیلر

In Klaproth's translation the irruption of the Khazars into *Aderbidjan* and Irak is attributed to the time of Soliman; in the MS. of St. Petersburg, as in ours, the name of this Khalif is omitted. Though we have no reason to contradict the assertion of the Berlin MS. (for the irruption of the Khazarians might, and indeed must, have taken place at the close of the reign of Soliman which lasted but 2 years and 8 months, and must further have continued till *Yezids* reign), yet, as we have just noticed, it was *Yezid*, and not *Soleiman*, who ordered the expedition to be sent under the command of Djerrâh soon after having heard of the irruption already made by the Khazars, against whom his predecessor Omar had already sent another.

Remark 12. page 53.

Neither in Klaproth's translation, nor in the MSS. of the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, of which I have a copy, is there anything said concerning the irruptions of the Khazarian troops to the frontiers of Rûm or of Greece. Our author here points out two routes or passages, through which the Khazarians made their incursions. The one he distinctly mentions to have been the western passage of Derbend, which is generally called, as in our MS. نارین قلعه بوینی or *The neck of the citadel* i. e. the eastern limits of the present *Tabasaran*, not very far from the citadel of Derbend, perhaps through the broken parts of the rampart to which we have referred the reader in our conjecture in the 9th remark to this part of the Derbend-nâmeh. (See also rem. 8 to Part 1.) Through this passage the author supposes the Khazarians to have passed, by the flatter parts of Daghistan, which are situated between the ridges of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, and which commence just by the south wall of Derbend, where they are very narrow, but gradually extend themselves till at last they reach the breadth of about 8 farsakhs in the *Mahál* of *Shabrán* and *Mushkour*, or *Mushkoureh*. — The other route though not exactly pointed out in the text, may be supposed to have been through the western parts of *Legzistun*, towards the place where the Musulmans had made conquests in Armenia &c.

We should have committed a mistake perhaps, had we considered it to be the meaning of our text, that the Khazarian troops made irruptions against the Romans — as we could find no historical fact of the kind in the European authors referring to the epoch — but it may at least be admissible to suppose, that the author meant the incursions of the Khazars into the countries already invaded by the Musulmans, i. e. in one direction into *Aderbijan*, and in another into some western or northwestern parts of it, which were bounded by the territories of the Romans or Greeks.

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ذكر آمدن [ابوعبيده] جرّاح بدربند

تاريخ هجرت يوز اوچ ايلده (يلده) اولانده (يزيد بن) عبد الملك مروان عبد الله باهليني روم سرحدلرنك
محافظتنه و [ابوعبيدهٔ] جرّاحي آلتي مين مبارز ايله دربندشهرنده اولان قشونون كومكنه پتوروب
(امر ايوروب ؟) [ابوعبيدهٔ] جرّاح منزل بمنزل قطع مراحل ايدوب شيروا نه يتشدى خاقان چين اوغلى
اسلام لشكرينك كلمكين ايشدوب اوز لشكريله قبه كنده كتدى [ابوعبيدهٔ] جرّاح شيرواندن كچوب
مشكورده اولان قلعه لره كلدى وتمامى قلعه لرنك قشون لرين آلوب روباس قراغنده طبسران وقراقيطاق
امرالريله كه اسلام مذهبنه داخل اولمش ايدلر ملاقات ايدوب بيوردى كه من عربستان ولايتندن

(PART IV.)

Description of the expedition
of
Djerrah to Babul-abwab Derbend[1].

In the year one hundred and three, (Yezid the son of) Abdul-melik the son of Mervân, appointed Abdullahi-Bâhili to the defence of the Roman frontiers, and sent Djerrah, at the head of six thousand men, to aid the troops in Derbend[2]. Djerrah proceeded on his journey, one stage after another, until he arrived at last at Shirwân. The son of the Chinese Khâgkân[3], being informed of the approach of the Muselman troops, moved his army to Gkayeh-kend[4]. Djerrah having passed Shirwân, arrived in *Mushcour*, and having gathered together all the troops (defending) the fortresses there, continued his route till he came to the banks of the Rûbâs. He there met with the chiefs of Tabasarân and *Gkara-Gkaitagh*[5], who were not yet converted to Islam. To these he said: «I come from the re-

کلوب خضرطایفه سیله جنك اتمکه (ارادم وار) کرکدر سزدخی منکا کومك ایده سز سباتی (سباس) ادلو لزکیلرنك بیوکی (بیوك) رئیسی ایدی کیزلو شهزاده پاشه ننك یانه خبرکوندردی که [ابوعبیده] جرّاح آلتی مین لشکری ویو اطرافك قوشونلری ایله سیزنك اوستوزه کلور [ابوعبیدهٔ] جرّاح بوخبری ایشتدکده لشکرینه بیوردی که اوچ کوننك خوراکنی حاضرایلدیلر اول کجه مشغلر (مشعل لر) ایشقی ایله روباسدن کچوب دربندنك (مسلمانی طرفنده اولان ؟) دروازه سندن کیروب قرخلرقاپودن چخوب آوایین باغنده دوشوب ایکی مین آتلو مبارزقراقیطاقه وایکی (مین) آتلو برسی ودیوك وزیل ودرواق وحمیدی (و) کروخی قتل وغارت اتمکه مقرر ایلیوب بیوردی که کون طلوع الشّمس دن ایرلو منم یانمده اولاسز اول دورت مین آتلو اول کجه قراقیطاق و طبرسران کندلرینه شبخون صالوب صبحنك طلوعنده اون ایکی مین مال وقوین وایکی مین تومان قزل وکومش ویدّی یوز اسیرقرا قیطاقدن کتوردیلر وقرخ مین آت وقوین ومال کلّی نقد واسباب وایکی مین اسیرطبسران کندلرندن کتوردیلر تمامی غنیمت لری مبارز لره تقسیم ایلدی

« gions of Arabia to make war on the Khazarian tribes, therefore you also must afford « me your aid ». — At this time, one named *Sabâs* [6], the principal chief of the *Lezghies*, secretly sent information to the royal prince *Pasheh* [7] stating: « Djerrah, with an army « of six thousand men of his own, and with the armies of these quarters, is coming « against you ». Djerrah on being informed of this (immediately) ordered provisions to be prepared for three days, and during the same night [8] crossed the Rubâs by the light of torches, entered through the (southern) gates of Derbend, went out through the gates of Ghirkhler and encamped in the gardens of *Avâin* [9]. From thence he dispatched two thousand horsemen into Gkara-Gkaitagh [10], and two (thousand) to *Yersi* [11], *Duvek* [12], *Zeil* [13], *Dervâgk* [14], *Humeidi* [15], and *Keroukh* [16], commanding them to devastate (these districts) with slaughter and pillage and to return back on the following morning before sunrise. Accordingly, these four thousand horsemen made an inroad the same night on the villages of Gkara-Gkaitâgh and Tabasaran, and at sunrise on the following morning returned, taking with them twelve thousand heads of cattle and sheep, two thousand *tûmans* (i. e. twenty thousand pieces) of gold and silver and seven hundred captives from Ghara-Gkaitâgh; forty thousand horses, cattle and sheep, a great quantity of ready money and ammunition, with two thousand captives from the districts of Tabasarân. Djerrah distributed all this booty amongst his soldiers [17]. The Prince-royal, Pasheh, on

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شهزاده پاشه بوخبری ایشدند نصکره اوز لشکریله قیه کندن کچوب دروق چایی ننك قراغنده طورمشیدی
[ابوعبیدهٔ] جرّاح اوز صفلرین راست ایدوب دعواعلمین راست وطبل جنك لردوکلوب هرایکی طرفدن
دسته لر بربرینه حمله ایلدیلر قلنج ونیزهٔ جان ستان ایله چوخ مبارز لر ایکی طرفدن مجروح ومقتول اولوب
سرعسکر طائفهٔ خضری تاب مقاومت کتورمیوب تمامی اسباب واساسه سین قویوب انجی قلعه سنه فرار ایلدی
لول کون یدی مین آدم خضری طایفه سندن وایکی مین مبارز اسلام دن میدان ده قتله یتشدی
القصه انجی قلعه سنده قراول لرقویوب بلخ قلعه سنه کیدوب بلخ وسرخاب واولوماجار وکچی ماجار وتاتار لرنك
حاکم لرینه قدغن ایلدی که مجموع قلعه لرنك حاکم لری اهراننك حاکمی کلباختك فرمانینه تابع اولوب اسلام
لشکرین بواطرافه کلمکه قویمیه لر پاشه اوز پای تختنه که عدل چایی ننك قراغنده دور کیدوب دوردی
[ابوعبیدهٔ] جراح اوزلشکریله قیه کنده کتدی (آندن) ترخو قلعه سنه کتدی ترخو خلقی امانه کلوب مسلمان
اولدیلروترجوجریسن آلوب انجی شهرننك برابرنده چادرلرقوروب اقامت ایلدیلر انجی قلعه سی چوخ محکم

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being informed of this, passed Gkayeh-kend, with his troops, and encamped on the banks of the river *Darvagh* [18]. Djerrah ranged his troops, and raised the standard of battle: the war-drums beat on both sides, and the two armies rushed against each other [19]. Many warriors were wounded and cut down by the swords and soul-piercing spears on either side. At last, the leader of the Khazarians had no more the power of resistance, and was put to flight in the direction of the fortress of *Inji*, leaving behind him all his provisions and ammunition. On that day, seven thousand Khazars and two thousand warriors of Islam breathed their last in the field.

Now having appointed a garrison in the fortress of Inji, he retired to the fortress of *Balkh* [20], from whence he issued a strict order to the governors of *Balkh*, *Sürkhâb*, *Oulú-Majár*, *Kitchi-Majár* and other Tartars [21], that all the chiefs of the said fortresses should be under submission to *Gulbákh* the governor of *Ihran*, and that they (thus united) should prevent the Musulmans from arriving at these quarters. This being done, Pasheh retired to his place of residence, situated on the banks of the river *Adil* (or the Volga) [22].

Djerrah lead his army to Gkayeh-kend, and from thence to *Tarkhú*, whose inhabitants submitted and became Musulmans. — Having annexed to his own troops those of Tarkhû, Djerrah approached the fortress of Inji and encamped before it. — Inji was a very strong and well built fortress: it was surrounded on one side by mountains (and on

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واستولر قلعه ایدی برطرفی داغ (وبرطرفی دریا) هیچ جهتدن برشیه محتاجلری یوخیدی اونلرنك حاکمی دروازه لری باغلیوب جنکه دورد یلر هیچ نیمه ایله شهر آلنق ممکن اولدی آخرالأمر اون مبن مبارز عرابه لر یوروتوب دروازه لری سندروب قلعه یه داخل اولدیلر قلعه خلقی اطاعت فرمانتی بیونلر ینه آلوب مسلمان اولدیلر قلعه ننك حاکمی نارین قلعه ده کیز لنوب کیجه اوزره اعیانلریله کیوان قلعه سنه قاچوب کتدی [ابوعبیدهٔ] جراح او حاکمنك مال غنیمتن آلوب دربنده کلدی دربند شهر ینه قوشون قویوب شام طرفنه مراجعت ایلدی *

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the other by the sea [25], and had no need of support from any other place. The governor of the fortress having ordered the gates to be shut, they prepared themselves for defence, so that the fortress could by no means be taken. But at last, ten thousand warriors moved forward their chariots, broke down the gates of the fortress and forced an entrance [24]. The inhabitants were subdued and embraced the religion of Islâm. The governor hid himself in the citadel [25], and by night saved himself together with his principal men by flight to the fortress of *Kaiván*. — Djerrah took in spoil every thing belonging to the governor and retired to Derbend, where having left an army, he returned back to Syria [26].

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth,

Answering to Part IV. of our translation.

L'an 103 de l'hégire (722 de J. C.), *Abd-oullah, fils de H'hekim*, ayant été nommé à ce poste, dépêcha *Abou Oubeideh Djarakh*, avec 6000 hommes, contre les infidèles. Celui-ci arriva dans le Chirvân, où *Páchenak ou Páchenk* پاشنك, fils du Khâkân, marcha à sa rencontre. *Abou Oubeideh* campa sur les bords du *Roubas;* Pachenak se tint dans le voisinage de *Kaïeh kend.* Abou Oubeideh avait fait appeler les begh des Lezghi: ils feignirent de prendre le parti du chef des Arabes; celui-ci leur apprit qu'il voulait livrer bataille aux infidèles. Un des begh, nommé *Bouvouki Sabas*, بووكى سباس (ou *Bokor sabas*), donna avis aux *Khaszari* des projets et des forces d'Abou Obeideh; mais celui-ci, qui en fut instruit, renforça son armée, et fit proclamer que ses troupes eussent à se pourvoir de vivres pour trois jours; puis il fit fondre beaucoup de grandes torches qu'il leur distribua. Elles furent allumées, la nuit, après la prière du soir; et à leur lueur, il marcha avec ses 6000 hommes sur Derbend: la porte de *Tchoubin* چوبين fut brisée, et il arriva jusqu'aux eaux du Tchekoub چغوب. Il envoya deux mille hommes contre le Kaïtâk, fit ravager et piller ce pays, et il ordonna de retenir prisonnier le *Tchákandji Aghouki Chaghin* چاقنجى آغوكى شاغين et qu'on s'emparât de ses biens, parce que c'était un aussi grand ennemi que le fils du Khâkân. Il dépêcha aussi 2000 hommes à *Jersin* برسين, à *Zeil* زيل, à *Darbâkh* درباخ, à *H'amidi* حميدى, à *Dibéki* ديبكى et à *Kimikh* قميخ, et fit livrer tout le Thabaserân au fer et à la flamme. Les troupes ramenèrent beaucoup de prisonniers et de butin.

Les Lezghi, instruits de ses entreprises, en avertirent aussitôt le fils du Khâkân; ils lui firent également dire: « Ebu Oubeideh nous a trompés, et maintenant il a gagné *Oussireh* اوسيره à marches forcées. Il est, par conséquent, nécessaire d'user de beaucoup de prudence ». Là-dessus *Pâchenak* entra dans la fortresse: *Abou Oubeideh* se plaça, avec le reste de son armée, a Darbâkh. Pâchenak y vint bientôt à sa rencontre. Le signal du combat fut donné, et Abou Oubeideh exhorta ses troupes à montrer leur bravoure: tout

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à coup les deux corps détachés vinrent le rejoindre. Le chef de celui qui avait été dans le Kaïtâk amenait 10,000 chevaux et boeufs, et 700 prisonniers du pays qu'il avait ravagé et pillé; celui qui revenait du Thabaserân, et qui avait dévasté *Dibeki*, *Jersin*, *Zeil*, *Darbâkh*, et *H'amidi*, amenait 40,000 chevaux, boeufs et autre bétail, et 2000 prisonniers. Abou Oubeideh gratifia ses soldats de ce butin, et leur dit de marcher en avant. La bataille dura trois jours: elle se décida en faveur des musulmans. Pâchenak, avec les débris de son armée, fut obligé de fuir à *Indji*. Il se contenta de prendre quelques vivres du gouverneur de cette place, et se tourna du côté de *l'Ihrân*. De là il alla à *Balkh*. *Endery* ayant été gouverneur de *Balkh*, c'est de son nom que cette ville a reçu celui *d'Endery;* auparavant elle s'appelait *Balkh*. Le nom primitif du *Gulbâkh* est Ihrân; mais ayant eu un gouverneur nommé *Gulbâkh*, elle a pris son nom.

Les historiens racontent, de plus, que Pâchenak, fils du Khâkân, étant arrivé dans l'Ihrân, il annonça à tous les chefs de ses troupes, savoir, à *Gulbâkh* gouverneur de *l'Ihrân*, à *Endery*, gouverneur de *Balkh*, à *Sourkhâb*, gouverneur du fort de *Kyzyl-iar*, à *Tchoumli*, gouverneur de *Kitchi-Mâdjâr* كچی ماجار (Petit Madjar), *Djoulâd* et *Cheheri-Tâtâr*, qu'ils devaient tous obéir à *Gulbâkh*, gouverneur de l'Ihran. Il ajouta qu'à l'entrée de l'armée des musulmans dans ces cantons, tous les commandans devaient se rassembler avec leurs troupes dans l'Ihrân, et combattre de concert avec *Gulbâkh;* que quiconque désobéirait aux ordres et aux injonctions du gouverneur de *l'Ihrân*, serait considéré comme un ennemi. Ensuite Pâchenak regagna *Soukraghit* سوقرغیت sa résidence. Selon le récit de quelquels écrivains, Isfendiâr, fils de Goutchâsb, a été anciennement gouverneur de l'Ihrân, et tous ces cantons étaient sous sa domination.

Abou Oubeideh, ayant fait rassembler son armée, lui distribua le butin dans la forteresse de *H'yszn* حیضن qui est *Kaïah-kend;* il y existe encore des débris de fortifications. De là il marcha sur Tarkhou; mais les généraux de Pâchenak ne voulurent pas combattre contre lui. Ils lui firent leur soumission et conclurent la paix; ils jurèrent fidélité à l'islamisme, prononcèrent leur profession de foi et devinrent musulmans: alors, réunis aux guerriers de l'islam, ils marchèrent contre Indji.

Cette ville était très-grande et très forte: d'un côté elle était baignée par la mer, et de l'autre adossée à une montagne. Déjà bien fortifiée par la nature, elle était entourée de murailles; elle ne manquait pas non plus de vivres, et elle s'était toujours conduite vaillamment. Abou Oubeideh Djarrakh campa près d'Indji. On combattit durant plusieurs jours; mais il ne put prendre cette ville. Déjà il songeait à se retirer à cause du manque de vivres, lorsque *Sevadou Ibrahim Ghaze*, fils *d'Abdoulleh echchabi*, encouragea les Arabes; et ceux-ci, placés derrière leurs chariots qui leur servaient de remparts attaquèrent Indji. On réunit deux mille chariots, et les guerriers de l'islam, les ayant fait avancer, s'en servirent pour emporter la ville d'assaut. Le gouverneur d'Indji prit la fuite et se retira dans la fortresse de *Narin kalah*. On combattit jusqu'au soir; et quand la

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nuit fut venue, plusieurs personnages considérables s'échappèrent, avec leurs serviteurs, dans la fortresse de Kieïvân qui était située entre *Indji* et *Balkh* (l'ancien Endery, sur le Koï-sou). Le lendemain, les Arabes forcèrent aussi *Narin-kalah*. Les habitans d'Indji furent convertis à l'islam et furent faits musulmans. Ceux qui ne voulurent pas embrasser la foi, furent passés au fil de l'épée. Dans cette occasion, *Aghouki-Châghin* fut fait prisonnier. Cela arriva l'an 114 de l'hégire (732 de J. C.), le dimanche du mois de *Ra'bi-ul-evvel*. Après cette conquête les guerriers de l'islam retournèrent dans leur pays. (Nouveau Journal Asiatique Tome III. p. 453 — 458.)

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE FOURTH.

Remark 1. page 63.

This part of the Derbend-nâmed contains the account of the expedition of *Djerrâh*, the son of *Abdul-lah*, against the Khazars, of his victory, and of his return with spoils and plunder.

Comparing the narration of our author, which is almost unvaried in all the versions I possess, with the account given on this subject by Teberi, we find, that the author of the Derbend-nâmeh has mentioned, in superfluous detail, only the *first* expedition of Djerrâh, which began in 103 of the Hijret, or 722 A. D., and continued till the year 105, i. e. till the time of Yezid's death, but has not made any mention at all of that of the second war, which was renewed in consequence of the order of *Hishâm*, the successor of *Yezid*, and in which *Djerrâh was killed:* perhaps he avoided the subject because the war was an unfortunate one, in which the Musulmans were wholly defeated and their leader lost his life.

However the epoch to which the MSS. of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris so distinctly attribute the end of the expedition undertaken by Djerrâh, (the year 114 of the Hijret) proves, on the contrary, that the author of the Derbend-nâmeh did not take upon himself the trouble of entering into any chronological arrangement of events, or of placing the true facts, of which he gives mere hints, in systematical order, and that, he confused all he knew about the subject, exaggerated some parts, omitted others and confounded the names of individuals.

Teberi gives us a pretty good account of all, though with some geographical mistakes which, instead of being elucidated, are still more confused by Mir-khond (see روضة الصفا T. III. under the title خبرقتل جرّاح درترکستان). I shall here make a very short extract from

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the account of Teberi, which will serve the reader as an illustration to the narratives of the Derbend-nâmeh.

« After the fall of the house of *Beni-Muhleb* (see Part III. rem. 11.) which happened in the beginning of the reign of Yezid the son of Abdul-Melik, the Khalif bestowed the dominion of *Basra*, *Kûfeh* and *Khurâsân* on Muslimeh, his brother; the dominion of *Maveraunnahr* he gave to the care of *Sa'id* the son of Amr سعید بن عمرو [a]. At that time *Sa'id* passed over the river *Balkh* and arrived at *Bukhârâ;* and after this Djerrâh directed his way through *Armenia* [b] in order to go to war against the infidels of the Khazars. »

« They being informed of the arrival of Djerrah in Armenia took to flight. Djerrâh followed them; he came to *Rûdbar* رودبار and thence to *Babul-abwâb* where he could not find them; he then proceeded to نهروان *Nehrevân* [c] where he met the son of the Khagkan at the head of 40,000 brave warriors. After many battles the Musulmans subdued the infidels and made peace with them. Djerrâh then passed to *Bulkhar* and took possession of it. The king of *Bulkhar*, having lost his kingdom, fled for refuge to *Samarkand;* but afterwards was again restored. About this time there came information of Yezid's death. »

« Djerrâh received a letter from *Htsham*, in which he encouraged him to continue the war with the infidels, (it was some years after the first expedition, namely 111—112 of the Hijret, when Djerrâh was made viceroy of Aderbidjân, of which nothing is said in my MS. of Teberi.) therefore he passed to *Bed'a* بدع (Berd'a بردع?), then to ورغان *Verghan* (this must not be mistaken for فرغانه *Ferghaneh.*) and then to اردبیل. The sovereign of the Khazars solicited the aid of the Emperor of China (Mir-khond says, that the king of *Khoi* and *Selmâs*, being aware of the expedition of Djerrâh, sent ambassadors to the Khagkan and to the nobility of the *Turks* to ask for aid.), who dispatched an army of three hundred thousand men to *Vergkan*. The two armies met; but the number of Musulmans being far less in comparison, they were totally defeated, and Djerrâh with the Prince *Merdan-shâh* مردانشاه who had just

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[a] Most of the European Orientalists read this name *Amru*, but it is contrary to the orthoepy of the East. The mistake arises from the orthography of the word عمرو in which the figure عمر in case of wanting its respective vowel-signs, receives a redundant و merely to distinguish it from *Omar*. Therefore the figure عمر without an additional و is always read *Omar*, and with a و *Amr*, but when it has its respective vowel-signs the و is never added, thus عمر *Omar* and عمر *Amr*.

[b] In the MS. it is ارشیدن which I read ارمنیدن; it may be read also ارسدن i. e. from or over the river *Aras*.

[c] I cannot make out what place is meant by this name. Tchelebi calls it *Nahrivân*, near which he says took place a brilliant battle between Djerrâh and the Khaghan of the Turks in 104; but neither he nor any other historian points out the situation of the spot. From the words of Teberi I understand that it must have been situated beyond Derbend, since he says: Djerrâh went from Babul-abwab to Nahrevan, then he passed to the fortress of *Hasin* حصین then to *Yerghi* یرغو and thence to *Bulkhar*. (See this Part, rem. 4 & 18.)

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been converted to the religion of Islam, fell on the heaps of slaughtered infidels. Out of 25 thousand Musulmans, there only escaped one hundred, who brought the information to the Khalif.»

«After a council held in the court of the Khalif, *Sa'id* was chosen to undertake an expedition, and to avenge the blood of Djerrâh. This leader, having received the mandate of Hisham, departed with thirty thousand warriors and soon arrived in Aderbidjan, in some parts of which he encountered the enemy, whom he slaughtered and enslaved their wives and children. Sa'id proceeded with his army; every where he met with the desired success, till at last he rescued the family of Djerrâh which was in captivity in the hands of the enemy, and buried with pomp the head of Djerrâh which had been cut off and fastened to a wall on the field of battle. Twenty thousand men more were now united to Sa'id's army. These brave warriors soon spread terror amongst the enemy; and though the Khaghan, at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, fiercely attacked the Musulmans, it only served to his shame and disgrace; for scarcely could he escape from falling personally into the hands of the Musulman partisans. (Mir-khond says, that the leader was the Khaghan's *son*, whose name was *Fat'h*.) After the complete defeat of the enemy, the Musulmans reposed in *Bakhû* and divided amongst themselves the spoil and plunder which they had taken during the expedition. These were so immensely great, that every one of the fifty thousand men received a thousand and seven pieces of money (Mir-khond says, that Sa'id's army consisted of forty thousand men, and that each received 100 drachms of gold, besides horses, asses, camels &c.).

«*Sa'id*, having conquered the Khazars, reposed himself in the *Port of Shirwân*, where he waited the new orders of his sovereign. At this time he received an order that the government of Aderbidjan was delivered to the care of Muslimeh, the brother of the Khalif, who soon arrived at Shirwan and from thence proceeded to Derbend.» (With this expedition of Muslimeh begins the fifth part of our work).

By this sketch from Teberi we may distinctly perceive, that the author of the Derbend-nâmeh (if the year 114 referred to in the MSS. of St. Petersburg, Berlin and Paris and which is indeed justly calculated [d], really belong to him) meant by the expedition of Djerrâh, descri-

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[d] Though I cannot find in other historical works which I possess, any *definite* epoch for the end of the expedition of Sa'id, yet, to judge by the following circumstances, we see that the calculation is just, or at least nearly so: 1) Katib-tchelebi in his chronology تقويم التواريخ places Djerrâh's death in the year 112 of the *Hijret*, although he speaks of a battle named *Tin* طين between the Khazars and Muslimeh in the year 110 at Derbend, of which we do not find anything in Teberi or other authors in my possession; and though he does not speak of any expedition of Muslimeh against the Khazars *after* the death of Djerrâh. 2) The same author speaks of *Mervân* as being the viceroy of Aderbidjan in 114. 3) Teberi says, that *Mervân*, the son of *Muhammed*, was the lieutenant of Muslimeh when he returned to Syria *after* his expedition and 4) Mir-khond, who for the most part arranges his narrations in chronological order, having finished his short hints on Djerrah's death, Said's expedition, and Muslimeh's arrival at Derbend, begins another chapter on the governors of Khurâsân and says, that in 116 the Khalif delivered the dominion of Khurâsan to *Djendib*: consequently the expedition of Muslimeh must have preceded this event, about six months or one year. Besides, all the copies of the Derbend-nâmeh, that I possess, agree in attributing Muslimeh's expedition to Derbend to the year 115 of the *Hijret*.

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bed in this part of his work, both the expedition of this leader and that of Sa'id the son of Amr; but he omitted the death of Djerrâh or mistook him for Sa'id.

Remark 2. page 63.

This place of the Derbend-nâmeh differs in all the three copies in my hands. Klaproth's translation says, that *Abd-oul-alla* (or rather *Abdùllah*) *Bahili*, the governor of Armenia in 103, was replaced by *Abdullah*, the son of *H'hekim*, who dispatched Djerrah with 6000 men against the infidels &c. In the MS. of St. Petersburg it is asserted that: یوز اوچنده عبد العزیز باهلی دنیادن جنّته رحلت ایتدکده عبد الله حاکمی (حکمی) اوغلی ایله عبد العزیز باهلی ننك یرینه حاکم کوندردی i. e. » In the year 103 of the Hijret Abdul-Aziz-Baheli (who was the governor of Armenia, or according to our MS., that of *Gandjeh* and *Shirwân*), having left this world for Paradise, (the Khalif) appointed *Abdullah Hakim* (*Hekemi*) with his son, instead of Abdul-Aziz Bahili, &c. The account in the MS. of St. Petersburg is the more satisfactory, because its assertion as well as that of our MS. is, that Muslimeh had bestowed Armenia before on Abdul-Aziz: consequently *Abdullah* Hekemi *must* have been placed in Armenia instead of *Abdul-Aziz*.

In all the copies of the Derbend-nâmeh, Djerrâh is surnamed ابوعبیده *Abû-Ubeideh*, but this is a fault. Teberi calls him the son of *Abdullah* which may justify the assertion in the St. Petersburg MS. in one place which says; «they sent *Abdullah with his son*, instead of Abdul-Aziz». The same Djerrâh, in Hajé Khalifeh, is called حکمی *Hekemi*, which better illustrates the idea. Our author has apparently confounded this Djerrâh with one of the same surname, called ابوعبیده who was the successor of *Khâlid* in the viceroyalty of Syria at the time of the second Khalif.

Remark 3. page 63.

Both in Klaproth's translation and in the Petersburg MS. we here find پاشنك *Pâshenk* or *Pâshenek* as the name of the son of the Khagkan; but in our MS. in some places we have پاشه *Pâsheh* and in others شهزاده پاشه *the Royal Prince Pâsheh*. In Teberi he is named نارجی *Narji* and نارجیل *Narjil*, but in Mir-khond, as we have already observed, he is called فغ *Fet'h*. Concerning the Emperor of China being engaged in war against the Arabs &c., see Part II. Remark 5.

Remark 4. page 63.

In Klaproth's translation it is stated, that the son of the Khagkan came into the *vicinity* of « *Kaïeh-kend* », but in the St. Petersburg MS. we find, that he arrived at the fortress of *Hesin* حصین which was *near* Gkayeh-kend. In the same MS. in another place, Hesin is also said to have been a fortress near Gkayeh-kend *on the top of a mountain*, and that its ruins were to

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be seen in the time of the author: قلعه حصین ده که غایه کندی یاننده طاغ باشنده نشانه سی معلوم در
In the same place, in Klaproth's translation, we find *Hiszn* حیضن which is taken *for* Gkayeh-kend itself. This destroys the supposition of Klaproth, which we had occasion to observe regarding the identity of Gkayeh-kend with the fortress of *Jettin-Djinaber* (See Part I. Rem. 27. and Part II, Remkrs 12.). — Teberi also makes mention of a fortress bearing the name of حصین *near* which Djerrâh encountered *Narjil, the son* of the Khaghan, and which was situated near the fortress of *Yerghou* برغو.[e] But in our MS. of the Derbend-nâmeh we do not find any name like حصین, حصن or حیضن neither do I know any fortification or place in Daghistan which to this day might bear a similar name. Whether the word حصن *Hisn*, meaning in the Arabic *a fortress*, might become a proper name for *Gkayeh-kend* or any other fortification near it, just as the name *Gkayeh-kend* (as we have mentioned above Part I. Rem. 27.) might be applied, by its signification (mount-burgh), to any town or place situated in the mountains; or حصین of the eastern Geographers might be a corruption of *Oszin* (now *Oszin-kent*) a village *not far* indeed from *Gkayé-kend* — we cannot affirm. In D'Ohsson's des peuples du Caucase we find حصین and حصلین See there p. 57.

Remark 5. page 63.

In Klaproth's translation and in the St. Petersburg MS. we find لزکی بکلری or the Princes of the *Lezghtes*, which makes no difference whatever.

Remark 6. page 64. سباس

In the MS. of Berlin we find بووکی سباس which the learned translator otherwise reads *Bokor - Sabas*. In the MS. of St. Petersburg there stands لرتینش سپاس اوغلی *Artinsh*, the son of *Sapás*. In our copy we have سیانی *Saiati*. — As to the MS. of Berlin, I should rather think that the word بووکی which the translator imagines to be a proper name, must be used instead of بیوکی which means *the chief of* (referring the ی to the preceeding لزکی or لزکی بکلری).

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[e] I am disposed to think that it was Tarkhou ترخو of this day. The figure برغو by changing the place of the two dots which we find under the initial letter ب i. e. by placing them above it, will be read *Terghou*, which I suppose to be the Tarkhou of the present time. In *Ibni-a'asam* we find a town to the north of Derbend, in Khazaria, under the name of برغوا which may be the same. But as we are told that the *Tarkhou*, of the present day, in ancient times was named Semender (See Part I. Rem. 14.) and since we do not know when the name *Tarkhou* became known in the east, we cannot affirm our conjecture. In D'Ohsson we read برغوفا and برغر. — See *des peuples du Caucase* p. 57.

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We have the same thing in our MS. سیاتی ادلولزکی لرنك بیوکی رئیسی ابدی in which either a conjunction و must be considered as between بیوکی and رئیسی or rather the pronoun ی must be thrown off from the first, as we have adopted in our reading. But as to the name of the chief, the accordance of the two MSS. (i. e. those of St. Petersburg and Berlin) inclines me to attribute an error to our version and to follow the reading of Klaproth; the more so that I could meet with no similar name (سیاتی), of a Lezghine Prince of that period, in any work in my possession.

Remark 7. page 64.

See above, Rem. 3. to this fourth Part. — The same assertion we find in the MS. of St. Petersburg, but Klaproth's translation says, that the chief of the Lezghies gave information to the Khazars, which makes no difference at all.

Remark 8. page 64.

In the MS. of St Petersburg we find some additons; it states that: (read جارچاغوردی (چاغورتدی

که اوچ کون بویرده دورم ایلغاری برطرف ایتدم هرکشی اوچ کونلك آذوقه نون فکرینی کورسون اول کون اغشام نمازندن صنکره نقاره لرچالندی جارچی لرچاغوردیلرکیم بو کیجه ایلغار ایدرم لشکرحاضر اولسون

« Djerrâh ordered a proclamation saying: « I will remain here three days, and have given up the intention of making any expedition, therefore let every man think of providing himself for three days ». The same evening, after the *Namâz* drums were beaten, the *Djarchis*[f] proclaimed the will of Djerrâh, saymg: « This night I will move, therefore let the troops be in readiness, » — This addition, though intended to express a military stratagem which might serve to deceive the enemy, who had just been secretly informed of Djerrah's intention, and which may be explained by a hint in another part of both the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg (see the following Rem. 17.), — I rather attribute to a copyist than to the author himself; because it is more probable that Djerrâh, after having heard of the treachery of Sabas, *immediately*, and without having recourse to any stratagem of the kind, which in reality could serve to no purpose at that time, made arrangements to move on with his army and attack the enemy by assault, as suddenly as possible.

This part of the St Petersburg MS. is in general more copious than that of Berlin and than ours, and in some respects it differs from them both, to the extent even of contradicting its

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[f] This word جارچی means *proclaimer*. Thus were called the officers who proclaimed, sometimes with trumpets, the commands of the Khans among their subjects or to their troops. The word جار or یار in ancient Turkish signifies *the command* or *the order*, from which we have یرلیق or یرلیغ (یارلیغ — یارلیق) *a mandate, a Royal patent, a charter.*

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own assertions. For instance, it is there said, that the number of troops led by Djerrâh, amounted to twelve thousand brave warriors, whereas a little before it is said, in all the three copies, that Djerrâh had in this expedition only 6000 men, and there is no mention made any where of that number's being augmented by any other succour. In our MS. there is no repetition of the number 6000 once mentioned, as we find it in Klaproth's translations. — Moreover, in our copy it is said that the warriors crossed over the *Rubâs*, on the other side of which they had encamped; we do not find this in any of the other versions.

Remark 9. page 64.

1) In our MS. دربندنك دروازه سندن كيروب قرخلر قاپودن چغوب اوايين باغنده دوشوب. In that of the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg دربنده كلديلر چوبين قپوسندن كچوب اب عينه يتديلر &c. « They came to Derbend, and having passed through the gates of *Tchoubin*, reached *Abi-'ain*.» Klaproth's translation being in this place manifestly erroneous, I cannot form a true idea of the text of the original Berlin MS. — He says: « la porte de *Tchoubin* fut *brisée*, et il arriva jusqu'aux eaux du *Tchekhoub;* » the mistake must be in this last word چغوب which is a Past Participle or a gerund of the verb چيقمق *to go out*, and which in the northern Aderbijân is pronounced *Tchtckhoub* or *Tchtkhib*, and which Klaproth has mistaken for a proper name. — Although we have not in our MS. the word چوبين which we find both in Klaproth's translation and in the MS. of St. Petersburg, nevertheless its account is more satisfactory, only excepting the vague mention of the gates through which Djerrâh *entered* Derbend, and which suggests the omission of a word, (most probably چوبين) before دروازه سندن. In order to avoid this defect, I put in my translation the word *southern* in parenthesis, which will answer perfectly to the direction which Djerrâh might have chosen, after having crossed the Rubâs, in order to enter Derbend. Besides, our MS. says, that Djerrâh passed Derbend through the gates named *Gktrkhlar*, i. e. through the middle gates in the northern wall of Derbend, near the sepulchre of the saints (see Part II. Rem. 11), from which these gates have taken the name.

2) The gardens of *Avain* are situated to the north of Derbend. The word *Avain* is a corruption of the Persian اب عين *Abi-'ain*, (as we find it unchanged in the St. Petersburg MS.) which means *pure water*, or *a spring*. It is the name of a set of springs, famous for their pure and healthy water — about two English miles to the north, or rather north-west of Derbend. The gardens, that take their name from these springs, are situated on the east side of the rocks from which the springs have their rise.

Remark 10. page 64.

1) In the other copies we read *Gkattagk*, which makes no difference whatever. (see rem. 31. to Part I.) — 2) In the MS. of St. Petersburg the number of warriors (2000) is erroneously augmented to 12 thousand. — 3) Klaproth's translation says, that Djerrâh ordered the capture of a certain *Tchakandjt Aghoukt chaghtn* چاقنجى اغوكى شاغين and all his goods to be taken possession of, because he was an enemy, as powerful as the son of the Khaghân! In our MS. there is no such thing: and from what we find in the MS. of St. Petersburg we doubt the

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fidelity of Klaproth's translation, who perhaps might have been misled by some orthographical error, or some other defect in the text of the original Berlin MS. — The MS. of St. Petersburg says: [اون] ایکی مینك ار صاغ بولك سرد ارینه قوشوب قیطاقون (قیطاغك) قتل وغارتی ایچون کوندردی ویبوردی اوغول واوشاقین (اوشاغین) اسیرایدوب قتل وغارت ایلسه لر (ایلیه لر) امّاکون چغنجه کله سوز (کله سنکز) آننك ایچون (که) خاقان اوغلی کیمی دشمن قارشومزده در

i. e. (*Djerrâh*) « sent twelve (two?) thousand warriors under the command of the chief of the right division (or wing) for the purpose of ravaging and plundering the *Gkaitaghs;* he ordered their children to be captured, *and to lay waste* (their country) *with slaughter and pillage;* but (said he) you must return before sunrise, *for we are* (yet) *to encounter an enemy like the son of the Khaghan.* » — In this reading we find something about the ravage, pillage and captivity of the enemy, and even the expression « *an enemy as powerful as the son of the Khaghan* » — that accords with Klaproth's translation in words, but in quite a different sense. In order to prove that both passages of the MS. of St. Petersburg and Berlin are one and the same, we may read the چاقنجی of Klaproth چقنجه or چاقنجه which in our MS. and in that of St. Petersburg is چغنجه and take his اغوکی شاغین for اوغول اوشاغین which means *their children;* now if we put these words in their proper places, for example ویبوردی که کون چقنجه اوغول اوشاغین اسیرایدوب کله سزاننك ایچون کم اول خاقان اوغلی کبی دشمن قارشومزده وار, we shall then have a reading parallel to that of the St. Petersburg MS., and the error of Klaproth will be obvious. Were it in my power to consult the original MS. of Berlin, I have little doubt that my supposition would prove true and my reading of this place, very nearly so as it is in that MS., excepting perhaps some orthographical errors which I suspect in that version. We see the same fault concerning اغوکی شاغین repeated by Klaproth in another place, in his translation (see this part Rem. 26.) which more fully justifies our opinion.

In our MS. all this is expressed very shortly and distinctly; but nothing is said about *encountering a great enemy like the son of the Khaghan.*

Remark 11. page 64. برسی

In the MS. of Berlin it is erroneously written برسین which Klaproth corrects and says: Aujourd'hui *Erst* dans le Thabasarân, à la droite de Derbâkh. The *Yerst* of the present day is situated in the lower Tabasarân in the Mehal of Tat.

Remark 12. page 64. دووك

In the MS. of Berlin دیبکی and in that of St. Petersburg دیبك. — Klaproth places it: « Tout à fait dans le haut des montagnes, dans le Kara-Kaitak et sur la frontière du Thabasarân à la droite du Darbâkh. » *Duvek* is rather situated on the N. W. frontier of the lower Tabasaran, on the right bank of the *Darvágk-tchây*, almost half-way between *Kubetchi* and Derbend.

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Remark 13. page 64. زیل

Zeil is a little village which now belongs to the Mehal of *Tat*, in the lower Tabasarân.

Remark 14. page 64. دروق — کودوشن

In the MS. of Berlin we read درباخ; it is a village situated on the right bank of a small river of the same name, about 3 *farsakhs* from Derbend (see Part II. Rem. 6). This village sarân, as well as the river, are famous in the modern history of Derbend. Behween the years 1755 and 1775, while *Fat'h-Ali-Khan* established himself in the provinces of *Gkubbeh* and Derbend; *Muhammed-Sa'id-Khan* محمد سعید خان with his brother *Agkasi-Khan* اقاسی خان reigned in Shirwân: *Khas-Pulad-Shamkhál* خاص پولادشمخال in the Province of *Tarkhu; Amir Hamzeh-Usmi* امیرحمزه اوسمی in *Gkattagk*, and نوصال خان *Nowsal-Khan* in Avâr. In consequence of a war between *Fat'h-Ali-Khan* فتحعلی خان and the Khans of Shirwân, Nowsal, who was a secret enemy to Fat'h-Ali-Khan, and who had during the war, sent a part of his army to the aid of Shirwân — was treacherously murdered, by order of Fat'h-Ali-Khan. Although the latter was now successful in this war, and invaded all Shirwân, yet the murder of Nowsal soon moved the law of vengeance, so highly honoured in the country, and excited the unextinguishable wrath of his nephews, the sons of Amir-Hamzeh (who had married the sister of Nowsal). Notwithstanding the relationship which also existed between these and Fat'h-Ali-Khan (who had married their aunt, the sister of their father), they persuaded their father to declare war against his brother-in-law, and to go with an immense army to invade his dominions. Amir-Hamzeh, in consequence, directed his army towards the province of Gkubbeh, leaving Derbend, where his sister, the wife of Fat'h-Ali-Khan resided at that time. The campaign was opened at a place named *Gow-dashen* کوَدوشن and the battle was so furious, that thousands fell on both sides in the course of a few hours. At last the victory declared itself on the side of Amir-Hamzeh, and Fat'h-Ali-Khan's army was put to flight. In consequence of this defeat, many of the inhabitants of Gkubbeh and Derbend, who were attached to their Khan, in order to avoid the destruction which menaced them, sought safety in flight with their wives and children in different directions, and many families of Derbend chose the way of Tabasaran and wandered along the banks of the river *Darvagk*, near the village of the same name; whilst Amir-Hemzeh, having laid waste all the Province of Gkubbeh, directed his course towards Derbend across the rivers *Samûr* and Rubâs. But circumstances soon changed. Vengeance once satisfied, peace and amity began to be again reestablished through the intercession of the wife of Fat'h-Ali-Khan between the two brothers-in-law. Tidings were now sent to the poor *wanderers of Darvagk*, who after 13 days miserable existence, were happy to return to their native town.

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Remark 15. page 64. ميدى

Another little village in the Mehâl of *Tat*, situated on the S. W. of Derbend. Klaproth erroneously places it to *the east* of that fortress.

Remark 16. page 64. كروخ

It must be *Kurakh*, one of the villages of the Mehal of *Eteg* in the lower Tabasaran. In the MS. of Berlin we find قيخ which Klaproth reads *Kimikh* without stating its situation. — Many of these names are wanting in the MS. of St. Petersburg, where it is said very shortly ديبك ويرسى وطبسران ولايتلرينى « *Dibek*, *Yersi*, and the dominion of Tabasarân. »

Remark 17. page 64.

Concerning the quantity of plunder and its distribution amongst the soldiers, we find little in the MSS. of St Petersburg and Berlin; but in both of them we read some words in this place which are not to be found in ours. In Klaproth's translation we see that « The *Lezghies*, being informed of these entreprizes, immediately informed the son of the Khaghan, saying: Abu-Obeida (or Djerrâh) has deceived us and has now occupied *Ouseireh* on a rapid march; it is therefore necessary to use much prudence. » — In the MS. of St. Petersburg we read ارتينش بو اشلردن خبردار اولوب خاقانه جاسوس كوندردى ابوعبيده الدادى حالا اوستنكا ايلغار ايدوب كلدى غافل اولميه سن « *Artinsh*, being informed of these things, sent a spy to the Khaghan, (saying) Abu-Obeideh (Djerrâh) has deceived (us); he is now on a rapid expedition against thee; do not be incautious! » — Both readings certainly are identic in all respects; except only in the MS. of Berlin we find the word اوسيره, which Klaproth mistakes for the proper name of a place. No doubt it is a corruption of اوستنكزه which may, though incorrectly, be written as it is pronounced اوستنزه i. e. *upon you*, in which case the translation will be: « *Now he is on a rapid march against you.* — In such a case there remains no difference between the two accounts.

This little addition would answer to no purpose in our MS. nor is it of any in the MS. of Berlin; but in that of St. Petersburg, at least, it corresponds to the supposed military stratagem that has been before related there: a) that Djerràh after having heard of the treachery of Artinsh issued a proclamation, that *he had changed his intention of going farther*, and that his will was to remain on the banks of the Rubâs for three days: b) that he then *unexpectedly directed* his way by night towards Derbend, till he arrived at *Avain* &c. » — Since there is nothing mentioned in the MS. of Berlin and in ours, concerning this military stratagem of Djerrâh (which we attribute to some of the first copiers of the Derbend-nâmeh rather than to the author himself, see Rem. 8. to this Part) the passage must also be regarded as redundant in this place, even so much so as to perplex the sense.

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Remark 18. page 65.

In Klaproth's translation it is stated that he entered *the fortress*, which the translator, in a note to this place, thinks to be that of *Indji*; but this is an error, because we are told, a little before, that Pashenk was in the vicinity of *Gkayeh-kend*, therefore no other place but this latter could be meant here by *the fortress*. In the MS. of St. Petersburg we find a slight and apparent difference: it is said there that: خاقان اوغلی حصین قلعیه کیروب دوردی ابوعبیده[a] قالان لشکری ایله دروازق صو ینه یتدکده پاشنك (طاغمدن ؟) قورخوب حصندن چیقوب لشکر ایله [ابوعبیده] جراح ایله قرشولغنده (قرشولنده ؟) الخ «The son of the Khaghan entered into the fortress of *Hesin* and remained there; but when Abou-Obeideh (i. e. Djerrah) with the rest of his army (i. e. the four thousand men, sent to assault *Gkattagh* and Tabasaran, being supposed not to have yet returned) reached the river Darvagh, Pâshenk was afraid, (here a word follows which I cannot make out)[b], left Hesin and with his army encountered Djerrâh &c.». — In Teberi we find also that Djerrâh passed from Nehrevan to Hesin &c. see this Part, Rem. 1. and Appendix to this work for خبر غزای خوارج ارمنیه. — If we believe the identity of *Hesin* with *Gkayeh-kend* (see Rem. 4 to this Part,) then the obscurity will be totally removed.

Remark 19. page 65.

In the MS. of St. Petersburg we read the following, which illustrates the translation of this place in Klaproth: it is the continuation of the quotation laid before the reader in the preceding remark: ایکی جانبدن نقاره لر چالندی عبیده آندن انوب قوانیله (؟) چکوب مندی لشکرینه دیدی ای شام اهلی بلونکه (بلنك که) اکریوندن قاچارسوز (قاچارسنکز) ولاینوزه (ولایتنکزه) صاغ وسلامت کتمیه سز هان میدان ارنلری کیمی صولشون (صواشنك) اولسوز (اولسنکز) شهید اولورسیز (اولورسز) بوفنا دنیا [یه] هیچ کسیه وفاقیلمدی وهیچ کسه باقی دکلدر هان اخرت ایچون چالشه سز دیو استمالت ویردی ابوعبیده بو وعظده ایکن صاغ بولوك سرداری الخ «The drums were beaten on both sides. [*Obeideh*] *Djerrâh* dismounted from his horse, and having taken..... (a word I cannot make out) ascended it. He addressed his army saying: O Syrians! know ye, that if you will betake yourselves to flight, you shall not return in safety to your country[c]. Fight then as heroes of the field! And if you die, you will die the death of martyrs. This fading world has never been constant to any one, and nobody in it is immortal, do you therefore strive for the world to come! — While Abou-Obeid'eh (i. e Djerrâh) was thus admonishing, there came the chief of the right

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[a] We have already noticed that this surname is erroneously applied here to جراح; see this part IV. Rem. 2.

[b] It may be اوطاغمدن «*of blushing*»; i. e. he was afraid lest he should blush for his conduct in shutting up himself in the fortress and not encountering the enemy in the field.

[c] In the original it is an imprecatory expression: O may ye not return then in safety! &c.

division &c.» — Here follows a description of what was taken in plunder by the two chiefs who were sent to Gkaitagh and Tabasaran, differing only very little from that of our MS.

Remark 20, page 65.

The reader on comparing the translation of our text with that of Klaproth, will see, that in our MS. there is a more particular account given of this battle between the Musulmans and the Khazars; we shall here introduce the relation from the MS. of St. Petersburg which is still more copious, and which, in some points, differs from ours: نقاره لر دوکلوب ایکی لشکربربرینه قار شوصفلربغلادیلر مسلمانلردن تکبیراوازی اسمانه یتوروب (یتورلوب) کافرلره حمله قیلدقده کافرلرون (کافرلرنك) یورکلرینه قور (قورقو read) دوشدی لماطوعًا وکرهًا صواشه مشغول اولدیلرکون اورته اولنجه صواش ایتدیلر مسلمانلربربرینه وصیّت ایدوب ودنیانینك فانینك ویرلوکندن (ودنیای فانی ننك دیرلکندن :read thus) اللرینی یوبوب (یووب read) آخ اصلانلرکیمی غیرتنله صواش ایلدقده کافرلشکری دخی قورخسلر(قورخسندیلر؟) داخی حیره وتحمّل قیلوب صواش ایلدیلر غایت ده کوچ لو صواش اولدی کافرلردن ایکرمی (یکرمی read) مینك مرد مبارز جهنّم دارنه داخل اولدی میدان مردارلشکری ایله طولدی غازیلرونك آتلری یوکورمکه میدانده عاجزاولوب میدانینك برباشنده دوروب نغیرلراوروب تکبیرآوازی آسمانه ایردی وکافرلرفریادوفغانلر ایدوب نه صواشه زهره لری یوق ونه قاچمکه امکانلری یوق حیران ایکن خاقان اوغلی قوشون باشنکدن (باشندن؟) فریاد ایدوب دیدی براوغوردن (براوقدر it is a corruption of) منسج قوللریتی قردردم عاقل لرانیتی دکل دیوب کون اورته تمازی وقتنده آرخه چوروب قاچدیلر غازیلر آردنجه قلیج اوردیلراوج کون کافرلری قردیلرکیجه دکوندوز قتل وغارت اتمکدن بوش اولدیلر کافرلرخزان بیراقی کمی صحرا یوزینه توکلدیلر خاقان اوغلی باشنك برنجه قلیج (قاچ؟) قالان کافرایله یوز مینك بلاایله اوزلرین اتجه قلعه (سنه) یتوردیلر الخ

i. e. «The drums were beat, and the two armies arranged their lines opposite each other. The exclamation of Tekbir (or cry of *Allahu-akber* i. e. God is great! see Rem. 8. Part II.) reached heaven from the side of the Musulmans. They attacked the infidels who were overwhelmed with fright. Yet willing or unwilling, they fought. The battle continued till midday. The Musulmans made their wills to each other[k], washed their hands over the life[l] of this fading world

[k] Every Musulman's duty, by the law of the Koran is, that before his death, while capable of judging and understanding, he make his will and admonish his family and friends, recommanding them to do good and to avoid evil. The inhabitants of a town, or the members of a society or of a community, in the time of great and general misfortune, when their lives are in danger, make also their wills to one another and recommend to each other their wives and children &c., especially before a hot battle. Many examples of this we find in the descriptions of the expeditions of the Musulman armies in the times of the first four Khalifs.

[l] The Hebrews washed their hands to testify their innocence, (see Deut. XXI — 6. Ps. 26—6. Math. XXVII—24.)

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and fought with the energy of hungry lions. The army of the unbelievers (though) oppressed still more by terror, continued to suffer and to fight with patience, and there was a very great battle: so that 20,000 infidels descended into hell! The field was covered with corpses, so that the horses of the Mosulman warriors could no longer manoeuvre in it. They stood at one end of the field and lifted up to heaven the exclamations of *Tekbir*, accompanied with trumpets; whilst the infidels, on the opposite side, crying and lamenting, had neither courage to fight nor possibility to fly; (so that) they were filled with consternation. Now the son of the Khaghân cried out from the front of the army and said: I have lost too many crowds of the servants of Christ[m]. This is not the act of wise men! (So saying) at the time of midday worship, they turned their back and betook themselves to flight. The warriors followed them, cutting them down with the sword for three days, and doing nothing but slaughtering the infidels and plundering them day and night. The unbelievers were scattered on the field like the leaves of autumn. Pâschenk, the son of the Khaghan, with a small number of the remaining infidels, after a hundred thousand difficulties, escaped and reached the fortress of *Indji*».

The MS. of St. Petersburg in this manner continues to give unnecessary augmentations, which we have reason to attribute to some copyist and not to the author of the Derbend-nâmeh. That part of the detail which we have just related, being a mere exaggeration of what we find in our MS., would only prove the partiality of the zealous amplifying narrator; but the remainder of the passage is downright *nonsense*, which accuses him of carelessness and want of critical discernment. For instance, it is there continued: پاشنك (پاشنكك) بريغشى بكى
انجه ده اولور ايدى آندن آذوقه آلوب اهرانه كيتدى كه چوق قاقى (قانى) دشمن استوزه (استنكزه) كلور ديوب
فكرنكزى ايلوز (ايلنكز) كه بزدن سزه ياردم يوقدر بودشمن لردن اوزين قورتاران مردانه ايكت كركدر
اننك ايچون لشكرمده اولان بهادرلرم (بهادرلرمى) قرديلر اوزوم برفلاكت لق ايله قورتوردم كوره سز
آندن بلنجه كيتديلر .... پاشنك اهرانه كلنده سرداري اولان كلباخ (كلباخه) و بلنج حاكميه اندرى
(بلخ حاكمى اندريه ؟) وسرخاب قلعه سنه (قلعه سى ؟) كه شمدى قزل ياردبرلر اننك حاكمى سرخاب (سرخابه ؟)
وكيجه (وكيجى or كوچك) ماجار كه جوم لى دور آننك حاكمينه بويوردى كه اهران حاكمى كلباخنك اميرنه
لطاعت ايدوب الخ (امرنه ؟) i. e. « Pashenk or Pashenek had a clever governor in *Indjeh*; from him he obtained provisions, and proceeded on towards *Ihrân*, saying (probably to the governor of *Injeh*); a severe enemy is coming upon you, think of yourselves, for you will receive no assistance from us; he must be a valiant warrior, who can escape from these enemies; and this is the reason they have cut down the brave warriors that were in my army: you see that I have saved myself with difficulty! From thence they (the son of the Khagkan with the remainder of his army?) went to *Balenje*[n]..... — Pashenk, when he arrived in Ihran, ordered that Gulbakh the

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The expression *to wash one's hands over any thing*, amongst the eastern metaphorists of the present day signifies: *to finish with it*, *to bid farewell to*, or *to clear one's self of it*, &c.

[m] This corresponds to, and supports the idea of the eastern writers, that most of the Khazars were Christians: see *Mesalik*, translation of Istakhry for خزر and اتل.

[n] Here we omit some words concerning the identity of the names *Balenje* or *Balkh*, *Anderay*, *Gulbakh*

governor of Ihran, Anderay the governor of Balkh, *Sirkhâb* the governor of the fortress of *Sirkhâb*, which is now called *Gkiztl-Yar* (or *Gkizltar* see Part I. Rem. 20.) and the governor of *Kttcht-Majâr* which is *Jumlou* — that they should be in submission to Gulbakh, the governor of Ihran &c.» — With the exception of these last lines, concerning the arrangements made by the son of the Khagkan (in which we also find a want of logic: for he ordered that the *Governor of Ihran* among others, should be in submission to *the Governor of Ihran;* and which is more concisely expressed in our version) the whole consists of mere augmentations of no use, and even devoid of perfect sense.

Remark 21. page 65.

In our MS. it is وتاتارلرنك حاكمنه but in Klaproth's translation and in the MS. of St. Petersburg we find instead of تاتارلرنك — شهرتاتار *Shehrt-tâtâr*, which by itself, being a compound Persian word, signifies *The Tartar town* and is here employed as the proper name of a town unknown to us. But were the name, according to the construction of the Turkish language, تاتار شهری we might suspect a mistake in our MS. and suppose that the copyist had written لر for شهر which, in fact, in common and careless writing may be taken for one another (thus: ر/ر), unless the three dots be present.

Remark 22. page 65.

The difference which the reader may observe in this part of Klaproth's translation: « *Ensuite Pâshenak regagna Soukraghtt* سوقرغيت *sa résidence*», may arise from some omission in the original MS. of Berlin. — سوقرغيت which he takes for *a proper name* suggests itself to me as سوقراغنه or سوقراغنده which means *towards or on the shores of the river* (Atil, which I take for the omission referred to). In the MS. of St. Petersburg we find اولان عديل اوزتختنه (پای تختی?) سوی قراغينه كتدی « *He went to his residence — the banks of the river Atil* ». — which justifies our opinion. — In the same MS., just *before* this, we find a repitition of what has already been once stated above, (see Part I. Rem. 19.) of Ihran being the residence of *Isfendiar*, the son of *Kishtasp*, which in Klaproth's translation, at the *close* of the subject, is thus expressed: « Isfendiar fils de *Gouchtasb* a été anciennement gouverneur de l'Ihran &c. »

Remark 23. page 66.

In our MS. we have found a fault, which, after consulting the MS. of St. Petersburg and the translation of Klaproth, we have corrected, and placed the omission in a parenthesis. Be-

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and *Ihran* which exactly correspond with Klaproth's translation of the same place. With regard to this we would refer the reader to Rem. 17 & 19, of the first part of this work.

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sides, in the MS. of St. Petersburg it is said, that there was a rampart from the mountain down to the sea محکم باروچکوب طاغدن دریایه سد باغلش لرایدی. —

Remark 24. page 66.

What we here read in Klaproth's translation, respecting the resolution of the Musulmans to retire, and concerning « *Sevadou Ibrahim Ghazi*, the son of *Abdoullah echchabi* » is more particularly and copiously detailed in the MS. of St. Petersburg. It is there said that, when Djerrâh had resolved to leave the siege of *Injeh* the ambition of the Musulmans was roused: From amidst the warriors there came forth *two;* namely *Sevâd* the son of *Abdul-lahi-Ash'asi* (or *Ash'i* اشعی, as we find in the margin of the MS.) and *Ibrahimi-Na'ajt* (or *Nesje'i* [o] as we also find in the margin). Ibrahim cried out, saying: « Brethren! I desire to sell my life unto God and to receive for it Paradise, and let, whoever wishes to give up his life and receive Paradise, accompany me. » Immediately, *a hundred thousand* (!) brave men were gathered together to Ibrahim, and said: « We wish to sell our lives and to receive, in return, Paradise and *Houru-l-'in.* So having resolved, they put in order 12 thousand (!) chariots &c.

NB. The use of chariots for defence in an open field, and also for attacking the enemy, was an ancient military custom, probably universally adopted, in Asia. There were war-chariots, and captains of war-chariots, among the Egyptians more than 3000 years ago; see Exodus XIV — 7. The king of Syria had 32 captains who ruled over his chariots &c. 1 Kings XXII. 31. Nine hundred *chariots of iron* were in the army of Jabin commanded by *Sisera;* Judges IV — 3. The Persian and other heathen kings had a custom of consecrating their chariots to the Sun, which was adopted by Manasseh and Ammon; such chariots of the kings of Judah were destroyed and burnt by Josiah; II Kings XXIII. — 11. — We find many places in the Scripture which speak of these war-chariots, and we refer the reader to Josh. XI — 4. — II Samuel X — 18. — I Chron. XVIII — 4. — I Kings XX — 21, 25. — II Samuel VIII — 4. — I Kings X — 26; and many other places. — Of the construction of these chariots we have no satisfactory description in the Bible, and I have not had any occasion to read about them in any civil history. Dr. Brown says, that: « *chariots of iron were such as had iron scythes fixed to their sides, that when furiously driven, they might mow down whatever stood in the way.* » See *A dictionary of the Holy Bible*, for the word *chariot.* Cruden represents them, *as armed with javelins and scythes in several places, which tore every thing they met with to pieces.* (See *the complete concordance* to the Holy Scripture, for *chariot.*)

In the middle ages the Persians, the Romans, the Arabs and other warlike nations of Asia used some kinds of war-engines or war-vehicles, charged with combustibles, in which *the Naphtha* served as the principal substance. Some very learned orientalists of this day [p] have

[o] One may read it also *Shedj'i* شجعی which means *the valiant.*

[p] See the « Histoire des Mougols de la Perse par Raschid-eldin, publiée, traduite en Français &c. par M. Quatremère ». Paris, Imprimerie Royale; T. I. Seconde Partie, Notes 14 et 98. — Mr. Reinaud also has made very interesting inquiries into this subject following, among other sources, an old Manuscript belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale under the No. 1127, which contains *treatises on the art of fighting on horseback and on the war-engine*, by Nedjm-Eddin, Hassan-Alrammah, who died about the close of the XIII[th] cen

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already communicated to us particular details respecting combustible matters, Naphtha and the war-engines used in the East, as means of attack and military engagements during the middle ages; but in fact we are not well acquainted with the true way of fitting up and using these war Vehicles. My information on these matters-as derived from Muhammedan authors — amounts to mere surmise. In fact I have not found any authentic testimony on the subject, even in *Nadjmud-din's* accounts I do not find the testimony of a single eye witness. There are, indeed, some few hints on the construction of some machines, and, in furnishing these hints, the Author may be stating his own personal knowledge, although he does not say so. The author of the Shah-Nameh, who lived about two hundred and fifty years before Nadjmud-din, Hassan, referred to, also gives us a short description of a war-Vehicle which was constructed by the especial order of *Iskendari-Filipous* (Alexander the Great) during his expedition against *Faurt-Hindi*, particularly for attacking the war-Elephants, which were used in great number by the Indians in the time of war, and against which there was no resistance. This description must be regarded as founded upon the two following circumstances: 1) that the tradition attributing to Alexander the Great the discovery and the usage of combustibles during military engagements was current in the East even at the time of Firdausi; 2) that the idea of the construction and of the use of the war-machines, which were, more or less, brought to perfection during 400 years among the Arabs, who had received the usage most probably from the Greeks in the I^st^ century of the Hidjret, was not strange to the Poet, who, following verbal traditions or perhaps some accounts of those of his friends, who had occasion to witness such war-engines, described it in the account of Alexander's expedition to India, which he thought the most proper place for it. I will put here before our readers Firdousi's description on the subject with a verbal translation [9]. * چنین گفت اکنون پاکیزه رای

که آرد کنون چاره این بجای * نشستند دانش پژوهان بهم * همی چاره جستند ازبیش وکم * یکی انجمن

گرد زا هنگران * هرانکس که بودند بیشان سران * زرومی وازمصری وپارسی * همانا که بودند صد

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tury. Mr. Reinaud's investigations into the subject are published in a separate work under the title of « *Histoire de l'Artillerie* 1re partie: — Du Feu Grégeois des feux de guerre &c. Par M. Reinaud, membre de l'Institut &c., et Mr. Favé, Capitaine d'Artillerie &c. Paris 1845. — We can refer our readers also to Mr Chevreul's learned article on the preceding work published in the *Journal des Savants* 1847, pages 87, 140 and 209. Also read Mr. Quatremères interesting « *Observations sur le feu Gregeois* »; Journal Asiatique, No. 71. Février — Mars 1850. Pag. 214.

9 There are no *two* MSS. of the *Shah-namek* in the world without variations in almost every two couples of verses; therefore I am sure that the readers of this passage, in comparing it with the corresponding part of *any* MS. of that work, will meet with more than ten variations. In my quotation I have followed two Manuscripts: one belonging to the Public Library of St. Petersburg: the other, to the Library of the Imperial University of the same metropolis. The first, though a complete and a very old Manuscript, written in the year 733 of the Hidjret by a certain عبدالرّحمن, is yet full of mistakes and even of orthographical errors; the second though incomplete and a modern version, yet is more correct and of a better arrangement of the chapters. I do not here refer to *all* the differences between the two versions which would require much more space; I have quoted the passage from the both MSS. and exhibited the variations only of the principal points between them. The expressions inserted in *Italics* in our translation, show the points of the variances referred to in the notes to the quotation.

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بارسی[r] * یکی باره ساختند آهنین * سوارش ز آهن ز آهنش زین * میخ وپس درزها دوخته[s] * سوار وتن وباره افروخته * بکردون ببردند بر پیش شاه * درونش پراز نفط وگوگرد وکاه[t] * سکندر بدید آن پسند آمدش * خردمند را سودمند آمدش * بفرمود تا زان ده ودو هزار[u] * ز آهن بکردند اسب وسوار * همه ابرش وخنگ وپور وسیاه * بکردند وبردند پیش سپاه[v] * بکردن سوار ان آهن بران * که با جنگی دلیران * جنگی نماند[w]

[x] — Here I omit 5 distichs[y] which we find in the MS. of the Library of the University and which serve no purpose.

چو اسکندر آمد بنزدیک فور * بدید آن سپاه این سپه را ز دور[z] * خروش آمد وکشت رزم از دوروی * برفتند کردان پرخاشجوی * باسکندر آورد پیلان شتاب * سپاهش زبیم آمده غرق آب[aa] * باسب ونفط آتش اندر زدند * همه لشکر فور سر برزدند * چو آتش بیامد ز نفط سیاه * بجستند پیلان وفور وسپاه * چو پیلان بدیدند آتش کریز * برفتند با لشکر از جای تیز * میان پیلبانان بزخم نبرد * به پس اوریدند پیلان ترد * چو خرطومهاشان باتش گرفت * بماندند از ان پیلبانان شگفت * همه زنده پیلان کردن فراز * بلشکرگه هند رفتند باز * سکندر پی لشکر دگمان * عیناخت برسان باد دمان *

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[r] In the MS. of the Public Library فزون بود مرد از چهل بارسی * the number of the people was above forty times thirty, i. e. more than 1200.

[s] In the MS. of the Library of the University: پس از میخ ان درزها دوختند * Then they sewed up with iron pins (fastened) *those* (?) edges.

[t] In the MS. of the Public Library بکردون همی راند پیش سپاه * درونش بیاکنده نفط سیاه which do not correspond to the verses following after them. See the following note [v].

[u] In the MS. of the Public Library we find: بفرمود از ان نافزون از هزار * He ordered that more than a thousand of it . . .

[v] In the MS. of the Public Library we read: کجا دید ست شا از اهن سپاه in which the first part of the verse must be کجا دیده است شاه: * Where a king has seen an army of iron? * This we find in the MS. of the Library of the University in the number of five distichs which are omitted in the MS. of the Pub. Library, see the following note.

[w] These 5 distichs we did not find in the MS. of the Public Library excepting one only verse (see note [v].)

[x] In the MS. of the Library of the University we read: بدید آن دلیران وپیلان ز دور * He saw from a far those brave men and those elephants. *

[y] This distich we do not find in the MS. of the Public Library.

[z] For this couple of verses we read in the MS. of the Public Library thus: ز لشکر برآمد سراسر خروش * بزخم آوریدند پیلان بجوش

«Thus said the wise (monarch Iskender): who can now find means of surmounting this (difficulty i. e. resisting the war-elephants)? — There sat together the wise men (of the Empire) and gave up themselves, more or less, to the study of discovering a remedy. An assembly of smiths was called in which the most skilful men of the profession were gathered together from among the Greeks, Egyptians and Persians, whose number was even an *hundred times thirty*. These made a horse of iron and a rider of iron whose saddle was likewise made of iron, *They now joined together the chinks with nails and copper* and fitted up the rider, the horse and the body (of the engine); which, being put on wheels, they drove into the *presence of the king*. The inner part of all was filled with *Naphtha, brimstone and straw*. — Iskender saw it and approved it; the wise monarch perceived its advantage; (therefore) he ordered that *twelve thousand* engines should be constructed of iron, even the horses and the riders. All these (represented) pied horses, grey-horses, bay-horses and black horses; which were equipped and put *in front of the army*. — The riders of the vehicles drove on the iron (squadron), and there was none among them but brave, warlike men.

When Iskender approached Faur, and *the enemy perceived this army*, there arose noise from both sides and the battle was commenced. The warlike *Kiirds* advanced. The elephants attacked Iskender, whose army, out of dread, was *bathed in water* (i. e. perspiration). Now they put fire to the horses and the Naphtha: all the army of Faur was amazed. When flames rushed out of the smoking Naphtha, then started the Elephants and Faur and the army. When thus the enemys troops, seeing the elephants in confusion, abruptly took to flight, *the leaders of the elephants strived once more by wounding them with their axes to turn the vehement beasts back* (towards Iskenders army); but as soon as their trunks caught fire the leaders totally lost their power over them: the wild elephants threw themselves with promptitude back into the Indian army and Iskender with the swiftness of a strong wind followed and attacked the troops of the infidels»....

In Aderbijan and Daghistan the use of common *carriages*, called by them *Arabah* (a corruption of the Persian عراده), for *defence* in the field or any open place against the attack of the strong enemy, was kept up till the last century, and many instances of it are preserved in the memory of several old men whom I know. These carriages were joined together around or at the front of the defendants as a fortification, from the centre of, or behind which they fired upon the enemy whilst they themselves remained covered by it. Up to the present day, the caravans travelling in Aderbijan and Daghistan, during the night, when they wish to repose themselves, unharness their horses and arrange their carriages in a circle, putting the fore-part of the one on the hind-part of the other. This circle is called by them *Araba-senghert* (عرابه سنگری or ارابه سنگری) i. e. *fortification* made of *carriages*, answering to the *wagenburg* of this day, and it is intended as a defence against robbers and highwaymen, for travellers. The use of this kind of fortification is said to have been common to the Chinese during their wars[bb]. I shall put before the reader a short description, concerning this subject, given by

[bb] The method of fortification in China in later centuries has become more refined. It was chiefly improved by the Jesuit Missionaries; in this respect father Adam *Schaol*, and after him Father *Verbiest*, rendered the Chinese important services. Read «*Volume de supplément*» to the «*Histoire* générale de la Chine &c. traduite par le feu Père Jos. Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla.» T. XIII. p. 451.

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Hezâr-Fenn: جنکده قاعده لری بودر که اعدایه برمنزل قریب اولدقده عرابه لرینی اطرافنه دوزوب اوکنه برساعتده خندك قازارلر وجنك لری غایت کران در وعسکر اوکنه طوپلرچکوب توفنك لر(ایله) حاضرطوررلر اوّلا طوپلرینی آنارلر بعده آلتی یدّی یوز بیك توفنکه انش ایدرلر وبونلرك انهزامی قوندقلری وکچدکلری زمانده اولورخصم اول زمان هجوم ایدوب عربه لرینی اوك لرینه وپانلرینه (یانلرینه ؟) چکمکه قالمازسه (قویمزسه ؟) ظفربولورلرنکه امراء قلماقدن اسن قبشی نام دلیرالتمش بیك قدرعسکر ایله هجرتك سکز یوز اللی دوردنده خاقان ختای چین جوارك (بین‌جونك ؟) اوزرینه کلوب بر(بو ؟) طریقله بوزدی اسیرایتدی الخ. — « In time of war it is their rule to arrange their chariots (or carriages) around them, when they find the enemy at the distance of a day's journey; and to dig quickly a trench before (the fortification). The battle (in such a position) is exceedingly hard: Having placed the artillery at the front of the army, they prepare their guns; they first discharge their artillery and then they fire, at once, six or seven hundred thousand guns. Their defeat may take place either at the time when they prepare their fortification, or at the time when they leave it. If the enemy, by a speedy attack, prevent them from arranging their carriages around them, then he may defeat them. In the same way, one of the princes of Kalmik, called *Asen-Gkabash*[cc], attacked the army of *Tchin-khar* the Chinese Emperor in 854 of the Hijret, defeated him in this way and took him captive[dd]. » — As to the *moving* of these Arabahs or carriages, I have no other source of information. In our MS. they are said to have been kept in motion until the Musulmans reached the fortress, broke down the gates and entered it. — In the MS. of St. Petersburg we find a particular account of the use of these carriages, though accompanied by useless repetition: عرابه لر دوزدیلر عرابه لرارددنده تخته لردوزوب آننك اردنجه مسلمانلردوروب عرابه لری یرتیوب (یوریتوب) قلعه یه یرش (یورش) ایلدیلر اون ایکی مینك عرابه دوزدیلر اول عرابه لرایله جمله (حمله) ایله اسلام جریسی قلعیه یرش (یورش) ایتدیلرالخ « They arranged the carriages, and behind the carriages they arranged boards. The Musulmans stood behind these, and moving the carriages attacked the fortress. They had placed 12 thousand carriages, and by means of these carriages the Musulmans troops attacked the fortress &c. » — I should suppose that these *Arabahs*, with boards behind them, were intended, in the beginning, to defend the Musulmans from the shot of the enemy in the fortress, and afterwards to serve as engines to break the gates of the fortress and as scaling ladders to ascend the walls.

[cc] He is known in the history of the celestial Empire by the name of *Yesien*, or *Asen*, the Prince of the *Ouirat-Tartars*.

[dd] It was *Yng Tsong*, or, otherwise, *Yin-tzûn*, of the dynasty of *Ming* i. e. *twenty first dynasty*. The name in our quotation may be a corruption of بين جونك as we have put it in parenthesis. The details of this most bloody war the reader may find in Mailla T. X. p. 208 — 211. among the events of the year 1450 which corresponds to 854 of the Hijret.

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Remark 25. page 66. نارین قلعه

Klaproth takes نارین قلعه for a separate fortress, as we have had occasion to remark once before and to prove his mistake. See Part I. Rem. 30. Here we add, that if we agree with Klaproth, then there must have been *two* towns of this name: one the same as *Gkay-kend*, and the other very near *Inji*. In our MS. and in that of St. Petersburg, this name is mentioned in more than two or three places. The MS. of St. Petersburg says: انجی حاکمی نارین قلعه یه کیروب الخ «The governor of *Inji* having *entered* into the citadel, &c.» which agrees with our translation.

Remark 26. page 66.

1) In the MS. of St. Petersburg we read مسلمانلر جمله انجه خلقنی بصوب اسلامه عرضه (عرض) قیلوب مسلمان اولدیلر (ابلدیلر) مسلمانلق قبول ایلمیانی اولدوردیلر واوغول واوشاغین اسیرایلدیلر ودخی انجه قلعه سنی یخوب خراب ایدوب دوردیلر (دوزدیلر؟) «The Musulmans subdued all the people of *Injeh*, and having proposed Islâm to them, converted them to this religion; but who did not embrace Islâm, they slaughtered such and took *their children* (families) into captivity; and they also broke down (and levelled) the fortress of *Injeh*.» This is almost the same with the translation of Klaproth, excepting the last expression which we do not find anywhere. — Klaproth, a second time, mistakes here *Aghouhi-Chaghin* for a proper name. (See above, Rem. 10.)

2) As to the epoch, which the reader will here see marked out in Klaproth's translation, and other circumstances connected with it, we refer him to our Remark 1 to this part and to the description of Teberi, quoted in the appendix under the title of خبرغزاء خولرج ارمنیه. —

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ذکر آمدن مسلمه بدربند و داغستان

تاریخ نبوی صلی الله علیه وسلّم ۱۱۵ اولانده جناب مسلمه بن عبدالملك ایکرمی مین مبارز ایله لوای عزیمتن دربند وداغستان طرفنه اوجالدوب منزل بمنزل قطع مراحل ایدوب وارد دربند اولوب شهرنك خراب اولان برج وحصارین تعمیرایدوب نارین قلعه ده برعظیم عمارت پس (پیس؟) سفلو ولرایدی لونی یقوب عمارتنك یرنده جبّه خانه وصورصات انبارلری ونفط انبارلری تعمیرایلیوب نارین قلعه نی محکم واستوارایدوب تمامی داغستان ولایتلرینك اخراجاتنی جمع ایدوب انبارلره توکوب (توکدی تاکه؟) حاجت وقتنده دربندلهلنه ویاسبانلره تقسیم ایده لر * القصّه دربندلهلنك اکثرین مسلمان ایلیوب مسلمانلری یدّی محلّه یه قراروبردی هرطایفه ایچون برمسجد تعمیر ایلدی ومسجدلرنك ادین هرطایفه

(PART V.)

Description of the expedition of Muslimeh

to

Derbend and Daghistan.

In the year of the Prophet 115, His Highness, Muslimeh the son of Abdul-melik, raised the banners of an expedition and departed with twenty thousand warriors for Derbend and Daghistan. He proceeded on his journey, one stage after another, until he reached Derbend. There he rebuilt all the dilapidated parts of the walls and bastions. In the citadel there was an edifice badly covered [1]; he destroyed it and built in its place an arsenal and store houses for provision and naphtha: he also re-fortified the citadel [2]. He then collected the revenues of all the countries of Daghistân, and filled with them the above mentioned storehouses, in order to distribute them in time of need to the inhabitants of Derbend and its garrison.

Moreover, he converted the greater number of the inhabitants of Derbend to the religion of Islam; establishing them in seven streets; having built for each division a mosque. Every one of these mosques he called by the name of that race of people (which formed

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ننك ادی ایله موسوم ایلدی اوّل مسجد خضری ایکنجی مسجد فلسطین اوچنچی مسجد دمشق دردنجی مسجد خمس (حمص) بشنجی مسجد قیصر التنجی مسجد جزایر (جزیره؟) یدنجی مسجد موصل مونلردن بیوك برمسجد جامع جمعه نمازی قلعه تعمیرایلیوب وشهر ایچون التی دروازه قرار ویردی دموردن ودروازه لره آد قویدی باب المهاجر ایدی جارچی قاپودیللر باب الجهاد قرخلرقاپو دیللر باب الخمیس (الحمص) ینکی قاپو دیللر باب الصغیر (القیصر؟) ترکمان قاپودیللر باب الکتوب (المکتوم؟) بیات قاپو دیللر باب العلقمه نارین قلعه قاپوسی دیللر * جناب مسلمه دربندشهری ننك ایشلرینه انجام ویرندنصکره لوای عزیمتن قوق طرفنه اوجالدوب یورودی قوق خلقی آنون مقابلنه کلوب جنك ومقاتله ایدندنصکره امان طلب ایلیوب مسلمان اولدیلر برمسجدجامع اونلار ایچون قوق شهرنده تعمیرایلیوب شهبال عبد الله عبّاس اوغلنی اونلاره حاکم وسردار ایلدی وبرتغرقاضی اسلام شرایطن اونلاره تعلیم ایلمك ایچون شهبال سردارنك یاننده قویوب لوزی قراقیطاق اوستنه یورودی قیطاق طایفه سی دعوایه مهیّا اولوب

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the inhabitants of the street in which it was built). The first of these, was the mosque of *Khazar;* the second, the mosque of *Palastine;* the third, the mosque of *Damask;* the fourth, the mosque of *Hamas;* the fifth, the mosque of *Gkaisar;* the sixth, the mosque of *Djezáir* (Djezireh?), and the seventh, that of Mûsul [5]. — Besides these, he built a *jami* (or cathedral) [4], larger than all the other mosques, for performing the *nemáz* (or prayers) of *jum'a* [a]. — Moreover, he erected six gates of iron to the town, and gave a proper name to each. (They are) *Babul-Mühájer*, now called *Jartchi-Gkapi; Babul-Jihád* (or the gates of war with the infidels) now called *Gkirkhler-Gkapi; Babul-Hamas*, now *Yenghi-Gkapi* (or the new gates); *Babus-saghir* (*Babu-l-gkaisar?*) [5], now called *Turkman-Gkapi; Babul-mektúb* (*Babu-l-mektúm?*) [6], now called *Bayat-Gkapi* and *Babul-Algkameh* [7], now called *Narin-gkala-gkapisi* (i. e. the gates of the citadel.)

His Highness Muslimeh, having settled the affairs of the city of Derbend, undertook an expedition towards Gkûmûgk. The Gkumugkians encountered him, but after some battles yielded and embraced the religion of Islam. His Highness erected a *Masdjidi-jami'* in the city of Gkûmûgk [8] for the newly converted Mussulmans; appointed *Shehbál*, the son of *Abdullah*, the son of *Abbas*, governor and chief of the country [9] and gave him one *Gkadhi* for communicating to the people the precepts of Islam [10], after which he turned himself towards the Gkara-Gkaitaghs.

The tribes of Gkara-Gkaitágh prepared for war: after many battles which took place

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[a] i. e. Friday. It is likewise called يوم الجماعة the day of Assembly or union. On this day all true believers gather together and offer up their midday prayers in a public assembly under the direction of the *Imâm*.

[b] See Part I. Rem. 33, 34.

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چوخ برلرده مقاتله ایدندنصکره اکثری مسلمان اولماسندن خلاص ومطیع اولدیلر باقی سی کفراوزره قالوب (هلاك اولدیلر؟) امیرحمزه آدلولوز اقوامندن یاننده وارایدی امیرحمزه‌نی قراقیطاقه حاکم قویدی که ایدی قراقیطاق اوسمی سی اوننك سلسله سندن دور * وطبرسران طایفه سننك اکثری یهودوخارج مذهب ایدی اونلاردخی اوّل فرمان بردار اولدیلر چوق خلقن قتل واسیر ایدندنصکره باقی سی مسلمان اولندیلر محمدمعصوم آدلوبریخشی متّقی لوزلشکرنده وارایدی اونی طبسران اهلنه حاکم وایکی نفر قاضی اسلام شریعتن اونلاره تعلیم ایلمکه تعیین ایلیوب قدغن ایلدی که هرکاه بوندنصکره بر سانحهٔ هایله واقع اولا مجموع طبسران معصومنك وقاضی لرنك مصلحت ومشاورتنه عمل ایلسونلر ومعصوم وقاضی لروامیرحمزه وتمامی داغستان خلقی کرجستان‌دن دشت قپچاغه دین شهبال حاکم قموغنك فرمانننه اطاعت ایدوب تابع اولسونلر آیدی شمخال حاکم ترخو او شهبالنك سلسله سندن در * بو سرحدلره انجام ویرندنصکره تو واولر خلقی ننك اوستنه یوریوب اونلاری دخی قلنج ضربیله مسلمان ایلیوب قاضی لرومسجدلر

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in various places, the greater number of the Gkara-Gkaitâgkians sought their safety in obedience and conversion to Islâm, whilst the rest remained in their unbelief (and perished). There was under the command of His Highness, one of his relations named *Amir-Hemzeh;* [11] (this) Amir-Hemzeh His Highness appointed chief over the Gkara-Gkaitâgkians, and from him are descended the *Usmies* (so are called the Princes) of Gkara-Gkaitâgk of the present day.

The greater part of the people of Tabasarân were, in the beginning, *Jews* and infidels. At first they also would not submit; but after his Highness having slaughtered and taken captive a considerable number of them, the rest were converted to the Mussulman religion [12]. — There was in the army of His Highness a good and pious man named *Muhammed Ma'soom* [13]; him he appointed governor over the inhabitants of Tabasarân, and gave to him two *Gkadhies*, in order that they might teach them the laws of Islam; and he issued strict orders, that from henceforth in every event of great importance, all (the tribes of) Tabasaran should follow the instructions of Ma'soom and the two Gkadhies [14]; and that Ma'soom, the Gkadhies, Amir-Hemzeh, and all the tribes of Daghistân, from *Georgia* to *Deshti-gkiptchâgk*, should be under submission to Shehbâl the governor of Gkûmûgk. — From this Shehbâl are descended the *Shemkhâls* of the present day [15].

After finishing the affairs of these regions, His Highness turned himself towards the tribes of *Taw* and *Awar*. Them also he converted, with the edge of the sword, to the Mussulman religion; erected mosques for them and appointed Gkadhies, to whose care he submitted them. —

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اونلر ایچون تعیین ایدوب اونلاری قاضی لره تاپشوردی آیدی تو اعلننك پای تختی آقوشه واوارنك (کی)
خونزوق در * مجموع د اغستان قاضی لرین وحاکم لرین شهباله مسلّم ایلیوب قدغن ایلدی هرگاه بوندنصکره
طایفهٔ خضری دربندنك محاصره سنه کله بونده اولان حاکم لر وقاضی لرخضری طایفه سنك مقابلنه دوروب
دفع ایلسونلر واگرخضری تاجرلری معامله ایچون دربند شهرنه کلسه لر شهرنك بر فرسخنده تاجرلری
ساخلادوب معامله وخریدوفروخت ایلیوب کیتسونلر واگر دربند اهلندن تجارت ایچون طایفهٔ خضری
ولایت لرینه کتملو اولسه اونلرمالندن دهیك السونلر شاید که تجارتی ترك ایدوب طورسونلر ایلچی ننك
کوزینی ٭باغلیوب شهره کتورسونلروکنه کوزلری باغلوشهردن طشره چقاروب روان ایلسونلر تاکه خضری
طایفه سی شهرنك احوالندن مطّلع اولمسونلر * القصه جناب مسلمه تمامی داغستان اهلنه خراج قویوب
مقرّر ایلدی که یلده خراجات مستمری لرین کتوروب دربندحاکمنه تاپشورسونلر *

The capital of *Taw* is now called *Aghgkúsheh* and that of *Awdr*, *Khúnzagh* [16]. So having subjected the Ghadhies and the chiefs of all Daghistân to Shehbál [17], His Highness gave the following orders: if the tribes of Khazar should, from henceforth, come to besiege Derbend, all the chiefs and Gkadhies of the country should encounter them and repulse them; if the Khazarian merchants should come to Derbend for trade, these merchants should be stopped at the distance of one *farsakh* from the fortress, where they should be allowed to carry on their commerce and return; if there should be amongst the inhabitants of Derbend, any merchants who might desire to go for trade to the countries of the Khazars, such merchants should be forced to pay the tenth part of their goods, in order that they might leave off their intercourse (with the Khazars); and, in case of the arrival of any ambassador from the Khazars, he should be led in and out of the town blindfolded, in order that the Khazars should have no means of acquiring information concerning the affairs of the town.

Moreover, His Highness Muslimeh, having fixed yearly tributes for all the tribes of Daghistân, ordered that they should be paid constantly to the governor of Derbend.

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[c] In the MS. it is said قولینی باغلیوب i. e. « *having tied his hands* », which does ot answer nto the purpose expressed in this same place of our version. We have therefore changed قولینی into کوزینی which also we have in the text. Consult Remark I. to Part the VI[th] of this work.

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth.

Answering to Part V. of our translation.

L'année suivante (733 de J. C.), *Abou-Mouslem*, fils *d'Abd-oul-mélik*, vint à Derbend. Son frère *Hachem* avait réuni 24,000 guerriers d'élite de Damas et de l'Aldjezireh (la Mésopotamie), et contraint, par le tranchant de l'épée, le Daghistân à embrasser l'islamisme. Il leva aussi des impôts, sur chaque province, et en paya la solde des troupes cantonnées dans Derbend. On dit que Nouchirvân avait construit là une demeure nommée *Mihrendj* ميهرنج Abou Mouslem la fit détruire, et, avec les pierres, il rétablit les anciens murs de Derbend, lui se détérioraient. Il y établit un arsenal, y fit bâtir le *kid* ou la digue du port, et prolongea les murs de cette digue jusqu'à 105 aunes en mer. Il répara également les villes et les forteresses détruites, et fonda un solide magasin pour les grains, qui, dans les temps de disette, servit à fournir des vivres aux habitans de la place. Il divisa Derbend en dix-sept quartiers, et il érigea pour chaque peuple une mosquée qui en reçut le nom. Celle des *Khaszar* fut appelée *Khaszari* خضرى, celle des tribus de la Palastine *Filistini* فلسطينى; celle des gens de Damas *Damachk* دمشق; celle des hommes d'Emesse *H'emse* حمسى; celle des habitans de la Mésopotamie *Djezireh* جزيره de Césarée *Keissari* قيصرى; de Mossoul *Moussouli* موصلى. Il érigea, de plus, une grande Mosquée du vendredi, où la prière de ce jour-là était récitée. Dans plusieurs lieux, il établit des réservoirs, et perça les murs de Derbend de six portes, qui sont: *Bab-ul-Mouhâdjer* باب المهاجر, la porte des fugitifs, *Bab-ul-djihâd* باب الجهاد, la porte de la guerre; *Bab-ul-Hems* باب الحمس; *Bab-ul-saghîr*, باب الصغير, la petite porte, *Bab-ul-mektoûm* باب المكتوم la porte cachée ou gardée, et *Bab-ul-alkâmeh* باب الالقامه. Il y avait en outre la petite porte nommée *Babi-kutchuk* باب كوچك, et ouverte du côté de la mer: les musulmans s'en servaient lorsqu'ils voulaient expédier secrétement quelque part des hommes et du bétail. Ce fut ainsi qu'Abou-Mouslem répara les fortifications des environs de Derbend, rebâtit la ville, et la peupla.

Bientôt après, il rassembla son armée et marcha contre *Koumuk*. Il y eut plusieurs batailles livrées. Il récompensa par des richesses et des terres ceux qui embrassèrent l'is-

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jamisme. Ceux qui refusèrent de se convertir furent taillés en pièces, et leurs enfans réduits en esclavage. Il érigea dans la ville de Koumuk, qui était la résidence du prince, une mosquée cathédrale, et de plus en établit dans chaque quartier une particulière. Comme *Chahbâleh* شاهباله, fils d'*Abd-oullah*, fils d'Ald-ul-Moutlib, fils d'Abis, était un grand général, il le nomma gouverneur du pays de Koumuk, et le lui confia.

Abou Mouslem marcha ensuite en personne contre le pays de *Kaïták* قيتاق, et en combattit les habitans, tua le gouverneur et conquit cette contrée. Ceux qui se firent musulmans furent épargnés; les autres furent envoyés en enfer. Il y avait dans son armée un homme brave, bien fait et de belle taille, nommé *H'amseh* حمسه. Abou Mouslem le nomma gouverneur de Kaitâk; puis il s'avança contre *Thabaserân* طبسران. Là aussi il convertit les habitans par la force, et y plaça *Mohammed Ma'asoum* محمد معسوم comme gouverneur. En même temps, il ordonna que le peuple du Thabaserân devint l'avant-poste de Derbend. Il institua deux cadis, destinés à enseigner aux habitans du Thabaserân les sciences et les principes de la foi, et invita Mohammed Ma'asoum à délibérer avec ces cadis dans les affaires importantes.

On dit que le Thabaserân a été peuplé de colonies de diverses nations, de l'Irak, de l'Adzerbaïdjân, de l'Arabie, de H'ams, de Damas, du Djézireh, de Mossoul et de la Palestine. Tous les gouverneurs dans le Daghistân et dans tout le pays depuis les frontières du *Gurdjistân* كرجستان jusqu'à la plaine du *Dacht Kiptchâk* دشت قپچاق étaient subordonnés à Chah-bâleh, fils d'Abd-oullah. Il avait sa solde assignée sur les terres et sur l'impôt personnel. Les habitans de Koubitchi étaient aussi assujettis à un impôt personnel considérable, qui devait être remis tous les ans au gouverneur de Derbend. Un impôt personnel était également assis sur les meilleurs cantons, tels que *H'oumry*, *Kourah*, *Koureh*, *Routouleh*, *Zakhoureh*, *Koumuk*. Les postes de *Tsourh'i*, *Dorki* et *Tarkhou*, jusque dans l'Ihrân, et de là jusque dans le Gurdjistân, à l'exception de *Karak*, *Hidait* et *Kenour*, relevaient tous de *Châhbâleh*, de sort qu'il commandait à tout le royaume du Daghestân. Abou Mouslem lui avait également attribué l'impôt personnel de ces cantons pour son usage, ainsi que les revenus des péages; de manière pourtant qu'il devait les remettre tous les ans au gouverneur de Derbend, qui, avec cela, payait les garnisons. Ces arrangemens terminés, Abou Mouslem revint à Damas.

Continuation of Klaproth's Extrait of a passage of the Derbend-nâmeh, which is wanting in our MS.*

L'an 118 de l'Hégire (736 de J. C.), le Khalife Hecham, fils d'Abd-oul-melik, nomma *Asad* fils de *Jafir-es-Selman*, gouverneur de Derbend. Celui-ci emmena avec lui 4000 braves

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* In the beginning of our Remarks and Illustrations to the VI^th^ part of this work we have introduced that part of Dr. Dorn's version of the Derbend-nâmeh which answers to this place of Klaproth's Extrait. We refer our readers to the Part VI. Rem. 1.

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guerriers d'Arabie. Quelques autres troupes des tribus de *Solim*, *Chefifeh*, *Sakhleh*, *Baïhleh* et *Karar*, le suivirent. Il porta au gouverneur en exercice cet ordre de Khalife: « Tu remettras à Asad, fils de Jafir, Bab-ul-ebvâl (Derbend); tu le feras entrer par la *porte de la guerre*, ou *bab-ul-djihâd*, comme la principale. Tu nommeras les personnages les plus considérables administrateurs, et tu n'exigeras des habitans de Derbend ni impôt personnel, ni dîme, ni redevance de festin, ni de message, ni de droit de chasse; mais, en revanche, la défense de la ville leur est confiée, et ils y sont obligés. » Le nouveau gouverneur réforma les abus qui s'étaient introduits dans l'administration, et ordonna sur tout de n'admettre aucun infidèle dans la forteresse sous le prétexte du commerce. — (Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Tome III. p. 458—462.)

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE FIFTH.

NB. With regard to the connexion between this part and the preceding read Rem. I. to Part the fourth.

Remark 1. page 89.

a) The reading in the St. Petersburg MS. agrees better with that in the MS. of Berlin. It is there said: « *Abou Muslim* with the *permission of Hishâm* (in the MS. erroneously هاشم), the son of *Abdul-melik* (this explains the vague sense of Klaproth's translation), collected 24000 men from the Island of Syria (or, rather, from *Al-djezireh*, i. e. Mesopotamia, and from Syria) and with the edge of the sword converted all Daghistan to the religion of Islam. He gathered tributes from every province, and appointed pensions to the warriors of Derbend. — Muslimeh having (previously) visited Derbend and fortified it, and having supplied it with iron gates, had returned; but the second Abu-Muslim (or rather, the second time, Muslimeh) came and destroyed an edifice called *Mihrandj*, which was built by Anûshirvan and fortified the towers of Derbend » &c.

ابومسلم دربنده کلوب هاشم (هشام) بن عبدالملك رخصتیله شام جزیره سندن (شام وجزیره دن ؟) ایکرمی دورت مینك کیشی آلوب بو داغستانی ضرب شمشیرایله مسلمان ایلدی هرولایتدن خراج آلوب دربنده (دربندده) اولان غازیلره علوف (علوفه) قرار ایتدی مسلمه کلوب دربنده (دربندی) تعمیر ایدوب دمور قاپولر آصوب آبادان ایدوب کتمش ایدی ایکنجی ابومسلم (ایکنجی کرّه مسلمه؟) کلدی مهرانج ادلوبرعمارت وارایدی نوشیروان اشلمش (تعمیر ایلمش) ایدی پوزوب دربندون برجلرینی تعمیر ایدوب الخ

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b) Instead of *Mihrandj*, as it is in the MSS. of Berlin and St. Petersburg, in our text we have عمارت پس سقفلو which according to the construction of the Turkish language must be پس سقفلو عمارت. The word پس, as it can here have no other signification, we presume to be the corruption of پیس which we have added in a parenthesis in the text, and which, both in the Persian and Turkish languages, especially in the idiom of Aderbijan, means *bad*, *mean*, *miserable;* therefore we have translated the whole: «*an edifice badly covered.*»

Remark 2. page 89. قید

In our MS. there is wanting what the reader will find in Klaproth's translation about the «*ktd*», or as he calls it *la digue du port* &c. The same interesting supplement occurs in the MS. of St. Petersburg, which says: وقیدی ابادان ایدوب قیدون (قیدنك) باروسنی دریا ایچنده یوزارشن اوزون ایتدی «He fortified the *Gkaid*, (i. e. the chain or the harbour) and prolonged the walls of that *Gkaid* 105 yards (farther) into the sea.»

a) The present walls of Derbend as we have had occasion to mention above, (Rem. 8. to Part I.) terminate very close to the Caspian Sea, and their ruins in the sea could be traced in the beginning of this very same century, to an extent of more than 50 yards.[a] The walls thus running forth into the sea, according to many authors, formed a *harbour*, where the ships entered and laid at anchor. We shall here give a description of this port, taken from the translation of a geographical work, bearing the name of المسالك والممالك in the Persian language, by *Aboul-Mahâsin Muhammed An-nakhchavâni:* دربند شهریست که برکنار دریا بنا کرده اند ویرا دوکنار خلیج دریا دوسد کشیده تاجائی که درامدن کشتی تنك شود وبراین دهانه زنجیری کشیده اند تاکشتی بفرمان ایشان درآید وبیرون رود واین دو سد ازسنك وازریز بناکرده اند الخ «Derbend is a town built on the shores of the sea (of Khazar, or Teberistan, as it is called elsewhere by the same geographer); on both sides of the gulph of the sea (i. e of the harbour), are built two walls extending (into the sea) to the place where the entrance for the ships is narrow, and here the mouth is closed by a chain, in order that the ships may enter and go out by their (the guard's) permission. These two walls are built of stones and broken pieces»[b]. — This account is almost identical with what Klaproth has taken from *Idrîsi*, except in a very few instances, which we shall mark by putting in italics. «*Babul-abvab* est une *grande* ville sur la mer des Khazars, avec un port commode pour les navires: de chaque côté *de l'entrée*, deux *constructions semblables à des* murs s'avancent en mer; l'un peut être fermé avec une chaine,

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[a] The stones that were to be seen on the surface of the water in my remembrance, are now taken by the inhabitants and used for buildings, so that scarcely any trace of the wall can be seen at present, unless on close investigation.

[b] That is to say, of large stones joined together, on both sides, forming the faces of the rampart; the interval between them being filled up with broken, or small stones, and the whole cemented with lime just as the fact proves it to be at the present day.

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afin d'empêcher que personne ne puisse entrer ou sortir sans la permission du garde de la mer. Ces deux murs sont en pierres jointes ensemble par *du plomb* qu'on à coulé dans leur intérieur.» See Nouveau Journal Asiatique T. III. p. 458.

Of these walls, or the gkaid, *Mas'oudi* also speaks; he says they extended to the sea about two miles, and even describes the manner in which they were built in it. He supposes that the foundation of these walls, in the depth, was laid through the means of large bags of leather filled with air, which being tied together, the foundation, consisting of a union of stones, iron and tin, was prepared and fastened upon them; these bags, being sufficiently loaded, at last, of course sunk down to the bottom of the sea, whereupon the bags, being discharged of the air they contained, the foundation rested upon the solid ground, and so by degrees was raised, until it became level with the surface of the sea. — An account of this we may read in the جهان نما of *Katib-tchelebi*, who censures this supposed mode of construction and does not agree at all with it (see جهان نما published in Constantinople in 1145 of the Hijret p. 395.) But *Zakhartya-Al-Gkazvini* also makes mention of this mode of constructing the *Gkaid*.

b) The appellation of قيد *Gkaid* (meaning *chain*, in Arabic) which is used in both copies of the Derbend-nâmeh, and which Klaproth's reads *Kid* and translates *la digue du port*, must be given to the whole *port*, from the *chain* with which the mouth or the passage of the port was closed to prevent the entrance or exit of ships without the permission of Guards of the sea. In some MS. we have erroneously فند, غند and قند. —

Remark 3. page 90.

1) The names of the *seven* Mosques mentioned in all three copies of the Derbend-nâmeh, prove that the number of streets or parts of Derbend was *seven*, and not *seventeen*, as we read in Klaproth's translation. In the MS. of St. Petersburg we find ايدى for يدى *seven*.

2) Since in more than one place we have had occasion to observe that Gkubad, Anushirvân and even the Khalifs, at different times sent people out of Syria, Mesopotamia and other countries of their kingdoms to inhabit Derbend and some other parts of Daghistan, we can recognize in the names mentioned here in the text, those branches of the inhabitants who are supposed to have been removed from towns or countries having the same appellations; that of Khazar being derived from the name of a part of that tribe who settled in Derbend and received the religion of Islam.

We find an account, nearly similar, but with some slight difference, in Teberi, who says, that «*Muslimeh* having arrived and looked at Derbend, divided it into *four* parts; *one* part he gave to the people of *Shâm* and the *other* to the people of *Hems*[c]. To this day their descendants are still living there, and each part is called by its respective name.» See appendix Ex-

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[c] *Hems*, or the ancient *Emesa* of the Greeks, — once a cultivated and highly populated city of Syria (now forming a poor town of the government of *Tripoli*), — being also mentioned in all the versions of the Derbend-nâmeh, we should take *Shâm* for *Damask*, which will make the sense more clear.

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tract VI: خبرفرستادن مسلمه را برسعید. — The mistake which must, necessarily, exist in the text of Teberi in my possession, confuses the sense and deprives us of all means of reading the names of *two* other parts, which are necessary to complete the number four.

These names of people and streets, are at present entirely out of use. Every Mosque is now distinguished by the name of the street to which it belongs, except the great and very ancient Mosque which bears the name of جامع *Jámi'*, or the cathedral, and of which our author makes mention in this place; read the following remark.

Remark 4. page 90. جامع

1) This word means a *collector*, *uniter*, from جمع to collect. A cathedral is called *jami'*; because all the members of other churches of the town *come together* every Friday or every holiday to perform their prayers in a public assembly under the administration of the *Imam*. The jami' of Derbend exists till now. — I shall give a short account of this eminent edifice, as far as I can remember it. — This wonderfully preserved Mosque is built of stone and brick; its foundations, walls and 80 pilasters which supported the vaults, are all of polished stone, but its arches, vaults and two cupolas are all of brick. The interior of this Mosque is divided in its length, which is from east to west, into three compartments and adorned with four rows of pilasters and half pilasters, 20 in each row being seen through the length of the building; of these the two outer rows, consisting of half pilasters, are fastened into the southern and northern walls of the building. Of these compartments the middle one is the widest, being about 17 yards wide, and the other two about 8 or 9; which, together with the spaces occupied by the bases of the pilasters, make about 40 yards and form the breadth of the whole interior. As to the length, it is something more than one hundred yards. — The northern wall has three gates symmetrically disposed in its different parts, the middle gate being the largest. This great building has no other entrance, and it receives the light through these gates and through some small windows, which are arranged in its walls, but more especially in the northern one and in the two cupolas. One of these cupolas rises in a circular form, from the midst of the whole building about 12 yards above the cornice, and is very well proportioned, when viewed from the inside. In the centre of the southern wall, just opposite to the middle gate is distinguished the *Mihrâb*, or holy shrine [d]. — A level of more than one hundred yards in length and breadth, on the northern side of the Mosque, forms a beautiful square which is surrounded on all sides by buildings belonging to the Mosque. To the west of the square, not very far from the corps of the Mosque, may be seen a fountain, running from under the buildings and whose stream crosses the whole space from west to east in a regular direction and after having filled three basins which are elegantly carved in stone disappears. After traversing the square, the running fountain empties itself into the reservoir of the great bath, which lies to the east of the Mosque, and

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[d] It is an arch, or a semicircular line, carved in the centre of that wall of the Mosque which looks towards the *Gkibleh*. Opposite to this place stands the Imâm in the time of performing his prayers in public assemblies, turning his face towards it, and the assembly standing behind him in regular lines.

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which is dedicated to it[e]. A beautiful alley of *Tchinârs* lines the running stream through the square, and forms a very pleasant prospect.

2) That which we read in Klaproth's translation, regarding *reservoirs*, is here wanting in our MS. — The same assertion we find in the MS. of St. Petersburg, which however states that, «he (i. e. Muslimeh) in many places in Derbend built great reservoirs for water and closed them with iron gates»: دربندده نچه یرلرده صوانبارلری یاپدردی انلره دمورقاپولر اصدردی.

Whether it be truly ascribed to the author of the Derbend-nâmeh, or it be a supplement made by some of the copyists, the assertion, at least of the existence of reservoirs, if not of their having been built by Muslimeh, is authentic; and even at the present day some of them still exist, not however *in* Derbend, but in *the mountains* forming its western boundaries, and they alone supply the town with water.

These reservoirs are built of brick in the depth of the mountains like caves, fortified by thick walls and very strong vaults. Here great abondance of water is collected from a number of natural springs and is conducted, through a subterranean channel, in the desired directions, into the town. All such reservoirs are invisible and covered, like other parts of the mountains, with shrubs and bushes, and sometimes even with thickets. The principal reason, for which these reservoirs and the subterranean channels, leading from them, were intended to be secret and impenetrable, was to prevent the enemy, in the time of a long siege, from depriving the inhabitants of the means of supplying themselves with water; and though the places of many of such reservoirs are known to the inhabitants by tradition, yet some of them, through their high antiquity, remain wholly unknown. In 1817 one of these reservoirs was discovered to the S.W. of Derbend, in consequence of the drying-up of some fountains, in several parts of the town The want of water excited the inhabitants of these parts to investigate the cause of this misfortune. They therefore dug out the ground in the direction of the subterranean channel that before led the stream into the fountain, and after many difficulties, reached the place where the reservoir was hidden in the depth of the mountain about 25 feet below the surface. There were still some fountains in Derbend whose great reservoir was unknown in my time i. e. about 1819.

Remark 5. page 90. باب القيصر

In our MS. and in that of Berlin stands باب الصغير; but in the MS. of St. Petersburg we read باب القيصر *Bâbu-l-ghaisar*, which is more probable, for we have already had the name given to a street, in the same manner as the appellation *Al-Hems*, which is at once both the name of a street and that of one of the gates.

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[e] This bath, together with several other objects, as for instance a salt-lake, some portion of land and many shops, being dedicated to this great building, form its *property* and the income afforded would have sufficed to keep it up to this day: but the yearly offerings of the inhabitants are so great, that the said income, only collected and scarcely touched, forms the stock or fund of the Mosque.

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Remark 6. page 90. باب المكتوم

In the MSS. both of Berlin and St. Petersburg, the name is المكتوم Almektûm, *the secret* or *the guarded*. This reading I find more consistant with what we have had occasion to learn in the III part of this work about the secret gate through which 6000 Mussulmans, under the direction of a certain spy, by night, entered the fortress of Derbend &c. See page 51. —

Remark 7. page 90.

The orthography of our MS. as well as that of St. Petersburg is العلفه and not الالغامه as it stands in Klaproth's translation.

NB. 1) None of the appellations, given here by the author, are in use now, nor can any body ascertain the reason why they were called by these names. In our MS. alone they are explained by the new names, by which these gates are at present called. *Djarchi-gkapi* or the gate where the orders of the Khans were proclaimed, (see Rem, 8. to the fourth part, on چارچی) or the ancient *Babu-l-mühajir*, is in the N. W. wall of the town, very near the citadel. Opposite to this, i. e. in the S. W. wall, is what the author names *Babu-l-mektûm*, now *Baiat-gkapi* i. e. the gate of the Baiats, a people who form the greater part of the present inhabitants. The gate of *Gkirkhler*, or the ancient *Babu-l-djihâd*, is in the N. wall of the town, almost in the same direction that leads to the sepulchre of that name (see Rem. 11. to part II.). Opposite to this gate in the south wall, is the *Yenghi-gkapi*, or the new gate (we do not know why it is called so) anciently named *Babu-l-Hams*.

The gate named *Turkuman-gkapi*, or the ancient *Babu-l-Gkatser* is also in the south wall; very near the place where some years ago, stood the *Dübarou* i. e. the *double* wall or the middle wall of Derbend which is now destroyed. The *Narin-gkala-gkapisi*, i. e. the gates of the citadel, anciently called *Alghemeh* (we do not know why; probably from the name of a person:) is the gate in the S. W. part of the wall close to the citadel; through this gate however one can not enter into the citadel which has a perfectly independent entrance.

2) Here in the description of our author are omitted two other gates, namely: اورتاقاپو *Orta-gkapi*, or the middle gate, which is in the southern wall, between the *Narin-gkala-gkapisi* and the *Yenghi-gkapi*; — and the northern دوباری قاپوسی *Dubari-gkapisi* which is opposite to the southern one of the same name otherwise called *Al-gkatser* or the *Turkuman-Gkapi* above mentioned. By the addition of the last, the walls of Derbend, beginning from the citadel down to the sea, contain 8 gates: 5 in the southern wall and 3 in the northern, all of which some thirty years ago were in use.

3) In our MS. is wanting what we find in Klaproth's translation respecting another small gate, separately named *Babi-Kutchek* باب كوچك and we find exactly the same thing in the MS. of St. Petersburg. — In fact, in the southern wall of Derbend there are yet seen the places of *two* gates at the distance of about 200 yards from each other, both of which are now built up with smaller stones. These must, certainly, have been designed for entrances or gates; — both of them are very near the sea, especially the largest, which is not more than

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200 yards distant from it. All the distance from the sea up to the place of the smaller gate, and a little beyond, forms a fruit-garden which belonged to my family in 1817 and which still bears the name of *Nazir-baghi* ناظر باغی, from the title[f] of my grand-father *Nazir-Muhammed Khan-bek*. — Perhaps by the little gate is meant the smaller of these two.

Remark 8. page 90.

Concerning the building of the great Mosque in Gkoumugk, of which also we find mention in Klaproth's translation, it is said in Dr. Dorn's copy, taken from the MS. of St. Petersburg, that this Mosque was built in *the midst* of the town (اورتا یرنده). — The tradition of the present day supports the assertion that a Mosque similar to the one in Derbend, though not so large, was built by Muslimeh in *Gkumugk*.

Remark 9. page 90. شهبال

In Klaproth's translation this *Shehbál* is said to have been *a great general* of Muslimeh. We find the same in the text of the St. Petersburg MS. ابومسلم ننك سرلشكری وارایدی عبدالمطلب عباسون اوغلی عبدالله ننك اوغلی شهبانی قمق ولایتینه حاکم ایتوب قایتدی which is somewhat perplexed and requires some changes to make up a regular phrase. I would render it thus مسلمه ننك سرلشكری وارایدی عبدالمطلب عباسنك اوغلی عبد الله ننك اوغلی شهبال آنی قمق ولایتنه حاکم ایتوب قایتدی « Muslimeh had a general named *Shahbal* the son of *Abdullah*, the son of *Abbás* of the posterity of Abdul-Muttelib; him he appointed governor of the country of Gkûmügk. — Klaproth erroneously reads شهباله *Chahbáleh*, *Abd-ul-Moutlib* and *Abis*.

Remark 10. page 90.

We do not find anything about this *Gkadhi* in Klaproth's translation or in the MS. of St. Petersburg.

Remark 11. page 91.

In Klaproth's translation instead of حمزه we find erroneously حسنه. — The short account of this *Amir* which we find in Klaproth's translation, and which is wanting in our MS. we read also in the MS. of St. Petersburg: برلوجه بویلو ولوزی هیبتلوحمزه ادلو کسنه ایدی read Rem. 15 to this part, also compare Extract VIII. of the index about شغال and امیرجوفان ac.

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[f] Nazir means *a steward*, *inspector*, or *financier*. By this title were called the Ministers of war and finance at the time of the Khans of Derbend and *Gkubbeh*. The grand-father of the author of these remarks and illustrations was of the number of these ministers during the reign of *Fat'h-Ali-Khan*; for this last name see Part IV^th^ Rem. 14. Part IX. Rem. 3. —

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Remark 12. page 91.

1) The reader, on comparing this place of our translation with that of Klaproth, will see the difference between them. The reading in the MS. of St. Petersburg is as follows آندن طبسران اوستنه كيندى آننك ماكمننك (ماكمنى) اولدوروب خلقنى مسلمان ايدوب محمد دينه كتوردى «from hence he advanced towards Tabasarân, *put its chief to death* and converted its inhabitants to the religion of Muhammed.» This accords with the quotation in the MS. of Berlin; only we find nothing about putting the chief of Tabasarân to death in either of the two others. — 2) As to the assertion in our text, that *the greater part of the people of Tabasarân in the beginning were Jews*, we do not find it in either of the other two. Though indeed we have no authentic record of the truth of this assertion in any historical work, yet it is not far from probability. Even to the present day Tabasarân is remarkable for the abundance of Jews, in comparison with the other parts of Daghistan, excepting only some villages belonging to the Province of *Gkubba*. For this reason, the living tradition of the country affirms that the ancient inhabitants of this country before the establishment of the Islâm in Daghistan were all Jews. —

3) I have had no occasion to read any particular account of ancient Tabasarân, or about the etymology of the word: in Teberi and *Ibni-Asam* we always find طبرستان which was in fact the ancient name of the present Mazanderan, probably the same with the *Tapour* of the Grecks. The modern orthography of the name of this part of Daghistan, is طبرسران *Taberseran*, which means, *having heads (resembling) axes*, or rather *bearers of axes*. The last signification is preferred by the modern etymologists of the country, who ground their opinion on the tradition, that the name was given by Anûshirvân to a class of people whom he appointed to guard the fortress of Derbend (see Rem. 33 to Part I.)

Remark 13. page 91.

In Klaproth we read erroneously معسوم. — Both in Klaproth's translation and in the MS. of St. Petersburg we moreover find, that Muslimeh ordered that the army of Tabasarân, under the chief command of *Ma'soom*, should form the advanced post at Derbend. — The following is the reading of Dr. Dorn's version: ويبوردى كه مقدم لشكر دربنده طبسران عسكرى ايله محمد معصوم اولا «He ordered that the advanced-guard of Derbend should be the army of Tabasarân under the command of *Muhammed-Ma'soom*.»

We do not find anything of the short description of the qualities of this Amir in Klaproth's translation. In the MS. of St. Petersburg we read: كه صاحب تدبيرو ديانتلو وتقويلو (وتقوى لو) كمسنه ايدى «who was a politician, an honest and a godly man.» — Klaproth, in a note to this place, says: «Les dignités de *maasoum* et de Cadis sont devenues héréditaires dans le Thabaserân; et ce pays est encore divisé entre ceux qui les possédent.»

The character of the eastern antiquarians has always been remarkable for the self-confidence with which they satisfy their own curiosity and allure their readers. They never leave anything unexplained and no antiquity can escape their presumptuous pretentions to research. —

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Almost everything, that demands profound and minute investigation with us, before we admit the subject as proved, is by them precariously explained and resolutely brought to a seemingly satisfactory result. You will find in them a very systematic description of almost all stocks from which nations, tribes, dynasties and denominations come down to us, with many particulars which to this day characterize their existence. The description of the first emigrations of the sons of men; of the genealogy of all the dead and living nations, tribes, families and individuals, — which is unanimously maintained by almost all the historians of the east — may be taken as a convincing proof of the truth of our observation. — Following the same system of explanatory philosophy, our author endeavours to investigate the derivation of every remarkable name and title that he meets with in the course of his narration. He explains to us the genealogy of the *Shamkhals* and *Usmies*, and further gives us that of the *Ma'sooms* and *Gkadies* of Tabasarân. [6].

Whatever may be the merits of his genealogical descriptions, the lower Tabasarân has indeed, from ancient times, been ruled by two principal Princes, bearing the tittle of *Gkady* and *Ma'soom*. The dignity of *Ma'soom* terminated some years ago with the imprisonment of the last of the family who bore the title and who had acted treacherously against the Russian Government. The dignity of *Gkadi*, of which our author speaks more at large, is still preserved in the person of *Isa-beck* (see Rem. 33. to Part I.). —

Remark 14. page 91.

Here is wanting in our MS. what we read in Klaproth's translation regarding the classifications into which the inhabitants of Tabasarân are subdivided; in this respect we find the following in the MS. of St. Petersburg: وطبسران اون ایکی طابون (طابور؟) در عراق ادربیجان وعرب وحمص وشام (و) جزیره وموصل وفلسطین وغیره « And Tabasarân consists of twelve societies (We do not find the number in Klaproth.): (from) Irak, Aderbijân, Arabia, Hamas, Syria, Djazira, Mousul, Palastine, and other places. »

Remark 15. page 91.

Our author, as we have remarked above, brings down the lineage of the *Shamkhals* and *Usmtes* from the two generals of the name of *Shahbál* and *Amtr-Hamzeh*, who served under *Muslimeh*, and who were first appointed as Governors of *Gkúmúgk* and *Gkara-Gkaitágh;* but in our MS. it is stated more particularly, that the *Usmy* and the *Shamkhal* of the *time* of the author, *descended* from the same two persons. From the assertion of the VIII[th] Extract annexed to this work we understand, however, that both the Princes of *Gkoumougk* and *Gkaitágk* were of the posterity of *Hamzeh* by the lineage of *Ibráhim-Ishágk* in the following order: 1) *Shám-*

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[6] In a quotation annexed to this work, see the Appendix, Extract the VIII[th], we find instead of معصوم two readings: موسوم *Mawsûm* a descendant of *Hamzeh* by the lineage of *Sheikh-Ahmed*; and معصوم *Mahsûm*. see for these names in the Index to this work.

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khal, *Amir-Hamzeh*, the son of *Ahmed*, the son of *Khan-Muhammed*, the son of *Al-Areby*, the son of *Khál* (of Syria or *Shám*, from which two names, *Sham-khál* is said to have been formed), the son of *Feridoun*, the son of *Amir-Sultan*; so on till the said *Ibrahim* the son of *Is'hâgk*. — 2) *Amir-Djoufán*, surnamed *Abou-Is'hâgk*, the son of Sultan-Ali Bey of the descendants of the said *Ibrahim* &c. Read Extract VIII about شیخ ابراهیم and امیرجوخاں. We have no true historical argument to rely upon in order to give preference to any of these two narrations.

Remark 16. page 92.

We do not find any thing about this expedition of Muslimeh &c. in either of the two other versions in our possession. Concerning *Táw* and *Avár* see Rem 19 & 31. to Part I. Consult also the map annexed to the «*Обозрѣніе Россійскихъ владѣній за Кавказомъ*», concerning *Agkúsha* and *Khunzak*. The first of these two impregnable towns, was the residence of the last Khan of Derbend and Kuba *Sheikh-Ali-Khan*, who in 1806 refused submission to the Russian government and sought refuge amongst the mountains of *Táw*. See our Preface page xvi for the fate of this Prince.

Remark 17. page 92.

In this place of our MS. there is no detail of what the reader may find in Klaproth's translation relating to the cantons and places subjected to imposts &c. of which very little is said in our version at *the end* of the chapter. We also read the same detail, but with some alterations, in the MS. of Dr. Dorn. I will here introduce the quotation, in order that our readers may be enabled to compare it with what we read in Klaproth's translation: ودخی قیطاق وطبسران حاکمنه علوفیه (علوفه) مقرر اولندی اوزلری وخد مت کار لری ایکیجی ایل باشه کلنجه فراغت لق ایله معیشت ایده لر لمالوزلری خراجه دخیل (دخل) اتمیه لر ودخی کرجی خلقنه خراج مقرّر ایتدی که هریل دربند حاکمنه ویره لر ودخی کرجی دن غیری ولایت لر بوسرحدلرده حمری وکوره وقورح وروطول وزیخور وقبق توابعی صورح ودرکا وترخو اهرانه وارنجه واول جابندن کرجستانه وارنجه قرات (قراح ۷۰) ودعات (وعدات ۷۰) وقصور ومونلر (ومونلردن) غیریلرجمله شهباله متعلّق اولونوب جمله داغستان پادشاهلوغی شهبا له مقرّر اولدی واولاری دخی ابومسلم (مسلمه) شهباله خراج کسوب [شهباله] ویردی ودربند حاکمی (حاکمنه ؟) شهباله الوف (علوفه) ویرمك بیوردی اوشبو دینیله اونلردن (دینلنلردن ؟) کرجستاندن اهرانه وارنجه خراج شهباله تمام دولور ایدی ودخی بیوردی هرخراج که دربند حاکمنه اولور دربندنك غازیلرینه ودرویشلرینه بولشدره واوزی دخی بریللق آله زیاده آلیه اکر دربند حاکمی عدالت اتمیه وملکت لرنك خراج لرینی زیاده السه (آله) قدیمی عادت دن دربند غازیلری آله قزل ایله لر (آله لر ؟) دیورخصت ویردی »Moreover there were assigned pensions for the governors of Gkaitâgk and Tabasa-

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rân (in order) that they and their servants should enjoy tranquillity till the end of the second year; but that they, themselves, should not have any share in the revenues (of the country). He (Muslimeh) also laid imposts on the people of Georgia, to be paid yearly to the governor of Derbend. Besides Georgia, there were other countries in these quarters (as for example): *Humrit*[h], *Kureh*[i], *Gkurahh*[k], *Rutoul*[l], *Zeikhour*[m], also *Surkh*, *Durka*[n] and *Tarkhou* up to *Ihrân*[o], and thence down to Georgia (the cantons of) *Gkarah*[p], *Hedat* هدات and *Gkousour*[q]; and besides these, many others: all were placed in submission to Shehbal, so that the dominion over all Daghistân was bestowed on Shehbal. Muslimeh ordered that the imposts from all these places also should be remitted to this Shehbal. He, moreover, ordered that Shehbal should assignt a pension to the governor of Derbend. From these (said cantons) i. e. from Georgia to Ihrân, all revenues were gathered to Shehbal. — Besides he ordered that the imposts that were to be collected by the governor of Derbend, should be distributed among the warriors for religion and among its Dervises: and that the Governor should not take (anything out of these imposts) for his own use; but what would be necessary for one year's support. But that if the Governor of Derbend should not behave justly, and should lay more imposts on the countries than he ought, then let them be gathered (directly) by the warriors of Derbend, according to the ancient custom. It was permitted that the impost should be received in gold.»

Instead of this we have an interesting account in our MS. of the arrangements of Muslimeh, to prevent the inhabitants of Derbend from holding any intercourse with the Khazarians &c. which we find in the MS. of St. Petersburg in a different place (see Rem. 1. to Part VI.)

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[h] Read Rem. 28. to Part I.

[i] Read Rem. 35 to the same.

[k] Now one of the principal villages of Kureh, lying some miles to the N. E. of *Miskinje* (Rem. 36. Part I.).

[l] Klaproth puts it: «dans les plus hautes montagnes, sur la *Semoura*.»

[m] There are two readings: *Zeikhour* (in the MS. of St. Petersburg) and *Zakhoureh* (in Klaproth's translation). The first is the name of a village belonging to the province of *Gkubbeh*, and situated on the right bank of the *Semour*, on the very road from Derbend to *Gkubba*; the second is a village in the mountains of *Kureh*, situated on the right bank of a little rivulet which forms the beginning of the *Semour*.

[n] These two villages belong to *Gkazi-Gkûmygh*, and the first of them *Surkh* gives name to a great part of the country.

[o] See Rem. 19. to Part I.

[p] It is a district between two branches of the *Gkai-sou*, about 12 miles to the N.W. of *Kâzi-Kûmâgh*.

[q] *Hedat* is not known to me. Klaproth places it between *Kunzakh* and *Mûkrat*; *Gkusur* is a village at the very sources of the *Semour* some miles to the N.W. of Zakhoureh.

These three last may be read otherwise: *Dihât* (one of the readings of the copy of Dr. Dorn). *Gkurât* (as it stands in the same copy), and *Gkusour* all which may be translated: *little* towns, villages or buildings.

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ذکر آمدن مروان بن محمد بحکومت دربند

تاریخ سنه ۱۲۰ اولانده مروان بن محمد خلیفه طرفندن دربند شهرننك حکومتنه مقرّر اولوب شهره وارد اولندی عسکره مسلمه تعیین ایدن خراجی ولایتلردن بوقرار ایله آلوردی قمق الّی تومان (قمق ایله تومان؟) طایفه سندن عریلده یوز غلام یوز جاریه ویکرمی منك باتمان بوغدا وکوبچی طایفه سندن اللی نفر جاریه وقراقیطاقدن بش یوز اسیروایکرمی مین باتمان بوغدا وکوره ومسکنجه طایفه سندن اون دورت مین باتمان بوغدا قرغ مین درهم آقچه وشیرواندن ایکرمی مین باتمان بوغدا واللی مین درهم آقچه تمامی مذکور اولان ولایتلردن آلوب انبار لره وخزانه (یه) یتشوردی عبیشه حاجت اولان وقتده شهرده اولان مبارزلره تقسیم ایدللردیلر واعالی طبسران نوبت ایله شهرنك کوچه لرنده اولان قاروزات ونجاست لری پاك وتمیز ایدللرایدی •

(PART VI.) [1]

The arrival of
Mervân the son of Muhammed in Derbend
in the capacity of governor. [2]

In the year 120, Mervan, the son of Muhammed, was appointed by the Khalif governor of Derbend [3]. On his arrival in the city, he received from the different countries the yearly tributes appointed by Muslimeh in the following order [4]. From the tribes of Gkûmûgh and Tûmân [5], he received yearly one hundred men slaves and one hundred women slaves, and twenty thousand *batmans* [6] of grain; from the tribes of Kubetchi, fifty female slaves; from the Gkara-Gkaitaghians, five hundred slaves and twenty thousand batmans of grain [7]; from the tribes of Kureh and Miskinjeh, fourteen thousand batmans of grain and forty thousand pieces of silver money [8], and from Shirwân, twenty thousand batmans of grain and fifty thousand pieces of silver [9]. — (These tributes) he received (yearly) from the said countries and placed them in the stores and treasury, and in time of need distributed them to the warriors that were in the city [10]. — The people from Tabasarân were employed by turns in cleaning the channels of the streets from all kinds of dirt, and in keeping them neat.

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth,

Answering to Part VI. of our translation.

L'an 120 de l'hégire (738 de J. C.), *Mervan*, fils de Mohammed, établit des aqueducs à Derbend, et continua la guerre avec beaucoup d'ardeur. Il imposa la capitation dans tous les environs, pour pouvoir payer les troupes qui s'y trouvaient. Les habitans de *Koumok* et de *Toumân* livrèrent cent esclaves des deux sexes et vingt mesures de grain nouveau; ceux de Koubitchi donnèrent cinquante esclaves; les *Kaitâk* 500 esclaves et vingt mesures de grain; les habitans de *Kourah*, *Karakh*, *Akhti* et *Miskindjeh*, furent obligés de délivrer vingt mesures de grain et quarante mesures de *dirhems* en argent comtant. Ceux-ci furent aussi désignés pour rétablir les murs de Derbend. Les habitans du Thabaserân reçurent l'ordre de nettoyer les rues de Derbend. Le gouverneur du Chirvân livra douze *batman* de grain. Les troupes de Derbend reçurent toutes ces contributions, et depuis ce temps elles ont continué de même. L'agrandissement de ce grand boulevart (Derbend) subsistera dans tous les temps, et il sera éternellement fameux. (Nouveau Journal Asiatique Tome III. p. 463 — 464.)

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE SIXTH.

Remark 1. page 560.

1) In our MS. is wanting here a detail respecting the appointment of Asad the son of Zâfir, Governor of Derbend, by the Khalif *Heshâm* and some other arrangements of the Khalif, which forms a separate part of the MS. of St. Petersburg answering to the continuation of Klaproth's Extrait (see page 95 of this work.)

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I shall not fail to insert here this part, of the St. Petersburg version, and at the same time refer the reader to Klaproth's Extract, in order that he may be enabled to compare the two and see the difference between them. — In so doing I shall follow the same order which I have adopted in arranging our text: I shall not place here all the variations mentioned by Dr. Dorn in his copy; but shall follow the reading which in my opinion must be preferable, at the same time putting in parentheses those words which either *must be* meant by the author, or which have suggested themselves to me.

Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version of the Derbend-nâmeh forming a separate section which is wanting in our version.[a]

تاريخ هجرت نبوى يوز اون سكزده عبدالملك اوغلى
هاشم اسدبن ز افرسليي (سلميني؟) دربندنك حاكم لوغنه
(حاكم لغنه) كوندردى ودورت يوز كيمسه اوز
اركان دولتندن انكايولداش كوندردى هربنك
اولو لرندن سلمه دن وتغريقدن وسلخه دن وباهلى دن
وقراردن ومونلردن غيرلردن يراريكت لرى انكا
يولداش ايتدى ويويور ديكه باب البابنك (الابوابنك)
مفتاحنك (مفتاحن) اسد طاپشورسون وغز اوت قاپوسنى
(قاپوسى) اغلبنك اولسون اوغلنى شهرنك خليفه سى

«In the year 118 of the flight of the Prophet, Hishâm the son of Abdul-melik appointed *Asad* the son of *Zâfir* the *Selmi*, in the capacity of governor of Derbend, and furnished him with 400 men of the nobles of his Empire. He also furnished him with brave men from among the Arabian chiefs: from (the tribes of) *Salmeh*, *Tagkrigk*[b] *Salkha*, *Bâhil*, *Gkarâr* and others. He ordered that (the late governor of Derbend) should deliver the keys of *Babul-abwab* to *Asad*; that the gates of war (or the Gkirkhler-Gkapisi; see Rem. 7 to Part V.) should be put into the possession of *Agklab*[c]; that they should appoint his son as the Khalif[d] of the town; that they should take from the inhabitants of Derbend,

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[a] In our translation of this section we have put in *italics* all that part which we do not find at all in Klaproth's extract and which corresponds in many points to the conclusion of the part V^th^ of our version.

[b] This must be a fault. In Klaproth we read *Chehfifeh* شفيفه which is more like an Arabic word.

[c] Of this *Aghlab* we have nothing in Klaproth's Extrait. In the following section of Dr. Dorn's version we read this name (see Part VII Rem. 4.) which is wanting in the corresponding places of our version. — In Klaproth's Extrait: «*tu le feras entrer par la part de la guerre, comme la principale*» has no signification; because this باب الجهاد, otherwise قرخلرقاپوسى is in the northern wall of Derbend, i. e. completely oposite to the gates which lead into the fortress prom the south, where lied tho new governor's way to Derbend. See Part V. Rem. 7 about the six gates of Derbend.

[d] By the word Khalif must be meant here a *lieutenant*, which dignity in later years was expressed generally by the word *Nâib* نايب.

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ایلسونلر واهل دربندنك (دربندن) خراج وعشر وفونلقا ا (تونلق ؟) آلسونلر وسخره وبیکار آلسونلر امّا شهری ساخلمقه (ساخلق) کجه وکوندز دربند اهلنك عهده سنده در (اولسون) اکر دربند حاکمی اهلندن قونلقا (تونلق ؟) وعشر وخراج آلسه ویا اهل دربندی (دربندده) اولان غازیلره سخره وبیکار یورسه پس ظالم اولا [لر] موجب عذاب الیم اوله حاکم لوغنه (حاکم لغی) جایز اولیه اکر دربند حاکمی قلعه ساخلمقده سست (لق) وکاهللق ایتسه ویا دربند اهلنه قدیم ده اولیان ظلم ایتسه انی معزول ایدوب اوزکا حاکم نصب ایده لر اکر دربند حاکمی اولسه ویا ظالم لق ایتسه اغلب سلیمنی (سلمی نی) حاکم ایده لر تا اونه لایق اولان حاکم کلنجه اکر دربند حاکمی غزاوته کسسه کوندرسه اول دورت یوزکشی دن کوندره که ارکان دولت هشام بن عبد الملك ایدی (لر) که اسد بن زافر ایله دربنده کوندرمیش ایدی اوز که لشکردن دربند قلعه نی (قلعه سنی ؟) ساخبیالر (ساخلیه لر ؟) اکر دشمن هروسن کلسه یاهرای اولسه دربند

neither tribute, nor tithe, nor *funligk* (*Tounligk*, or pension?)[e], nor any one's property for the use of the government, nor anything unlawful; and that the defence of the town, by day and night, should be considered as the duty of the inhabitants. But if the governor of Derbend should take from the inhabitants either *Tounligk*, or tithe or tribute (personal impost), or if he should impose on the warriors of Derbend the obligation of giving their property for the use of the government or paying anything unlawful, then he should be considered as an oppressor, deserving severe punishment and unworthy of his office (*He ordered also that*) *if the governor of Derbend should prove idle and neglectful of the affairs of the fortress* (*literally, in defending the fortress*), *or if he should invent for the inhabitants oppression unknown before, that he should then be degraded, and another governor appointed in his place. If the governor of Derbend should die, or if he should prove to be a tyrant, then they should appoint Agkleb the Selmet to the duty of governor till there should come a governor worthy of that* (*town*). *If the governor of Derbend should be in necessity of sending men to make war with the infidels, he should send such men out of the four hundred who were selected from among the nobles of the Empire of Htshám, the son of Abdul-melik, and whom* (*this Khalif*) *had sent to Derbend with Asad the son of Zafir; but other warriors should defend the fortress. — If the troops of the enemy should come, or if there should be an exclamation* (indicating a sudden assault of the enemy), *then the governor of Derbend himself should occupy the*

[e] This word in one place is فونلقا, in another قونلقا; I read تونلق which expression is common in Daghistan. Originally it is taken from the Arabic كسوة, a payment for defraying the expence of clothing one's-self during an appointed term. Afterwards the word in wider sense, was used for expressing a yearly salary or pension. This payment was issued some times in ready money from the treasury, and some times was appointed from the income of a piece of land, of a village or even of a whole district. — Klaproth's translation of this word: *redevance de festin*, justifies my reading; but that learned translator has confounded تون لق with خلعت لق or خلعت which never means salary or pension.

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حاکمی خندق لوزره دوروب اوسته (اوستنه) لشکرکوندره
اوّل ادم کیزلتجق یرلرین ایزلیه لر اندنصکره آنلر
اکرآت صقر (وسغر) اپارسه لرویا آدم دوتوب اپارسه لر
آردندن کتمك امکان (امکانی) اولسه قاوب (قووب)
صواشمغلن قورترمغه اجتهاد ایتسون اکراحتمال اولیه
قررترمغه آردندن وارمیوب قایتسونلر کافرلردن هیچ
برکمسهٔ قلعه ایچنده (ایچنه ؟) کرکز مسونلر (و) وسیله
سزقویمسونلر اکرصاتو بازارایچون کافردن ادم کلسه
برآغاج ایراقدن معامه (معامله) قیلوب دونه لر
مسلمانلردن بازرکانلغه (بازرکانلغه) یورورکشی وارر
اولنسه (اولسه) اندن ده یك آلسونلر اکرکافردن ایلچی
کلسه باشینی یاپوب قلعه یه کتوره لر وباشنی یاپوب
چیغاره لر که حال لرینی بلمیه قاپولری وسدّی
کورمیه لر *

moat and send warriors (against the enemy). *Now they must discover the place where the enemy hides himself, and then, if they find that the enemy carries horses, cattle, or men* (into captivity), *they must, if possible to rescue them by fighting, follow the enemy and fight with him; but if they see no probability of rescuing* (the captives &c.), *they must not follow the enemy, but return back.* (Moreover the Khalif ordered that) none of the infidels should be admitted into the fortress *without a guide; that if there should come persons from the infidels to trade, they should carry it on at the distance of a farsakh from the fortress and return back* (when finished); *but if there should be found, amongst the Mussulmans, persons who would wish to go* (among the infidels) *to trade, from such there should be taken* (the impost of) *the 10th part. — If there should come an ambassador from the infidels, they should lead him into the fortress and out of it, with his head* (i. e face) *covered, in order that he should not be able to know its position, to see its walls or its gates.*» — These last arrangements we find also in our MS.; see the close of the V^th part and consult Rem. 17. to the same.

2) We find nothing in any of the versions of the Derbend-nâmed about Hishâm's (the Khalifs) visit to Derbend and Tabasaran, of which Kâtib-tchelebi speaks, following the account of *Abou-Hâmid.* (See p. 400 of جهان نما) I shall introduce the passage in this place:

مسله باب الأبواب وطبرستانی (طبرسرانی) الدقدنصکره هشام بن عبدالملك اول دیاره وارمشیدی
کیدر اولدقده والی مملکت اندن رجاایلدی که ولایت ده براثرقویه هشام قلیجنی ویروب محراب کبی
برطاش اوزرینه دیکوب محل مرتفعده قودیلر نچه زمان خلق انی زیارت ایدردی الخ

« After Muslimeh had invaded *Babul-abwab* and *Teberistan* (this must be Teberseran), Hisham the son of Abdul-melik went to those quarters. When he had made preparations to return, the viceroy of the country requested him to leave there something as a memorial. — Hisham gave his sword, which they fastened on a piece of stone in the shape of a *Mihrab* (see Part V. Rem. 4, the note) and put it on an elevated place. For many ages the people used to visit it as a sanctuary. »

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A similar tradition is preserved to this day among the inhabitants of Derbend and Daghistan; it announces that Muslimeh (or as he is generally named *Abu-Muslim*), when returning to Syria, left his sword in a cave, to be a remembrance of the triumph of Islam in Daghistan &c. and that this sword was visible for many centuries, until, at last, it disappeared. To this sword and cave they attributed many miracles, so much so, that the inhabitants of the country did not fail to bring their offerings thither and to solicit the mercy of God in the time of need. The same tradition we find uncorrupted in روضة العطار *Rauzetu-l-mttár*, from which Katib-tchelebi has made a paraphrase in another place: ودخی بوجانبده برغارده برقلج وار در اول سبتك خلقی دیر لر که اهل اسلام دن بوسبتی فتح ایدن مسلمه ننك قلجیدر اول سبتك خلقی بهار فصلنده اول غاره عظیم خیرات وصدقات کتورورلر واول قلجی زیارت ایدرلر * « And in this country (Tabasaran) there is a cave, in which there is a sword. The inhabitants of this country say, that it is the sword of Muslimeh, who invaded the country by Muhammedan authority. The inhabitants of this country, during the spring bring great offerings and alms, and visit the sword as they would a sanctuary.

« A more curious description of this we find in the Geography of Zakariya-Al-Gkazvini of the XIII^th^ century. He says: وخارج المدینة تل علیه مسجد فی محرابه سیف یقولون انه سیف مسلمة بن عبد الملك بن مروان تزوره الناس ولایزار الّا فی ثیاب بیضٍ فمن قصده فی ثیاب مصبوغة جاءت الامطار والرّیاح وکاد یهلك ما حول التّلّ الخ « In the suburb of the town (Derbend) there is a hill upon which there is a mosque. On the Mihrâb (the shrine) of this mosque there is a sword, which, they say, belongs to Muslimeh, the son of Abdul-melik the son of Mervan, and which is visited by (crowds of) people. No body can visit this (sword) but in white clothing; therefore if any go near it in coloured garments, there begin showers and ttorms, so that all that stands near the hill is in danger of perishing » &c.

Remark 2. page 106.

I. The narrative of our author regards the expedition of Mervân in 119 — 121 to which we have just referred our readers; and in many points we find in it great resemblance to that which we find in Teberi, and which we shall have occasion to refer to in our appendix.

II. We have had occasion to hint about this Mervan, and to mention (see Part IV. Rem. 1. *note*): that he was a lieutenant of Muslimeh when the latter returned from Derbend to Syria &c. — This Mervan was the son of Muhammed, and the grand son of Mervân, the fourth Khalif of the dynasty, and it was he who dethroned Ibrahim, the son of Velid, and took possession of the Khalifate for some few years. It is the same to whom history gives the title of *Al-himár*, or the Ass; and the same who is considered as the last Khalif of the *Beni-Umaiyeh*, in whose days *Abdur-rahman* of Khorasan, surnamed *Abu-Muslim*, appeared, and after having put an end to the glory of the *Umayides*, founded on its ruins the great edifice of the dominion of the *Abbasides*. As far as we learn from the works of Teberi, Mir-khond, Katib-tchelebi and others, this same Mervân had, during the reigns of Hishâm and *Velid*, the son of *Yezid*, performed great services to the Theocratical Empire. In 114 he was viceroy of Aderbijân, from

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where he undertook a celebrated expedition to *Maverdûn-nehr*, and returned with considerable spoil and plunder. (See the chronological tables of Katib-tchelebi for that year.) In 119 — 121 he undertook, by order of the Khalif, a great and successful expedition to the countries of the Khazars; where, it is said, he converted the Khaghan of the Khazars to the religion of Islam! (See the same chronological tables for the year 119; also Teberi, part VI, under the title خبرفرستادن مسلمه را برسعید. After the death of Hisham, when Velid possessed the throne of the Empire, Mervân was appointed viceroy of Armenia and Aderbijân, where he dwelt till 127 of the Hijret, when *Ibrahim* the son of Velid ascended the throne of the kingdom. —

No sooner had the information of the domestic disorder reached Mervân than he left Armenia and declared his own rights to the throne. Being more powerful and more experienced than Ibrahim, he succeeded in his ambitions design; and (according to some), having put Ibrahim to death, possessed himself of that throne which was so near to perfect destruction (see جامع اللطایف chap. I. for the names هشام, ولید, یزید and مروان بن محمد).

With regard to Mervan's being surnamed *Al-himâr* among other reasons we find the following curious anecdote in Mir-khond: درجامع الحکایات محمّد عوفی آورده که مروان شاکرد جعدی بود که ازو تسخیرکواکب سبعه تعلیم می گرفت وتسخیریکی از آنها کرده بود چنا نچه روح ناطقهٔ ان کوکب هرچندروز می آمد واحوال ازومی پرسید روزی اورا ندید حماری آنجابر آخور بسته دید خبری چند بگفت وآبش داد وبرفت چون مروان آمد پرسید که امروز که آمد گفتند سقّایی آمد مشکی دردوش والاغ راآب داد وبرفت مروان نزد آلاغ آمد وگفت روح ناطقهٔ فلان کوکب امده بود الاغ سر بجنبانید که بلی پرسید که ترا آب داد همان حرکت کرد مروان احوالات را باجعدی بازگفت جعدی گفت یعنی تونبودهٔ معنی آنست که پرتو التفات را برآلاغت انداخته ایم هرچه تراپیش آید ازان آلاغ می پرسیده باشی انگاه هرچه مروان را از احادث امو رملکی پیش آمدی ازان حمارمی پرسیدی اگرخوب می بودی سرمی جنبانیدی که خوبست والآسربالامی کردی که خوب نیست

« *Muhammed-'Aunt* relates in *Djami'al-hekatat*, that Mervân was the disciple of *Dja'dt* (a philosopher, or rather a deceiver of the age, who was known for his supposed supernatural information and who, in spite of the generality of the Muhamedan creed, held the opinion that the Coran was created), from whom he learned the science of conjuring the seven planets. He had already subjugated one of them, so that its spirit used now and then to come and speak with him. One day the spirit came but could not find him (at home); there it saw an ass that was put in the stable. The spirit spoke something to it, and having given it water returned. When Mervân came home and asked whether there had been any one that day, they answered that there came a water-carrier with a jar on his shoulders, who gave water to the Ass and went away. Mervân came to the Ass and said: « Did there come the spirit of such a planet (to day)? » — The Ass nodded his head (as it were to say) « *yes* ». Mervân asked: « Did it give thee water? — The motion was repeated. — Mervân related this circumstance to *Dja'dt*; who answered: « It denotes, that *as thou hast not been present, we have thrown the rays of*

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our attention on thy Ass; now, whatever will occur to thee, consult the Ass. » — So whatever occurred to Mervân in the affairs of the kingdom he consulted the Ass; and if good, the Ass nodded (as it were saying) *it is good;* but if bad, the Ass raised his head (meaning), *it is not good.* » — The story, though ridiculous and incredible to our civilized reader, well characterizes the poor and deplorable state of the age, in which ignorance triumphed throughout even the courts of the powerful sovereigns of the East, and in which universal superstition procured wealth, glory and power for hundreds of *Dja'dt-Derhemis*, *Mugkanna's*, *Babecs*, *Djenabis*, *Hasans* and many others. — There is however another and more favourable opinion of the reason of Mervân's being entitled to this surname, it consists in the following: سنة الحمار *the year of the Ass* with the Arabs was the last year or *the close* of a century; Mervân being the last of the sovereigns of *Bent-Umayieh*, whose reign continued more than 90 years, was, therefore, considered as the *finisher* of the century or the Khalife of *the year of the Ass.* For this reason he was entitled to this surname. See Teberi, Part VI. for ذکرسلطنت مروان ; — *Benaktti* for خبرخلافت مروان.

Remark 3. page 106.

Neither in Klaproth's translation nor in the MS. of St. Petersburg is there anything mentioned about Mervân's being appointed *governor* of Derbend. In both, the *arrival* of Mervân is related in such a way as to suggest an idea of a greater authority than that of governor. This is more conformable to what we learn from Teberi. There we find, that when Muslimeh returned from Aderbijân to Syria (this must have taken place about 117.), he appointed Mervân Khalif, or rather viceroy of Aderbijân. But the Khalif of the Saracens deposed him, and gave the office to *Sa'îd*, the son of *Amr*, who, once before had obtained the same authority (see Rem 1 to Part IV of the Derbend-nâmeh). But after some time *Sa'id*, having lost his sight, was called home and his place again bestowed upon Mervân (about 119), who directed his way to Derbend &c. (see our appendix for سعيد).

Remark 4. page 106.

In our MS. there is no mention of Mervân's building aqueducts about Derbend, as we read in Klaproth's translation and in the MS. of St. Petersburg. The following is the passage in this last which is constructed very badly: مشکورجانبندن صوکتوروب صوارخنی دربنده کتوردیلر i. e. « They dug a channel and brought water to Derbend in the direction from *Mashkour.* » (Literally: in the direction from Mashkour having brought water, they brought the water channel to Derbend.)

Remark 5. page 106.

In our MS. it is said تموق دن الی تومان طائفه سندن which we have corrected and changed to قموق ایله تومان طائفه سندن « From the people of *Ghûmûgh* and *Tuman.* » — I could not find any people in Daghistân of a name like Tuman. In the MS. of St. Petersburg and in Klaproth's translation, we meet with the name as that of a people who lived between *Ihran* and *Humriyeh*, and whose princes bore the same titles (see Rem. 28. to Part I. of this work). The proper signification of Tûman in the Turkish language is 10,000; we know that so much of the

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army of the Mongols and Tartars as consisted of 10,000 men, bore the name of *Tûman* and their chiefs امراء تومان i. e. the chiefs of *Tûman* (see السبع السيارفي اخبار ملوك تاتار p. ٣٩ From this origin was perhaps derived the name of a separate tribe called *Tûmût*, which, according to the rules of the grammar of the Mongol language (see Гр. Монгольскаго языка, сочиненная Я. Шмидтомъ. С. Петерб. 1832 года, p. 27 — 2) is the plural number of *Tuman* (see *Abdul-Gkazi-Behâdir-Khan*, published in the University of Kazan p. ٣٨). Amongst the *Kalmuks* of the present day we find the same name *Tuman*, as that of a tribe and of a family of princes, which is no doubt derived from the same source. In like manner, and on the same ground, a part of the *Lezghins*, living around Gkûmûgk, might have been known by the name of *Tuman*, at least in the days of our author.

Remark 6. page 106. باتمان

This is a measure in general use among the inhabitants of Aderbijân. It corresponds to the Arabian and Persian مَنّ. Its weight is different, in various parts of the country; it may consist of 7, 10 and even 25 pounds. The Russians have adopted this in their measures; in some places it consists of a weight of 10 pounds, and in others, of about 6 pouds! but for the most part, it contains half the measure which they call *chetvert*[f].

In Klaproth's translation it is indeterminately said, *vingt mesures* &c. but in the MS. of St. Petersburg in both places where mention of corn is made, we read ایکرمی منك اوچ 20.000 *doujs* which we consider as more probable. This measure consists of two handfuls of any thing and answers to the Russian Garnets (гарнецъ) which is the *eighth* part of a *poudovka* or nearly five pounds of grain.

Remark 7. page 106.

In this place in the MS. of St. Petersburg, we read further, that there was laid upon the inhabitants of Tabasarân an impost of 500 slaves and 20,000 *Aoujs* of corn وطبسران اوزره بش يوز اسير ايكرمى مينك آوچ بغده قرار اولندى, which we do not find either in our MS. or in Klaproth's translation.

Remark 8. page 106.

In Klaproth's translation, besides *Kureh* and *Miskindjeh*, we have *Karakh*, or rather *Gkurakh*, and *Akhti* (this last is situated on the right bank of the *Samûr*, some few miles to the

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[f] A *chetvert* consists of 8 *poudovka* or two *batmans*; every poudovka of *flour* weighs something more than 45 Russian pounds; so that every chetvert should weigh a little more than 9 *pouds*.

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west of *Miskindjeh*). In the copy of Dr. Dorn we read وکوری وقراخ و داغی لوزره in which phrase داغی has no signification, unless we suppose an omission here; but we rather think it is a mistake for وآغنی. —

Remark 9. page 106.

The passage in the MS. of St. Petersburg agrees more with Klaproth's translation. In both these versions nothing is said about money. — A little before, when the people of Kureh, Gkurah &c. are spoken of, in the MS. of St. Petersburg we read: ودغی دربندنی ساخلمق (ساخلمقی) انلره بیوردی « And moreover, he (Mervân) fixed the duty of guarding (defending) Derbend on them (i. e. on the inhabitants of *Kureh* &c.) which we have not in any of the two other versions.

That which we read in Klaproth's translation concerning the assignment of the money received from *Kureh*, *Karakh*, &c. for re-establishing the walls of Derbend, is not mentioned in any of the other versions.

Remark 10. page 106.

Klaproth's translation in this place agrees better with the MS. of St. Petersburg.

NB. Concerning the yearly imposts, here attributed to Mervân, we read something similar in Teberi. This author says, that Mervân, after having met with success every where in his way, directed his course towards the country of *Serm* in Daghistan, and forced its Prince to pay him a yearly tribute consisting of 500 boys, 500 girls, 500 *poods* of corn and 10,000 ducats (*fulourt*); see our appendix for خبرفرستادن مسلمه را برسعید. —

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ذکر (بعضی ازوقایع که بعداز) منقطع شدن نسل بنی امیّه وخلیفه شدن بنی عبّاس (دردربند رو داده است)

تاریخ سنه ۱۳۲ بلده اولانده خلافت بنی امیّه سلسله سندن کسلوب بنی عباس سلسله سنه یتشدی ابوالعباس خلافت تختنده جلوس ایدوب تمام اسلام ولایت لر ینه فرمان (فرما) اولندنصکره دربندا علنه وآنده اولان مبارز لره چوخ مهربان اولوب طایفهٔ خضری نی قوبمادی که دربند شهرینی غلبه ایلسونلر دورت یل سکّز آی خلافت ایدوب دنیادن رحلت ایلدی • تاریخ سنه ۱۳۶ بلده اولانده ابوجعفر

(PART VII.)

(*Some events which took place in Derbend at*) *the downfall of* the dynasty of Beni-Umaiyeh *and the commencement of* the Khalifate of Beni-Abbas. [1]

In the year 132 the Khalifate, ceasing in the house of Beni-Umayieh, passed into that of Beni-Abbâs. *Abul-abbâs* having been established on the throne of the Khalifate, as the mighty sovereign of all the dominions of Islâm, paid great regards to the inhabitants of Derbend and to the warriors living there. He would not suffer the Khazars to invade this town. He died after having reigned four years and eight months [2].

In the year 136 [3] *Abu-ja'far-Mansûr* seated himself on the throne of the Khalifate.

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منصور مسندخلافته اکلشوب یزید بن اسدی دربندنك حکومتنه کوندردی یزید بن اسد دربند شهرنه وارد اولاندن صکره طایفهٔ خضری جوع لشکرایله سرحد لردن کچوب دربندنك محاصره سنه کلوب شهری محاصره ایلدیلر برکچه حصارین دبنه اغاج وکسپچه توکوب استرلرایدی (که) بارودن یوخاری چیخوب شهره داخل اولسونلر مبارز لربورج ویارودن نفطتوکوب آتش وردیلر آخرالامر طایفهٔ خضری شهر القدن عاجز اولوب مراجعت ایلدیلر ابوجعفر منصور یزید بن اسدی حضورینه استیوب خطاب ایلدی یاابن اسد مسلمانلری دربند شهرنده خضری طایفه سنك شرندن ساخلامق نجه اولور یزیدبن اسدعرض ایلدی که دربندنك حواله سنده بربارہ قلعه چه واردر خراب اولوبدر هرکاه دربندنك حواله سنده قلعه چه لر وقریه لر بنااولوب خلایق ایله دولو اولورسه محافظت دربند آسان اولور خلیفهٔ زمان فرمان ایلدی که قلعه وقریه لر (بنا اولنسون) وکهنه قلعه لری آبادایتسون لر قلعهٔ سوار وقلعهٔ مطاعی وکماخی وسمنانی قلعه سنی که ایمدی چرکی دیللر ودرواقی ویرسی نی وحمیدی نی اباد ایدوب یدی مین ایوشام وموصل

He sent *Yezid*, the son of *Asad*, as governor to Derbend. After the arrival of this Yezid the son of Asad in Derbend, a great army of the Khazars, having passed the frontiers, came to Derbend and laid siege to the fortress. One night they piled up some wood, at the foot of the wall, intending to scale it and thus, to enter the city, but the warriors poured down on them, from the tops of the wall and bastions, naphtha and fire, so that the Khazars, unable to succeed in their intention, retired [4].

Abu-j'afar Mensûr summoned Yezid to his presence, and addressed him, saying: « O son of Asâd! what must we undertake in order to secure the Mussulmans from the « mischief of the Khazarians? » — Yezid, the son of Asâd, answered and said: « There « are several fortresses in the vicinity of Derbend, which are now in ruins; these (being « repaired) and (other) towns built and peopled with inhabitants, it will be an easy matter « to defend Derbend. » — Then the Khalif ordered that new towns and fortresses (should be built), and the ancient ones repaired and inhabited.

Upon this, Yezid rebuilt the fortresses of *Suwár; Mutai*, *Kemakhi* and *Simnán*, now called *Tchirki; Dervák*, *Yersy* and *Humaidy* [5]. He brought seven thousand families out of Syria and *Músul*, and established them in the said fortresses. Yezid, the son of Asâd

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طایفه سندن کچوروب مذکور اولان قلعه لرده ساکن ایلدی ویزید بن اسدقدغن ایلدی که سرحد لرده خصوصًا قلعهٔ سوارده هرکون مین آدم قراول تعیین ایده سن (اولنه ؟) وکنه یزیدیه آدلو وسرمکیه آدلو قلعه تعمیر ایدوب اوزقبیله سندن کتوروب قلعه لرده ساکن ایلدی مقاطر ومعرقه نی دخی آباد ایدوب تمامی سن قشون ایله دولدوروب دربندی فراغت ساخلار ایدی داخی خضری طایفه سی قوی صودن بوطرفه کچمدی *

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strictly ordered that the frontiers, especially *Suwár*, should be defended by a guard consisting of a thousand men. Moreover, he built the fortresses named *Yezidiyeh* and *Sermakiyeh*, which he peopled with inhabitants from his own tribe; he repaired *Megkater* and *Ma'ragka* [6].

Thus, having filled all these (towns and fortresses) with warriors he preserved Derbend, so that the Khazars could not come over to this side of the *Gkoi-soú* [7].

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth.

Answering to Part VII. of our translation.

La famille des Ommiades ayant perdu le Khalifate et celle des Abassides étant parvenue au pouvoir, de nouvelles constructions furent ajoutées à Derbend, et l'on fit souvent la guerre aux Khaszari, qui s'étaient permis plusieurs incursions, notamment l'an 146 l'hégire (763 de J. C.). Mais ils furent repoussés par *Yezid*, fils d'*Asad*, le précédent gouverneur. Lorsque ensuite il partit pour *Barda'a*, *Aghet-Selmi* le remplaça. Mais le Khalife Abou Djaafar Mansour appela à lui Jezid, et l'interrogea sur le moyen de prévenir les incursions des Khaszari. Jezid proposa de construire, depuis Derbend jusque sur leur frontière des forteresses, et de les coloniser. Le Khalife approuva ce plan; et il envoya de Damas, du Djézireh et de Moussoul, 7000 individus, d'autres cantons 40,000 du Khorasàn 30,000, et de la Syrie 12,000. Il donna la conduite de ces peuplades à *Ibrahim*, fils de *Avouffeh*, et à *Hachem*, fils de *Chouobbeh el Selmi*. Ceux-ci arrivèrent au boulevart d'*Elpen* البن, qui porte aujourd'hui le nom de *Barou Tchali* باروچالی. Les deux chefs dirent à chaque homme de leur troupe d'attacher à son cheval six briques, et de construire avec cela des demeures. Ils allèrent ensuite à *Roukaleh*, où Jezid se joignit à eux, et les envoya contre l'ennemi, auquel Hachem enleva les places de *Rouhab* et de *Kasab*. Jezid fit après cela bâtir, par les hommes arrivés, trois villes fortifiées, qui ont conservé leur nom jusqu'à présent; savoir: *Dougherni*, *Sifnán* et la troisième dans la vallée (*Derré*) où Hachem avait campé. C'était de cette vallée que les infidèles partaient constamment pour faire des irruptions dans l'Irak et dans l'Adzerbaïdjàn. On avait ensuite bâti *Methauieh* et le fort de *Kimakhi*. Ibrahim et Jezid transportèrent dans cette vallée 3000 familles du Thabaseràn et de *Methauïeh*. Yezid nomma son propre frère gouverneur du Thabaseràn. Il bâtit ensuite les villes de *Hamidi* حمیدی *Dzill-ul-soughra* ذل الصغری (petit Dzill), et *Dzill-ul-kubra* ذل الکبری (grand Dzill), qui furent achevées en six mois. Il plaça les gens de *H'ems* à *H'amidi* et ceux de *Damas* à *Dervâk*, qui était une ville grande et importante; ceux d'*Ardoun* à *Jersi* et ceux de *Moussoul* dans la ville de *Derpouch*. Il donna l'ordre à

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toutes ces villes et à ces forteresses d'établir des postes dans les vallées et le long des grandes routes. Il fonda également *Jezid*, qu'il peupla avec son monde, de même que la grande ville de *Sermekieh* سرمکیه. Il bâtit encore *Makathri* مقطری et *Mah'reh-kenny* محرقنی. Il plaça des soldats dans tous ces lieux. Dans ce temps Derbend était tres-florissant, parce que les infidèles n'osaient y venir, et la célébrité de cette ville était répandue dans l'univers. Les impôts étaient levés d'après la première organisation; les injustices et les oppressions y étaient inconnues. Les contributions de *Kourakh*, *Koureh*, *Akhti*, *Kouba*, et de la forteresse de *Han*, n'avaient d'abord éte que de quarante mesures de *dirhems*, elles furent encore perçues d'après leur première assiette. (Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Tome III. p. 464 — 466.)

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE SEVENTH.

Remark 1, page 116.

The title of this section, written as usual in our MS. in red ink is: ذکرمنقطع شدن نسل بنی امیه وخلیفه شدن بنی عباس « The description of the fall of the dynasty of *Beni-Umeiye*, and the Khalifate of Beni-Abbas. » It does not at all answer the subject upon which the author treats; we therefore have made additions in parentheses both in the text and translation which will suit the contents.

The reader must be aware, that Aderbijân and Daghistan became the scene of more frequent revolts and disturbances just at the time when Mervân returned to Arabia with his pretensions to the rights of Khalif: The Khazars did not fail to avail themselves of this opportunity of regaining many places in Dâghistan, which had been taken from them by the Saracens: and in Aderbijan there appeared false Doctors, who by their abilities acquired so much power as to oppose and even defeat the Khalif's army. The following is what Teberi says on this subject in his history: رآوی آیدرچونکه مروان خلافته کچدی نصرسیّاری خراسانه امیرایلدی امّا ارمنیّه طرفندن واذربایجان ولایتنده خوارج باش قالدوروب مذهبلرینی آشکاره ایلدی و اردبیل ده اولان خوارج ایله برکندیلر آندن بیلغان ناحیه سنده زید بن علاله خبر یتشدی که خوارجك رئیسی در

(زیدبن علاله که خوارجك رئیسی درخبر یتشدی) اول دخی کندویه تابع اولان خوارجی دوشوردی
برعظیم لشکر اولدی مروان ایشتدی عبد الملك بن مسلمه یه لشکر قوشوب خوارج ایله اوغراشمغه
ویردی بردعله نازدیدکلری یرنك آراسنده اوغراشدیلرخوارج لشکری غالب اولدی عبدالملکی
اولدوردیلر قرداشی اسحق آنك یرینه بك اولدی خوارج جنکی اوزادی واردقجه قوتلندی الخ

« Narrators say, that when Mervân passed to the Khalifate, he appointed *Nesrí-Seiyár* viceroy of Khorasan. — But in Armenia and Aderbijan the *Khawaridjs* [a] lifted up their heads, manifested their creeds and united themselves with the *Khawaridjs* living in *Ardebil* [b]. — *Zeid* the son of *Hilal*, who was the chief of the Khawaridjs in the district of *Bilghán* [c], being informed of this, led and united (to them) his followers the Khawaridjs, so that a great army was formed. Mervàn being informed of this, gave an army to *Abdu-l-melik* the son of Muslimeh, and sent him to encounter the Khawaridjs. The two armies met at a place between *Berda'* and *Naz* (Niaz?) The army of the Khawaridjs was victorious: Abdu-l-melik was killed, and his brother *Is'hagh* was chosen *Beg* in his place. The war with the Khawaridjs continued long, and they grew daily more powerful » &c.

Mervân's ill success at home and the continual disorders which arose from the contention of two great powers, — of which the one *must* have triumphed and established, on the ruins of the other, the basis of a more powerful empire, — could not prevent those petty but frequent revolts which exhausted the patience of the inhabitants of many parts of the Muhammedan world. But at last the establishment of the power of *Bent-Abbas*, by degrees, put an end to these calamities, which had however continued from 126 till the year 132. And it is this interval to which our MS. refers, and which was indeed the epoch of *Saffáh's* establishment on the throne of the Khalifate after the death of Mervân.

NB. The narrative in our MS. is, in the very beginning, much more exact and more satisfactory than in the MS. of St. Petersburg and in Klaproth's translation, both of which are, as it were, extracts from ours. The following is the beginning of the MS. of St. Petersburg, which we here insert for the sake of some interesting additions which it contains ودخی بنی امیه دن
پادشاه لق زایل اولوب بنی عباس (عبّاسه) مقرّر اولنده بنی هاشم دربندحقّنده چوق لطف ایدوب شهری
تمام آبادان (و) معمور ایتدیلر وخارجیلر وخزری کافرلری ایله چوق غزاونلرایتدیلردین اسلام قوتلندی
وخارجیلر وکافرلرخار وذلیل اولدیلر « And when the dominion, having ceased in the dynasty of

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[a] خوارج means (in the plural) the rebels against the professed religion and authority. Anciently the Khawaridjs formed a numerous sect; here the author means the *Sheites*, or followers of Ali *in general*.

[b] Among the posterity of these afterwards appeared the famous Sheikh *Safi*.

[c] Now a village, at the distance of 8 *farsakhs* from the little town of *Ahr*, in Aderbijan. The author of *Tezkiretu-sh-shu'ará* says, that *Helákú Khan* having besieged it a long time could not take it; at last he was obliged to have recourse to art to beat down the walls of the fortress, and to take possession of it; that since this time *Bilghan* is become a ruin. (See there the Biography of *Mudjirud-deni-Bilghàni*).

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Beni-Umeiyeh, was established in the family of *Abbas*, the sons of *Hashim*[d] manifested much favour in behalf of Derbend and repaired and improved all the city. They made many wars with the *Khawaridjs** and with the infidels of Khazaria. The religion of Islam gained strength, and the Khawaridjs and infidels became mean and contemptible». (i. e. were wholly subdued and punished). —

Remark 2. page 116.

According to Teberi, *Saffâh* reigned 4 years 8 months and 2 days, according to Benakiti, 4 years and 8 months and according to the author of *Djami'u-l-letâif*, his reign was 4 years and 9 months. The difference is but trifling.

Remark 3. page 116.

The epoch here given in our MS. is the truest: for, indeed in the year 136 *Abû-Dja'far* the brother of *Saffâh* inherited the throne of the Khalifate. In the MSS. of St. Petersburg and Berlin, as far as we can judge of this last by Klaproth's extrait, we find the year 146; but this must be a mistake. Though both these versions, without any hint regarding the death of Saffâh and the elevation of Abû-Dja'far to the throne, ascribe to that year 146 a notable incursion made by the Khazars; nevertheless the mistake is obvious; because, by the assertion of all three MSS., *Yezid* the governor of Derbend was recalled by Abu-Dja'far *after* this event, and the narrative in the MS. of St. Petersburg distinctly says, that Yezid was recalled by the Khalif *soon after* his elevation to the throne. In fact, we find similar mistakes relating to the epochs of different events in almost every MS. — for example, in a MS. of Mir-khond, in my possession, the epoch of *Saffâh's* death and Abû-Dja'far's elevation, is said to have been ثمانين ومائة i e. 180. Such mistakes must rather be attributed to the carelessness of the copyists, who, being sometimes misled by false surmises, change the date asserted by the author. It is not far from probable that the reason of the mistake which we meet with in the MSS. of St. Petersburg and Berlin, may be the confusion arising from Mensûr's removing his throne from *Anbâr* to Bagdad, which took place in 146.

Remark 4. page 117.

This must be a detail of the short hints which we read in Klaproth's translation and in the MS. of St. Petersburg. — There is nothing said in either of these two, about Yezid's being sent as governor of Derbend by Abû-Dja'far. — Probably he was the son of the same Asad who was appointed to the same office by Hishâm, as our readers might understand from Rem. 1 to Part VI[th] of this work.

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[d] Perhaps the *Beni-Abbâs* are called here *Beni-Hashim* from Abba's having belonged to the same family.

* To this we have referred the reader in the quotation from Teberi, and we do not find it in any other version of the Derbend-nameh.

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In our MS. there is nothing of that which we read in Klaproth's translation relative to Yezid's going to *Berda'* &c. The following quotation of the MS. of St. Petersburg refers to the same subject: یزید ابن اسد برداغه (بردعه) کیندی اغلب سلیمنی اوزیرینه نصب قیلدی که دربندشهرین کافرلردن ساخلیه « Yezîd the son of Asad went to *Berda'* and put in his own place *Aghlab* (in Klaproth *Aghet*) the *Selmi*, in order to defend the town against the Infidels. »

Remark 5. page 117.

Suwâr, *Meta'a*, *Kamakhi*, *Simnan* (in the other two versions, *Sifnân*), *Darvâgk*, *Yerst* and *Humeidi*, are the names of the fortresses which, according to the narrative in our MS., were partly repaired and partly built by the order of *Almansûr*. The first four, of which for the first time mention is made here, must be those built by Almensour's order. Of these *Meta'a*, is a village, which, among many others, now belongs to the *Mehâl* of *Tat*, in the lower Tabasarân. The ruins of *Kemakhi* are to be now seen about 3½ miles to the N.W. of Derbend, under the name of *Kamakh-gkala*, or the fortress of Kamakh.

Suwâr, according to the text of our MS., belonged to the fortresses situated on the frontiers of the province of Derbend; but it is unknown to me. *Simnan* or *Sifnân*, otherwise called چرکی *cherkt* likewise is unknown to us; but if we could read the word *Tcherelt* which is very probable, we should recognize it in a village of that name in the IV Mehal of *Gkara-gkaitagk*, not far from *Gkazi-gkumugk*. — For *Yerst*, *Dervagk* and *Humeidi*, see Part IV. Rem. 11 14 & 15.

Remark 6. page 118. یزیدیّه , سرمکیّه

These are two fortresses, according to the account of all three versions, built by Yezid and inhabited by many families of his own tribe. We do not find any similar names among the villages of *Legzistan*. — مقاطر and معرقه now are two villages numbered to the *Mehâl* of *Tat* in the lower Tabasaran, not far from Derbend. Klaproth reads these erroneously مقطری and محرقنی which are the *accusative* case of مقطر or محرقه. —

Remark 7. page 118.

As the reader may observe, there is in this place a great difference between our MS. and that of Berlin, with regard to the arrangements of Yezid &c. In the MS. of St. Petersburg we find a more extensive detail of what we read in Klaproth's translation. — This obviously indicates the existence of some omission in our MS. I therefore present here, accompanied with a translation, the account given in the MS. of St. Petersburg, as we find it in Dr. Dorn's copy, at the same time placing our corrections in parentheses.

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Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version omitted in our MS.

خلیفه جعفر ومنصوره (ابوجعفر منصور) بیوردی (یدّی) مینك آدم [واوز که لردن (؟)] شام دن وجزیره دن وموصل دن وفرق مینك آدم اوز که برلردن که یدّی مینك خانه کوچ (اولا) روانه قیلدی (قیلسونلر) که ینکی قلعه لرده وشهرلرده اوی لرحوتوب دوره لر اونوز مینك بهادر ایکیت لرخراساندن اون ایکی مینك (here something must be omitted) ابراهیم ابن عوفه وهاشم بن شعبه سلیمه (شعیب سلیمه) ویردی بوایکی سنی آنلره سردار قویدی اسد اوغلی جمله سنه سردار اولوب الپی (الپن) سدّیته کلدیلر که انکا شدی باروچای دیرلر اول چای اوزره دوشدیلر لشکر اسلامینك سرداری اسد اوغلی وابراهیم بن عونه (عوف) وهاشم بن شعیبه انلر اندن دیلر (آتلاندیلر) هربری التی کرپوچی آلوب آتلرینه بغدیلر (بغلدیلر؟) اسد اوغلی دیدی هرکیم مندن یخشی لق لومر آلتی کرپوچی آلوب بوسدن (بوسّدن) آتینه بغلسون جمله لشکر کرمج (کریج) کتوردیلر (کونردیلر) اندن روانه اولوب روکاله یتدیلر اسد اوغلی اندن اندی ابراهیم بن عوف وهاشم بن شعیب (شعیبی) دشمن (دشمنه) کوندردی بولردخی قصب دره سنده

Abú-Dja'far Mensur, the Khalif, ordered that (seven) thousand men from Syria, Djezireh and Musel, and 40,000 men from other places all consisting of 7000 families, should set off to build themselves houses and inhabit the new fortresses and towns. He gave 30000 brave men of *Khurasán* and 12000 of..... to *Ibrahim* the son of *'Auf*, and *Háshim* the son of *Shu'aib*: These two he appointed as chiefs over them, but the son of Asad was the principal commander of all. So they reached the wall of *Alpend*, which is now called *Barú-tchai*[e], and remained near that river[f]. The son of Asad, the commander of the army of Islam, *Ibrahim* the son of *'Auf*, and *Hashim* the son of *Shu'aib* mounted their horses and (each) took 6 bricks and fastened on their horses. The son of Asad then said: whoever expects my favour, let him take 6 bricks of this wall and fasten them on his horse. The whole army then took with them bricks and proceeded till they reached *Rúkáll*. Here the son of Asad alighted, but Ibrahim the son of Auf, and Hashim the son of Shu'aib he sent against the enemy. These (chiefs) also alighted in the valley of *Gkasab* and made themselves ready. The son of Asad, the governor of Derbend, now ordered to build

[e] In Klaproth's translation باروچالی *Barou-tchali*, which he translates *le boulevart de Tchali*, and takes it to be the *Barchly* (perhaps he means the *Bachli*) of the present day. But the etymology of the word, according to the assertion in this quotation indicates the second part of it to be چای (a river) and not چالی.

[f] Here we must suppose that the said wall, being very close to the river, designated in the quotation, the one is taken for the other.

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towns. (Here, we must suppose, were used the bricks taken and brought by the Mussulmans.) First they built *Dûghrînt*, secondly *Sifnan*, (or *Stgknan*) and a third strong fortress was built in the valley, where Hâshim was encamped with his army against the enemy.[g] After this they built *Muta'i* and *Kamakh*. He ordered that three hundred families[h] should remove from Tabasarân to *Muta'i* (!) and he appointed his own brother to govern over Tabasarân. Then he built (or rather repaired) *Dervagk*, then *Hemiri* (rather Humeidi). Then he built *Kheilu-t-türub* (otherwise *Khetlu-t-tughrâb*) and *Kheilu-l-Kibrta*[i]. — Having finished these towns he settled the people of *Hams* in Humeidi (another reading *Hamtri*); that of *Damasc* he settled in *Dervagk*. — *Dervagk* was a large town. — In Yersi he settled

قوندیلر وحاصر دوردیلر دربند حاکمی اسد اوغلی بیوردی شهرلریاپکااوّل دوغرینی ایکنجی سقنان (سفنان ٧.) اوچونجی هاشم دره ده کافرلشکری لجان یرایدی (ایله دوران یرده؟) محکم قلعه یاپدیلر آندن مطاعینی آندن کماخی یاپدیلر امربوبوردی اوچ یوز ایو طبسران دن مطاعیه کتوردی واوز قرداشنی طبسرانه حاکم قیلدیلر آندن صنکره دواقی بناقیلدی ودخی حمیری (حمیدی؟) وخیل التراب (الطّغزاب ٧.) وخیل الکبریا بناقیلدی بوشهرلری التی آیده بتوردی اهل حمص حمیدی ده (حمیری ده ٧.) قویدی واهل دمشقی درواق

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[g] In Klaproth's translation we read: «et la troisième dans la vallée (Derré) où Hachem avait campé. C'était de cette vallée que les infidèles partaient constamment pour faire des irruptions dans l'Irak et dans l'Adzerbaïdjân.» In Dr. Dorn's version in this place I suspect an omission, perhaps, of a whole line; therefore the set of words: اوچنجی هاشم دره ده کافرلشکری لجان یرایدی محکم قلعه یاپدیلر I would not read otherwise but thus: اوچنجی هاشم دره ده کافرلشکری ایله دوران یرده محکم قلعه یاپدیلر which agrees with Klaproth's translation excepting only the addition of the whole sentence that we find in it. It is also remarkable that the passage in Dr. Dorn's version gives to the valley mentioned here the name of *Gkasb* or *Gkasab*; but Klaproth's translation does not name at all the valley and makes «Kasab» with another, «*Roukab*» two separate names for places which were taken by Hashim from the enemy.

[h] In Klaproth's translation we read 3000 familles, which I think is a mistake either in the Berlin MS. or in the *Extrait.* — Besides we must notice here that «*Methaulïeh*» or properly *Muta'a*, from which, according to the assertion of Klaproth's translation, a great number of families were transported to a certain valley, belonged, likewise according to the account given in the same translation, to the number of towns newly built by Yezid's order. Following therefore the indication of Dr. Dorn's version, which is in this point more correct and logical we suspect a great mistake in this place of the Berlin version, which to our great astonishment escaped the learned Klaproth's notice.

[i] In Klaproth's translation we read ذلّ الصغرى and ذلّ الکبری. The word ذلّ. were it written otherwise, and perhaps more correctly ظلّ (a *shadow* a *refuge*), would lead to think that the copier has mistaken it for خيل. The copier might more easily fall into the same mistake if the word were written ذيل i. e. by joining the letter ذ to the ى of يل thus: ذيل. At any rate I prefer *Zeil* or *Zil* to *Kheil* of Dr. Dorn's version, and think that the name is identic with that which we have noticed in the part IV. Rem. 13. — التراب or الطقراب, and الکبریا of Dr. Dorn's version must be الصّغرى and الکبری as it is in the Berlin MS. —

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شهرنده قویدی درولق عظیم شهرایدی و اردون
اهلینی برسی ده قویدی بوشهرلره درپوش دیرلر(؟)
انلره نوشیروان قصرلرندن سکّز قصرویردی وموصل
اهلنی درپوش شهرنده قویدی جمله بوشهرلره بیوردیکه
دره لرده ویول لرده قراول لق ایده لر یزیدیّه آدلوبر
اولوشهربناقیلدی اوزتابع لرندن انده خلق قویدی
ودخی سرمکیّه ادلوبرشهر بناقیلدی اندن صنکره
مقاطری ومحرقه نی بناقیلدی جمله سنده لشکر قویدی
دربند نك احوالی بخشی اولدی کافرنك دخی دربند
جانبنه کلمکه طا قتی قالمادی باب الباب (الابواب)
فضیلتی عالمده مشهو راولدی خراج اوّلکی قانونده
آلنور ایدی وقیطاق وطبسران وکوره وقورح وآختی
وقبا (قبّه) ننك خراجلرینی اوّلکی عادتده الور ایدی
دربندنك عزّتی زیاده اولدی وکافرلردن (وکافرلرنك)
فکر فساد (فاسد) لری باطل اولدی *

the people of *Ardân*. These towns are called *Derpúsh* (?). To them he gave eight edifices (fortifications?) founded by Anushirvân[k] He settled the people of Mûsel in the town of *Derpúsh*. — All (the inhabitants of) these towns, he ordered to watch by turns, the valleys and the roads. — He built a town under the name of *Yezidiyeh*, and filled it with his own dependants. He also built another town named *Sermekiyeh*. Afterwards he built *Magkatir* and *Mahregkeh*, and in all these towns he put garrisons. — So the state of Derbend became flourishing; the infidels had no power to make incursions into it. — The excellency of *Babul-bab* (so we sometimes find in MSS. instead of *Babul-Abwâb*) was promulgated throughout the world. The tributes were gathered on the ancient principles. The tribute of *Gkaitagk*, *Tabasarâu*, *Kureh*, *Gkurah*, *Akhtt* and *Gkubbeh* (or commonly *Kuba*[l]) were (also) gathered, as they were usually done before. The merits of Derbend increased and the evil designs of the Infidels were annihilated. » —

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[k] The expression بوشهرلره درپوش دیرلرانلره نوشیروان قصرلرندن سکزقصروبردی we do not find at all in the Berlin version and we do not understand its sense. Besides, the first part of this line wholly contradicts a phrase which immediately follows and that is: وموصل اهلنی درپوش شهرنده قویدی «*he settled the people of Musel in the town of Derpoush*», which also we read in Klaproth's translation: — here by *Derpoush* is meant a town, and from the preceding passage we understand that all the above mentioned towns were called Derpoush.

[l] Now there is an extensive Province of that name, containing about 1580 square *farsakhs*, or about 10.500 Russian versts, lying between 65°10′ and 67°10′ East long. (from the meridian of London); and 40°30′ 41°40′ northern latitude. The capital of this province is a small town, containing 645 houses, and lying under 41°21′10″ N. latitude and 66°5′ E. long near the river *Gkudyâl*. The name of this province and of the town is now generally pronounced *Gkûba*. قوبا or قبا, but its established orthography is قبّه *Gkubbeh*. May it not be the قبله of the ancient Geographers? We find also, however, that the town formerly was called *Gkûdyâl*, from the name of the river. — For *Akhti* see Rem. 8. to Part VI of this work.

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ذکر (بعض وقایع درزمان) خلافت (مهدی و) هارون الرّشید

تاریخ سنه ۱۶۰ اولانده خلافت نوبتی هارون الرّشیده (مهدی یه) یتشدکده نصکره جیون آنجم اوغلی نی دربندنك حکومتنه روانه ایلیوب مقرّر ایلدی که اطراف واکنافی دربندنك خراج مستمّری سنی جمع ایدوب مرور ایله دربند اهلنه ومبارزلره تقسیم ایلسون چون شیله که شهره داخل اولوب شهرنك بروج وحصارلرین ملاحظه ایدوب استوار کوردی ظلمنك بناسنی قویوب لهوولعب ومناهی اولان اموره مرتکب اولوب شهردن بی خبراولدی ودربند اهلی اطراف واکنافه متفرّق اولوب داغلدیلر بوخبر بغداد خلیفه سینه یتشدی خلیفه ربیعهٔ باهلینی دربند نك حکومتنه روانه ایلدی شیله که ربیعة الباهلی دربند شهرینه یتشدی [چون] ابن نجمی دوتوب محبوس وایاغلرینه دوشاخه ووروب خلیفه حضورنه کوندردی ٭

(PART VIII.)

Description of (some particulars concerning Derbend during) the Khalifate of (Mehdi and) Harounur-Reshid. [1]

In the year 160, the Khalifate having passed to Harounur-Rashid (*Mehdi?*), he sent *Jeidne* the son of Anjum (or rather the son of *Nejm*) as governor to Derbend; ordering him to collect the yearly revenues imposed upon all the districts belonging to Derbend, and to distribute them by degrees amongst the inhabitants and the troops of the fortress. (*Jeidne*) arrived at Derbend and, having found its walls and towers strong, laid the foundation of oppression, gave himself up to amusements and forbidden actions and neglected the affairs of the town: the inhabitants of Derbend were in consequence scattered abroad in different quarters. The Khalif of Bagdad, having received information of this, dispatched *Rebi'ai-Bahili* in the capacity of governor to Derbend, who no sooner reached the town, than he arrested the son of Nejm, put his legs in irons and sent him to the presence of the Khalif [2].

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تاریخ سنه ۱۷۳ اولانده حزیمه چارخی اوغلی نی اون ایکی مین مبارز ایله دربند شهرنه مأمورورولن ایلدی حزیمه دربنده وارد اولاندہ نصکره هرنه خراب اولان برج وبارو وارایدی تمامی سنی تعمیر وآباد ایلدی برنچه وقتدنصکره خلیفه اوزی دربنده کلوب کوررندن صنکره روباس دن بند لریغلیوب شهرنك قراغنه سوکتوروب باغلر وبوستانلر ودکرمانلر تعمیر ایدوب اونلارنك مداخلن ومنافعن شهرنك فقرالرینه وقف ونصدق ایلدی صفصه (حفض ؟) بن عمری دربندنك حکومتنه تعیین ایدوب مقرّروتاکید ایلدی که جمعه نمازینی فوت وتأخیر ایتمسونلر آلقصّه هارون الرّشید نعمت لرویرندن صکره بغداد طرفنه مراجعت ایلدی راوی نقل ایدرکه قرخلر قاپوطرفندن داشدن کنبذ واردر هارون آلرشیدنك اوغلی اول داشنك ایچنده مدفون در *

In the year 173, the Khalif (*Harún*) [5] sent *Hazimeh*, the son of *Teharkhi* [4], with twelve thousand warriors to Derbend. Having arrived there, Hazimeh repaired all the decayed parts of the walls and bastions [5]. After some time, the Kalif himself visited Derbend. Having seen this town he ordered some channels to be cut from the Rûbas, and water to be led (through these channels) to the suburbs, where he planted fruit and flower gardens, erected water-mills; the revenue of which he dedicated to the support of the poor inhabitants of the town.

The Khalif appointed *Saghsa* (Hafadz?) [6], the son of *Omar*, governor of the town, and gave him strict orders that the Mussulmans should not neglect their prayers of *juma'a*. Thus Harounur-Reshid having done much good returned to Bagdad [7]. Historians say, that there is a stone vault near the gate, Khirkhler-gkapi, in which the son of Harounur-Reshid is buried [8].

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EXTRACT FROM THE DERBEND-NAMEH OR HISTORY OF DERBEND,

BY

M. Klaproth,

Answering to Part VIII. of our translation.

L'an 160 de l'Hégire (777 de J. C.), Mahadi Mohammed, nouveau Khalife de Bagdad, fit élever un grand bâtiment à Derbend, afin d'y renfermer le grain qui y arriverait, et de le distribuer ensuite aux pauvres et aux nécessiteux. Cette ville resta florissante pendant long-temps, parceque ses gouverneurs étaient des hommes justes et intègres: cela dura jusqu'au temps de *Djioun* fils de *Nodjem*, fils de *Hachem*, qui commit beaucoup d'injustices et n'obéit pas au Khalife. Il agit au contraire selon son bon plaisir, et par là il causa la décadence de Derbend. A cette époque, plusieurs habitans de cette ville furent séparés les uns des autres, et dispersés dans le Chirvân et à Berda'a. Ce gouverneur se montra très-cruel envers *Ouz-bek;* et il fut prouvé par témoins qu'il avait agi d'accord avec les *Khaszari:* c'est pourquoi le Khalife le destitua, le fit conduire enchaîné à Berda'a et nomma *Rabiat-ul-Bahly* à sa place.

L'an 173 de l'hégire (789 de J. C.), le Khalife Haroun-al-Rachid envoya *Khazimeh* avec beaucoup de troupes à Derbend et lui ordonna de réparer les places voisines qui tombaient en ruine. A son arrivée Khazimeh fit arrêter tous les partisans de *Djioun*, et les envoya enchaînés au Khalife: quelques uns furent punis du supplice, d'autres mis en liberté. Enfin Haroun-al-Rachid se mit lui-même en marche avec son armée pour Derbend, rebâtit cette ville, la repeupla, y conduisit des aqueducs, fit planter des vignobles et des jardins, établit des moulins, et ordonna que tout ce qui serait récolté dans les vignes et dans les champs serait employé à réparer les aqueducs endommagés. Il fit distribuer aux pauvres l'excédant de ces revenus et de la capitation; il exempta aussi les habitans de la ville de la redevance pour les moulins. Il fonda dans tous les quartiers des greniers et des mosquées. Haroun-al-Rachid resta sept ans à Derbend. Lorsqu'il eut résolu de retourner à Bagdad, il convoqua tous les habitans, et leur donna une preuve de son affection, en nommant pour gouverneur de leur ville, en l'an 180 de l'hégire (786 de J. C.), *Haffah*, fils d'Omar, et en les autorisant à le déposer, s'il les opprimait sans nécessité. Du côté de la ville qui fait face aux *Khaszari*, à la porte *Bâb-ul-djihâd*, il y a un petit château construit en pierres qui renferme, dit-on, les tombeaux des enfans du Khalife Haroun-al-Rachid. (Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Tome III. p. 466—467).

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Here finishes Klaproth's translation; because the end of the Berlin MS., which served that learned Orientalist in making his Extrait, wanted in this place. It is to be regretted, however, that he did not annex to his little work the continuation of the Manuscript belonging to the « Bibliothèque Royale de Paris », which he has referred to and consulted in many places of his Extrait.

In this place, as well as in the remaining chapters of my Derbend-nâmeh I will supply the part deficient in Klaproth's Extrait with the continuation of Dr. Dorn's version with an English translation and notes: by doing this I think to fill up the defect of Klaproth's Extrait and complete my own plan of exhibiting to our readers all « *forms* » of the Derbend-nâmeh accessible to my investigations (read the Preface to this work).

Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version with an English translation, forming a supplement to Part VIII. of our work.

تاریخ یوز طوقسانده مقسط (مسقط؟) بکلری فوت
اولدی دربند اهلی مقسطنك (مسقطنك) اکین لرین
وملکلرین اوزلرینه آلدیلر *

In the year 190, the (last of the) princes of *Magksat* (Mosgkat) [1] died, and the inhabitants of Derbend seized the lands and properties of that country.

تاریخ ایکی یوز اللی بش ده ایدی هاشم بن
منسیه‌نی (منسیه دن؟) جیون بن نجیم دربندی آلدی
بش ییل دربنده حکومت ایتدی.

In the year 255, *Djeiune*, the son of *Nejm* took Derbend (from?) *Hashim* the son of *Mensayeh* and ruled there five years [2].

[a] A little village in the lower Tabasaran is to this day called by the name of Mogksat, which I rather take for the same Mosgkat that we have had occasion to hint at in remark 5 to part I.

[b] Probably this is another *Jeiune* (read the conclusion of the remark 2 to the Part VIII[th] of this work.) — This passage of Dr. Dorn's version is difficult and perplexing. There we read: هاشم بن منسیه نی (another reading الدی) جیون ابن نجیم دربندی الدم which may be corrected in two different ways: the one as I have adopted it here in the text and the other thus: هاشم بن منسیه جیون بن نجیم دن دربندی الدی • Hashim the son of Mensayeh took Derbend from Jeiune the son of Nejm. I have preferred the first way: a) because the word منسیه is put in the text in the accusative case and جیون in the nominative therefore it is more probable to suspect a mistake in the objective. b) because from our version of the Derbend-nameh we learn about a certain *Jeiune* the son of Nejm or Anjum, who some 90 years before the epoch here referred to was governor of Derbend (read the conclusion of the Remark 1 to the Part VIII of this work.). — There may be a *third reading* of this passage which would much better illustrate the whole statement; but I am afraid of being too arbitrary in announcing its preference, since I have no authority to trust upon in regard to the history of Derbend about that time. However I will present it to the

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تاريخ (ايكى) يوز آلتش ده ايدى هاشم بن محمد صاحب شيروان دربندى شراقه اوغلى هاشم دن آلوب تعمير ايتدي ودربند ده برسراى ياپدى كه اوز لرندن (اولكه لردن ؟) عشرى اول سرايه قويه لر حاجت اولانده دربند اهلنه ويره لر وشيروانده چوق باغلر واكينلر ديرلر دربند اهلنه وقف در كه شيروان پادشاهى دربند اهلنه وقف ايلمش در شيروان بكلرى ظلم طر يقين دوندىلر *

In the year (two) hundred and sixty, *Hashim* the son of Muhammed, the Sovereign of Shirwan, took Derbend from Hashim, the son of *Sherâgkeh*, and improved it and built there a store-house for collecting the tithes (which were to be gathered from the districts subjugated to Derbend?), in order to distribute them to the inhabitants in time of need. In Shirwân there are said to have been many gardens and lands, consecrated to the inhabitants of Derbend by the Sovereign of Shirwân. — The Princes of Shirwân began the system of tyranny.

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE EIGHTH.

Remark 1. page 127.

We have here made the same additions in parentheses as we considered necessary in the title of Part VII. We have, besides, added the name مهدى *Mehdi*, who possessed his father's throne in 158. In the MS. of St. Petersburg we do not find any name in this place, it is there said indefinitely: « *The Khalif of Bagdad* », but in Klaproth's translation we read *Mehdi*-

notice of my judicious readers. May there not be an omission of one or two words in the text of the St. Petersburg MS.? Can we not take the syllable ى after منسيه for بن? May we not think that there were two *Hashims* who governed Derbend in 255 and 260? Was not the first of these the son of *Sherâgkeh* or rather *Seragkeh* mentioned in the following passage of the same version? Then I would render the passage thus:

تاريخ ايكى يوز اللى بش ده ايدى كه هاشم بن شراقه بن منسيه بن جيون بن نجم دربندى آلدى الخ

it was in the year 255 that Hashim the son of Seragkeh, the son of Mensayeh (I do not know any such proper name as Mansayeh) the son of Jeiune, the son of Nejm possessed Derbend.» In such case this Hashim will be the grand son to the same Jeiune, who, according to the calculation of all the three versions, lived in 160, i. e. 90 years previous to the epoch named here.

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Muhammed, as the successor of *Almânsur* was indeed named. Mehdi died in 169 and was succeeded by *Mousâ Alhâdi* who reigned a very short time. After him the Khalifate passed into the hands of Haroun in 170 of the Hidjreh.

Remark 2. page 127.

1) In none of the historical works in my possession could I find anything relating to the affairs of Daghistân, or Aderbijan, during the Khalifate of *Mehdi*. The reign of this sovereign being much disturbed by bloody wars at home with the *Zendigks* and other heretics, (whose appearance under the banners of *Al-Mugkenna* and *Abdul-gkadir* occasioned disorders in many parts of the Muhammedan dominions), and involved partly in wars abroad with the Romans, it appears that the historians of that age gave little attention to the affairs of those remotest parts of the Theocratical Empire; because, either from their being devoid of interest, or from their uncertainty, they seemed unworthy of attention. For this reason we have been unable to find anything in Teberi, Mir-khond, and others, that we might compare with the statements of the author of the *Derbend-nâmeh*.

The difference which the reader will find between the narration of our MS. and Klaproth's translation, is nearly the same as exists between the former and that of the MS. of St. Petersburg, which, being almost identical with Klaproth's translation, we here present to the reader with a verbal translation: تاریخ بوز آلتمش ده ایدی خلیفهٔ بغداد بیوردی دربند ده اولوسرای یاپدیلر (که) دورت جانبدن کلان عشری وسوری ومسکورنك واوزکه ولایتنك عشروسورساتنی اونده توکه لر فقرایه ومساکینه آندن آیروب اولشورلر ایدی بوقانون وقاعده چوق زمان قالدی دربند حاکمی عدل وتقوی وطاعة وغزاوتیله عمرین کچوردی تاجیون بن هاشم زمانینه دکین اول جیون سلیمه ظاهراولنده ظلم وعصیان آندن ظاهراولدی وخلیفه به اطاعت ایتمدی اوزنفسی هواسیله ایشلدی هم دربندی خراب ایتدی جیون اناسی دخی یمان اشلر ظاهراولدوغی ایچون دربند حاکم لغندن معزول اولوب برداغده (بردعه) محبوس ایدی آندن الوب دربندی ربیعة الباهلیه ویرمشلر ایدی آنلك اوغلی جیون ظلمیندن که خزری کافرلری ایله دلی براولدوغی ایچون (ایدی؟) دربند خلقی شیروانه وغیری برلره طاغلدیلر.

"In the year 160, by order of the Khalif of Bagdad, they built a large storehouse in Derbend, into which they put the tenth parts (tithes) and provisions that were gathered from all the four quarters, also the provisions and the tenth parts received from *Muskûr* (rather Mushkour) and other countries. Out of these (provisions) they used to take and distribute among the poor and needy. This rule and custom was observed a long while; the governor of Derbend spent his life in justice, godliness, piety and making wars for religion, till the time of *Jeiûne* the son of Hashim. With the appearance of this *Jeiune*, the *Selmi*, there appeared treachery and rebellion. He would not obey the orders of the Khalif, but acted according to his own pleasure and inclinations, and (by that means) destroyed Derbend. The father of Jeiûne therefore, in consequence of such evil deeds was also deposed from his office of governor and

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was imprisoned in *Berda'*, and Derbend being taken out of his hands was given to *Rebiatul-bahili*. In consequence of the oppression of Jeiune his (i. e. Hashim's) son, who was secretly on good terms with the infidel Khazars, the inhabitants of Derbend were scattered to Shirwan and other places.»

From this account we understand, that this *Jeiûne* was not the governor of Derbend, but the son of the governor Hashim, probably the same who with Ibrâhim had accompanied Yezid the son of Asad, of whom we had occasion to speak in a quotation from the same MS. o St. Petersburg in our Rem. 7, to the preceding part VII. In Klaproth's translation Jeiûne is said to have been the son of *Nodjem*, the son of *Hashem*. In another place of the MS. belonging to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg we find a second Jeiûne the son of *Nejîm* (see *the continuation of Dr. Dorn's version of the Derbend-nâmeh* forming a supplement to Part VIII. of our work) who lived in 250 of the Hidjreh, i. e. about 90 years previous to the epoch indicated here in this place in all the three versions: perhaps indeed there were *two Jeiûnes*. —

The word *Ouz-bek* in Klaproth's translasion has no connexion with the subject.

Remark 3. page 128.

In our MS. there is no name mentioned, but in the MS. of St. Petersburg and in Klaproth's translation we find *Haroun* who was indeed at that time (he was established in the year 170) the Khalif of Bagdad.

Remark 4. page 128.

In Dr. Dorn's version we have erroneously جرینی for جزینی. Klaproth makes him the son of *Djazimeh*. Is not this the Hazimeh, whom *Mas'ûdi* takes for the progenitor of the tribe of لودانیه? (see there for دودانیه). —

Remark 5. page 128.

In the MS. of St. Petersburg in this place it is said, that this governor supplied the channels of Derbend with water (وارخلر ینه صوکتوردی).

Concerning Jeiûne's followers being seized by Hazimeh and sent to the Khalif, we also find in the MS. of St. Petersburg the same as is stated in Klaproth's translation. In this place of our MS. there is nothing on the subject; but a little before it is mentioned, that «*Rebiatu-l-bâhili* no sooner arrived in Derbend than he arrested the son of *Nejm*, put his legs in irons and sent him to the presence of the Khalif.»

Remark 6. page 128.

In Klaproth's translation we read *Haffah*, and in the MS. of St. Petersburg حفض; we have preferred the last, since we know it is a proper name, while صفصة or حفه we have never heard

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as such. — Klaproth's Extrait in this place says, that the nomination of Haffa as governor by the Khalif, who authorised the inhabitants of Derbend to depose him in case, he should oppress them without necessity — was *a proof of his affection for them* &c. Comparing this passage with that which we read in the St. Petersburg MS., I am disposed to think that the translation is rather arbitrary in Klaproth's Extrait. I will insert here this passage from Dr. Dorn's version with a faithful translation, praying those of my readers, who may have access to the MS. of Derbend-nameh belonging to the Royal Library of Berlin, to compare both corresponding parts. Here follows the passage of Dr. Dorn's version: هارون الرشید یدی ییل دربنده (دربندده) دوروب اندن بغداده کتمکه قصدایتدی دربند اهلنی چاغروب دلدارلق ویردی * تاریخ بوز سکسنده حفص بن عمری دربنده حاکم ایتدی ودیدی الخ i. e. Hârounur-Rashid having stayed seven years in Derbend resolved to set off for Bagdad. He called for the inhabitants of Derbend and caressed them. — In the year 180 he appointed *Hafadz* the son of Omar governor of Derbend and said &c. Read the rest in Remark 8. to this part.

Remark 7. page 128.

In the two other versions it is said that *Hâroun* remained seven years in Derbend!

Remark 8. page 128.

No one can see any vault or other buildings at the place here pointed out. But at the distance of about 30 fathoms from the gate there was at the time I lived in Derbend a place of *Musalla* surrounded with a fence of stone, where they performed the prayers of *Djendzeh* (a solemn prayer which is offered up by the Musulmans for the deceased, before they are carried to the burying-ground). In that place there stood, as tradition reports, the tomb of the son or of the sons) of *Haroun*. Read the end of this note.

I will here lay before the reader the narrative in the MS. of St. Petersburg, which in many points differs from ours and that of Berlin and which in regard to the tombs of Haroun's sons agrees with the tradition referred to.

تاریخ بوز سکسنده حفص بن عمری دربنده حاکم ایتدی دیدی سنی دربنده حاکم قیلدم الله دن قورق جمله (جمعه) نمازین کیرده قیل مشورت سزایتمیه سن (ایش قیلمیه سن) دربند نك هرایشی سننك الله (در) اکرسندن غیانت لق چقسه یاخزاوتی ترك ایتسن ویا ظلم ایتسنك دربند اهلنه رخصت ویردیم (که) سنی معزول ایده لروسنك اوستنکا اغلب اوغلی عبد الملکی ناظرقویدم سرلشکرلکی وداروغه لغی آنکاویردم که بزم معتبرمز اولدر برروایت ده بودر که دربند نك حالا مشهور اولان قاپوسی ننك خضری جانبنده طاشدن حصاروار اول حصار ایچنده اولان قبرلرهارون الرشیدنك اوغلانلرینك در *

« In the year 180 he appointed *Hafadz* as governor of Derbend, saying: I appoint thee in the capacity of governor of Derbend; fear God and enter (the Mosque) and always perform the prayers of *Djuma'a* (or the Friday, which is kept holy by the Muhammedans. Read the first part of the Remark 4 to Part V.). Do nothing without counsel; all the affairs of Derbend are in thy hands; if thou commit treachery, or leave off making war for religion, or if thou practise oppression, — I permit the inhabitants of Derbend to depose thee. I have appointed *Abdul-melik*, the son of *Aghlab*, to watch over thee; I give him the office of general of the troops and chief of the police, for he is our confident. — Tradition says also, that on the northern side (literally: in the direction of the Khazars) of the 'gate of Derbend, which is now so famous, there is a fence of stone, and that the tombs therein are those of the sons of Harûnur-Rashid. »

In fact, at the N. East corner of the above mentioned Musalla, I remember, there stood about 30 years ago two small slabs of stone such as the Muhammedans use in their sepulchres, indicating the existence of two graves under them. The inscription on those stones, as far as I remember, and it must be so, was illegible. Though a tradition among the *Sunnites* asserted that under those little monuments reposed the relics of two of the offspring of one of the Khalifs, who had, at an early period of the Muhammedan history, visited Derbend (some people indeed name *Haroun*), yet little or no attention was paid to these memorials. The *Shette* inhabitants of the town, who are ten times more numerous than the Sunnites and to whom alone belongs the above mentioned Musalla, feeling a strong resentment for all the Khalifs of the Arabian history, whom they consider as usurpers of the hereditary rights of Ali and his posterity, would have broken in pieces the monuments if they had believed the tradition: but they suffered them to remain as belonging to some unknown personages, or rather to some innocent children. Whether those stones exist till this day — I do not know. —

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ذکر بخشیدن معدن نفط ونمك بمبارزان دربند

تاریخ سنه ۲۷۲ اولانده خلیفهٔ بغدادفرمان یازوب دربند اهلنه کوندرمش ایدی که بادکوبه ننك نفط ونمك معدننك مداخلن دربند اهلنه مرحمت ایلدم محمّد ابن عمّاری نفط ونمك اوستنه تحویل دارقویوب هربل نفط ونمك معدنلرننك مداخلن جمع ایدوب مبارزلره تقسیم ایلدی ۰ بیله روایت اولونوبدر سنه ۲۹۰ اولانده بی شتر آدلو دربندنك حکومتنه مقرر اولونوب دربند اهلنك مجموع وظیفه ونفطونمك مداخلن وکندلردن حاصل اولان منافع لرین قطع ایلیوب اوز نه ضبط ایلدی دربند اهلی ناچار

(PART IX.)

An account of the (Khalifs) bestowing the springs of

Naphtha and Salt

on the warriors of Derbend.

In the year 272, the Khalif of Bagdad [1] issued a mandate to the inhabitants of Derbend, bestowing upon them the revenue of the springs of *Naphtha* [2] and of the Salt-pits in the province of *Bákú*. *Muhammed*, the son of *Ammár*, was appointed superintendant of the salt-pits and naphtha-springs, whose yearly income he gathered and distributed among the warriors of Derbend.

It is related that in the year 290, one named *Bi-shutur* was sent in the capacity of governor to Derbend. He ceased to give their pensions to the inhabitants; he usurped all the revenues arising from the Naphtha, salt, and other productions of the country. The inhabitants (i. e. the warriors) of Derbend being thus deprived of all means, gave themselves up to trade and other employments, and there soon appeared amongst them

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قالوب تجارت وکسبه مشغول اولدیلر ودربند اراسنده فسق وفجور پیدا اولوب خضری طایفه سی دربند شهرننك احاطه سنه کلوب چوق سعی وکوشش ایلدی لر (لکن) شهری ضبط ایده بلمدیلر آخرالامر سرحد لرده اولان مبارزلرخارجلردن وشهرده اولان مبارزلر شهردن خضری طایفه سنه حمله ایدوب کریزان ایلدی ٭ تاریخ سنه ۳۲۰ اولانده اسلام ولایت لرنه نزاع دوشوب دربند شهری نظامدن دوشوب هرج ومرج وفساد لر ظهوره کلدی آخرالأمر دربند شهری ودربند نك حواله سنده اولان سرحد لر ودربنده تابع اولان کند لر وقلعه لر [دربند اهلنه] دشمن اولدیلر داغستان امیرلری هربیسی اوز اختیاری ایله سرخود اولوب بربریله جنك ومنازعه ایدوب کوندن کونه روزکارنا موافق دربند شهرنی (هر) بش کونده بر حاکمه متعلّق ایلدی تاکه خانلر وسلطان لر دربند شهرنه متصرّف ومالك اولدیلر ٭

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disorder and corruption. The Khazarian tribes, in consequence found means to besiege the town and endeavoured greatly to take possession of it, but (nevertheless) they could not succeed; for the troops defending the frontiers from without and the warriors that were in the town from within, attacked the enemy and put them to flight.

In the year 320 the dominions of Islâm were involved in general discord and the province of Derbend being wholly neglected, became the prey of confusion and calamities. At last the inhabitants of the towns, as well as those of all the places lying around the frontiers, together with all the fortresses and villages belonging to Derbend, revolted. All the Princes of Daghistân claiming independance rose in continual wars and hostilities against each other. This unfavourable state of affairs subjected Derbend every five days to the sway of some new ruler, until at last it fell under the government of the *Khans* and *Sultans*[5].

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Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version, with an English translation answering to Part IX of our manuscript.

ARTICLE I.

تاريخ ايكى يوز يتمش ده بغداذ خليفه سى نفطنك ودوزلاغنك باريسنى شيروان ملكندن آيروب دربند اهلنه وقف ايتدى بادكوبه ده دريا قراغنده انبار خانه آيروز ديوب بيوردى انبارخانه ايچون يرقزانده براولوطاش چقدى يازلش ايدى نفط ودوزلاغ دربندنك وقفى درمونى خليفه يه عرض ايدنده خليفه يازوب كوندردى كه هركيم بونفطى ودوزلاغى دربند اهلندن آلسه الله تعالى ننك وپيغمبرنك دشمنى اولسون ديوب نفطى ودوزلاغى جمله سنى شيروان ملكندن چيقاروب دربند اهلنه خاص ايلدى محمد بن عمّارى امين ايدوب آنىك اوستنده سركارقيلدى كه هرنه نفط ودوزلاغ (دن) حاصل اولور دربنده ويره *

محمّد بن عمّاردن صنكره محمّد بن يزيد شيراونه پادشاه اولدى نفط ودوزلاغ اوزره ناظرقيلدى (قويدى؟) هرنه كه نقدحاصل اولور ايدى وكيل لق ايله قبول ايدوب قبض ايدردى ونفط ودوزلاغ ايچون

In the year 270, the Khalif of Bagdad withdrew (the revenue of) the pits of *naphtha* and salt from the country of Shirwân and bestowed it upon the inhabitants of Derbend. He ordered a separate store-house to be built in *Badkúbeh* (or Bakû) on the shores of the sea. When they were digging out the ground to lay the foundation of the store-house, there appeared a large stone [a], on which there was written: « The naphtha and salt are consecrated to Derbend. » When this affair was brought before the Khalif he wrote and sent (the following order): « Whosoever shall take away the (pits of) naphtha and salt from the inhabitants of Derbend, shall be the enemy of God and of the Prophet. » So saying he took all the naphtha and salt from Shirwan and appropriated them to the inhabitants of Derbend. He appointed *Muhammed*, the son of *Ammâr*, as steward over these pits of naphtha and salt, in order that he might send to Derbend all the income he should receive from them.

After Muhammed, the son of Ammâr, Muhammed the son of *Yezid* became the Sovereign of Shirwân. He appointed a steward over the naphtha pits and Saltern, who, as agent, received all the revenues that were

[a] The reader will find a similar circumstance in *note b* to Remark 2. of Part IX. —

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derived from them. At that time there was issued a new act of consecration[b] by which the naphtha and salt-pits were consecrated to the Dervishes (i. e. the poor classes of Derbend). The Sovereign of Shirwân, with all the chiefs and rulers, sealed this act of consecration. The object of the Sovereign of Shirwân in appointing stewards (over the said pits) was that the due income of Derbend should not be wasted and the Sovereign of Shirwân did not profit himself by a grain of it, (but) officially[c] he delivered it to the governor of Derbend. The excellency of this blessed spot became known among the Mussulmans, and they used to visit it as a holy place[d].

In Shirwân many persons, having bought corn-lands and gardens, consecrated them to the inhabitants of Derbend. To please God they dug channels, and supplied Derbend with water; so Derbend improved exceedingly. The defence of the great wall[e] the Mussulman warriors considered as an honour to themselves. The usual yearly income was received, and nobody was able to revolt.

ینکی دن لعنت نامه یازوب دربندنك درویشلرینه وقف ایدوب تمسّك یازلدی شیروان پادشاهی وجمله امرا ووکلا مهرلرینی باسوب لعنت نامه یازدی پادشاه شیروان (شیروانینك) ناظر قویمق دن مدّعاسی اولدر (اولایدی) که اهل دربندنك حقّی ضایع اولیه شیروان پادشاهی اوزی برجّه وبردینار طمع ایتمدی تمسّك یازوب دربند حاکمنه ویردی بومبارك یرون شرفی اسلام آراسنده مشهور اولدی اهل اسلام بومبارك یری زیارت اتمکه کلورلرایدی وشیرواندہ چوق کمسه دن اکین وباغ صانون آلوب دربند اهلی ایچون وقف ایتدیلر الله رضاسی ایچون آرخ قازدروب دربنده سوکتوردیلر دربند غایتده یخشی اولدی وسدّ اعظمنك محافظه سنی اهل اسلام قاضی لر (عازیلری ?) اوزلرینه شرف ودولت بیلورلرایدی بوعادتده الان خراجی هریل کلورایدی هیچ کیم مخالفت اتمکه قادر دکل ایدی •

[b] In the original, *a letter of cursing*: because every act of consecration contains certain curses against those who usurp the thing consecrated.

[c] Literally: by writing an act. — Instead of تمسك another reading is سند, which signifies the same thing.

[d] Does this not relate to the respect paid by the Mussulmans to the Gkirkhler? see Rem. 11. to Part II. of this work.

[e] This may be the continuation of the southern wall of Derbend whose ruins now penetrate into the mountains and vallies through Tabasarân, in the direction of Darial. See Remark 8. to Part I.

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Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version with an English translation, forming a supplement to Part IX of our manuscript.

ARTICLE II.

تآريخ دورت يوز لوتوزنده دربند حاكمى عبد الملك بن منصور بن ميمون اولدى دربنده خليفه وامين وسرلشكر اعذب سلمه ننك اولادي ايدى ٠

تآريخ دورت يوز (اوتوز ؟) آلتى ده جيون اولادندن فتنه بلوردى امين لق برطرف اولدى غزاوت كسلدى اهل شيروان طمع ايدوب مقطعى (نفطى ؟) دربندن آلوب اولكى قاعده اوزره اولان خراج منقطع اولدى حق جلّ وعلادن اميد وارز كه دربندنك احوالنه اولّده كى كبى نظام ورسوم قديمه رواج ويره آمين باربّ العالمين ٭

In the year 430, the governor of Derbend *Abdul-melik*, the son of *Mansûr*, the son of *Meimûn* died[f]. The Khalifs (i. e. the viceroys), the plenipotentiaries, and the commanders of the troops in Derbend, were the descendants of *A'azab*, the *Selmi*, (is he not the same with اغلب ?). —

In the year four hundred and (thirty) six there arose a revolt, through (the treachery of) the sons of *Djeune;* (peace and) tranquility were laid aside, and the wars for religion were put an end to. — The inhabitants of Shirwân, moved by avarice, usurped, and took the pits of naphtha[g], from Derbend; the revenue that had been received on the late conditions, ceased. We trust in God the most High and most Supreme, that He will be pleased to restore the affairs of Derbend to the ancient state (of happiness) and that He will reestablish there the former institutions. Amen, O Lord of the Universe!

[f] This may be translated otherwise thus: «Abdul-melik the son of Mansûr &c. *became governor of Derbend*», i. e. by reading the word اولدى *Úldi* and not *Uldi*, but we prefer the second reading, as more proper in this place.

[g] In the original مقطعى which we consider as a corruption of نفطى. —

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REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

PART THE NINTH.

Remark 1. page 136.

The date, whether 272 or 270 as we find the latter in the version of St. Petersburg, relates to the time of the power of *Almuwaffagk*, the brother of the Khalif *Almutamid*. None of the historians whom I have read, relates anything concerning the state of Aderbijan and Daghistan, during that period of successive Ethiopian revolts and bloodshed in Arabia. We only know, that during the reign of this Khalif, as also of others belonging to the dynasty of Beni-Abbas, the viceroys or governors of Armenia and Aderbijan took charge of the affairs of Shirwan and Derbend, while the Khalifs, engaged at home, were content with the information they received from these agents. Therefore, by the title شیروان پادشاهلری *The sovereigns of Shirwan*, as quoted more than once in the version of St. Petersburg, we must understand the *governors* of that country, since we have evident proofs that the establishment of the sovereign authority in Shirwân belongs to after ages [a].

[a] *Katib-tchelebi*, following *Gkazi-Baidzâwi* and *Gkazi-Ahmedi-Ghaffari*, says: that the Sultans or Sovereigns of Shirwan, began their reign *after* the conquest of the *Djinghizides* in Persia &c.; that the *first* dynasty of *these* same sovereigns was established by *Menûchehr*, who was descended, according to *Gkaffâri* from *Anushirvân* himself, or according to *Beidzawi* from *Bahrami-Tchûbin*; and that the *second* dynasty was founded in the time of *Teimouri-Leng* by *Scheikh-Ibrahim* whom *Ahmed Ibni-Arabshah* thinks also to have descended from Anûshirvan. In fact, the history of the sovereigns of Shirwan being one of the most gloomy and neglected subjects in Eastern authors, many historians and able writers have been led into mistakes, in the course of their descriptions. *Hezâr-fenn* and some others begin the account of the Sovereigns of Shirwan with the said *Sheikh-Ibrahim*, contenting themselves with merely hinting at the preceding dynasty. If we consider the original establishment of this first dynasty in the person of *Menûchehr*, whose twelve sons are said by *Katib-tchelebi* to have reigned in Shirwân, and whose genealogy is described by the said *Ghaffâri*, we must then attribute the period of its foundation to the middle of the VI century of the Muhammedan era; for we know well that two eminent Poets of that age, named *Khâgkâni* and *Feleki* [the first died in 562 of the *Hidjret* and the second about that time] were the admirers of that sovereign, and the honorary surname of the first, indicates that he was the special favorite of *Menûchehr-Shirvân-shah* (منوچهر شیروانشاه), entitled also *Khagkâni-Kebir* or the *Great Khâgkan*. Upon this ground we attribute the error, into which *Katib-Tchelebi* falls, in saying that the sovereigns of Shirwân began their reign *after* the conquest of the *Djinghizides* &c.

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Remark 2. page 136.

1) The names *Bákou*, *Bákhou*, *Bákhoui*, *Bákoubeh*, *Bádkoubeh* and *Bakouh* have alternately existed in the history of the East nearly one thousand years; and according to Teberi, some of them still existed in the beginning of the second century of the Muhammedan era. History and geography know very little or nothing about the town itself until the XVI century: it was the time when it begun to pass from hand to hand between the Shirwanshahides, the Sefewides and the Turks; till that period Bakou was known only by its name and its naphtha. The most ancient Muhammedan Geographers, for instance *Istakhri* (who lived in the IX and X[th] centuries) and the I[st] *Gkazwini* (in the XIII century), make mention of Bakou and of its naphtha springs (read also the Arabic text from *Zakertya al-Gkasvini* in the second part of this remark). The famous Teberi, contemporary with *Istakhri*, makes mention of this town under the name of باخوی *Bákhoui* (see the Turkish version of this work belonging to the Library of the Imperial University of Kasan T. III., Part VI. chapt. 56 under the title of (خبرجنك كردن جراح باكافران خزر الع) and makes it the head-quarters of the Musulman army during Sa'ids expedition against the Khazars (read the Index, Extr. V.), consequently we may believe that the name and the town existed in the earliest epochs of the Muhammedan history. But whether this town existed long before that period, we do not know. A tradition current in Aderbidjan, especially in Bakou, says that this town existed even before Alexander the Great, that it stood to the South-East of the actual town; that its former name was *Khunsár* خنسار; that it was, in the days of Alexander the Great, unexpectedly covered by the rushing in of the waves of the Caspian Sea, an artifice contrived by *Arestoon* (Aristotle); and that the actual *Bádkoubeh* was built afterwards on the N. W. of the accursed *Khunsár-Shahri*[b]. —

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either to his having paid no attention to the period of the reign of the *first dynasty*, or to his having confounded the first dynasty with the second, which was indeed founded after the conquest of the *Djinghizides;* namely, in 774 and which continued about 171 years, i. e. till the conquest of *Shah-Tehmás* in 945 of the *Hidjret*. See تقويم التواريخ printed in Constantinople in 1146 of the Hidjret, p. ۱۶۷ — ۱۶۸ — Read also in the جهان نما about شيروان. —

[b] The tale is related in different ways; the most logical one is that *Khunsár* the founder of the ancient Bakou, which was called by the name of its founder, had a sister called *Zumurrud* (some make her Khunsár's wife). She was a pious woman, but in consequence of some love affair she was shut up in a tower where she passed some miserable years. At last she cursed her brother and the town where she lived and suffered and threw herself down from a window and perished. Heaven heard her prayers, because she was guiltless, and caused the town with the most part of its inhabitants to perish in the waves of an *unexpected* sea. Tradition says that there was no sea at that time in the place where lies the Caspian Sea; Dulgharnein desired to humble the pride of the Gogs and Magogs by deluging a part of their country and prevent, by that means, their annual inroads into Persia. Therefore he adressed himself on the subject to *Arestoon* his Vizir. The wonderful philosopher, to whom all the secrets of chemistry were known, contrived a kind of spirit by the least application of which every thing would be dissolved into water! With this extraordinary mixture Arestoon travelled to the northern parts of the Caucasus, where having chosen a proper place for his laboratory, he begun his work. All those parts of the Caucasus, which lay on the north occupying the vast extent between the Terek, the Volga and the Don, were dissolved and in the course of few days there appeared the present Caspian Sea, which with unexpected inundation overwhelmed all the countries and principalities, which were situated in the extent now occupied by the sea! *Khánsar-shehri* also was drowned in the waves!

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As to the reading of the name of the actual town, Teberi, if we believe our Turkish version, makes it باخوی *Bakhoui* [c]; Mas'oudi and Istakhri — باکوه *Bâkouh* and باکو *Bâkou;* both Gkazvinies, *Bakoubeh* باکوبه for which in some MSS. we find باکویه *Bakouyeh.* But the modern Persians unanimously read it بادکوبه *Bâd-koubeh* (from باد wind and کوبیدن to rush) from the unceasing winds of the place. This reading is an established one; belonging to the literary language of Persia during the last 200 or 300 years. In Aderbidjan and Daghistan this town is commonly called *Bâkû* and more recently *Bakı;* the first reading is more in use with European travellers.

2) To the number of natural curiosities of the province of *Bâkû*, or the ancient *Albanopolis*, belong the pits of Naphtha and the Salt-lakes. Without inquiring into the assertions of the author (more extended in the version of St Petersburg) which are certainly founded on history, we think it proper to lay before the reader a short review of the *naphtha-pits* and the *salt-lakes*, so numerous in the province of *Bâkû*, and which form to this day the principal native sources of the riches of the country.

In doing this I shall follow mostly the statements given in the «Review of the Russian dominions beyond the Caucasus» (Обозрѣніе Россійскихъ владѣній за Кавказомъ), an excellent and useful work published some years ago by the order of His Majesty the Emperor. To these statements I have added some other information that I have been able to receive from my correspondents in Daghistan during 1838 — 1841. For this reason, as to a *few points*, my statements on the subject will differ from those of Mr. Legkobitoff.

A) *Naphtha.* This native, combustible, shining liquid, belonging, as far as we know to all volcanic regions of the globe, such as Sicily, Italy, and some parts of the shores of the Caspian Sea, and differing from Petroleum by its greater lightness and purity, abounds in the peninsula of *Apsharân* or *Aphsharân*, and in the *Isle of Naphtha* which lies in the direction from Baku to the Turkomanian shores. Springs of it are also to be met with in the mountains of Shirwân, not far from *Shamakhi*, about *Saltan* and in the province of Gkubbeh near the mountains of *Besh-Barmagh.* This fluid is got out of a kind of wells built on purpose for collecting it at the very sources. The nature of the soil has generally considerable influence on the qualities of the fluid, so much so, that its colour differs according to the difference of the ground and the depth of the wells. It is partly from this cause that we have two principal kinds of Naphtha: the *white*, and the *dark;* each of which, upon the same principle, undergoes some modification both in quality and in colour; and hence we have a third sort which is called the *green* naphtha. The white naphtha, being much purer and lighter, requires much more care and caution in collecting and preserving it. The fluid in general being apt to evaporate, the white sort, as the lightest and purest, is preserved in wells of stone, always shut up close to avoid loss. —

The history of the ancient naphtha wells, in the Province of Bâkû, is not known to anybody: when the old pits are ruined, new ones are dug instead of them, and consequently nobody knows the epoch to which the most ancient of them may belong. Some years ago in one of

[c] Professor Senkovsky has found in some MSS. بادخوی *Bâdkhoui*, which in some degree justifies the established Persian spelling of the word: بادکوبه.

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these wells was found a stone with the following inscription: لاحول ولاقوّة الاّ بالله العلّى العظيم قدوجد هذه البرّ ووقفها الى السّادات الله يار ولد محمد نور (نورمحمّد ?) فى ربيع الأخر سنة ۱۰۰۳ [d] * «There is no power, nor strength but from God the most high and most great! In reality this well (or this spring) was discovered, and appropriated to the *Sayids* — by *Allah-yár* the son of *Muhammed-Núr* (should be rather *Núr-Muhammed*) in the month of *Rebi'u-l-Akher* of the year 1003.» [e]

This well, being in appearance one of the oldest, though several times repaired, and almost out of use, we cannot admit that there exists now any other belonging to a period much more ancient than the given era. However, there is an old well in the square of *Sa'bounchi* which, they say, has existed more than 300 years; because some 60 years ago, there was discovered in it a stone whose inscription points to the date 976.

These wells always, and even during the last century of the Muhammedan era, were, chiefly appropriated either to the poor, the *Sayids* or the public; a few only of them belonged to the Khans, or other rich noblemen of the country. But now all the wells belong to the Government, except some few, which are the property of private gentlemen, who nevertheless, are obliged to sell the produce to the Government and not into private hands.

The abundance of naphtha springs about Bakû gave to this town in ancient times the name of نفاطى (a town or district) abounding in naphtha. The number of Naphtha-pits is stated by the author of صفت اقليم to amount to 500, (see Dr. Dorn's Geographica Caucasia p. 44).

The pits and springs of the present day are also numerous. In the year 1835 there were 125 open springs or *wells*: 82 of them (76 small and 6 large) were near the village of *Balokhani* or *Bahli-Khani*, about 2 farsakhs to the north-east of the citadel of Bakû. All these are included in a square of about 8400 feet in length and from 3500 to 4900 in breadth, and they produce every month 812 *Khalwars* [f] of pure naphtha of a *greenish colour*. — 22 of such wells are in the middle *cape of Shikh*, near Bakû, and are called the wells of *Bat-bat* (from the name of the place). These wells are mostly on the very shore of the sea, and even two [g] of them *in* the sea, about 63 feet from the shore. The wells of *Bat-bat* produce about 260 Khalwars per month. — 5 such wells are near the village of *Binagkadi*, and produce monthly

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[d] This inscription among many other notes of mine I found, to my great astonishment, in Mr. Berezin's work. Read the supplementary note to this part.

[e] This stone was found in one of the wells now belonging to the crown. The inscription was communicated to me by one of my friends in *Bakû* to whom I addressed myself for that purpose. He adds, moreover, that the stone is of an oblong form, in length about half a *King's yard* شاه ارشنى (about 1¼ foot) and in breadth a little less than a quarter of that measure. The thickness of the stone is about 3 inches.

[f] Every خلوار *Khalwar* (originally *Kherwar* خروار i. e. as much as an ass can bear) of naphtha contains 18 poods; but a Khalwar of wheat, or rice, is from 20 to 25 pouds.

[g] One of them is now destroyed: it belonged to *Mulla-Nadjáf-Ali* the late *Akhund* of Bakû; the other, belonging to Ghasim-Beg, exists to this day.

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4 Khalwars of naphtha of inferior quality. — 16 stone wells are near the village of *Sârakhani* which give every month almost 4 Khalwars of pure white naphtha, which is considered much more valuable than the other sorts.

Besides these, and a few other lesser sources of scarcely any interest, there are some neglected springs near *Bakcha* and *Shûban*, which produce every year about 200 Khalwars of thick black naphtha of little use.

We must notice here that the discovery of the *white* naphtha, according to the general opinion of the inhabitants of *Bakou*, belongs to the last century: they say that there was no white naphtha before. This is a mistake. We know well that the white naphtha of the province of Bakou was famous even in the XII and XIII centuries. The author of آثار البلاد واخبار العباد who lived in XIII century [h] in the description of *Bakoubeh* (see at the beginning of this remark about the different readings of this word) says: بهاعين نفط عظيمة تبلغ قبالتها فى كل يوم الفى درهم والى جانبها عين اخرى تسيل بنفط ابيض كدهن الزنبق لاتنقطع نهارًا ولا ليلًا تبلغ قبالتها مثل الاولى i. e. «About this town there is a great naphtha-spring (probably the author means *the square* which abounded in naphtha-springs) of which the daily income may amount to one thousand Dirhems; and not far from it there is another spring which produces the *white* naphtha resembling the *Hyacinth-oil* and which flows unceasingly day and night; the income from it may also amount to the former sum.» See *Geographica Caucasia* by Dr. Dorn, Petersburg 1847· page 32 and 70. — The mistake might arise from the following circumstances. 1) As we have noticed above, the quality of the naphtha depends a great deal upon the nature of the soil through which the fluid percolates before it runs out of its springs. Some parts of the peninsula of Apsharân produce thick *black* naphtha; some, thin, *green* and some few, very thin, *white*. These three sorts with all their modifications represent always two principal species of the fluid: the *black* and the *white*. — 2) The white naphtha as the thinnest and the lightest, and therefore the more apt to evaporate, requires great care and assiduity in collecting it in its sources and in preserving it after having been collected, so that the least neglect inth one or the other case will contribute to deteriorate the fluid. — 3) The naphtha pits in the province of Bakou are said to have been always chiefly consecrated to the benefit of the poor, the Sayids and the public; therefore little or no care was taken of their sources and the improvement of their quality, and probably the in-

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[h] In my فرايدجواهرالبحار a biographical work, containing nearly *twelve thousand* names of Eastern writers (which soon will be brought to a conclusion) I have said of this author زكريابن محمد بن محمود الكوفىّ القزوينى له كتاب عجايب البلدان وكتاب عجايب المخلوقات وكتاب آثار البلاد واخبار العباد مجلّد الفّه سنة اربع وسبعين وستماية *Zakeryia the son of Mûhammed* the son of Mahmoud *Al-Koufi-Al-Gkazvini*. To him belong: the book named *the wonders* of the countries; the book named *the wonders of creation* and the book named *tokens of countries and news of men* (i. e. description of countries and nations) — all in one volume which he composed in six hundred and seventy four.

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habitants of Bakou never knew any thing about the construction of the stone-wells proper for the preservation of the white naphtha.

These circumstances lead us to believe that the inhabitants of Bakou mistake the *improvement* of the white naphtha, to such a degree as it is now, for the *said discovery;* for it is certain that the working of the springs of this lighter sort of the fluid belongs to the later years and that, notwithstanding the care taken of them by the Government, the number of stone wells did not exceed 16 in number until the year 1837. —

According to the report of the Custom-house for 1829, consulted by Mr. Legkobitoff, the author of the description of the Province of Bakû (see Обозрѣніе Рус. влад. въ Закавказскомъ Краѣ, Part IV. p. 64.) the exportation of naphtha amounted in that year to 310,076 poods, namely 309,780 poods of black naphtha, to the sum of about Ł. 20;670 and 296 poods of white naphtha to the amount of Ł. 95.

The store-houses, or caves for storing the naphtha are generally in the earth and are built of stone; they are of a quadrangular form covered with arched roofs; they have no opening, except some holes for pouring in and taking out the fluid, but every one of them has, besides, an entrance for descending into and cleansing its interior. The walls of these caves are covered with lime which prevents the escape of the fluid. The number of such caves in 1834 was 35; namely 12 in *Bahli-khani*, 1 about the wells of *Baibat* and 22 near the fortress of Bâkû, where the sale takes place. Besides these, some years ago, the government made arrangements to build new cellars, more convenient and durable than the old ones, but their number is not known to me.

B) *Salt:* — The same Peninsula of *Apsherân* abounds also with lakes of salt, of which the principal are the following:

1) The lake of *Mosaxir*, near a village of the same name, at the distance of something more than two farsakhs from the fortress. Its length, when full of water, is about three English miles; its utmost breadth one mile and 1390 yards. Its circumference about $7^1/_2$ miles.

2) The lake of *Zikh*, near a village of the same name, at the distance of $10\,/_2$ miles from the town. Its length is one mile and 60 yards; its utmost breadth very nearly a mile; its circumference almost $3^1/_8$ miles. — This lake may produce about 9000 Khalwar of good salt.

3) The lake of *Gkala*, 22 miles from Bakû. Its length is $^3/_4$ of a mile; its utmost breadth 830 yards, and its circumference $2^1/_4$ miles.

4) The lake of *Muhammedi*. Its length is 2150 feet; its utmost breadth 950 feet, and its circumference about $1^3/_4$ miles.

5) The lake of *Bahlikhani* about 8 miles from the town: its full length is about $3^1/_8$ miles; its utmost breadth something more than $^3/_4$ of a mile, and its circumference about 7 miles. — It produces generally no more than 180 Khalwars of good salt; but in 1841 it afforded 380 Khalwars

6) *Khodja-Hasan*, half a mile from a village of the same name. Its length is about one mile; its utmost breadth no more than 1400 feet, and its circumference about $1^3/_4$ miles. —

7) *Binagkadi*. Its length is 2 miles, and its breadth about 1 mile.

8 and 9) *Kurde-Khân*, near the village of the same name, and *Gkerayatagh* near *Dtgha;* these do not produce, each, more than 100 Khalwars of salt.

10 and 11) *Arüskûm* and *Agkadjân;* not far from *Kurda-Khani*, both of which produce o more than 150 Khalwars of pretty good salt. (See Обозрѣніе &c. Part IV. pag. 25 — 35 n

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The most remarkable of these lakes for the abundance of their mineral productions are those of *Masaztr* and *Zikh*, from both of which may be gathered yearly about 26 thousand Khalwârs, or 520,000 poods of good salt. The lake most remarkable for the good quality of its salt, is that of *Gkala*.

The yearly production of salt from all these lakes may amount, in case of need, to 30,000 Khalwârs or about 600,000 pouds; but generally they do not work more than 10,000 Khalwârs, and that mostly from the lakes of *Masaztr*, *Zikh* and *Bahli-Khant*. The export of salt in 1829 did not exceed 132,340 poods, i. e. to the amount of about Ł. 3151.

Remark 3. page 137.

The reader will here find a great difference between the two versions set before him, and to neither of them can we ourselves accord any preference. The circumstances referred to in our MS. in the description of the period between the years 290 and 320, of which no mention is made in the Petersburg version, may be looked upon as probable, and founded upon historical grounds; for during that deplorable period of bloodshed and destruction in the Muhammedan Empire, all Aderbijan might certainly have been left to its own fate. The ascension of *Djafar-Almugktadir-billah*, during his minority, to the throne of the Khalifate, opened the way to many misfortunes in the empire. Calamity did not slumber, whilst this young Prince was sleeping in the arms of indolence and luxury. His establishment on the throne was accompanied by several events, which brought destruction upon many parts of the kingdom and threatened with overthrow the shrine of religion and the throne of the Empire. Bloody wars at home and abroad, which continued for many years, having exhausted the industry and defeated the policy of the able ministers of the careless Khalif, the remoter regions of the Empire were naturally left to their own destiny: not only Aderbijan and Daghistan, but even some more interesting parts of the kingdom had to wrestle with continual misfortune. The assassination of *Almugktadir* and the elevation of *Algkahir-billah* contributed greatly to the progress of successive revolts and to the decrease of the power of the Khalifate; so that in the reign of *Ar-Rádzi-billah* (who ascended the throne after the most disgraceful degradation of his predecessor) many parts of the Theocratic empire withdrew their submission which they had formerly admitted. — The following quotation from an historical work (*Djami'ul-letâif wa kâshiful-asrâr*) well expresses the fate of the age and explains the text of this IX Part of our version: وفى ايّام الرّاضى اضطربت الأمور بين الأمراء والملوك ولم يبق احد يقبل حكمه من الأمراء واستقلّ كلّ ملك فى بلدة (واستقلّ فى كل بلدة ملك؟) وتقرّر حكم البصرة وواسط والاهواز فى يد عبد الله البريدى وفارس فى يد عماد الدّولة بن بويه وديار بكر فى يد بنى حمدان وديار مصر والشّام فى يد الأخشيدى بن طغج والمغرب وافريقيّه فى يد المهدى (المهديين؟) والأندلس فى يد بنى اميّه وخراسان فى يد نصر بن محمد السّامانى واليمن والهجر والبحرين فى يد ابى طاهر القرمطى وطبرستان وجرجان فى يد ديلم ولم يبق فى يد الرّاضى سوى بغداد واطرافها وانتقضت الأمارة وقد رها الخ « And in the days of *Ar-Radzi* the affairs between the Amirs

and kings were disturbed; and there remained none, who would listen to his (the Khalifs) orders, and in every town there was established a sovereign. The dominion of *Basreh*, *Wâsit* and *Ahwâz* was established in the hands of *Abdullah-Alberidi* (the former military governor of *Ahwâz*); that of Fârs in the hands of *'Imadud-duwleh* the son of *Beweih* (the founder of the dynasty of *Bewethiyeh*); that of *Diarî-Bekr* in the hands of *Bent-Hamdân* (*Abdullah* the son of *Hamdân*, the former viceroy of Mûsul on the part of *Almûktefi-billah*, was the founder of the dynasty); that of Egypt and Syria in the hands of (Muhammed) the *Akhshidi* the son of *Tughuj*; that of *the West*, or Africa, in the hands of *Almehdi* (or rather *Almehdiyin*); that of *Andalusia*, in the hands of *Bent-Umaiyeh*[i]; that of *Khorasan* in the hands of *Nasr* the son of *Muhammed-Assâmâni*; that of *Yemen*, *Hidjr* and *Bahra'in* in the hands of *Abû-Tâhir-Al-Gkirmiti* (who in 317 of the Hijret ruined *Mekkeh*, massacred about 30,000 pilgrims and carried away with him the holy stone *Al-hejeru-l-aswed* which remained amongst the sacrilegious for 22 years); that of Tabaristân and *Djurjân* in the hands of Deilem[k]! And there remained nothing in the hands of *Ar-Râdzi* except Bagdad and its vicinity: Thus was the power and glory of the Khalifate destroyed »&c.

The deplorable state of Derbend, after that period down to the times of the *Khans*, or *Sultans*, is very shortly and justly described in our version[l]. Though we have no separate historical sources of information which might assist us to investigate the remarkable events which had taken place in Derbend during the long period to which the description in our version refers; at last we may trace in the histories of those nations who have at different times extended their power so far as that country, some results which may illustrate the assertion of our version. We know that Derbend, and other towns of the Province of *Shirwân*, during and after the decline and fall of the Empire of the Khalifs, alternately passed from hand to hand, and, as a remote part of the kingdoms to which they were tributaries at different periods, were ruled by governors, whose duty was only to pay the annual tributes and to prepare provisions for the passing armies in times of need. Such governors of Derbend, in the days of discord between their changing masters thought little of strict fidelity to any of them, but generally chose that side which appeared to be more beneficial to their personal interest and to the people over whom they had authority: at every appearance of a great power, therefore, they made little struggle to oppose it, for they knew well by experience that such opposition would serve no end but to cause blood-shed and misery.

In this manner Derbend and Shirwân, after the period to which our version refers (the IV century of the Hijret: the X[th] A. D.) were the scene of perpetual war and horror. The Khazarian tribes on one side, the ambitious princes of Daghistan on another, the Georgians on the

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[i] It was just at this period to which the author of the *Derbend-nameh* refers, that *Abdur-Rahmân* appropriated to himself the full title of *Khalif* and that of *Amiru-l-muminin*, which his ancestors in *Andalusia* had been unable to claim.

[k] Or *Mordâvidj*, who at that period had taken possession of many provinces of Persia and who in 319 wholly defeated the Khalif's army and established his dominion in *Kuhistân* and *Taberistân*.

[l] We must hereby understand the Khans and Sultans of Derbend and the adjacent districts, who reigned there as tributaries to Persia and the Ottoman Empire; we therefore think that the short description in this place is rather an addition belonging to another writer or copyist, and perhaps of one of the translators of the Derbend-nâmeh.

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third and the Persians on the fourth, continually disturbed the inhabitants of *Shamâkhu*, *Babul-Abwâb*, and other towns of the ancient *Shirwân*. During the establishment of the power of the *Djenghizides* in Persia and subsequent to it all these quarters (especially Derbend) were subject to frequent inundations of tribes and races of mankind. More than once, the Mongolian troops visited Derbend during the times of *Djenghiz*, *Tulé*, *Helâkû*, *Berkeh*, *Mengou*, *Abagka*, *Uzbeck* and other Khans; more than once Derbend saluted the banners of *Tûgktamish* and of *Timour*. After the establishment of *Sheikh-Ibrâhim* and his descendants in *Shirwân*, Derbend was for the most part considered a district of that temporary kingdom, but it nevertheless continued to suffer from the hands of the ambitious. The kingdom of Shirwân having fallen into the hands of *Tahmâsb*, this town among others, shared the same fate. Not long after that, all this quarter became an object of dispute between the court of Persia and the Ottoman Porte. At the close of the X century of the Hijret (966 H. and 1578 A.D.) the whole province of Shir-wân fell under the power of Sultan *Murâd III.* and *Derbend was visited* by the Ottoman troops [m]. Some years after, Shirwân and Derbend were restored to Persia and since that time, though the Khans and Sultans of those quarters were considered to have been tributaries of that kingdom, yet Derbend has more, than once, been the scene of slaughter and bloodshed till the very close of the last century. During the last years of the reign of the *Sefevides*, when the importance and dignity of Persia declined, when disasters and calamities in that kingdom prepared new awful pages for history, Daghistan was wholly left to its fate. Derbend at that time was governed by a certain *Imam-Ghouli* the *Ghourchi*, who was appointed there by the unhappy Hosein. When this town was conquered by Peter the Great in 1722, the said Governor, Imam-Ghouli was honoured by the favour of that Emperor and retained his former authority as a subject of His Majesty and as a wise administrator. He was raised to the dignity of a Khan by His Majesty. — *Nâdir-Shah's* rise and progress wholly changed the fate of the country: the inhabitants of Daghistan in their turn also suffered from the tyranny of that ambitious monster. Every where new governors were appointed by that usurper and Derbend was put under the government of a certain *Feridoun-Sultan*. After the assassination of Nâdir however the inhabitants of Derbend refused to submit to the authority of that governor, and in consequence *Muhammed-Hesan-Khan*, the son of the former *Imâam-Ghuli-Khan* was elected as the lawful Khan of the province.

In 1766 Derbend was conquered by *Fat'h-Ali Khan* of *Kubbeh*, whose name is till this day on the lips of all the inhabitants of Daghistan. After the death of this illustrious Khan, there arose a quarrel between his sons and the Princes of *Shekt* and Shirwân, which subjected the whole country to great calamity, and of which the favorable result was, that by degrees it was wholly subjugated to the power of Russia. —

[m] Our readers may find some thing of *Othman-Pasha's* expedition to Derbend &c. in the Appendix, in the extract made by me from the work of *Dehdeh Afendi*.

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A supplementary Note to Part IX. Remark 1, lit. A.

The present work was already prepared for the press in 1842 (with the exception of the preface, which I enlarged sometime after and added to it in 1844); and the first MS. of my work was in the same year 1842 presented to his Excellency the Minister of Public Instruction. Our illustrious Count Ouvaroff condescended to submit the work for examination to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg which was, in consequence of the favourable recommendation of Dr. Dorn (s. Bullet. I. p. 333, 335.), pleased to honour it with approbation. Since that time however my work, for certain reasons, has remained unpublished up to the present day; and, consequently at various times it was read, examined and consulted by my friends and pupils. Among the latter Mr. Berezin, now professor of the Turkish and Tartar languages in the University of Kasan, had it often in his hands before and after his travels to the East; and most willingly did I permit him to consult it in his researches into the Antiquities of *Dâghistân*. But I never expected that a pupil to whom I was sincerely attached, would thus abuse the confidence I had placed in him. Thinking perhaps, that my work was never to be published, he in many places of his Путешествіе по Востоку, Казань 1849, has made use of my notes and illustrations — without either acknowledging that he has followed the opinion of his former professor, or even without citing his work. The inscription exhibited in the Remark 1. lit. A to part IX. of this work Mr. Berezin has taken from my Manuscript and introduced it into his work as learned from hearsay (notes, page 119, lines 3 — 4); (read his work page 243 line 6 — 12). Moreover while speaking most respectfully of his former preceptor (see page 7 of the notes) he calls his work *довольно* важное сочиненіе *для* Исторіи Дагестана i. e. «a work important *enough* for the history of Daghistan!» This expression would be more appropriately used by those whose erudition is extensive *enough* to enable them to estimate my work; but Mr. Berezin is in every respect yet too inexperienced for such a task. He must therefore permit me to consider his conduct towards me as very inconsiderate and unbecoming. But I should have made no mention of it here (for perhaps on a subsequent occasion I shall be obliged to speak more particularly upon the subject) if I did not wish merely to defend myself, lest my learned readers (although Mr. Berezin excludes them from the number of that «*reading public*», for which *he* has designed his publication; *see his preface* p. XIV) should suspect me of plagiarism.

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ذکر شهدای دربند

کتب تواریخده بیله بازلوب در که اوچ یوز شهید قرخلر حواله سنده مدفون در ویتمش ایکی نفر شهید کنه قرخلر حواله سنده مدفون در وقرخ نفر عصمتلو قز دشمن غلبه سندن قاچوب مغاره ده غیب اولوبدرلار ایمدی اولار قرخلر شهدالرننك حواله سنده کوزدن مستور در والله اعلم

(PART X.) [1]

On the Martyrs of Derbend.

It is recorded in books of history, that three hundred martyrs are buried round about *Ghirkhler*, and that, besides these, seventy two other martyrs lie buried around it. Moreover, forty virgins, having fled from the pursuit of the enemy, concealed themselves in a cave, where they disappeared, and they are now thought to lie hid in the neighbourhood of the martyrs of the (same) Gkirkhler. God knows best!

END OF THE DERBEND-NAMEH.

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OBSERVATIONS ON PART THE TENTH.

This part of our MS. must be a short extract from the original. In the version of St. Petersburg, instead of this, we find a list of 50 Martys of Derbend entitled باب الابواب شهدالری *Babul-abwâb-Shuhedâleri*, « the Martyrs of Babul-abwâb. » In the list given in that version, besides these 50, mention is made of: a) *three hundred*, b) *one hundred*, c) *forty four*, d) *eight* and e) *four* other martyrs, as being buried near and around those whose *names* are in the list. We have avoided adding the whole chapter from the MS. of St. Petersburg, not finding anything in it to interest our readers. We have here only inserted, in due order, the 50 names mentioned in that MS. merely to offer all possible aid to those who may have the means of research into the worn-out inscriptions of some stones in *Gkirkhler*: perhaps, when they have these names in their hands, they may be enabled to make out what has as yet been illegible on these stones. —

LIST OF THE 50 MARTYRS ABOUT DERBEND,

copied from the version of St. Petersburg.

1) سلطان پیرعلی دمشقی *Sultan-Pir-Ali* of Damask, entitled سلطان شهدای صالحین i. e. The Sultan or chief of the holy Martyrs. — 2) سلطان پیر رضای جاهی *Sultan-Pir-Rizâi-Djâhi.* — 3) سلطان چچه *Sultan Tchumcheh.* — 4) سلطان درویش محمد سیاه پوش *Sultan Dervish-Muhammed-Siah-Pûsh*, entitled سلطان سپه سالارغازیان قدمگاه دلدل, i. e. the chief commander of the warriors of the place where Duldul once stood [a]. — 5) سلطان

[a] In fact, to this day, to the south of Derbend, there is a holy place named قدمگاه دلدل *or the foot-step of the Duldul.* Tradition reports that this famous horse of *Ali*, with his hero, miraculously appeared at the

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اب چکان *Sultan-Ab-tchekán.* — 6) سلطان پیرطوفان *Sultan Pir-Tufán.* — 7) سلطان پیر نظیر *Pir-Nezir*, entitled قطب جهان or the pole of the world. — 8) سلطان قوت خان *Sultan Gkút-Khan.* — 9) سلطان مولانا زاهد *Sultan Maulánà Zahid.* — 10) سلطان پیر یعقوب *Sultan Pir Ya'agkúb.* — 11) سلطان حاجی شمس الدین *Sultan Hajee-Shemsiddín.* — 12) سلطان عماد جولاه *Sultan Imadi-Djúláh.* 13) سلطان پیرقیوم *Sultan Pír-Gheiyoúm.* — 14) سلطان بابا *Sultan Bábá.* — 15) سلطان پیر عباد الله *Sultan Pir-Ibádúl-lah.* — 16) سلطان پیرعمر *Sultan Pir-Omar*, surnamed کاسه گر *Kaseh-gher.* — 17) سلطان پیرهشم *Sultan Pir-Hechem.* — 18) سلطان پیرموسی *Sultan Pir-Mousa.* — 19) سلطان پیر محمد عین *Sultan Pir-Muhammed-Aín.* — 20) سلطان پیر محمد پرنده *Sultan Pir-Muhammed Perrendeh.* — 21) سلطان پیرمراد بخش *Sultan Pir-Murad-Bakhsh.* — 22) سلطان پیر نعلبند *Sultan Pir-Na'lband*, entitled, سلطان دروازهٔ قیامت غازیان the great officer of the gates of the resurrection of the warriors. — 23) سلطان سیف الدین *Sultan Seifud-dín.* — 24) سلطان پیر مراد رومی *Sultan Pír-Murád Rúmi.* — 25 and 26) سلطان عین علی — سلطان زین علی *Sultan Zain Ali* and *Sultan 'Ain 'Ali*, two of the offspring of Amiru-l-muminin Ali (!) — 27) سلطان پیرخارکش *Sultan Pir-Khar-kesh.* — 28) سلطان حاجی منعم *Sultan Haji-Min'im.* — 29) سلطان پیرمحمد سرهنگ *Sultan Pir-Muhammed-Serheng.* — 30) سلطان پیر محمد حنیفه *Sultan Pir-Muhammed-Henifeh.* — 31) بی بی کورجوله *Bibi-Kur-joulàh* (another reading is به به بك *Behbeh-bek*). — 32) حضرت حمزه *Hezreti-Hemzeh.* — 33) سلطان پیرسعبونی *Sultan Pir-Sa'bouni*, entitled سلطان چل تنان or the Prince of the forty. — 34) سلطان یزدان بخش *Sultan Yezdán-Bakhsh.* — 35) سلطان دده *Sultan Deh-deh.* — 36) سلطان پیرنوری *Sultan Pir-Núri.* — 37) سلطان کوچك *Sultan Kútchek*, surnamed مهرنگار *Mehr-Nigár.* — 38) سلطان باب مهاجر *Sultani-babi-Muhadjer*, i. e. the Sultan of the gate of *Muhadjer* (see the word باب مهاجر). — 39) سلطان باب بلخیان *Sultan Babi-belkhián*, i. e. the Sultan of the gate of *Balkh* (Look for the word بلخ). —

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time of a bloody engagement between the Mussulmans and the infidels. The result was, that the latter were vanquished and the miraculous vision disappeared; but the marks of the horse's hoofs remained on the spot where it appeared &c. — This place is very often visited by the inhabitants of the town, especially by the sick, who are said to recover through the sacred influence of some drops of water that are always to be seen in the hoof-prints impressed on a large stone!

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40) سلطان باب شامیان *Sultani-Babi-Shamián*, the Sultan of the gate of Syria. — 41) سلطان بابا امیر *Sultan Baba-Amir.* — 42) سلطان پیر دده *Sultan Pir-Dedeh.* — 43) سلطان پیر مجرّد *Sultan Pir-Mujerred.* — 44) سلطان پیر یوسف *Sultan Pir-Yousuf.* — 45) سلطان پیر مزار *Sultan Pir Mezar.* 46) سلطان مولانا خزری دربندی *Sultan Maulánd Khizri-Derbendi*, the water distributer (سقا)[b]. — 47) سلطان پیر صحبت *Sultan Pir-Sühbet.* — 48) سلطان شیخ ابراهیم *Sultan Sheikh-Ibrahim.* — 49) سلطان خالوی دلاك *Sultan Khálúi-Delldk* and 50) سلطان پیر خرج *Sultan Pir-Kherdj*[c]. —

Besides these in the MS. of St. Petersburg we find that two of the offspring of Djinghiz-Khan and a Kirghizian Sultan are buried among the named martyrs.

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[b] This word (فعّال from سقی, *to water*) is always applied in the East to those religious men who »for God's sake (رضاءً لله)« go about in the streets of great cities or in villages where people suffer from the scarcity of water during the long summers of Arabia and Persia and gratuitously distribute it to the thirsty.

[c] To this number some writers add many other names; even some increase them to so many thousands! The author of *Nusret-nameh* or »book of victory,« *Ali* (whose history of the first expedition of the Ottomans to Aderbidjan in the close of the XVI century is already known to our reader) says that, the number of the Martyrs in Derbend amounted to 70,000! See Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, Paris 1837, tome VII. pag. 111 note.

Professor Berezin, among other notes of mine, has taken this list of the Martyrs from my MS. of the Derbend-nameh and placed it in his Путешествіе по Дагестану &c. See there the notes; p. 85 — 87. Read above the supplementary note to Part IX. page 602.

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APPENDIX.

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NOTICE.

When I wrote my Appendix to the Derbend-nameh I had not any other versions of Teberi, except my own. My learned friend Dr. Dorn published subsequently two very useful works on the history and Geography of Daghistan; the one is the Nachrichten über die Chasaren etc. St. Petersburg 1844; and the other — Geographica Caucasia, St. Petersburg 1847, both of which have been of great advantage to me now in the publication of this work. In the Nachrichten etc. I found the same chapters of Teberi, which I have made use of in my Appendix, both in Persian and the Djaghatai translations. In comparing the Turkish text of my version with them I found considerable differences; therefore I thought it necessary to refer in my notes to as many of them as my time and space would permit, and as I considered the most necessary.

In order to distinguish these additional notes in my Appendix as well as in the preceding part of the work, I have marked them by the abbreviation *Add. N.*

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APPENDIX.

I.

EXTRACT FROM THE 53 AND 54 CHAPTERS OF THE V. PART OF TEBERI, CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF THE EVENTS OF THE 22nd YEAR OF THE HIDJRET, ENTITLED:

خبر کشادن اذربایجان

محمد بن جریر رحمة الله علیه شویله روایت ایلد یکم
عمر بن الخطّاب رضی الله عنه نعیم بن مقرنه نامه
یازوب آیتدی سماك بن حرشمهٔ لشکر قوشوب اذربایکانه
ویربیه سن دیمشدی آندن عصمه بن فرقد وبکیر بن
عبد اللّهی دخی ویربمشدی..... حضرت عمر رضی الله
عنه شویله بیور مشدرکم عصمه بن فرقد بریولدن واره
وبکر بن عبد الله بریولدن واره یولده برباد شاه

A description of the conquest of Aderbijân.

Muhammed, the son of *Djerir*, has thus related: *Omar*, the son of *Al-Khattab*, issued orders to *Na'im*, the son of Magkren [1], saying: Thou shalt send *Semák*, the son of *Khershemeh*, with an army to Aderbijan. He also sent *Ismet*, the son of *Farghad*, and *Bekir*, the son of *Abdullah*.....[2]. His Majesty, Omar, ordered that *Ismet*, the son of *Farghad*, should go in one direction, and *Bekir* [3], the son of *Abdullah*, in another. On the way taken by *Bekir*, there was a Prince

[1] In other authors the conquest of Aderbijân is attributed to *Mughireh* مغیره. The fact is that Mughireh was the first who conquered the most part of the country in the 22d year of the Hidjret; but on a revolt taking place there, *Naim* was ordered to send another expedition which, it seems, continued till the year 24. The expression of the author hereafter: بوولایت لری دوندری ویره بن «*I shall give thee back these countries*» may suggest such an idea. *Add. N.* Consult however the following note 4.

[2] We here omit some lines which regard the etymology of the word اذربایکان and the extent of the province so called. We have had occasion to bring a part of this quotation before our readers, in Remark 14. to Part I. of the Derbend-nameh.

[3] This name we find written both ways in our MS. بکر and بکیر. The last is preferable.

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وارایدی آدنه اسفندیار دیرلرایدی دلدیکم بکیرایله
جنك ایده الله فرصت ویردی بکیر آنی توندی چونکه
اسفندیار دوتلدی بکیره آیتدی بو آذربایکان شهرلرینی
صاتمه‌می الّمغه سورسن یوخسه جنکله می بکیرایتدی
صاتمه اسفندیار ایتدی امدی اکربوولایت لری
اسانلغیله وصاتمه آلین درسك بنی اولدرمه الکده
اسیراولین بو ولایت لری سکادوندری ویره بن دیدی
اول طرفدن سماك بن حرشمه کم کلدی اسفندیاری
اسیراولمش بولدی حضرت عمره نامه یزدی اسفندیار
اسیراولد وغنی بلدردی بوطرف خلقی سنك دولتکده
اطاعت اتدیلربیور رسك دربند (ی) اونه کیچلوم دیدی
حضرت عمر دستور ویردی اول طرفلرده بربك وارایدی
ادنه بهرام بن فرخ زاده دیرلردی دلدیکم آنلرکله
عصتله سماك آرقه براتدیلر بهرامی صدیلر چریسن
طاغتدیلر اسفندیار ایتدی شمدیدن صکره آذربایکان
ولایتی سزك اولدی آیرق دشمن قالدی دیدی
پس بکیر بن عبد الله عصمتی دکلی آذربایکانه
خلیفه دکدی وسماك (وساکی) اکا یولداش قودی

called *Isfendiar;* he prepared to make war with him. God helped *Bekir* and he took this prince captive.

When *Isfendiar* was taken prisoner, he said to *Bekir:* « Dost thou wish to gain possession of the country of Aderbijân by peace or by war? *Bekir* answered: by peace, — *Isfendiar* said: now if thou wishest to take these regions easily and by peace, then kill me not: let me be a captive in thy hands, and I will give back to thee those countries.[4] » .... From the other side arrived *Semák*, the son of *Khershemeh.* This latter, having found *Isfendiar* in captivity (and the conditions made) wrote a letter to Omar in which he gave him to understand that *Isfendiar* was in their hands, that the inhabitants of that country were already in subjection to his majesty, and that if he would please to give the order, they would pass beyond Derbend. Omar gave the permission. — In those quarters there was a prince called *Behrâm*, the son of *Ferrukh-zâdeh;* he desired they should come. — *Ismet* united with *Semak*, vanquished *Behrâm* and dispersed his army. — *Isfendiar* said: Henceforth the country of Aderbidjân becomes your possession: there remains no other enemy. — Then *Bekir*, the son of Abdullah, appointed *Ismet* viceroy over all Aderbijân[5], gave him *Semak* as lieutenant, commended to their care

[4] *Add. N.* In the Persian translation of Teberi (see Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten über die Chasaren. St. Petersburg, 1844; pag. 54 it is said that *Isfendiar* requested Bekir not to kill him, if he wished to subdue that country; for otherwise all Aderbidjan would rise in arms to revenge his blood. In such case we must translate the verb دوندرمك *to submit, to bring under one's possession.* —

[5] *Add. N.* In the text of our version of Teberi we do not find what we read in the Persian and Djaghatai translations of the work in this place: that Omar at this time also issued a mandate to *Ismet* appointing him viceroy of all Aderbijan (see ibid. p. 55 and 105).

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اسفندیار اللرنده اسیرایدی آنی دخی آنلره اصرلدی
کندوسی لشکریله دربند یولینه کتدی عمر رضی الله
عنه بکیر دربند طرفنه کتدکن اشدن بچك آیتدی بکیره
یاردم کرکدر پس سراقه بن عبدالرحمن (الرحمنه)
مکتوب یازدی اهواز یولندن دربنده وار بکیره
یولداشلق ایله دیدی چونکه حضرت عمردن نامه
کلدی سراقه جند یغهٔ دخی نچه عرب بهادر لرنی آلوب
بصره چریسیله دربند طرفنه بکیره یاردمه کتدی ویر
دربند دن حبیب بن مسلمه کلدی کم اکربکیره یاردم
حاجت اولورسه حاضر اوله لر اول طرفك شاهلرندن
هیچ کمسنه جنك اتمدیلر کلسی صلح ایتدیلر اتاآیتد یلر
اوکوکوزده ایکی بیك دشمان واردر بری تاتار
در ویری خزردر اول ایکی دوشمنله جنك ایتمك خیلی
مشکلدر زیرا واراجق یوللری صربدربوطرف بکلرندن
کمسنه انلرکله صواش ایده مز لریزم سزکله صلحمز

Isfendiar, who was a captive in their hands, and himself with his army took the direction of Derbend. —

Omar having heard of Bekir's expedition to Derbend, said: «Bekir must have assistance;» therefore he wrote to *Suragkeh*, the son of *Abdur-Rehman*, a letter intimating that he should go by the way of *Ahwaz* to Derbend and assist *Bekir*. — When Omar's letter arrived, *Surágkeh* took with him *Hazifeh* and several other Arabian warriors, and at the head of the army of *Basreh*, directed his way toward Derbend in order to assist *Bekir*. From another pass came *Hebib*, the son of *Muslimeh*[6] to be ready to aid *Bekir* in case of need. None of the princes of those quarters made war: they all yielded by capitulation. But they said: «you have before you two powerful enemies, the *Tartars*[7] and the *Khazars;* it is very difficult to make war with these two enemies; for the roads leading to them are impenetrable, so that none of the princes of these quarters can make war with them. Our stipulation with you shall be founded on the following grounds: you shall neither demand from us tribute nor personal impost; we will

[6] *Derbend* meaning a difficult passage in general, exactly in the same manner as the Arabic *bâb*, we should not take it always for *Babul-abwâb* which in Teberi is sometimes distinguished by the appellation of the *passage of the Khazars* — Khizr-Derbendi; consult Remark 10. to Part I. — Concerning *Hebib* see Remark 3 to Part II. of this work; also read hereafter note 19.

[7] The use of this word تاتار in ancient authors, among many other circumstances, will wholly destroy the hypothesis of *Father Hyacinth*, who asserts that the word Tartar or *Tatar* is the corruption of *Tatan* which became known *after* the inundation of Asia by the Mongol tribes or Djenghizides &c. See in this learned father's memorials on Mongolia, a separate section entitled: *answer to the question, who were the Tartars* (Записки о Монголіи; Рѣшеніе вопроса: *Кто были Татары?*). — By the Tartars are here meant the Turks (see the note 14, hereafter). — *Add. N.* In the Persian and Djaghatai translations of Teberi (Nachrichten &c. pp. 56—106) instead of تاتار we find روس which is repeated in two places. Besides we read there that Suragkeh arrived first in Babul-abwab, where he made a treaty of peace with its prince, called شهریار (in another MS. شهریر). Read the note 11.

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شونك اوزرينه اولسونكه بزدن خراج وجزيه استميه
سز وبز اول دربند لرى بكليه وز اول خلقى بو طرفه
كچمكاقوميه وز بزدن بونسنه يه راضى اوله سز بوندن
غيرى بزدن خراج وجزيه استميه سز ديديلر بونسنهٔ
عمره بلدرديلر حضرت عمر راضى اولدى خراج المقدن
اول دربندلرى بكلدكلرى يكدر مسلمان آنلرك شرّندن
امين اولديلر ديدى بونسنه اول زماندن تابو زمانه
دكن سنت قلدى حتى سنجاب (سپنجاب) شهرنده نه
خراج ونه جزيه وار در ماوراء النهر شهرلرى دخى بو
وجهله در كندومالللرى ايله ويراقلر يله هريل تاتار له
صواش ايليوب مسلمانلر اوزرنه (اوزرندن) تركى دفع
ايدرلر چونكه بونك اوزرينه صلح مقرر اولدى آلان
دربندنى وخزر دربندنى بركتديلر وهر دربنده بر
معتبر بك قويوب اصرلديلر حضرت عمر بونسنه دن
آكاه اولوب قتى شاذ اولدى زيرا اول طرف ده چرى

command these difficult passages (derbends) and will not allow these tribes to make incursions into these quarters. Agree to these proposals and do not demand from us any tribute or impost.» — The case was brought before Omar, and was consented to by His Majesty, who said : « it is preferable to let them command those difficult passages than to take tribute from them: since the Musulmans will be in safety from their (the Khazars') mischief » — This usage has continued since that time down to this day as a *sunnet* [8]. Even in the city of *Sipenjâb* (or Sbidjâb) [9] there is neither tribute nor impost; so it is in (other) towns in *Máveráun-nehr*; the inhabitants with their own arms and ammunition, every year, make war upon the Tartars and repulse the irruptions of the Turks against the Musulmans. — When the stipulation was made on these grounds, they fortified the derbend of *Alan* and that of *Khazar* [10] and in every derbend they appointed a chief and submitted it to his care. Omar, having heard this, rejoiced; for to maintain an army in that country was

[8] *Sunnet*, among other significations, means *an old usage* coming down from the times of the Khalifs or other saints &c. its observance is considered meritorious.

[9] In our MS. *Senhâb;* in *Mesalik*, *Sendjab* and *Sihab*. Katib-Tchelebi reads it *Sphidjâb* and *Sbidjab*; the author of *Burhân* reads it *Spenjâb* and *Senjâb*. The various readings arise from the susceptibility of the middle characters of the word to as many different changes as their dots admit. — It is the ancient name of a town, or rather a district in Máverâun-nehr, which by *Djenâbi* is considered to be the same with *Siram*. Tchelebi says that it is situated in 43°30 N. Lat. and 100° E. Long. from the Canary Islands. — The author of Mesalik also asserts, that Sinjab is free from all kinds of tribute.

[10] *Add. N.* In the Persian translation of *Al-Bal'ami* we read more minutely: «Surâqkeh dispatched every one of these generals to one of those *derbends* (defiles) and to the towns which were on the mountains of Derbend. He sent Bekir, the son of Abdullah to a town lying on this Derbend (probably Babul-Abwab) and Hazifeh the son of Asad he sent to those mountains and towns which were opposite to the *derbendi-Allan* (i. e. *Babullan* or the actual Darial; see Extract VII in this Appendix; note 82). Thus he fortified all the derbends (defiles) of the Khazars and of the Alans and the Musulmans became safe from the danger of the enemies.» (See Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten über die Chasaren pag. 58). —

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اولق قتی متعذّر ایدی حضرت عمرك کوکلنده بونسنه دن
خیلی تشویش وارایدی بویله آسان لغیله اول ولایتلر
فتح اولدی دیو ایشدیجك قتی شاد اولدی سراقه یه
دعا ایلدی برقچ کوندن صکره بکیر آقه (سراقه) فوت
اولوب اول دربند لری حضرت عمر عبدالرحمانه
لصرلدی ایتدی کرکدر که سندغی سراقه نك یولن
دوته سن آنچلین آد چقاراسن هرایشی کم اشلرسن
مسلمانلر له دانشوب اشلیه سن دیدی بونك اوزرینه
نجه زمان کیچدی برکون عبدالرحمان شهریزاره
آیتدی یو دربندلردن لشکرله کچم غزایه کیدم ویو
دربند لرشهرینی مسلمانلق ایلیم زیرا شهریزار ایتدی
بو دربند لردن لشکر کیچورمك خیلی مشکلدر وسدّدن
وخرزدن کرکیم کیچرسن چوق شهرلر وپادشاهلق لر
وار در اول ولایتك آدینه باخردیرلر [اکا] روس ویأجوج
ومأجوج اقلیمیدر اسکندر ذوالقرنین سد یابدوغی
بردر اماسن واره باچکوك معلوم دکلدر زیرا اول
اقلیملرقتی صرب برلردردیدی عبدالرحمن ایتدی
بکاهمتی یولداش ایله امیدوار در که لشکرمله تا باخر
حدنه وارم اول ولایتلری تماشا ایلیم وغزالر ایدم

very difficult; and in his Majestys heart there was great anxiety on this account. Wherefore, on hearing that those countries were subdued so easily, he was much rejoiced and invoked a blessing on *Surágkeh*. — After some days *Surágkeh* died. Omar entrusted these derbends to the care of *Abdur-Rehman*, and said to him: «Thou must run the race of Surâgkeh; gain as much fame; and in all thy actions thou must consult with the Musulmans.» — After this, some time elapsed. One day *Abdur-rahman* said to *Shehrizar*[11]: «I will pass beyond these *derbends* with an army, and make war with the infidels and establish *Islam* in the city of these derbends» (i. e. in the capital of those passages, which was the actual Derbend). For *Shehrizar* had said, that it was difficult to lead an army beyond those derbends: — that when one passes over the *wall* and *Khazaria*, there are many cities and principalities: the country is called *Bulkher* (see *this word in the Index*), it includes the climates (countries) of *Rúss* and of *Yadjúdj* and *Mádjúdj*; that it was the country where *Iskender dul-gkernein* had constructed the *wall;* and that he (*Abdul-Rehman*) could scarcely pass to that country, for those quarters are very strong. — *Abdúr-Rehmán* answered him: «I (will) make industry my companion; I hope to pass then with my army even to the boundaries of *Bulkher*, see those places, and make war for re-

11 *Add. N.* The name in the Persian and Djaghatai translations is شهریار and شهریر; the first in the Persian language means a prince; the second is the corruption of the first. The reading of our text (شهریزار), being very like that of the common name *Shehrizad* of the Arabian tales, suggests the idea of *Shehrizar* being corrupted from it and therefore seems to be preferable. — In the note 7. we referred to an omission in our text, in which it is explained, who this *Shehrizar* was. —

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ديوب براق كوردى اول دربندلرى كچدى وچوق شهرلر آچدى ونيچه يرلرى ايمانه كتوروب ايكيوز فرسنك مقدارى باخرحدينه كلدى وولايتلرى تماشا ايلدى وغزالر ايلدى وچوق شهرلر آچدى ونچه كشيلرى مسلمان ايلدوم ديوب يينه دربنده كلوب اوتوردى حضرت عمر زمانى اولدقچه اول آرادە اوتوردى حضرت عثمان زمانىنده اولدى عبد الرحمن اولوب يولد اشلرندن بركشى كم اول غزالردە بلە اولمشدى امير المؤمنين عمر (عثمان) قاتنه كلدى حضرت عمر (عثمان) اكا صوردى ايتدىكه اول ضرب دربند لرى نچه كچد وكز

ligion.» — So saying, he prepared the expedition. He passed those derbends, conquered many towns, and converted (the inhabitants of) many districts to the true faith, and at last, having passed about 200 parasangs [12] arrived on the frontiers of Bulkher. He enjoyed the pleasure of seeing many countries; made wars for religion; subdued many towns, and returned to Derbend (i. e. Babul-abwab), where he dwelt contented with having converted so many souls to Islam. He remained in those parts during the reign of Omar and died there during the reign of *Othman*.

After the death of *Abdur-Rehman* one of his companions, who had followed him in the said wars for religion, came into the presence of *Amir-ul-muminin* Omar (Othman) [13]. His

[12] *Add. N.* In Bal'amy's translation we read: ودويست فرسنك بدان زمين اندرشد i. e. «and he penetrated into that country, as far as 200 *fersengs*». Every ferseng being reckoned something more than a geographical mile, we suppose that the extent mentioned here, (more than 800 Engl. miles) included all the way between Derbend, Bulkher, and farther till the great *Cabarda* of this day, where the Arabian troops were dispersed in *different* directions. — We have observed above (Remark 17—19 to Part I.) that the Eastern Geographers have given us three different names of towns and countries in Daghistan: *Balkh*, *Bulker* and *Belenjer*, and that the confusion arises chiefly from the carelessness of the copyists, and partly from the errors or misunderstanding to which have been led by different causes the geographers of the IX century. I must add here that when the first part of this work was in press and some sheets of it were already printed, I was convinced by some new information I received, that on the way of the Arabs in their expeditions into Daghistan at different times, these must have lain two countries or principalities bearing consonant names of *Vallagars* and *Balkhars* which might be spelled by the first Arabs who related of them: باجر and باخر. The first of these is now a small society of barbarians who live in the northern limits of the actual *Ossetia* or the ancient *Oss* (آس) on a rivulet called *Ardan*, not for from Vladi-Caveas and of Darial. (It lies on the N. W. of Darial about 9 miles distance; but there is no straight road or pass between them.) The second of them is a more populous society than the first, in the direction of N. W. from *Ossetia* and on the southern frontiers of the great *Cabarda* on the north of the mountains of *Aghish-takh* and *Machikhbar*. Taking this into consideration I cannot help being convinced that the historians of the Arabs, or the early copyists of their works, confounded the two names, mistook باجر or باخر for an imaginary بلنجر and confounded them all (the sound *g* in the first might be expressed by ج or by خ). Therefore I think that Belenjer never existed and that it is the corruption of one of the first two names.

[13] *Add. N.* I have put *Othman* in parenthesis, because our text says that the companion of Abdur-Rehman returned to the Khalif *after* the death of that general, which occurred *after* the death of Omar. But in the Persian

اول اقلیلری توجهله فتح ایلدکوز ایتدی یاامیر المومنین اول شهرلر جمعی کافرایدی جزروالآن دیدکلری ایللرترکستانه اولشقدر آنلربزی کوردیلرقنی عجبلدیلر زیرا اول ولایته یاغی چریسی هنوز کرمش ایش بزی کوربجك آیتدیلرمکربونلر بنی آدم دکوللردر فرشته لردر اول سببدن بو اقلیمه کلیدورلر یوقسه بنی آدم اوغلانی بوندہ کلمك ممکن دکلدیدیلر بزه صوردیلر که آدم اوغلانی می سز یوقسه فرشته لرمی سز بزایتدك آدم اوغلانی وز فرشته دکلوز اماکوك فرشته لری بزمله کلمشلردربزه یاردم ایده لرکم بزمله صواش ایتمك استیه لر فرشته لر آنلری قرارلر هلاك ایدرلردیدك بوسببدن قورقدیلر اوشندیلر بزمله صواش اتمدیلر اعتقاد شویله درکم کوك فرشته لری کتیوز اولمازز اوقدن قاچدن بزه ضرب (ضرر) اولماز بوسببدن نه آرایه دلرسوز واراوز (؟ وارکوز) کمسنه مانع اولماز آخر برکشی آیتدی شونلرك برسینی اوقله اوره بن کوره بن اولور می دیمش بربرده کزلنمش بریمز کیچدکلین اول آرادن

Majesty Omar (Othman) asked him: « How did ye penetrate those difficult passes and how did ye conquer those countries? He answered: « O *Amirul-muminin*! All those towns were (inhabited by) infidels; the tribes called *Khazars* and *Alans* are contiguous with the Turks [14]. They were struck with wonder at seeing us; for no troops of an enemy had yet entered that country. Gazing at us they said, (to each other); » Are these not the sons of men? Are these angels, that have the means of coming to this country? Otherwise, for sons of men it is impossible to come hither! » (see Remark 7 to Part II). — They asked us whether we were sons of men, or angels? We answered, 'we are the sons of men; we are not angels, but the angels of heaven have accompanied us, to assist us and to massacre and annihilate such as may desire to make war with us.' — For this reason they were afraid and did not dare make war upon us. Their belief was that we were as the angels of heaven; that we could not be killed, and that neither arrows nor the sword could do us any harm; for this reason we went whither we chose and nobody hindered us. — But at last one (of the enemies) said: 'Let me strike one of these with an arrow and see whether he will die:' so saying he hid himself in ambush. As soon as one of us passed by that place he shot his arrow and kil-

and Djaghatai translations of the work (see Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten, p. 60 and 106) it is merely said that « an individual who had accompanied Abdulla in that expedition returned to the presence of Omar » &c.

[14] By *Alans* I mean the ancient inhabitants of the great *Caburda*, who in the southern parts of that principality till this day call themselves *Alans*. In the Persian and Djagatai translations of this place we find *Turks*, instead of Turkistan, which is preferable.

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برلوق اورمش اولدرمش بلمشلر كه بزدخى اولورز آندن نصكره بزمله صواشه قصد ايتديلر اول ادن بنه دوندوك *

led him, and by this they knew that we also are mortals [15]. — After this they resolved to make war upon us, but we left that place [16],

II.

EXTRACT FROM THE TRANSLATION OF IBNU-L-AASEM, FROM A PART CONTAINING THE EVENTS OF THE 27 AND 28 YEARS OF THE HIDJRET [17], THE CHAPTER IS ENTITLED:

فتح ارمنيّه وكشته شدن سلمان بن ربيعة الباهلى

..... ودر اثنای آن حالت خطاب امير بسلمان ابن ربيعه رسيد كه بالشكری كه ازكوفه آورده است بجانب

The conquest of Armenia and the death of Selman, the son of Rebi'ah-Albahili [18]

. . . . . [19] At that time there arrived the mandate of the Amir (the Khalif Othman) to Selman the son of Rebi'ah, di-

[15] We find the same, besides Derbend-nameh and Ibnu-l-aasem, also in some other works. See Rem. 7 to Part II. —

[16] Here we finish our extract from the two chapters of Teberi. — *Add. N.* The continuation of the chapter treats upon the rest of the conversation between Omar and the eye witness who had returned to him from Daghistan. The curious may find it in the Persian and the Djaghatai translatins of Teberi in Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. pag. 61—65; 109—111.

[17] The author does not show the year; but from other histories we know that Mo'avieh's expedition to the Island of *Cyprus*, which is described soon after this in *Ibnu-l-aasem*, took place in the year 28. Consult our Rem. 2. to Part II. —

[18] Read the *second* part of Derbend-nameh. *Add. N.* – In Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. instead of *Selman* we find مسلمه but preference must be given to the reading of our text, at least for its concordance with the narrative of all the three versions of the Derbend-nameh. (Consult Remark 1. to Part II.) — Comparing our text with Dr. Dorn's quotation we find between them considerable difference. We shall refer only to such as deserve particular attention. —

[19] The first part of this chapter, which we have omitted treats on some engagements between the Arabs

ارمنیه رود وآن بلادرا فتح کند ولمرا ومعا رنی بلاد
ارمنیه به تسامع اخبار لشکرعرب که قصد ولایت ایشان
دارند شنیده بودند وعظیم بترسیده وپناه باحصار
ها وقلعه ها برده وجماعتی درمیشها ورودخانهای آن
ولایت کریخته وبایکدیکر چنین میگفتند که این لشکر که
قصدما دارند از آسمان آمده اند وسلاح برایشان
کارنمیکند ونمی میرند سلمان روی بزمین بیلغان که
شهرولایت ارّان است نهاده بود دراثناء راه بهرقصبه
که میرسیدمی ستد وقلعها فتح میکرد وهرد شمن که پیش
اومی امدمیکشت ومیکرفت تابشهر بیلغان رسید اهل
بیلغان بیرون آمدند ونزل وعلوفه بسیار آوردند
وازولمان خواستند ومال قبول کردند ایشانرا اماں
داد ومال مصالحه برانجمله که قرارافتاده بودبستد واز
انجابرفت بردرحصار بردع فرود آمد اهل آن حصارهم
امان خواستند ومالی قبول کردند باایشان صلح کرد
ومال بستد وبرلشکر قسمت فرمود وبجانب ماجروان

recting that he should proceed towards *Armenia* at the head of the troops (they consisted of 10,000 men) led by him from *Kufah*, and subdue that country. — The chiefs and renowned men of Armenia, having been already informed of the intention of the Arabian troops to make an irruption into their country, were much alarmed, (so that) some sought refuge in fortifications and in fortresses; some fled into the forests; and some hid themselves in subterranean passages of the country. They used to say to each other: « This host that aims at us, is descended from heaven: arms can have no effect on them, nor harm them [20]. — Selman had directed his forces towards *Bilghán*, the capital of the country of *Arran* [21]. On his way he took every town and conquered every fortress at which he arrived; he defeated and subdued every enemy that he encountered, till at last he reached *Bilghan*. The inhabitants of this town came out, bringing with them abundant provisions and presents; and on stipulated conditions, solicited mercy [22]. — Selman consented to the proposal, promised them safety, and received the contribution stipulated. — He next departed thence and encamped opposite the gates of *Barda'*. The inhabitants of thatfortress likewise, solicited peace on stipulated conditions. He made a treaty of peace with them, and received the contribution, which he dis-

and the Romans about *Samisat*. When *Habib* the son of Muslimeh, according to the order of *Mo'awieh* was proceeding to Armenia. *Selman* the son of Rabi'ah, by the order of the Khalif, was despatched with 10,000 men to his aid. We begin from the place where the author says, that Habib and Selman, having repulsed the Romans waited for new orders of their Khalif. — Read our Rem. 3. to Part II.

[20] See Rem. 7. to Part II. — Read also the end of our extract from the 53 and 54 chapters of the V Part of Teberi; also the continuation of this present extract.

[21] The ancient name of a province of *Aderbijan* contiguous to *Georgia*. Zakariya Algkazvini separates it rom Armenia by the River *Kur*. *Hamdullah* Algkasvini calls all that is between the Kur and the Araxes by the name of Arran. See for بیلغان Rem. I. note [c] to Part VII of this work.

[22] Literally: and they agreed to (presenting) riches, i. e. they offered riches for their safety.

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روان شد ومیان او واهل آن شهرهم صلح افتاد ومال
بستد واز انجا بجانب شروان روان شد آبی را که
معروف است به کر عبره کرد وبظاهرشروان فرود آمد
ملك شروان کسی نزدیك اوفرستاد وصلح خواست
سلمان اجابت کرد ومالی که قرار افتادبستد وبجانب
شابران ومسقط روان شد چون بدان ناحیت رسید
رسولان فرستاد بملوك جبال وایشانرا بنزدیك خویشتن
خواند ملك لکز وملك قیلان وملك طبرستان بر عقب
یکدیگر پیش آمدند وانواع هدایا آوردند ومال ان
نواحی بکذاردند ومال معین شد که هرسال میرسانند
(برسانند) ازجانبین رضادادند وان ملوك راباز کردانید
واز آنجا برست شهر باب لشکرکشید ودر آن وقت

tributed amongst his army. From thence he departed to *Bádjervan*[23]. Between him and the inhabitants of that town was also established a treaty of peace: he received their riches and proceeded towards *Shirwán*. He passed the river known by the name of *Kur* and arrived before Shirwan[24]. The king of Shirwan sent a messenger to him and proposed peace; Selman accepted it, received the riches agreed upon by the terms of peace, and proceeded to *Shabran* and *Musgkat*[25]. Having arrived at those quarters, he sent ambassadors to the sovereigns of the *mountains* and summoned them to his presence. The king of *Legz*[26], the king of *Gkildn* and the king of *Teberistan* (i. e. Tabaserân) came one after another into his presence and brought divers gifts and riches of that country, which they laid before him. After having fixed the yearly contribution agreed upon on both sides, he dismissed these kings and directed his army towards the city of *Báb* (i. e. Babul-abwab

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[23] *Madjervan* or rather *Bádjervan* is the ancient capital of *Múghan* موغان (a province bounded by *Armenia*, *Shirwan*, *Aderbijan* and the Caspian Sea. — It is now in ruins. The word موغان anciently was spelled مارکان *Már-kan* i. e. the abode of Serpents, which are indeed in great abundance) there; afterwards the word was changed into مارقان, then into ماقان, موقان and موغان; see صحبة الابرار the MS. of the late Mufty عبد السلام افندی p. ٦٣ —

[24] The name *Shirwan* has been used for many centuries as a general appellation for a whole province, extending from the *Kur* to *Derbend*. But some authors (see Katib-Tchelibi p. 393) assert that there has been indeed a *town* known by the name of Shirwan. But it must be a mistake arising from the names being very often given to the capital town of the province which has always borne the name of *Shamakhi*,

[25] See for *Shabran* Part I. Rem. 24 and for *Musgkat*, ibid. Rem. 5. and continuation of Dr. Dorn's version forming a *supplement* to Part VIII. *note* 1. — From this place it is understood that *Musgkat* was in ancient times a town. — In Dr. Dorn's quotation instead مسقط we read مقسط, just as we have in some MSS. of Derbend-nameh.

[26] *Legzs* are now the *Lezghins*, who give their name to all the tribes of central Daghistan. — For قیلان see Rem. 34. to Part I, for *Tabasaran* or طبرستان see Part I. Rem. 33 and part V. Rem. 12 and 13. —

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خاقان ملك خزر آنجا بود باسیصد هزار مرد چون شنید
که لشکر عرب می آیند بترسید واز شهرباب برفت
جماعتی ازمقدمان لشکرپیش او شدند وگفتند ای
پادشاه لشکرتو سیصدهزاراست ومیگویند لشکرعرب
که ازینسومی آیند ده هزار بیش نیستند چرا از پیش
ایشان میروی خاقان گفت بمن چنان رسانیدند که آن
لشکر از اسمان فرود امده اند وسلاح برایشان کار
نمیکند کدام کس درپیش ایشان بتواند ایستاد وکرا
طاقت مقاومت ایشان باشد پس بگریخت وبتعجیل
هرچه تمام تراز ان شهربرفت سلمان بن ربیعه چون رسید
شهر باب خالی یافت درشهر شد وسه روز مقام کرد
تالشکراو بیاسود پس ازان شهر بیرون آمد وروی
بطلب خاقان ولشکر او آورد ومیرفت تابشهری رسید از
شهرهای خزر نام او برغوا دران شهر افریدهٔ نیافت
شهریکد اشته بودند وازخوف لشکرعرب گریخته سلمان
درآن شهرشد مقام نکرد وبرعقب خاقان ولشکر (او)
برفت تابشهر بلخر رسیدوآن شهری دیگرست از
شهرهای خزرسلمان درمرغزاری که نزدیك آن شهر بود
فرود آمد وآن مرغزاری بود عظیم خوش وتازه وجوی

Derbend). — At that time, *Khagkan*, the sovereign of Khazaria, was there with three hundred thousand men; but being informed of the approach of the Arabian army, he departed from the city of *Bâb*. Some of his advanced guard came to him and said: « O king, thy army consists of three hundred thousand men, and the army of the Arabs that moves this way, they say, does not consist of more than ten thousand men! why then fleest thou from them? ». — *Khagkan* answered and said: « I am persuaded that this horde is descended from heaven, and that arms can produce no effect on them: Who then can withstand their presence, and who could have the boldness to oppose them? So he betook himself to flight, hastening, as much as he could, to quit that city (Derbend) [27] — *Selman*, the son of *Rebiah*, being arrived at the city of *Bab*, found it empty; he entered it, and stopped there three days, in order that his army might repose itself, then he quitted that city and proceeded in search of the Khagkan and his army. He thus continued his way, until he reached a town named Berghûa [28], which was numbered among the Khazarian towns. Here finding *no living being* — for (the inhabitants) had quitted it and fled for fear of the Arabian army — Selman entered it, but did not remain there, and followed the Khagkan and his army till he reached *Balkher*, another city numbered among those of Khazaria. Selman encamped in a meadow that was near the city. It was an extensive, convenient and beautiful place, by which there ran a river.

[27] We read the same in the *Derbend-nameh*; compare Part II. it is there said only that the Khagkan of *China* with 100,000 men was encamped near Derbend, and that he, following the advice of his grandees *remained*, and did not take to flight. Read Remark 5. to Part II. —

[28] In some MS. we find برغو ; I read it ترخو see Part IV Rem. 4. note *c*.

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آب بزرك درپهلوی آن میرفت جماعتی از لشکر خاقان
دران مرغزار بودند یکی از آنجماعت بیامد تاحال
لشکر اسلام معلوم کند در اثنای آن که نظارهٔ لشکر
ولشکرگاه مسلمانان میکرد مردبرادید از مسلمانان که
دران جوی آب غسل میکرد آن کافرخواست که بیازماید
تاسلاح بروی کارخواهدکرد واکرنه (یانه) تیری
برکمان نهاد وترسان ترسان کمان درکشید ویران
مسلمان زد اتفاق برمقتل آمد وآن مرد هم درحال جان
بدادوکافرتزدیك اودویدوسر اوباز کرد وجامهای
اوبرگرفت وببرد پیش خاقان نهادوگفت این سر یکیست
از آن لشکر که آمده اندوچنان تقریرمیکردند که
ایشان از آسمان آمده‌اند وسلاح برایشان کارنمیکند
وایشانرا نمیتوان کشت اینك این مرد از ایشان
است ومن اورانیرزدم وهم درساعت بردسراوباز
کردم وپیش توآوردم ایشانراچندان قوّت نیست
جماعتی مردم اندمانند ماچون خاقان آن سربدید
وسخن آن مردبشنید فرمود که منادی کردند ولشکررا
بخواند وهرکجا سرخیلی بود نامه نوشتند که برسبیل
تعجیل بیاید وخیل را باخویشتن آرد [در] جمله لشکر
اوجمع شدند سیصد هزار مرد روی بمسلمانان آوردند

A crowd of the army of the Khagkan had also occupied a part of the meadow. One of them came to examine the situation of the army of Islam and its position; he saw one of the Musulmans that was bathing in the river. The infidel wished to try whether arms could produce an effect on him or not; he therefore put an arrow to his bow, drew it with fear and terror, and hit the Mussulman; it happened that the wound was mortal, and the man immediately expired. The infidel approached him in haste, cut-off his head, took away his garments, and produced them before the Khagkan, saying: « This is the head of one of the army that has come (against us) and which is said to have descended from heaven, on which arms can produce no effect and which can not be destroyed; lo, this man is one of them, I shot him with an arrow, and he died immediately: they are a body of men like ourselves. » When the Khagkan saw that head, and heard the words of the man, he ordered a proclamation to be made. He gathered together his army and sent mandates to all the commanders of regiments, ordering them to hasten with their troops and to come to him. Thus all his army was assembled, and three hundred thousand men rushed against the Mussulmans [29]. These strove

[29] If we are permitted to explain the misunderstanding which suggests an irregularity of ideas in the text: — for the Khaghan quitted Derbend with 300,000 men, and now, having gathered all his troops from the different parts of his dominions, he had still the same number of men! — we should suppose the author's

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مسلمانان چندان که امکان داشتند میکوشیدند
اتاکاری بود ورای طاقت عاجزکشتند وکافران دست
یافتند سلمان بن ربیعه را وآن ده هزار مرد که از
کوفه آورده بودند جمله را بکشتند یك کس از ایشان
خلاص نیافت واین واقعه درصحرای شهرباخربود وخاك
آن مسلمانان آنجاست وآنراقبور الشهدا کویند رحمة
الله ورضوانه علیهم این خبر بعثمان رسید ازحد بیرون
دلتنك شد بجایکاهی (بجایی) که خواب وآرام لزو
برمید پس نامه نوشت بحبیب بن مسلمه واورا فرمود که
بالشکری که دارد بجانب ارمنیه رود وکینهٔ سلمان
وجملهٔ مسلمانان که انجاکشته شده اند از خاقان
ولشکر اوباز خواهد حبیب برحسب اشارت امیرلشکررا
استمالت کرد وبدانجانب روان شد میرفت تا از
دربندی که آنرا دربندبنی زواره کویندبکذ شت

as much as they could; but it being beyond their power to resist, they were exhausted. The infidels gained the field [30]: *Selmán*, the son of *Rebieh*, perished with the 10,000 men that were brought from *Kúfeh*, so that none of them were saved. This accident [31] took place in the field before *Bulkher* and *there* are now the remains [32] of these Mussulmans, and the place is called *the sepulchre of the Martyrs:* [33] the mercy and the blessing of God be upon their souls!

When this information came to *Othman* he was exceedingly sad, so that sleep and repose quitted him. He therefore wrote a letter to *Habib*, the son of *Muslimeh* ordering him to set out with his army towards *Armenia*, to take vengeance on the Khagkan and his army, for Selman and for all the Mussulmans that had perished there. — Habib, according to the will of the Amir (i. e. the Khalif) encouraged his army and proceeded towards that country. He continued his way till he passed a derbend that bears the name of the *passage of Beni-Zevâreh* [34] and reached the city of

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meaning to be that the Khagkan, after quitting Derbend, *had dismissed* a part of his army or had appointed some portion of it to defend such spots of his vast country, as might be visited by these heavenly hosts. —

[30] Literally, *found the hand*, i. e. gained possession. — *Add. N.* In Dr. Dorn's quotation (see the Nachrichten &c. p. 184) this phrase is preceded by another: ودرهرحمله هزارکس شهید میشدند «In every attack a thousand warriors became martyrs (were killed.)

[31] This *Bulkher* must rather be the بلخ of our Derbend-nameh. See Part I. Rem. 17.

[32] Literally — *the dust of*....

[33] The description is almost identical with what we find in the Derbend-nameh; the principal difference regards the place of battle and the number of Mussulmans who perished. Read Rem. 11—12. Part II.

[34] It must be the passage of *Zevareh* — a district in the N. W. parts of *Irak-Adjem*, formed, according to tradition, by Zevâreh, the brother of *Rustami-dastan*. See نزهة and جهان نما in the description of عراق عجم for the word زواره —

وبشهر خلاط رسیدوآن شهررا قلعهٔ عظیم محکم وبلند
بود وجماعتی ازکفار که دران قلعه بودند مردانی (با)
اختیار بودند میان حبیب وایشان جنکهای سخت افتاد
وروزها آنجا مقام کرد عاقبة الامرقلعه را بکرفت
ومردانی که در انجابودند جمله را بکشت وزن وفرزند
ایشان را اسیرکرفت ودران قلعه مال بسیار وظرایف
بیشمار یافت بعدازان برفت تابیلاد مطاهیر رسید
بزمینی که آنرا سراج میکفتند انجافرود آمد ونامها
نوشت بامرا واعیان خزران وایشانرا نزدیك
خویشتن خواند جماعتی ازرؤساء آن ناحیت بنزدیك
او آمدند وبرهشتاد هزار درم صلح کردند آن مبلغ
مال ایشان بستد وایشانرا وثیقت نامه نوشت وباز
کردانید در اثناء آن حال امیر رضی الله عنه اورا معزول
کرد وحذیفه بن الیمانرا بجای اوبفرستاد حذیفه آمد
ودرشهر آن ناحیت مقام کرد مردیرا ازبنی عم خویش
نام اوصلة بن زور العبسی بالشکری آراسته بدان نواحی
فرستاد صله کار آن ولایت بوجه نیکوتر پیش کرفت وملوك
وسروران ومعارف واعیان آن ناحیت را مطیع ومنقاد

Akhlát [35]. This city had strong, extensive and elevated walls, and the body of the infidels that was in that fortress consisted of brave and resolute men. Between Habib and these infidels a severe battle took place, and he remained there many days. At last he took the fortress, put to death all the warriors that were therein, and made captives of their wives and children. He found in the fortress abundant riches and innumerable precious things. Then he proceeded onwards till he reached the country of *Metahir* and halted in a place named *Surah* [36]. — Here he wrote letters to the chiefs and nobles of the Khazars, summoning them to his presence. A number of the leaders of that country came to him, and made a treaty of peace for the sum of eighty thousand pieces of money. He took that sum of money from them, granted them a treaty of confederacy, and dismissed them.

At this time the Amir displaced *Habíb* and sent *Hadzifah* the son of *Al-Emán* in his stead. This latter, having arrived, stopped in the capital town of that country (?) and dispatched one of his relations, called *Sileh* the son of *Zúr-al-'absi* (?) at the head of a well equipped army to those countries (Khazaria?). *Sileh* arranged the affairs of that country in a better way, and entirely subdued the sovereigns, leaders, nobles and statesmen of the country: and all were in obedience and full subjection to him. In this manner

[35] Otherwise *Khilat* خلاط. It was a renowned city in Armenia, situated on the W. or rather N. W. of the lake of *Van*. It has been ruined many times, either by the hands of the enemies or by earthquakes, so that now it is but a very inconsiderable town (see جهان نما p. 412.) — *Add. N.* Read also Zakariya Al-Ghazvini about this town and its sea or lake in Dr. Dorn's Geographica Caucasia page 30.

[36] *Add. N.* For Metahir we find in Dr. Dorn's quotation Metamir and for *Surah* — *Seradj* (see the Nachrichten &c. p. 155). I am disposed to think that by Metahir the Author meant the actual *Melazghir* situated on the north of *Van* at a distance of about 33 English miles from Khilat in the direction to the N. E. i. e. on the way to Georgia.

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خویشتن کردانید وهمکان اورا فرماتبردار کشتند وایشان اورا بسمع وطاعت تلقّی نمودند یکسال برینمنوال دران طرف اورا مقام افتاد پس امیرالمؤمنین حذیفه را ازان ولایت معزول کردانید ومغیره ابن شعبهرا بجای اوبفرستاد ومغیره انجارفت وروزی چندکارپیش کرفت ودرسوم ستوده اساس نهاد عثمان اشعث قیس را نامزدآن ولایت کرد ومغیره را معزول کردانید اشعث قیس آن ناحیت را ضبط فرمود واورا تابدان وقت که امیر را شهید کردند انجامقام افتاد *

he remained a year's time in that country. Now the Amirul-muminin dismissed *Hadzifeh*, and replaced him in that country by *Mughireh*, the son of *Sha'abeh*. Mughireh arrived there and employed himself some time in the affairs (of the country) and established good laws and customs there. Afterwards, Othman displaced *Mughireh* and instead of him sent *Asha'ath* (or *Asha'as*) the son of *Gkeis*. This *Ashaas* administered the affairs of those quarters, and lived there till the time in which the Amir (Othman) became a martyr.

III.

EXTRACT FROM THE WORK OF BENAKITI; FROM THE CHAPTER ENTITLED:

ذکرخلافت عمربن عبدالعزیز

..... درعهد او خبر آمد که بست هزارمرد جرار ازدشت قپچاق باذر بایجان در آمده روی بخرابی نهاده خلیفهٔ زمان حاتم ربیعی را فرمود که چهار هزار مرد کرفته بحرب ایشان رو هر که پیش آید

The report of the Khalifate of Omar the son of Abdu-l-aziz.

. . . . . In his reign there came news that 20,000 warlike men from *Deshti-Gkiptchágk*, having made an irruption into Aderbijan, were laying waste the country. The Khalif of the period ordered *Hatem-Ar-rebi'i* [37] saying: « Take four thousand warriors and set

[37] See Part III. Remark 1 and 7. — D'Ohsson calls him *Amrou*; see his Voyage d'Ab. p. 56. Also consult Remark 1. to Part II.

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off to encounter them (the Kiptchagkians or the Khazars) and whosoever shall meet thee in thy way, kill him, and whom the *sword*[38] spares put in chains and bring them to my presence. *Hatem-Rebi'i* said: «O *Amirul-muminin!* you are pleased to say that the enemy is numerous, and you give me only four thousand men and an order, saying: «go, defeat them and after enslaving and putting in chains those whom the sword *may spare*, bring them hither.» How is it possible that four thousand men should oppose twenty thousand?» — Omar said; «O *Hatem*, what distress can there be to a butcher from the abundance of the sheep[39]? If the sovereign of the age be just and equitable, and live an upright life before God the Most High, his troops, though few in number, shall be victorious and glorious! trust not in the multitude of the troops, but put thy confidence in the mercy of the Creator and be patient; *how often have small bodies of men defeated numerous troops by the will of God, for God is with those who have patience*[40]: Go therefore, and do not despair.» —

In fact, *Hatemi-Rabi'i* set off for that country and made war with those Turks; he defeated them; he cut down the most part of that wicked army and the rest he put in chains and brought them to the presence of *Amirul-muminin Omar II*, Upon whom be the mercy of God! —

اورا بکش وبقیّة السّیف را غلّ کرده گرفته بخدمت
من بیار حاتم ربیعی گفت یاامیرالمؤمنین خود
میفرمایند که دشمن بسیار است چهارهزار مرد بمن
داده میفرمایند که بکش وبقیة السیف را غل وزنجیر
کرده گرفته بیارچهار هزار مرد بابست هزارچکو نه
مقاومت تواند کرد وعمر رضی الله تعالی عنه گفت ای
حاتم قصاب را ازکثرة غنم چه غم چون پادشاه عادل
وصاف دل باشد وبدرگاه خداوند جل ذکره براستی
زندگانی نماید لشکر او اگرچه اندك باشد منصور ومظفّر
گردد وتکیه بکثرة لشکر مکن توکّل بر کرم وفضل
آفریدگارکن صابرباش که کم من فیّة قلیلة غلبت فیّة کثیرة
باذن الله والله مع الصابرین برو وغم مخور الحق چون
حاتم ربیعی بدانجا رفت وبآن ترکان محاربه کرده غالب
آمده اکثرآن لشکر فجّار را بکشت وبقیّة السّیف بر
گرد نشان غلّ وزنجیرکرده بخدمت امیرالمؤمنین عمر
ثانی رحمه الله علیه رسانید *

[38] i. e. The rest of the defeated army.

[39] It is a proverb.

[40] This is a verse from the Koran, the second Soureh v. 248; in the description of Davids victory over Goliah.

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IV.

EXTRACT FROM THE WORK OF TEBERI; PART VI; CHAP. 55; REFERRING TO THE EVENTS OF THE YEARS 103—105 OF THE HIDJRET.

THE CHAPTER IS ENTITLED:

خبر غزاء خوارج ارمنیّه

راوی ایدرچونکه جرّاح ارمنیّه یه یتشدی خزریان کافرلرینه خبر لولدی اورکوب قچدیلر بوب (باب) قلعه سینه دوشدیلر جراح که ارمنیه شهرنه یتشدی اوچ کون آنده دوردی آندن کچوب رودبار دیدکلری یره قوندی کافرلردن کسنه اکادورمدی. . . بوباب الابواب ده رودبار ده کسنه بولدی هرقنده که

Description of the wars with the rebels of Armenia [41].

Historians say, that when Djerrah reached Armenia [42] the infidels of *Khazaria* were informed of it. They were alarmed and took to flight and went down to the fortress of *Bâb* (*Babul-abwab?*), Djerrah, having arrived at the City of *Armenieh* [43], remained there three days; whence he proceeded to a place named *Rudbâr* [44] where he halted. Not a man of the infidels remained there.... He could not find any person, either in *Babul-abwab* or in *Rudbar* [45]. Whereever there had been

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[41] Read *remark* 1 to Part IV of our work.

[42] At the end of the 54 chapter the author makes mention of this general's being appointed by the Khalif *Yezid* on an expedition to Armenia against the Khazars.

[43] *Add. N.* In Dr. Dorn's quotation (Nachrichten &c. page 66.) we find برذع *Barda'*. — Instead of بوب of our text, which I read باب there we read باب الابواب

[44] *Add. N.* We know a town on the *Araxes* to the S. E. of *Nakhichevan*, which is commonly called Ordubâd. But Bal'ami makes it the name of a *valley* and in the Djaghatai translation of this passage (Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. pages 67 — 111.) it is said that this valley was at a distance of 2 miles from Babul-abwâb.

[45] Something must be omitted hereabout in our MS.; I have therefore marked the defect with some dots. *Add. N.* Comparing this passage of our text with Dr. Dorn's quotation (Nachrichten &c. page 67.) we find an omission of 12 lines in my MS. of the Turkish version of Teberi. I will put here before my readers the literal translation of these lines which are indeed very interesting in regard to the narrative of the Derbend-nameh upon the subject, and which make up the sense of the whole passage. We shall begin a little before: Djerrah directed his army and arrived in *Barda'*; here he staid for some days (in our text: for *three* days)

لشکر واربدی (وارایدی) طاغلدیلر قچدیلر نهروانه
کلدی خاقان اوغلی نارجیله خبر یتشدی قرق بیك ارله
نهرواندن (؟نهرواندہ) جراحی قرشولاب (؟قرشولادی)
مسلمانلر یکرمی بش بیك کشیدی نهروان اوزریه
کلوب (؟کلن) نارجیله اوغرشدیلر نارجی (؟نارجیلی)
صدیلر مسلمانلر غایت ده طویم اولدیلر آندن کچوب
حصین شهرنه کلدیلر آندن کچوب کش قلعه سینه
کلدیلر آندن جرّاحله صلح ایلدیلر کچوب یرغو
شهرینه واردی آلتی کون آنلرله صواش ایلدی آخر

an army, it was dispersed and put to flight. He went to Nehrevan [46]. — Now there came information (of this) to *Nardjil* the son of Khâghan, who at the head of forty thousand warriors set out for *Nehrevân* to encounter Djerrah. The Musulmans were 25 thousand in number; they met *Nardjil* while he was on his way towards *Nehrevân* and defeated him: the Musulmans enriched themselves with plunder. — Thence they passed onwards and arrived at the city of *Hesin*, and from that place they proceeded to the fortress of *Kush* (?) [47]. — There they (the infidels) made peace with *Djerrah*. From hence, this latter, proceeded to the city of *Yerghû* (Tarkhou), [48] where the infidels opposed them and fought six days;

to rest his army. From that place he directed his way towards *Babul-abwâb*. Thus he proceeded on till he arrived in a valley called *Roudbâr*. Here Djerrah remained and sent men to the princes of the mountains, all of whom came together to him. Now one of the companions of Djerrah proclaimed in the army «the Amir will remain here three days; gather up for yourselves provision». — After that he continued towards Babul-abwab. When he arrived there, he did not find any of the Khazars; the Mussulmans entered into the city, and Djerrah placed his army near the fountain which was situated in the direction of Babul-Djihad (so I read the Abi-Djihad of Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten) at a distance of half a farsakh from Babul-abwab (i. e. in the same direction in which lies the *Avain* of our Derbend-nameh; see اب عین in the Index). Next day he called one of his companions and gave to him 3000 men and said: go ye into the land of Hida (it must be Khaitagk or the Gkaitagk of our Derbend-Nameh), make spoil of all you find and slaughter all who will war with you; but endeavour to come back to me before sunrise. — Another man he called and gave him 2000 men and said: go to the land of *Darsi* (it must be the *Yersi* of our Derbend-nameh) and to Darvagk and diligently make war and plunder. But Djerrah, himself with the remaining army, went to the land of Nehrevan. On the next day (the two generals) returned with (spoil consisting of) 10,000 cows and sheep, and with 3000 captives. Information came now to *Bardjik* the son of Khagkan, the king of Khasaria, that Djerrah at the head of 25,000 Arabs had invested Nehrevan» &c. (Compare our Derbend-nameh Part IV). —

[46] See Part IV. Remark 1. note *c*. In a MS. of Teberi it is said that Nehrevan is situated at a distance of 6 farsakhs from Derbend.

[47] *Add. N.* In both the other translations of Teberi we read here that «when the Musulmans besieged Hassin the inhabitants of the town sent out a *man* to Djerrah and entreated forbearance and peace» &c. In the Persian translation we have: ومردمان شهرکس فرستادند. It is very probable that in the Manuscript from which our unknown author has translated Teberi into Turkish, instead of کس he found کش which he took for the name of a fortress. —

[48] See Remark 4 to Part IV. *Add. N.* For Narjil of our text we read in Dr. Dorn's quotation بارجیك Read our Remark 3 to Part IV. and Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. page 21. note 2.

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but at last they were exhausted and solicited mercy upon terms of peace. — From this place *Djerrah* passed to *Bulkher*. . . . . [49].

Unexpectedly there came information that *Yezid*, the son of *Abdul-melik* was dead. His death took place on the 26 of *Sh'abán* of the year 105; he was 40 years of age. —

کافرلر زبون اولوب امان دلدیلرصلح ایلدیلر اندن
کچوب باخرقلعه سینه کلدی آنی آلدی ناکاه خبرکلدیکه
یزید بن عبدالملك اولدی تاریخك یوز بشنجی یلنده
شعبانك یکرمی آلتنجی کونندہ جمعه کجه سی فوت
اولدی قرق باشنده ایدی *

V.

EXTRACT FROM TEBERI, CHAPTER 56, CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING, ENTITLED:

خبرجنك کردن جرّاح باکافران حزرومدد کردن خاقان

راوی ایدرچونکه هشام بن عبدالملك نامه یازدی
اوشنیه سن غزایه مشغول اوله سین سکا یاردم وبریم
دیدی پس جراح کوچوب ینه بدع (بردع) شهرینه

Report of the battle between Djerrah and the infidels of Khazaria, and of the assistance afforded by the Khagkan to (them).

Historians say, that when *Hisham* the son of *Abdul-melik*, wrote to him (i. e. to Djerrah), he encouraged him saying: «Fear not! make war for religion, I will send thee assistance». *Djerrah* again moved towards *Beda* (Berda?) [50] thence to *Vergkán* [51] and from

[49] Here we have omitted some lines which contain many faults and mistakes. — *Add. N.* We refer the reader to Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten page, 69 line 8-till page 71. l. 8. . . . .

[50] We must suppose that he had quitted Daghistan and was on his way back to Irak. — *Add. N.* In Dr. Dorn's quotations we read that Djerrah during the winter returned to *Sheki* where he waited new orders and assistance from Syria.

[51] *Add. N.* In the Persian translation we read بیلغان; in the Djaghatâi — خلقان and غان which must

كلدی اندن ورقان شهرینه كلدن اندی اودبیله
كلدی اوچ بیك مقداری مسلمان وارایدی جراح
آنده اوتوردی واطرافه لشكرویردی یغما اندردی بویكا
خزرسلطانی خاقان چیندن یاردم استدی نقدركافر
وارایسه برگوب (برگنوب) خاقان اوغلنی باش
ایدندیلر (ایتدیلر) اوچ گزیوزبیك لشكریله ورقانه
گلدیلر (مسلمانلرك) اوزرینه یوردیلر جرّاحك لشكری
پراكنده بولندی قنده همان بربك بولندیكه مردانشاه
دیرلردی آیتدی ای بك كشی بوصحراده اوتورمق
خطادر سیلان طاغی بوآرایه یقیندر یكرك اولدركه آنی
ارقلناسن سكامدیتشنجه طوراسن دیدی وكوچدی
برمنزله قوندی كافرلردخی اول آرادهقوندیلر[كافرلر
اول ارایه گلدیلر] ایكی لشكر بربرینه مقابل اولدیلر
اوغراشدیلر بر وجهله قرغون اندیلر كه وصف ایلمك

this place to Oudebil (Ardebil?). There were about three thousand Musulmans. *Djerrah* stopped there and sent forth his troops to different quarters and plundered.

On the other hand the Prince of the Khazars solicited assistance from the *Khaghan of China.* — All the infidels, as many as there were, placed themselves in order and received the son of the *Khagkan* as their leader. They came to *Vergkán* with an army of *three hundred thousand* men, and attacked the Musulmans. The troops of Djerrah were scattered. Lo, there appeared a prince, named *Merdanshah;* he came and said: «O prince (addressing Djerrah)! thou committest an error in remaining in this desert: the mount of *Silan* is near to this place; it is better that thou shouldst retire thither and shelter thyself there until aid come unto thee.» — So *Djerrah* removed thence and halted at the next stage. The infidels also came and encamped about that place [52]. The enemy approached; the two armies met, and there took place

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mean بیلغان. — I know no such name as *Vergkan.* In the Mesalik and other Geographers of the East we find ورنان, ورثان, وریان, وزنان and like names. I can not give preference to any of these readings, till I find out the truest. Istakhri puts ورنان half way between Barda'a and Bilghan, therefore the place of this unknown town must be in the N. W. of Moughan.

[52] I think there is a defect here between the two identical phrases of our MS. كافرلردخی اول ارادهقوندیلر and كافرلراول ارایه گلدیلر — *Add. N.* In fact in Dr. Dorn's quotations of this chapter of Teberi in the Persian and Djaghatâi languages we find some lines here which justify my suspicion. We shall insert here the translation of these few lines (see Nachrichten &c. p. 74. line 3—5 and p. 115 line 10—13.), beginning from the place where Merdân-shah finishes his advice. — «Djerrah said: o Merdân-shah lest your women, after us, say to each other that I feared (in the Djaghatâi translation erroneously «Merdan-shah feared») to make war with the enemies of God the Most High (i. e. infidels). Therefore Djerrah went (forwards) and arrived at a village called *Shehrvâran* (in another MS. *Shehrân*; it seems that Djerrah did not follow Merdan-shah's advice and prepared to encounter the enemy.), where he encamped himself. The Khazarians approached». . . . Here follows the description of Merdan-shah's conversion to the Muhammedan religion and of his death, about which we found also in our MS. some few words after and which we omitted; see note 53.

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such a massacre as cannat be described!....[55] The infidels gradually became victorious, the Musulmans were exhausted and the enemy cut them off and scattered them. *Djerrah* several times fought personally during the battle; at last he became a martyr: his head was cut off and fastened to a pillar. They massacred the Musulmans so that out of *twenty five thousand* only *one hundred* could escape. They informed *Hishâm* of this[54]..... Then *Hishâm* wrote a letter to *Said* (the son of *Amr-al djershi*), and having invested him with full authority sent him at the head of *thirty thousand* men to take revenge for *Djerrah* the son of *Abdullah* on the infidels of Khazaria. *Sa'id* came to *Aderbijân:* here he passed to the city of *Ardenden* (Ardenuk?)[55] where he met with some of his Musulman friends, who related to him what had happened to them there. These also accompanied him and proceeded thence to the city of *Akhlodz* (Akhlât). Here they found a great mass of the infidels, wherefore they remained there some days and scattered them and enriched themselves with spoil. In every

اولز.... وار دقچه کافرلر غلبه اندیلر مسلمانلر ضعیف
اولدیلر مسلمانلری قردیلر طاغتدیلر جنك ایچنده
جراح چوق دوکوش ایلدی آخرشهید ایلیوب باشنی سکویه
دکدیلر ومسلمانلری قردیلر یکرمی بش بیك کشی دن
عبان بوزکشی قورتلدی کلوب هشامه خبرویردیلر
..... پس هشام سعیده نامه یازدی ولوتوزبیك
ار اکایولداش قوشوب علم وسنجاق ویردی جراح ابن
عبدالله کیننی خرزکافرلرندن آلغه ویردی سعید دخی
لزریجانه کلدی آندن آردندن (اردنك?) شهرینه
کلیجك یارنلرندن برنیچه بولشدی آنده واقع اولن
ماجرایی سعیده دیدیلری آنلری دخی بیله اویدردی آندن
کچوب اخلاص (اخلاط) شهرینه کلوب آنده چوق کافر
یغناغن بولدیلر برقاچ کون انده طوروب آنلری صدیلر
طاغتدیلر مسلمانلر طویم اولدیلر هرنه قلعیه که

Silan-Dagh now *Savalan* سوالان is a high mountain not far from Ardebil: see جهان نما p. 387. It is situated at a distance of about 13 Engl. miles to the N. W. of Ardebil not far from a considerable village called now بروق *Barougk.* —

[53] I have omitted here some lines concerning the conversion of *Merdan-shah* to Islam, his exploits and his death.

[54] Some lines are omitted by me here, on account of their containing one or two gross errors. Their contents are: the Khalif, having received the information, wept for *Djerrah* &c. the infidels did not cease to continue their invasions, and carried away into captivity *Djerrah's* family, as well as some of the defeated Musulmans. The Khazarians continued their ravages; took *Ardebil* after a long siege, massacred all the inhabitants and violated their women &c. that the Khalif, after having consulted with his ministers resolved to dispatch *Sa'd* to take revenge on the infidels. —

[55] I suspect in اردندن an error: I think the last ن must be meant for ك; in such case the reading will be perfectly good; for till this day there is a village on the west of Akhlat, called *Ardonk* which I read *Ardenek* or the *little Arden* or Arzen, to distinguish it from the great Arden, which now is called *Arzeni-Roum.* — *Add. N.* Consult the quotation from *Yâqkouti* in Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten p. 27. note 4.

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كيردبلر كافرلرى قردبلر وعورتلرين اسير ايلدبلر
كوچوب بردع اوستنه كلدبلر سعيد بن عمرو مسلمانلره
ايتدى اسيره وماله رغبت اتمك اللّٰهه صغنك امبد
دركه كافرى صياوز آندن صكره اسيرومال اله كره
چونكه سعيد بايلغان شهرنه كلدى سعيده خبر كلديكه
خاقان اوغلى برقلعيه دوشمشدر آنده نچه مسلمانلر
عورت واوغلنلرى ايله قالمشدر بونلربوكوں يارين قلعهٔ
ويرر لرجيعنى اسيرايدرلردبو سعيد بايلغان ولايتنده
برمسلمان بولدى اكاايتدى الوكدن كلورميكه كندو
اوزكى اللّٰه يولنده فدا ايدوب شهيد اوله سن اول
زبون اولان مسلمانلره بزم كلچكومزى بلدره سنكه
بزوار نجه غيرت ايدب قلعهٔ ويرميه لر ديدى اول كشى
ايتدى باش اوزرنه واراين خبرايده ين ديوب برآلاچه
آتى وارايدى اكا بنوب قلعه دن يكا روانه اولدى
ارتيه دك كتدى خزرلردن كمسيه بولشمدى صباح

fortress that they entered, they massacred the infidels and took their wives and children into captivity. — Hence they set off to *Barda'*. *Sa'id* said to the Musulmans: «think not (only) of captives and spoil, trust in God; there may be a hope of victory over the infidels; and captives and riches may then be obtained. — When *Sa'id* came to *Bailgkan* [56]... there came information that the son of the Khagkan had besieged a fortress in which a few Musulmans with their wives and children were shut up, and that the inhabitants must soon yield the fortress and all the Musulmans be carried away into captivity. *Sa'id* sought out a Musulman [57] in *Bailgkan*, to whom he said: «canst thou give up thy soul in the path of God and become a martyr? Canst thou haste to those exhausted Musulmans, inform them of our arrival and say, that they should attempt with zeal to defend the fortress till we come?» — The man said; «I obey; I will go and inform them.» He had a piebald horse; he mounted it, and quitted the fortress (of *Bailgkan*) and took a by-way. He continued his journey until the next morning, and did not meet any of the Khazars; but in the morning a party (of these) encoun-

[56] The same with بيلقان *Bilgkan* . . . . I have omitted here a few lines of which the contents are the following. When Sa'id arrived in Bilghan, there came to him a Musulman complaining that, during the late war between Djerrah and the Khazars, one of the *Tarkhans* of the Khagkan (read hereafter note 71) carried into captivity his daughters; that now the enemy and his friends live in a village not far, and do not know of the arrival of the new Musulman troops. There he begged him to restore his daughters to him. Sa'id immediately dispatched a squadron under the direction of Abdul-melik and accomplished the suppliant's desire: the Tarkhan and all his friends were cut in pieces and the captives delivered. —

[57] *Add. N.* In the Persian translation of Teberi this man is called *Berdek*, and *Nerdek;* in the Djaghatai version — *Yezdek*. In both it is said that he was a Persian Prince, a brave warrior and knew well the Khazarian language. (Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. p. 29; 79 and 118.)

The name of the fortress besieged by the Khagkan is said in the Persian and Djaghatai translations of Teberi to be *Vergkan* otherwise *Vernan* which Dr. Dorn's reads *Warsan* (Nachrichten &c. p. 25. note 1.). —

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انلردن برجماعت اکادوش اولوب قنده کیدر سن
دیدیلر ایتدی سعیدك جاسوسین قلعه خلقنه آنلك
کلدوکین بلدرمکه کیدرین دیدی ایتدیلر شمدی
سعیدقنده درایتدی بایلغانده در ایتدیلر دلر سنکه
سنی ازاد ایلهوز آنلره آیتکه سیزه عربدن مدد کلچکلین
دکلدر دی دیدیلر ایتدیمنه اوله آنلرن ایتدی
الاچه اتلرله (آت) ایله بلورلر آتومی دخی ویرك دیدی
ویردیلر انی قلعیه کتوردیلر چا غروب ایتدی ای
مسلمانلر بیلك وآکاه اولك سعید سیزه مدد ائمکه کلدی
بیلغانده در برایکی کون غیرت ایدك حصاری ویرمك
اوت بنی دعادن اونتمك دیدی قلعه خلقی قتی
بوکلمشلرایدی قلعهٔ اول کون ویرمکه نیّت ایتمشلردی
همانکه بوخبری ایشتدیلرمسلمانلرتکبیرکتوردیلر خزرلر
اننك نه دیدکن بلدیلر آنی پاره پاره ایلدیلر وقلعیه
بوروش ایتدیلر بربرین صواشه بورودیلر بویکا سعید
بیوردی اودن دوشوروب اود یقدیلر توتونی هوایه
چقدی قلعه دن اول توتونی کوردیلر سعید کلدی دیوب
خزرلر صواشدن ال چکدیلرتا اردبیل قلعه سنه دك
قچدیلر اول قلعیه کلدی عورت اوغلن جمیع خلق سعیدك
ایاغینه کلدیلر اللهه شکر ایلدیلر سعید کوچوب باخوی

tered him and asked him whither he was going? He answered that he was a spy sent from *Sa'id* to the inhabitants of the fortress, to inform them of his coming. They (seized him) and asked where *Sa'id* was? he answered that he was in *Bailgkan*. They said to him: « If thou wishest to be free, go and say to the inhabitants of the fortress, that there will come no aid to them from the Arabs. » He said: « why, I will do it; but they will know me better by a piebald horse; give me then my horse also. » They gave it to him and accompanied him towards the fortress. He then cried aloud and said: « O Musulmans know ye and be aware that *Sa'id* has arrived to assist you; he is now in Bailgkan; try still two days more with zeal to defend the fortress; now do not forget me in your prayers. » — The inhabitants of the fortress had been very much exhausted and had resolved to deliver up the fortress that same day; but hearing these tidings they addressed to heaven the exclamation of *Tekbir* (Read Remark 8 to Part III.). The Khazars having understood what he said, tore him to pieces, assaulted the fortress, and gave battle in different places. — On the other hand Sa'id ordered a heap of wood to be gathered up and to be set fire to: its smoke rose to the sky, so that it was seen in the fortress. The Khazars knew that *Sa'id* was approaching, therefore they put an end to the seige and fled till they came to *Ardbil*. *Sa'id* came to the fortress; the women, children, and all inhabitants threw themselves at his feet and blessed God. — *Sa'id* proceeded hence and arrived at the city of *Bakhûi* [58].

[58] It is the *Bakû* of this day; see for it Remark 2. Part IX. of our work. — *Add. N.* In the Persian translation of Teberi and in *Hâfiz-Abrou* (Nachrichten &c. pp. 81, 82, 83, 85, 86; — 146, 148, 149) we find باجروان

شهرینه کلدی قوندی برمرشد بولندی که آنی بریکا
قلاوزلیه بوفکرله اوتوررکن بر (بوز اتلو) کمسنه سعیده
سلام ویردی سعید سلامن آلدی ایندی سن کمسین
ایندی الله قوللرندن برقولن اوت ای بك کشی
سکابرنسنه مشتلیوکلدم اوشه یقین برده خرز لشکرندن
اون بیك کیشی غافل اوتورمشلر وبش بنك مسلمان
اللرنده اسیروار درقصد ایدرسك شدی فرصت در
دیدی وکندی هماندم سعید طوروب دورت بیك
کشیله یورودی (برکشی وارایدی) ابراهیم عاصم
دیرلردی خزریلردلن بلوردی خزریلر طونن کیوب
(کیدروب) آنی ایلرو کوندردی اول یره کلدی
خزریلری غفلتده کوروب... تیزکلوب سعید بلدوردی
سعید دخی اخشامدن یوریوب سحروقتنه انده کلدی
خزریلر غافل یتورکن کمی سرخوش وکمی مخمور
مسلمانلر انده کلجکن هیچ فکر اتمزدی ناکاه سعید
لشکری ایله ارشوب بریردن تکبیرکتوروب کافرلری
آرایه آلوب قرمغه بشلدیلر کنش هنوز طوغمشدی
(طوغمش ایدی که) اول اون بیك کافری قردیلر سهاجه
کمسنه آنلردن قورتلوب خاقان ترکه خبرویردی مسلمانلر

In this city *Sa'id* could not find a guide who could direct his way. While he was thus waiting, lo! there came a person (on a gray horse) who made a *Selam* to him: *Sa'id* answered his Selam and asked who he was? He answered: «I am one of the servants of God; yes, o Prince, I have come to thee with tidings: lo, ten thousand men of the Khazars are loitering near this place and they have in their hands five thousand Musulmàn captives; if thou art disposed, now is the time.» Thus saying the (unknown) person disappeared. Immediately *Sa'id* made ready and set off with four thousand men. — There was a person called *Ibrahim* the son of *Asim*, who knew the language of the Khazars. *Sa'id* dressed him in the Khazarian clothes and sent him on in advance; he came to the place where the Khazars were carelessly reposing ...[59] He soon returned and informed *Sa'id* of this. In the evening *Sa'id* set off, and early in the morning reached the place. The Khazarians were yet a sleep, partly half drunk and partly completely intoxicated, without any idea of the approach of the Musulmans. *Sa'id* now unexpectedly fell upon them with his troops, surrounded the enemy and with the exclamation of *Tekbir* began to massacre them. The sun had not yet risen before they had massacred all these ten thousand infidels, of whom hardly a few could escape to inform the Khaghan of the Turks.

instead of باخوی of our version. In the Djaghatâi translation (ibid. pp. 119, 120, 121, 122 and 123) we read تاجروان which must be a mistake, i. e. a corruption of باجروان. As Sa'id's way from Arran to Ardebil lay through *Mûghân*, and as it is said that *Badjervan* was the capital town of Mûghan, — the preference must be given to باجروان; the more so because Bâkou lay far aside from the way of Sa'id here described.

[59] I have omitted here a few lines which have no interest. *Add. N.* One can read it ibid. p. 81.

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The Musulmans were enriched with spoils the captives too were saved with their wive: and children. — *Sa'id*, in joy and gladness, returned to *Bakhú*. —

No sooner had he laid aside his arms and wished to repose himself, than the (unknown) personage on the gray horse came and said: « Peace and the mercy of God be upon thee, o righteous man! » *Sa'id* answered; « Upon thee also, o my guide and counsellor: thy coming prognosticates felicity![60] but where wert thou? I had prepared for thee a gift. » (The unknown personage) said: « O *Amir*, God willing we shall partake of thy kindness: but if thou wishest that I should guide thee to a place where about 20,000 of the Khazars are gathered together near to this place, possessing a great number of (Musulman) prisoners, — then linger not, for this is the time (to attack them). » The Musulmans instantly took arms and set off. They fell upon the enemy, surrounded them, massacred them entirely before they could utter a word, and delivered from captivity all the Musulman prisoners; (among whom was numbered the wife of *Djerráh*). She was brought to the presence of *Sa'id*, who, after having asked about all that had happened to her, wept much and gave her rich presents. — Sa'id removed again to Bakhû.

On the other hand the Khagkan, having been informed of the arrival of the Arabian army, was disturbed and wrote mandates to all quarters and gathered an immense army which he entrusted to the command of his son and sent against Sa'id. Sa'id being informed of this, was surprised;

طیوم اولدیلر واول مسلمانلری عورتلری واوغلنلری (بله)
کافرلرالندن قورتاردیلر سعید شادوخرم ینه باخویه
روانه اولدی دخی یراغن چقرمشدی ناکاه اول بوز
آتلوکشی [که] ینه چیقه کلدی ایتدی السلام علیك
ایها الصالح ورحمة الله دیدی وعلیك السلام مبارك
قدوملومرشد ناصح قنان سن بن سنکچون عطابیورمشدم
دیدی ایتدی ای امیرانشاء الله احسانك بزه دخی
یتشه اما دلرسنکه سنی بریره قولاوزلیین که
خزریلردن یکرمی بیك مقداری لشکر بر آرایه
کلمشلردر اللرنده چوق اسیرلروار در وبوطرفه یقیندر
اکلنمه که همان فرصت دردیدی هماندم بنوب آنده
وار دیلر کافرلر غافل ایکن آرایه آلدیلر دل
چقرمشدیلرجمله سین قاچدن کچوروب اول مسلمانلر
اسیرلرین قورتاردیلر جراحك حرمنی سعیده کتوردیلر
حاللرین وخاطرلرین صوردی وچوق نسنه ویردی وچوق
لغلدی اندن دونوب ینه باخویه کلدی بویکا خاقانه
خبرکلدی عرب دن لشکرکلدکن اشدوب شاشدی
اطرافه نامه لرصالدی برعظیم لشکرجمع اتدیکه نهایتی
یوغیدی اوغلنی آنلره باش ایدوب سعید اوزر ینه
ویریدی سعید ایشدوب متحیراولدی ناکاه اول بوز

[60] *Add. N.* In none of the versions of Teberi we find it stated, who this unknown person was?

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آنلوچیقه کلدی السّلام علیك دیدی سعید ایتدی وعلیك السلام ای مرشد مبارك کلمکك بزه دائما مبارك اولندی قنده که قلاوزلدکسه مبارك اولدك سکابن چوق عطالر حاضرلدم نیچون کلوب آلدك ایتدی سن صاغ اولکه ضایع اولماز دیدی اما خاقان اوغلیله جنکه خاطرك وارمیدر دیدی سعید ایتدی بغایت مشتاقم دیدی امدی برکتورمز لشکرله یتشدی اوت اکلنمه فرصتدر دیدی هماندم سعید لشکرله بندی دربند اغزنده

then the (unknown) personage appeared again on his gray horse and said: «*Peace be to thee*». *S'aid* answered: «*And to thee be peace*, o blessed guide! thy arrival has always been the prognostic of felicity; whereever thou guidest me there is a blessing. I had prepared for thee many presents; why didst thou not come and take them?» He answered: «Be thou in health; thy kindness will not be lost; but hast thou a desire to make war with the son of the Khaghan?» *Sa'id* answered: «yes, I desire it eagerly.» He said: «lo, he comes with an immense army! now linger not; it is time.» — Sa'id with his troops immediately mounted their horses and encountered the enemy at a passage (derbend) [61]. The two ar-

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[61] By derbend we mean here rather a difficult passage and not the actual *Babul-Abwab*, which was far enough from the spot, where Sa'id had chosen his residence (read above notes 58.). In Bal'amis translation it is said وبیامد بزمین دربند «*and he came to the land of Derbend*» which suggests the idea that the translator took derbend for *Babul-Abwab;* but this is beyond every probability; for the narrative of the whole chapter clearly shows that the repeated engagements between Sa'id's army and the Khazars all the time took place not far from موغان and that the Arabs in this expedition did not go so far as the actual Derbend till the arrival of Muslimeh (Read this Extract IV and compare it with the Extract V.). In the Djaghatai translation we read the same thing (ودربند بریکا کیردی), only with the addition of ارجیك کا «to *Ardjik*»; and a little farther چون عرب جریکین کور دیلرکیم ارجیك تانورور: «When (the enemy) saw that the army of the Arabs is in *Ardjik*»... &c. (Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c p. 122 lines 1—2). In *Hafiz-Abrou* we find instead of Derbend and Ardjik: بورنل (ibid. p. 149 line 11.) which I am disposed to read برزند *Barzend* or Verzend which was a ruined little town in the XIV century. *Hamdullah-Almustawfi-Algkazvini* places it (see Dr. Dorn's Geographica Caucasia p. 36) under 73—39 long. and 37—49 N. lat. Istakhri places it almost half way between *Ardebil* and *Bilgkan* (ibid. p. 15; line 5—6.). Bilgkan and Madjervan are placed by Hamdullah nearly under the same degrees of long. and latitude: the first under 73—32 of long. and 39—50 of N. latitude; the second under 78—29 (I read the word مح in Dr. Dorn's quotation, Geographica Caucasia p. 35 line 1 عح 78, if not عج, 73; otherwise the difference would be far from probable), and 38—8 (I read ibid. the letter ع for ح; because the Arabs also knew that every degree contains no more than 60 minutes). — All this inclines one to think that the *Berzend* of Hafiz-Abrou, so I read the word بورنل — is the most acceptable. There are two circumstances more which may contribute in some degree to the

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(ودشمنی) قرشولدی ایکی لشکر بربرینه یولوشوب
جنك ایلدیلر اول حمله ده کافرلری صدیلر وقردیلر
اللرنده دورت بیك مسلمان اسیرلری وارایدی
قورتردیلر ینه صاغ وسلامت کلوب اونوردیلر واول
بوزاتلو ینه چیقه کلدی آیتدی نه اوتورورسن اوشده
خاقان بوزبیك اریله کلدی قورقمه فرصت سنکدر دیدی
سعید دورت یکا خبرایلدی بیوکدن وکوچکدن کم
وارایه سبندیلر فی الجمله الی بیك ارجمع اولوب
خاقانی قرشولدی بولشدیلر صغلر والآیلر دوزلدی سعید
بر بدوی آته بنوب کوردیکه کافرلرچوق ایتدی خاقان
نه یرده اوله ایتدیلر که شول سکو اوزرنده دکلن باش
اوکونده در جراحك باشیدر دیدیلر تکبیر کتوروب
پس اللّٰهه صغنوب قوللریله ویهادرلرایله اول ارایه حمله
قلدی صغلری یردی آیلری طاغتدی تاکه خاقان
اوزرینه یتشدی اریشوب خاقانی قشغندن دوتوب

mies rushed against each other and in the very first attack they defeated the infidels, cut them down and delivered out of their hands four thousand Musulman prisoners, after which they returned again and reposed in health and safety.

The personage on the gray-horse appeared again and said: «Why art thou reposing thyself! Lo, the Khagkan approaches with a hundred thousand men! but be not afraid; victory is thine.» — *Sa'id* sent orders to all quarters; little and great took arms, so that soon fifty thousand men were gathered. *Sa'id* encountered the *Khagkan*. Both armies met. The troops and regiments were put in order. Sa'id mounted a *Bedouin* horse; he saw that the enemy were numerous. He asked where the Khagkan was? They answered, that he was before the pillar to which a head was fastened, and that the head was *Djerráh's*. *Sa'id* put confidence in God, and exclaiming *Tekbir*, rushed with his brave warriors and servants to that place; he broke into the ranks of the enemy and dispersed the crowds till he reached the person of the Khagkan, fell upon him, took him by the girdle, pulled

probability of my opinion: 1) on the newest maps of the Persian frontiers of the Caucasus we find two names; a) *Berzent*, that of a rivulet which runs from S. to N. and falls into another rivulet named *Sari-gkamish*, very near the ruins of *Gkis-gkala*. But there about we do not find any town or place of the same or similar name. b) Not far from the fortress of *Ahr* اهر, to the west of the little river *Dara-yourt*, about seven Engl. miles from each, there is a small village called *Berzengan*. Both these are on the south of the *Araxes*, at not more than 30 Engl. *miles* distance from it. 2) Hafiz-Abrou, at the end of the chapter says, that the Khazars lost far more people in the river Araxes, when they crossed it, pursued by the Musulmans than on the field of battle (see Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. p. 150 l. 18). —

As to the ارجیك in the Djaghatai translation of this place, I conjecture that, since the Arabs sometimes wrote برزنج for برزند (see Geographica Caucasia p. 12. line 44), it may be the corruption of the same Berzend. — The subsequent changet might be thus: برزند, ورزنج, ورجنج, ارجنك and lastly ارجیك. —

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ایردن قابوب باشی اوستنه چوروب یره اوردی تاکه خاقانی محکم بند ایلدی خزرلشکری خاقان اوزرینه کلدیلر خاقانی قورتردیلر آندن کافره اسلام لشکری برآرایه حمله ایدوب کافری یرندن کتوروب تارمار اتدیلر طپ (طوب) طویلجه طویم اولدیلر فراوان نعمتیله یینه باخویه کلدیلر خمس مالنی هشامه ویربدی آندن صکره غنیمت مالنی مسلمانلر آراسنده قسمت ایلدی اول اللی بیك کشی یه هربرینه بیك یدیشر آقچه نصیب دکدی *

him from his saddle, lifted him over his head, threw him down on the ground, and bound him fast. But the troops of the Khazars came to the assistance of the Khagkan, and delivered him. The army of Islam however soon surrounded the infidels, fell upon them, wholly routed them and enriched themselves with spoil to the highest degree; so with great wealth they returned to *Bakhú*.

The *Khums* (i e. the fifth part of the spoil obtained) was sent to Hisham, and the rest of the spoil was divided among the Musulmans: every one of the fifty thousand men received one thousand and seven silver pieces of money![62]

VI.

EXTRACT FROM TEBERI, CHAPTER 57, CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING, ENTITLED:

خبرفرستادن مسلمه را بر سعید

چونکه سعید خزرکافرلرین صدی شروان قپوسنده اونورمشدی که هشامدن نه خبرکله ناکاه نامه کلدیکه

The account of Muslimeh's being sent to Sa'id.

After Sa'id had defeated the infidels of Khazaria, he resided in the *port* of Shirwân and waited there for the new orders of his Khalif. There came unexpectedly a letter from Hisham saying: « I give the authority to

[62] *Add. N.* In the Djaghatâi translation we read: « one thousand seven hundred *dirhems* »; in Bal'amî's translation and in Hâfiz-Abrôu — « one thousand seven hundred *dinars*. » The number of the Musulman army was

ولایتی قرد اشم مسلمه (یه) ویردم امدی نه قدرقلعه وشهرالدك اکا اصرلیه سن سعید ایتدی الحکم لله مطیعز مسلمه کلنجه اوتوردی صواشدن ال چکدی آندن مسلمه کلوب شرواندن سعیده کورندی (? شیرواندہ سعید له کو رشدی) ایتدی بن سکانامه کوندرمدم می خزریلرله صواش اتمه دیدم می نیچون بکا اعتبار ایتمدك مسلمانلری بونچلین خطره کتوردك دیدی سعید ایتدی سندن کاغذ کلمزدن الله تعالی فرصت ویردی انلری صدم کاغذ اوّل کلدی (کلسیدی) صبرایتمدم دیدی مسلمه ایتدی هرزه سویلدك مقصودك بودر که سعید نیچه غزالر انیمش دیلر مرادك شهرتدر واندکك ایش الله ایچون دکلدر دیدی سعید ایتدی بن اندوکم الله ایچوندرباقی فرمان سنوکدر دیدی پس مسلمه قتدی سعیده بیوردی دیسنه یومرق اوردیلر وسنجاغن باشنده اواتدیلر آندن بیوردی سعیدی طوتدیلر وزندانه براقدیلر بوخبر هشامه پتشدی مسلمه یه قتدی تیزنامه یازدی ایتدی سعیدك بونچه حقارت ایدوب دوکمش سین وسعیدکبی کشیه بویله ایتمك روامیدر ویلدم که سین آنی حسددن ایلدك بونچه بوز آقلغن اندوکی ایچون کتوردك

my brother Muslimeh; now submit to him all the fortresses and cities conquered by thee.» Sa'id said: «This is the will of God, we shall obey it!» — Till the arrival of Muslimeh he remained there and ceased to make war. After that, when Muslimeh arrived, he had an interview with Sa'id in Shirwân. He said to him: «Did I not write to you, and did I not order you not to make war with the Khazars? Why then did not you pay attention to me, and why did you expose the Musulmans to so great a danger?» Sai'd answered: «Previous to the arrival of thy letter, God gave us victory and I defeated them: but had thy letter arrived before, I should have abstained.» Muslimeh replied: «thou speakest nonsense; — thy desire is, that the world should say: How many wars for religion Sa'id has made! thy end is glory, and thou doest not thy deeds for God's sake!» Sa'id said: «What I have done is for God's sake; but farther do what thou pleasest.» — Muslimeh grew angry and ordered some blows to be given on Sa'ids head. He caused his standard to be broken upon his head, and then ordered him to be seized and put into prison. — When the report of this came to Hishâm, his wrath was moved against Muslimeh, to whom he immediately wrote a letter and said: «Thou hast offered such an insult to Sa'id! Thou hast beaten him! Is such treatment becoming a man like Sa'id? I should think that thou hast done these things for envy's sake: that thou

50,000! Therefore, to avoid such an obvious exaggeration we may reckon the sum, according to the Persian system of counting, at no more than about *two shillings* to each person: for every thousand *dinars* with the Persians make the 10th part of their *Tooman*, which is never less than $9^1/_2$ nor more than 15 shillings.

(کوتره مدك) امدی بیوردم که آنی زندانلدن چیقاروب خاطرنی تسلی ایلیه سن وسنك صوچکی عفو ایلیم وقبول ایلیم یوق دیرسك سنی ظاللردن بیلورن دیدی نامه مسلمه یه بویله ار یشمجك سعیده اندوکی اشینه پشیمان اولدی وآنی زندانلدن چیقروب آغر خلعت لر وعطالر ویردی شویله کیم سعیدك خاطری خوش اولدی اول طرف ده نچه مُلك وکویلر ویردی شمدی دخی انلردن نشان وار در صکره مسلمه شروانه کلدی برقلعیه دوشوب اوغراش ایلدی مسلمه آنلری صدی ینه بورج وبارو اوزرنده صواش ایلدیلر آخرامان دلدیلرکه قلعهٔ ویره لر آنلری اولدرمیه لر مسلمه آند ایچدیکه آنلری (انلرك برینی) اولدرمیه پس قلعهٔ ویردیلر قلعه ده تمام بیك کافر وار ایدی مسلمه انلرك برسنی آزاد ایلدی آندی یرینه کلمکیچون (?قالانن اولدردی) آندن قلعهٔ یقدی برباد ایلدی کچوب باب الأبواب

couldst not bear him, because of the many good and meritorious deeds that he has done. Now I order thee to take him out of prison and to conciliate him, and (on this condition) I forgive thy transgression; otherwise I shall consider thee among the number of the wicked.» — When Muslimeh received this letter, he repented of his behaviour to *Sa'id;* he took him out of prison, clothed him in precious garments and presented him with many gifts; so that Sa'id was reconciled. He also gave him many lands and estates; and down to this time there exist vestiges of them.

After that, Muslimeh came to Shirwân (!)[63] there he came to a fortress where he fought (with the inhabitants) and defeated them. The enemy ascended the walls and bastions and continued to oppose; but at last solicited mercy and prepared to yield the fortress, on condition that Muslimeh should not massacre them. Muslimeh took an oath not to kill *one,* and the fortress was delivered up. There was the complete number of a thousand infidels in it; Muslimeh set *one* of them free in order to fulfil his oath and (the rest he put to death); then he destroyed the fortress[64].

Now *Muslimeh* passed towards *Babul-ab-*

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[63] Here I suspect an error. Some lines above it is said that «Muslimeh, having *arrived in Shirwan,* had an interview with Sa'id»; consequently Muslimeh was already in Shirwan. I think rather that the expression must be thus: مسلمه شیروانده برقلعیه دوشوب الخ «In Shirwan Muslimeh came to a fortress &c.» — *Add. N.* In Bal'ami's translation we have پس مسلمه لشکر بکشید وبزمین شیروان بردر قلعهٔ فرود آمد. In the Djaghatâi translation we have پس مسلمه جریك بیلان قرغان ایشکیکا توشتی شروان بریکا both which mean: «then Muslimeh led (his) army and came to the gates of a fortress in Shirwan». —

[64] There must be an omission of two or three words here which I have put in parenthesis. — *Add. N.* In the Persian and Djaghatâi translations we read: نصف ونودونه راکردن بزد and توقوز یوز توقوز توقسانی توقوزی ننك بوینین چاپتی (I should rather read this last: توقوز یوزتوقسان توقوزی ننك بوینین چاپتی: he beheaded 999. See the Nachrichten &c. p. 89—135

اوزرینه کندی بولده نقدر شهروقلعه وارسه [کمن]
صاحله آلدی قلعه خالی قالدی خاقان طرفندن بیك
آد چقرمش کمسنه وارایدی مسلمه آندن کچوب بلخ
اوزرینه کندی بویکا خاقانه خبرینشدی لشکر
جوشورمکه مشغول اولدی آندن مسلمه درپند قپوسینه
واردی آندن کچوب سمرقند (? سمند) شهرنه ارشدی
آندن خاقان مسلمهٔ قرشولدی اوغراشدیلر ایکی
طرف دن چوق کشیلر طپراغه دوشدی جنك آراسنده
خزرلردن بری کلوب ایتدی یا امیر خاقان کم ایدوکن
ایسترسك دیه ین دیدی اینده شول یوکسك اطلس
اورتولوعربه ایچنده در امانقدر بهادر وارایسه هب
چوره سنده در دیدی مسلمه قرداشنی اوقودی ایتدی
شوکا واردی بلورمستین (واره بلورمسین) ایتدی بلی
پس لشکردن بیك بهادریکت آدکورتلدی براغه
کردیلر اطلس قپو (قبّه) نك اوزرینه حمله ایلدیلر صغلری
بوزدیلر قبّیه کلنجه چوق مسلمانلر طپراغه دوشدیلر
قبّیه اریشوب قبّهٔ قاچلدی خاقان قچدی مسلمانلر

wab. As many towns and fortresses as were in his way he took by capitulation. The fortress had remained empty (?); there was (before) in it one thousand famous heroes on the part of the *Khagkan*. Muslimeh proceeded hence to *Balkh*. — The *Khagkan* on the other hand being informed of this, began to move his army. Muslimeh passed to the port of Derbend; hence he passed to *Samargkand* (Semend?) [65]. Here the Khagkan encountered *Muslimeh;* they fought and multitudes fell on both sides. In the midst of the battle, one of the Khazarians came and said: « O Amir, if thou wishest to know the Khagkan, I will show him to thee: lo! he is up yonder in the chariot with the satin canopy, but all his brave warriors surround him. » *Muslimeh* called his brother [66] to his presence and said: « Canst thou go to that place? » — He answered: « Yes. » — Therefore he chose a thousand valiant warriors who armed themselves and proceeded towards the satin canopy, and broke into the ranks of the enemy; but before they reached the canopy, crowds of the Mussulmans perished: nevertheless they attacked the canopy, (the brother of Muslimeh) rent it with his sword; the Khagkan took to flight; the Musulmans as-

[65] This place in our MS. is very perplexing: I rather think there must be an omission. — *Add. N.* From the translation of both Bal'amí and *Al-Balkhi* (Nachrichten &c. p. 89—90 and 125) we learn as follows: « At that time Muslimeh found in Babul-Abwab a thousand Tarkhans (See for this word hereafter the note 71.) whom the Khagkan had appointed there; but he did not do them any injury and passed towards *Hesin* (See for this word Part IV Remark 4. Another reading is *Hesinein* in the dual number.) which were two fortresses. Here he did not find any body and therefore turned his face towards the Khagkan. The enemy, in countless number, attacked Muslimeh, who was obliged to retire to *Babul-abwab*. The Khazarians followed them, Muslimeh applied to the Princes of the mountains &c. » — Here are fully detailed a confederacy between Muslimeh and the mountaineers and the preparations made for the battle. — The word *Samargkand* is a fault; I read it *Semend* though I could not find it in any of Dr. Dorn's quotations.

[66] *Add. N.* In both translations of Teberi to be found in Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. it is said that Muslimeh called Mervân.

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بریردن حمله قلدیلر خاقانك لشکرین صدیلرجونکه
خاقان صندی مسلمه لشکرله باب الابواب قلعه سنه
کلدی اول قلعه ده بیك او واردی مسلمه اول شهری
کوردی دورت بخش ایلدی بربخشنی شامیلره .....
وبربخشنی حمص خلقنه ویردی شدی دخی انلرك نسلی
قالمشدر هربریسی آدیله اکلنور مبکه (مسلمه) کندو
یارنلرندن قوید (فرید) بن اسودی امیر ایلدی
بنچك قدر رزق ومال ویردی آندن مروان بن محمدی
خلیفه ایلدی کندوسی شامه کتدی عشام قتنه .....
لشکرله کتدی یانجر (? بلجر) اقلیمنه وخزر ولایتنه

saulted on all sides and defeated the army of the Khagkan.

After the defeat of the Khagkan, *Muslimeh* retired to the fortress of *Babul-abwab*. In that town there were one thousand houses: *Muslimeh* examined the town and divided it into *four* parts; one part he gave to the *Syrians;* another part he gave to the people of *Hems*... [67a] Even now their descendants are living there and each part is recognised by its respective name. He appointed one of his companions called *Gkavid (Farid?)* the son of *Aswad* as governor, and gave him sufficient supplies and riches.

After that Muslimeh, having appointed *Mervân* the son of Muhammed as his successor, himself departed for Syria, to the presence of *Hishâm*. —

..... [67b] At the head of his troops he

[67a] Here there must be an omission, since we do not find any mention of the other *two* parts; we have therefore marked the place of the omission in the text with some dots. See Part V of our work Rem. 3. *Add. N.* In the Persian translation of Teberi (see Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten über die Chasaren &c. p. 93) we find this: وشهرستان بچارقسم کرد یکی دمشقیان را داد ویکی اهل کوفه را ودیکر(ی) خیل (اهل) جزیره را وچهارم حمصیان را. «He divided the town into four parts; one part he gave to the *Syrians*, another — to the *Koufians;* a third to the people of *Al-Djezireh*. and a fourth to the people of *Hems*». Therefore we think that the omission in our text is اعلنه وبربخشنی کوفه خلقنه وبربخشنی جزیره. In the Djaghatai version of Teberi we find the passage thus: بیرینی دمشقی لارغا بیردی بیرنی قسطنطنیه ایلیکا بیردی وبیرنی حمصی لارغا بیردی وبیرنی شام ایلیکا بیردی وجزیره ایلیکا. — The difference here exists only between کوفه and قسطنطنیه which last also was found by Dr. Dorn in a separate Persian version of Teberi. As to the word شام in the Djaghatai version — the translator must have meant it for the same جزیره. —

Comparing all this chapter of our version of Teberi with the Persian and Djaghatai translations, we find that it is an *Extract* from the original or at least from the translation of Bal'ami. We refer the curious to this chapter ni Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten &c. p. 91—93; and 136—127. We did not insert here all the points of difference between the two versions in *this place*, as generally we do; because they would require much more space and most of them are not of great consequence. —

[67b] Here are wanting some words. — *Add. N.* In Dr. Dorn's Persian quotation (see his Nachrichten über die Chasaren &c. p. 94) we read: وخزریان آکاه شدند از بازکشتن مسلمه بشام وهمه بشهرهای خویش باز آمدند خبر بروان آمد مردمان راگردکرد فزون از چهل هزار مرد عرض کرد وبزمین بلنجر شد واز انجا بزمین خزر شد. «And (when) the Khazarians were informed of the return of Muslimeh to Syria all of them came

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واروب اول ولایتلری آلدی اول قیش آنده اولدی
بهاره کندی.. هشام مروانی عزل ایدوب یرینه عمروبن
الجو (سعید بن عمروالجرسی) ویردی کلوب باب الابواب
ده اوتوردی هرطرف دن غزایه مشغولکن اتفاق
سعیدك کوزلرینه قرمو (قراصو) اندی هشام سعیدی
قتنه اوقودی مروانی اول طرفه ویردی همانکه آنك
کندوکن خود (خزر) کافرلری اشتدیلر یرلرینه کلدیلر
مروان لشکری اوزرلرینه یوردی واردوغی یرلری
فتح ایلدی ارمنیهٔ آلدی کچوب باب الابوابی آلدی

proceeded to the climate of *Bulkher* and to the country of the Khazars, and subdued those dominions: he passed the winter in those quarters and returned in the spring...[67c] Hishâm displaced *Mervân* and sent in his place *Sa'id* the son of *Amr-Al-Harshi*, otherwise *Al-djersi*;[68] the latter arrived in *Babul-abwab* and continued to make war there for religion in every direction. But it happened that *Sa'id* lost his sight, therefore *Hisham* recalled him and sent (again) *Mervan* in his room. As soon as the infidels of *Khud* (Khazars?) were informed of the departure of *Sa'id* they regained their posts. Mervan's army went forward against them; they subdued all the places where they put their feet. He conquered Armenia, passed towards *Babul-abwab*, and

back to their towns. There came information of this to Mervan who gathered together the people and more than 40,000 men were put under arms. They went to the land of *Belendjer* and thence to the land of the Khazars.»

67c We find an omission here also. — *Add. N.* Compare our text with the Persian quotation of Dr. Dorn (ibid. p. 94); it is said there (it is the continuation of the passage inserted just above): وکشتن کرد وستوران (وچهارپایان .v) براند وبشارستان بازامد وزمستان بود واین غزورا غزوالطّین نام کردند یعنی کارزارکل از بس که باران آمد واندرین غزو بود که مروان فرمود تا دمهای اسب ببریدند ازبسیاری کل که اندردم همی گرفت چون وقت بهاربود هشام بن عبد الملك مروانرا معزول کرد الخ. «(Here, i. e. in the land of the Khazars) he made slaughter and carried away (their) horses and returned to the city (Derbend?). It was winter. This battle they called the battle of *mud*, i. e. *dirty engagement*: it was called so, because of frequent rains. It was during this expedition that Mervan ordered to cut off the tails of the horses on account of the abundance of mud which clung to their tails. — When the spring arrived *Hisham* the son of Abdul-Melik displaced Mervân &c. — NB. In 1840 when I finished my Derbend-nameh I could have no recourse to the Persian translation of Teberi. Therefore we could not point out distinctly Katib-Tchelebi's error (see Part V. Remark 1 note *d*) who refers the battle of the *mud* to 110. By this place of Teberi I am happy to see that my calculation has been just and that the end of Mervan's expedition, to which the battle of the *mud* is ascribed, must have been at the close of 113, when followed the second expedition of Sa'id in 114. Compare Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten über die Chasaren &c. pages 94 and 128.

68 In our MS, we have عمربن الجو....ویزیدی It must be عمروبن الجرسی or الحرشی of the other MSS. — The author means here the same Sa'ad who was before the viceroy of Aderbijan. (see above Extract V. from Teberi.)

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شمدر (سمندر) شهرنی الدی آندن سند (سمند) ولایتن
آلدیکه خزرشاهی آنده ایدی سقلاب ولایتن آلدی
آیدرلر که [یکرمی بیك کافرآنده وارجق سقلاب
ولایتنده کچوب] خاقانك بربهلوانی وار ایدی آدینه
هزار طارخان دیرلردی قرق بیك کشیله مروانله
اوغراشمغه کلدی مروان دخی قتنده غی پهلوانلرندن
برسنه قرق بیك ارقوشوب اکا مقابل کوندردی
اوغراشدیلر هزارطارخانی دپلدیلر چرسنی قردیلر خاقان
آنی ایشدیجك اعلدی یاس ایلدی آخر مروانه کشی

subdued it: then he went and took *Shemder* (Semander?), then the country of *Send* (Semend?), where the king of the Khazars resided [69], then the country of *Sigklabs*. They say that in that country there were *twenty thousand* infidels; Mervan subdued that country [70]. — The *Khagkan* had a warlike general called *Hezar-Tarkhán*; he came with forty thousand warriors to encounter *Mervân*. This latter also chose one of his brave generals with forty thousand men, and sent him to meet the enemy. The two armies met; *Hazar-Tarkhan* was killed and his army dispersed and massacred. The *Khaghan*, on hearing this, wept and wore mourning [71].

[69] Consult Remark 15 to Part I. of this work. — *Add. N.* Read also the translation of Bal'ami's text of Teberi at the end of the following note 70.

[70] This place in our text is ambiguous and dark, we could not make out the proper reading of the phrase which we put in a parenthesis [ ].

Add. N. All this passage of our text considerably differs from that of the Persian and Djaghatai translations placed by Dr. Dorn in his Nachrichten über die Chasaren &c. I will put here before my readers the translation of the corresponding part of the Persian quotation which is very right and answers our purpose. I will begin from the place where it is spoken of Mervan being sent by Hisham instead of Sa'id to Aderbidjan and continue till Mervan's battle with the *Tarkhan*, all which in our text is not so exact and satisfactory. — "Mervân came out, at the head of *one hundred and twenty thousand* warriors, from Syria and advanced towards Armenia. Having arrived here he encamped in a place called *Kesâl*, near *Berda'* (In another MS. it is said; at the distance of 40 Farsangs from Berda' and of 20 Farsangs from *Hemlis*; the same we read in the Djaghatai translation) and opened the war. The result was that all the princes of Armenia submitted themselves and all Armenia was subdued. Then he (Mervân) wrote an order that the army which was in Babul-Abwab should come to him, and having done that, he gathered his army and proceeded on till he came down into a valley which is called *Bâbul-lân* (in some MSS. Babul-Abwab, but it is a mistake.) It is related that he continued his way till he arrived in *Samander* which is one of the Khazarian cities. Here the army of Babul-Abwab under the command of Asad the son of Selâm (consisting of 30,000 men. In the Djaghatai translation we do not find this name Asid or Asad.) arrived and Mervan's army amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men. (It is clear that Mervan passed from Armenia through Georgia and the Darial, to the Ossetia of this day. See Extract VII note 82.). With the united armies Mervân proceeded on till he came to the city of *Sindrank* (must be a fault; in another copy Dr. Dorn has found *Samanderank*, but in the Djaghatai translation we have *Sind*; this must be the *Semid* or the Semend of some other Geographers; consult Part I. Remark 15.), where the king of the Khazars dwelt. The Khagkan took to flight. Mervan passed that place, left that city behind and encamped on the river *Sigklâb*. Here he destroyed the cavalry of the infidels, plundered and slaughtered the enemy; he broke down 20.000 houses. Now he was informed that the Khagkan had sent to fight with him a warrior called *Hazâr-Tarkhân* at the head of 40.000 men." &c.

[71] *Tarkhan* is a Tartar or rather a Mongol word, common to both languages at present. It means

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وبرندی ایندی آیرق چونکه مجالم قالمدی مرادی نه
ایسه بیورسون ایده بن دیدی مروان ایندی مرادم
اولدر که مسلمان اوله تا که ولایتی النده قاله یا خود
باشین کسون غیری کشیی پادشاه ایدرین دیدی خاقان
ایندی [بکابرکشی پادشاه ایدرن وردی ایندی]
بکابرکشی کوندرکه شرط ایدین بکادین (? بکاشرایط دین)
عرض ایتسون مسلمان اولاین دیدی پس نوح بن سایکی
کوندردی خاقان مسلمان اولدی اول آرادن کچوب
سرم ولایتنه واردی سرم ننك سلطانی قچوب قلعه سنه

After that he sent word to *Mervân*, saying: « Since I have no power any longer to resist, let him order, I shall obey his will. » — Mervân said: « My desire is, that he should receive the religion of Islam and then his country will remain in his possession; otherwise, cut ye off his head, and I will appoint in his place another sovereign. » — The Khagkan desired that a man should be sent to him, to teach him the rules of the religion[72a]; upon which *Nouh*, the son of *Sâyik* (?) was appointed for the purpose[72b], and the *Khagkan* was converted to Islam.

From that place *Mervan* passed to the country of *Serm*[72c]. The sovereign of *Serm*

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a free man. The Mongol sovereigns gave the title to such of their subjects as had done them great service. *Djinghis-khan* gave it to two Mongols who had saved his life previously to his accession to the throne. The author of السبع السيار فى اخبار ملوك تاتار fully explains the rights and privileges of those who were endowed with this title. According to his eloquent description, *Tarkhans* had the following nine privileges: 1) They were not subjected to any punishment for their crimes, as long as they did not commit them more than nine times. 2) For nine generations their descendants were free from all duties of the Government. 3) They were not to pay even *the tithe of their sheep*. 4) Without any permission they could enter the court of their sovereign. 5) In the presence of their sovereigns they might sit down without permission 6) They were honoured by drinking 9 bowls of wine from the hands of their sovereign. 7) During an expedition they were to go before their sovereign. 8) They could take in marriage every virgin in the Empire without the will or consent of her relatives, except the Princesses of the kingdom; and 9) They could take at their pleasure from the crown every necessary of life, *by nines*, for instance, nine horses, nine camels, &c. (See السبع السيار published by me in 1832 p. ٣٤).

Even now the Tartars, who by some chance are freed from taxes to the Government, call themselves *Tarkhans*, and we sometimes find proper names compound of this and some other word but always with the word *Tarkhan* at the end.

[72a] In this place we find in our version some expressions which are partly wholly void of sense and partly defective. Our reading of the whole therefore is: خاقان ایندی بکابرکشی کوندر که بکاشرایط دین عرض ایتسون

[72b] *Add. N.* For نوح بن سایك of our version we read in Bal'ami and *Al-Balkhi* نوح بن سایب which is preferable. Read hereafter the note 74.

[72c] I could not find in other historical and geographical works any name of a town or a country such as *Serm*. In Bal'ami's translation we have two readings of this word: *Sermer* and *Sermes*; in Al-Balkhis Djaghâtai

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کردی مروان اندا ایچریکه اول قلعیه کیره وآندین
رزق یه پس یویل طعام اوزرنده اوتوردی کیسنه
چغدی وصواش ایدی مروان آخرسرم شاهینه برکاغل
یازدیکه اول نامهٔ سرم شاهنه کتوردی بنم قتومدن
که مروان بن محمد (ایم) سنوك قاتوکه سرم شاهی
سن املدی بنم یوقلعه یه کیرمکه آندم وار قپویی آچ
یالغوز کیرم آندن کرم دیدی [آچمدیلر] آندن
الجوصورتنده مروان کندوسی قلعیه کردی سرم شاهنه

shut himself up in his castle. Mervan took an oath that he would enter that fortress and eat his bread there. Therefore the rest of that year he lived on herbs, since nobody came out of the castle and no battle took place there. At last Mervan wrote a letter to the sovereign of *Serm* which he (himself) brought to him; (its contents were): «From my presence, who am Mervan the son of Muhammed, to thy presence who art the sovereign of *Serm*[75]: now I have taken an oath to enter this fortress; open therefore its gates that I may enter and go back again.» — [They did not open the gates] Mervan then entered the

translation: *Sermer* and *Serm* (see hereafter note 74). We know, however one name of a district or country which may suggest a notion of identity between it and *Sermer*; namely the *Serir* سریر. It is very possible, indeed, to read the figure سریر in common writing without the dots in more than 60 different ways, through the addition of the dots, among which *Serir* and *Sermer* may be the easiest. Since in Teberi's description of the expeditions of the Arabs in Dâghistan we do not find in our version, and in Dr. Dorn's quotations any word of the Serir of the other Historians and Geographers (see Remark 19 and 29 to Part I of our Derbend-Nameh), we have reason to suspect the corruption of *Serm* and *Sermez* from *Sermer* and of this latter from *Serir*. — Besides, both in the Persian and Djaghatâi translations of Teberi it is said that Mervân from Serm came to the fortress of Humrin (another reading Humran), conquered it as well as all the district of *Humran*. In the Djaghatâi translation we read in this place تابرجامیرین بلادی ننك قورغان لارین اجتی وسرمر وتومان وسندان ..... ولولکیم بویسر لارغا بیوسنه ایردی وبرجای اجتی «till he conquered all the fortresses of the country of *Humrin*; so he conquered *Sermer*, and *Tomân* and *Sindân* and all the lands bordering upon them.» This quotation shows that all these lands or districts, viz. Hamran, Touman, Sermer and Sindan (this last may be the plural of *Sind* or *Semid*: see above note 70) were bordering upon each other; hence we may come to the result that if Sermer is not the Serir of the Derbend-Nameh, at least it was a town or district not far from Ihran, at the eastern part of the actual Ossetia; from which at a distance of about 20 miles to the East and N. E. must have lived the Toumans and Humrans or *Ehurs*. Consult Remarks 19, 28 and 29 to Part I of our Derbend-Nameh. —

[73] I have translated this phrase word for word. — The general form of letters written from great persons to those who are considered to be lower in degree than themselves, consists in arranging the names by putting that of the greater *before*, i. e. in the beginning. So began the letters from the Khalifs to all their cotemporaries. Not content with this alone, they demanded that even those who wrote to them should honour their names by placing them before their own. *Al-Maman*, for instance, proclaimed war against the Roman Emperor for putting his own name in a letter above that of the Khalif, see T. 3 of روضة الصفا under the title of ذکر فوت ملعون. — The same manner of writing political letters is preserved to this day amongst the Sovereigns and nobles of some parts of Asia, especially in Arabia, Tartary, and Daghistan.

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نامه صوندی سرم شاهی نامهٔ اوقودی ایتدی ممکنیدر
که مروان بوقلعیه قدم بصه چونکه سن کلدك قلعهٔ
تماشا ایله کور که دشمن اکلطفر بولنچکدر (بولمچقمیدر)
دیدی اولدخی قلعهٔ کوردی اندن ایتدی قرنم
آچدر بکا یمك ویروك دیدی پس مروانه ات وانمك
وبردیلر بیدی اندن چقوب لشکرینه کلدی ویرنامه
یازدی اول نامهٔ الدن بن ایدم قلعه کزیه
کوردم سیرایلدم انشاء الله بنه کرم کورم دیدی
سرم شاهی اشیدوب تاسلندی مروانك حیله سندن
قورقدی صلحه راضی اولدی (که) یلده بشیوز اوغلن
وبشیوز قز ویشیوز مودیغدای واون بیك فلوری ویره
بونلری مروان الوب بنه شهرنه کلدی اوتوردی
چونکه اول طرفلری تمام فتح ایلدی آندن اذربیجانه
کلدی موقان وکیلان خلقیله چوق جنك ایلدی لون
بیکدن زیاده اسیرآلدی اول طرفلری فتح ایلدی ٭

fortress under the disguise of an ambassador, and put the letter into the hands of the sovereign of *Serm*. This king having perused the letter said: « Is it possible that Mervan should put his foot in this fortress? but as thou art come — go, examine it and judge; can ever an enemy have the means of subduing it! » — Mervan after having examined the fortress told them that he was hungry, and begged them to give him something to eat. They gave him some meat and bread, which he ate; he then quitted the fortress, and came to his army. — Now he wrote a letter, saying: « It was I who brought the letter; I saw your fortress and examined it; God willing, I shall see it once more. » — The sovereign of *Serm*, hearing this, repented, and being intimidated by the artifice of Mervan, agreed to make peace on terms of giving yearly 500 boys, 500 girls, 500 *poods* of wheat, and 10,000 ducats. Having received these *Mervan* returned to his city, and there reposed himself. Thus, having subdued all those quarters he came to Aderbidjan and there made repeated wars with the people of *Múgkan* and *Ghilan*, took more than 10,000 captives and subdued also those countries [74].

[74] *Add. N.* After having compared this chapter of our text with the Persian and the Djaghatâi translations of Teberi I found in both the latter many details which are omitted I think by the unknown translator of our Turkish version *himself*. I think so, because, as we have remarked above (note [67a]) the whole chapter is rather an *extract* than a translation. In the preceding notes we have had occasion to refer our readers to many points of difference between our version and Dr. Dorn's quotations; but as they grow more frequent towards the end of the chapter, we shall not refer to them in every instance; otherwise it would take up a great deal of time and place of which we have little to spare. Here however I think it necessary to point out the chief and more interesting omissions of our version, which in my opinion deserve notice. In doing this we shall take care to be as short as possible, but very exact too: we shall not pay attention to many details which are of no consequence. So we will begin with the *conversion of the Khagkan* to the Muhammedan religion. (Read Dr. Dorn's Nachrichten pp. 97 — 102; 129 — 433). — The Khagkan asked

VII.

EXTRACT FROM THE III. CHAPTER OF RISALETU-L-INTISAR BY DEDEH-AFENDI, ENTITLED:

فى السّدالاوّل الأصغر الأسكندرى الشهير بجبل الفتح والقبق ودمورقپو

The first and the lesser wall of Iskender, known by the name of Djabalul-fat'h and by that of Algkabgk and Demir-gkapi.

آعلم آن اسفار الشرق وفتوحاته اعظمها واكدّها سفر الجبل وفتحه وهو المسمّى فى آلتّواريخ بجبل الفتح وجبل القبق وجبل آلسد الأوّل الأسكندرى والمسمّى

Know that the greatest and most interesting of the expeditions to the East was the expedition to and the conquest of *Al-Djabal* which history calls *Djabalul-fat'h* and *Djabalul-Gkabgk* and the mountain of the first wall of *Iscander* and *Bâbul-abwâb*, otherwise

to appoint somebody to teach him the rules of the Islam. Mervan dispatched *Nouh bin Assâib* of the tribe of Beni Asad and *Abdur-Rahman Al-Djoulâni*.... After the conversion of the Khagkan Mervan returned to Babul-abwab. From this place he informed the Khalif Hisham of what had happened and sent to him the tithe of the plunder &c. Having spent the winter in this fortress, in the spring he directed his way towards the land of *Sermer* (In the Djaghatai translation it is said that Mervan passed from Babul-Abwab to a place called *Kesâl*, where he staid the winter and thence proceeded towards *Serm*). He crossed a river and arrived at a fortress called *Shek*. Here he was obliged to spend a whole month, because the fortress was very strong &c. After having taken that fortress he arrived at another one named «*Hisni-ami*», where he laid waste all around so that the king of *Sermer* (another reading here is *Sermez*) took to flight and shut himself up in a very strong fortress. After all (here more than a whole page is dedicated to the description of the engagement at this fortress &c.) the king of Sermer yielded on terms of capitulation. After that Mervan passed to another fortress called *Humrin*; he took it after many difficulties (here again almost a whole page contains the details of the engagement) and subdued all the country of *Humrin*; (In the Djaghatâi translation it is said that he conquered all the fortress belonging to Humrs; as well as *Sermer*, *Touman* and *Sindan*); after that he returned to Babul-Abwab. Here he spent the winter: the following spring he summoned to himself the princes of the mountains (Daghistan); all of them obeyed except *Avis* the son of *Ramazan*, who, with a multitude of his subjects, rebelled and took to flight. (Here another page describes the pursuit of Mervan after the rebel and his success, which is more satisfactorily done in the Djaghatâi translation). Mervan followed him; *Avis* was killed, his fortress was take and

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بباب الأبواب الشهير بدمورقپو الذى دخل منه عثمان
پاشا بهمّة مرادخان نصره الله فلنذكر شيئًا من احوال
جبل الفتح ومافيه من الممالك والعجائب ومن فتحه
اوّلا قبل ظهور الأسلام وبعده ومن عمّره بالجنود والحصون
ومن مدّ السلسلة على بابه * اعلم انه ذكر اهل التواريخ
لمّا عزم ذو القرنين الى جانب سدّ يأجوج ومأجوج رأى
سطوة الأتراك على ممالك العراق من وراء الجبل

known by the appellation of *Demir-gkapi*[75] — the same that was visited by *Othman-Pasha* under the auspices of *Murad-Khan* — may God favour him with victory! — Therefore we shall mention something concerning this *Djabalul-fat'h* and the countries and wonders it contains: who conquered it for the first time before *Islâm;* who subdued it after Islâm, and who fortified it with troops and fortifications and who suspended the *chain* at its entrance?....

Know, that historians say, that when *dul-gkarnain* undertook an expedition towards the wall of *Ya'djûdj* and *Ma'djûdj*, he saw the influence of the Turks on the dominions of

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the inhabitants were obliged to pay for the benefit of *Medinetul-Bab* (Derbend) a yearly contribution of ten thousand *measures*. (In the Persian translation we find *Kherwar* and من which rather must be مَنّ; in the Djaghatâi translation we have *Batman* which is the same with مَنّ; see these words in the Index to this work) of food (corn &c.) — After that Mervan proceeded towards Aderbidjan, made war with the inhabitants of Mughan and Ghilan, took more than ten thousand captives and arrived in Barda'. All Aderbidjan and Armenia became quiet and all were brought under subjection (to the Khalif). —

[75] *Demir-Gkapi*, as we had occasion to explain (Remark 10 to Part I.) means *the iron gate*. It was called *the gate of gates* because it was the principal and the most strong passage of the Caucasus, through which Alans and Khazars made their irruptions by a direct way into Media and Persia. The tradition, to which we have referred our readers (ibid.) about «*the iron gate*» and its being attributed to Alexander the Great, seems to be of a remote antiquity, current in Asia even before the Christian Era. The eminent Jewish historian Flavius Josephus († 93 — 95 A. D.) makes mention of this gate and of the tradition; he says: «Alanorum autem gens, quod quidem Scythae sint, juxta flumen Tanaim et paludem Maeotidem sedes habentes, alicubi jam ante memoravimus; his vero temporibus molientes in Mediam et ulterius praedandi causa penetrare, cum rege Hyrcanorum collocuuntur, is enim est transitus illius dominus, quem *rex Alexander portis ferreis munierat.*» (De Bello Jud. lib. VII. cap. VII. 4.) — If the tradition existed in the days of Josephus, certainly it must have existed some time before him; therefore we are not to tax the Muhammedan historians with contrivance or partiality in this respect. That Josephus meant by this passage the actual Derbend, otherwise called by some *pylae Alaniae* or *pylae Caspiae*, — I do not doubt: speaking of the Alans of that time, whom he places near the Don, he could not point out any other way for their irruptions into Persia but the Caucasus; and the direct way into Media or the present Aderbidjan, lay through the narrow passage where is situated now Babul-Abwab, called the *Iron gate*. Mr. Buchon in his «Oeuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe (Paris 1843 pag. 801) also takes this passage for «les portes Caspiennes». — What influence the king of Hyrcania could have over this passage I do not understand. Perhaps the Hyrcanians having the command over the Caspian Sea called also by their name «*Mare Hyrcanum*», had seized some town and harbours on its western shores, or perhaps Josephus mistook Hyrcania for Albania, or for Iberia.

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فامر عساكره يبنوا حصونا عالية على قللها ممّايلى ارض
الخزر وبحرها فلما اتمّ العساكر الحصون وضع فيها من آلات
الحرب والعساكر فحمد الله واثنى وقال الحمد لله الملك
المعين استرحت من مقاسات الاتراك وافتخر بفتحه
وسدّه لانه جبل كان من ملكه من الملوك ملك املاك
العجم والترك والعراق ولذا يقال له جبل الفتح ثم بعد
الاسكندر فتحه وملكه وشيّده وجدّ حصونه وقصوره وملأه
بالجنود العدّة انوشيروان وعمل على ابوابه اى جبل الفتح
من خارجه ثلثمائة وستين قصرا ممايلى ارض الخزر
وغلب بذلك على الاتراك الخاقانية وعلى طوايف كثيرة
يقال بين بلاد الجزر (الخزر) وبين بلاد المغرب اربع امم
من التّرك يرجعون الى اب واحد يهجمون ويقادرون
على ممالك شروان وغيرها من وراء الجبل كياجوج
وماجوج حتى استولوا على جميع ممالك الروم وفيها اليوم

Irak from beyond the mountains; he therefore ordered his troops to build impregnable fortresses on the ridges of those mountains, touching the territory of Khazaria and its (i. e. the Caspian) sea. When the troops had finished these fortresses, he (dul-qkarnain) furnished them with arms and garrisons, and praised God and glorified His name, saying: « Praise be to God, my sovereign and my protector! I am now tranquil (I have no fear) from the mischief of the Turks! » — He gloried in his conquest, and in his construction of the bulwark: for these mountains were such as to give dominion to the sovereign, who might gain and rule them, over the countries of the Persians, Turks and Irak (i. e. the Arabs)! For this reason they are called *Djabalul-fat'h* (i. e. the mountains of victory). —

After Iscander, it was *Anúshirvân* who conquered this mountain, took possession of it and fortified it all with numerous warriors, and it was he who built over the gates or at the fronts of the (difficult) passages of *the mountâins of victory*, three hundred and sixty seats (or rather fortifications see Remark 13 to Part I.) bordering on the dominions of the Khazars. By doing this he subdued the Turks belonging to the Khagkan, and many other tribes.

It is said, that between the countries of *Aldjezer* (Al-Khazar) and those of the west (the Ottoman Empire?) there are four Turkish tribes whîch descend from *one father*. These used to make incursions and to come over from beyond the mountains into the dominion of Shirwân and other countries, as (did once) *Yadjudj* and *Madjudj*, so that they extended their conquest into all the Empire

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بقاياهم حوالى بلدة بدون وعين سدّ الباب ومن السلسلة كسرى انوشيروان قتل امراءهم فى الروم والعراق وبنى عند الجبل مدينة السابران وكركر وهو الباب والابواب وعمّر طرفها اليوم عسكر سلطان الوقت ابى الفتو اما الباب الخاص مدخلا ومخرجا الشهير بدمور قبو الذى دخل منه ابن اوزدمور تولاّ ممالكها بالوزارة الكبراء ثم تولاّها بالوزارة الوزير المدبر الصالح جعفر پاشا فاصطلح ملك الباب وانتظم امره بالعدل والصلح اكثر مما انتظم فى وزارة عثمان پاشا لانه كان صار ماذا ابيريت وسطوة وجراءة بالامور غير متوقف بسفك

of *Rûm*; and to this day their remains are to be seen about the town of *Bedún* [76].

At the time when *Kisrt Anushirvân* constructed the bulwark and the chain, he put to death their chiefs in *Rûm* and in *Irâk* and then he built the towns of *Sabran* and *Ker-kureh* and *Bab* and *Alabwâb* [77], of which some parts are repaired to this day by the troops of the sovereign of our period Abulfutûh &c. But as to *Bâb*, (i. e. Derbend) especially so called from having gates to enter in and go out at, which are known by the name of *Demir-gkapi* and which were visited by the son of *Uz-demir* [78], it was ruled, together with all the districts belonging to it, by this great Vizir; after which it fell under the administration of the righteous and ingenious Vizir, *Djafar-Pash*. At that time the country of *Al-bâb* was brought into good order and its affairs were arranged according to peace and justice, in a better way than they were during the authority of the Vizier *Othman-Pasha*, for this latter was somewhat severe, strict, and bold in his duties, and would not abstain from bloodshed [79] &c.

[76] Is it not *Vidin* in Bulgaria? — The incursions into Shirwân must be meant as attributed to the Khazars. — *Ibnu-l-verdi*, from whose work our author here must have selected the greater part of his investigations on the *mountains of the victory*, gives the *four* names of the tribes referred to: these names in my MS. are قبلى, جمور, (read جعر) بجناك (or the *Pechenegis*) and ابوجو (read ابوجرد or ابوجرده). Consult about these four tribes in D'Ohssons *des peuples du Caucase* ch. VI. —

[77] See for Sabran or rather *Shabran* Rem. 24 to Part I. for كركر Rem. 25 to the same part. The expressions *Bab*, and *Al-abwâb* we also find in خزر of *Ibnu-l-verdi*; Bab is meant here to be Derbend and الابواب the other difficult passes or passages.

[78] i. e. *Othman-Pasha*. In another place in this work, we read a prognostical hint referring to the affinity between the two epithets اوزدمور *self iron* and دمورقپو *iron gate*: the author says وفى اسم ابيه اشارة بديعة الى ان دمورقپو يليق ان يفتح بابن اوزدمور. And in his (Othman Pasha's) father's name there is an obvious indication that is: it suits well that *Demir-gkapi* should be subdued by the son of *Uz-demir*.

[79] The famous expedition of *Othman Pasha* to Daghistan took place in the year 987 = 1579, soon after

الدماء..... وكان على الباب سلسلة تمنع الخارج والداخل مدّ ها كسرى بعد الاسكندر ولما الابواب فهي شعاب في الجبل وهوجبل عظيم حتّى قيل فيه انه الثانى لعظمته وكثرة شعابه وعليه من

. . . . . On the same *Albâb* there was a chain which prevented entering in or going out, and this chain was drawn after Iscander by *Kisri* [80].

But as to the *Abwab* — or gates — they are difficult passages in the mountains, for these mountains are great, so that it is said they are the second *Gkâf* [81] for their extent

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the defeat of *Togkmagk-Khan* طوقماق خان who, in the beginning of the year 986 = 1578, at the head of numerous Persian troops had made a terrible inroad into the frontiers of the Turks, and who was soon met by *Ser-asker Mustafa-Pasha*. The result of this unfortunate war was, that the Ottoman troops from all sides broke into the frontiers of Persia, and under the command of their valiant leaders extended their conquests in different directions, till at last they reached *Tabriz*, the capital of Aderbidjân. In the first expedition of the Turks against *Togkmagk-Khan*, *Othman-Pasha* was numbered among the brave generals of *Mustapha* and was appointed commandant, or rather governor in Shirwân. Soon after that, he undertook an expedition to Daghistan, seized Derbend and established himself in those quarters. In the mean time the intrigues at the *Sublime Porte* did not slumber. The dignity of Grand-vizir passed successively from hand to hand; *Sinân-Pasha* and *Farhâd-Pash* were raised to the great office one after the other and guided the affairs of the campaign in Aderbidjan. The brillant success of Othman Pasha, in Daghistan and Shirwân, acquired him the favour of Sultan Murâd who ordered him to pass to the *Crimea*, in order to humble the pride of *Muhammed Gherai*. Othman Pasha obeyed the order, and having made over his authority to *Djafar-Pasha* the late governor of *Anatolia*, who had accompanied *Farhod-Pasha* in his expedition to Aderbidjan — set off for the Crimea. After putting affairs there in order, he proceeded to Constantinople where he was raised to the office of Grand-Vezir. He died in a new expedition to Aderbidjan after having taken Tabris, — Read Hammer Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman Liv. XXXVIII; my edition of السبع السيار p. 102.

[80] See for the explanation of this passage our *remark* 2. to Past V, — *Dedeh-Afendi* seems to mistake the chain at the gate for the chain at the entrance of the harbour.

[81] We find consonous names in the works of Eastern writers which denote the extensive chain of mountains that runs from South-east to North-west between the Caspian and the Black Sea. In the Arabic geographers we find the mountain of *Gkabgh*, *Gkâbgk* or *Gkabugk*, in the Armenian language we have *Khabgakh*; the Persians (and the Arabs also following them) used the word *Gkâf*, which expressed a fabulous mountain on which *Zall*, the father of *Rustem*, was nourished by *Simurgh*, and beyond which lived *Yadjudj* and *Ma'djudj*. The obvious identity of all these three names leads us to think that they mean nothing but the *Caucasus* of the ancient geographers. If we dare conjecture that the ancient *copyists* might have committed a mistake in writing Caucasus for *Caitafus*, the etymology of the word would be clearly explained in the Persian expression *Gouhi-gkâf* or vulgarly *Cúcâf*, i. e. the mountain of *Câf*; but since we find the word in the earliest Greek writers, we can not rely on our supposition; unless partiality, dictate to us that the word, in such writers, perhaps was corrected at subsequent periods, when the false pronunciation of the word was already established on the basis of »*usus est tyrannus*«. It may be also that the ancient Persians in receiving the name from the Greeks mistook the *S* for *F*. —

The Mussulmans, however, fearing to injure their own tradition in regard to the mound of *Yâdjudj* and *Mâdjudj*, consider *Gkâf* to be different from *Gkabgk*, supposing the former to be a chain of mountains surrounding the habitable world, beyond which begin the dominions of *Gog* and *Magog*.

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العجايب نذكر طرفا منها ذكر صاحب خريدة العجايب
في خريدته وصاحب تحفة الالباب في تحفته واسم
هذا الجبل في كتب التواريخ القديمة جبل الفتح وفيه
حصون كثيرة وابواب معدودة منها باب اللان وباب
السرير وباب ايران شاه وباب فيلان شاه وباب ليان
شاه وباب الاذقه وباب السابران وغير ذلك وزعم

and the great number of their difficult passes. In these mountains there are many wonders of which we shall mention some. — The author of *Kheridetul-Adjâib* and that of *Tuhfetu-l-Albâb* say in their works, that the name of this chain of mountains in the books on ancient history is *Djabalul-fat'h*, and that in these mountains there are many fortresses and numerous *bâbs* (passe or defiles). Among these are the defile of *Lan* [82] (or *Alan*); that of *Asserir;* that of *Iran-Shah;* that of *Filan* (or *Gkilan*) *Shah;* that of *Leyân-Shah;* that of *Azigkeh*, and that of *Sabran* and some others [83].

The Geórgian chronicles pretend that *Cavcâs* was the name of the seventh son of *Thargumas*, thé great ancestor of the southern Caucasians.

As to the epithet جبل الفتح we do not think it is a corruption of جبل القبق as D'Ohsson supposes. (see D'Ohsson's *des peuples du Caucase* p, 154.) We would rather follow the opinion above referred to, that *the mountains being such as to give the sovereign who might rule them, dominion over all the neighbouring countries — was the reason of the adoption of this name.* The word قبق is sometimes mistaken for قبتق and vice versa — see جهان نما p. 402.

[82] By this name the Arabian Geographers, it seems, called the most remarkable defile in the central Caucasus now known by the modern appellation of *Dariul* (a contraction of the Persian *Deri-alan*, i. e. the gate of the Alans) and *the gate of Caucasus.* It was through this gate or defile that Mervan, after having subdued all Armenia, directed his way towards the Khazars and arrived in Semender, their chief city; where was united to him the army of Babul-Abwab (see above, Extract VI note 70). Our Orientalists often confonnd *Babul-lan* with *Babi-Albân*, and some of them think that the Arabs contrived the first name for expressing the ancient *Pylae Albaniae*, which they received from their Byzantine neighbours and which sometimes they corrupted into Babul-leyân and Babul-lebân. In fact the error belongs to the Byzantine writers: They did not, and could not determine the proper spot where these Pylae Albaniae were situated; some take it for the actual Darial, some for Derbend, and some place it near *Bâkou* where they supposed to have been the ancient capital of the Alans. But we think that the Arabs called by the name of *Bâbul-lan* always the present Darial through which the Caucasian Alans made their irruptions into Persia; whereas the actual Derbend they named Babul-Abwâb. (Consult the following note 83).

[83] Besides these in *Ibnul-verdi*, *Al-Idrisi* and others we find, باب صول *Bâbi-Sul* or باب كارويان باب كارومان *Babi-Carûjân* or *Carûmân;* باب سمسجى or سجسخى *Babi Semesdji* or *Sedjeskhi*; and باب طبرستان *Babi-Teberistan* or *Tebasaran.* These, as the reader is aware, were the names of the difficult passes or *defiles* in various directions in the Caucasus. It must be confessed, that every research into the true position of all these *passes*, as well as of their present appellations, will not meet with the desired success before the appearance of a distinct and complete geographical work on all the principalities comprehended in

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الفاضل الحكيم ابو الحسن للسعودى انّ فيه ثلثمائة بلد كل بلد لاهلها لسان اخر لايشبه (احد) الاخر قال الامام

The excellent and learned *Abul-Hasan Al-mas'oudi* relates, that in these mountains there are three hundred towns, and the inhabitants of every town speak a different language, not resembling that of the others. The *Imâm*

the Caucasus; nor before personal inquiries are made into all unknown parts of that country which were known to the ancients merely by their names. Most of these names are now changed and it may be only guessed of *some* of them, in what direction they lay. The *gates* of *Alan*, *Asserir*, *Filan-Shah* and *Tabasaran*, for instance, since the positions of the countries or districts bearing these names are known and explained we think to have been in the direction to the West and North west of Derbend; because *Alans* inhabited the northern parts of the Caucasus down to the *Caspian Gates* (De bello Gothico lib. IV—3,): By *Serir* the Arabs meant (if not the whole eastern Daghistan, including Derbend) the country of *Ihrûn*, which was situated on the Northwest of Derbend (see اهران and سرير). By *Filan* or *Ghilan* the author of Derbend-nameh, with some other geographers, meant a country on the west of Derbend, whose inhabitants were brought from *Ghilan* (see Part I Remark 34). As to Tabasaran, to this day it is the name of a considerable portion of the mountaineers who occupy the western parts of Derbend. — The defile of *Shabran* must have been in the direction from *Shabran* to *Bakû* (see شابران in Part I, Remark 24) and as we have reason to believe, at the very foot of *Besh-Barmagk* where the passage between the mountain and the sea may be easily defended in time of need.

But as to the passes of *Sûl* or *Soul*, *Iran Shah*, *Semesdji* or *Sedjeskhi*, *Carûyân* or *Carûman*, *Lieyân-Shah* and *Azigka*, it has not yet been ascertained in what direction even they lay, in respect to the gate of Caspia. If we could satisfy ourselves on this head by the mere resemblance which the names of forts and towns bear now in different directions on the summits of the Caucasus, with the appellations here referred to, then we should have little or no difficulty in succeeding: but the results then would be as various as the points of view that might present themselves in that regard to each investigator. The defile of *Soul* mentioned in Procopius (*de bello Gothico*, lib. IV. 3.) by the name of τζουρ, Reineggs supposes to have been in *Gkaragkaitagk*. That learned traveller says that it was a strong town which belonged to the Khazars, and that the remains of its walls were to be seen within a few miles to the west of Derbend. (*Reisen in den Caucasus* T. I. p. 65, 103, 106). But I do not remember any place so near Derbend bearing that name; nor have I ever heard that *Gkaitagh* was anciently called *Soul*, or *Tzour*, as that author asserts. — D'Ohsson thinks *Samsidjy* to be the fort of *Samtsikhe*, or, as it is now pronounced *Samtskhe* (which signifies in the Georgian language the *three forts*). The same author supposes *Lazica* to have been on the frontiers of the *Lazes* who inhabited *Colchis* &c. (des peuples du Caucase Note VII). I could have no objection to either of these two conjectures of the learned D'Ohsson, if I were sure that the reading لاذوقه or in our MS. الاذقه were preferable to لاذقه which we find also in many versions of *Mes'oudî*, *Al-Idrisi* and *Ibnu-l-verdi*.

Mr Eichwald mistakes the iron gates constructed by Anushirwan on the Bulwark of Derbend for the *passes* mentioned by *Edrisi* or correctly *Idrisi* (see *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, for March 1839 p. 181. note 2.)

The statement of Procopius, that the base of the Caucasus ran in one direction to the north and west till it reached *Illyrium* and *Thracia* and that on the other direction it extended east and south to the passages of *Tzûr* and *Caspia*, through which the Huns made their inroads into the Persian and Roman teritories &c — suggests the idea of *Tzûr* being a wholly different passage, independent of the Caspian gate, and that it was one of the principal passes through which the Huns made incursions into the Roman territories, while through the defile of Caspia or rather Derbend they made their irruptions into *Persia:* upon this ground we may suppose the position of *Soul* or *Tzur*, to be at a considerable distance to the west of Derbend about 175.

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الحوقل وكان من اهل الحكمة والسياحة فى الدولة العباسيّة وكنت انكرذلك على المسعودى متى دخلت

Al-Haugkal (Ibnu-l-Haucal), who was one of the philosophers and travellers who lived in the period of the reign of the dynasty of Abbas: says that he would not believe the relation of *Mas'uodi* in that respect, until he

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Engl. miles, so that the Huns, or Khazars, having passed through it might directly proceed onward into the Roman territories. The same idea may be illustrated by a quotation from Georgian Chronicles inserted in the *Voyage autour du Caucase* by *M. Dubois de Montpéreux* (T. II. p. 26); it indicates that besides the passage of Derbend the *Scythians* or the *Khazars* were also acquainted with the defile of *Dariel*, otherwise called *Aragvi;* and that through these two passes they did not cease to lead their numerous troops and assault the *Thorgamosians*, or aborigines of Iberia who at last paid them tribute.

Thus the *pass* of *Darial*. which in fact may be called the central *pass* of the Caucasus, being known as one of the two principal passages through which the Scythians, Huns, or Khazars made their irruptions we are led to ask the question: «was not the *Tzûr* of Procopius, or the *Soul* of the Arabs, the same principal *port* of *Dariel* or of *Aragvi?* I would not hesitate to say: yes. — The high ridges of mountains, at the very entrance to the very centre of Caucasus where the *Terek* takes its rise, and where rises the famous *Cazbec*, are diversified by many valleys, defiles and narrow passes, some of which continue their difficult and winding course, changing their names conformably to the change of regions, cantons and districts through or by which they run. — There are more than 50 defiles or narrow passages, each bearing its proper name, even at this time, about Dariel, all of which may be called *the passes of Darial* and whose entrance is known by the general name of the *passage of Caucasus*. Among these passes, or defiles, are those of *Khev*, *Noacaû*, *Ukhat*, *Gudo-Shâûr*, and *Koi-Shâûr;* and farther to the South *Ur-Shâûr* (in *Ossetia*) and to the S. E. that of *Khev-Sour*. Can we not recognize the *Tçar*, or *Soûl*, in any of these *Shaur's* or *Sour?* and can we not affirm that the defile of *Tzur*, or *Soul*, was one and the same with the passage of the Caucasus, Dariel or Aragvi (the name of a river which takes its source in the southern parts of the mountain *Sirkha-Khokh* in *Ossetia* and, which after having received 27 small rivulets in its course, falls into the *Kur* on the very north of Tiflis)? Besides, the same Georgian Chronicles that point out two principal passages for the incursions of the Scythians, affirm that Mirvan (the eighth king from Pharnavâz) king of Georgia, defended the defile of the Caucasus against the *Khazars* and *Ossetes*, and for that purpose built a fortress on the left and rocky shores of the *Terek* i. e. not far from the defile of *Khev* (see *Обозрѣніе* T. II. p. 80) — In the voyage of Dubois it is said that this fortress was *Derubal*, or Dariel; see T. II. p. 439). — Thus, then, the resemblance between *Sour* (in *Khev-Sour*), *Shaur* (in *Gudo* and *Koi-Shaurs*) and *Shoar* or *Djoar* (in *Ur-Shoar* or *Ur-Djoar*), which are at the same time the proper names of the tribes or families that inhabit the above mentioned quarters, — suggests the existence of a common stock to all of them: an able investigator may in the same stock find the origin of one of the eight hordes of *Patzinaces*, or *Petchenegs*, — namely *Tzur*, of which Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks (Deguignes; Hist. Gén. des Huns T. II. pag. 519.) some centuries later.

As to the passages of *Lâzugk* or *Lazana*, of *Leyan-Shah* and *Iran-Shah*, we have to make the following remarks: 1) concerning the first, as we have noticed above, I would not make any objection to the opinion of the learned D'Ohsson, if we were sure that the correct reading were لاذوقه or لاذقه; but since several MSS. give us لاذنه and اللازنه instead of لاذوقه I doubt whether the first Arabian geographer, who used the word, did not mean the passage of *Alazan* which name is till now given to the *pass* or the defile of *Barbala* (the monntain in which the *Alazan* takes its source), exactly in the same manner as the passage of *Dariel* is called by the name of the river *Aragvi*. — 2) In *Leyan* ليان شاه with the change of the ن into ر (as

اكثر البلاد وتحققته فى زمان سياحتى مافى جبل الفتح من الممالك فيه مملكة شروان شاه وهى اجل ممالكها من جانب الفرس مملكة واسعة لها اعمال ومدن وقرى وعمارات وهى قاعدة من قواعد السلطنة ويجلب منها الابرشيم الخام الى الاقاليم واهل هذه المملكة مطيعين ومغلوبين (مطيعون ومغلوبون) قبل لايخلو السيف والتغلب فيها على راس ثلثين سنة ومنها مملكة اللكزوهى مملكة واسعة ذات النواحى والاعمال وقرى وعمارات وفيها امم عظيمة جبّارة كفار لاينقادون لاحد يقال لهم

had visited the most part of those countries himself and ascertained how many principalities there were in *the Mountains of Victory*. The country of *Shirwán-shah* is amongst the number; it is the greatest of the principalities of these regions, lying towards Persia. It is an extensive country, containing districts, towns, villages, and cultivated lands, and it is ruled by a separate sovereign resident in it. From hence they export raw silk to different countries. The inhabitants of this country are timed and subject to continual inroads. It is said that no period of thirty years passes among them without the *use of arms and hostility*.

Another of *them* is the principality of the *Lagzs;* it is an extensive country, containing districts, cantons, villages and fortifications. It is inhabited by numerous and mighty tribes, who are yet infidels and who do not place themselves in submission to any one. It is said that they have a . . . .[84] which is called

we read in some authors) and with an addition of an *alif* we may recognize the ancient *Alban* (pylae Albaniae). And 3) the *pass Iran-Shah* we may take either for one of the principal defiles of *Ossetia*, which by the natives is called *Irostan* and Ironistan, i. e. for one of the defiles of Ihran of our Derbend-nameh. (Read above Part I. Rem. 19.)

As to the passage of *Carûyan*, *Carûbân*, or *Caruman* — I can offer no opinion, but it must also be included in the number of the defiles of *Dariel*. —

[84] A word or two must be omitted here in our MS.; we could not correct the defect by following the work of *Ibnul-Verdi*, from which *Dedeh-Afendi* has taken his description almost word for word, neither could we consult the تحفة الالباب to which also he makes reference in this place, in consequence of its not being within our reach. In the MS. of Ibnul-Verdi which we possess, instead of لكز we find الكر which must be a mistake; for the author means the country of the Lagzs or *Lazgs*, of which we find also in جهان نما p. 403. with this addition: وانك قربنده طايفه لوندر . And in their vicinity there is the tribe called *Levend*: Thus the Velvend we must read *va Levend* i. e taking *va* for a *conjunction*. Then the whole phrase may be (with the want of one word only): يقال لهم قبايل يسمّون . . . . . ولوند It is said that they have some tribes called . . . . . and Levend.

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. . . . . ويسمون ولوند ومنهم طايفة كورج وفيهم من الاكراد والاتراك ومنها مملكة الخندخ ولهذه المملكة اثنى عشر الف قرية الطاع بعضها لجعفرپاشا ورضيت بالاعشار ومنها مملكة طبرستان وزرنكوان وصيدان ومملكه الدودانية التى اعلها اخبث العالم غير منقادين لسلطان وغيرمتدينين بدين ومنها مملكة شكى ويقال مملكة شمخال الذى تزوج بنت ملكهم عثمان پاشا ودرا (ودارا) معه وانتفع به وسخره ببركة همّة سلطان الوقت

Velvend. — A (third) of them is the country of *Gourge* (Georgia) and among these there are (families of) *Kurds* and Turks[85]. — A (fourth) is the principality of *Handakh* (Gkaitagk); it contains twelve thousand (!) villages, of which some were subdued by *Djafar-Pasha* and agreed to pay the tribute of the tithe.

Among the number are the principalities of *Teberistan* (Tabaserân), *Zerneguân* (Zereh-gherân) *Saidan* (*Sandan?*) and the country of *Doudani*[86]. The inhabitants of this last are the most filthy in the creation, acknowledge the authority of no sovereign and profess no religion. — Among the number is the principality of *Sheki*, which is called the *dominion of Shamkhal*, to the daughter of whose sovereign was married *Othman Pasha*, who made peace with him and took advantage of his friendsbip (and at last) wholly subdued him through the influence of the Sultan of this period, the father of victory *Murad Khan*. This country lies iso-

[85] The chronicles of *Vakhtang V.* say that the habitations of the children of *Thorgamos* on the south were limited by the mountains of *Orethi* which are in the country of *Curdistan*. — The appellation of *Gurdjistan* is pretended by some to be derived from the name of the river *Cur* or *Cûra* (see *Voyage autour du Caucase* par Fr. Dubois de Montpéreux, T. II. p. 7. note 1.). D'Ohsson's researches into the different denominations that he met with in the ancient geographers in general, denoting the Georgia of the present day &c. are very interesting; but one must not mistake جرزان or جرجين for جرجان or كوركان. See *Des peuples du Caucase*, note IX. — In the district of *Sighnagh* to this day a village bears the name of *Gûrdjan* and is famous for its wine. — See *Обозрение* T. I. p. 338. —

[86] Consult D'Ohsson's des peuples du Caucase, note VI., look also for حزيه (Part VIII. rem. 4. of our work) whom *Mas'oudi* makes the ancestor of this tribe.

The various readings of this word, (We have in different versions of *Mas'oudi* and other geographers: دودانته, دوانيه, لودانيه, رودانيه and لودانيه.) suggests to me a new idea: is not the last reading *oudoniyeh* preferable? and did not the first author mean the remainder of the ancient *Oudens* of Arran. These wandering heathens lived in thick forests and mountains, not far from *Sheki*. The last remains of this tribe, within the last 50 years, have been converted partly to the Christian and partly to the Muhammedan religion. 400 families of this tribe are yet inhabiting Mehal of *Rûm*. in the Province of Sheki. They have their own language, and besides speak Armenian and Tartar with great fluency. — See *Обозрение* &c. T. III. pag. 353. —

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وابو الفتح مراد خان فهى منفردة فى هذه الجبل لايوتى اليه الّامن جهة ومنها مملكة كشك يقال ان اهل هذا المملكة ليس فى الممالك احسن من رجالهم ولامن نسائهم *

lated in the mountains, and there is no approaching it but from one side [87].

The country of *Kashak* [88] is also among the number. It is said that in the creation there is nothing more beautiful than their men and women [89]. —

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[87] In خريده we read وهى منفرده فى اخرهذ الجبل «it (the country of *Sheki*) stands separately at the end of this chain of mountains.» We do not perceive upon what ground *Dedeh-Afendi* asserts that there is no approaching it but from one side, neither have we any historical information that the Province of *Sheki* was ever called «the dominion of *Shamkhâl*». *Sheki* is now a small province on the W. and W. N. of *Shirwan:* it consists of two *Mehals: Arosh* and *Kabla*, the latter of which was a consideroble town many centuries ago, called by the Arabs قبله, by Ptolomy *Chabala*, and by Pliny *Caballas in Albania*. The capital town is called *Nûkhâ*, but generally bears the name of the province. The whole province contained, in the review of 1833 made by order of the government, 55723 inhabitants of the male sex; of which 46300 were Muhammedans, 8938 Armenians and 485 Jews. (See *Обозрѣніе* T. III. pag. 359).

With regard to the etymology of the name *Sheki*, we could not find anything in the authors accessible to us. *Mas'oudi* and other Arabian geographers say nothing on the subject but that it was the name of a country or of a canton between *Shirwan* and the river *Kur*, touching the canton of *Cabalah* (see D'Ohsson des peuples du Caucase, pag. 18).

[88] D'Ohsson among other modern writers takes *Kashakes* for the *Tcherkesses*, asserting that their country was called in the X century *Casatchia* by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who placed them to the *south* of the Caucasus, the *north* of the chain being occupied by the Alans. The same learned author says that the *Circasses* of this day are called by their neighbours, the *Ossetes* and *Mingreliens*, by the name of *Caschak* and that the Russians call them *Cassagues*. Indeed we read so in the Annals of Nestor (see there for Черкасы). But we rather think that the country bearing the appellation of *Circassia* — without doubt the same as the *Cercetae* of the ancient geographers — is situated on the *north* of the Caucasus, having the Black Sea on the S. W.; *Abadza* and *Abkhazia* on the South and S. E. and *Cabardia* on the E. Therefore we think that the *Casatchia* of *Porphyrogenitus* is independant of the *Circassias*. The *Cashakes* of the Arabian authors, who occupied the S. E, of *Cakhethia* and who wandered from place to place to the *south* of the Caucasus, perhaps as far as the shores of the Black Sea, were known among their neighbours by the appellation of *Cossagi*, *Cosaques* and *Cazaks*. Even to this day their remains are known by this last name and occupy a considerable space of land between the district of *Signakh*, the stations of *Shamshadil*, *Bambac*, *Bartchali* and the province of *Erivan*. (See *Обозрѣніе* T. II. pag. 213 and also D'Ohsson des peuples du Caucase, note XXI.)

[89] We here terminate our extract from *Risâletu-l-Intisar*, the rest of the book containing nothing answering our purpose. —

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VIII.

EXTRACT FROM A QUOTATION FROM THE WORK OF MULLA MUHAMMED RAFI' SURNAMED ABUL-FAT'H DZIAÜDDIN.

اعلموا انّ الدّاغستان كان أرضًا حسنًا واسعًا لاهله
شديدًا على غيرهم مباركًا فى أموالهم لسبب عدلهم
وفيها قرًى كثيرة وبلاد عديدة وثلاث ناجية الأوار والسّهل
والرّزهكرانىّ وكان أهلها اهلًا كافرًا فاخرًا (فاجرًا)
يعبدون الأصنام اخبث من الكلاب وفى كلّ قرية سلاطين
مجرمون فاجرون راكبون على الكفرة الفجرة فى كلّ
بلدة امراء طغيان فجّار يامرون بالمنكر وينهون عن
المعروف وكان فى بلدة أوار المسمّى بطانوس وهى
شديد بلاد الدّاغستان ومعدن كفّارها وكان فيها ملك
كافر عضّال ظالم شقىّ صاحب الشّرور والشّدة والشكوة
المسمّى بسراقة الملقّب بنوصال ومن عادتهم يلقّبون

Know, that Daghistan was a beautiful country, blessed for its inhabitants, dreadful to others, and abundant in riches through the justice of its people. In this country there are many towns, many principalities, and three territories: *Awâr, Sahl*[90], and *Zirehgherani*[91]. The inhabitants of these territories were infidels, wicked, idolaters and worse than dogs. In every town there were wretched and miserable princes who ruled its faithless inhabitants, and in every district there were perfidious and tyrannical governors who ordered evil to be done and who prohibited right-doing[92]! In the principality of Awar, otherwise called *Tánús* — this is the most powerful of the Principalities of Daghistan and the source of her infidels — there was an infamous sovereign, a wretched tyrant, an author of every thing evil and of all that is severe and cruel, his name was *Serágkeh* and his surname *Núsál*[93]; — they generally call their sovereigns by this name and surname;

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[90] See اهران for *Awar* or *Awaristan*. Also read remark 25 to Part I. for شهرسال. In the district of *Gkasi-Gkoumougk*, about 6 miles to the S. W. of *Gkoumougk* we find at this day a village named *Shali*. It is just half way between *Zirehgherân* and *Awar* meant here by the author. May there be not any connexion between those two names?

[91] See Part I. Remark 32.

[92] The order of the Koran to the *authors* of justice is: to *command* his followers *to do good* and to *prohibit* their *doing evil*. The expression is ويامرون النّاس بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر. —

[93] We meet this name also in later periods of the history of Daghistan. See Part IV. Remark 14; it pronounced also *Nowsál*.

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ويسمّون ملكهم بهذا الاسم ابن سرطان بن عرسخان بن عم خان بن فروض (فيروز) شاه بن ماقر بن نمرود بن بير بن فردا بن طهماز بن شيد بن عامر بن فرعون بن خواجه بن صفى شاه بن حياس بن طراز بن خدرشاه بن عرصكانى والأجداد الى آدم تسعة وتسعون [الفا] وزيادة على الأصح ويأخذ ذلك الملك مداخل الولايات وله الخراج والجزية والأعشار عن جميع أهالى الدّاغنسان من ولاية چركس الى بلدة شماخى الا عن بليدة عكرى بأنواع الاموال النقود والزّروع والأغنام والبقور والأقماش والفواكه وغيرها حتّى بيضات الدّجج فقيل فى بيان خراجه من النقود على كلّ بيت ثلاث درهم من فضّة وقيمة ثلاث درهم من الذّهب فى كلّ سنة ومن الزّروع على كلّ بيت كيلاً من زرع مازرع كثيرًا فى كلّ سنة ومن الأغنام على كلّ من جمع غنماشاة من كلّ مأية فى كلّ سنة ومن البقور على كلّ مأية [بيت] ثور فى كلّ سنة ومن الأقماش على كلّ من اتّجر حريران وكرباسان من أيهما فى كلّ سنة ومن الفواكه على كلّ من غرس كرما قفصا من العنب فى كل سنة وعلى كل من قتل غير القاتل من طايفته مأية

— he was the son of *Seretán*, the son of *Arskhan*, the son of *'Amm-Khan* the son of *Firúz-Shâh*, the son of *Mágker* the son of *Namrúd*, the son of *Beier*, the son of *Ferdá*, the son of *Tahmáz*, the son of *Sheiyid*, the son of *Âmir*, the son of *Fir'awn* the son of *Khâdjeh*, the son of *Sefi-shah*, the son of *Haiys*, the son of *Tarráz*, the son of *Khidir-shah*, the son of *'Arsekani* and so forth: his ancestors go back to Adam in 99 generations and more according to the truest information. — This sovereign received the revenue of all the principalities, and to him were sent all the tributes, taxes and tithes from all the inhabitants of Daghistan, beginning from the country of *Tcherkess* to *Shamakhi*, the little district of *Acri* excluded. (These were sent to him) in various objects: in ready money, in grain, in sheep, in blackcattle, in stuffs, in fruit and so on, even in eggs! It is said, in the account of his revenue, that he received yearly 1) In *ready money* from every house three pieces of silver and a sum of three pieces of gold; 2) In *grain* from every house a *kail* [94] of all that was principally sown. 3) In *sheep*, from every one who held a flock, one sheep in the hundred. 4) In *black cattle*, from every hundred (houses) a bull. 5) In *stuffs*, from every merchant two pieces of silk and two of cotton-stuff of the best quality. 6) In *fruits*, from every one who placed a vineyard a basket of grapes. Moreover from every one who murdered any of his tribe when the latter was not a murderer himself [95], he took a hundred sheep.

[94] This word means in general *a measure* without any definition; but in some parts of Daghistan and Aderbijan the word is corrupted into *Kileh* كيله and is used in a definite sense. Among them this *Kileh* is a kind of vessel merely for measuring *dry things*, and it may contain from 8 to 12 pounds, according to the nature of the substance measured.

[95] For murdering a *murderer*, according to the law of vengeance, there is no civil punishment among the mountaineers of Daghistan unless the deed be performed by one who has no right to avenge.

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شاة وعلى كّل من جرح غيره ثور وعلى كّل من سرق مال غيره ثور وعلى كّل قرية خمسة ثعلب أحدها الأسود والأربعة أحمر وخمسة اكباش فى السّنة التّى نصب عليهم ملكًا جديدًا بعد موت الملك القديم وعلى كّل قرية فرس او رمكة لدَفْن كلّ من نُصب عليهم فى السّنة التّى مات فيها وعلى كلّ قرية وبلدة بقرة وكبشان لكّل وليمة من أهل بيت الملك وهذه المذكورات من معتبرات الأموال واختصرت بذكرها ويطيع بذلك الملك جميع أعالى الدّاغستان من الأسافل والأعالى (والاعالى) بالكره والطّوع *

أمّا بعد فاعلموا أنّه قد تواتر أنّ جماعة من أولاد عمّى نبيّنا ع أعنى بهما سيّد الشّهداء الحمزة وأميرا لمؤمنين العباس قد خرجوا وهاجروا من المكّة المباركة والمدينة المشرّفة والشّام بالفى رجل من قبيلتهم وعشيرتهم

From him who wounded another he took a bull. From him who stole another's property, also a bull. — Farther in the year of the establishment of a new king, after the death of the old one, from every village there were taken five foxes, one of which must have been black and the other four red, and five rams. In the year of the death of their former king from every village they took for the expense of his funeral a horse or a mare. And from every village and town they took a cow and two rams for the wedding entertainment of every one of the king's family. — These are the principal sources of the revenue to the enumeration of which I confine myself. — To this sovereign all the inhabitants of Daghistân whether high or low, submit themselves, either of their own good will or by force [96].

But after this know, that it has been handed down to us in succession (i. e. in authentic traditions) that from the descendants of the two uncles of our Prophet, namely the Prince of the Martyrs, *Hamzeh* and Amirul-muminin *Abbas* [97] a number of men, two hundred years after the flight of the Holy Prophet, set off and left the blessed *Mekkeh* and *Medineh* and from *Shâm* (Syria), at the head

[96] The statement of the sources of revenue here inserted by the author, seems to have been derived from the calculation of what every prince of Daghistan received and does receive now from his dominions; especially the sovereign of Awar who yet in our author's time was one of the most opulent Princes of the country. Hereafter he gives us another interesting account of the principal revenues that the Shamkhals received from all Daghistan. See this extract note 115.

[97] The first of these, namely *Hamzeh*, having fallen in the second war of *Badr* called غزوة الصّغرى, bears the title of the Prince of the Martyrs سيّد الشهدا; the second, i. e. Abbas who lived 21 years after his «*holy-nephew*» is sometimes distinguished by the epithet of Amirul-muminin. which was however, peculiar to the Khalifs alone.

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مقاتل بعد مامضى من تاريخ هجرة الصّفى النبى مأتى سنة فارقون من مولدهم المكانى تاركون بلدانهم آيسون من أراضيهم متوكّلون على الله ناوون على الجهاد والغزاوة قاصدون لأنتشار الأسلام بقدر (الامكان) فى لفاق المماليك واكنافها من أراضى الكفّار طايفون متردّدون فى أقطار الولايات وأطرافها حتّى يحكم الله لهم بأجرآء قلم القضآء فأن قيل ما السّر فى خروجهم ومهاجرتهم من الحرمين الأمنين الشّريفين الّذين هما من معادن الأيمان والأسلام اللّأيقين لأن يهاجر اليهما كلّ الانام من اكنانى المقام فاقول والله أعلم بحقايق الأمور وأليه الرّجوع فى يوم النّشور هو أنّه لمّاطلعت شموس الأسلام من مشارق القوّة والأستحكام وامتلأت شعشعتها الأكنانى وشعنت اشعّتها الأطراف كما كان قال ع أنّ الشّيطان قد آنس من أن يعبد المصلّون فى جزيرة العرب وأنّ فضأيل الجهاد والغزاوة بالكفّار والشّهادة

of two thousand warlike men of their own tribe and relations. Having quitted their native land, and left their habitations without the hope of seeing their home again, they put their confidence in God and, with the intention of making war for their religion and of spreading Islam as far as possible in the distant parts of the countries of the infidels, they travelled to the remotest parts of those countries and in doing so they awaited the time when the Lord might command them to fulfil His decree of Predestination.

If it should be asked: what mystery could there be in their leaving the two sacred, safe and blessed cities (Mekkeh and Medineh) which are the sources of faith and religion and which are themselves worthy of being places of refuge for all men of the different regions of the world? — I answer: — God knoweth best the truth of all things, and to Him we are to return at the day of judgement [98], — that when the shining sun of Islam rose from the orient of power and strength, penetrating with his light into all quarters and enlightening all regions with his rays; so that Satan, as it is said by the holy (Prophet), despaired of the true worshippers of God being confined to the peninsula of the Arabs [99]; and as the merits of *Djihâd* or war for religion, against the infidels and of dying

[98] The expression here put between two dashes, we meet often in the historical books but with some variations: it depends upon the author to modify the term, which originally is very *simple* indeed: الله اعلم *God knoweth best.* — The reason, why Musulmans use it so often, is the following: Every narration, or even declaration, not founded on the *Koran*, the *Sunnet*, otherwise *Hadees*, or any other authority commended by the law is regarded as *true* or as *false* (الخبر يحتمل الصدق والكذب). Therefore pious historians always use this expression even in those cases when they are convinced of the truth of what they relate.

[99] That is to say: Satan with all his machinations could not stop the progress of the religion of Islam, nor prevent its overflow beyond the limits of Arabia.

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فى سبيل الله من أجلّ الطّاعات وأفضل المثوبات وأنهم قدخرجوا من فضايل الغزاة ومراتب الشهدآء لأنّهم لم يجدوا فى حواليهم دارحرب يقاتلونهم ويصيبون فضل الجهاد فلاجرم اختارو الخروهذه المثوبات مهاجرة ديارهم يجدون فى قريهادارحرب وقتال لينالوا مرامهم بعون الله هذا شروع فى أوّل الكلام من أنّهم كانوا خمسة نفرمن فضائل (فواضل) أسباطهما ثلاثة منهم من أولاد الحمزة وهم شيخ ابراهيم بن اسحق وشيخ احمد وشيخ ملى واثنان منهم من احفاد العبّاس وهما شيخ محمد وشيخ ناصرالدّين وهم بعد خروجهم وبداء أمرهم بهاجرتهم بجماعتهم قطعوا المنازل وطيّو المراحل حتى بلغوا الى مقام اللّطيف أعنى به قسطنطنية وأقاموافيهاسنين ثم أرتحلوا منها مع خمسة آلاف رجل مقاتل مبارز الى هندوستان وأقاموا فيها برهة من الزّمان ثمّ جاوزوا منها ولم يزالوا من السفرحتى انتهوا الى شيروان وأقاموا فيهاسنتين وهيّوا اسباب

for the sake of God are considered as deserving the best and most sublime rewards: — these (the descendants of Hamzeh and Abbas) therefore, being till then deprived of the means of taking a part in the glory of the warriors and martyrs — for in all the country around them there was no abode of the infidels, where they might make war for religion and share its merits, — these (saints) therefore resolved to seek this happiness by leaving their native lands and going abroad, in hopes that they might come to a country of infidels and there succeed by the aid of the Lord in their desired end. — *This is now the beginning of the subject.* There were five personages of the most accomplished of the descendants of the above mentioned two saints who set off from their own land; three of the descendants of *Hamzeh* namely: *Sheikh-Ibrâhim*, the son of *Ishâkh; Sheikh-Ahmed* and *Sheikh-Milli;* — and two of the descendants of *Abbâs*, namely: *Sheikh-Mumehhid* and *Sheikh-Nâsirud-din.* — These five with their families, after quitting their country, and after travelling from stage to stage, reached the beautiful abode of Constantinople, where they remained several years. Hence they journeyed with five thousand warlike men to Hindostan, where they remained a long space of time. After that they left that country and did not cease to travel till they arrived in Shirwân [100]. Here they stayed two years, and took preparatory measures

[100] Since the author attributes his information, concerning the emigration of these *Saints-Adventurers*, to tradition, we may give him as much credit as a mere tradition can lay claim to; but as he refers the beginning of this emigration to 200 years after the Hijret, we have reason to believe that the tradition alluded to could not be derived but from the actual emigrations of some religious adventurers, who, about that period indeed wandered from place to place with pretentions to their having been descended from such and such saints &c. and encouraged their new brethren to spoil and plunder which always have been ef-

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القتال من المدافع والدّقاق والكنافير وحبائل المنجنيق وغيرها من آلات الحرب والجدال عازما على الجهاد بكفّار أعالى الجبال الجنوبيّة اعنى به الداغستان وانّهم

supplying themselves with military instruments such as *throwing* and *bruising* machines, *Kenâfirs* (drums) and ropes of *Manganum* [101] and other war instruments, for they had resolved to make war on the infidels of the southern mountains, i. e. *Daghistân* [102] which was considered by the law as *darul-herb* [103] It

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fective incitements to the war of religion. From the very beginning of the establishment of Islam beyond the limits of Arabia, such adventurers did not lose their time and acted very diligently in different quarters of the country. Asia minor, Khorasan, Aderbijân and Shirwân, in consequence of their success, have been more than once the scenes of bloody wars and several dynasties appeared in the course of these advantures. Perhaps, indeed, some *Hamzeh*, after or about the time of the introduction of Islam into Daghistan, had visited that country, and in some way or other, had acquired an influence among its new Mussulmans, and this circumstance gave rise to the two traditions so current to this day in all Daghistan respecting the great Progenitors of their princes. The assertion of Derbend-Nameh in regard to this, though more credible (read part the V), might also be founded on the same grounds.

[101] We have translated *Mudâfi'* «throwing-machine», *Dagkâgk* — «bru sing-machine», and expressed *Mandjanigk* by «Manganum». In translating the two first we have followed the dictionaries of *Gkâmûs* قاموس and *Assaghani* الصّغانى. The word كنافير we could not find in any of them, but we think it to be كنانير the plural of كنّار drums. — As to Mandjanigk which has not in its plural, *Medjânigk*, the first ن *n*, I suppose it to be a corruption of the Greek μηχανη which, through the Latin, has passed into the Arabic and some ages after been again introduced into the Byzantine language in the new form *Manganum*, which the Turks still use in a similar sense, *Mangana*. Consult *Glossarium manuale ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis;* Halae 1776 T. IV. p. 525.

[102] The author probably means here the south-eastern parts of Legzistan which in reference to the mighty Principality of Awar was to the south.

[103] The expression *Dârul-harb* means a *town or a city of hostility*. The law means by it any country of the infidels, whose inhabitants are not in subjection to, or alliance with the Musulman authority and who do not pay the impost or *Djezyeh* appointed by the law. In every *darul-herb* the life and property of its inhabitants are «*lawful*» i. e. every Musulman can deprive the infidel he meets of his life and property and will not be responsible in the eye of the law; but as soon as the stipulation is made and the impost paid the life and property of every one of the inhabitants become «*unlawful*» i. e. the injurer of his person or property will be responsible to the law, in the same manner as if he had injured a Musulman.

The law of the Koran, that in every country which is, upon these principles, considered to be *dârul-herb* the Musulmans who reside in it, or who have acquired a footing there, *must indispensably* declare war for religion to its inhabitants, — has, in all ages, been one of the greatest obstacles as well to the complete and moral success of the christian conquerors, who have since many ages taken possession of some parts of the Muhammedan dominions, as to the very tranquility of the Musulman inhabitants of those conquered countries. By this law every part of the Muhammedan dominions conquered by «*the infidels*» is considered to be «dârul-herb» as soon as the *Shari'at* or the law of the Koran has ceased there to be in use and has lost its authority, in which case all the Musulmans must do all in their power to leave that land and fly to another Muhammedan country. (On this head our readers may find many details in the *Mukhteserul-Vigkaet* published by me at Kazan, 1845 pages ٢٥٥ — ٢٥٩; also in the *Gkahistâni's* commentary on these pages.)

The *Mullâs* and the lawyers of *Bukhâra*, *Khiveh* and other Muhammedan countries often excite the hidden

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دلرحرب وكان من عادتهم المألوفة وقاعدتهم المأنوسة فيمابينهم فى أمارتهم أن ينصبوا اسنّهم واكبرهم سنّا باتّفاق جميعهم من غيرخصومة وتنازع من أسافلهم وأعاليهم سلطانا واميرًا ليكون لهم معينًا وظهيرًا وهويتبع فى حكومتهم وأمارتهم وخلافتهم والأمامة الشريعة الغرّاء ويسلك حسب وسعته وطاقته أثر الرّسول ﷺ فنصبوا عليهم وعلى الّذين ملكوا عليهم سلطانًامن ذرّية حمزة أميرًا واليًا ويطيعون به الجميع من غيرانكارونزاع فى كلّ الأمور واخذ ذلك السّلطان مداخل الممالك

was a national custom and general rule amongst them, with regard to government, to choose the eldest from among themselves whom they invested with authority over all, without contradiction on the part of any, whether little or great; and such a person and was to protect them govern all, following in his civil and religious administration the sacred *Sheriat* and, as much as his ability would permit him, to imitate the holy Prophet. They therefore appointed over them, and over those who had as yet been their rulers[104], a sovereign from among the descendants of *Hamzeh*, who became their *Amir* and their *Wáli*[105] to whom all were obedient, without contradiction, to his administration, and who (afterwards) received the revenues of all the countries, principalities and districts[106]. This sovereign was called *Sham-khal* from the name of his grandfather who was born in a village named *Khál*, one of the villages of

animosity of those Musulmans who have long been under the Christian authority, by reminding them that they prefer living for the world than for God, i. e. «they calmly remain under the yoke of the unbelievers» &c. and by calling the land in which they live *dárul-herb*. But the Mullás of the Musulmans in Russia often dispute with them and defend their cause by answering that the *Shariat*, being still in force among the Musulmans of this country, their land can *not* be called *Dérul-herb* and that therefore they are not obliged to leave their lands and go to other countries. This evidently shows, in the first place, that the good policy of a government is always one of the best means of securing the happiness of its subjects; and secondly, that men in all ages and countries are inclined to turn and explain every thing to their own benefit.

[104] i. e. over those who had been the elders of their tribes and families &c.

[105] Wáli والى in the Arabic meant always *a master*, *a protector* &c. Afterwards, the expression was used in the sense of a viceroy, a governor. The Shamkhals of Daghistan have some centuries borne the title of the *Wáliyi-Daghistan*. This title being conferred on them, as is well known, by the Persian Court, the first application of it to those Princes might have taken place before our author's time (i. e. supposing we take this expression *Wali* in this place, not in its primitive sense, but as a title of the *Shamkhals*) namely, at the time of the intercourse between the *Atabecs* of Aderbijân and the Princes of Daghistan.

[106] There is an irregularity in the sense in this place. The author before finishing the description of the expedition &c. and before giving an idea of the establishment of the race of Amir Hamzeh in *any* country, says: that he received the revenues of all the countries, principalities and districts which had not yet been conquered; I therefore put in parenthesis the word *afterwards* in order to give a regular form to the sense

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والولايات والنّواحى وكان اسم ذلك السّلطان شام خال
سمّى بأسم جدّه الّذى ولد فى القرية المسمى بخال من
قرى شام وهو [أبن] امير حمزة بن سلطان أحمد بن
خان محمد بن العربى بن خال بن فريدون أبن امير
سلطان بن آلى بيك بن عبد العزيز بن اغلب بن امير
جوفان بن أمير محمد بن غازى أبى الفتح بن مسلم بن عبد
الملك بن ابراهيم بن اسحق بن منصور بن قاسم ابن
يعقوب بن عمر بن تبّب بن سليمان رضى الله عنه بناء
على مابيّن فى تواريخ النّسابين وكان فى النسخة الّتى
نسخنا منها عدد الأجداد الى آدم ثمانية وسبعون والزيادة
على الأصحّ فمن ذلك الزّمان جرت عادت الانام يلقب
من ملك ونصب على أهالى الولايات بهذ الأسم
فخرجوا وذهبوا ومضوا بما بينهم من الأتفاق آلى تلك
الدّيار الحروب بالافيال والأبال والأفراس الجوّاد قلمّا
علم أهل الدّاغستان ذلك أجتمع جميع كفّارها وعساكر
الروس وهم متّفقون فى السّراء والضّرّاء والمهمّات

Sham [107] (Syria). According to genealogical records he was [the son of] *Amir Hamzeh*, the son of *Sultan-Ahmed*, the son of *Khan-Muhammed*, the son of *Al-'Arabiy*, the son of *Khâl*, the son of *Feridún*, the son of *Amir-Sultan*, the son of *Ali-beg*, the son of *Abdul-'Aziz*, the son of *Aghlab*, the son of *Amir-Tchúfan*, the son of *Amir-Muhammed*, the son of *Gkâzi-Abul-fat'h*, the son of *Muslim*, the son of *Abdul-melik*, the son of *Ibrâhim*, the son of *Ishâgk*, the son of *Mansour*, the son of *Gkasim*, the son of *Ya'gkoub*, the son of *Omar* the son of *Nai-yib*, the son of *Suleiman*, the mercy of God be upon him! And in the genealogical work which we have followed, the number of persons in lineage between him and Adam was 78, but there must be more according to all probability. — From that time downwards it has been the custom among the people (of this region) to give to the kings, ruling over these countries, this surname (of *Shamkhal*).

In this manner they proceeded onwards, with union, to those *regions of hostility*, on elephants, camels and swift horses. — When the inhabitants of Daghistan were informed of this, all their infidels were gathered together, accompanied by troops of *Rús* [108] (the Russ) who always shared good and evil equally with them. These, with the intention of repelling the Musulmans and of doing them mischief and harm, appeared about the town

[107] This is another etymology of the word *Shamkhal*, which differs from that which we have had occasion to read in the *Derbend-Nâmeh* (Part V. rem. 9 and 15). It was more than 110 years ago communicated to the European philologists, only with a slight change. *Herber* says that *Sham* is the name of the city of Damascus, from whence, by the Khalifs, the governors of Daghistan were sent; and that the word *Khal* means a *prince*. But *Olearius* says that the word *Shamkhal* means *The light*.

[108] This is one of the curious passages that we often meet with in many historical and geographical works of the east, on the ancient intercourse of the *Rûses* (the Russians) with the inhabitants of Armenia and Da-

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بابينهم بالمساوات عند البلدة المسمّاة بچور قاصدين لامتناع الأسلام وأندفاع العساكر واضرار المسلمين بالقهر والعنوة فح ارسل المسلمون مايةَ رجل من اشجعهم لينظروا الى أجناد الكفار لتفحص أحوالهم فاذا نظروا عليهم وتفحّصوا احوالهم بالخفية علموا أنّهم اشجع منهم فوقع الخوف فى ضمائر المسلمين على ضررهم بالحرب والقتال فارادوا أن يلزموا احزاب الكفار بالاسهل فمكروا وكادوا ان يجعل بين كلّ جماعة طعامًا حارًا مخلوطًا فيهاسم

called *Tchour*[109]. At that time the Musulmans sent an hundred men of their bravest, to search into the affairs and the position of the troops of the infidels. When they saw them and examined their position they knew that the infidels were much stronger than themselves. The Musulmans were therefore afraid of the evil consequences of making war upon them, and resolved to overcome their faithless troops in an easier way. Wherefore they invented a stratagem: every family prepared some kind of warm meat and mixed it with poison, when the infidels assaulted them they left the poisoned meat with a small portion of their goods and

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ghistan &c. It would require a great deal of time and place in order to make even a slight inquiry into this subject which has long been disputed by many: here we have only to remind our readers, with regard to the intercourse of the Russians with Daghistan, that the expedition of *Sviatoslaff* (in 965) against the *Khazars*, *Osses*, *Casaks* (see كشك Ext. VII. note 88.) and *Bolgars* of which the Russian Annals make mention, (the sources of this information the curious may find in Artsibishéff's *relations concerning Russia*: «*Povistvovanie o Rossii*», Part I. No, 146, 147, 448), took place *nearly* about the time to which our author's narrative refers; for, the beginning of the emigration of the descendants of Hamzeh and Abbas, as he indefinitely states, was after the lapse of 200 years from the *Hidjret*, or perhaps about the middle of the IX century, and if we add a certain number of years to fill up the interval between their departure from their country and their arrival in Daghistan (for the author says that these adventurers stayed in Hindoostan a long space of time) there will not remain so many years to fill up the time to which is referred the expedition of *Sviatoslaff*. — But Mr Yanofsky (*Обозрѣние Закавказскихъ владѣній* &c.) goes too far in saying, that Sviatoslaff, conquered the *Osses* or the *Ossetes*, imposed a tribute on them, and this tribute was paid every *two years*. To this conjecture he is led merely by the following circumstances: the country of the *Ossetes*, he says was called sometimes *Dvaletié*, which word in the Slavonian language signifies a term *of two years* (as a compound word from *dva*, meaning *two* and *leto* meaning a *year*). But no mention being made in the Russian Annals with regard to the name of the tribute, nor any thing concerning even the tribute imposed by *Sviatoslaff* on the Yasses or the Osses, we may attribute Mr. Yanofsky's assertion merely to his personal conviction, founded however upon no positive authority. By the word *Dvalet* the Georgians and others called a part of the vast country of the ancient Osses (it extendended from the Don to the very heart of the present Daghistan) which lay on the western frontiers of the actual *Chechen* where the river Terec also was named *Devalet* as Mr. Yanoffsky confesses himself; (See Part II. p. 188) but the whole country was never called so; nor did Sviatoslaff penetrate so far as the actual Ossetia, though the words of our text contribute in some degree to the idea (read the following note 109 and above the note 88.).

[109] If an identity could be supposed between this word and the *Tzour* of Procopius (see Ext. VII. note 83) we might then evidently perceive that the Eastern writers knew another word expressing the صول of their ancient Geographers.

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فاذا صال عليهم الكفّار هزموا وهربوا كلهم بترك تلك الطّعام المخلوط فيهاسمّ فاذا وجد الكفّار طعامًا حارًا اكلوامنه فمات من طايفة الكفار فى ذلك المكان سبعمأية الف رجل مقطّعين امعاءهم بتلك السّم فهزم الكفّار بعناية رب العالمين فغزى المسلمون فى اقاق الداغستان محاربات ومضاربات حسبة من الله وخرّبوا خيدلق وقتلوامن جملة امراء الكفّار الجسام العضّال اميرولايتهم سلطان المسمى بغضنغرالغرّار واسروا نسوتهم وصبيانهم بعدقتل ابطالهم واغاروا انواع أموالهم بعون الله تعالى ثم سكنوافى تلك الولايات بالبهجة والقرار وجلس على سريره بالا بهة والوقارمن أولادشيخ أبراهيم أبواسحق اميرجوفان بن سلطان ملى بيك وهو أوّل من جلس فى ولاية خيدلق وبنى فيها قرى كثيرة معمورة مأهولة مسهولة وجعل دارسلطنته فى البلدة المسمّاة بقلعة فريش فوق سلّة فى واد عندنهر ثم عهدوا بأمراء ولاية غمق عهدا ظاهرًا ثمّ بعد مدّة قليلة نبذعهدهم سرّا بالخفية والخدعة فضرب كفّارهابالسّيف وهزموا وفسدوا وسخّروا

betook themselves to flight. The infidels having found the warm meat ate it, and seven hundred thousand men (!) of them died on the spot, their intestines being torn by the effect of the poison. Thus the infidels were defeated through the assistance of the Lord, the Author of the Creation. —

Now the Musulmans for the love of God, continued their wars for religion and their hostilities in all parts of Daghistân. They ruined *Khaidágk* (Gkaitagk) and put to death, among other brave and valiant princes of the infidels, the chief of that principality who was called *Ghazanfar-Al-Gharrar* (the tearing lion). — And they took their wives and children captive, and after having put to death their relations and protectors and plundered, by the aid of God, all their wealth, they established themselves in those regions in tranquillity and joy. The throne of their dominion was now filled by one of the descendants of *Sheikh-Ibrúhim;* namely by *Abú-Is'hagk Amir-Djúfán*, the son of *Milli-Beg*. — He was the first who was invested with the sovereign authority in the country of *Khaidagk*. He built there many elegant, populous and delightful villages and chose for his royal residence the fortress of *Ferish* [110], which is situated on the rocks in a valley, near a river. Now they (the Musulmans) made a false treaty with the chiefs of *Gkomougk*, which after some time, was broken by a trick and they came up secretly, put to the sword all the infidels of that country, laid waste and destroyed their villages, took possession

[110] *Katib-Tchelebi* calls it قريش *Gkarish*, and in his time it was the principal fortress of Gkaitagh (see جهان نما p. 401.)

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اقريبهم واذن بلدتهم وأسلم أهلها ثم جاوًا ألى نحو الجبال الجنوبية (الشمالية) اعنى به أوار فهرب ملك الأوارى بيربن سراقة الملقب بنوصال الى ناحية توش مع بعض اقربائه وأحبّائه واهل بيته فغزى المسلمون غزاواة كثيرة وجاهدوا جهادًا كبيرًا فى نواحى الجبال طولا وعرضا وخرّبوا أقوى بلاد الدّاغستان مسكن ملكهم بلدة أوار المسمّى بخومزق قهراً وعنوة وقتلوا ابطالهم وأعوانهم واسروا نسائهم وصبيانهم وأغاروا أنواع اموالهم وخزانتهم واجلسوا فيها على سرير الملك بالأبهة والوقار من أولاد شيخ أحمد موسوم بيك بعد أن أسلم أهلها وسكن فيها شيخ أبومسلم أمامًا وحاكما لهم وهو من أفضل علمائهم فتفرقوا جميع نواحى أعالى الجبال أعنى به الدّاغستان بعضها بالأمر والقتل والتخريب وبعضها بالأسلام والتطييب ثم سكنوا ووطنوا فى الأفاق والاكناف والأقطار وكل من عادتهم المأنوسة أن ينصبوا فى كل قرية وبلدة

of them and converted their inhabitants to Islam. After that they proceeded towards the southern (northern?) mountains, I mean *Awar:* the king of Awar, *Beier* the son of *Surâgkeh,* surnamed *Nawsâl* with his family, his relations and his friends, took to flight and went to the land of *Toush* [111]. The Musulmans here made great wars for religion and extended their hostile incursions over all the mountains both in length and breadth..... They utterly ruined the strongest city of Daghistan, the residence of their sovereign, namely the city of Awar named *Khoumzagk* (now *Khonzagk*) and put to death its warriors with their allies, took captive their wives and children, plundered all their wealth and riches, converted its inhabitants to the religion of Islam and established on the throne of the kingdom one of the descendants of *Sheikh-Ahmed*, called *Mawsoum-beg*. They appointed there *Sheikh-Abou-Muslim* in the capacity of *Imâm* and judge of the country, and he was the most accomplished of their learned men. In this manner they conquered all the lands of the mountaineers, I mean Daghistan, partly by force, bloodshed and demolition, and partly by peace, having converted the inhabitants to Islam, and in this manner they occupied the country and established themselves in every part of it.

It was an old custom with them, to appoint in every village or town conquered, a chief, or governor, from amongst their own generals. Having done this, *Shamkhal* estab-

[111] *Toush* is a society of mountaineers in the northern part of the district of *Telaw* or *Talaw*, at the very foot of *Barbala*. They occupy a space of rocky land, containing about 840 square English miles. The number of their inhabitants in 1832 did not exceed 2041 (counting only the male sex). Though the inhabitants are composed of different tribes and families, they are all of the Christian religion (see *Обозрѣніе.* Part I. pag. 391.)

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خرّبوها وملّكوها اميرا من أمرائهم فسكن شمخال ووطن في بلدة غموق وأخذ الخراج من الأراضي والجزية من الذميّين والأعشار من ابناء السّبيل والزّكاة من المسلمين وأطاعه جميع أهالي الداغستان من الأسافل والأعالي بالطّوع والكره ويخرج الخمس من خراجه لنفسه ثمّ يقسم الاخماس الأربعة الباقية بعد اخراج الخمس فيمابينهم بالساوات فالواجب عليهم ان لايظلموا من اولادهم وأحفادهم وذرّياتهم الى أنقراض الأزمان ونفاد الاعيان الواقعة بين الرعيّة والأسافل من البريّة من الخراجات الديونيه (الديوانيّه) والرّسوم السّلطانية مثقال ذرّه من خردل وآماخراجه على الرّعايا اللّازمة يؤدّونها كل سنة وما يجبى من الجبال لرعيهاكان على جماعة قراغ خمسمائة شاة وعلى جماعة كسرخى ثلثمائة شاة ولعزم اربعمأية شاة وأيضا (من) جبل فى كسرخى يجبى ألف شاة وثلثون بقرة لعزم وعلى عبلل فى السّنة الرّابعة

lished himself in the town of *Gkomougk* and received tributes from different lands, personal imposts from the Christians and Jews, tithes from travellers [112] and *Zekat* from the Musulmans and all the inhabitants of Daghistan both small and great, were brought under subjection to him either by force or of their own good will. He appropriated to himself the fifth part of all this revenues and he remaining four fifths, he distributed among his tribe in equal portions (see note 116). It was now ordained that no demand of impost or tribute, — such as the common subjects were obliged to pay, as for example the payments to the *Divan* and other obligations decreed by the sovereign &c. — should fall upon the sons, grandsons and great-grand-sons of their princes; so much so, that they should not pay an atom or a grain so long as time and the visible world might endure. But as to the revenues that his (the Shamkhal's) subjects were obliged annually to pay him, and which he received from them for pasturage on the mountains, they consisted of the following: On the people of *Gkorakh* was laid the yearly payment of 500 sheep; on that of *Kesrekhi*, 300 sheep; on that of *Azim*, 400 sheep. Also for (the pasturage on) a mountain in *Kesrekhi*, a thousand sheep and on another in *Azim*, thirty cows. On the socicty of *Hablil*, every four years, there was appointed

[112] This usage of taking tolls, technically termed *Râhdarligk* (i. e. money belonging to the road-toll gatherer) and sometimes *Tamgka*, existed till within these last 20 years. That which belonged to the Shamkhals, was gathered at several spots in his dominions; but what belonged to the *Usmies*, was gathered in Derbend. The following is a list of what the latter received: from every *Arba*, or cart that went in or out with goods of any kind except silk, a sum of about 8 shillings, and if the Arba contained silk, besides this sum, three shillings for each *tie*, or bundle. For every pair of Cherkassian *sheep-skins* or for each *Calmugh* skin, 2½ pence; for every Camel 3 shillings, for every horse and every buffalo 1½ shilling; for every bull or cow 9 pence, and for every sheep 2½ pence. These tolls, after the establishment of the Russian authority in

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من كّل بيت شاة وعلى چملل خمسمائة شاة وفى طندب عشرون ثورا وفى عرچوب مأية وثلثون شاة وعلى أهل خومز سبعمائة كبش وسبعمائة كيل من الحنطة وستّون كيلاً من العسل وعلى أهل قرية عندب ثمانية لبد وعلى بلدة غدر وهركس نصف ما على ولاية خمز وعلى أهل تومل له على أهل كّل بيت كبش وكيل من الحنطة ومجمج كلها ملك له وعلى بلدة كستك من كّل بيت سمكة وعلى أهل بلدة ترغوا صاعان من كّل بيت من الأرّز وعلى أهل قرية كبدن مائة كبش وعلى أهل خيدلق مائة وسبعون جاموشا وعلى اهل قرية اسيش واقشى مائة ثور وعلى أهل صرخى من كّل بيت درهم وعلى أهل قرية زدقر خمسون ثورًا وعلى أهل قرية چچوقاط وككبا ستة حمار يسير الدّهن وعلى أهل بلدة زرهكرانى ثلثون بارودًا وفى سنباط الجبل خمسون كبشا وعلى أهل قرية ارهانه كيلاً .... من كّل بيت وله جبل يقال له زنطاب

a sheep from each house; on tht of *Tchemlil*, 500 sheep; on that of *Tindib*, 20 bulls: on that of *Artchoub* 130 sheep. On the people of *Khoumz*, 700 rams, 700 kails (measures) of wheat and 60 measures of honey; on the inhabitants of the village of *Andib*, 8 pieces of woollen cloth. On the towns of *Ghadar* and *Harkess*, half of what was appointed for *Khoumz*. On the inhabitants of *Toumil*, a ram, and a measure of wheat from each house; — all *Mitchikhish* was his property. — On the town of *Kestek*, from every house a fish (?); on the inhabitants of *Targhoa*, from every house two *Sa'as* [113] of rice; on the inhabitants of *Gubdan*, a hundred rams; on the inhabitants of *Khaidagk*, 170 buffaloes. — On the inhabitants of the villages of *Assish* and *Agkshi* [114], 100 bulls; on the inhabitants of *Surkha*, from every house one *dirham* (a piece of money); on the inhabitants of the village of *Zhadgkir*; 50 bulls; on the villages of *Tchemtchoughat* and *Gugba*, six asses laden with oil. On the town of *Zerehgherani* (see كوبچى), 30 (measures of) gunpowder and 50 rams from the ....? of the mountain [115]; on the inhabitants of the vil-

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Daghistan were appropriated to the government customhouse, but afterwards have been given up by degrees or commuted by other regular sources of income.

[113] A measure which in the books of law and medecine is said to contain 1040 *drachmas*.

[114] This word may be read *Afshi*, *Agkshi* and *Agkashi*. Perhaps the author means اقوشه *Agkusheh*, one of the strongest villages of Awar: see Part V. Remark 16.

[115] The inhabitants of *Zereh-gheran* or the present *Kubetchi*, who, as we have observed (Part I: Remark 32), pretend to have descended from a European colony which had emigrated into Daghistan many centuries ago, are known for their natural aptitude for many branches of manufacture and for their skill in making all kinds of arms and instruments &c. The gunpowder used in Daghistan since many centuries was for the most part prepared in *Kubetchi*. It now generally bears the name of *Lezghi-barûti* (i. e. the Lezghi-gunpowder) in order to distinguish it from that procured from Europe. — In this place I could not make out the meaning of سنباط الجبل; may it not be سمنات الجبل «the pasturages of the mountain»? —

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بجبیً من کلّ سنة ثمانون شاة وفی بقلل ثلثون ثورا وثلثون شخله (سخلة) وزخری وغلدی ملك له ولهاجبل بجبیً کلّ سنة خمسون غنما وعلی جماعة رشعرومکرق سبعون کبشا وعلی کرلل مائة فرس ومأیة رمکة وهذه المذکورات بجبیً کلّ سنة ویقسم بین کل من أولاد حمزة واولاد العباس کمامرّ انفا ثمّ بعد مدة مدیدة فانّ امیر سلطان بن بیرمپاص ابن سراقة الملعون المهاجر من الاسلام الی الکفر الملقّب بنوصال الساکن فی توش قدطلب جنود آلان یستخرج فی مکان آبائه وان یجلس فی سریر اجداده وان یوصل الی درجتهم فاجتمع الجنود من ابتداء زمطال الی انتهاء عارشتی وجاء الی ولایة خومز فی لیلة مظلمة سراً بالخفیة مع جنوده وشاور مع الذّین بقوا منهم فی ولایة آبائه واتّفقوا فی کیف فکتموا جنودهم وخبوًا فی قریتهم وستروا فی بیوت اعلم الذّین بقوا منهم بین المسلمین باسلام ظواهرهم لابواطنهم مع

lage of *Arhâteh* from every house one measure of....? and from the mountain belonging to it called *Zhintâb* (probably *Zhintaw*) there is an income of 80 sheep *per annum*. On the inhabitants of the village of *Bagkhlal*, 30 bulls and 30 lambs; — *Zhakhri* (or *Zhahri*) and *Ghaldi* are his property; — and from the mountain belonging to it they receive yearly 50 sheep. On the communities of *Resh'ar* and *Makragh* (Mahragka?), 70 rams, and on that of *Karlil*, 100 horses and 100 mares. — All that is here mentioned is received yearly and distributed among the descendants of *Amir Hamzeh* and of *Abbâs* upon the principles referred to above [116]. —

After a great length of time, *Amir-Sultan* the son of *Beirampâs*, the son of the cursed *Surágkeh*, who had fled from Islam to infidelity, and whose surname was *Nousâl* and who dwelled in *Toush*, asked the assistance of the army of the *Alans* to restore him to the place of his fathers and the throne of his ancestors, also for raising him to their rank. A great army was gathered together from the frontier of Zhimtal (is it not the same as *Zhintab*?) *R'amtal* to the extremity of *Arshti;* he led them secretly, during a dark night, to the district of *Khoumz*. He entered into a conspiracy with those of his countrymen who had remained in the land of his fathers, and who, in *appearance* only, professed Islam and lived in seeming friendship with the Mussulmans; but their inward feeling was not such. These natives, having joined with him in his treachery, concealed all his soldiers in their houses and distributed them among the

[116] i. e. by taking the fifth part of all for the use of the sovereign prince and distributing the rest among he other members of the descendants of *Amir Hamzeh* and of *Abbâs*. Read also above note 96.

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inhabitants of their villages and waited until they might find an opportunity of falling on *Amir Hamzeh* the son of *Tchoufân*, the son of *Sultan*, the son of *Mahsoum-Beg*, who at this time occupied the throne of his ancestors. — At that time *Abou-Muslim*, the son of *Yousuf*, the son of *Muhammed*, the son of *Sheikh Abul-mu'lem* dreamed, the same night, in a dream, that the infidels fell upon the Musulmans in *Khoumzagh* and conquered them, and that there happened in that town a great calamity. Therefore he was afraid of this dream and (the next morning) before noon fled away to Ghomougk. The following night the infidels fell upon *Amir-Ahmar* (Hamzeh?) before the dawn of day; put him to death; cut off his head and hung it over the entrance of the fortress. They massacred also all the Musulmans who had inhabited that town, and thus succeeded in their plan.

Now *Amir-Sultan* ascended the throne of his fathers, as his ancestors had done. His subjects apostatized, and there began between them and the Musulmans hostilities which lasted 24 years. But at last the sources of their subsistance became very scarce; the means of supporting their lives proved very difficult; they became weary of war and sick of slaughter: they therefore repented and professed Islam again. It was then impossible to continue war and bloodshed among the Musulmans, wherefore they made peace among themselves on the terms of Islam. Thus the decree of destiny, according to what is said: «*all events are bound to their special times*», was now fulfilled, peace and friendship being restablished as they existed before.

Now day passed after day and year after year and there elapsed many ages; the glass of uniformity among the Princes of *Ghomougk*

انهم متّفقون لهم حتّى يمكّنوا قتل امير حمزه بن چوفان ابن سلطان بن محصوم بيك الذى جلس على سرير ابائه فحين رأى ابومسلم بن يوسف بن محمد بن شيخ ابو المعلم فى منامه تلك الليلة قدغلب الكفّار على المسلمين فيها اى فى بلدة خومزاق ووقع الفساد فيها فكره ذلك الرّوياً وفرّفى وقت الضّحى الى غمق فقتل الكفار امير احمر فى اللّيلة الثّانية قبل الفجر وقطّعوا رأسه وصلبوه على رأس الحصن وقتلوا فى ذلك اليوم من سكن فيها من المسلمين ووصلوا الى مرادهم وجلس امير سلطان على سرير آبائه كماجلس أجداده الأقدمون فارتدّ أهله ووقع الحرب والقتال بينهم وبين المسلمين ودامو على تلك الجدال والنزاع اربعة وعشرين سنة فضاق لهم الأرزاق وعسر عليهم المعاش وملّوا الحرب وكرهوا القتال فامنوا فاستشهدوا فاسلموا فتعذّر الحرب والقتال بين المسلمين ووقع الصّلح بينهم بالاسلام وجرى قلم القضاء على مقتضى مثل الامور مرهونة باوقاتها بهور الصلح وبروز الوفق على إطبق مامضى ثم بعد مرور الأيّام وكرور الأعوام ومضى الزّمان انكسربين

امراء غمق وسلاطين خيداق زجاجة النظام بزيغ الشيطان الّذى هو الدّ من الخصام وتفرق بعضهم من البعض با العناد لانّه انعدم الخير بين العباد وفشى الكذب والشرّ والعناد تفرّقا ليس فيه الرّشاد ولاشائبة من السّداد ثم الذّين كانوا حين تفرقتهم فى الحيوة من أولاد سيّد الشهداء من سلاطين خيداق محمدخان وامير خان وأميرحمزه قدهجروا شاكيون متضرّعون ألى ملوك أوار وحلفوا لهم بالأتّفاق والاتّباع فى السّراء والضّراء من المصالح والمهمات فوقع بينهم وبين امراء غمق محاربات نفسانية ومجادلات شيطانية سنين ثمّ أرسل الملك الأوارى الرّسل والرّسايل من الرّجال الفحول ووفدوا من ارباب العقول صوب سلطان كوثرشاه الى ولاية التّرك أذأهله اسلموافى زمان عمربن الخطاب وعهدوا الصّداقة والجوار وميثاق التّظاهر فى قتال أضدادهما واعدأنهما

and *Khaidagk* was broken by the efforts of Satan, who is the most mischievous of all enemies; therefore they were disunited from each other by resentment: — for virtue had forsaken the country and falsehood, enmity and vice were diffused throughout; — and this disunion was of such a kind as to promise no good and no hope of union. Those of the posterity of *the Prince of the Martyrs* (Hamzeh) who during that trouble were alive among the number of the Princes of *Khaidagk*, namely *Muhd-Khan*, *Amir-Khan* and *Amir-Hamzeh*, fled for refuge to the sovereigns of Awar, and bound themselves with an oath to be their allies and to partake with them of good and evil in all circumstances and duties. Now there took place between them and the Princes of *Ghúmugh* terrible wars and devilish contests which continued many years, and the consequence of which was, that the king of Awar sent letters and ambassadors, chosen from amongst wise and eloquent men, to Sultan *Kauther-Shah* [117] in the country of the Turk, whose inhabitants had embraced the religion of Islam even at the time of *Omar*, the son of *Khattáb*; and proposed

[117] I do not know anything of this *Kawther-shah* or of his dominions, though the author makes him a *neighbour of the Awars on the east*. I think that these Turks were some Turkmanian hords that previously to the time of the desolation of *Ghamúgh*, wandered from place to place on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea and in the mountains, and of whom the Georgian Chronicles make mention more than once. In the description of the events which occurred in the beginning of the XIV century, to which our author refers the desolation of *Gkamougk*, these chronicles make mention of a *Khan* called *Orkhan* (we must not take him for the son of Othman) to whom David VI. king of Georgia sent his brother in the direction of *the east* and complained against *Casan-Khan*, the son of *Argoun*, and begged his protection, promising him, at the same time, conformably to his (the Khan's) desire, to let his army pass through *Dariel* against *Casan-Khan* &c. Further, the same chronicles assert that the Turks led by their Khan *Azat-Mose* (Mousa?) during the reign of Vakhtang III. had twice made irruptions into the countries of *Bassiani* and *Taos*, (or, as *Carpini* more correctly calls it, *Thoas* or *Toas* (see Plano Carpini lib. II. c. 7.) which I think to be طاواس *Tow-as* i. e. *Asses* or *Osses* of the mountains) and were both times repulsed by the *Eristofs* (or governors) of *Tanapanoskatel* and of *Samtskhis*. (see the Georgian Chronicles published by a Georgian in Russian in the *Rouskoy Vestnik* for 1841, No. 11. pag. 22 and 23).

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فكانا على أحسن الحال وأصدق المقال با العهد والموافقة والمواخاة وخطب كوثرشاه من ملك الاوارى ابنته الكريمة لابنه سلطان كيقا واخته العفيفة لابن الملك سرطان فزوجهما معا فكانا كالاخوين لاب وأم با المصاهرة فى كل الأمور من اضرارهما لأعدائهما واصلاح أحبابهما ثم جاء كوثرشاه ألى غمق مع التّرك من نحو المشرق وخرج سرطان بجنود ولاية أوارمع سلاطين خيداق من نحو المغرب فصال هما (؟ فوصلا) الى غمق يوم الاثنين فى أوّل رمضان فى عهد نجم الدين فجاهدوا وشهد فى قلعة التى كانت فوق المسجد الككلى سبعون شابّا وفدوا المال والرّوح والبدن وحلفوا على القتال ففرغ الشّباب من القلعة فى شهر صفر وخرّبا غمق فيهافى يوم السبت ووقع أمرائها الّذين كانوا من أولاد حمزه فى اقطار الأراضى واكنافى الولايات وسكن سلاطين خيداق فى لمكنتهم على سرايرهم وحبس غمق با الايدى الذّهنة الأنساب

alliance and friendship, according to the laws of neighbourhood and on terms of mutual assistance in wars with their enemies and evil-wishers. Thus alliance was established on both sides on the foundation of friendship, union and fraternity; *Kowther-Shah* betrothed the beautiful daughter of the king of Awar to his son *Kigha*, and this latter's gracious sister (i. e. his own daughter) to the royal Prince *Saratan* (of Awar). He thus married them at one time, and these two (royal Princes), through this union, became, as it were two brothers from the same father and mothoer, in all their deeds, whether in oppressing their enemies, or aiding their friends. *Kawther-Shah* now led his Turks from the East, and *Saretan* with the Princes of *Khaidagk*, directed the troops of Awar from the west towards *Ghûmugh*, where they arrived on Tuesday the I[st] of *Ramadzan* (the 9 month) in the days of *Nadjmuddin*. They (the inhabitants of Gkûmugh) fought with great vigour, and 70 youths fell martyrs. These had occupied the fortification above the Mosque (called) *Kekeli*, and had bound themselves with an oath to fight and to sacrifice their property, their lives and their bodies. When these youths had done their duty as to the fortification, (i. e. were all put to death) the two Princes (*Kawther* and *Saratan* with their troops) laid waste *Gkúmugk* in saturday in the month of *Safar* (the 2 month of the year) and all its princes descending from *Hamzeh* were scattered to different quarters of the world! The princes of Khaidagh now again occupied their posts in their own dominions; but (those of?) *Gkumugk* fell captives into the hands of [118]..... *Kawther-shâh* and *Sara-*

[118] I could not make out الذهسة الانساب: the irregular construction of the phrase indicates that there is a mistake here, committed by the copyists

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ورجع كوثرشاه وسرطان الى أوطانهما فى ولايتهما فصار
اولاد حمزة العربى هكذا كما ذكرنا فى تاريخها سبعمائة
وثمانية عشر من الهجرة اذا كانت فى ايديهم رقاع عتيقة
ومكاتيب سالفة تاريخه قديمة فاذا كان الأمر كذلك فسُئل
من كل سلاطين العجم الجبالى من نسل اولاد حمزة
الّا سلاطين أوار فانّهم من نسل سلاطين اروس
ولا رجال فى ولايتهم من جملة المسلمين الأصليّين وفى
ولاية غيرهم من الدّاغستان مخلوط من المسلمين
الأصليّين والعارضين عليهم الأسلام * فيا ايها المومنون
الموقنون انّ من وقع من اولادهم وأحفادهم واسباطهم
وزراريهم ذكورهم واناثهم صغيرهم وكبيرهم بين قوم
من الاقوام فحتم عليهم اعزازه فوق الحدّ والاكرام حرمة
لنبيّهم خير الأنام وتكرمة لعميّهم المكرّمين والّا فلا جرم عليهم
لعنة الله وللائكة اجمعين العياذ بالله * وذكر الامام

tán returned to their countries, but the posterity of *Hamzeh*, the Arabian, shared such a fate as we have mentioned (in its proper place) under the events of 718 of the Hidjret, at which time they had in their hands old documents and ancient acts whose date was very old. — But affairs being thus (changed) all the Princes of the mountaineers were asked whether there were any of them who might be numbered among the posterity of *Amir-Hamzeh*. Of these the Princes of Awar were excluded; for they descend from the princes of *Urûs* (i. e. Russian) and there are no men of consequence in their country that issue from the original Musulmans; whereas in other principalities of Daghistan the inhabitants are a mixture of the (descendants of) the original Musulmans and of the naturalized Musulmans [119] to whom Islam was imparted (in their country). —

O, ye true Musulmans! If therefore any of their posterity [120], their grandchildren their issue whether male or female, great or mean, be discovered among any of your tribes, you indispensably owe to such the utmost esteem and reverence for the sake of the holy Prophet and that of their blessed uncles [121]; other-

[119] By the original Musulmans are meant those who, according to the assertion of the author, had emigrated to those countries and established Islam there, but by those to *whom Islam was imparted*, and whom I have expressed by *naturalized* Musulmans, are meant all those of the original inhabitants of the country who either at the first appearance of Islam or afterwards embraced that religion.

[120] After the fall and destruction of *Ghamûgh* where, as it is said, had been established the race of Amir-Hamzeh and Abbas, and whose Princes were faithful unto death — for the princes of *Khaidagk* united themselves to those of Awar and lost their sanctity and holiness — all their children were scattered abroad and being persecuted for a long time, they disguised themselves, and at last having lost their papers and documents, were wholly deprived of their privileges. The author now excites the zeal of the Musulmans, and recommands them to revere any of that holy stock who, by their documents, may have a right to the name of descendant of *Amir-Hamzeh*. —

[121] i. e. Hamzeh with regard to the posterity of Abbas, and Abbas with regard to the posterity of Hamzeh.

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wise, surely the curse of God and His angels shall rest upon you: we fly for refuge to God! .... [122]: *Imám Muhammed*, the son of *Djerir Atteberâni* (At-Teberi) in the description of the conquests during the reign of *Omar*, says that the most successful of the Khalifs in conquest was certainly Omar the son of *Khattáb:* he persecuted the infidels; overthrew (their) hosts; established the *Dívan*, and laid tributes on different kingdoms. His troops passed beyouud the river *Djaihoon* in the east; on the north they reached *Aderbijan*, *Babul-Abwab* and the land of *Nitdjeh*, which is contiguous to the wall of *Yadjúdj* and *Madjúdj;* on the south they reached *Hind*, *Sind*, *Bahrain*, *Ummán* and *Mekreman (Mekran?);* and on the west they arrived at the boundaries of Constantinople; and all nations were in obedience to him.....He had one army in Syria, and another in Aderbijan: this country extends from *Hamadan* to Babul-Abwab in length.....[123].

محمد بن جرير الطّبرانى فى بيان الفتوحات الواقعة بالذرة (؟بالدرّة) العمرى انّ اكثرالخلفاء فتحا للبلاد انّما هو عمربن الخطّاب وانّه قرع الكفّار ونقرالاحزاب وجمع الدّيوان ورسم الخراج على الأراضى وجاوزعسكره فى طرف المشرق من ماء جيحون وبلغ جنده فى طرف الشّمال الى آذربيجان وباب الأبواب وارض نتجه المتصّلة بسدّ يأجوج ومأجوج وفى جانب الجنوب الى هند وسند وبحرين وعمان ومكرمان (مكران؟) وفى صوب المغرب الى حد قسطنطنيّه واطاعه جميع الخلق... وكان لعمر عسكرا بالشّام وعسكراً باذربابجان وهومن همذان الى باب الابواب طولا *

122 Here we have omitted some lines that are rendered defective by many errors. They are the continuation of the author's exhortation, intimating, that on such descendants of the holy race there should be made no demand of any duties or taxes that are imposed upon the generality of subjects &c. and on the other hand, that no credit should be given to the mere pretensions of such as, having no true documents nor legal right to the title, call themselves descendants of the holy family.

123 See Part I. Rem. 14. — Here ends the quotation from the history of *Mulla Djeli*; if the reader wishes to know our opinion of its merits, we refer him to our preface.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO §§ 1 AND 3 OF MY PREFACE TO THE DERBEND-NAMEH.

About the time when the printing of my work was drawing to a close, I discovered a little Turkish Manuscript of the Derbend-nameh in the Rumantzoff Museum in St. Petersburg, which I felt obliged to examine, to compare with my «*select version*» (see § 4 of my preface) and others (see § 3 there), and, if I found in it any thing worthy of notice, to communicate it to my readers. The very first object that attracted my attention, was a short preface in which I found a *complete contradiction* of all that the Academicians Bayer and Klaproth have related to us concerning the first appearance of the Derbend-nameh, its author &c. — on which I was induced to make some few observations (see the § 1 of my preface), although I was under the necessity of giving full credit to the assertion of Bayer, that the Derbend-nameh had been *composed* in the *Turkish* language by a certain *Muhummed Awabi* in consequence of an order given by *one of the Gherai-Khans of the Crimea.*»

I will here communicate to my readers a full account of the MS. of the Rumantzoff Museum which in many points deserves attention and will explain in what consists the complete contradiction referred to.

I. The MS. is in 4to consisting of 42 pages of common blue paper; every page containing 15 lines, except the first page which has only 12. The handwriting is very bad, belonging to the Tartar style. It seems to have been copied by a Christian or rather by a Tartar living in Russia, for at the end of the MS. we read تمام شد این درنبد نامه روز چهار شیعه (شنبه) مأتر ۱۷۳۱. «This Derbend-nameh was finished on thursday of Ma'tre 1731. »A little farther, below the last words, we read: هم شهر جمادر تاریخ سنه «and in the month of Djema ... the year» ...[1]

[1] The writing is so bad that one cannot make out the figures مأتر, شعه. If the year 1731 is right, then the corresponding Muhammedan year is 1144 which begun 24 of June. Therefore if we take the جماد

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The MS. is full of orthographical faults and the copyist seems to have been indifferently acquainted with the Oriental languages.

This little MS. is to be found in « section IV under N° 10 » (Отдѣленіе четвертое N° 10) of the Catalogue of the Museum.

II. The MS. begins with a preface in which we found the contradiction referred to above. Here we insert it in order that our readers may be able to compare it with any of the kind, that they may meet with in the course of their investigations. In no other version within my reach could I find a preface like it. It would be desirable to compare it more particularly with that of the MS. of Berlin from which Klaproth has made his « Extrait ». — In correcting the numerous faults of the preface, put here before our readers, we shall follow our general system adopted throughout the Derbend-nâmeh.

This is the preface:

حمد بیعد اول پادشاه عظیم الشان (الشّانه) که کافهٔ موجودات حضرتندن برکای نونه موقوفدر
کما قال الله تعالی اذا اراد شیئًا ان یقول له کن فیکون وشاء (وثناء) بیعد اوشهنشاه عامه احسانه
(او شهنشاهه عم احسانه) که مومن مخلص وکافرمشرك خزانهٔ غیبندن مرزوق در کماقال الله تعالی یرزق من
یشآء بغیر حساب قوافل صلوات وروامل تسلیمات اول دوحهٔ چمن نبوتّ ومیوهٔ حدیقه رسالت فخرانبیا
سرور اولیا اروله طهّر ومنوّر لرینه که جملهٔ مکنوناتك (مکوّناتك) وجودسی (وجودی) وجودشریف لریله (؟لریله)
متوقف ومنتظر (؟ ومنتظم) در کماوقع حدیث قدسی لولاك لولاك لماخلقت الافلاك والّ واصحابنه که (شعاع)
شمشیرنصرت شعارلرینه (شعارلریله) ظلمات کفری محوایدوب بسیط غبرایه انوار هدایت مبسوط انمکه
(انمکله) مسکون دهشعار (؟ شعاع) اسلام شایع اولدی * محمد اوابی اقطلشی عرض حال ایدر که اقتضاء (بازی)
فلك قدّار بیزی قبق دیارنده اندری نام (شهرك) حشی ایچره متوطن ایتدوکده حکّام داغستان (دن)
مرحوم مغفور کرای خان اوغلی کامل عقل (العقل) و الاقبال صاحب الفضل والاجلال الشرف (شرف) خواقین
عظام کامل السّخا جوبان بك بن شیخال زاد الله عمره ودولته الی قیام السماء والارض والجبال طالب تواریخ

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for جمادی الاول the corresponding month will be November. Perhaps the copyist by تر meant نیبر *Noyabr* as the Russians call the November (Ноябрь). Then we must read the whole phrase روز چهارشنبه ماه نیبروهم on wednesday of the month of November and of the month of *Djemadiul-Avvel*. At any rate the MS. was written in 1144.

(ایکن) دربندنامه دیکله مشهوراولان تاریخنك لبّ لبابی اولان مجرّد باب الابوابنك بنیاد وفتحن وجمله داغستان فتوحنك (فتوحن) برنچه جزو القاب وعبارت (عبارات) فرس وعرب که مبتدی فهمنه متعذّر ومتیسر (ومتعسّر) اولیه (اوله) ایراد ایتمیوب الفاظ ترکیه تبدیل اتمك بابنده الحام (الحاح) اتیدکده حوادث دنیوی مانع اولغله برنچه مدّت تاخیر اولدی ثالثاوثان ابرام اتمکه (اتمکله) برنچه جزو فارسیدن ترکیه استخراج اولندی القاب (و) عبارتنه احتراز (؟ اعتراض) اولنمیه که کلموا الناس علی قدرعقولهم وکر (نه) حق جلّ وعلانك شفقت واعطاسیله تاریخ القاب وعبارتنه قدرت وسعت وارایدی *

«Boundless praise (be) to that Great King whose decree: «*Be*», was enough to bring into existance all that is! For, thus saith the Lord God: «When ever He designs any thing He is only to say *Be* and it is.[2]» Countless thanksgivings be to that all-generous king of kings from whose secret treasury a true believer and a godless infidel equally receive their daily bread! For, thus saith the Lord God: «He gives without measure unto whom He pleases»[3]. Multitudes of blessings and continual benedictions (of Heaven) rest upon the pure and brilliant spirits of that commander of the saints and the pride of the prophets (Muhammed) who is the fruit of the garden of prophecy and the delightful tree of the grove of Embassy; for the sake of whose glorious existence all creation is brought into being and has received its organisation! — For, thus says the holy tradition: «If not for thee, If not for thee, I should never have created the heavens»[4], and upon his family and his companions: — it was by the flash of their victorious sword that they annihilated the darkness of infidelity and that the light of Grace being spread on the face of the earth, the religion of Islâm illuminated the habitable world! —

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[2] This passage we find in many places of the Koran, but with some modifications. Here the author has introdnced it from the XXXVI Soureh entitled *Ya-sin*, 82 verse انما امره اذا اراد شیئاان یقول له کن فیکون «Verily His command, when He willeth a thing, is only that he saith unto it: Be, and it is.». The command consisting of one syllable: *Kun* (*be*), which is composed of two only letters *K* and *N* (in Arabic *Kâf* and *Noûn*, the Muhammedans, for magnifying the power of God, say that for the Almighty it was enough to utter only *K* and *N* to bring into existence all that exists!

[3] The Koran, 2 Soureh, v. 210.

[4] It is a tradition that the Musulmans attribute to their prophet: as it were God had addressed these words to His chosen one. The tradition is called قدسی or belonging to the Holy spirit, because it is attributed to جبرئیل whom the Musulmans take for روح القدس «the Holy spirit.». Whereas Spiritus Sanctus (the Holy Ghost) which the Christian Missionaries generally express in their translations by روح القدس is expressed in the Koran by the words روحی «My spirit», روح منه «spirit from God»; and in traditions by روح الله the spirit of God; see the Koran, the XVI Soureh, 101 verse; the IV Soureh, 169 verse.

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«Thus says *Muhammed Awâbi Agktâshi*: when the decree of malicious fate settled me in the land of *Gkûmûgk*, among the nobles [5] of (the town of) *Anderey*, one of the princes of Daghistan, a son of Gherai-Khan (whose soul rests in peace), perfect in wisdom and fortune, excellent in glory, the pride of Great Kings, the most generous *Tchouban-Beg*, the son of *Shamkhal*, may God prolong his life and fortune, as long as heaven, earth and mountains exist, — being a lover of History, begged me to translate into (an easy) Turkish language, void of Arabic and Persian words and phrases difficult for the understanding of the beginners, some few sheets containing merely the history of the foundation of Babul-Abwab, its conquest and the conquests of all Daghistan, that form the chief and most interesting part of the well known historical book called Derbend-nameh. But some worldly affairs preventing me, the task was delayed. The order however being repeated two or three times, a few sheets were translated from the Persian language into Turkish. May the style and the construction of the phrase be not censured; for (it is said) «*speak to men according to their understanding*»; otherwise, through the mercy and the grace of the Most High, we might have sufficient ability to (dress up) a historical style.» —

This Preface, upon the whole, clearly shows: a) that *the original Derbend-nâmeh was composed in the Persian language by an unknown author;* b) that this historical book was *more copious and more extensive than those which are known to us* and which are only different versions of *a little extract from it containing merely the history of* Derbend &c.; and c) that Muhammed-Awabi Agktashi, an Ottoman subject or, perhaps, a native of the Crimea, who by some accident was removed from his native land into Daghistan and resided in *Anderey*, complying with the desire of *Tchouban-Beg* the son of Shamkhal, who was, perhaps, one of the descendants of the Gherai-Khans, *made the said extract from the Persian language* in an easy Turkish, avoiding Arabic and Persian words and phrases difficult for beginners to understand.

All this wholly destroys the general opinion hitherto followed by our Orientalists. We can say nothing here *pro* or *contra* before we are able to compare the above mentioned preface with any other; or before we see the MSS. from which Bayer and Klaproth have derived their information. Very likely the MS. of Berlin will be useful in this regard for our investigation: perhaps it is from the Preface of that MS. that Klaproth has borrowed his short prelude to his «*Extrait du Derbend-nâmeh.*» (Read the § 1. of our Preface to this work.)

I hope that some of our orientalists, who have access to the Royal Library of Berlin, will soon solve the question by comparing the Preface here introduced with that of the MS. from which Klaproth has made his Extract.

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[5] The word امرا means the nobles, military officers and courtiers: we do not know what was Agtashi's office in Andery?

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III. The MS. in question contains numerous faults, so that we can hardly find two lines in it without errors. Our readers will be convinced of it in perusing the quotations from that MS. which we have introduced here.

Although the author or, as he calls himself, translator, says in his Preface that in fulfilling his task he avoided to use Arabic and Persian words and phrases difficult for beginners &c. yet throughout his work we do not find any five words of which three are not either Persian or Arabic; sometimes it happens even that whole lines consist of pure Arabic and Persian words with the terminations only of the Turkish language.

Having examined the whole MS. with attention, I find it perfectly distinct from all those of which we have made mention in our Preface (§ 3.); nevertheless I find it nearer to any of the Turkish versions of Berlin, Paris, or of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg, than to my Turkish version or to the Persian versions of the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences or of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg, excepting only the last part of the work which rather agrees more with the Persian translation of *Ali-yár*. —

We shall insert here some lines from the end of this MS. which correspond to Part IX of our version, in order that every Orientalist may compare them with the I and II articles of the »*Continuation* of Dr. Dorn's *version*» annexed to that Part IX. In doing so he may easily be convinced of the truth of all that we have said on the MS. in question in this last article.

Quotation from the last part of the MS. of Rumantzoff's Museum, answering to Part IX. of our version.

تاریخ ایکی یوز یتمشه یتدوکده خلیفهٔ بغداد چاه نفط ونمکنك وشیروان ملکینڭ (ملکنك) نصفن
جدا قیلوب اهل دربند ایچون وقف ایتدی یادکرده (بادکوده) دریاکنارنده انبارخانه ایدنکز دیوبیوردی
چاه نفط ونمك اهل دربنده وقف در بونوشته [ای] بغداد خلیفه (سنه) عرض اولندوقده خلیفهٔ بغداد لعنت
نامه یازوب ارسال ایتدی که هرکم بونفط (و) نمك چاهنه دخل وتصرّف ایتسه [دربندن الله] لعنت
خدا ورسول انکا اولسون ودشمن حق تعالی اوله پس نفط ونمك باکویی بالکلیه شروان ملکندن جدا قیلوب
مخصوص اهل دربند قیلدیلر محمدبن عباری اننك اوستنه الخ ... * [چون] سال هجرت ایکیبوز دوقسانه

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* We have omitted here some lines which are full of errors, and which differ little from the account of Dr. Dorn's version. Read the rest of Article I of the Continuation annexed to Part IX. of this work.

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یندکده (و) فتارت خلافت هاشیه (هاشمه) واقع اولدقده [b]خوارج شهرلرده خروج ایدوب هربری (بر) شهرنی (شهری) توتوب خلیفیه اطاعت ایتیوب دربندنك وقف لرین اهل دربنده ویرمیوب اطراف حوانبنك (وجوانبك) خراجاتی قطع اولدی اهل دربنده جفا ایرشدی نفط وغکی غصب اتیدیلر وایکی کند شابران یاننده دربنده متعلق ایدی ظلمًا آلدیلر اهل دربند تجارته مشغول اولوب مسلمانلر اوقافدن الی چکدیلر اهل دربند اوزحاکم لری ایله یکدل ویکجهت اولوب بوسّدنك حفظ وحراستنده مردانه اولدی دربند حاکمی محمد بن هاشم بن سراقه ایدی [c] * تآریخ نبوی اوچیوز یکرمی بشده امیر دربند محمد بن احمد اولدی اوده ده ماه حاکم لق ایتدی اون برنجی آیده لشکر [d] بن میمون دربنده حاکم اولدی [چون] تآریخ دورت یوز اوتوز یدیده دربند حاکمی عبد الملك بن منصور بن میمون اولدی [چون] تآریخ دورت یوز اللی آلتی اولدقده [e] جیون اولادندن برفتنه ظاهر اولوب امانت برطرف اولوب غزلوت منقطع اولدی اهل شیروان طبع ایدوب سقطی [f] اهل دربنددن آلوب جدا ایدوب قلعه نی ده جدا قیلدی ورسوم

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[b] The phrase is irregular, the author probably wishes to say that in the year 290 the vicegerency of Derbend fell into the hands of *Hashim*. Instead of Hashim in our version we read بی شتر; in the MS. of St. Petersburg we do not find here any thing of these two names, and even there is no mention of the year 290. In the Persian MS. of the Derbend-nâmeh belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg the name is also Hashim; see there the section under the title of دربیان مخالفت ومحاربت هاشم نام باهالی دربند درسال دویست ونود هجری

[c] In the same Persian MS. of the Derbend-nâmeh we find محمد بن هاشم, see the same section.

[d] According to the same Persian MS. *Muhammed-ben-Ahmed* reigned a *long period*, and (after him it seems) the *son* of *Meimoun* who is called there مقتصل was invested with the authority of governor in 390. (ibid.)

[e] In Dr. Dorn's version دورت یوز التی ده : we added the word اوتوز in parenthesis in the quotation from that version merely to follow the chronological order there indicated; but the addition should be اللی — so as we find it here and in the Persian MS. referred to above.

[f] In Dr. Dorn's version we had مقطعی which I considered as a corruption of نقطی. But the word سقطی here puts one in mind of مسقط the name of a town (see this word in the Index to our work). In the Persian translation we have no word here corresponding to مقطع or سقط. —

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قدیم برطرف اولدی حق تعالی دن رجااولنور که دربند احوالی رسوم ونظام قدیمی رواج تاپه امین یارب العالمین *

Here we will finish our supplement with some few words on the Persian translation of the Derbend-nameh referred to. In our Preface (§. 3, B.) we have made mention of this version as far as our knowlege of the MSS. of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences and of the Imperial Public Library allowed us. At the very time when the last sheets of my work were in the press I obtained one of those MSS. through the kind indulgence of my learned friend, the Academician Dr. Dorn. It was the one belonging to the Museum of the Academy. The MS. is an elegant one, in 4to min. written in *Ta'ligk* and contains 63 pages, every page containing 10 lines except the first and the last which have 8 lines each. The date of the MS. is 1141 (of the Hidjret).

In my preface (see page xvi — xvii) I endeavoured to prove that our version of the Derbend-nameh was a faithful translation of the Persian version. Now having been able to examine it more extensively and to compare it thoroughly with our version, we found: 1) that indeed our Turkish version in many points bears great similitude with the Persian version in my hand; 2) that beginning from the account of the new discord between the *Khagkan* and *Gkubad*, when this last « *sent the Khagkan's daughter inviolate back to her father* » &c. we find sometimes considerable difference between the two versions. They consist of some additions and omissions in the one or the other, and of some change of order in the arrangement of the narratives. 3) Sometimes we find in the Persian version, narratives and hints which we do not find in our version, nor even in any other Turkish versions of the Derbend-nameh. 4) At the end of the Persian MS. we read a catalogue of 40 saints buried in *Gkirkhlar*. This article begins thus: واسامی شهدای مذکورین بدینوجب است « and the names of the *above mentioned* saints are as follows »; therefore we think that there must be a defect in this place of the MS. and that the words referred to are not the *beginning* of the article upon the saints. — All this leads me to suspend my opinion « declared » in the preface — though there I had strong proofs to maintain it. But I must confess that the 2 argument on which I founded my opinion then, still proves so strong and so striking (especially when we further examine the style of the two versions) — that I cannot consider it merely a matter of chance. — Upon the whole I still maintain the opinion that our Turkish version and the Persian one, by reason of the great similitude between them, represent one of the *two forms* of the Derbend-nameh current in Aderbijân. Read § 5 of our Preface.

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The list of the 40 Martyrs in the said Persian MS. contains, almost in the same order from the beginning, 33 names of the Turkish version of St. Petersburg with an addition of 7 title-names belonging to some of these 33, which some of the copyists have taken for proper names. The last of these 40 in the Persian MS. is سلطان چهل شهدا « the Prince of 40 Martyrs» which we have taken in our list for a title of the 33d Martyr پیر سغبونی (the Persian MS. makes him the 39 in number and calls him سد سلطان پیرصغونی) and spelled, following Dr. Dorn's version, سلطان چلتنان. — The essential difference between some of the proper names common to the both MSS., consists in the following: for the word جامی we read in the Persian MS. — چامی; for چچه — ججمه. Our سلطان لب چکان is expressed iu the Persian MS. thus وسلطان عاشق اب چکیده میشود « and the *Sultan «Ashigk-water drops»* in which the last phrase has no sense. The fact is that in Dr. Dorn's version as well as in the Persian MS. after the name of درویش محمد سیاه پوش follows the phrase: سلطان سید سالار غازیان (و) قدمگاه دلدل which we understand thus: that the said حضرت امیرالمومنین علی بن ابی طالب علیه السّلام درویش محمد was entitled: « *the chief commander of the warriors of the place where once stood the Duldul* (the horse) *of the prince of the believers, Ali the son of Abou-Talib* (see List of 50 martyrs &c. note *a*). After this there follows سنك عاشقان in Dr. Dorn's version and وسلطان عاشق in the Persian MS., both of which (the reading in Dr. Dorn's version is more correct) I take as an epithet for *Ali*, who indeed is called by the Soufies «*the king of the brave and the sovereign of the true lovers of God*» شاه مردان وسلطان عاشقان. — But the copyists of the persian version, it seems, have devided all the said phrase into three proper names. 1) سلطان سپه سالار غازیان. — 2) قدمگاه دلدل الخ and 3) وسنك عاشق. — But as to the words in the Persian MS. اب چکیده میشود which follow after سلطان عاشق (more correctly سلطان عاشقان), we think them a corruption of آب چکان, as we have it in our « *list of the* 50 *martyrs.*» This last, meaning: « *producing drops of water* », might be used as an epithet to the same قدمگاه دلدل « the foot step of the Duldul », which, as we have remarked above (Part X. note *a*), is pretended to produce always some *drops* of the *miraculous water.*

Farther, for our پیرقیوم we read in the Persian MS. پیرقید with an addition of وقید نام دروازه ایست باب الدم کویند « and Gkaid is the name of a gate called (also) *Bâbud-dem*

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(the gate of blood). — For our سلطان بابا in the Persian MS. we read بابابرج; for سلطان پیر حسین نعلبند —, سلطان پیر نعلبند ; for سلطان پیر عبدالله —, سلطان پیر عباد الله. Instead of our بی بی کورجولاه we find there بی بی بك کورجاه and for our سلطان پیر سعبونی we read there سد سلطان پیر سغونی. — All other nâmes are just as in our list, except only حمزه which is spelled there erroneously هنزه. — Besides in the list of the Persian MS. we have one only name which we do not find in our list i. e. سلطان یحیی which is the 19 in the order of the list of that MS.

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اغلبی Part III. Rem. 5.

افشران Part IX. Rem. 2.

اقاسی خان Part IV. Rem. 14.

اقلیم روس و یاجوج وماجوج } Appendix. Extract I.

اقوشه & اقشی Part V. Rem. 16. Extr. VIII note 24.

الله یار ولدنور محمد } Part IX. Rem. 2. (Page 144).

آلان Appendix. Note 14, 75. 82. 83.

التان خان Part I. Rem. 4 (note).

الجبال Part I. Rem. 22.

امیراحمد Preface pag. xv.

امیرجوفان Extract VIII. (pages 212, 214, 217).

امیرحمزه (اسی) } Part I. Rem. 32; Part IV. Rem. 14; Part V. Rem. 11, 15. Extract VIII. note 8.

انبار Part III. Rem. 11.

امیرسلطان (His revolt). Extract VIII. (Page 212).

انجه or انجی } Part I. Rem. 16.

اندراری and اندری } Part I. Rem. 27.

انوشیروان Part I. Rem. 3.

اهران Part I. Rem. 19.

اهران شاه Appendix, note 83.

اهران چای Part I. Rem. 30.

اوار Part I. Rem. 19 and 31. Extract VIII. note 90.

الاوار Appendix Page 205. see اهران

آوابن look for آب عین

اودانیه see لودانیه

اودبیل ? Appendix; Extract V. (Page 170).

اورته قپو Part V. Rem. 7.

اوزدمور Appendix; Extract VII. note 78.

اوقیانوس Part I. Rem. 7. (note).

اولوجار Part I. Rem. 21.

ایوان کسری Part I. Rem. 12.

حرف الباء و الپاء

باب Part I. Rem. 10.

باب (meaning Derbend) Appendix note 77.

باب الأبواب and باب الحدید } ibid.

باب الجهاد
باب الحمص
باب القیصر
باب المکتوم
باب العلقمه
باب کوچك } Part V. Rem. 7.

باب ایران شاه
باب اللّان
باب صول
باب قیلان شاه
باب سمسجی
باب اللاّدقه
and some others } Append.; Extr. VII, note 75, 82, 83.

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چرکی (چرلی) Part VII. Rem. 5.

جعدی Part VII. Rem. 2.

جعفر پاشا Appendix; Extract VII. (Page 197).

جعفر المقتدر Part IX. Rem. 3.

جلندر Part I. Rem 34.

جیون بن نجم Part VIII. Rem. 2.

ابن هاشم ibid.

حرف الحآء

حاتم Part III. Rem. 7.

حاتم ربیعی Appendix; Extract III. Note 37.

حبیب Part II. Rem. 3.

حبیب بن مسلم { Appendix; Extract II. (Page 169). also Extract I. note 6.

حذیفه Extract II. (Pages 170—171).

حزیمه Part III. Rem. 4. — Appendix note 86.

حصین Part IV. Rem. 4. Appendix. Extract IV. (Page 174).

حفص Part VII. Rem. 6.

الحمار (مروان) Part VI. Rem. 2.

حری / حریه } Part I. Rem. 28.

حزه Extract VIII. Note 97.

حرین *Humrin.* Appendix, Note 71.

حیدی Part IV. Rem. 15. Part VIII. Rem. 5.

حول Part I. Rem. 25.

حیض Part IV. Rem. 4.

حرف الخآء

خاص فولاد شنخال Part IV. Rem. 14.

خاقان (شاه) Part I. Rem. 4.

خاقانی Part IX. Rem. 2.

خاقان چین Part II. Rem. 15. Appendix. Extract V. (Page 178).

خریدة (العجایب) Preface page xxi. note 25.

خلوار or خروار Part IX. Rem. 2. (note).

خمس Part III. Rem. 10.

خولرج Part VIII. Rem. 1.

خوجه حسن *Khodja Hasan.* (Salt-lake) Part IX. Rem. 2.

خمز-خومزق or خونزاق { Part V. Rem. 16. — Extract VIII. (Pages 215, 217, 218.)

حرف الدّال والذّال

دار الحرب Extract VIII. note 103.

داغستان Part I. Rem. 22. Part IX. Rem. 3.

دولق see درباخ چای

دربند { Part I. Rem. 10. Part IX. Rem. 3. Appendix Extract I. note 6.

درکا Part V. Rem. 17.

درولق / درواق چای } Part II. Rem 6. Part IV. Rem. 14. Part VII. Rem. 5.

دقاق Extract VIII. Note 101.

دلدل Part X. Observations, (note a).

دمرقپو Part I. Remark 10. Appendix, Extract VII. note 75.

دوباری قاپوسی Part V. Rem. 7.

دودانیه see لودانیه

دوغری Part VII. Rem. 7.

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دیبکی see دووك

دیبکی
دیبك
} Part IV. Rem. 12.

دیلم (مرداویج) Part IX. Rem. 2.

ذوالقرنین
ذوکلاع
ذویزن
} Part I. Rem. 7. Appendix; Extract VII. note 75.

حرف الرّآء

الراضی بالله Part IX. Remark 3.

ربیعه Part II. Rem. 1.

رسالة الانتصار Preface p. xx.

رکل Part VII. Rem. 7.

روباس Part III. Rem. 5

رودانیه see لودانیه

رودبار Part IV. Rem. 1. Appendix, Extract IV. note 44.

روطول Part V. Rem. 17.

روس Appendix, Extract I. note 7. — Extract VIII. note 108.

روسیه Part I. Rem. 5.

روم * رومیة
الکبری * رومیة الصغری
} Part I. Rem. 23.

حرف الزّآء

زافر Part III. Rem. 4; Part VI. Rem. 1.

زرمهر Part I. Rem. 2.

زرهکران Part I. Rem. 32. Extract VIII. note 91, 115.

زنخ (Salt-lake) Part IX. Rem. 2.

زیخور Part V. Rem. 17. note *m*.

زید بن هلال Part VII. Rem. 1.

زیل Part IV. Rem. 13.

حرف السّین

سابرلن (باب) Appendix, note 83. look for شابران

ساعدة الأیادی look for صاعده

سباس Part IV. Rem. 6.

سپنجاب Appendix; Extract I. note 9.

سدّ Part I. Rem. 8. — Part V. Rem. 2.

سدّ الأصغر ibid. and the Appendix; Extract VII.

سراج Appendix. Extract II. note 36.

سراقه بن عبد الرحمن Appendix; Extract I. (Page 159).

سراقه نوصال Extract VIII. note 93.

سرخاب Part I. Rem. 20.

سرطان Extract VIII. (Page 206).

سرم Part VI. Rem. 10. Appendix; Extract VI. note 72c.

سرمکیه Part VII. Rem. 6.

سریر
سریرافراز
سریرشاه
} Part I. Rem. 19 & 29.

سریراللان ibid. Rem. 19.

سعید بن عمرو Part IV. Rem. 1. App. Extr. V. and VI.

سفّاح Part VII. Rem. 1—2.

سقّا Part X. note b.

سفنان look for سنان

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ساخه / سلمه } Part VI. Rem. 1.

سلمان / سلیمان الباهلی } Part II. Rem. 1. — App. Extr. II. note 18.

سماك بن خرشمه Append. Extr. I. (Page 157).

سمرقند Part I. Rem. 7.

سمنان Part VII. Rem. 5.

سمند Pars I. Rem. 15. / سمندر ibid. / سمید ibid. } Append. Extr. VI. note 70.

سنة الحمار Part VI. Rem. 2. (note).

سوار Part VII. Rem. 5.

سهل see شهر

سیلان Append. Extr. V. note 52.

حرف الشّین

شابران Part I. Rem. 24. look for سابران.

شاه آباد ibid. Rem. 25.

شاه ارشنی Part IX. note e.

شاه اسفندیار ibid. Rem, 29.

شك (a fortress) Append. note 74.

شکی Appendix, note 87.

شمخال Part V. Rem. 9 and 15. Extr. VIII. note 106.

شمر Part I. Rem. 7.

شمید Part I. Rem. 15.

شمخال look for شهبال

شهرتانار Part IV. Rem. 21.

شهرسال / شهرسعل } Part I. Rem. 25. — Appendix, Extr. VIII. note 90.

شهریزار Appendix, Extract I. note 11.

شهید طاشلری Part II. Rem. 11.

شوبان Part IX. Rem. 2. (Page 145).

شیخ ابراهیم ibid. Rem. 1. (note a.)

شیخ احمد ibid.

شیخ ملی Extract VIII. Page 209.

شیخعلی خان Preface, p. xiv — xvi.

شیخ ابراهیم the son of اسحق Extr. VIII. (Page 209.)

شیخ محمد and شیخ ناصرالدین ibid.

شیروان Appendix Extract II. note 24.

شیروان شاه Part IX. Rem. 1.

حرف الصّاد

صاحب السّریر part I. Rem. 19.

صاعدة الأبادی Part I. Rem. 7.

صعب بن رایش ibid.

صله بن زور العبسی } Appendix, Extract II. Page 170.

صوانباری Part V. Rem. 4.

صورح Part V. Rem. 17.

صول see باب

صولاق / صولخ } Part I. Rem. 30.

حرف الطّاء

طارخان look for تارخان

طاواس Toas. Extr. VIII. note 117.

طانوس a name of *Awar*. Extract VIII. Page 205.

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طباسران / طبرسران Part I. Rem. 33. Part V. Rem. 12. 13.

طبری Preface p. xix.

طوقماق خان Appendix, Extract VII. note 893

طولزکی‌سی Part I. Rem. 31.

طین (وقعهٔ) Part III. Rem. 1. — Part IV. Rem. 1. note d. Appendix, note 67 c.

حرف العین والغین

عبّاس Extract VIII. note 97. Rem. 9. to [illegible] V.

عبدالرّحمن Appendix, Page 164.

— الجولانی — Appendix, note 74.

عبدالعزیز Part I Rem. 36. — Part III. Rem. 2.

عبد اللّه بن حمدان Part IX. Rem. 3.

— البریدی — ibid.

— حکمی باهلی — Part IV. Rem. 2.

عبدالملك بن مسلمه Part VII. Rem. 1.

— بن منصور — Continuation of De Dorn's version as a Supplement to Part the IX.

عبدالملك اغلب اوغلی Part VIII. Rem. 8.

عثمان پاشا Appendix Extract VII. note 79.

غثّ (صاعده) Part I. Rem. 7.

عرابه دوزمك the use of Chariots for defence. Part IV. Rem. 21.

عصر نمازی Part II. Rem. 9.

عمادالدّوله بن بویه Part IX. Rem. 3.

عصفه بن فرقه Appendix Extract I. Pag. 167.

عکری Extract VIII. Page 206.

حرف الفآء

فتح Part IV. Rem. 3.

فتحعلی خان ibid. Rem. 14. — Part IX. Rem. 3.

فتوح ابن الاثم Preface pag. xx.

فرغانه Part IV. Rem. 1.

فرید Appendix, Page 188.

فلکی Part IX. Rem. 1. note a.

فیلان شاه look for فیلان شاه

حرف القاف

قارا یناق (Salt-lake) Part IX. Rem. 2.

قاسم بك *Gkasim-Beg.* ibid. note g.

قاضی طبرسران Part V. Rem. 14.

قان Appendix Extract VII. note 85.

القاهر باللّه *Algkahir-billah.* Part IX. Rem. 3.

قبا look for قبّه

قباد شاه Part I. Rem. 2.

القبق Appendix, Extract VII. read note 31.

قبله Extract VII. note 87.

قبّه Part VII. Remark 7. note l.

قبور الشهد Part II. Rem. 11—12.

قجلی Appendix, Extract VII. note 76.

قدمکاه دلدل Part X. Observation, note a.

قراح Part V. Rem. 17.

قرار Part VI., Rem. 1. Continuation &c.

قراقیناق / قیناق see

قرخلر Part II. Rem. 11.

قرخلرقپوسی Part V. Rem. 7.

قریش Extract VIII. note 110.

قزلر / قزل بار Part I. Rem. 20.

قصور Part V. Rem. 17. note 9

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قله *Ghela.* (Salt-lake) Part IX. Rem. 2.

قمق (غموق) Part I. Rem. 33—34. Also Extr. VIII. Pages 216-221.

قورح Part V. Rem. 17.

قورقماز Part I. Rem. 34.

قوزی ملاّ Part III. Rem. 9.

قوی صو
قوین صو } Part I. Rem. 30.

قویمق
قویموق } see قمق

قوید بن اسود (فرید ?) Appendix Extr. VI. Page 188.

قینق Part I. Rem. 32.

قید Part V. Rem. 2. Appendix, note 80.

قیلان
قیلان شاه } Part I. Rem. 34. Appendix, note 83.

قیه کند Part I. Rem. 28. Part II. R. 12. Part IV. R. 4.

حرف الکاف والگاف

کاهن Part I. Rem. 4.

کچی ماجار Part I. Rem. 21.

کر Appendix, Extract II. note 24.

کرده خانه (Salt-lake) Part IX. Rem. 2. B. 8).

کرکر
کرکره } Part I. Rem. 25. Appendix, Extr. VII. note 77.

کره Part I. Rem. 35.

کروخ Part IV. Rem. 16.

کسال *Kesál.* Appendix note 70 and 74.

کسریَ Part I. Rem. 3.

کیرال see کسیران

کش (قلعه) (?) Appendix, Extract IV. note 17.

کیرال see کشران

کشك Extract VII. note 88.

کماخی Part VII. Rem. 5.

کوبچی Part I. Rem. 32.

کوتزشاه Extract VIII. note 117.

گودوشن Part IV. Rem. 14.

کورباز Part I. Rem. 25.

کوکره see کوره

کوکب Part I. Rem. 25.

کیل (a measure) Extr. VIII. note 34.

کیرال
کیران } Part I. Rem. 25.

کیولن Part I. Rem. 18.

حرف اللام

لاخنه see باب اللان and

لکز Appendix, Extract II. note 26. Extr. VII. note 84.

لودانیه Part VIII. Rem. 4. Extract VII. note 86.

لیان شاه see قیلان and باب

حرف المیم

ماجار Part I. Remark 21.

متعه Part VII. Rem. 5.

محراب Part V. Rem. 4. note a.

محاضرات الاوایل Preface pag. xx.

محصوم بیك Extract VIII. p. 218.

محمّد الأغشیدی Part IX. Rem. 2.

محمد اوابی Preface § I. Supplement, page 225-227.

— بن عمّار
— بن یزید } Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version, forming a supplement to the VIII part.

محمد حسن خان Part IX. Rem. 3.

محمد سعیدخان Part IV. Rem. 14.

محمد کرای Appendix, Extract VII. note 79.

محمد النخجوانی Part V. Rem. 9.

محمدرفیع } The author of a very interesting little work on Daghistan. Preface Page xxx.

محمدی (Salt-lake) Part IX. Rem. 2.

مدافع an instrument, Extr. VIII. note 101.

مداین
مدین } Part I. Rem. 12.

مردانشاه Part IV. Rem. 1. Append. Extract V. note 52.

مرداویج Part IX. Rem. 3 note *k*.

مروان
مروان الحمار } Part IV. Rem. 1 (note). Part VI. Rem. 2 & 3. Append. Pag. 188-193.

مزدك Part I. Rem. 2.

مسازیر (Salt-lake) Part IX. Rem. 2.

المسالك والممالك Part V. Rem. 2.

مسجدجامع Part V. Rem. 4.

مسقط Part I. Rem. 5. Extract II. note 25. See مقسط

مسقو Part I. Rem. 5.

مسکنجه ibid. Rem. 36.

مسلمه Part III. Rem. 3. Appendix, Extract VI.

مشکور Part I. Rem. 28, 26.

مصطفی پاشا (سرعسکر) Append. Extr. VII. note 79.

مطامیر
مطامیر } Appendix Extract II. note 36.

معرقه Part VII. Rem. 8.

معصوم Part V. Rem. 13.

مغیرابن شعبه Appendix Extract IX.

مقاطر Part VII. Remark 6.

المقتدر Part IX. Remark 3.

مقسط } Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version forming A Supplement to Part the VIII. note a.

ملازجیر *Melazghir* look for مطامیر

من see باطمان

منجنیق Extract VIII. note 101.

مسکنجه see ملاعبدالعزیز

المنصور Part VII. Rem. 8.

منوچهر (خاقان کبیر) Part IX. Rem. 1 note *a*.

مهدی Part VIII. Rem. 1.

مهلبین Part IX. Rem. 3.

مهرنج Part V. Rem. 1.

موسوم بك Extract VIII. p. 215.

موغان Appendix, Extract II. note 23.

الموفق Part IX, Rem. 1.

حرف النون

نارجی
نارجیل } Part IV. Rem. 3. Appendix, Extract IV. note 47.

نارین قلعه Part I. Rem. 30. Part IV. Rem. 25.

نارین قلعه بوینی Part III. Rem. 12.

نارین قلعه قپوسی Part V. Rem. 7.

ناز (نیاز) Part VII. Rem. 1.

ناظرباغی Part V. Rem. 7.

ناظرمحمدخان بیك ibid.

نجفلی (ملا) Part IX. Rem. 2 note *g*.

نردك Appendix, note 57.

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حرف الواو

والى داغستان Extract VIII. note 105.

ورزند Appendix, note 61.

ورثان and ورقان Part IV. Rem. 1. Appendix, Extract V. note 51 and 57.

وليد Part III. Remark 1.

حرف الياء

يتين جنابر (?) Part II. Rem. 12. Part IV. Remark 4.

يرسى Part IV. Rem. 11. Part VII. Rem. 5.

يرغو Part IV. Rem. 4. Appendix, note 48.

يزدك Appendix, note 57.

يزيد بن اسد Part VII. Rem. 6.

— بن عبد الملك Part III. Rem. 11.

— بن مهلب ibid.

يزيديه Part VII. Rem. 6.

ينكى قاپو Part V. Rem. 7.

نصر السامانى Part IX. Rem. 3.

نعيم بن مقرن Appendix, Extract I. note 1.

نفط ونفك Part IX. Rem. 2. — The use of the naphtha in defence &c. Part IV Rem. 24. Part VII. p. 117.

نهركوسفند see صولاق

نهروان Part IV. Remark 1. Appendix, Extr. IV. note 46.

نوح بن or سايك السايب Appendix, Extract VI. note 73 b.

نورمحمد Part IX. Page 144.

نوصال Part IV. Rem. 14. Extract VIII. note 93.

حرف الهاء

هارون Part VIII. Rem. 6 & 7; read also Rem. 1.

هاشم بن شراقه
— بن محمد
— بن منسيه
Continuation of Dr. Dorn's version, forming a supplement to Part VIII.

هدات Part V. Rem. 17. note q.

هزارطارخان Appendix, Extract VI. note 71.

هشام Part III. Rem. 1. Appendix, Extr. V and VI.

هياطله Part I. Rem. 2.

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CORRECTIONS IN THE TEXT.

Page 4 line 12 دولتن read دولبن
— 5 — 3 خزینه read خریته
— 7 — 2 وترتیب read وتر یتب
— 18 — 8 غفلة read غفلة
— 23 — 15 بوجانبده read بوجانبده
— 51 — 5 غنیمت read غینمت
— 51 — 6 مالندن read مالتدن
— 59 — 27 قلعه read قلعه
— 65 — 4 دسته لر read دسته لز
— 66 — 2 وبرطرفی read وبرطرقی
— 76 — 6 چغانجه read چغانجه
— 80 — 17 وغفانلر read وغفانلر
— 92 — 3 مجموع read مجموع
— 106 — 10 قاذورات read قاروزات
— 110 — 3 کیزلنجق read کیزلنجف
— 111 — 17 بیض read بیضی
— 116 — 8 ابوجعفر read ابوجفعر
— 161 — 14 خزردن read خرزدن
— 162 — 7 حضرت read حصرت
— 163 — 14 ایتدیلو read انیدیلر
— 167 the last line عطیم read عظیم

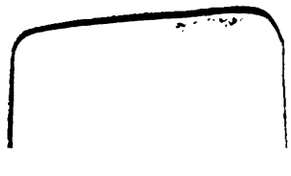
Page 171 line 4 پس read پس امیرالمومنین امیرللومنین
— 171 — 4 ظبط read ضبنط
— 174 — 9 اوزرینه read اوززییه
— 175 — 12 خزر read حزر
— 176 — 14 بربرینه read بربرینه
— 177 — 4 اجرّح read جراح
— 177 — 9 خزر read خرز
— 179 — 13 ایتمشلردی read ایتمشلردی
— 180 — 6 خزر read خرز
— 181 — 6 ایّها read ابها
— 183 — 2 بولوشوب read بولوشوب
— 183 — 9 وارایسه read وارایه سبندیلر بندیلر
— 190 — 10 اغلدی read اعلدی
— 197 — 6 ابی الفتوح read ابی الفتو
— 197 — 8 الکبری read الکبراء
— 199 — 3 خریدته read خریدبة
— 202 — 8 فیها read قیها
— 203 — 4 بعضها read بعصنها
— 203 — 5 ومملکه read ومملکة

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