

# **Two Chronicles On The History of Karabagh**

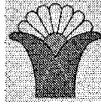
**Mirza Jamal Javanshir's *Tarikh-e Karabagh*  
and  
Mirza Adigözal Beg's *Karabagh-name***

**Introduction and Annotated Translation  
by**

**George A. Bournoutian**

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*This volume is dedicated to:*

**His Holiness Catholicos Karekin I of Blessed Memory**

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## Preface

For the past two decades my research has focused on the history of the part of Transcaucasia that formed the eastern regions of historic Armenia. I have concentrated on the period between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. In the course of my research, I realized that, in order to present a fair and balanced view of the history of the region, one must rely not only on Russian, Armenian, and European primary sources, but also on the work of Persian and local Turkic chroniclers as well.

The majority of Persian primary sources are chiefly concerned with the political history of Persia during the Safavid, Afshar, Zand, or Qajar dynasties. Unless the shah made an appearance in outlying regions, such as Karabagh, events occurring there, are, for the most part, allotted a cursory paragraph in the larger histories of Persia. The search for regional histories, however, led me to a number of chronicles dealing exclusively with Karabagh, Shirvan, and other regions north of the Arax River. Although the authors were Transcaucasian Turks, later known as Azerbaijanis, they primarily wrote their histories in Persian, which remained, until the twentieth century, the literary language of the Muslims of Transcaucasia.

In 1994, I published one such chronicle (long since out of print), Mirza Jamal Javanshir's *Tarikh-e Karabagh* (History of Karabagh).<sup>1</sup> I used the sole Persian manuscript from the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan<sup>2</sup> and the Russian and Azeri translations of the said manuscript.<sup>3</sup> I also included a facsimile of the Persian manuscript in the appendix.

Unfortunately, the Armeno-Azeri conflict in Karabagh soon spilled over into the academic arena. Partisans of both sides pro-

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<sup>1</sup> G. Bournoutian, *A History of Qarabagh* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1994). I had decided to use the Persian Q instead of the Turkish K—hence “Qarabagh” instead of “Karabagh.” I have changed it to the more familiar “Karabagh” in this edition.

<sup>2</sup> MS B-712/11603.

<sup>3</sup> *Garabağ Tarikhi*, Baku, 1959; *Istoriia Karabaga*, Baku, 1959.

duced polemical studies affirming their historical claims to the region. Armenian historians maintain that all of Karabagh was, at one time, part of the Armenian kingdom and that the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh<sup>1</sup> has had an Armenian majority for several hundred years. Azeri historians assert that the region was never part of Armenia and that the Armenian population arrived there from Persia and the Ottoman Empire after the Treaty of Turkmenchay (1828), when, thanks to the Russian policy that favored Christians over Muslims, the Armenians established a majority in what became Nagorno-Karabakh.

Both sides ignore the fact that modern nationalism was generally absent from the psyche of the Muslim and Christian leaders of Transcaucasia. The present study clearly demonstrates that Georgian kings, Armenian *meliks*, and Muslim khans would occasionally betray their own kind and ally with other groups for pragmatic reasons. Moreover, although the idea of a state existed, albeit faintly, among some Armenians and Georgians, there was no such thought among the khans. Despite all the efforts of post-Soviet Azeri historians to the contrary the idea of an Azerbaijani state did not exist before the early twentieth century. Bakikhanov and other pre-Soviet Muslim historians wrote about various khanates as separate entities. None of them mention or envision an Azerbaijan north of the Arax River.

A number of Azerbaijani historians, led by the late Ziya Buniatov, have gone beyond the bounds of scholarship and have manipulated the original nineteenth-century Persian texts written by Turkic Muslims, by expunging most references to Armenia and the Armenians in the new editions of these works.<sup>2</sup>

That Azeri diplomats and journalists have echoed the positions of their respective governments is understandable. It is lamentable, however, that some Western scholars have relied on Buniatov's and others' (e.g. Akhundov's) shameless deletions, or have altered my own data on the Khanate of Erevan, for their writings on Karabagh.<sup>3</sup>

The reprehensible behavior of the aforementioned "scholars," the abundance of expunged editions flooding university libraries,

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<sup>1</sup> Nagorno-Karabakh is the Russian designation. The Armenians call it Artsakh or Gharabagh and the Azeris Karabağ.

<sup>2</sup> See appendix.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see A. Altstadt, *The Azerbaijani Turks* (Stanford, 1992) and S. Goldenberg, *The Caucasus and Post-Soviet Disorder* (London, 1994).

and the unavailability of my study on Mirza Jamal's *History* have impelled me to prepare a new and corrected edition of that *History* (which included notes from two other Turkic historians, Ahmad Beg Javanshir and Bakikhanov) and to add the first English translation of Mirza Adigözal Beg's *Karabagh-name*, with material from Mirza Yusuf Nersesov's *Tarikh-e Safi*. Thus the five primary sources, available in reliable editions, have been collated to present an accurate picture of Karabagh from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.

I believe that students of the history of Transcaucasia will certainly benefit from these English translations. To be truly valuable and to convey a complete picture, I have incorporated, in the notes, information from Persian chroniclers of that period. For the sake of objectivity, I have basically excluded all Armenian sources.

Statesmen shall ultimately decide the validity of Armenian and Azeri claims in Karabagh. In the meantime, the work of these nineteenth-century local historians should aid unbiased historians to sort out the facts.

I wish to thank the National Association of Armenian Studies and Research for their grant. Raffy and Vicki Hovanessian, once again, lent their support. The staffs of the Library of Congress, the Ryan Library of Iona College, the Lehman and Butler Libraries of Columbia University, and the Hatcher Library of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor provided copies of the numerous primary sources used in this study. The Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan was kind enough to provide a copy of the Persian manuscript during my IREX fellowship in 1973-74. The Academy of Sciences of Armenia provided the microfilm of the Russian version of Mirza Adigözal Beg's chronicle, and the Matenadaran Archives in Erevan supplied a copy of an early Armenian translation of that work. Jason Kattenhorn of graphics at Iona College assisted with the maps and the cover. Willem Floor read the rough draft and provided valuable comments. Aris Sevag and Ani Bournoutian performed the difficult task of copy-editing. Finally, I am truly grateful to Dr. Alex Eodice, Dean of Arts and Science at Iona, for his continued financial and moral support of my scholarly activities.

George Bournoutian  
Iona College, 2004

## Abbreviated Titles

- Akty* *Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu Komiissieiu.* Tiflis, 1866-1904
- 'Alamara-ye Naderi* Mohammad Kazem Marvi, *'Alamara-ye Naderi.* Tehran, 1990-91.
- Bamdad* Mahdi Bamdad, *Sharh-e hal-e rejāl-e Iran.* Tehran, 1968-1972.
- Farsname-ye Naseri* Hasan Fasa'i, *Tarikh-e Farsname-ye Naseri.* Tehran, 1935-36.
- Garabağ Tarikhi* Mirza Jamal Javanshir Garabaği, *Garabağ Tarikhi.* Baku, 1959. Azeri translation of MS.B-712/11603, Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Baku.
- Golestan-e Eram* 'Abbas Qoli Khan Bakikhanov, *Golestan-e Eram.* Critical Text. Baku, 1970.
- Golshan-e Morad* Mirza Mohammad Ghaffari Kashani, *Golshan-e Morad* Tehran, 1990-91.
- Gramoty* *Gramoty i drugie istoricheskie dokumenty XVIII stoletia otnosiashcheisia do Gruzii.* St. Petersburg, 1902.
- Istoriia Karabaga* Mirza Dzhamal Dzhavanshir Karabagskii, *Istoriia Karabaga.* Baku, 1959. Russian translation of MS. B-712/11603, Baku.
- "Karabag"* First edition of Mirza Jamal's History, edited by A. Berzhe, *Kavkaz.* Tiflis, 1855.

- Karabagh Tarihi* Mirza Cemal Cevanşir, *Karabagh Tarihi*. Ankara, 1990. Turkish translation of MS. B-712/11603, Baku.
- Karabakhskogo khanstva* Ahmedbek Dzhavanshir (Ahmad Beg Javanshir), *O Politicheskomo sushchestvovanii Karabakhskogo khanstva*. Baku, 1961.
- Kostikian* Mirza Yusuf Nersesov, *Tarikh-e Safi*, English translation of MS. 195 in Keke lidze Institute. Erevan, 2000.
- Ma'ser-e Soltaniye* 'Abd ol-Razzaq Donboli, *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*. Tehran, 1973-1974.
- Mojmal ol-Tavarikh* Abu'l-Hasan b. Mohammad Amin Golestane, *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh*. Tehran, 1965-66.
- Montazam-e Naseri* Moḥammad Hasan Khan E'temad ol-Saltane, *Tarikh-e Montazam-e Naseri*. Tehran, 1984-85
- Nasekh ol-Tavarikh* Mirza Mohammad-Taqi, *Nasekh ol-Tavarikh*. Tehran, 1965-66.
- Karabag-name* Mirza Adigozal Beg, *Karabag-name*. Baku, 1950.
- Rouzat ol-Safa* Reza Qoli Khan Hedayat, *Tarikh-e Rouzat ol-Safa*. Qom, IX, 1960-61.
- Tarikh-e Giti-gosha* Mirza Mohammad Sadeq Musavi Nami Esfahani, *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*. Tehran, 1984-85.
- Tarikh-e Jahan-gosha* Mirza Mohammad Mahdi Astarabadi, *Tarikh-e Jahan-goshay-e Naderi*. Tehran, 1991-92.

*Tarikh-e Mohammadi*

Mohammad Fathollah Saravi, *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*. Tehran, 1992-93.

T.S.

*Tarikh-e Safi*. MS. 195, Kekelidze Institute, Tbilisi.

## Terms, Names, Dates and Transliteration Systems

The term *Turk* refers to the Ottomans or to the present-day Turks. Turkic groups who inhabited Transcaucasia prior to the twentieth century are grouped under the general rubric of Transcaucasian Turks or Transcaucasian Muslims<sup>1</sup> and are primarily identified by their tribal affiliation and geographic location. The term Azerbaijani or Azeri refers to these people in the twentieth century. The use of the term "Azerbaijan" requires clarification, as well. Although Azerbaijan was a geographical entity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the term was only used to identify the province in northwestern Persia. The Safavids, at one time, for revenue purposes, included some of the lands north of the Arax River as part of the province of Azerbaijan. This practice gradually fell out of use after the fall of the Safavids. To Mirza Jamal and Mirza Adigözal Beg, as well as other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors, Azerbaijan referred to the region located south of the Arax River (see map 2). With the exception of the preface and introduction, where Azerbaijan denotes the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan, I shall follow the pre-twentieth-century term.<sup>2</sup> To be consistent with other sources, I have also decided to use "Persia" instead of "Iran."

The term "Transcaucasia" betrays a Russian bias; "Transaraxia," a Persian bias. Eastern Caucasus is the neutral term; however, to avoid confusion and to maintain uniformity with most historians, I have decided to retain Transcaucasia.

I have modernized or corrected all personal and place names in both manuscripts to appear as they would in their own language or as they are referred to today. Hence *Vorontsov* instead of *Varansof*, *Erevan* instead of *Iravan*, *Ganje* instead of *Ganja*, *Nakhichevan* instead of *Nakhjavan*. There are a few exceptions; *Teflis*, which instead of its

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<sup>1</sup> Russian sources call them Tatars or Muslims. Some Western sources refer to them as Turko-Tatars.

<sup>2</sup> Azerbaijani editors have ignored the fact that the khans of eastern Transcaucasia did not view themselves as Azerbaijanis. Both texts translated here clearly indicate that each khan was primarily concerned with his own domain. The khans would make alliances with Armenian *meliks*, Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia when it suited their plans.

current name of *Tbilisi*, will be referred to by its more common eighteenth- and nineteenth-century designation of *Tiflis*, and Ejmiatsin, which will be transliterated as Etchmiadzin. For the sake of accuracy, I have retained Mirza Jamal's and Mirza Adigözal Beg's geographical terms the first time they appear in the text, with the currently used or more accepted names in parentheses.

All dates in the text are based on the Arabic lunar calendar (354/5 days, beginning in AD 622). The publication dates of the Persian sources after 1925, however, are in the solar calendar of 365 days based on the same starting point as the lunar calendar. In both cases the Gregorian dates are given in parentheses. Dates involving Russian history, unless specified, are in the old-style or Julian calendar, which in the eighteenth century was eleven days, and in the nineteenth century, twelve days, behind the Gregorian calendar used in the West. The Armenian Church calendar is also 551 years behind the West.

In transliterating from the Persian I have generally tried to indicate the way a word is pronounced in Persian. Persian terms that appear in Russian transliteration of Persian words have presented a problem, since many Persian sounds do not exist in Russian. When the term or meaning was obvious, I have transliterated it according to the original Persian; in other instances, I have retained the Russian transliteration with an approximate rendering in parentheses, followed by a question mark. With few exceptions and modifications, all Armenian, Azeri, Georgian, Arabic, Turkish, and Russian titles have been transliterated according to the Library of Congress tables, but without most diacritical marks and ligatures. Finally, I have used the familiar English form for terms such as *bazaar*, *vizier*, *mullah*, *shah*, *khan*, *Ibrahim*, *Azerbaijan*, *Mustafa*, *Abdullah*, *Kizilbash*, among others.

## Introduction

### *An Assessment of Mirza Jamal Javanshir's Tarikh-e Karabagh, Mirza Adigözal Beg's Karabagh-name and Other Primary Persian-Language Sources Dealing with the History of Karabagh*

Armenian<sup>1</sup> and Russian<sup>2</sup> primary sources notwithstanding, most of the primary sources on the history of Karabagh are written in Persian. Although a large part of the Muslim population of Karabagh and Transcaucasia spoke a Turkish dialect (Turki),<sup>3</sup> Persian was, until the dawn of the twentieth century, the administrative and literary language of the region, with Arabic reserved for religious studies.

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<sup>1</sup> Most Armenian primary sources are in the Matenadaran Archives in Erevan and are, so far, unpublished. Among them are A. Kostaneants, *Patmut' iwn Artsakhi* [History of Artsakh] (MSS 7822-23) and H. Zakareants, *Patmut' iwn gavarin Artsakhu* [History of the Artsakh Province] (MS 2734). Another work, Raffi's *Khamsayi meliku' iunner* [The Meliks of Khamse] in *Erkeri zhoghovatsu* [Collected Works] X (Erevan, 1964), 164-383, is not available in English at this time.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian sources are either official correspondence gathered in the *Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu Kommissieiu* [Documents of the Russian administration of the Caucasus collected by the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission] 12 vols. Tiflis, 1866-1904, a good number of which have been translated and published in G. Bournoutian, *Armenians and Russia, 1626-1796: A Documentary Record* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2001) and *Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797-1889: A Documentary Record* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1998), or histories of the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia, such as P. G. Butkov, *Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza, 1722-1803* [Sources for a New History of the Caucasus, 1722-1803], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1869) and N. F. Dubrovin, *Zakavkaz'e ot 1803-1806 goda* [Transcaucasia from 1803 to 1806] (St. Petersburg, 1866).

<sup>3</sup> Turki, a Turkish dialect spoken in Transcaucasia and parts of Persian Azerbaijan, is different from Ottoman and modern Turkish. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Turki became the basis for the literary language of the Azerbaijan Republic. The communist regime dropped the Arabic-Persian script and adopted a Latin-Cyrillic alphabet, which was in use until the fall of the Soviet Union. A new alphabet, akin to modern Turkish, has been in use in the last decade.

The knowledge of Persian is, therefore, essential to any serious study of the region prior to the twentieth century. The ability to read Persian manuscripts written in the calligraphic styles known as *shekaste* and *nasta'liq* is also crucial if one is to examine the original version of the published sources of that period.

The primary sources, themselves, fall into two categories: The first, all written by local Turkic historians, and, in one case, an Armenian who, in his youth, was converted to Islam and later returned to the Christian fold, deal primarily with Karabagh and, in one instance, with the history of Shirvan. The second encompass the work of Persian chroniclers of the Safavid, Afshar, Zand, and the early Qajar period, which include some material on Karabagh.

### A) Histories of Karabagh

Five chronicles, written between 1840 and 1883, are used in this study. They are: Mirza Jamal Javanshir's *Tarikh-e Karabagh* (History of Karabagh), Mirza Adigözal Beg's *Karabagh-name* (Karabagh's History), Mirza Yusuf Nersesov's *Tarikh-e Safi* (A Truthful History), Ahmad Beg Javanshir's *O politicheskom sushchestvovanii Karabakhskogo khanstva (s 1747 po 1805 god)* [On the Political Existence of the Khanate of Karabagh from 1747 to 1805],<sup>1</sup> and 'Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov's *Golestan-e Eram* (Rose Garden of Paradise). The first two are translated in their entirety, while materials from the other three is collated within the text or appear in the footnotes as additional sources of information.<sup>2</sup>

There are a number of other manuscripts in the archives of Azerbaijan. These include Mir-Mahdi Khazani's *Ketab-e Tarikh-e Karabagh* (A Book of the History of Karabagh), Mirza Rahim Fena's *Tarikh-e Jadid-e Karabagh* (A New History of Karabagh) Hasan 'Ali Khan Qaradaghi's *Karabagh*, Abdu'l Samad-beg Bahman Mirza's *Shukurname* (Book of Gratitude), Mohammad Hasan Vali's (Baharlu) *Ahvalat-e Karabagh* (The State of Affairs of Karabagh), Hasan Akhfa 'Alizadeh's *Tarikh-e Shahr-e Shushi* (The History of the City of

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<sup>1</sup> This history may have been written in Persian and then translated into Russian by the author with help from others.

<sup>2</sup> I have either checked, have a photocopy of the original manuscript, or possess the first editions of these works printed in Baku between 1926 and 1961, decades before the current Armeno-Azeri conflict resulted in the alteration or removal of references to an Armenian historic presence in Karabagh in the new editions of some of these works. See appendix.

Shushi), Hasan 'Ali Qaradaghi's *Keyfiyat-e qadim va jadid-e velayat-e Karabagh* (The Old and New Conditions of the Province of Karabagh), and an untitled Persian manuscript by Mirza Jamal's son, Reza Qoli Beg Jamal-oghlu.<sup>1</sup> A great number of these, edited by Nizam Akhundov, were translated into Azeri, and published in 1991 in Baku.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately the accuracy of these texts cannot be ascertained, since the original manuscripts have not been included or examined by unbiased historians. Akhundov's earlier volume, which includes new editions of accounts of Mirza Jamal, Mirza Adigözal Beg, and Ahmad Beg, and Ziya Buniatov's new edition of Bakikhanov's work, have removed or altered important references to an Armenian historic presence in Karabagh.<sup>3</sup>

### *Tarikh-e Karabagh*

The earliest history of Karabagh, written in Persian, is by Mirza Jamal Javanshir, entitled *The History of Karabagh (Tarikh-e Karabagh)*. Mirza Jamal's career was long and eventful, even by the standards of his time. He was born in AH 1187 (1773/74) in the Javanshir sector of Dizak in the village of Khajalu (Khojalu/Hajjilu?).<sup>4</sup> He was the son of Mohammad-khan Beg, the grandson of the *minbashi*, Salif Beg, and the great-grandson of Sharif Beg Javanshir. His grandfather, a *minbashi*, or "head of one thousand," was a tribal chief. After the death of his grandfather, his father became a chief in the Javanshir tribe, inheriting the position given to Salif Beg by Ibrahim Khan, the ruler of Karabagh. His father was soon transferred to the Shushi fortress as its commander.

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is in the Fizuli Institute in Baku and begins with "The rule of Panah Khan and Ibrahim Khan." It has 81 folios. It basically repeats the material in Mirza Jamal's history. It does contain, however, some details on the climate and agriculture of Karabagh in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>2</sup> Nazim Akhundov, ed. *Garabağnamələr*, II (Baku, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Nazim Akhundov, ed. *Garabağnamələr*, I (Baku, 1989); Z. Buniatov, ed. *Giulistan-i Iram* (Baku, 1991). See appendix.

<sup>4</sup> The following biographical information is based on information supplied by Mirza Jamal's son, Reza Qoli, to Mirza Fath 'Ali Akhundov (Akhundzadeh), who worked as a translator in the Tiflis chancery, at the request of A. Berzhe, the first person to translate Mirza Jamal's work into Russian (see below). It was published in the newspaper *Kavkaz*, 61-69 (1855).

Mirza Jamal studied Persian and Turkish, and in AH 1202 (1787/88), at age fifteen, became one of the scribes in Ibrahim Khan's chancery, through which passed all the official correspondence of Karabagh.<sup>1</sup> After a few years, probably during the initial threat from Agha Mohammad,<sup>2</sup> he left Shushi with other members of the khan's household and settled in the village of Khoznak (Khunzakh?).<sup>3</sup> He became the secretary to Bike Khanum, one of the wives of the khan, who was the sister of 'Umma Khan,<sup>4</sup> the ruler of the Avars of Daghestan. After six years, during which he studied Arabic, he and Bike Khanum returned to the Shushi fortress, upon the death of Agha Mohammad Shah.

Ibrahim Khan, in gratitude for the courageous acts of Mohammad-khan Beg and his followers during the siege of Shushi by Agha Mohammad, appointed Mohammad-khan Beg's son, Mirza Jamal, as his personal secretary and vizier of Karabagh. Mirza Jamal was thus present during the signing of the Russo-Karabaghi treaty<sup>5</sup> between Ibrahim Khan and Prince Tsitsianov,<sup>6</sup> which turned Karabagh into a Russian protectorate. In 1805, during the First Russo-Persian War (1804-1813),<sup>7</sup> he acted as secretary to Mohammad Hasan Aqa, the elder son of Ibrahim Khan, who led the Karabaghi cavalry under the

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<sup>1</sup> This was not unusual for the time, since most scribes began their careers after completing their studies at the *maktab* and *madrassa* at about age fifteen.

<sup>2</sup> Agha Mohammad Khan (later shah) was the founder of the Qajar dynasty (1796-1924). He invaded Transcaucasia at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> The probable date is 1792.

<sup>4</sup> He is also called Om Khan. Russian and Georgian sources call him Omar Khan, son of Nursal Beg of the Avars. D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832* (New York, 1957), 175 and Ahmad Beg, *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 104.

<sup>5</sup> The treaty was signed in 1805.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Tsitsianov was a descendant of a Tsitsishvili prince who had immigrated to Russia during the reign of Peter the Great. He was born in 1754. He served under Valerian Zubov during the reign of Catherine. Like most of her officers, he retired from service during the reign of Paul (1797-1801). He returned to government service when Alexander I (1801-1825) named him Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus in 1802. He was killed in 1806.

<sup>7</sup> The First Russo-Persian War ended with the Treaty of Golestan (Gulistan). Persia lost the khanates of Baku, Shirvan, Ganje, Shakki (Sheki), Karabagh, Qobbe (Kuba), and parts of Talesh (see map 5), and renounced all claims to Georgia.

command of General Nebol'sin.<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal was present during the battle of Khonashin between the forces of Nebol'sin and 'Abbas Mirza<sup>2</sup> and forwarded messages to Ibrahim Khan. Soon after, Mirza Jamal went to Nakhichevan, from where he carried dispatches to General Gudovich<sup>3</sup> at the Erevan border. Later he was sent to General Kotliarevskii<sup>4</sup> in Agh-Oghlan, where he was put in charge of provisions for the army. During the entire period of the Russo-Persian wars, he and his clan of some one hundred persons were supported by the Russian state.

After the murder of Ibrahim Khan, Mirza Jamal remained in the service of Ibrahim's son, Mahdi Qoli Khan, the last khan of Karabagh. When the latter fled to Persia in 1822, Mirza Jamal retired and, on orders from General Ermolov,<sup>5</sup> the governor-general of the

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Fedorovich Nebol'sin began his career in the Russo-Turkish wars of the late eighteenth century. He rose through the ranks, and by 1804 was promoted to major general. In 1806 he was transferred to Transcaucasia where he participated in a number of battles during the First Russo-Persian War. He died in 1810.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abbas Mirza was the son of Fath 'Ali Shah Qajar and the crown prince of Persia. He was born in 1788 and died in 1833. See text for more details.

<sup>3</sup> Ivan Gudovich (1741-1829) was appointed commander of the Caucasian Line in 1791. Catherine the Great replaced him with General Zubov in 1796. He was reinstated by Tsar Paul in 1797 and was replaced by General Knorring in 1799. Following the death of Tsitsianov, Gudovich was named chief administrator of the Caucasus in 1806. General Tormasov replaced him in 1809. See Chapter Seven for more details.

<sup>4</sup> General Peter Kotliarevskii (1782-1852) served in the infantry division in Mozdok, on the Caucasian line, under General Lazarev, becoming his adjutant in 1799. He swiftly rose through the ranks, became Tsitsianov's adjutant and served during the First Russo-Persian War. He commanded the Russian troops that won the battles of Aslanduz (1812) and Lankaran (Lenkoran) (1813). He was badly wounded at Lenkoran and had to retire from active service.

<sup>5</sup> Alexei Petrovich Ermolov (1777-1861) came from a noble family and embarked on a military career early in his life. By 1792 he was already a captain. Four years later he joined General Zubov's campaign in Transcaucasia. Following Catherine's death he returned to Russia. He fought against Napoleon and participated in the battle of Borodino under the command of General Kutuzov. He became the head of the Russian artillery and took part in the wars against Napoleon in 1813 and 1814. By 1816 he was named Chief of the Georgian or Caucasian Corps and served as extraordinary and plenipotentiary envoy to Persia. In 1819 he became the supreme commander in Transcaucasia. He remained in this post until

Caucasus, received an annual pension of 510 silver rubles, 120 bushels of wheat, and 30 bushels of rice.

After Mahdi Qoli's departure, Ermolov came to Shushi in 1822, ordered an official survey,<sup>1</sup> and began gathering information about the province, which had by then officially been annexed by Russia. Mirza Jamal was called out of retirement and was probably asked to provide his notes and documents on the past administration. In 1823 he was appointed by the Russian commandant of Shushi to the post of chancery secretary, in which he served Colonel Ermolov, Colonel Mogilevskii, Prince Madatov, and General Reutt'.<sup>2</sup> In 1826, during the Second Russo-Persian War (1826-1828),<sup>3</sup> Mirza Jamal accompanied Prince Madatov across the Arax, where, with the help of his nephew, Karim Beg, he managed to

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the new tsar, Nicholas I, not trusting Ermolov's sympathy for the Decembrists, asked for his resignation in 1827.

<sup>1</sup> The survey began in early 1823 and was completed on April 17. Some 300 pages long, it was published in Tiflis in 1866 without pagination. It contains the names of the villages in each district, the Muslim and Armenian populations of each village and the taxes paid. The survey clearly indicates that Armenians, contrary to Azeri claims, formed an overwhelming majority in the five districts prior to 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Nikolaevich Ermolov (first cousin of General Alexei Ermolov) and Paul Ivanovich Mogilevskii were both senior officials in the chancery of General Ermolov in Tiflis. In 1823, they conducted the first survey of the Karabagh khanate. Lieutenant General Prince Valerian Grigor'evich Madatov was descended from the Karabagh *meliks*. He joined the Russian army and fought in the Napoleonic wars. In 1816 he was transferred to the Caucasus, serving in Shakki, Shirvan, and Karabagh. In 1826 he defeated the Persian army at Shamkhor. He was recalled from the Caucasus with Ermolov and died in 1829 in the Balkans during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. Lieutenant General Iosif Antonovich Reutt' (sometimes spelled Reutte) was born in 1786. In 1801 he took part in the war against the Lesghians and in 1804 he participated in the siege of Erevan and the battle of Etchmiadzin. In 1805 he took part in the campaign against the khan of Shirvan and in 1806 he took part in the siege of Baku. He was one of the defenders at Shushi when that fortress was attacked by Persia at the start of the Second Russo-Persian War. He crossed the Arax together with the Russian army and, after the conclusion of that war, stayed in the Caucasus as an administrator. He died in Tiflis in 1855.

<sup>3</sup> The Second Russo-Persian War ended with the Treaty of Turkmenchay, by which Persia lost the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan (see map 5).

move the entire village of Seyyed-Ahmadlu from Qaradagh to the Dizak district in Karabagh.

In 1840, already in his late sixties, Mirza Jamal once again retired from service. Subsequently, his pension was terminated and he was in financial difficulties, until Viceroy Vorontsov<sup>1</sup> presented him with the income from the village of Kargah-bazar, a right that his descendants continued to enjoy at least up to 1855 when Berzhe<sup>2</sup> published Mirza Jamal's biography in the newspaper *Kavkaz*.

Mirza Jamal was fluent in Persian and Turki, knew some Arabic, the Lesghian and Avar dialects, had some knowledge of astronomy, and had an excellent knowledge of history and geography. He was also familiar with medicine; it is reported that he saw patients in his old age and even prescribed medication. Mirza Jamal composed a number of Persian poems as well. He died on April 20, 1853.

The date of composition of *Tarikh-e Karabagh* is unknown. The manuscript used in this translation states only that Shahamir Beglarov<sup>3</sup> came to Shushi in 1847 and asked that a history of Karabagh be provided for the new viceroy's administration. A careful reading of the manuscript makes it clear that Mirza Jamal already possessed such a work. The available manuscript suggests that he simply added the introductory and concluding remarks, as well as a number of short chapters, in order to please the viceroy and have his pension reinstated by the Russian government.<sup>4</sup> The repetitive nature of some of the material, as well as the sudden appearance of socioeconomic data

<sup>1</sup> M. S. Vorontsov was the first viceroy of the Caucasus.

<sup>2</sup> Adol'f Petrovich Berzhe (Berjé) was born on July 28, 1828. He was the son of a French nobleman who, in 1805, came to Russia and assumed the post of Lecturer in French at the University of St. Petersburg. Berzhe attended the same university, graduating in 1851 with a degree in Oriental languages. Soon afterward, he joined the administration of Viceroy Vorontsov in Tiflis. He wrote numerous articles in Caucasian journals and newspapers. He conducted research in Persia (1853-1855) and throughout Transcaucasia, resulting in a number of studies on the history, geography, archeology, and languages of the region. His best-known work is his French-Persian Dictionary. In 1864 he was appointed the editor-in-chief of the *Akty*, a post he held until his death on January 31, 1886 in Tiflis.

<sup>3</sup> He was a member of the Beglarian *meliks* of Golestan.

<sup>4</sup> The best indication of this is the fact that, throughout the text, Mirza Jamal refers to both crown prince 'Abbas Mirza and Mahdi Qoli Khan without the adjectival "the late." On folios 53, 57, 62 of the Persian manuscript, and in the short additional chapters, however, they are referred to as "the late 'Abbas Mirza" and "the late Mahdi Qoli Khan."

listed in catalog fashion, also supports the notion that the additional material must have been written in response to specific questions on taxation, land tenure, and administration, which were of great interest to the officials in Tiflis.

There is other evidence to suggest that an earlier version of the history existed. A number of paragraphs of Mirza Jamal's history appear almost *verbatim* in Adigözal Beg's *Karabagh-name*, a detailed political narrative on Karabagh written in 1845. The question, then, is who borrowed from whom? An examination of both works shows that no material from Adigözal's much larger work appears in the *Tarikh-e Karabagh*. It is clear that Adigözal, who was writing a comprehensive history of the region, borrowed material from various sources, including *Tarikh-e Karabagh*. In addition, there are certain passages in the *Tarikh-e Karabagh* that only an eyewitness, such as Mirza Jamal, could have written.

Our biographical information on Mirza Jamal indicates that General Ermolov made use of Mirza Jamal's knowledge of the history of the region. As already noted, Ermolov began gathering statistical and other data on Karabagh immediately after the flight of Mahdi Qoli Khan to Persia in 1822, and his successors continued this process throughout Transcaucasia. All of this data was collected in the state archives in Tiflis and St. Petersburg. Some of it was later printed in various collections and histories.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, certain that it was during the period of information gathering (1823-1840) or immediately after his retirement, sometime between 1840 and 1844, that Mirza Jamal wrote his history of Karabagh.<sup>2</sup> In any case, Mirza Jamal's work must have been available prior to 1845, the date of Adigözal Beg's *Karabagh-name*.

A second puzzle is the number of different manuscript versions of *Tarikh-e Karabagh*. The manuscript used for this translation is an 1877/78 copy by an unknown scribe, made years after the death of Mirza Jamal.<sup>3</sup> The scribe clearly states that it is a copy of the 1847

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<sup>1</sup> The most comprehensive of these is the multi-volume *Akty* referred to above.

<sup>2</sup> Internal evidence once again supports this contention. 'Abbas Mirza, who died in 1833, and Mahdi Qoli Khan, who died in 1845, are both described as living persons in the main body of the text. This suggests that Mirza Jamal wrote the core of his history before 1845.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian manuscript reads AH 1294, which corresponds to the year 1877/78. The Russian, Azeri, and Turkish editions have erroneously calculated it as 1875.

version presented to Vorontsov, made, he admits, in great haste and without checking against the original.<sup>1</sup> It is the only version available, as MS. B-712/11603, in the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan. With one exception,<sup>2</sup> the Russian, Azeri, and Turkish translators have all used this manuscript with no indication that they have seen any other manuscripts of the said work. Thus, there were at least three manuscripts: manuscript A, the earliest version, written sometime between 1840 and 1844; manuscript B, the 1847 version, presented, with some additions, to Vorontsov; and manuscript C, the 1877/78 copy, the facsimile of which was reproduced in the Russian, first Azeri, Turkish, and my earlier English editions.

The story does not end here. In 1855, Berzhe translated Mirza Jamal's work into Russian and published it in the newspaper *Kavkaz*, under the title of "Karabag."<sup>3</sup> His is a simplified translation, minus the colorful honorifics, blessings, and complimentary terms. Berzhe's translation does not include the preface and dedication to Vorontsov, or the short concluding chapters, which are contained in manuscript C. The final chapter, detailing the Russian arrival in the region, is also condensed. However, Berzhe's translation has a number of paragraphs, which do not appear in manuscript C.<sup>4</sup> The information in these paragraphs, however, appears almost *verbatim* in Adigözal Beg's *Karabagh-name*. It is very probable that Berzhe used manuscript A, that is, the same version used by Adigözal Beg. Unfortunately, Berzhe, whose veracity and care in presenting documents is known, does not indicate the date of the manuscript used in preparing his translation.

In 1959 accurate Russian and Azeri translations of manuscript C were published together by the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan. The translator, F. Babaev, made a number of errors and omitted several words, as well as a significant passage.<sup>5</sup> The two translations themselves differ slightly, errors in one

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<sup>1</sup> See last page of text.

<sup>2</sup> Berzhe's translation, as will be noted, uses a different manuscript; see below.

<sup>3</sup> *Kavkaz*, issues 61, 62, 63, 65, 68, 69 (August 6-September 3, 1855).

<sup>4</sup> These paragraphs are collated within the text of this translation and appear in *italics* to distinguish them from manuscript C.

<sup>5</sup> The passage in question involved the killing of Armenians and the construction of a tower from their heads. The translator has added an ellipsis, clearly indicating that something has been omitted. There was no

not being repeated in the other, and vice versa. The major problem with these translations, however, is the lack of detailed notes. Except for a few remarks, the texts are not fully annotated. The editor, however, did include a short biography of Mirza Jamal and the facsimile of the manuscript, as well as Berzhe's translation.<sup>1</sup>

Following the onset of the Armeno-Azeri conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, a new Azeri edition appeared in 1989, which, as noted, removed references to an Armenian historical presence in Karabagh.<sup>2</sup> A Turkish translation was published in 1990 in Ankara. Prepared by Tahir Sünbül, and included in the series *Kök Sosyal ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Serisi*, the text is a Turkish translation of the 1959 Azeri translation. It does not include the Berzhe material.<sup>3</sup> The most recent edition, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tehran, has a Persian translation of my introduction and notes, with some additional material.<sup>4</sup>

The copy of *Tarikh-e Karabagh* used in this translation is the same manuscript C, which is written in the *nasta'liq* script, occasionally combined with the *shekaste* script. It has seven main chapters and additional minor chapters. The conversion of dates from the Muslim calendar to the Christian presented problems for Mirza Jamal, who did not possess the conversion charts developed later. The value of Mirza Jamal's history, however, is that events that occurred in Karabagh from the 1740s to 1806 are described in great detail. It is, in fact, solely a history of the khanate of Karabagh and its two khans, Panah and Ibrahim. Mirza Jamal does, of course, occasionally exaggerate the accomplishments of the khans, as well as praise his new patrons, the Russians. Unlike Adigözal Beg's history, however, which is openly biased in favor of the Russians, Mirza Jamal focuses his narrative on the Javanshir khans. He does not shy away from discussing the murder of Ibrahim Khan by the Russians, a subject avoided by Adigözal Beg. His details provide rare information and valuable insight into the history of a province

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attempt, however, to delete this passage from the Persian original, which is attached in its entirety.

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Dzhamał Dzhevanshir Karabagskii, *Istoiia Karabaga* (Baku, 1959); Mirza Jamal Javanshir Garabaghi, *Garabağ Tarikhi* (Baku, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> *Garabağnamələr*, I (Baku, 1989).

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Cemal Cevanşir Karabaghli, *Karabagh Tarihi* (Ankara, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi, *Tarikh-e Qarahbagh*, edited by H. Ahmadi (Tehran, 2004)

that are not to be found in other sources or general histories of Persia.

### *Karabagh-name*

The second primary source on Karabagh is by Mirza Adigözal Beg (ca. 1780-1848). Its title is *Karabagh-name* (Karabagh's History). The original manuscript (in Turki, but written in Persian script) is at the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan. It was translated into Russian by V. N. Leviatov and published in 1950, without the facsimile of the original, by the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan.<sup>1</sup> Leviatov has provided adequate annotations,<sup>2</sup> but has omitted several passages.<sup>3</sup>

The author, the son of Ahvardi Beg, one of the chiefs of the Ikirmi-dort tribal confederation,<sup>4</sup> was born in Karabagh around 1780. He completed his education, but was forced, together with his family, to leave Karabagh for Georgia during Agha Mohammad Khan's invasion of 1795. By age twenty he was in Tiflis, in the service of Peter Kovalenskii,<sup>5</sup> Tsar Paul's envoy to the court of Giorgi XII,<sup>6</sup> the last king of Georgia. Fluent in Turkish and Persian, he became one of Kovalenskii's secretaries. His services were rendered in secret and he was paid for them. He began to study Russian in Tiflis. After the Russian annexation of Georgia in 1801, he embraced the Russian cause and joined the Russian army under the command

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza-Adigezal'-Bek, *Karabag-name* (Baku, 1950). An Armenian translation, in manuscript form, is in the Matenadaran Archives in Erevan (MS 4463).

<sup>2</sup> Most of his notes have been used in this translation.

<sup>3</sup> The deletions are identified by ellipses. One of these is in a section involving the killing of Armenian *meliks* by Panah Khan.

<sup>4</sup> According to Sharaf-khan Bidlisi, the Ikirmi-dort was a confederation composed of twenty-four Kurdish tribes who lived in the plains of Karabagh, *Sharaf-name*, I (Moscow, 1967), 370.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Ivanovich Kovalenskii (d. 1827) was the Russian envoy to the Georgian Court from 1799 to 1801 and the governor of Georgia from 1801 to 1802.

<sup>6</sup> Giorgi XII, the son of Erekle II, was the last king of eastern Georgia (K'art'li and Kakhet'i). He reigned from 1798 to 1800. Surrounded by external and internal foes, Giorgi appealed to Tsar Paul to annex his domain to Russia, but to maintain the ruling house and the customs of Georgia. He is sometimes referred to as Giorgi XIII, due to the fact that Giorgi XI ruled twice.

of Major General Lisanevich.<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg served with Lisanevich from 1811 to 1816. In 1816, General Ermolov sent him to Mahdi Qoli Khan of Karabagh. The khan ordered that his family property be returned to him. He was thus given property in the Ikirmi-dort district, one of the twenty-two districts of Karabagh. Soon, he became one of the main confidants of Mahdi Qoli Khan and remained with him until the latter fled to Persia in 1822. According to the 1823 Russian survey of Karabagh, Adigözal Beg owned the village of Agh-bulagh, the pastureland (*yeilaq*) of Dannibay and its village of Varvarali Kara-Oghlanli. Fifty-nine households paid taxes, part of which (156 silver rubles) was collected by Adigözal Beg. He also possessed 37 *ranjbar* (serf) families who worked on his land.

Between 1823 and 1826, Adigözal Beg served with the Russian army, under the command of Prince Madatov, guarding the borders of Karabagh from Persian incursions. In 1826, when 'Abbas Mirza began the Second Russo-Persian War, Adigözal Beg was taken prisoner and sent to Tabriz. In 1827, following the defeat of the Persian forces, he was sent to Shushi, from where he went to Tiflis to report to General Ermolov. After the appointment of General Paskevich, Adigözal Beg was secretly dispatched across the Arax to Persia to convince Mahdi Qoli Khan to return to the Russian side. After he accomplished his task, he received a decoration from General Paskevich and served under Prince Abkhazov and Prince Melikov. In 1829 Paskevich promoted him to the rank of captain.

In 1830, after some thirty years of service, Adigözal Beg retired.<sup>2</sup> In the last years of his life he was a member of the provincial court of Karabagh and was involved in the internal affairs of the province. In 1845, at the request of the vice-governor of Tiflis, Lieutenant

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<sup>1</sup> Major General Dmitri Tikhonovich Lisanevich was born in 1780. At the age of twenty he was stationed in the Caucasus; serving under Tsitsianov, he was promoted several times. Following the death of Tsitsianov he became the commandant of the Shushi fortress. In 1807 he returned to Russia and fought in the Napoleonic wars. In 1824 he returned to the Caucasus. A year later, on July 22, 1825, a Chechen he had insulted killed him.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the autobiography supplied by Mirza Adigözal Beg, there are two articles on Adigözal Beg: T. I. Ter-Grigorian, "Mirza Adigozal-Bek Karabakhskii," and A. N. Gazyants, "K biografii Mirza Adigozal-Beka," both in *Doklady Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi S.S.R.*, 9 (1948), 405-408. The above biographical information is culled from all these sources.

Colonel Mikhail Petrovich Koliubakin,<sup>1</sup> he wrote his history of Karabagh under the Persian title, *Karabagh-name*, in which he detailed the political history of the province from the coronation of Nader Shah in 1736 to the Treaty of Turkmenchay in 1828. Mirza Adigözal Beg died on September 9, 1848 and was buried in the cemetery of the Rahimli village.

Adigözal's work, according to the author, was transcribed into Persian *naskh*, with numerous Turki phrases, by a *khosnevis*, whose pseudonym was Salari.<sup>2</sup> It has an introduction, twelve chapters, and a biographical sketch. It is written in a highly stylized and flowery language. The value of Adigözal's history is that it contains information on both the khans and the Armenian *meliks* of Karabagh that is not included in Mirza Jamal's account, and, together with the latter, presents a more complete picture of the region. His work clearly reflects his anti-Persian, extremely pro-Russian bias and totally ignores the murder of Ibrahim Khan. Adigözal's narrative also contains many details on the events from 1806 to 1828, material absent from Mirza Jamal's account. His detailed information on the Second Russo-Persian War (1826-1828) is of particular importance. It is one of the few contemporary accounts of the various battles fought in eastern Armenia during that conflict. Chapter Twelve and the biographical information contain unique details on 'Abbas Mirza, the character and the role of the Persian and Russian officers involved in the war, and, more importantly, the Machiavellian behavior of local Muslim khans, who struck deals with the Christian enemy against the Muslim Persians, in order to keep their lands and possessions.

### *Tarikh-e Safi*

The third primary source is by Mirza Yusuf Nersesov.<sup>3</sup> His history, also written in Persian, is kept in the Department of Eastern Lan-

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<sup>1</sup> N. P. Koliubakin, son of General Kolubiakin, was born in 1810. Between 1836 and 1863 he was in the Caucasus serving in various non-military posts, including administering the Erevan and Kutais provinces. In 1863 he left for Moscow, where he was appointed a senator. He died in 1868.

<sup>2</sup> See introductory remarks in the text.

<sup>3</sup> Raffi uses his Armenian name Hovsep Nerseseants', *Collected Works*, X, 349.

guages of K. Kekelidze Institute in the Republic of Georgia.<sup>1</sup> A photocopy of the manuscript was given to Professor H. D. P'ap'azyan of the Matenadaran Archives. The work consists of a preface, nine chapters, and an epilogue.<sup>2</sup> Chapters eight and nine, which cover the rise of the Javanshir khans until the conclusion of the Second Russo-Persian War, have been translated into Armenian and English by K. P. Kostikian and published by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia. The facsimile of the original chapters is included for verification.<sup>3</sup>

Mirza Yusuf was born in 1798 in the village of Hadrut in Karabagh.<sup>4</sup> His family came from Ahar in Persia. At the age of eight or nine he was kidnapped by Persians and taken to Persia. He was given to the shah, converted to Islam, and was educated to serve as a secretary (*mirza*). He learned Arabic, Turkish, and Persian and became a scribe of Amir Khan Sardar, the uncle of 'Abbas Mirza. During the Second Russo-Persian War, Nersesov was among the troops of Amir Khan Sardar who invaded Karabagh. He also composed the letters from the Sardar to 'Abbas Mirza and other khans.<sup>5</sup>

At the conclusion of the war, Mirza Yusuf returned to Karabagh and was christened again by Archbishop Baghdasar Hasan-Jalalian. His first wife, a Muslim woman from Tabriz, did not wish to convert and left him. He married a second time to an Armenian woman named Shoghakat and had five children, one of whom, Nerses, became a professor at Moscow University.<sup>6</sup>

Mirza Yusuf taught Turkish and Persian in the Armenian school of Shushi. His effort to open a private school ended in failure. After that he left for Daghestan and served as a translator to Prince Orbeliani, the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Daghestan Army. Orbeliani ordered him to write the *Tarikh-e Safi*, which he did with the assistance of D. Georgadze. While in Daghestan, he also published a collection of Turkish poetry. Nersesov was an excellent

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<sup>1</sup> MS P-195.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads *moqadame*, *maqale*, and *khateme*.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf Nersesov, *A Truthful History* (Erevan, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> The biographical information has been culled from *Ibid.* 188-189, folios 1r-3v of the manuscript, and from an article by A. A. Seid-Zade, "Mirza Yusuf Nersesov," in *Izvestia of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan*, 9 (1942), 10-17.

<sup>5</sup> T.S.124v, 129v, 133r, and 134r.

<sup>6</sup> *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, XXa (St. Petersburg, 1897), 909.

copyist (*khoshmevis*) of Persian manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> According to Seid-Zade, Nersesov died in 1864.

*Tarikh-e Safi* is a detailed history of the Armenian *melikdoms*, the Muslim khans of Karabagh, and the Russo-Persian wars of the nineteenth century. Certain parts of his narrative are taken from Adigözal Beg's *Karabagh-name*. Calling his work "A Truthful History," he tries, however, to avoid the superfluous descriptions and exaggerations of Mirza Jamal and Adigözal Beg. Information provided by Nersesov that is not included in Mirza Jamal's or Adigözal Beg's narratives has been footnoted or collated in the English translation of *Karabagh-name*. Although Kostikian's translation has been used, his errors and deletions have been corrected and his English text has been edited.

### *O politicheskome sushchestvovanni Karabakhskogo khanstva*

The fourth primary source used here may have been drafted in Persian and rewritten in Russian by the author with the help of others.<sup>2</sup> It is by Ahmad Beg Javanshir (1828-1903), who was born on March 2, 1828 in the village of Kahrizli in the Kebirli district of the Shushi region. The village was originally a *tuyul*<sup>3</sup> of his father, Ja'far Qoli Beg, and was free from taxation.<sup>4</sup> His grandfather was Mohammad Beg,<sup>5</sup> and his great-grandfather, who, according to Ahmad Beg, was to succeed Panah Khan, was Mehr 'Ali Beg, the brother of Ibrahim Khan of Karabagh.

Ahmad Beg studied Persian and Arabic until the age of fifteen in the village *mollahkhane*. Thanks to the administrative and judicial re-

<sup>1</sup> Two of his manuscripts are at the Matenadaran: "Tozukat-e Teymuri," copied in 1827-1828 in Tehran (*MS Arab.* 579) and "Derbend-name," copied in 1856 in Daghestan (*MS Arab.* 239).

<sup>2</sup> A copy of his autobiography, in the possession of Hamidi Khanum, the daughter of Ahmad Beg, was lost during the Armeno-Tatar (later known as Azeri) conflict of 1905-1907.

<sup>3</sup> *Tuyul* (*tiyul* or *toyul*) is a land grant given in compensation for service. For details, see G. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1992), pp. 128-132.

<sup>4</sup> His mother was Zahreh Khanum.

<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Beg fled to the khanate of Shakki after the return of Ibrahim Khan to Shushi. He relied on the protection of Mohammad Hasan Khan of Shakki, who handed him over to his Mustafa Khan of Shirvan. The latter, wishing to avenge the death of his father and brother, had Mohammad Beg beheaded at the end of 1797 near Shamakhi.

forms of the early 1840s, he managed to enroll in a Russian school. In 1843, at the request of Mahdi Qoli Khan, Ahmad Beg was admitted, at government expense, to the Pavlovskii Cadet Corps School at St. Petersburg. He graduated in 1848 and joined the hussars under the command of Constantine, the son of Tsar Nicholas I. He served at the start of the Crimean War, was decorated and promoted to the rank of captain. A wound he had received during a duel in 1850, however, forced him to retire in 1854 and to return to Karabagh. He became involved in agriculture and in reconstructing the Govur-arkhi canal, a project for which plans were drawn but never realized. In the 1870s he was asked to join a commission to verify the ancestry and petitions of those who claimed to be *begs* or exempt from taxation. His knowledge of important local families helped to expose false claims, and his enemies had him arrested. He later returned to his birthplace and began studying history and literature. He died in 1903, at the age of 75 and was buried, according to his wish, in the village of Kahrizli.

In 1883, Ahmad Beg wrote his short history, which was published in the newspaper *Kavkaz* in 1884<sup>1</sup> and republished in Shushi in 1901. The work, entitled *O politicheskomo sushchestvovanii Karabakhskogo khanstva*, has five chapters. It was edited by E. B. Shukiurzade, with a modicum of notes, and published in Russian and Azeri by the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan in 1961.<sup>2</sup>

Ahmad Beg's background makes it clear that his history has a Russian orientation. The pride of his Javanshir heritage comes through, nevertheless, particularly in passages discussing his great-grandfather, Mehr 'Ali Beg, who, he claims, was disinherited by Ibrahim Khan.<sup>3</sup> His work covers the history of the khanate of Karabagh from the death of Nader Shah and the appointment of Panah Khan as the khan of Karabagh in 1747/48 to the signing of the Russo-Karabaghi treaty in 1805. It, therefore, complements Mirza Jamal's chronology, and provides additional information on several topics. Information provided by Ahmad Beg that is not included in Mirza Jamal's narrative has been footnoted in the English translation of the *Tarikh-e Karabagh*.

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<sup>1</sup> Issue no. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Akhmedbek Dzhavanshir, *O politicheskomo sushchestvovanii Karabakhskogo khanstva [s 1747 po 1805 god]* (Baku, 1961).

<sup>3</sup> This claim has colored Ahmad Beg's version of certain events. See Chapter Four of *Tarikh-e Karabagh*.

### *Golestan-e Eram*

The last source examined here is by 'Abbas Qoli Aqa Bakikhanov (1794-1847), referred to by many Azerbaijani scholars as one of their earliest intellectuals and historians. Bakikhanov, who wrote poetry and scientific works as well, was the first to write a scholarly monograph on the history of greater Shirvan, that is, the region that later encompassed most of the present-day Azerbaijan Republic. His work, entitled *Golestan-e Eram*, utilizes histories and geographies written by ancient, medieval, and modern authors and covers the history of the region from ancient times into the nineteenth century.

Bakikhanov wrote this monumental work in Persian. Although a number of manuscripts of his work were available, the first publication was a Russian translation in Baku in 1926.<sup>1</sup> The Azeri version published by the Academy of Sciences appeared only in 1951.<sup>2</sup> In 1970 a critical edition based on five Persian manuscripts in the archives of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan in Baku was published.<sup>3</sup> The project was supervised by Abdu'l-Karim Alizadeh, of the History Institute, who deserves praise for his significant contribution to serious scholarship of the region. Although Bakikhanov does not concentrate on Karabagh, his information is extremely accurate, and is helpful in resolving some of the chronological problems presented in the other sources on Karabagh. Information provided by Bakikhanov that is not included in Mirza Jamal's narrative has been footnoted in the English translation of the *Tarikh-e Karabagh*.

### *B) Persian chronicles that contain material on Karabagh*

Although these primary sources contain little on Karabagh, they serve to confirm or correct certain facts presented by the Karabaghi historians. They also enable the reader to observe how central policies affected local conditions. The principal histories of Persia are divided according to dynasties, which, at times, overlap.

The two sources of the Safavid period used here are *Tarikh-e 'Alamaray-e 'Abbasi* by Eskandar Monshi and *Tadhkirat al-Muluk* by an anonymous scribe. The first is the history of Persia during

<sup>1</sup> Abas-Kuli-Aga Kudsi Bakikhanov, *Giulistan-Iram* (Baku, 1926).

<sup>2</sup> Abbas-Kuli-Aga Bakikhanov, *Gulistan-i Iram* (Baku, 1951).

<sup>3</sup> 'Abbas-qoli Aqa Bakikhanov, *Golestan-e Eram* (Baku, 1970). The earliest manuscript is dated 1844 (M-49/6258) and the latest is dated 1866 (B-19/3312).

the reign of Shah 'Abbas and was written by his chief secretary. It not only details Shah 'Abbas' reign, but also provides valuable information about earlier rulers and their relations with neighboring states, as well as the arts and sciences in Persia at that time. The second is a manual of Safavid administration, which contains valuable information on socioeconomic conditions as well as institutions in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Both works have relevant material on Transcaucasia. Although I have examined the Persian originals, I have decided to use their excellent English translations. The former was translated as *History of Shah 'Abbas* by Roger Savory in 1978, and the latter as *Tadhkirat al-Muluk: A Manual of Safavid Administration* by Vladimir Minorsky in 1943.

The rise of the Afshars and the rule of Nader Shah have found their champion in Nader's secretary, Mirza Mohammad Mahdi Koukabi Astarabadi, whose *Tarikh-e Jahan-gosha-ye Naderi* contains detailed material on his reign. I have used an illuminated manuscript of AH 1171 (1757/58), the facsimile of which was recently reprinted in Tehran in 1991. Mohammad Kazem Marvi's '*Alamara-ye Naderi* is finally available in a new edition, which sheds additional light on Nader's campaigns in Transcaucasia, as well as his relations with the Armenians of Karabagh. Mirza Mohammad Khalil Mar'ashi Safavi's *Majma' ol-Tavarikh* (Tehran, 1983) adds some minor details to this period as well.

The events between the death of Nader and the rise of Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar have been chronicled in a number of histories. All have been published in critical editions. They include *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh* by Abu'l-Hasan ibn Mohammad Amin Golestane (Tehran, 1965); *Golshan-e Morad* by Mirza Mohammad Abu'l-Hasan Ghaffari Kashani (Tehran, 1990); *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha* by Mirza Mohammad Sadeq Musavi Nami Esfahani (Tehran, 1984); and *Rostam ol-Tavarikh* by Mohammad Hashem Asef (Tehran, 1973). They all detail the history of Nader's successors, particularly the period of Karim Khan Zand and the events involving Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar, Azad Khan Afghan, and Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar, all of which affected the history of Karabagh and other parts of Transcaucasia.

The history of the early Qajars (1750-1834) is related by a number of chroniclers. Some were secretaries of the shahs or princes of the realm, other worked in the central or provincial chanceries. The Qajars were thoroughly involved in Karabagh and other parts of

Transcaucasia; in fact, a branch of the Qajars ruled in Erevan and Ganje from the time of the Safavids. Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar fought Panah Khan Javanshir, while Agha Mohammad Khan, Fath 'Ali Shah, and 'Abbas Mirza all campaigned in Karabagh and other parts of Transcaucasia. An examination of the main sources of Qajar history is, therefore, crucial in affirming or refuting certain facts presented by local historians. The sources used in this study are:

*Tarikh-e Farsname-ye Naseri* by Mirza Hasan Fasa'i, an AH 1314 (1896/97) calligraphic edition reprinted (2 volumes in one) Tehran, n.d.; *Tarikh-e Rouzat ol-Safa-ye Naseri* by Reza Qoli Khan Hedayat, vol. IX (Qom, 1960); *Ma'aser-e Soltaniye* by 'Abd ol-Razzaq ibn Najaf Qoli Donboli, the 1825/26 calligraphic edition reprinted in Tehran, 1973; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi* (also known as *Ahsan ol-Tavarikh*) by Mohammad Fathollah b. Mohammad-Taqi Saravi (Tehran, 1992); *Nasekh ol-Tavarikh* by Mirza Mohammad-Taqi [Lesan ol-molk/Sepehr] (Tehran, 1965), and Mohammad Hasan Khan E'temad ol-Saltane's *Tarikh-e Montazam-e Naseri* (Tehran, 1985-88).

### C) Other Sources

A number of works written by medieval Arab and Persian geographers are essential to any study of the region, particularly since place names changed with the successive invasions by Arabs, Turks, and Mongols. Hamdollah Mostowfi's *Nozhat ol-Qulub* (Tehran, 1983), Abu-Eshaq Estakhri's *Masalek va Mamalek* (Tehran, 1989), Abu'l-Qasem Ibn Abdullah Khordadhbe's, *Al-Masalek va al-Mamalek* (Tehran, 1991) and Vladimir Minorsky's translation of *Hudud al-'Alam* (London, 1970) are among these.

Arab historians give accurate details on the early Muslim period in Karabagh and the rest of Transcaucasia. These include Ya'qubi's *Tarikh* (Leiden, 1969) and (Tehran, 1983); Muqaddasi's *Ahsan al-Taqaqim* (Leiden, 1967); Ibn Hauqal's *Kitab Surat al-Arz* (Leiden, 1938/39); and Baladhuri's *Futuh al-Buldan* (Tehran, 1967). Minorsky's translation of parts of *Jami' al-duwal* (with material from the *Bab al-Abwab*) as *The History of Sharvan and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries* (London, 1958) completes the list.

Additional primary and a number of secondary sources, such as Mahdi Bamdad's biographical dictionary of Persian notables and a number of Russian sources, were used primarily to explicate points raised in the footnotes, and are included in the bibliography.

### D) Historical Background

Greco-Roman and medieval European primary sources, as well as Persian and Arab historians and geographers, and nineteenth-century Turkic chroniclers residing in Transcaucasia, considered the regions west and south of the Kur, east of the Hazar, and north of the Arax rivers as part of ancient and medieval Armenian state.<sup>1</sup> Following the first partition of Armenia between the Byzantine Empire and Sasanian Persia in AD 387, these provinces were severed from Armenia and combined with Caucasian Albania, which was situated east of the Kur River, to form a new administrative unit called *Ran*. The Armenian population, led by their feudal lords, continued to live in the region until the mid-seventh century, when the Arabs conquered it. The Arabs referred to the region as *al-Ran* (pronounced "ar-Ran"), which in time became *Arran*. The town of Partav, renamed Barda', situated just west of the Kur, became the Arab administrative center.<sup>2</sup>

For the next three centuries, the Arabs struggled to dominate the Armenian nobility. Throughout all this period, the Armenians maintained a majority in southern Arran until the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup> The Turkish and Mongol invasions from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries affected, for the first time, the population balance of southern Arran. Death and destruction, forced or voluntary conversions, and, most of all, emigration, reduced the Armenian population and caused most of the remaining Armenian nobles and their followers to seek refuge in the mountains of the region. Armenians thus evacuated the lowlands and, under the leadership of their princes, built fortresses and strongholds known later as *saqnaq* or *sghnakh* in the highlands of Arran. In fact, following the fall of the Armenian Bagratid and Cilician kingdoms between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, these districts were

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<sup>1</sup> Armenian historians citing the Greek, Roman, Persian, and Arab sources maintain that a good part of western Azerbaijan was indeed part of Armenian provinces of Artsakh and Utik. Azerbaijani historians disagree. They state that the region claimed by the Armenians was inhabited by Caucasian Albanians, whom they call the ancestors of present-day Azerbaijanis. See *Tarikh-e Karabagh*, Chapter One.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

among the few areas where Armenians continued to have an active political, military, and intellectual leadership.<sup>1</sup>

Between the thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries Armenians gravitated to these safe havens from many areas to the west. Eventually, a number of Armenian nobles, now called *meliks*,<sup>2</sup> ruled in the mountains of Karabagh and Siunik'-Zangezur. The invasions of Timur and the incursion of Turkmen tribes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries further reduced the Armenian population of the lowlands.<sup>3</sup>

Karabagh's topography divides it into three unique regions: Mountainous Karabagh, or the highlands west of Aghdam, ranging in elevation from 2000 to 12,000 feet; the central valleys, ranging from 500 to 2000 feet in elevation; and the Karabagh steppe or southeastern lowlands between the Arax and Kur Rivers, which join the Moghan Steppe in Persian Azerbaijan. The Armenians were forced out first from the steppes, then the valleys, and were finally pushed into the mountains.

From the fourteenth century onward, the term *Arran* was gradually replaced by the Turko-Persian compound word *Karabagh*,<sup>4</sup> meaning "Black Garden."<sup>5</sup> Finally, the constant wars between the Ottomans and

<sup>1</sup> The monasteries of Tat'ew and Gladzor, located in Zangezur, and the See of Gandzasar, in the district of Khachen in Karabagh, were important Armenian intellectual and religious centers throughout this time.

<sup>2</sup> The term is from the Arabic *malik*, which has a variety of meanings, including "prince" or "ruler." The word entered the Armenian vocabulary as well.

<sup>3</sup> The Armenian presence in the lowlands of Karabagh was still evident in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. H. R. Roemer mentions that Karabagh in the fourteenth century was still considered an Armenian territory. See "Timur in Persia," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI (Cambridge, 1986), 59. The German traveler Johannes Schiltberger, who visited Karabagh in the early fifteenth century, states that although the Muslims had taken possession of Karabagh, there were still Armenian villages in the region, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger* (New York, 1970), 86. By the Safavid era, most Karabaghi Armenians had taken refuge in the mountains of Karabagh. This and all other references to an Armenian presence in Karabagh were expunged in the new edition of Schiltberger's travels edited by Buniatov. See appendix.

<sup>4</sup> *Qarabagh* is the Persian, *Garabağ* the Azeri, *Gharabagh* the Armenian, *Karabagh* the Turkish, and *Karabakh* the Russian transliteration.

<sup>5</sup> The term first appears in fourteenth-century Persian and Georgian works. See Hamdollah Mostowfi Qazvini, *Ketab-e Nozhat ol-Qulub* (Tehran, 1983), 56, 181-82; *Kart'lis Tskhovreba* (Georgian Chronicle) II (Tbilisi, 1959), 240. Although the term is commonly attributed to the rich soil and vegetation of the region, Vladimir Minorsky noted that the name was perhaps connected with

the Persians, from the start of the sixteenth through the mid-eighteenth centuries, as well as the dynastic struggles in Persia through most of the eighteenth century, resulted in the forced and voluntary emigration of Armenians from eastern Armenia to neighboring regions, particularly Georgia and Persia. Although the Armenians had become a minority in their homeland, the mountains of Karabagh and Zangezur remained one of the few areas where they continued to maintain a sizeable majority.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout its history, Armenia was subject to partition between the neighboring empires. The last such division came in 1639, in the treaty of Zohab (Zuhab) between the Safavid Shah Safi I and the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV. The partition left the historic Armenian lands east of the Arpachay (Akhurian) River to the Persians. The Safavids divided their Armenian possessions into two regions, Chukhur-e Sa'd and Karabagh, each under a governor-general or *beglarbegi*.<sup>2</sup> (See map 1). Eventually travelers, historians, and geographers referred to these *beglarbegis* as Persian Armenia. After the fall of the Safavids, the Ottomans invaded the region in 1723 and remained there for over a decade. They succeeded in subduing all of Georgia and Persian Armenia, save the mountain regions of Karabagh and Zangezur. Here, the *meliks* under the leadership of David Beg and Avan Yuzbashi managed, from their mountain fortresses, to resist the Turks until Nader Shah expelled the Ottomans from Transcaucasia in 1735. Nader rewarded the Armenian *meliks* and broke the power of the Turkmen tribes of Karabagh by removing a number of their tribes, including the Javanshir, to Persia. He also reorganized Persian Armenia into four units, known as the *velayats* or provinces of Erevan, Nakhichevan, Ganje, and Karabagh. (See map 3.)

After the death of Nader, the Turkic tribes returned to Karabagh. Panah Khan, the leader of the Javanshir tribe, soon expanded his domain and, by 1748, established a khanate that lasted until 1806. His son, Ibrahim Khan, extended the influence of Karabagh into Zangezur, Nakhichevan, Qaradagh, and Ganje. Both khans clashed with a number of the *meliks*, killing some and forcing others to take

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some now-extinct Turkic tribe, see *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, 166. An Armenian root for the name has been suggested as well.

<sup>1</sup> The five Armenian districts of Karabagh became known as the *Khamse* (*khamisa* or "five" in Arabic).

<sup>2</sup> Erevan was the center of Chukhur-e Sa'd and Ganje the center of Karabagh.

refuge in Persia, Ganje and Georgia.<sup>1</sup> The *meliks*, who had sought the assistance of Peter the Great during the Turkish invasion,<sup>2</sup> now petitioned Catherine the Great to oust the khans from their homeland.

In the late eighteenth century, during the second Russian penetration into Transcaucasia, a plan for the creation of an Armenian state out of Karabagh, Erevan, and Nakhichevan was presented to Catherine the Great. A united Georgia, in the meantime, would take over Ganje. These two large Christian vassal states would act as a buffer against their Muslim neighbors, the Ottomans and the Persians, and would help Russia extend its influence in Transcaucasia (see map 5). Soon afterward, it became evident, however, that the Armenians were too scattered, and, except for the mountain regions of Karabagh-Zangezur, unarmed and leaderless. Furthermore, Georgia had a dynasty and already possessed a significant Armenian population, which was increased daily by immigrants from Erevan, Ganje, and Karabagh, who were fleeing the unstable conditions in their lands. Georgia, therefore, became the focal point of Russian expansion into the region.

After annexing Georgia at the start of the nineteenth century, the Russians made a concerted effort to conquer the rest of Transcaucasia. Following a number of armed conflicts, the Russians, assisted by Armenian volunteers, achieved their objective, and the lands north of the Arax River became part of the Russian Empire at the conclusion of the First and Second Russo-Persian wars. After Russia gained control of Karabagh, despite its significant Armenian population,<sup>3</sup> became part of the Muslim Province, which included the combined territory of the khanates of Shirvan, Shakki, Qobbe, Baku, Karabagh, and parts of Talesh. There were several reasons for the inclusion of Karabagh in the Muslim Province. One was the treaty, which Russia

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<sup>1</sup> During the second half of the eighteenth century, Panah Khan and especially Ibrahim Khan were responsible for the death or emigration of a large part of the Armenian population. According to a Russian primary source, the Armenians, by the end of 1804, were reduced to 4,000 families; *Akty*, II, 623. Armenian refugees returned to their homes following the Russian conquest of the region.

<sup>2</sup> Peter the Great invaded the region in 1722. The Russians, however, concentrated their efforts along the Caspian littoral and did not reach Persian Armenia or Georgia. By 1735, the inhospitable climate and the rise of Nader Shah encouraged Russia to withdraw from Transcaucasia.

<sup>3</sup> A large number of Armenians returned to Karabagh from their temporary exile in Georgia.

made with Ibrahim Khan of Karabagh in 1805. The agreement guaranteed his family the governorship of the region in exchange for his becoming a Russian vassal. This treaty was, to some degree, honored until 1822. Another was the fact that the Armenian *meliks* of Karabagh were not a cohesive military or political group. They lacked a leader and their struggle against the Karabaghi khans was not to create a new Armenia, but was driven by regional interests. Sentiments of ethnicity, religious unity, and nationalism had yet to be developed among the Armenians. Moreover, the Armenians, except in the mountains of Karabagh, were a minority in the province.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the khanates of Erevan and Nakhichevan, or the remainder of Persian Armenia, were still under Persian rule. The conflict over their control was not concluded until both the Second Russo-Persian and the Russo-Turkish wars had ended in 1828 and 1829 respectively, by which time the administrative configurations were set for the time being.

Although, at first, Russian administrators generally permitted local customs and administrative practices, this policy was soon reversed. In 1840, Russia began a major provincial reorganization in the Caucasus. The entire region was divided into two large provinces: the Georgian Imeret'i, with headquarters in Tiflis, and the Caspian, with headquarters in New Shamakhi. Karabagh was included in the Caspian Province. General dissatisfaction prompted the tsar to appoint a viceroy, Vorontsov, who was more sensitive to local problems. Vorontsov reorganized the region into four provinces in 1845: Tiflis, Kutais, Shamakhi, and Darband.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Russian statistics indicate that, in 1810, the Armenians composed some 21 percent of the population of Karabagh, *Akty*, IV, 37-38. In 1823, after the return of those who had fled the region, the Armenian population had increased to an estimated 30 percent, *Opisanie Karabakhskoi Provintsii sostavlennoe v 1823 g.* (no pagination). By 1832, the Armenian population had increased to just a third of the total inhabitants. The overwhelming majority of the Karabagh Armenians, however, as Mirza Jamal's text indicates, lived in the five mountainous districts. Thus, one-third of the population of Karabagh (the Armenians) lived in one-third of the territory of the former khanate. In that mountainous territory, the Armenians constituted an overwhelming majority of the population. In the remaining two-thirds, however, the Turkic groups constituted the majority.

<sup>2</sup> Armenian complaints resulted in the creation of the Erevan Province in 1849. This province essentially recreated the Armenian Province of 1828-1840 (the combined territories of the khanates of Erevan and

Karabagh became part of the Tiflis and Shamakhi Provinces. Vorontsov's successors made other changes in 1862, 1867/68, 1875, and 1880, which partitioned the lands occupied by Transcaucasian Turks, Georgians, and Armenians into new administrative units.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the territory of the khanate of Karabagh was included in the Elizavetpol' Province. Complaints from local Armenians about these changes began almost immediately and continued periodically until the First World War. With the rise of political and national consciousness, first among the Armenians and Georgians and later among the Turkic population, the tsarist administration adopted three ways of resolving the political and economic demands of Transcaucasia: placating local dissatisfaction with minor reforms or promises of reform; use of force; and creating divisions among the many ethnic and religious groups living there. One of the results was conflict in Karabagh between the Armenians and the Turkic people, who soon began to refer to themselves as Azerbaijanis, during the revolutionary years of 1905-1907.<sup>2</sup> Both sides, for the first time, divided along cultural, ethnic, linguistic, regional, and religious lines. The Armeno-Azeri conflict intensified in the dispute over the Armenian enclave of Karabagh during the brief period of independence of Armenia and Azerbaijan (1918-1920). By 1923, Karabagh, despite Armenian protests, became part of Soviet Azerbaijan, but its Armenian enclave, designated by the Russians as *Nagorno-Karabakh* ("Mountainous Karabagh"), was declared an autonomous region within Azerbaijan. Armenian dissatisfaction with Nagorno-Karabakh's lack of cultural and political autonomy continued, however. Petitions were submitted to Moscow during the Khrushchev era and at the constitutional debate of 1978. Gorbachev's promise of serious reforms prompted the Karabaghi Armenians in 1988 to demand their independence from Azerbaijan. The two sides fought a bloody war, which resulted in a *de facto* independence of Mountainous Karabagh. A shaky cease-fire has been in effect since 1994.

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Nakhichevan). See G. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (Costa Mesa, 1992), 26-28.

<sup>1</sup> By 1880 the administrative divisions were set and remained unchanged until the Russian Revolution of 1917. Transcaucasia was divided into the following provinces and districts: Tiflis, Kutais, Elizavetpol', Erevan, Baku, Kars, Batum, Daghestan, and Zakatal.

<sup>2</sup> The best English-language source is L. Villari, *Fire and Sword in the Caucasus* (London, 1907).

The primary sources used in this study demonstrate that the Armenian military and economic position in Karabagh during the eighteenth century was considerable. The Armenian population remained, for the most part, in Mountainous Karabagh, a region, as noted, known earlier by the name of *Khamse* (see map 4). A number of the Armenian *meliks* and their troops fought in several major conflicts against the khans of Karabagh and were sought after as allies by neighboring khans and the Persian shahs. The Karabaghi khans killed some *meliks* and their followers; others escaped the political and economic pressures and sought refuge in Persia, Ganje and Georgia, waiting for conditions in Karabagh to improve. The leaders and the followers of these self-exiled groups eventually returned with the Russians to expel the khans, only, as the traveler George Keppel observed, to take on "the milder yoke of Russia."<sup>1</sup>

#### *E) A Note on the Translation*

*Tarikh-e Karabagh* consists of only sixty-two folios,<sup>2</sup> *Karabagh-name* is around 100 folios and *Tarikh-e Safi* is 149 folios. As in most Persian manuscripts, there are occasional chapter headings, but no punctuation marks or paragraphs. Being local histories, the number of individuals named in the texts is few when compared to the major Persian chronicles of the time. They are, nevertheless, identified in the footnotes. Moreover, due to the brevity of the manuscripts, I have opted for placing the explanatory comments in footnotes rather than in the introduction or in a separate commentary. A number of Persian terms have more than one meaning; I have, on several occasions, chosen a slightly different shade of meaning for a particular term, to fit the context of the sentence. Both texts maintain the flowery epithets, honorific formulae, hyperbolic expressions, and wearisome repetitions so common in most Persian manuscripts. They also contain couplets and other verses or odes.<sup>3</sup> One of my main objectives was to make the translation readable, and to that end I have pared down some of the double adjectives, without changing the meaning of the text. At the same time, I have retained

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<sup>1</sup> George Keppel, *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England*, II (London, 1834), 185.

<sup>2</sup> The pagination of the original Persian folios of Mirza Jamal appears in bold brackets.

<sup>3</sup> Most of these are included in the translated texts.

some of Mirza Jamal's, Mirza Adigözal Beg's and Mirza Yusuf's repetitiveness and verbosity to convey the flavor of the originals.

# **Tarikh-e Karabagh**

*English Translation*

## *An Account of the Sovereign Rule<sup>1</sup> of the Late<sup>2</sup> Khans of the Velayat<sup>3</sup> of Karabagh, Panah Khan and Ibrahim Khan, and Other Miscellaneous Events<sup>4</sup>*

A copy of the text written by the late<sup>5</sup> Mirza Jamal of Karabagh at the command of Sardar<sup>6</sup> Vorontsov<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Persian words *hukumat* and *esteqlal* have a number of common meanings: "absolute authority," "sovereignty," and "dominion." It is important to note that although Panah Khan, and especially, Ebrahim Khan, behaved as the sovereign political authority in Karabagh, they did, as will be noted, occasionally submit to Persia or Russia. One may argue, therefore, that "autonomous" would be the more correct term. The context of Mirza Jamal's chronicle, however, denotes that "sovereignty" was the meaning he wished to convey.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal frequently uses the term *marhum* ("the late," or "of blessed memory") when referring to Panah or Ebrahim Khan. This sign of respect is his way of acknowledging his clan's leaders and his benefactors. In order to maintain the nature of the original, the term will be translated every time it appears in the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Velayat* has several meanings, roughly equivalent to "province," "kingdom," "region," or "territory." This term will appear as is. With few exceptions, which will be noted, Mirza Jamal uses the term to signify a province or *khanate*.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal does not include the last ruler of Karabagh, Mahdi Qoli Khan (1806-1822), the son of Ebrahim Khan, in his title. Since Russia occupied Karabagh in 1806 and made it a protectorate, the tsar, in effect, became the suzerain of the last khan. Mahdi Qoli Khan's flight to Persia in 1822 was another reason.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase, "written by the late," is a clear indication that this manuscript is a later version copied by a scribe (see introduction).

<sup>6</sup> The term *sardar* has a variety of meanings: "general," "king's lieutenant," and "commander-in-chief." In this context, it means "king's lieutenant" or "viceroy"; in other parts of the text it signifies "commander," "governor general," or "commander-in-chief." Hence this term will also appear as is.

<sup>7</sup> Prince Mikhail Semenovitch Vorontsov (1785-1856) was the first viceroy of the Caucasus. His father was the Russian ambassador to London, where he grew up. Later, he joined the Russian army and fought in the Napoleonic wars. In 1823, Tsar Alexander I appointed him the governor general of southern Ukraine. His success there prompted Nicholas I, on January 30, 1845, to promote him to viceroy with unlimited powers and to extend his authority to include the Caucasus. During his ten-year tenure,

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate<sup>1</sup>

Infinite praise and eternal glory befits the Creator of the universe, Who places the crown of fortune and greatness on whomever He pleases, and removes it from whomever He pleases. In truth, all grandeur, might, and fortune are due to His universal grace and eternal generosity.

couplet<sup>2</sup>

You decide who will be a slave and who a king  
You grant good fortune to whomever You wish

After the praise and glorification of the Creator of heaven and earth, it should be obvious to all learned persons that knowledge of the past events, conditions, and distinct features of each *velayat* can only be enlightening and profitable [for the present administration].<sup>3</sup>

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Vorontsov made the Caucasian administration much more effective by appointing local officials who were knowledgeable about the region, and made a name for himself as an innovator. He resigned his post on November 29, 1854, due to ill health. The viceroyalty of the Caucasus was temporarily assigned to General Murav'ev, and in 1856, given to Prince A. I. Bariatinskii. In 1862, Grand Duke Mikhail, the youngest brother of Tsar Alexander II, was appointed to the post, in which he served until 1882. The viceroyalty was then abolished until 1905, when, due to the political upheavals of the time, a second cousin once removed of Vorontsov, Count Marion I. Vorontsov-Dashkov, assumed the post and performed as well as his forebear. For a detailed account of the life and accomplishments of Vorontsov, see Anthony L. H. Rhineland, *Prince Michael Vorontsov: Viceroy to the Tsar* (Montreal, 1990).

<sup>1</sup> This is the opening line of the Qur'an's first *Surah* or Chapter (*Surat Fatihat al-Kitab*), as well as most of the other *Surahs*. It traditionally begins chronicles of Muslim historians.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *beyt*. Persian historians habitually included lines of verse (their own or others'), quotations from the Qur'an, or various invocations in their works. Mirza Jamal, following this custom, has included two sets of verse, one at the beginning and one at the end of the text. Adigözal Beg, in his text, has included verses as well

<sup>3</sup> This passage demonstrates Mirza Jamal's subtle way of arguing the value of his history, as well as giving credit to Vorontsov's insight for gathering information on former administrations (see introduction).

Thus in the Muslim year 1263,<sup>1</sup> which corresponds to the Christian year 1847, the noble and distinguished colonel of cavalry,<sup>2</sup> Shahamir Khan Beglarov,<sup>3</sup> a native of Karabagh, came to the fortress of Shushi and met with me, his sincere and old acquaintance, Mirza Jamal Javanshir of Karabagh. I had been in the service of the khans of Karabagh, where for many years I performed the duties of *mirza* and *vazir* of Karabagh.<sup>4</sup> After their rule, I continued [2] as an employee and official of the exalted and mighty Russian State, performing all duties assigned to me. During our conversation, due to his kindness to me and his devotion to the general of the infantry, the recipient of many decorations and titles, the lofty Count and Prince<sup>5</sup> Mikhail Semenovitch Vorontsov—may the kindness of the all-powerful Allah shine on him—the protector of renowned emirs<sup>6</sup> and of the rich and poor, the viceroy of His Majesty the great *padeshah*,<sup>7</sup> supreme emperor and bountiful *khaqan*,<sup>8</sup> Beglarov

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal utilizes the Arabic lunar calendar of 354/355 days starting from the date of Mohammad's departure (*hijrat*-AH) from Mecca to Medina (July 16, 622). AH 1263 began on December 20, 1846, and ended on December 8, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads *bolkovnek* and *qavalir*. Mirza Jamal uses numerous Russian military terms throughout the text. The term *bolkovnek* is *polkovnik* or "colonel." *Qavalir* is the Russian term *kavaler*, literally "cavalier," but in this context, it is more probably *kavalerist*, or "cavalryman," hence colonel of the cavalry. Besides Russian terms, Mirza Jamal at times uses local Turkish and Arabic terms. Hence, he uses *chay* instead of the Persian *rud* (river) and *kizil* instead of the Persian *qermez* (red). At times, instead of the customary Arabic *Allah*, he uses the Persian *khodavand* or *parvardegar*.

<sup>3</sup> Shahamir Khan came from the Beglarian *meliks* of Golestan. Like many young men from respectable families, he joined the Russian administration. For more details on the Beglarians, see Robert H. Hewsen, "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia: A Preliminary Study," *Revue Des Études Arméniennes* (new series), IX (1972), 319-321. The *meliks* of Karabagh will be discussed later.

<sup>4</sup> The title of *mirza* before a name denotes a chancery scribe or secretary; after a name, the title signifies a prince of the royal house. A vizier or *vazir* was the head of the civil-financial bureau.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the Russian terms *graf* (originally German for "count") and *kniiaz'* ("prince").

<sup>6</sup> *Emir* can be interpreted as "commander," "governor," "chief," "leader," "person of rank or distinction," or "prince." Vorontsov, as the viceroy of the tsar, had authority over all commanders and governors in his jurisdiction.

<sup>7</sup> The title of *padeshah* or "king/emperor" is a Persian one. Mirza Jamal uses it a number of times when describing great or powerful rulers.

<sup>8</sup> The title of *khaqan* was given to the Chinese and Mongol emperors and thereafter denoted the most powerful of all rulers.

stated that His Excellency [Vorontsov] was very eager to familiarize himself with past events in the provinces under his command and the facts about the rule and authority of the past khans. If someone was to record the history of Karabagh, giving details of the tenure of the previous khans, and present it to this supreme governor, he would be rewarded with kindness and would earn his blessing.<sup>1</sup>

Since I, in my humble respect for the benevolence of the exalted prince viceroy, feel fortunate to be able to perform such a service, and to gain, for even a mere second, the glow emanating from this supreme commander, and to [also] observe his happy and kind countenance, I have therefore, relying on Allah, and without subtracting or adding anything, written the facts as I have discovered them in histories and from wise elders, as well as what I have observed and heard during my fifty years [of service].<sup>2</sup> [3] It is hoped that this copy,<sup>3</sup> presented to his court, will be accepted as a gift and will serve as evidence of my service and sincere devotion. I have divided these pages into a number of chapters. Each chapter is devoted to different events.

[May] Allah Provide Aid and Assure Success

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal wants to remind everyone, especially the Russians, of his services to the state so that he and his family would continue to receive his income and pension (see introduction).

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal was born in 1773/74. It is safe to assume that here he means service and not age.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads *noskhe*, which translates as “manuscript copy,” meaning that Mirza Jamal either made a copy of his history and presented it to Vorontsov or prepared a new draft (see introduction).

## Chapter One

### *On the First Settlements, Borders, Ancient Cities, and Rivers of the Velayat of Karabagh<sup>1</sup>*

As is recorded in old histories, the borders of Karabagh are as follows:<sup>2</sup> To the south is the Aras<sup>3</sup> (Arax) River, from the Khoda-afarin Bridge<sup>4</sup> to the Broken Bridge,<sup>5</sup> which today is located within the Qazzaq, Shams od-Din, and Damirchi-Hasanli *mahals*.<sup>6</sup> Russian officials call this bridge Qrasni Mosd,<sup>7</sup> which means Red Bridge.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe's translation reads, *Chapter One: Borders, Rivers, Climate, "Karabag,"* 61 (1855), 260.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal is, in fact, describing the borders of the ancient Armenian provinces of Artsakh and Utik, as well as the borders of the Safavid *beglarbegi* of Karabagh, which at that time included the territory of Ganje. See *Tadhkirat al-Muluk* (London, 1943), 101-102 and map 1.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Jamal, throughout the text, uses the Persian designation for the Arax (Araxes) River. The Armenian term Arax will be used here instead.

<sup>4</sup> The bridge spans the Arax in the Dizak district of Karabagh. See map 3.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Jamal, using the local Turki dialect, refers to it as Seneq Korpi (Sıng Köprü in modern Turkish).

<sup>6</sup> The term *mahal* can be translated as "district." Occasionally it can refer to "quarter," although *mahalle* is more appropriate for quarter. *Mahal* will appear throughout the text.

<sup>7</sup> The reference is to the Russian *Krasny Most* (Red Bridge).

<sup>8</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the local Turkic dialect *Qezel Korpi*. The Turkish version would be *Kızıl Köprü*. The above paragraph presents a problem. The territories of Qazzaq (Kazakh) and Shams od-Din (Shamshadil) lie far north, below Georgia (see map 3), and did not form the northern borders of the khanate of Karabagh until the short-lived expansion by Panah Khan into the khanate of Ganje and the southeastern borders of Georgia, which were inhabited by Muslim tribes. Bakikhanov also states that the borders of Karabagh stretched from "the Khoda-afarin Bridge to the Shulaver (Shulaveri is adjacent to Kazakh and Shamshadil) region of Georgia, further up from the Broken Bridge," *Golestan-e Eram*, 173. Adigözal Beg has a slightly different version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter One.

It is interesting that all these sources describe Karabagh's southern border as beginning at the Khoda-afarin Bridge. They do not include the territory of Zangezür, parts of which fell under the control of Karabagh during the rule of Ibrahim Khan. Other parts of Zangezür were controlled by a number of Armenian *meliks*, who were, at times, autonomous, and at other times, under the jurisdiction of the *beglarbegi* of Azerbaijan in

*According to ancient histories, Karabagh extended from the Khoda-afarin Bridge on the Arax to the Broken Bridge, called Red Bridge by the Russians, presently located in the Kazakh and Damirchi-Hasanli districts. It bordered on the west [with] the mountains of Karabagh, and the Elizavetpol',<sup>1</sup> Shamshadil, and Kazakh districts; on the south, the Arax; on the north, the Kur; and on the east with Javad, where the Kur meets the Arax and flows into the Caspian.<sup>2</sup>*

To the east is the Kor (Kur) River,<sup>3</sup> which joins the Arax River at the village of Javad and with it flows into the Caspian Sea. To the north, the border of Karabagh and Elizavetpol' (Ganje)<sup>4</sup> is the Goran River (Goran-chay), which flows east to the Kur River, itself marking the [eastern] border of Karabagh [and] reaching the Arax. To the west are the great mountains of Karabagh, which are called Koshbeg, Salvarti, and Eriklu.<sup>5</sup>

*At present, Karabagh borders to the south with the Arax; to the north, the Kur, flowing near Ganje, which also signifies the width of Karabagh, covering some 26 farsakhs<sup>6</sup> (approximately 90 miles) or*

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Tabriz. Following the Russian conquest, Zangezour became part of Karabagh and remained so (as part of the Elizavetpol' Province) until the Soviet period, when, for a short time, it was claimed by Azerbaijan. It was soon included in Soviet Armenia and remains part of Armenia today.

<sup>1</sup> See note 5 below.

<sup>2</sup> "Karabag," 61 (1855), 260. The material in Berzhe's translation, which is absent from the Persian manuscript used in this translation, is collocated within the text and appears in *italics*. See introduction.

<sup>3</sup> The river has a variety of spellings; Kur and Kura among others. In ancient times it was called the Cyrus River.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal assumes that the reader is aware that the previous name of Elizavetpol' (sometimes spelled as Elisavetpol) was Ganje. Obviously, at the time of his writing, it bore that name. After conquering Ganje in 1804, General Tsitsianov renamed it Elizavetpol' in honor of Elizaveta (Elizabeth), the wife of Tsar Alexander I. During the Soviet period it was renamed Kirovabad. Following the collapse of the Soviet regime, the city was once again named Ganja (Persian Ganje). Since Mirza Jamal uses both terms interchangeably, Ganje will replace Elizavetpol' every time it appears in the text.

<sup>5</sup> It is part of the Karabagh Range that stretches from north to south.

<sup>6</sup> *Farsakh* is the same as *parasang* (from the Latin *parasanga*, Greek *parasanges*, and the Persian *farsang*), an ancient Persian measure of distance equal to about three and a half miles, 18,000 feet or approximately 12,000 cubits [ancient measure of about 18-22 inches, or the length of the

*German miles, as demonstrated by calculations done during the khanate period;<sup>1</sup> to the east [the settlement of] Javad; and to the west to the Karabagh mountains, [the distance between the two] measuring some 39 farsakhs (approximately 135 miles), which forms the length of it.<sup>2</sup>*

In centuries past, when there was upheaval and change, the rulers of Persia, Rum,<sup>3</sup> and Turkestan<sup>4</sup> would sometimes control these *velayats*, creating new borders, building forts, and designating them by different names.<sup>5</sup> The *velayat* of Karabagh is part of the country of Arran.<sup>6</sup> During the time of Noah the Prophet—may peace be

arm from the end of the middle finger to the elbow] in length. It can be equaled to the league, which measures about three statute miles.

<sup>1</sup> Probably refers to the 1823 survey carried out by the Russians. See document 256 in G. Bournoutian, *Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797-1889: A Documentary Record* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1998).

<sup>2</sup> "Karabag," 61 (1855), 260.

<sup>3</sup> The term Rum means Rome; it was the name given by the Persians, Arabs, and Turks to the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire. Following the fall of Byzantium to the Ottomans, Muslim historians called the Ottoman Empire Rum. Mirza Jamal, throughout the text, equates Rum with the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>4</sup> Turkestan is the general term for the vast region of Central Asia, from where numerous Turkic and Mongol tribes invaded Anatolia and Mesopotamia. For more information, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1968) and René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, 1970).

<sup>5</sup> This paragraph may refer to one of two periods: The Seljuk invasion or the invasions of Timur and the wars involving the Aq-Qoyunlu, Qara-Qoyunlu, the Safavids, and the Ottomans. The term "Turkmen," as well as the rest of the text, may weigh in favor of the second period. In fact, Berzhe has made that assumption, for his translation reads: the Persian shahs, Turkish sultans, and Turkmen, "Karabag," 61 (1855), 260.

<sup>6</sup> The term Arran is the Arabic al-Ran (pronounced ar-Ran). It was the Arab name for the Sasanian province of Ran, which was composed of former Armenian and Caucasian Albanian districts. Some sources claim that it derives from the Georgian word *Rani*, describing the inhabitants of Caucasian Albanians (no relation to the Albanians in the Balkans). Arran became the geographic designation of the Arabs for eastern Transcaucasia. There is some confusion as to its exact parameters. The 10<sup>th</sup>-century historian al-Moqaddasi calls it an island between the Kur and Arax Rivers and the Caspian Sea, containing the cities of Tiflis, Darband, and the towns in Shirvan, *Ahsan al-Taqasim* (Leiden, 1967), 374. Ibn Hauqal mentions two Arrans, one south of the Kur, the other north of it, *Kitab Surat al-Arz* (Lei-

upon him—the universal deluge occurred. Some time after the flood had subsided, one of Noah's descendants—May peace be upon him—became the builder and ruler of these *velayats*,<sup>1</sup> which are situated between the Arax and Kur rivers, and include the cities of Teflis (Tiflis), Ganje, Iravan (Erevan), Nakhjavan (Nakhichevan), and Ordubad, as well as Barda' and Baylaghan (Baylaqan),<sup>2</sup> the last two of which are in the land of Karabagh, and which are both now in ruins.<sup>3</sup> He called the land [of Karabagh] Arran, for [4] he himself

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den, 1938/39), 251. Minorsky states that, during the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries, Arran signifies the lands south of the Kur, *A History of Shirvan and Darband in the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Cambridge, 1958), 18. The Arab historian al-Ya'qubi includes Arran in what he calls the Fourth Armenia, *Tarikh* (Tehran, 1983), 220. The geographer al-Baladhuri includes it in his First Armenia, *Futuh al-Buldan* (Tehran, 1988), 279. The *Hudud al-'Alam*, a 10<sup>th</sup>-century Persian geography, indicates that Arran formed much, but not all, of the combined territories of what later became *the beglarbegi* of Karabagh, and even later, the khanates of Ganje and Karabagh (London, 1970), 142-145, 394-403. The term dropped out of use following the Mongol invasion and was replaced by "Karabagh." For more details, see C. E. Bosworth, "Arran," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, II, 520-522.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that Mirza Jamal's account closely parallels the Armenian tradition that states that a descendant of Japheth, a son of Noah, was the father of the Armenians, the inhabitants of the region. Mirza Jamal seems to confuse a grandson of Noah, Aram, son of Shem, with Arran; see *Genesis*, 10:21-23. The Armenians claim that Aram was a descendant of Japheth, and not Shem, and was the father of Ara the Handsome, the first king of Armenia; see Moses Khorenatsi, *History of the Armenians* (Cambridge, 1978), 73-75. The biblical version is somewhat different. Except for naming Mt. Ararat as the resting place of the ark (*Genesis*, 8: 4), it does not follow the Armenian tradition. It is probable that Mirza Jamal learned the Armenian version from the Armenians of Karabagh, for this tradition does not exist in Islam. *Hudud al-'Alam*, 66 cites a mountain in Mesopotamia as the location of the ark. The Qur'an mentions Noah and the floor in a number of *Surahs*, especially in *Surah LXXI*, the *Surah Nuh*, but does not give any geographical location, name Noah's sons, or tell what happened to their descendants; *The Qur'an*, R. Bell, ed. (Edinburgh, 1960), 607-609.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has a "ghain" instead of a "qaf." *Hudud al-'Alam* (149) and other sources spell it with a "qaf," hence Baylaqan.

<sup>3</sup> No primary source includes the cities of Tiflis, Erevan, Nakhichevan, and Ordubad as part of Arran. Mirza Jamal cannot be blamed however, for the exact parameters of Arran have, as noted above, confused many geographers. In fact, the cities of Barda' and Baylaqan appear at times in Arran

was called Arran...*Of which the latter is in ruins, while on the site of Barda' there is an insignificant small settlement, populated by the Burdalu tribe.*<sup>1</sup>

The first city built in the *velayat* of Karabagh was the fortress and city of Barda',<sup>2</sup> which is situated by the Terter (Tartar) River, some three *farsakhs* from the Kur River. In olden days Armenians or other non-Muslims populated it.<sup>3</sup> During the period of the past

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and at other times as part of medieval Armenia. The geographer and chief astronomer, Ahmad ibn Lutfullah, who wrote his *Jami' al-duwal*, based on local histories of Darband and Shirvan mentions that Arran's western frontier ran alongside Armenia, and among its cities were Ganje, Shamkhor, and Baylaqan. A few lines later, he includes the same Baylaqan among the Armenian towns. See V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), 7.

<sup>1</sup> "Karabag," 61 (1855), 260.

<sup>2</sup> Hamdollah Mostowfi states that Barda' was a city built during the Hellenistic period and rebuilt by Qobad (Kavad II, who ruled for one year in 628), son of the Sasanian king, Khosrou Parviz, *Nozhat ol-Qulub* (Tehran, 1983), 91. Barda' is the city of Partav, on the border of Armenia and Caucasian Albania. *Tadhkirat al-Muluk* (167) confirms that it was the ancient Armenian city of Partav. Abu'l-Qasem Khordadhbe, a 9<sup>th</sup>-century geographer, also confirms this and includes Barda' in his First Armenia province; *Al-Masalek va al-Mamalek* (Tehran, 1991), 99-100. *Hudud al-'Alam* (143), describes it as "a large town, very pleasant. It is the capital of Arran and the seat of the king of that province. To it belongs a countryside flourishing, with many fields and much fruit, densely populated. In it grow numerous mulberry-trees of which the fruit belongs to everybody. The town produces much silk, good mules, madder, chestnuts, and caraway." Abu Eshaq Ibrahim Estakhri states that Barda' was famous for its silk, figs, hazelnuts, as well as a particular fish taken from the Kur. He confirms that it was a large and pleasant town; *Masalek va Mamalek* (Tehran, 1989), 156. Barda' was for a time, the seat of the Arab governor of Armenia and the rest of Transcaucasia. It had its own mint.

<sup>3</sup> The new Azeri edition of *Tarikh-e Karabagh* has deleted the above sentence. See Appendix. The non-Muslims mentioned by Mirza Jamal were the Caucasian Albanians (Albanoi in Greek, Aghuank' in Armenian), who later crossed the Kur and mingled with the Armenian population. Ancient sources state that Albania, situated east of the Kur, was a neighbor of Armenia, Strabo, *The Geography*, V (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 187, 223, 321, map XI; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, II (London, 1890), 17-21; Plutarch, *Lives*, V [Pompey] (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 203-208; Ptolemy, *The Geography* (Frankfurt, 1987), 170-171; Dio [Cassius], *Roman History*, III (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 92-93. It is certain that Christianity was in-

caliphs of the 'Abbasid dynasty, who built and settled the city of Baghdad and made it the seat of the caliphate, the population of that city [Barda'] in the year 306 *hijri*, which corresponds to the Christian year 886 (actually 918/19),<sup>1</sup> became Muslims.<sup>2</sup>

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roduced to Caucasian Albania via Armenia and, at that time, the Albanian Church was subordinate to the Armenian Church. Political and socioeconomic ties between the two people were also strong, with Armenia, overall, playing the dominant role. The only source on the history of the Caucasian Albanians is the Armenian historian Moses Dashkhurantsi (also known as Kaghankatvatsi), who describes their history from the earliest times to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. See *The History of the Caucasian Albanians* (London, 1961). Arab and Persian geographers also state that Armenia's borders stretched to the Kur or to the city of Barda'. See Estakhri's *Masalek va Mamalek*, 158. Bakikhanov also states that the borders of Armenia began across the Kur, which separated it from Shirvan, *Golestan-e Eram*, 4 (removed from the recent Azeri edition; see appendix). In AD 387, the Persians and Byzantines partitioned Armenia. Two Armenian provinces were detached and combined with Caucasian Albania to form a single administrative unit called Ran (see note above). The city of Partav became the center of that region sometime in the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Located on the border between Armenia and Caucasian Albania, the city had a mixed Armenian and Caucasian Albanian population. Although Zoroastrianism made major inroads in the eastern part of Caucasian Albania, it did not have the same success south of the Kur, in the eastern parts of Ran. Here the Armenian language, customs, and Christianity held sway until the arrival of the Arabs in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Even then, Armenians continued to dominate in parts of southern Arran until the Turko-Mongol invasions of the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>1</sup> As noted in the introduction, Mirza Jamal has made a number of errors in converting the *hijri* dates to Christian dates. The corrected dates will henceforth appear in parentheses.

<sup>2</sup> During the time of the third caliph, 'Uthman (644-656), Arabs continued their raids into Armenia and Caucasian Albania under the command of Salman ibn Rabi'a al-Baheli and Habib ibn Maslama. Around 645 they conquered Partav, which was renamed Barda'. Although Mirza Jamal states that the population of Barda' became Muslim in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century, other sources indicate that the city achieved a majority either in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century or early 11<sup>th</sup> century. For example, Estakhri, a late 10<sup>th</sup>-century geographer, mentions the fact that Sunday was bazaar day and that the local term for Sunday was *keraki* (the Armenian word for Sunday), which may signify that the population of Barda' was still predominantly Armenian at that time. The same source also indicates that the territory from Barda' to Dvin belonged to Smbat, son of Ashot (not indicated if Smbat I or Smbat II), *Masalek va Mamalek*, 156-158. Ya'qubi includes Barda' in Armenia and adds that, as long as it paid tribute, the region re-

*In the year 36 hijri (AD 676), at the time of the Umayyad caliphs of Damascus, the population of the city of Barda' accepted the Muslim faith.*<sup>1</sup>

Next [in importance] is the city of Baylaqan, built some fifteen hundred years ago by King Qobad, one of the monarchs of Persia and Fars.<sup>2</sup> He built a very large canal emanating from the Arax River, along the extensive and dry plain of Baylaqan, and founded that city. In the environs, from the Kondalan River to the Karkar River, he built farms and villages, providing the peasants<sup>3</sup> with a place to live. All around he cultivated numerous fields, meadows,

mained essentially a frontier province left to its own princes; *Tarikh*, II, 562. Minorsky wrote that the Arabs ruled from that city and spearheaded their expansion from there, while local princes retained their lands; Sharvan, 18. Muqaddasi, who wrote in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, recorded that the Christians maintained a majority in a number of cities of Arran; *Ahsan al-Taqasim*, 376. Finally, in another study, Minorsky, using Arab geographers, includes the town of Barda' as part of Armenia. He goes on to describe how Armenian princes ruled alongside Muslims emirs, and that, although the two groups fought each other, a number of marriage alliances were made; *Studies in Caucasian History*, 7, 50-52.

<sup>1</sup> "Karabag," 6 (1855), 260. Berzhe's translation has the date of 36 hijri. It is obvious that his copy either missed the dot, which signifies a zero (hence 36 instead of 306), or that Berzhe simply did not notice it. Realizing that the year did not correspond to the 'Abbasids, Berzhe took it upon himself to correct the rest of the paragraph and change it to the Umayyads. Unfortunately, he made another error, in that he calculated the year 36 to be equivalent to AD 676. Actually it corresponds to the year 656-657, which fell during the caliphate of 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib, the fourth caliph and the leader of the Shi'ites and not the Umayyads.

<sup>2</sup> The date probably refers to the Sasanid monarch, Kavad I, who ruled 488-496 and again 498-531. The Sasanid family originated in Fars; in AD 224 Arsashir revolted and defeated the last Parthian ruler, Artabanus IV, and established the dynasty that lasted until the Arab conquest. For further details see E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, III/1 (Cambridge, 1983). The *Nozhat ol-Qulub* (91), however, states that Qobad, son of Parviz, or Kavad II, who ruled for one year in 628, built the city. In that case the city was over 1200 years old. Khordadhbe confirms the above and includes Baylaqan in his First Armenia province; *Al-Masalek va al-Mamalek*, 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads *ra'iyat* (pl. *ra'yya*), which has a number of meanings such as "subjects" or "peasants." In earlier times, the term implied "those who were under the protection of the ruler." In later times, the term became associated with peasants.

and orchards, creating [additional] settlements. The canal was called Barlas in ancient times and is now known as Govur-arkhi.<sup>1</sup> The city and its villages continued to be populated and cultivated<sup>2</sup> until the time of Genghis Khan.<sup>3</sup>

In the year 635 (1237/38)<sup>4</sup> the army of Changiz (Genghiz) Khan arrived and laid siege to the city of Baylaqan.<sup>5</sup> After a few months the city was captured and the population massacred. The people living in the villages and districts of the *velayat* of Karabagh scattered into the mountains of Karabagh and Shirvan.<sup>6</sup> The city of Baylaqan and its large canal was thus left in ruins until Emperor Timur came from Turkestan to the *velayat* of Rum. He fought and defeated em-

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<sup>1</sup> Can be Kovur or Gavur, which is the Turkish word for "infidel" or "non-Muslim." There is a remote possibility that the canal was built by Armenians, who had been constructing irrigation canals in Transcaucasia and Anatolia since Urartian times.

<sup>2</sup> *Hudud al-'Alam* (144) has the following description of Baylaqan: "a very pleasant borough, producing striped textiles in great numbers, horse rugs, veils, and natif [sic]-sweets," Mostowfi states that it had a sizeable population and was famous for its fruits and hazelnuts; *Nozhat ol-Qulub*, 91.

<sup>3</sup> In the year 943-44, Barda' was sacked by the Scandinavian Rus and never truly recovered. Baylaqan soon became the center of Arran. A century later, in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Seljuk Turks arrived in the region. In the year 1075-76, Sultan Alp Arslan appointed his slave-general Savtigin as governor of Azerbaijan and Arran and began the Turkification of Arran. See C. E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (AD 1000-11217)," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, V (Cambridge, 1968), 34-113.

<sup>4</sup> Berzhe has erroneously calculated the date as 1229, "Karabag," 61 (1855), 260.

<sup>5</sup> If one accepts the date of 1237/38, then Mirza Jamal is wrong, for Genghis Khan was dead by that time. "The Mongols attacked Baylaqan" would have been more accurate. However, since according to Juvaini, the main historian of the period, the Mongols first attacked Baylaqan in 1221 (during Genghis Khan's lifetime), Mirza Jamal's narrative (not his date) is accurate. See 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Tarikh-e Jahan-gosha*, translated as *The History of the World Conqueror* by J. A. Boyle, I (Manchester, 1958), 148-149. After that, the city of Ganje became the main center of Arran, and by the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the southern part of Arran became known as Karabagh.

<sup>6</sup> For a history of the Mongols in Karabagh, see Rashid al-Din, *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, translated as *The Successors of Genghis Khan* by J. A. Boyle (New York, 1971), 74, 124, 130, 318.

peror Bayazid Ildirim.<sup>1</sup> [5] On his return, he rebuilt the city of Baylaqan, repopulated it, and repaired the canal. The city flourished for a time, but it was on the path of invading armies moving into Georgia and Shirvan. During the time of the Safavid kings and Nader Shah, and [the Ottoman wars], it was again destroyed and its population scattered. At present, it lies in ruins.

*After that Baylaqan remained unharmed until the Safavids and through the time of Nader Shah, in whose reign the city, because of the frequent movement of troops which passed through it to Georgia and Shirvan, and the hostile relations with Turkey, which at that time controlled Tiflis, Ganje, Karabagh, Erevan, and Nakhichevan,<sup>2</sup> was destroyed once more and did not revive again.<sup>3</sup>*

The canal is large indeed and could be highly profitable. It could irrigate and help produce grain, rice, cotton, silk gardens [mulberry tree orchards for the production of silk], and various vegetables. Whatever is planted would flourish. From every *chetvert*<sup>4</sup> of wheat, the yield could be twenty or more *chetverts*. Rice and millet would especially give good results here, with approximately fifty or more *chetverts* from every *chetvert* planted. Farming is easy here and good results could be obtained by just using [a plow with] two oxen. A stable environment around the canal could support settlements of five or six thousand families comfortably and provide an abundance of food.

In addition to the large canal, there are a number of other irrigation canals originating from the Arax. If one or two hundred families settled in villages around these canals, they could support

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the term "Timur padeshah," which refers to Timur the Lame (Tamerlane), the founder of the Timurids, who ruled from 1370 to 1405. Bayezid Ildirim ("the thunderbolt" in Turkish), or Bayazid I (1389-1402) was chosen sultan on the battlefield of Kosovo, after his father, Murad I, was killed. He won the battle and defeated the Europeans in the Battle of Nicopolis (1395). He laid siege to Constantinople and extended Ottoman power throughout most of Anatolia. On July 28, 1402, he clashed with Timur in the Battle of Angora (Ankara). He was defeated, captured, and died in captivity in 1403.

<sup>2</sup> Refers to the Ottoman occupation of eastern Armenia and eastern Georgia from 1723 to 1735. For details see Abraham of Erevan, *History of the Wars, 1721-1738* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1999).

<sup>3</sup> "Karabag," 61 (1855), 260.

<sup>4</sup> This was a Russian measure of volume, approximately 210 liters for dry goods and 3 liters for liquids. The weight of a *chetvert* varied, depending on time and place, ranging from 144 to 288 pounds (65-130 kg.).

themselves from the grain, rice, and cotton. Despite the fact that the city of Baylaqan has been in ruins for more than three hundred years, these canals were in use during the early rule [6] of the late Panah Khan and Ibrahim Khan, and provided income for them. The canals were called by the following names: Kurek-arkhi, Lavar-arkhi, Meimat-arkhi, Kamichi-arkhi, Sari-arkhi, Ayaz-arkhi, Tashgai-arkhi, and Khan-arkhi.

*The canals are: Gudek-arkhi, Yuvar-arkhi, Meimena-arkhi, Giamichi-arkhi, Giurlu-arkhi, Insurkhan-arkhi, Duramanli-arkhi, Bakarlu-arkhi, Meimena-arkhi (ditch), Yuvar-arkhi (ditch), Mogadam-arkhi, and Taibashmaklu-arkhi. The climate of Karabagh is favorable and healthy. The soil is fertile and multiplies the fruit of the labor of those who work on it.*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Berzhe's translation has different pronunciations for some of the canals. More important however, are his additional canals, not listed in the manuscript used for this translation; "Karabag," 61(1855), 260. Ahmad Beg mentions another canal called Khatun-arkhi, *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73; Adigözal Beg confirms this. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Four.

## Chapter Two

### *On the Subjects, Former Customs, and Regulations of the Velayat of Karabagh*<sup>1</sup>

During the time of the Safavid sultans<sup>2</sup> of Persia, who are now in Paradise,<sup>3</sup> the *velayat* of Karabagh, its tribes, and the *khamse* Armenian *mahals*,<sup>4</sup> which are those of Dizaq, Varandeh, Khachin, Cheleberd, and Talesh,<sup>5</sup> were all subordinate to the *beglarbegi* of

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe's version has no title for chapter two. This chapter, in fact, describes the population of Karabagh. The customs and regulations are included in the additional chapters at the end of the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian shahs were called *padeshah*, sultan, and *khaqan*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only time that former rulers are so honored by Mirza Jamal. The aura of magnificence of the Safavid period lingered for a long time and compared favorably with the chaos that followed.

<sup>4</sup> The five Armenian districts, located in the mountains of Karabagh (roughly the territory of present-day Nagorno-Karabakh), were known as the *khamse* or "five" in Arabic. The continued use of the Arabic term indicates that the Armenians must have been in control of the mountains of Karabagh before the Turko-Mongol domination of the region. As noted, hereditary lords or *meliks*, most of who were scions of Armenian nobility who had fled the Turko-Mongol invasions and had sought refuge in the mountain valleys of Karabagh, ruled the five *mahals*. There were also *meliks* in Ganje, Siunik'-Zangezur, Lori, Erevan, and Nakhichevan. The *meliks* of Karabagh, however, are the best known, because they had relatively large forces, were better armed, and continually fought for their autonomy. A number of them were also involved in establishing friendly relations with Russia and hence are occasionally credited with the early stages of the Armenian national revival. The only works in English on the *meliks* are the studies by Robert H. Hewsen, "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia I, II, III, and IV: The Siwnid Origin of Xac'atur Abovean," in *Revue Des Etudes Armeniennes* (new series), IX, X, XI, XIV (1972, 1973-74, 1975-76, 1980), 285-329, 281-300, 219-243, 459-470; number V appeared as "Three Armenian Noble Families of the Russian Empire," in *Hask* [new series] (Beirut, 1981-82), 389-400; and number VI as "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia VI: The House of Aihamaleanc', Meliks of Erevan," in *Bazmaveb* (Venice, Spring 1984), 319-333. Additional material on the *meliks* of Karabagh can be found in Hewsen's study, "The Kingdom of Arčax," in T. Samuelian and M. Stone, *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Ca., 1983), 42-68.

<sup>5</sup> The Armenians referred to them as Dizak, Varanda, Khachen, Jraberde, and Golestan. Since Armenians inhabited these *mahals*, the Armenian pronunciation will be used throughout the text. It is interesting to note that

Ganje.<sup>1</sup> Although until the reign of the late Nader Shah there were minor [autonomous] khans among the tribes of Javanshir, Otuz-iki, Bargoshat and others,<sup>2</sup> they were all under the jurisdiction of the *be-*

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Mirza Jamal uses the former name of the Golestan mahal, Talesh (not to be confused with the *velayat* of Talesh situated by the Caspian Sea). The *meliks* of Golestan originally resided in the village of Talesh (Turinj was its Armenian name). They later moved to the fort of Golestan, sometimes called the Javanshir castle, on the upper banks of the Inja River, some 20 miles southeast of Ganje. This is confirmed by the editor of Ahmad Beg's *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 100, and by the editor of Adigözal Beg, *Karabagh-name*, 55 n. 3. To avoid confusion, Golestan will replace Talesh in the text. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the following families ruled the five mahals: The Hasan-Jalalians were the *meliks* of Khachen, the Shahnazarians were the *meliks* of Varanda, the Begliarians were the *meliks* of Golestan, the Avanians were the *meliks* of Dizak, and the Israyelians were the *meliks* of Iraberd.

<sup>1</sup> A *beglarbegi* (beylerbey) was a governor-general of a large province or territory, called *ayalat*. He was in charge of all *velayats* ruled by khans or *sultans* under his jurisdiction. According to Chardin, the Safavids divided Persia into four *ayalats* for the purpose of taxation: Iraq or 'Araq-e 'Ajam, that is, the central and western provinces), Fars (southern provinces), Azerbaijan (the northwest including Transcaucasia), and Khorasan (the northeastern provinces), *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, V (Paris, 1811), 439; see also map 2. The *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, a manual of late Safavid administration, lists seven regions with a member of sub-regions ruled by khans. Azerbaijan and Transcaucasia are once again combined into a single unit, with its headquarters at Tabriz. The unit, however, was subdivided into four *beglarbegis*: Chukhur-e Sa'd (with its center in Erevan), Karabagh (with its center in Ganje), Shirvan (with its center in Shamakhi), and Azerbaijan (with its center at Tabriz), 100-102; see also map 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian term *il* refers to both the tribe or tribes (*ilat*) and their domain (*mahalat*). Mirza Jamal lists the Javanshir and the Otuz-iki as two separate tribes. According to Shukiurzade, the local Qajar khans, at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, forcibly grouped the various Turkic tribes into a confederation in the area south of Barda'. This group was called the Otuz-iki, or "thirty-two." Among this confederation, the Javanshir tribe was dominant and its chief was regarded as the leader of the entire confederation. At the time of Shukiurzade's writing (1961), a small village called Otuz-iki existed in the Imishli region of Soviet Azerbaijan; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 99-100. Persian chroniclers state that the Safavids had sent the Qajars to Karabagh, as well as to Erevan and Ganje. The Qajars were gradually replaced by various other tribes, which were included in the Otuz-iki and Ikirmi-dort ("twenty-four") confederations. The Otuz-iki

*glarbegi* of Ganje. After Nader Shah conquered the *velayats* of Tiflis, Ganje, Erevan, Nakhichevan, and Karabagh from the people and army of Rum [the Ottomans], the *velayat* of Karabagh remained, for a brief period, under the jurisdiction of the *beglarbegi* of Ganje or, on occasion, the *sardar* of Azerbaijan.<sup>1</sup> Among the tribes and in the [Armenian] *mahals* there were khans and *meliks* who performed services to the crown on the orders of the *sardar* of Azerbaijan.<sup>2</sup> These practices continued until the murder of Nader Shah in the Muslim year 1160, which corresponds to the Christian year 1743 (actually 1747).

*After the death of Nader Shah, Panah Khan's power grew. Taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in Persia, he succeeded in forcing the submission of the population of Karabagh. The beglarbegi of Elizavetpol' (Ganje), being weak, could not challenge him. Many who tried to resist him became obedient through the use of force. The details of this are the subject of the third chapter.*<sup>3</sup>

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groups included the Shahsavan tribe of the Moghan Steppe and the Javan-shir clan.

<sup>1</sup> Nader Shah's campaigns in Daghestan and Transcaucasia are described in great detail by his chief secretary, Mirza Mohammad; see *Tarikh-e Jahan-gosha*, 230-265. Adigözal Beg adds additional details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Two. Bakikhanov confirms the above, adding that Hülegü (1256-1565, grandson of Genghis Khan, brother of the Great Khan Möngke, and founder of the Ilkhanids of Persia), brought the Kazakh tribe into the region from Turkestan. Shah 'Abbas I brought the Bozjalu (who roamed in Borchalu) from Central Persia; *Golestan-e Eram*, 173.

<sup>2</sup> There are clear indications that certain groups, such as the Armenians, had special arrangements with the shah, either through direct contact or through the governor-general of Azerbaijan. Occasionally the said governor would have his own special arrangements with local chiefs.

<sup>3</sup> "Karabag," 62 (1855), 263-264.

## Chapter Three

### *On the Origins of the Late Panah Khan and His Rule in the Velayat of Karabagh*<sup>1</sup>

The late Panah Khan's lineage was from the Javanshir tribe of Dizak, from the clan<sup>2</sup> of Sarijlu, which was a group<sup>3</sup> within the Bahmanli tribe, who, in olden days, had come from Turkestan. *They were a part of the famous Afshar tribe.*<sup>4</sup> His ancestors were famous, [7]

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe's version reads: Chapter Three: *The Rule of Panah Khan, the son of Ibrahim Khalil 'Ali* "Karabag," 62 (1855), 264.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *oymaq*, subdivision of a great tribe. James Reid refers to it as "a collectivity of semi-related genealogical units arranged in hierarchical power relationships around a central unit—a family or clan." See *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran, 1500-1629* (Malibu, Ca., 1983), 69.

<sup>3</sup> Text reads *ferqe*, from the Arabic *firqat*: sect, clan, group, or band.

<sup>4</sup> "Karabag," 62 (1855), 264. According to Ahmad Beg, Panah Khan descended from Arghun Shah, one of the grandsons of Hülegü. One of his ancestors, Mohammad Khan, lived in Alagark, on the bank of the Arax River, near the village of Bahmanli. He possessed a deed, written on deer-skin parchment, stating that he had purchased all of Karabagh, a territory of 200 *versts* (approximately 125 miles) by 200 *versts*, bordered by the Kurek, Arax, Kur, and Alinja rivers and Lake Gökcha (Sevan). He willed it to his three sons during his lifetime; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 69-70. This claim is not substantiated by the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Persian historian, Eskandar Beg Monshi, who groups all the amirs of Shah 'Abbas (1587-1629) into two categories: In the first category are the amirs of the seven major Kizilbash tribes who followed the Shi'i Safavid leaders and the amirs of the tribes subordinate to them, totaling 73 in all. The Javanshir are listed in the second category, the *ghulam* amirs (14 in all), who had the rank of khan or sultan, 87 names in total. Official number 86 is listed as Nowruz Sultan, chief of the Javanshir tribe of the Otuz-iki federation and one of the amirs of Karabagh"; *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, II (Boulder, Co., 1978), 1317. A Persian chronicler states that Panah Khan Javanshir was from the Sarijlu clan of the Javanshir tribe. They were one of the tribes of Oshir Khan ibn Yaldur Khan, the fifth son of Ughur Khan, and were called Ofshar or Afshar. He adds that, according to Mongol custom, they were among the amirs of the "right hand" (*javanghar* in Mongolian) in battle formation and other ceremonies. They were said to be among the 120,000-man army of Hülegü, who came from Turkestan and settled in Anatolia. They later returned from Anatolia with Timur and were scattered and settled in Turkestan, Qandahar, Kabul, and Persia. According to him, some of

wealthy, respected, and beneficent among the Javanshir tribe.<sup>1</sup> When the late Nader Shah subjugated<sup>2</sup> the *velayats* of Karabagh, Ganje, Tiflis, and the Shirvans,<sup>3</sup> he summoned all from among the tribes and settlements who were brave, skillful, and intelligent and drafted them into his service, giving them income, honor, and positions.<sup>4</sup> One of those conscripted was Panah Khan, who among the tribes was famous as Panah 'Ali Beg Sarijlu Javanshir. He succeeded in all his duties and surpassed his peers in battle. He demonstrated particular courage during the campaigns of the late Nader Shah against the soldiers and

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them were in Karabagh and Arran during the reign of Shah 'Abbas; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 296-297.

<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg has additional information on Panah Khan's lineage. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Two. Another chronicle has the following account: The family began with Ibrahim Khalil Aqa, followed by his son Panah Aqa, followed by his son, Ibrahim Khalil Aqa II, and then by Panah Aqa II, followed by Ibrahim Khalil III, followed by his son, Panah Aqa III (Mirza Jamal's Panah Khan), who was the father of Ibrahim Khalil Aqa IV (Mirza Jamal's Ibrahim Khan); *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Nader's campaign against the Ottomans (who had invaded western Transcaucasia following the fall of the Safavids and the Russian occupation of eastern Transcaucasia) began on August 21, 1734, when he crossed into Shirvan, and ended on October 3, 1735, with the submission of the fortress of Erevan. At the same time, Nader, by the treaties of Rasht (1732) and Ganje (1735), had ended the Russian presence in Transcaucasia and northern Persia. He appointed his brother Ibrahim as the *sardar* of Azerbaijan, with authority over Transcaucasia.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads Shirvanat, or greater Shirvan, which at the time of the Safavids covered that part of the territory of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan that lies east of the Kur River, as well as the regions of southern Daghestan all the way to Darband (see map 5). Shirvanat will henceforth be translated as "the Shirvans."

<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Beg has a different version: He states that Nader could not conquer Daghestan and, since some of the leaders of the nomadic tribes of Transcaucasia who did not submit to his will found refuge and support among the Lesghians and, together with them, wreaked havoc on the region, Nader was obliged to forcibly relocate all the nomadic tribes of Karabagh to Sarakhs, a district in the *ayalat* of Khorasan; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 68. Bakikhanov also confirms that Nader forcibly removed the Karabaghi tribes to Khorasan; *Golestan-e Eram*, 173. Persian chroniclers agree that Nader forcibly removed some of the tribes of the region and sent them to Khorasan. Mirza Jamal does not mention the forced emigration, but later mentions the return of some of these tribes to Karabagh. See also Chapter Two.

people of Rum. He [the shah], therefore, kept him close by, both when traveling and at court, where he served the shah conscientiously, zealously fulfilling all tasks, attaining high office and gaining the favor of the shah.

As the years passed, Nader Shah's regard for Panah Khan increased daily and the latter surpassed his comrades-in-arms and colleagues in rank and position. As is commonplace in miserly and envious people, a number of wicked men at the shah's court, as well as among some of the tribes, secretly as well as overtly in the presence of the late Nader Shah, began to speak ill of the late Panah Khan and succeeded in changing the late shah's disposition towards him. Learning the truth and fearing for his life,<sup>1</sup> Panah Khan took advantage of the shah's trip to Khorasan,<sup>2</sup> gathered a number of his family and friends, and in the year 1150 (1737/38) fled to the *velayat* of Karabagh.<sup>3</sup>

When the shah learned of his escape, he sent mounted men so that [8] they may overtake them, but they did not succeed. The shah dispatched urgent orders to the *sardar* of Azerbaijan and the governors<sup>4</sup> of Ganje, Tiflis, and Shirvan, with instructions to seize Panah Khan wherever he might be and send him back to the shah.<sup>5</sup> Although the

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg states that one ill-fated day, Nader, for some reason, became angry with him. Panah 'Ali feared the same fate that befell his brother, Behbud 'Ali Beg, who was beheaded by Nader because the shah did not like the way he had looked at him; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 69.

<sup>2</sup> This must have occurred during or after the campaigns in the Qandahar and Kabul regions. Although Nader had the habit of taking tribal chiefs or their children hostage, Panah Khan was not a hostage, but an officer. His Georgian hostages (who included King T'eimuraz, the father of Erekle), for example, were present at the siege of the fortress of Qandahar. See *Tarikh-e Jahan-gosha*, 286-300, *'Alamara-ye Naderi*, II, 495.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal has a different account. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter two.

<sup>4</sup> The Persian term *hokkam*, from the singular *hakem*, can be translated as "governor," "magistrate," and occasionally as *de facto* ruler of a city or province. The khans held the positions. At the time of the Safavids, these khans were appointed or hereditary governors, answerable to the central administration. After the fall of the Safavids and especially during the periods when Persia did not have a single ruler, these governors became the *de facto* rulers of their *velayats*. *Hakem* will, therefore, be translated variably as "governor" or "ruler," depending on the period.

<sup>5</sup> According to Ahmad Beg, Panah 'Ali and six of his kinsmen, who were also in Nader's service, fled the camp. Nader looked for them every-

shah ordered the members of his [Panah Khan's] household, his relatives, and his friends to be persecuted and penalized, the measures proved fruitless. Once inside the boundaries of Karabagh, the late Panah Khan, with his close associates, took refuge at times in the mountains of Karabagh and at other times in the Qabale<sup>1</sup> mahal within the velayat of Shakki...at the house of the sultan<sup>2</sup> of Qabale, where he was accorded great hospitality, which, later, Panah Khan repaid by sheltering some thirty begs from Qabale and Shakki, who, together with their families, had sought refuge with him from Mohammad Khan of Shakki.<sup>3</sup>

A while later, his eldest son, the late Ibrahim Khalil Khan, who was almost fifteen years old, and who had lived in their family home in Khorasan, in the district of Sarakhs,<sup>4</sup> followed his esteemed father to Karabagh, where he remained steadfastly at his honorable father's side.<sup>5</sup>

Two or three years passed in this fashion until, as stated previously, they killed Nader Shah in the year 1160 (1747).<sup>6</sup>

Panah Khan now came out of hiding and, from among the remaining people of Karabagh,<sup>7</sup> gathered around him capable young men and began to plunder the regions of Ganje,

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where, but could not find them. Only after two months did he hear of their presence in Karabagh; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 69.

<sup>1</sup> Qabale was the administrative center of the district of Qabale in Shakki, southwest of Nukha; see map 3.

<sup>2</sup> The sultans were the lowest ranked governors.

<sup>3</sup> "Karabag," 62 (1855), 264. This material is discussed below in detail in the Berzhe translation and is not in the manuscript used for this translation. This, once again, demonstrates that Berzhe must have had an earlier or different copy of Mirza Jamal's history. Ahmad Beg's version differs as well. According to him, Panah Khan sought refuge with the Lesghians in Jar and Belakan (see map 3) from where he conducted raids and became popular among the people as a good and just leader; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 69.

<sup>4</sup> "Karabag," 62 (1855), 264.

<sup>5</sup> Ahmad Beg assumes that Ibrahim Khan returned in 1745. Since he was almost fifteen at the time, he was probably born around 1730; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 69.

<sup>6</sup> The dates do not make sense. Panah Khan fled in 1150 and Nader died in 1160, hence ten years and not two or three years had passed. 69.

<sup>7</sup> This passage is the first instance in which Mirza Jamal hints at an earlier emigration. In the next paragraph he mentions the forced migrations. Another Persian chronicle states that, after the death of Nader, the Javan-shir tribe went to Ghurian and defeated the Hazareh tribe. Ahmad Shah

men and began to plunder the regions of Ganje, Nakhichevan, and others.<sup>1</sup> His companions, especially those close to him, [thus] gained attire, horses, goods, and positions. *He married the sister of Sahl 'Ali Beg, the chief of the Kebirli tribe.*<sup>2</sup>

At this time news arrived that the Javanshir and other tribes, which the shah had driven to Khorasan, had decided to return to their homelands.<sup>3</sup> Panah Khan took his armed men and went to the borders of Iraq<sup>4</sup> and Azerbaijan to greet the tribes of Karabagh. The tribesmen and his [Panah Khan's] kin, seeing him alive and well, and observing his numerous companions and servants, were overjoyed. Together [9] with the late Panah Khan, they crossed into the territory of Karabagh and each tribal chief returned to his former domain, living peacefully. Since the tribes had lost all of their possessions, which had been looted, had nothing, and suffered greatly, their able young men joined the late Panah Khan and began raiding the *velayats* of Shirvan, Shakki, Ganje, Erevan,<sup>5</sup> and Qaradagh,<sup>6</sup> enabling the men to gather wealth and gain positions. He earned the love and respect of the rest of the population [those who were not able to participate in the raids] by

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Abdali Afghan then moved them to Kabul where they remained until Panah Khan moved them to Karabagh; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 297.

<sup>1</sup> According to Ahmad beg, after the death of Nader Shah, Panah 'Ali, with some 200 of his followers, arrived in Karabagh and declared himself the independent khan of Karabagh; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 69. Bakikhanov also confirms the raid and Panah Khan's rise to power; *Golestan-e Eram*, 173.

<sup>2</sup> "Karabag," 62 (1855), 264. Two sons resulted from this union.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ahmad Beg, the tribes did not return on their own initiative. Following the death of Nader, Hajji Chelebi of Shakki invaded Karabagh and forced Panah Khan to flee to his acquaintance, Kara Morteza Beg of southern Zangezour. After that, Panah Khan recalled his tribe from Sarakhs to support him against the khan of Shakki; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 70. Adigözal Beg has another version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three.

<sup>4</sup> The Russian, Azeri, and Turkish versions have all translated the above as Iraq without any explanation. Iraq here signifies the Persian province of 'Araq-e 'Ajam in west-central Persia; see map 2. The term Iraq will henceforth refer to 'Araq-e 'Ajam.

<sup>5</sup> "Erevan" is absent from the Russian translation, *Istoriia Karabaga*, 67, but is included in the Azeri, *Garabağ Tarikhi*, 15 and the Turkish, *Karabagh Tarihi*, 4, translations.

<sup>6</sup> The Russian, *Istoriia Karabaga*, 67, Azeri, *Garabağ Tarikhi*, 15, and Turkish, *Karabagh Tarihi*, 4, translations have misread this as Karabagh.

distributing property, horses, and *khal'at*.<sup>1</sup> Some of those who opposed him were forced into submission, punished, or killed. None of the Javanshir, Otuz-iki, or other tribes and villages had the power to oppose the will and command of Panah Khan.

When the rulers of Shirvan and Shakki learned of Panah Khan's autonomous position and power over the *velayat* of Karabagh, they concluded that his presence was detrimental to them. They then formed an alliance and joined forces to repel the late khan.

Since, at this time, the five Armenian *mahals* of Karabagh had not submitted to the khan,<sup>2</sup> Panah Khan considered it wise to build a fortress in an appropriate place among the tribes, so that if the surrounding khans attacked him, he could safeguard his immediate family, relatives, retainers, and the notables of Karabagh. After some consultation he constructed the fortress of Bayat, which today is located in the Kebirli district.<sup>3</sup> In a short time he built strong outer walls and a moat, a bazaar, a bath, and a mosque.<sup>4</sup> Into this fortress he gathered his entire family and retinue, relatives, notables, and the chiefs of the various tribes.<sup>5</sup> Many people, [including] artisans, from the surrounding regions, even from the *velayats* of Tabriz and Ardabil, who had heard of the prosperity, courtesy, and kindness of the late Panah Khan, came with their families and

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<sup>1</sup> The term *khal'at* means a robe of honor which princes conferred upon subjects. It consisted of a turban, robe, and girdle. Minor subordinates would generally receive a lesser *khal'at*, consisting of weapons or cash.

<sup>2</sup> Deleted from the new Azeri edition; see appendix. Mirza Jamal thus indicates that the Armenian districts in the mountains of Karabagh were autonomous as late as the mid-eighteenth century. Since they controlled the highlands, Panah Khan built the Bayat fortress on the plain of Karabagh.

<sup>3</sup> Bakikhanov confirms the details of the construction of the Bayat fortress by Panah Khan; *Golestan-e Eram*, 160. As noted, one of the wives of Panah Khan was the daughter of the chief of the Kebirli tribe; hence the khan had a support base at the site of the Bayat fortress.

<sup>4</sup> All major fortress-towns had similar plans. At the center of town was a square or *meidan*, around which were the main mosque, the bazaar or rows of shops, and a bath (*hammam*). Some of these towns also possessed a citadel within their walls. Others, usually those built in the mountains, did not require a citadel.

<sup>5</sup> Although Mirza Jamal does not elaborate, the nature of the socio-economic organization of the tribes was complex. The Otuz-iki and the Bargoshat were at first aloof and kept to their own domain. Later on, a mutual alliance was undertaken, which finally led to the building of the Bayat fortress for the protection of all the tribes.

belongings and settled in the Bayat fortress.<sup>1</sup> In the Muslim year 1161, which corresponds to the Christian year 1745 (actually 1748), the construction of the Bayat fortress [10] was completed.<sup>2</sup>

The rulers of Shirvan and Shakki, who were experiencing major losses from Panah Khan's raids, viewed the strength of the Bayat fortress and the size of the late Panah Khan's army as a real threat. They made an alliance and, with a large force, arrived and laid siege to the fortress of Bayat, in order to repulse Panah Khan.<sup>3</sup> The late Panah Khan, together with the famed cavalry, tribesmen, kinsmen and able attendants, made unexpected sorties every two or three days and, in the wide field which separated the fortress from the invading army, battled courageously against the armies of Shirvan and Shakki, defeated them, and returned to the fortress.

The siege lasted more than a month, yet the khans of Shirvan and Shakki made no progress. Every day they suffered major losses of horses, donkeys, and men. They [soon] decamped and [returned] to their own *velayats* disheveled and disgraced. During their retreat, the ruler of the *velayat* of Shakki, Hajji Chelebi [Khan],<sup>4</sup> who was a worthy man of his time, uttered the following, "Panah Khan was [but] a khan. Now that we have come and fought with him, and have gained nothing, we are returning, having made a shah out of him."<sup>5</sup>

After this event, the late Panah Khan's authority and independence increased daily. He decided to subject [to his authority] the five Armenian *mahals*.<sup>6</sup> First to submit was Melik Shahnazar Beg, the *melik*

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<sup>1</sup> As the text indicates, the *ilat* or tribal domain of the Javanshir was more than just pastoral or migratory territory. The nerve centers of the domain were forts, which took on the character of minor towns. The khan supported many artisans and laborers in order to build and maintain the forts of Bayat, Shah-Bulaghi, and Shushi (the last two were built later, see below). The artisan population came from other districts, but became part of the *il* of Javanshir.

<sup>2</sup> The year 1161 is given by Adigözal Beg as well. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal Beg has additional material, *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> Although he had the title of khan, Chelebi's pilgrimage to Mecca was considered more prestigious.

<sup>5</sup> Adigözal Beg has a different version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three. Ahmad Beg states: "Panah Khan was a self-proclaimed ruler, but I, by my defeat, have turned him into a khan"; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 70.

<sup>6</sup> Adigözal Beg (Chapter Three) and Robert Hewsen provide a description of the five *mahals* and the *meliks* (see map 4). The first *mahal* was Dizak, whose *meliks* were known as the Melik Egans or Iegans. They had

fled Lori (see map 5) some time before and received the title of *melik* and the authority to rule from Nader Shah. The *meliks* of Dizak descended from the Avan family and were scions of the noble house of Loris-Melik of Lori and Somkhet'i, whose leader, Avan, arrived in Dizak ca. 1535. Nader Shah elevated Avan's descendant, Melik Avan III (d.1744), called Egan, to the leadership of all the Armenians of Karabagh, Zangezur, and Azerbaijan. His name Egan (in Persian, the "sole" or "intimate") underscored his reputation as a friend of the shah; it was even rumored that the shah gave him that name. Mohammad Kazem confirms that Melik Egan of Togh, who was the leader of all the Armenians, fought so bravely at the siege of Ganje that Nader made him the leader of the Armenians and presented him with gifts; 'Alamara-ye Naderi, I, 410.

The second *mahal* was Varanda, whose *meliks* came from the Shah-nazarian clan. They had descended from an even older family than the Avans and were very much respected and trusted by all. They were originally from the Sevan region, from where they fled to Karabagh some time before and became the chiefs of Varanda. During the campaigns of Shah 'Abbas against the Ottomans in eastern Armenia, the Armenians of the village of Mazra', south of Lake Sevan, assisted the shah and offered him hospitality. The shah presented their leader with Varanda and gave him the title of *beg*. The *begs* of Varanda took the Persian title of Shahnazar ("flourished by the shah's glance") and a number of them served in official posts. Eskandar Monshi mentions a Melik Shahnazar as the officer in charge of reserve troops; *History of Shah 'Abbas*, II, 1101.

The third *mahal* was Khachen, which was the largest. The *meliks* of Khachen claimed to be from the senior branch of the royal house of Si-unik'. The patriarch who founded the Khachen clan was called Allah Vardi I. The *meliks* of Khachen were the descendants of the Hasan-Jalalian family, some of whom were so "drunk with glory" that they considered themselves kings and maintained power over all others. Adigözal states that Melik Mirza Khan, who lived in Khndzristan, a village some 20 miles northwest of Shushi, submitted to Panah Khan and continued to rule this ancient domain. He struck silver coins in the name of Panah Khan. His son Melik Allah Vardi and his grandson Melik Qahraman "elevated the *melikdom* to the skies." Hewsen states that Melik Mirza and Melik Qahraman were not related to the Hasan-Jalalians but were minor officials, who were elevated by Panah Khan to the rank of *melik*; see below.

The fourth *mahal* was Jraberd. The *melik* of that *mahal* was Melik Allah Qoli. His ancestors were from the Haikazian-Israyelian clan and arrived there from Megavuz (Mahavuz), a village in Zangezur; hence the village of Chardakhli in the upper Tartar River of Karabagh is sometimes called Mahavuz. They settled in the region and built a fortress in an inaccessible place by the river called Jermykh or Chirmukh (Jermuk), where they took refuge and became famous. They soon built the fortress of Jraberd as well.

of the Varanda *mahal* from olden days,<sup>1</sup> who had a dispute with and resented the [Armenian] *meliks* of Cheleberd (Jraberd), Golestan, and Dizak.<sup>2</sup> He demonstrated in every possible way his devotion and

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When Nader Shah fought the Turkish general Koprülü Oglu Abdullah Pasha, Melik Allah Qoli demonstrated particular bravery against the Turks. Nader felt that the title of *melik* was not enough for such a man and ordered that he be called *sultan*. Ahmad Beg, *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 71, also mentions Melik Allah Qoli's promotion. For that particular campaign of Nader Shah, see *Tarikh-e Jahan-gosha*. 246-254. In fact, the mountains of Karabagh and Zangezur were the only regions the Turks did not control during their ten-year rule in western Transcaucasia. The Armenians were also instrumental in helping Nader defeat the Turks in the Erevan campaign. Armenians cut off the Turkish troops at Ashtarak and Üch-Kilisa (Etchmiadzin); *Ibid.*, 254. It is not surprising, therefore, that Nader not only visited the Etchmiadzin cathedral and granted various privileges to the Armenian clergy and *meliks*, but invited the Armenian *catholicos* (supreme patriarch) as an honored guest to his coronation; see L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah* (London, 1938), 97-98, 279.

The fifth *mahal* was Golestan (Talesh). Its *melik* was Melik Usub (Yusuf/Yusub/Yusup/Hovsep). His ancestors came from Shirvan. The *meliks* of Golestan belonged to the Beglarian clan, whose founder, Abov, claimed that he was related to Siunik' royalty. For some time they lived in Golestan. Melik Usub then captured the fortress of Golestan and moved there; Hewsen, "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia," I, 308-324; II, 288-296. According to Hewsen, most of the *meliks* had Armenian names that were used among family members and appear on their tombstones. Otherwise, they were only known by their Arab, Mongol, Persian, or Turkish titles and names.

<sup>1</sup> The word *qadim* also means ancient or old, implying in this context that his family had held the title of the *meliks* for some time.

<sup>2</sup> Bakikhanov confirms the same facts; *Golestan-e Eram*, 160. According to Ahmad Beg, the dispute originated because Melik Shahnazar had killed his uncle, Melik Sein, and had usurped his position; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 70. Adigözal Beg refers to the uncle as Melik Husi or Husin (Hosein), he also adds other details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three. According to Hewsen, Melik Shahnazar was Shahnazar III (ca. 1755-1791). He killed his brother or uncle (depending on the source) Melik Hosein or Husein II (Armenian name Hovsep) and, according to Armenian sources as well as Mirza Jamal, was actually responsible for Panah Khan's gaining access to the mountains of Karabagh and starting his campaign against the other *meliks*. It seems that after the death of Shahnazar, Ibrahim Khan's actions forced his son, Jamshid, to leave Varanda. Jamshid returned after the Russians came to Karabagh and held the title of *melik* in the territory of Varanda from 1805 to 1822, when Karabagh was officially annexed to Russia. Jamshid may have

friendship for the late Panah Khan and, in return, the khan, who considered the obedience of such a great, wealthy, and respected person advantageous to his own authority, did not hesitate to respect and honor him daily.

Although the *melik* of Khachen<sup>1</sup> expressed hostility and wavered for some time, he eventually submitted and the late Panah Khan allowed him to remain the *melik* of his own separate *mahal*, where his descendants are still today. [11] The inhabitants of Khachen thus all accepted the authority [of Panah Khan] and conscientiously carried out all that was required of them.<sup>2</sup> But the *meliks* of the *mahals* of Dizak, Jraberd and Golestan, for a number of years, remained enemies and fought with Panah Khan. Finally, after massacres, looting and other necessary measures, they submitted as well.<sup>3</sup>

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been one of those responsible for the death of Ibrahim Khan. See Chapter Seven.

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg calls him Melik Ulubab of the Hasan-Jalalian family, *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 70. According to Hewsen, Melik Ulubab must be Melik Allah Vardi 1 (1747-1755), whose family periodically ruled over Khachen and who were intermarried with the Ulubeg clan, hence "Ulubab." The family had a mountain fort above the Ballu River. The Hasan-Jalalians became the patriarchs of the See of Gandzasar, known as the *catholicoi* of the House of Aghuank'. Among them is the famous Esayi or Esai (1702-1728) who wrote a short history of that region (*Patmut'iwn hamarot Aghuanits' erkri* (Jerusalem, 1868). Ibrahim Khan killed another *catholicos*, Hovhannes Hasan-Jalalian (1763-1786).

<sup>2</sup> In fact, as will be noted below, this was a temporary truce. The resistance of some of the major families continued throughout the short history of the khanate. For example, when the new khan, Ibrahim, tried to place his own candidate (Israyel of Gandzak) as the patriarch at Gandzasar, the Armenians rebelled and rejected his choice.

<sup>3</sup> Berzhe's translation of Mirza Jamal's history has more details on the conflict between the khan and the Armenian *meliks*; see below. According to Ahmad Beg, the *melik* of Dizak, Melik Egan, possessed a strong fortress (the fortress of Togh, also called Tugh or Tuk) where, together with his clan he guarded the treasures of the other *meliks*. After stubbornly resisting, some were slaughtered (Ahmad Beg's term) and others converted to Islam. The *melik* of Jraberd (who had a mountain fortress in Jraberd), Melik Allah Qoli Sultan, first submitted, but later was accused of treachery and executed by the order of Panah Khan. His brother, Melik Hatam, who was an ally of the fifth *melik*, Melik Usub of Golestan (who had a mountain fortress on Golestan), managed for a long time to remain independent, but after a bloody encounter near Mardakert, the two of them took refuge in Jraberd's other unassailable fortress, Jermuk, on the heights of the Tartar

After residing five years in the fortress of Bayat, Panah Khan decided that since the fortress was surrounded by numerous foes, it was not prudent to remain there and to build a permanent city. Therefore it was imperative to construct a fortress in the mountains of Karabagh, so that in time of war the tribes of Karabagh [who lived on the plain] could protect their flocks and possessions from the enemy in those impregnable mountains.<sup>1</sup>

Since the population of Khachen *mahal* who lived in Tarnakut, located above Shah-Bulaghi, constantly displayed enmity<sup>2</sup> and fought with the late Panah Khan, he first made it a point to totally defeat them, and with his army,<sup>3</sup> composed of cavalry and infantry, waged war against them.<sup>4</sup>

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River, where they managed to resist for nearly a year. They finally fled with their families to Ganje, where they continued to plot against the Javanshir khans; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 70-71. Adigözal Beg confirms these facts and adds more details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three. Melik Mejlum, the son of Melik Hatam, who had settled in Ganje, as will be noted, collaborated with the enemies of Ibrahim Khan.

<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg has other explanations. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three. The fortress, as will be noted, was actually located on a tributary of the Khachen River. Mirza Jamal does not go into details here, but much of Panah Khan's apprehension was due to the activities of King T'eimuraz of eastern Georgia and his son, Erekle II. Sensing the void, which was created after the death of Nader Shah, they attacked Erevan in 1749, defeated the Qajar governor and took that khanate under their protection. In 1750 the Georgians defeated Panah Khan and assumed temporary control of Ganje and parts of Karabagh as well. It seems that a number of Armenian *meliks* had asked Erekle's help against Panah Khan's encroachments. In 1751, however, Hajji Chelebi soundly defeated the Georgians and deprived them of their gains in Ganje and Karabagh. Erekle still considered Erevan as his protectorate for he fought and defeated Azad Khan, who in 1752 had crossed the Arax into that khanate. For more details, see D. M. Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1658-1832* (New York, 1957), 147-149.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the prior agreement was just a temporary truce and that the *meliks* of Khachen constantly fought to keep their autonomy.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Jamal frequently uses the term *qoshun*, a Turkish word that appears in Aq Qoyunlu and Safavid texts, signifying "cavalry troops." Mirza Jamal, however, uses it as "cavalry" in some chapters and as "army" in other. He could have used the Persian word *lashkar* (army) to differentiate between the two, but did not.

<sup>4</sup> Panah Khan had to subdue them before he could start the construction of the Shah-Bulaghi fortress. The Khachen highlands overlook Shah-Bulaghi (see map 4).

The inhabitants of Khachen, including some two thousand musketeers and their families, resisted from an impregnable *saqnaq*<sup>1</sup> in the vicinity of Ballu-qaye.<sup>2</sup> The late Panah Khan stormed their stronghold and for three days the battle raged on, with continuous fire pouring from both sides. On the third day the late Panah Khan captured their stronghold. A number of the men were executed, and in order to frighten the others and teach them a lesson, a tower of some three hundred speared heads was made at Sartelli, at the bank of the Khachen River.<sup>3</sup>

*Panah Khan, at the head of the Javanshir, Sarijlu, Kebirli, and other tribal cavalry, went against the melik of Khachen. He met them [the Armenians] in the area between Shah-bulagh and the river Karkar. The Armenian forces of Khachen united with some of the inhabitants of the Jraberd mahal and dealt him a severe defeat and began to pursue Panah Khan. When Panah Khan's troops noticed that the Armenians had left their mountains and had*

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<sup>1</sup> Persian *saqnaq*, Turkish *sighinak*, Armenian *sghnakh*, signifies a fortified shelter, place of refuge, or lair. In Karabagh, they were built and used by the Armenians during the Ottoman occupation (1724-1734) of western Transcaucasia (eastern Armenia). The Armenian *meliks*, realizing that they were not strong enough to fight the Ottomans individually or in the open, sought refuge in the mountains and began guerilla warfare under the leadership of David Beg and Avan Yuzbashi, who was given the title of khan by the last Safavid shah, Tahmasp II (1722-1732). For more details, see L. Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safavid Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia* (Cambridge, 1958), 260, 354. A number of settlements in Karabagh (one just south of Shushi) and one in Georgia are thus named Sghnakh.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Beg calls it Ballu-chay (the Ballu River, see map 4); *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 70.

<sup>3</sup> Russian (*Istoriia Karabaga*, 69) and Azeri (*Garabağ Tarikhi*, 17), translations have dropped this sentence. However, it appears in the Persian facsimile included in these texts. The editor of the *Karabagh-name* has also deleted the passage (Chapter Three). The main reason for the deletion was probably the Soviet notion of "the friendship of the peoples," which tried to reduce past tensions among the various nationalities. Ahmad Beg states that Melik Ulubab of Khachen and his sons were slaughtered [his term] by the khan, *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 70. There is no evidence in other sources that Melik Ulubab (Ulubeg), who was also known as Allah Vardi, and who ruled over Khachen, was the grandson of Melik Shahnazar Beg, or was related to the Shahnazarians of Varanda. The numerous marriage alliances between the *meliks*, however, make it possible that he was, or was rumored to be, a scion of the Shahnazarians, information, which the various authors must have obtained from the Armenians of Karabagh.

*descended into the plain [in their pursuit], they turned around, attacked, and routed the Armenians, forcing them to flee. The Armenians took refuge in the mountain stronghold of Ballu-qaye where they suffered the attacks of the khan, losing 300 men. In memory of that victory, Panah Khan erected a monument by the Khachen River.*<sup>1</sup>

After this affair, in which Panah Khan succeeded in capturing such a well-fortified place, defended by two thousand musketeers, the population of the surrounding regions and the remaining five [Armenian] *mahals* became [12] very frightened and [while] at times they displayed hostility, at others they came to terms with Panah Khan. A number of skirmishes occurred with Melik Hatam,<sup>2</sup> the *melik* of Jraberd *mahal* and Melik Usub Beg,<sup>3</sup> *melik* of the Golestan *mahal*. Both had been *meliks* for many years,<sup>4</sup> were prosperous, and had a large number of men. Finally, when they realized that they could not continue to maintain their stand [against Panah Khan], they moved to impregnable passes in the deep gorges or in the high mountains. Soon, however, realizing that their property, animals, and farms were being pillaged, confiscated, or destroyed by the late Panah Khan and his followers, they were forced to leave their land, homes, orchards, and farms, abandon their homeland,<sup>5</sup> and flee to Ganje, where for the next seven years they lived in the Shamkhor *mahal*.<sup>6</sup> When Panah Khan vanquished his enemies and quelled the sedition among the people of Khachen, he appointed another *melik* and the remaining population became obedient.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Karabag," 62 (1855), 264.

<sup>2</sup> Melik Hatam (Armenian name, Adam) was the brother of Allah Qoli Sultan, the head of the Israyelian clan of Jraberd. He was the *melik* from 1761 to 1780 or 1782.

<sup>3</sup> Melik Usub II was the head of the Beglarian clan of Golestan.

<sup>4</sup> The Persian text implies hereditary rule in the family.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the term of *vatan*, which demonstrates that he considered the five *mahals* as Armenian homelands.

<sup>6</sup> The bitter feud between some of the Armenian *meliks* and Panah Khan explains their cooperation with the enemies of the Javanshir khans, as well as their welcoming the Russians to Ganje and Karabagh; see below.

<sup>7</sup> The other *melik* was Melik Mirza. Panah Khan could not and did not have the desire to vacate the mountains of Karabagh of its large Armenian population. He needed their cooperation, food supplies, occasional taxes, and especially, as will be noted, musketeers.

After the pacification of the Khachen mahal, Mirza Khan was appointed its [new] melik. His descendants in the persons of Melik Qahramat (Qahraman) Beg and his brothers are presently in that mahal.<sup>1</sup> Panah Khan then cast his eyes on the Jraberd mahal, which in those days was ruled by Allah Qoli Sultan.

[Earlier] during the siege of Ganje by Nader Shah, when Sardar Abdullah Pasha Korpülü-oglu<sup>2</sup> had headed out from Turkey to relieve that siege, as well as the sieges of Erevan and Tiflis, Nader had entrusted the siege of Ganje to his commanders, and had gone out to meet Abdullah Pasha, whom he soundly defeated. Rostam Sultan Qarachorli Karabaghi Mahavizlu killed Abdullah Pasha and his head was brought to Nader, who ordered Hani Effendi to transport the body, with full honors, to Turkey. In that campaign, Melik Allah Qoli, together with a number of Armenians from Jraberd, had demonstrated special bravery against the Turkish artillery, for which he had been rewarded with the title of sultan.

Although Melik Allah Qoli displayed animosity towards Panah Khan, and occasionally even gained the upper hand, he soon realized the futility of future enmity. Accompanied by a number of notables of Jraberd, he set forth to meet Panah Khan and to conclude a truce. Panah Khan treated them with respect, gave them gifts and titles and, having concluded a truce, they returned.

However, Panah Khan, himself, broke the peace. Melik Shahnazar Beg of Varanda, the meliks of Khachen, and even some of the notables of Jraberd, who hated Allah Qoli Sultan, invited Panah Khan to break the pact of friendship and to kill the melik. When Allah Qoli Sultan paid Panah Khan a return visit, Melik Shahnazar Beg, in the presence of Heidar Qoli Khan, the ruler of Nakhichevan, incited Panah Khan with the following words, "It is difficult to believe that a grand person such as this would be eter-

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<sup>1</sup> After the death of Allah Vardi Khan or Ulubab (depending on the source), Panah Khan appointed the headman of Khndzristan (one of the Armenian villages of Khachen), Mirza Khan, to administer the mahal. By 1775, the Hasan-Jalalian clan, according to some, had resumed control of most of the mahal under Allah Vardi II (1775-1813). The family of Mirza Khan, however, kept control over their village and its environs. Mirza Jamal therefore mentions their descendants, Qahraman Beg and his brothers.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Abdullah Pasha Koprülü. He was killed fighting Nader in 1735. Mohammad Kazem has a detailed account of that battle, 'Alamara-ye Naderi; I, 389-402.

nally loyal to you. At the first opportunity he would turn against you. To lose such a great opportunity [to kill him] is against the rules of caution observed by great men like yourself.”

After hearing that statement, Panah Khan invited Allah Qoli to his quarters at night [for supper] and on his [Allah Qoli's] return, he, together with two or three of his attendants, was killed.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of Jraberd, angered by Panah Khan's action, rallied in determination and declared a descendant of Allah Qoli Sultan, Hatam Beg, as their leader. The new melik allied himself with the melik of Golestan, Melik Tahmuras (Teimuraz), a timid and weak person. Teimuraz, whose kinsman, Usub Beg,<sup>2</sup> did not have any support in Golestan and was at that time residing with Melik Hatam, trusted the friendly overtures of Hatam and came to Jraberd. He [Teimuraz] was seized on arrival, taken to the northern side of the bridge over the river Tartar, at the border of the two mahals, and killed. Melik Hatam then allied himself with Usub Beg and began to plot against Panah Khan. The khan, hearing of the union against him, decided to crush it at the outset. After a long struggle, he laid siege to the fortress of Jermuk, which was the residence of Melik Hatam Beg by the Tartar River. It was in an impregnable location and had a strong garrison. There was but one narrow road, suited mainly for the passage of infantry. The cavalry forces of Karabagh, composed of Javanshir, Sarijlu, Ke-birli, and Otuz-iki, accomplished the unthinkable and crossed the road to the fortress. Melik Hatam's forces suffered a siege with many losses from death and capture. Many of the notables of Jraberd mahal voluntarily submitted to Panah Khan, but some families, including that of Melik Hatam, managed to escape. That same year, Panah Khan marched against Usub Beg and, although he had little success at first, he eventually achieved a brilliant victory.

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<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg has another version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three.

<sup>2</sup> It seems that Usub went to Golestan and became its *melik*. He became the junior member of the coalition led by Hatam of Jraberd. According to Hewsen, there is only one Teimuraz in the history of the *meliks* of Golestan. He was the regent for Usub and was hanged by Usub and Melik Hatam. Usub became *melik* and held that position until 1775. Although this information agrees with the above narrative, Teimuraz's death, according to Hewsen, occurred much earlier.

After this defeat, both meliks with their families and close associates fled to Ganje to Shahvardi Khan, who was not on friendly terms with Panah Khan, and settled in Shamkhor and in the villages located in the mountains of Ganje. Here they remained until the events involving Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar, which will be described below.<sup>1</sup> [Eventually] after the conclusion of friendly relations between Panah Khan and Shahvardi Khan, those two meliks were assured of their safety by Panah Khan and returned to their lands. They continued as meliks to the end of Panah Khan's life and through the duration of the rule of Ibrahim Khan. They were treated well and were even exempt from all taxes, except for the Golestan mahal, from which Ibrahim Khan took 300 tumans<sup>2</sup> and 500 chetvert of wheat annually for his nephew Lotf 'Ali Beg. He himself received appropriate gifts, which he, in turn, gave as khal'at and gifts to others.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time that Panah Khan was busy fighting the meliks of Khachen, Golestan, and Jraberd, he also brought the Dizak mahal, whose melik was Esayi Beg, into submission. It happened thus:

Prior to Esayi Beg, the mahal was ruled by his father, Egan Beg, a wealthy man, who had great influence during the reign of Nader Shah, and to whom all the clans of Jraberd, all Armenians, as well as the small Muslim groups [on the fringes] of Dizak, paid tribute. Nader Shah had put him above all the other five meliks and occasionally permitted him to rule over them. Egan Beg, in return, supplied the Persian army with arms and provisions during their campaigns in Karabagh, Shirvan, Ganje, and Daghestan. After his death, Nader Shah appointed his son, Esayi Beg, as the melik. After Nader's death, because of his friendship with the

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<sup>1</sup> These *meliks*, as will be noted below, allied with Fath 'Ali against Panah Khan. Adigözal Beg confirms all the above and adds some other details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three.

<sup>2</sup> The *tuman* at that time equaled approximately four Russian rubles or one pound sterling. Three hundred *tumans* was a considerable sum, demonstrating the great wealth and economic potential of the Armenian mahals.

<sup>3</sup> The hostile actions of the Armenians and their alliance with the enemies must have jolted the khan. He considered it better to have a loyal Armenian population than risk another conflict. Hence he permitted the *meliks* to return and granted them some sort of autonomy, which included exemption from taxes.

*sardar of Azerbaijan, who was appointed by 'Adel Shah, Esayi continued to enjoy his special status.<sup>1</sup> Panah Khan's rush to power resulted in unfriendly relations between the two. Finally Panah Khan gathered his forces and, together with Melik Shahnazar Beg, attacked the village of Tuk (Togh), where Melik Esayi Beg had gathered most of the population and 3000 bodyguards. The siege lasted several days, with both sides losing many men. Panah Khan himself was wounded and withdrew, allowing Melik Esayi to plunder the villages of Varanda and other settlements belonging to Panah Khan or his allies. Next year Panah Khan set off once again to defeat Esayi Beg. This time he came to Teru, located in the high mountains and accessible from only one direction. He was defeated again and Melik Esayi pursued him, inflicting more casualties on Panah Khan's retreating forces. Panah Khan, for the third time, tried his luck, and fortune finally smiled on him, for he succeeded in defeating Esayi Beg, who escaped to Togh. Realizing that no help was forthcoming, Esayi asked for negotiations for a truce. He sent a number of people to Panah Khan and finally presented himself, accompanied by 300 attendants, to the khan, who was in Palutlu. He was greeted with full respect, but on the fifth day, he and his entire retinue were seized and deprived of all their belongings in Togh. Except for some elderly residents, who were left to oversee the orchards and houses, all the rest of the population of Togh was dispatched to the Chanakhchi fortress where they stayed for a long time. Melik Esayi's family and the families of the notables were, after the construction of the Shushi fortress, transferred there.*

*After the conclusion of the aforementioned wars and the submission of the five Armenian mahals, as well as the villages of the Ikirmi-dort and Yulak, which, prior to that, were always under the suzerainty of the ruler of Ganje, Panah Khan undertook the conquest of Zangezour, Sisian, Chuldur, and Bargoshat (see map 4), which, after two or three years, became part of Karabagh. He replaced the meliks, sultans, and minbashis of these mahals whom he could not trust with his own men. The territory of Karabagh increased as well as its population, which was composed mainly of*

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<sup>1</sup> The Armenians of Karabagh had a number of fighting units at the disposal of the *sardar* of Azerbaijan. Melik Esayi was the *melik* of Dizak from 1747 until 1781 when Ibrahim Khan killed him and a large number of notables of his *mahal*.

Armenians and Muslims.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Panah Khan made the positions of the sultans and begs hereditary. If one died and his children were not of age, Panah Khan would appoint several capable administrators until the heirs could manage for themselves.<sup>2</sup>

After that he began the construction of the fortress of Tarnakut, which today is famous as the Shah-Bulaghi ("King of Locks") fortress. [Panah Khan] decided to abandon the Bayat fortress and instead planned another fortress in Shah-Bulaghi, in the vicinity of its large spring.<sup>3</sup> There, he dug and built [a fortress] on high ground, surrounded it with high walls, with a bazaar, a square, a bath, and a mosque.<sup>4</sup>

In the year of the Muslims 1165 [1751/52] all the tribes and their households, together with all notables, artisans and craftsmen, and administrators [of Bayat], were transferred to the Shah-Bulaghi fortress.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime Hajji Chelebi, the ruler of Shakki,<sup>6</sup> who was known for his intelligence and bravery, demanded that Panah

<sup>1</sup> The Armenians are listed first in the original text.

<sup>2</sup> "Karabag," 62 (1855), 264 and 63 (1855), 270.

<sup>3</sup> According to various maps, the fortress is situated by a spring that connects to the Khachen River. The Russian (*Istoriia Karabaga*, 70) and Azeri (*Garabağ Tarikhi*, 16) editors place it on the Tartar River, which is in northern Khachen. Had Panah Khan built his fortress there, in the mountains of Karabagh, he would have had no need for another fortress in the mountains (the later Shushi fortress). Bakikhanov calls the fortress "Tarnavut" and states that evidence of the fortress still existed in his time; *Golestan-e Eram*, 160; Donboli also calls it "Tarnavut"; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 151. In some sources "Tarnakut" or "Tarnavut" replaces Shah-Bulaghi, which itself is occasionally called "Shah-Bulagh."

<sup>4</sup> Adigözal Beg adds other details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three.

<sup>5</sup> Ahmad Beg gives the year as 1752, but states that the climate and location were not suitable and the fortress was soon abandoned; *Karabakhskego khanstva*, 72. Adigözal Beg confirms the date. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three. The tribal domain of Panah Khan now embraced the various *ilat* and *mahalat*. The text indicates that everyone was transferred to the new fortress. The extreme insecurity of the times required the khan's allies and dependents to live within the walls of a fortress.

<sup>6</sup> Adigözal Beg substitutes Shirvan for Shakki, which is not far-fetched, considering that Hajji Chelebi controlled most of the lands east of the Kur River. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Five.

*Khan accept his authority and not attempt to do anything without consulting him. Panah Khan considered this request insulting and beneath him and in order to protect himself against a sudden attack from Chelebi Khan, began to search for an ally. He eventually made an alliance with Heidar Qoli Khan of Nakhichevan, Qasem (Kazem) Khan<sup>1</sup> of Qaradagh, and Shahvardi Khan of Ganje.<sup>2</sup> They also agreed to send an envoy to the vali of Georgia<sup>3</sup> [Erekle] to warn him of the danger from the ruler of Shakki, who at times had made alliances with the ruler of Daghestan, as well as a marriage alliance with the khan of Kazikumik (Qazi Qumuq)<sup>4</sup> and to ask him not to refuse a meeting in order to figure a way to halt the ambitions of the mighty Hajji Chelebi. The embassy was successful and they received a promise of aid from the lofty vali of Georgia.<sup>5</sup> A few days later,*

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<sup>1</sup> "Qasem" is an incorrect transliteration. Ahmad Beg has "Kazem"; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 72; Adigözal Beg (Chapter Five) and Bakikhanov also mention "Kazem"; *Golestan-e Eram*, 161. Some sources identify him as the khan of Qarajedagh (Qaradagh).

<sup>2</sup> Shahvardi Khan was named after his great-grandfather Shahvardi Sultan Ziyadoglu Qajar, who was appointed to his post in Ganje by Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576). It seems that the Ziyadoglu Qajars were among the earliest Turkmen groups to obey Shah Isma'il and join the Shahsavans. Although not a major tribe, they were rewarded by the Safavids and rose to govern Ganje and Erevan as the *beglarbegis* of Karabagh and Chukhur-e Sa'd. With the exception of the periods when the Ottomans controlled Ganje, the descendants of Shahvardi Sultan were the hereditary khans of Ganje. Even Nader Shah did not oust them from that position, although, as noted, he did reduce their holdings by separating Karabagh, Borchalu, and Kazakh from their jurisdiction. Shahvardi's son, Javad Khan, was the last khan of Ganje. He died defending Ganje against the Russians. One of his sons, Ughurlu Khan, and some other family members left for Persia after the Russian conquest of their khanate.

<sup>3</sup> Erekle II (1744-1762) was the king of Kakhet'i, and from 1762 to 1798 was the king of the united K'art'li and Kakhet'i kingdom. Although T'eimuraz II, the father of Erekle II, was a co-ruler with Erekle until 1762, Mirza Jamal and other local sources refer to Erekle as the *vali*. The Safavids gave the title of vali or viceroy to the Georgian rulers of the Bagrationi family. Georgia, unlike the rest of Transcaucasia, had a special status under the Safavids. It supplied troops to the shahs and enjoyed a degree of autonomy.

<sup>4</sup> The khan of Kazikumik (Kumuk) refers to the khan of the Qumuq tribe of northern Daghestan.

<sup>5</sup> Adigözal Beg adds that they met north of Ganje in a small village called Kizil-qaye. The editor of the Russian translation also adds that the

the vali invited them to a feast, where all four khans were seized. Not fearing that anyone would come to the rescue, the vali stayed on in the vicinity of Ganje. Hajji Chelebi, learning of this despicable act of the Georgian vali, despite the malevolent plans of the khans against him, decided to free them. Having collected a large force, he moved on the vali, crossed the Kur, attacked and crushed him.<sup>1</sup> He pursued him to the Akstafa River, freed the khans and brought them back to Ganje.<sup>2</sup>

Panah Khan could not forget this kindness and constantly sought an opportunity to repay it. The opportunity presented itself soon, although unfortunately after Hajji Chelebi's death [1758]. The khan of Shakki was related to the ruler of Qazi Qumuq in Daghestan, for the daughter of the latter was the wife of the son of Hajji Chelebi, Aqa Kishi Beg, a worthy and brave young man, as ingenious as his father. Mohammad Khan Surkhai, the ruler of Qazi Qumuq, invited his son-in-law with his wife and, upon his arrival, ignoring kinship, tortured and killed him. The next day he marched into Nukha (capital of Shakki) where he took possession of the dead beg's property. Hosein, the son of Aqa Kishi Beg, from another wife, escaped to the sultan of Qabale, and with his help gathered a small force from the inhabitants of Qabale, Kutkashin, Khachmaza,<sup>3</sup> and the surrounding regions of Shirvan. He also requested help from Panah Khan, who, having heard of the presence of Daghestanis in Nukha, had prepared his army, just in case Mohammad Khan decided to enter Karabagh. Panah Khan's army, composed of warriors from the five Armenian mahals,<sup>4</sup> Javanshir, Kebirli, Otuz-iki, Damirchi, Hasanli, Kolani, Qarachorli Kurds, and Persians was by the banks of the Kur. Here he heard of the murder committed by Mohammad Khan Surkhai. He gathered his troops around and gave a rousing speech

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date, according to the anonymous Georgian Chronicle, was 1752. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Five.

<sup>1</sup> Shukiurzade gives the location near the mausoleum of Nezami; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 100. Adigözal Beg adds other details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Five.

<sup>2</sup> Bakikhanov confirms the above, except he adds Hosein 'Ali Khan of Erevan to the coalition of khans; *Golestan-e Eram*, 161. Ahmad Beg describes the same coalition but against Erekle; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 72, an alliance which had occurred earlier. Adigözal Beg repeats the Berzhe text. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Five.

<sup>3</sup> It is a village in Shakki.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian forces are listed first in the source.

reminding them of Hajji Chelebi's deed and the need to avenge and to wash away the blood of the unlucky Aqa Kishi Beg. They all agreed to do so and to follow Panah Khan. He immediately crossed the Kur and entered the road to Nukha. The inhabitants of the districts of Shakki, hearing this, joined his forces. Hosein Khan, who had come out of Qabala, joined him by the village of Dakhpalu (Dahpalul). Surkhai heard the news and prepared his own troops to meet Panah Khan. The two armies met in Nukha, in the streets of which a massacre took place. Surkhai lost everything and fled to Qazi Qumuq, leaving all the loot he had gathered from Aqa Kishi Beg's property to [Aqa Kishi Beg's] son, Hosein [Khan]. Panah Khan confirmed Hosein Khan as the ruler of Shakki and returned to Karabagh.<sup>1</sup>

[13] Three or four years later, the late Panah Khan's fully independent reign in Shah-Bulaghi, his authority, and the size of his force increased his fame daily and spread it into nearby regions. The khans of Shirvan, Shakki, Ganje, Erevan, Nakhichevan, Tabriz, and Qaradagh sent letters and messengers to the late Panah Khan, expressing their friendship and solidarity. He became related to a number of these khans. [In the meantime], he took control of the *mahals* of Zangezour from Nakhichevan; the Qapans<sup>2</sup> from Tabriz; and Chuldur, Meghri, and Gunay from Qaradagh, which were [respectively] under the rulers of Nakhichevan, Tabriz, and Qaradagh, and attached them to Karabagh, appointing his own *meliks* and *sultans*.<sup>3</sup> They all

<sup>1</sup> "Karabag," 63 (1855), 270. According to some Russian sources Hosein Khan was not the son of Aqa Kishi but his nephew, see *Akty*, V, 1120.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian text reads "Qapanat," which refers to the town of Qapan or Ghapan and its surrounding region.

<sup>3</sup> These lands were given as *tuyul*. According to Bakikhanov, it was only after the construction of the Shushi fortress that Panah Khan's power increased. He controlled all the territory from the Khoda-afarin bridge to the Kurek River and Bargoshat, as well as the *mahals* of Meghri and Gunay, which belonged to Qaradagh; Tat'ew and Sisian, which belonged to Nakhichevan; Terter-Kolani, which was under the control of Erevan; and Zangezour and Qapan, which belonged to Tabriz. He also occasionally held power over other surrounding regions, like Ardabil. Bakikhanov, unlike Mirza Jamal, does not exaggerate the power of Panah Khan; *Golestan-e Eram*, 160. Adigözal Beg has another version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Three. Persian chroniclers do not ascribe such power to Panah Khan. For example, Mohammad Hashem

obeyed the late Panah Khan's rule. These [conditions] are in effect to this day.<sup>1</sup>

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states that Panah Khan, even later, was the master of Shushi, but that the rest of Karabagh was not under his permanent control; *Rostam ol-Tavarikh*, 351.

<sup>1</sup> Not all of these regions remained part of Karabagh after the Russian conquest. Mirza Jamal exaggerates, for, by the time of his writing, Persia had control over the lands south of the Arax and Russia had incorporated all the rest into her empire and had divided it into new administrative units (see introduction). The main reason for Mirza Jamal's statement is not political, but economic. The titles and prerogatives of *meliks*, *begs*, and *sultans* survived under the Russians into the first half of the nineteenth century. By the second half of the century, most local dignitaries had to produce documents to support their claims to lands and titles. Some of the claims were disputed, and Armenian and Turkic feudal chiefs were challenged not only by the Russians, but also by their own upstarts. Mirza Jamal's history, although objective by contemporary standards, naturally favors his own clan.

## Chapter Four

### *On the Issuing of the Decree Which Named Him Khan of Karabagh and the Rule of the Late Panah Khan*<sup>1</sup>

After the murder of the late Nader Shah, his brother's son,<sup>2</sup> 'Ali Qoli Khan, gave himself the title of 'Adel Shah<sup>3</sup> and ascended the late shah's throne. Emir Aslan Khan Sardar,<sup>4</sup> who had been appointed by 'Adel Shah as the *sardar* of Azerbaijan, and who was stationed in Tabriz, heard of the independent rule and fame of Panah Khan in Karabagh, and on his own initiative sent him a horse, sword, and *khal'at*. He urged and encouraged him to recognize and submit to 'Adel Shah.<sup>5</sup>

The late Panah Khan showed kindness and respect to the messengers of Emir Aslan Khan Sardar and dispatched with them a number of noted *kadkhodas* (community leaders) of the tribes [of Karabagh], who were respected [14] and known for their acumen, for it was not the time to foster enmity and war with so powerful and exalted person as the *sardar*. This was specially so, since some of the khans of the surrounding *velayats*, although appearing friendly and loyal, in reality were against him. Therefore, he [Panah Khan] acted humbly and sent gifts and letters in which he declared his obedience to 'Adel Shah.

Emir Aslan Khan considered such obedience and the coming of [such] messengers of great assistance to the rule of 'Adel Shah, and

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe's translation reads, *Chapter Four: Continuation of Panah Khan's Rule Following the Death of Nader Shah*, "Karabag," 61 (1855), 278.

<sup>2</sup> Adigözal identifies Nader's brother as Ibrahim. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Two.

<sup>3</sup> Bakikhanov calls him 'Ali Shah; *Golestan-e Eram*, 156. Persian sources refer to him both as 'Ali Shah and 'Adel Shah.

<sup>4</sup> Emir Aslan Khan Afshar was the nephew of Nader Shah and one of his most able commanders. Nader appointed him the *beglarbegi* of Azerbaijan, a post in which he remained until 1748. Ahmad Beg claims that Panah Khan, surrounded by hostile khans and Armenian *meliks*, who did not appreciate his ruse to power at their expense, made the first overture by sending an envoy. This is probably closer to the truth; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 72.

<sup>5</sup> Adigözal Beg has a slightly different version. See *Karabagh-name*. Chapter Two.

he, [therefore], wrote to the shah [about it]. In the year of the Muslims 1161, corresponding to the Christian year 1745 (actually 1748), a trusted messenger of Emir Aslan Khan Sardar arrived in the fortress of Bayat with 'Adel Shah's *firman* (decree) granting him [Panah Khan] the title of khan and appointing him the governor of Karabagh.<sup>1</sup> [In addition, the shah] sent a costly *khal'at*, a horse with a gold-inlaid saddle, and a jeweled sword. At the same time, Emir Aslan Sardar sent his own gifts to the late Panah Khan, while the elders [messengers] who had come from Panah Khan also] returned with gifts.<sup>2</sup>

In this fashion, the [official] title of khan and the authority to rule was, for the first time, granted to the late Panah Khan by 'Adel Shah, the son of the late Nader Shah's brother. It was not long afterwards that the late Panah Khan heard that Shahrokh Mirza, the son of the late Nader Shah,<sup>3</sup> had killed 'Ali Qoli Khan, who was called 'Adel Shah [15] and had ascended the royal throne in Khorasan, and that this action had prompted unrest in the territories of Iraq, Azerbaijan, and Fars.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In order to set the stage for the official appointment of Panah Khan and the creation of the khanate of Karabagh, Mirza Jamal has moved the narrative back from 1756 to 1748.

<sup>2</sup> This was customary, to demonstrate that the sardar was the overlord of Panah Khan. Ahmad Beg adds that Emir Aslan Khan and Panah Khan then forced the khanates of Ganje, Shirvan, and Shakki to recognize 'Adel Shah; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 71.

<sup>3</sup> He was actually the grandson; Ahmad Beg identifies him correctly as the grandson; *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> The events were as follows: 'Adel Shah was overthrown in 1748 by his brother Ibrahim, who himself was overthrown by Shahrokh in the same year that the latter was deposed and blinded by one of his officers. Adigözal Beg has additional details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Two. Ahmad Beg states that Kazem Khan killed Emir Aslan Khan. He identifies him as Khan of Qaradagh; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 71. Persian sources state that Emir Aslan allied himself with Ibrahim Shah and together they overthrew 'Adel Shah. Emir Aslan's power, however, frightened Ibrahim, and he soon arrived with an army. Emir Aslan met him in battle, was defeated, and sought refuge with Kazem Khan of Qarajedagh. Soon afterward, Kazem betrayed him and handed him to Ibrahim Shah, who killed him; *Bamdad*, I, 166-167. Mirza Jamal and other Karabaghi chroniclers do not mention the details of what occurred in this period, much of which took place in Azerbaijan and Georgia. The main players were Azad Khan and Erekle. In 1750/51, Azad marched on the governor of Tabriz, who was supported by

During these troubled times, the late Panah Khan decided to seize the *velayats* of Ganje, Erevan, Nakhichevan, and, in particular, Ardabil, and to force the khans of those regions to obey him. Within a short period of time, he made them obedient, some by force, others through envoys or through marriage alliances. In the city of Ardabil, in particular, he appointed Dargah Qoli Beg Sarijlu as governor.<sup>1</sup> He would appoint governors from among the progeny of the khans of Ganje, [appointing] those who humbly requested it and removing them at will.<sup>2</sup> He brought a number of the sons of the khans of the aforementioned *velayats* to the Shah-Bulaghi fortress as hostages.<sup>3</sup>

When it became apparent that Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar<sup>4</sup> had assumed power as the independent ruler of Mazandaran, Iraq

Kazem Khan of Qarajedagh, Panah Khan, as well as the Shaqaqi Kurd, 'Ali Khan. Azad Khan Afghan defeated the coalition, took Tabriz and then looked beyond the Arax, where T'eimuraz and his son Erekle, taking advantage of the chaos, were enjoying their own success in expanding Georgian hegemony in Transcaucasia, especially at the expense of Erevan. Azad laid siege to Erevan, but was repulsed by Erekle with heavy losses. Erekle went on to Tabriz but had to retreat when a group of Transcaucasian khans, led by Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar, forced him to withdraw to Tiflis. Azad then made an arrangement to marry a sister of Erekle, and by 1752 had become the supreme power in Azerbaijan and even controlled Nakhichevan; *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh*, 183-188.

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg places this action later, during Mohammad Hasan Khan's invasion of Karabagh; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73 (see below). Adigözal Beg has "Sarijallu" and does not include Erevan in the lists of *velayats*. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Four.

<sup>2</sup> Berzhe's translation reads: He appointed a khan from the Ziyadoglu Qajar family to rule in Ganje; "Karabag," 65 (1855), 278.

<sup>3</sup> Berzhe's translation adds, "They stayed until Mohammad Khan rose to power," but the context makes it certain that he means Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar; see below.

<sup>4</sup> The Qajars were a minor Turkmen tribe that had arrived, with other major tribes in Persia, sometime between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Their later claims of Oghuz, Mongol, or Timurid ancestry have not been substantiated. By the fifteenth century, they were in Anatolia and Azerbaijan, from where a number of them entered the regions of Erevan, Ganje, and Karabagh. They fell under the influence of Shi'ism and were one of the original seven Turkmen tribes (referred to as the Kizilbash) who supported the Safavids. The early Safavids gave them most of eastern Armenia. It is probable that, during this period, the division between the two rival branches of the Yukhari-bash and Ashaga-

and Azerbaijan, the late Panah Khan's experienced advisors, who were ever mindful of the affairs of state, assembled by his order and advised him as follows:

"Upon the death of the late Nader Shah we had an alliance and friendly relations with 'Ali Qoli Khan ['Adel Shah] and Emir Aslan Sardar. It is possible, however, that we will not have such friendly relations with Mohammad Hasan Khan; nor are we sure of our neighboring khans. It is very possible that they would incite [Mohammad Hasan Khan], and that together they would defeat us. In that case the Kizilbash<sup>1</sup> army would trample the tribes and militia of Karabagh, for the fortress of Shah-Bulaghi would not withstand such a powerful foe and [especially if allied with] the neighboring khans. We would surely all perish. Therefore [we have to] devise a solution before these events occur. [You should] build a fortress inside the mountains, [16] one that would remain forever strong, impregnable, and unassailable, so that even the mightiest foe could not besiege or penetrate it. The fortress should be permanently

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bash took shape. Each branch was further subdivided into the clans of Qyunlu or Qavanlu, Develu or Davalu, Izzadinlu, and Ziadlu or Ziadoglu. The Qavanlu of the Ashaga-bash were the founders of the Qajar dynasty in Persia, while the Davalu from the Yukhari-bash provided many of the functionaries and military commanders of Persia. Shah 'Abbas I, mistrusting the growing power of Turkmen tribes, divided the Qajars, sending some to Khorasan as a buffer against the Uzbeks, others to Astarabad in Mazandaran, as a buffer against the Turkmen (see map 2). The rest remained in Erevan, Ganje, and Karabagh, where they were soon replaced or absorbed by other tribes. After the fall of Isfahan to the Afghans, Fath 'Ali Khan Qavanlu of the Astarabad Qajars tried to extend his influence by supporting Shah Tahmasp II. He became a close companion of the shah but soon clashed with a new favorite, Tahmasp Qoli Khan Afshar (later Nader Shah). Fath 'Ali was murdered in 1726 (the Qavanlu later blamed the murder on the Davalu and Nader). His son, Mohammad Hasan, spent his youth as a fugitive from the Afshars and the Davalu Qajars. By 1744, however, together with his supporters, he took Astarabad. For the next fifteen years he fought various contenders for the Safavid throne, such as Karim Khan Zand and Azad Khan Afghan, among others.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that Mirza Jamal refers to the Persian army or any force south of Arax as the Kizilbash. The Russians also used the term, which may be one reason that Mirza Jamal uses it. The other reason, as noted, was the aura of the Safavids, which lingered on until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. "Persian" will replace "Kizilbash" throughout the text.

accessible on one side to the inhabitants of the mountains and should not be cut off from the *mahals* [of Karabagh].”

This advice was shared with Melik Shahnazar Beg, who had always wished [the khan] well, and with the help and supervision of that *melik*, the decision to construct the Shushi fortress was made.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, the khan also sent a number of other experts and trusted people in his service to look over the location and the environs of the future fortress. It was discovered that there was no running water at the site of the fortress, except for two or three small springs, which would not be sufficient for such a [large] army and residents. They began digging wells at sites where they thought they could strike water. Most of their excavations struck water. News of all this was sent to the late Panah Khan, who was very pleased and, with a number of close associates, visited the site and approved the construction of the fortress.<sup>2</sup>

In the Muslim year 1170, corresponding to the Christian year 1754 (actually 1756/57), all the *ra'iyat* (peasants and subjects) of the Shah-Bulaghi fortress, along with the noble families and persons, *meliks*, attendants, tribal elders, and the inhabitants of some villages, were sent to reside in the new fortress.<sup>3</sup> Prior to this, no one had lived at the

<sup>1</sup> The Armenians had been building fortresses in this region for some 2000 years, while the nomadic Turkmen had no experience. The fortress, as shall be seen, truly withstood many an enemy.

<sup>2</sup> Bakikhanov implies that there was already a small fort there, which belonged to Melik Shahnazar Beg of Varanda and that it was at the request of the *melik* that Panah Khan repaired and enlarged it, from where he tried to force the other *meliks* to submit to him; *Golestan-e Eram*, 160.

<sup>3</sup> The date of 1170 (inaccurately calculated as 1754 by Ahmad Beg as well) has been cited both by Adigözal Beg (Chapter Four) and Ahmad Beg; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 72. Persian chroniclers agree with Mirza Jamal. Hedayat has 1171 as the arrival of Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar to Shushi, which according to Mirza Jamal, was a year after the fortress was completed; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 37. Mohammad Hasan states that a group of Afghans from Azad Khan's forces appeared before the fortress in late 1170 (1757); *Montazam-e Naseri*, II, 1156. The Azeri editors of Ahmad Beg's and Adigözal Beg's chronicles are skeptical. Shukiurzade points out that the exact date is unknown. According to him, it is possible that the fortress rose around 1751, for a coin bearing its name was struck on that date; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 101. The editor of Adigözal Beg suggests that the fortress was built earlier, in 1750-51. He sites the fact that the fortress existed during the Chelebi-Erekle conflict, which, according to the anonymous Georgian chronicle, took place in 1752; *Karabagh-name*,

site. The villagers of Shosh, who lived some six *versts*<sup>1</sup> east of the fortress, had occasionally used it as a pasture.<sup>2</sup> After seeing to the needs of the population, the khan designated the living area [for them] and, especially, the site of his home and personal quarters. He then had skilled masters and able and alert supervisors erect the walls of the fortress.<sup>3</sup> These walls and fortifications, which were built by the late Panah Khan, are currently in ruins, except for a few places where there is still evidence of them.

A year after the construction of [17] the fortress, Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar, who was the father of Aqa Mohammad Shah, came with the armies of Iraq and Azerbaijan to capture the fortress of Shushi and to make the late Panah Khan to bow to his will.<sup>4</sup> He

62-63. It is possible that the foundations were laid sometime in 1751 and the final move into the completed fortress took place at a later date. The text indicates that some villages moved to the fortress (these were settled groups who now farmed in the vicinity of the fortress and could seek refuge there, if necessary). It also states that tribal chiefs also moved into the fortress, but not the tribes, who probably continued to live as nomads. The social hierarchy of Karabagh is also apparent here. After the Javanshir family came the nobles, the Armenian *meliks*, the attendants, the tribal headmen, and finally the peasants.

<sup>1</sup> *Verst* is a Russian measure of length equaling 3500 feet or two-thirds of a mile.

<sup>2</sup> The village of Shosh is north of Shushi. Shushi had a mint and was originally called Panahabad ("built by Panah"); *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 72; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 297, and Bakikhanov; *Golestan-e Eram*, 160. Panah Khan's silver coins bearing the inscription of "There is one God, His name is Allah, and Mohammad was His Messenger," on the obverse side and "minted in Panahabad," on the reverse side, were still found in Persia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The coins weighed one *mesqal* (4.4 grams) and were valued up to ten *shahis*; *Bamdad*, V, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg mentions that artisans and skilled men came from other places and settled there; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73.

<sup>4</sup> Hedayat gives 1171 as the date of his arrival; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 37. Ahmad Beg seems to imply that Panah Khan had earlier accepted the leadership of Mohammad Hasan Khan, for, during the struggle for the Afshar throne of Nader, Azad Khan Afghan (whom he incorrectly identifies as Aziz Khan Uzbek) came with a large army to Persia from Turkestan and took Tabriz in 1750/51. Azad Khan, as noted, soon moved on Erevan, but Erekle came to the aid of the Khan of Erevan and repulsed him. Azad's heavy taxes, brutality, and plans to move eastward led to an alliance of Shi'i khans, under the leadership of Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar. An army of 18,000 men, 3000 of whom were Karabaghi cavalry under the command of

crossed the Arax and camped four *farsakhs* from the fortress.<sup>1</sup> He remained there for an entire month trying everything he could think of and using various schemes to bring the late Panah Khan into obedience and to take control of the Shushi fortress. However, despite his extremely large army, he could not even manage to come close to the fortress. In the meantime, the bold<sup>2</sup> Karabaghis openly and covertly grabbed horses, mules, and other four-legged beasts from the troops, inflicting damage upon the army of Mohammad Hasan Khan.<sup>3</sup>

At this time word came to Mohammad Hasan Khan that Karim Khan Zand had gathered a large army in the city of Shiraz, in the realm<sup>4</sup> of Fars, and was planning to take Iraq and Mazandaran. [Mohammad Hasan Khan] then abandoned the idea of capturing the [Shushi] fortress, as well as taking control of the Shirvans, Ganje and other *velayats*, and with great speed he moved towards Iraq, Fars, and Mazandaran.<sup>5</sup>

Karim Khan Zand, prior to the arrival of Mohammad Hasan Khan, had taken control of the entire *velayat* of Fars, parts of Iraq,

Mehr 'Ali Khan, a son of Panah Khan, attacked Azad Khan and forced him to flee to Kurdistan, *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 72. Azad planned an alliance and sought asylum with Erekle, who kept him as a well-treated prisoner. Erekle surrendered him later to Karim Khan Zand who took him to Shiraz, where he died in 1196 (1781/82).

<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg has more information. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Four.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian term in the text is *goldor*, which can be translated as "ruffian." The Azeri translation reads "brave."

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg states that the two forces met 30 *versts* from Shushi, near the canal of Khatun-arkhi. After a bloody battle, Mohammad Hasan Khan was defeated. Not only did his cannons fall into the hands of Panah Khan (later to be used against the Persians), but he was also pursued across the Arax, where Panah Khan took Ardabil and installed Dargah Qoli Beg as its ruler; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73. Mirza Jamal describes the taking of Ardabil and the installation of Dargah Qoli as taking place earlier.

<sup>4</sup> Text reads *mamlekat*.

<sup>5</sup> This is confirmed by Hedayat, who adds that this occurred in the year 1171 (1758/59); *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 39. Adigözal Beg adds more information. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Four. Nami states that, having no success in taking Shushi, Mohammad Hasan took Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar, Shahbaz Khan Donboli and other chiefs of Azerbaijan and went to Shiraz in 1171; *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*, 60-61. Following the death of Nader Shah, Mohammad Hasan Khan fought a number of battles and almost succeeded in becoming the sole ruler of Persia. His son Agha Mohammad Khan finally succeeded in making the Qajars the rulers of Persia.

and other *velayats*, and prepared to do battle with Mohammad Hasan Khan, who had gathered a large force from Azerbaijan, the Gilans,<sup>1</sup> and other *velayats* and had proceeded to Fars to repulse Karim Khan. But fortune and prosperity are gifts of the Benevolent God; hence, some of the close companions of Mohammad Hasan Khan decided to betray him. They killed him, and hoping to obtain high positions and financial rewards, took his head to Karim Khan.<sup>2</sup>

But since defending the honor of *sardars* and noblemen against such base actions is the duty of [other] *sardars*, he [Karim Khan] refused to reward the murderers of Mohammad Hasan Khan in any fashion, but rather punished them publicly,<sup>3</sup> so that others would not be tempted to betray their benefactors.

After the episode concerning Mohammad Hasan Khan, Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar<sup>4</sup> of the *velayat* of Urumiye<sup>5</sup> (Urmiye), who was one of the [18] *sardars* of Nader Shah, aspired to rule and had

<sup>1</sup> The text reads "Gilanat," which signifies the two districts of Gilan.

<sup>2</sup> This version does not correspond to the Persian primary sources, which mention that Mohammad Hasan Khan died a year later, on 12 or 14 February 1759. After retreating from the Zands, he entered Mazandaran, where due to the treachery of his Davalu followers he was forced to flee. His horse was stuck in mud and he was struck down by Sabz 'Ali Kurd or, according to some sources, Mohammad Khan of Savadkuh. Mohammad 'Ali Aqa Davalu then severed Mohammad Hasan's head, which was sent to Karim Khan in Tehran. Karim Khan was extremely distressed, and had it buried with honors. Mohammad Hasan's body was buried with full honors in Astarabad by Sheikh 'Ali Khan, a commander of Karim Khan. See *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*, 45-47; *Golshan-e Morad*, 107-109; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 64-71. Fasa'i, and Hedayat also add that Mohammad Hasan Khan's slayer (Sabz 'Ali) was not rewarded; rather, upon his arrival in Tehran he himself was put to death by the order of Karim Khan; *Farsname-ye Naseri*; I, 212; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 70. Mirza Jamal incorrectly places Mohammad Hasan Khan's death immediately after his attack on Shiraz; in fact, it occurred much later. It is obvious that Mirza Jamal was more concerned with the details of events in Karabagh and condensed other extraneous material.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads *siyasat*, which has a number of meanings; among them, "public punishment" and "execution."

<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Khan incorrectly refers to him as Fath 'Ali Khan Rumeli; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> Urmiye is the region west of Lake Urmiye in northwestern Persia; see map 2.

gained control over all of Azerbaijan.<sup>1</sup> No matter how many eloquent messengers he sent to persuade the late Panah Khan to submit and to ally with him, he [Panah Khan] rightfully considered submission to such a *sardar* shameful and beneath him, and thus sent the envoys back with harsh replies.

After the return of his envoys, Fath 'Ali Khan gathered a large army from among the inhabitants of Azerbaijan, Urmiye, and other *velayats* and, determined to capture the fortress, gain control of Karabagh, and defeat Panah Khan, came to Shushi and pitched his camp one *farsakh* from the fortress.<sup>2</sup> The [Armenian] *meliks* of Jraberd and Golestan, who secretly harbored enmity towards the late Panah Khan, joined Fath 'Ali Khan.<sup>3</sup> For six months they remained near the fortress and there were battles and skirmishes every few days between the late Panah Khan and the army of Fath 'Ali Khan.<sup>4</sup> The troops of the late Panah Khan were always victorious over the Kizilbash army. During this time Fath

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<sup>1</sup> Fath 'Ali Khan was one of Nader Shah's most trusted commanders and had participated in the Indian campaign. After Nader's death he joined Ibrahim Shah and was appointed the governor of Fars. After the death of Ibrahim, in 1163 (1749/50), he was appointed as the military commander of Chukhur-e Sa'd (Erevan), Ganje, and Karabagh by the Safavid prince Soleiman II (1749-1750), one of the nominal rulers in Persia. He soon joined Azad Khan and became one of his main allies. Mirza Mohammad Khalil Mar'ashi states that Soleiman gave Fath 'Ali *khal'at*, a sword and dagger, five horses, and an enameled saddle; *Majma' ol-Tavarikh* (Tehran, 1983), 120. Fath 'Ali Khan probably felt that he had the right to ask the Transcaucasian khans to submit to his authority.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Beg describes a 30,000-man army, which arrived just before winter; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73. Adigözal Beg has additional information. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Six.

<sup>3</sup> As noted, these Armenian *meliks* had good reason to go against Panah Khan. The passage also demonstrates that Panah Khan had no firm control over the Armenian *mahals* even after the flight of the *meliks*, as there was no Muslim administrative apparatus in place there. It also reaffirms the fact that the *meliks* still had armed forces, which they could muster for or against Panah Khan. Adigözal Beg identifies these *meliks* as Melik Hatam and Melik Usub. According to him, there was, at his time, still evidence of their trenches as well. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Six.

<sup>4</sup> According to Adigözal Beg, the six months started in winter and ended in spring, *Ibid*.

'Ali Khan could not do anything but witness his daily defeats with distress.

Finally one day, with all his cavalry and infantry, as well as the troops of the aforementioned *meliks*, he [Fath 'Ali Khan] stormed the fortress. Crossing the Shushi River,<sup>1</sup> he approached the fortress and came within half a *verst* of it.<sup>2</sup> The late Panah Khan, with skilled young warriors and the famed sharp-shooting musketeers from the tribes and from the districts of Varanda and Khachen,<sup>3</sup> counter-attacked from one side, while from the other side the tribal cavalry and the brave kinsmen of the late Panah Khan also went on the offensive. The forces of Fath 'Ali Khan suffered a major defeat and were captured or killed in the deep valleys and narrow passes [of the region]. The killing and capturing continued and ceased [only] in the vicinity of Fath 'Ali Khan's camp. The storming [of the fortress] left the army of Fath 'Ali Khan with approximately two thousand dead or captured cavalymen and infantrymen. [19] [The rest], disheveled and penitent, returned to their camp, while the late Panah Khan, accompanied by trophies of war and prisoners, made a victorious and triumphant entry into the fortress [of Shushi].<sup>4</sup>

Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar, seeing such a defeat, as well as the approach of another winter, took on a peaceful and agreeable tone.<sup>5</sup> He dispatched skilled envoys, who delivered the following sworn promise: "If Panah Khan releases the prisoners of war and agrees to union and friendship, I, with a truthful countenance, promise to give my daughter to his eldest son Ibrahim Khalil Aqa, and we will become eternal kinsmen and friends. [This will be] on the condition that he [Panah Khan] will send Ibrahim Khalil Aqa to me to eat

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal means the river that runs by Shushi, the Karkar River.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Beg states that he crossed the Karkar River and approached the fortress from what appeared to be an undefended and deserted side, where they were ambushed; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73.

<sup>3</sup> This passage illustrates perfectly the fact that the Armenian *meliks* were divided, some working with and others against the khans of Shushi.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Beg states that having lost the siege of Shushi, Fath 'Ali gathered those who did not like Panah Khan, including the Armenian *meliks* and neighboring khans, and set up camp in Khojalu 17 *versts* from Shushi. A guerilla war ensued, in which Kara Morteza Beg and other associates of Panah Khan took full advantage of the enemy, some of whom were unfamiliar with the terrain; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> Adigözal Beg has another version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Six.

sweets<sup>1</sup> in my camp, to participate in the ceremony of marriage and to return after two or three days." In order that the late Panah Khan would be assured [of the return of his son], he sent three of his own sons and kinsmen to remain Panah Khan's hostages until the safe return of Ibrahim Khalil Aqa.

Trusting the firm vows of Fath 'Ali Khan and seeing the sending of [Fath 'Ali s] sons and kinsmen [as a sign of good faith], the late Panah Khan dispatched Ibrahim Khalil Aqa with two or three elders to the camp of Fath 'Ali Khan. Fath 'Ali Khan, upon hearing the news, became glad and sent a number of his sons to greet Ibrahim Khalil Aqa and to escort him with great honor and music to the camp.

Being given the pretext that the omens were not favorable [for the wedding], Ibrahim Khalil Aqa was kept waiting for two days in the camp and was entertained with music and banquets. During the same two days, Fath 'Ali Khan continuously dispatched trusted men to the fortress with wedding sweets for Panah Khan, following all the necessary customs and using all the proper salutations. Thus he succeeded in his insidious plan and fooled [Panah Khan] into releasing his prisoners [of war] and the hostages.

On the third day Ibrahim Khalil Aqa, with the elders [who had accompanied him], was [20] imprisoned, and [the invading army] de-camped and rushed to the fortress of Urmiye without stopping anywhere.<sup>2</sup>

The late Panah Khan and the nobles of Karabagh were full of sorrow, confusion, and despair. But realizing that, in the end, nothing would come from being dejected and grief-stricken, they began to devise ways to release [Panah Khan's] son and to defeat Fath 'Ali Khan.

Since the Creator of the universe and the Maker of mankind's body and soul, in every moment of time, is the patron and friend of upright, just, and sincere people, and grants success and victory especially to those who remain steadfast and firm in their pledges, agreements, and treaties and who avoid the slyness and perfidy which result in regret and downfall, the God of the universe gave

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<sup>1</sup> This is a traditional Persian custom during betrothal.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Beg states that he left with his hostage, announcing that Panah Khan was his vassal; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 73. Bakikhanov does not mention the ruse, but states that Ibrahim was given as a hostage to Fath 'Ali Khan. The event took place in 1175 (1761/62); *Golestan-e Eram*, 162. Adigözal Beg has another version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Six.

full power and independence of action to Karim Khan Zand, who, by taking over Iraq and Fars, had laid claim to the throne.

He [Karim Khan] incited a conflict with Fath 'Ali Khan, appointing one of his [Karim Khan's] relatives to subdue him.<sup>1</sup> He was dispatched with the army of Iraq and Fars to Azerbaijan. Hearing this, Fath 'Ali Khan, prior to the arrival of the invaders, immediately gathered his own army from Azerbaijan and the surrounding regions, and went to meet the force sent by Karim Khan. The two armies clashed in the *velayat* of Isfahan.<sup>2</sup> Karim Khan's army suffered a defeat and the member of his family who was the commander of the army was killed. Fath 'Ali Khan returned victorious, along the way annexing a number of districts of Iraq. Following this event, Karim Khan Zand sought revenge and with his entire large army moved from the *velayat* of Fars to Azerbaijan to defeat Fath 'Ali Khan. Prior to entering the territory of Azerbaijan, he dispatched a trusted person to the late Panah Khan conveying his [Karim Khan's] friendship, honored him with his favor, and expressed his desire for an alliance. The letter sent by him contained the following message: "Fath 'Ali Khan has become not only our enemy, [21] but is a murderer. To you he did that which

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<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg (Chapter Six) identifies him as Karim's brother, but calls him Eskandar Khan during this episode and Eskandar Beg later. Golestane also identifies him as Karim's brother; *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh*, 212. In fact, Eskandar was Karim Khan's half-brother.

<sup>2</sup> Isfahan, the capital of the Safavids, is located in southwestern Persia (see map 2). Nami states that the two met some nine *farsakhs* outside Isfahan in a place called Qomshe. His account and those of other Persian chroniclers differ considerably from Mirza Jamal's and those of other local historians. According to Nami, Azad Khan led the enemies of Karim Khan, and Fath 'Ali Khan was one of his allies. He adds that Azad Khan and his forces were defeated and on the run, when Eskandar Khan followed them and was killed by bullets in an ambush; *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*, 38-39. Golestane also cites Azad Khan as the main enemy, but adds that Karim Khan was present at the battle. The forces of Azad Khan and his allies were so large, that Eskandar Khan decided to ride out and kill Azad Khan before the battle. He rode into the ranks of the enemy, who, assuming that he had a message and afraid of his bold manner, let him pass. He came close to the group of commanders, but not knowing Azad Khan, killed the man standing next to him. He was then shot, rode back wounded and with his dying breath exclaimed to Karim, "I have killed either Azad or someone else; if the first is true you have won the day, otherwise, retreat immediately; *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh*, 287-289.

should not have been done; he broke his word and oath and took your son with cunning and insidiousness and has imprisoned him. We expect your total support, so that our revenge and the release of your son will bring you happiness and bring us the fulfillment of our desired goal.”<sup>1</sup>

Taking advantage of these fortuitous events to crush his crafty and conniving enemy, Panah Khan, with his troops and famed Karabaghi horsemen, went to join Karim Khan in Azerbaijan.<sup>2</sup>

He entrusted the governing of Karabagh to his younger son, Mehr ‘Ali Beg and his nephew, Isma‘il Beg.<sup>3</sup> Karim Khan met him with great fanfare, respect, and gifts, and together they went to the *velayat* of Urmiye to crush Fath ‘Ali Khan.<sup>4</sup>

After a few days, having no other recourse, except submission and hope for clemency from Karim Khan,<sup>5</sup> he [Fath ‘Ali Khan] surrendered and Karim Khan captured the Urmiye fortress and became an [and more powerful] independent ruler.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg has other words. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Six.

<sup>2</sup> Ghaffari states that Karim Khan’s order arrived when Panah Khan was on his way to battle Kazem Khan of Qarajedagh; *Golshan-e Morad*, 175. His version presents this as an order and not a request.

<sup>3</sup> “Karabag,” 65 (1855), 278. This passage is the only known source that confirms Ahmad Beg’s claim that his great grandfather was appointed as the khan of Karabagh. See introduction and note below. The text, however, divides the power between two inexperienced youths, which clearly anticipates Panah’s and Ibrahim’s return.

<sup>4</sup> Nami gives the names of the other khans who joined Karim Khan: Kazem Khan of Qarajedagh, Shahbaz Khan Donboli and his brother Ahmad Beg, and Panah Khan Javanshir. He adds that Panah Khan was a major chief and had numerous tribes under his control, including the Javanshir, Kazakh, and Borchalu, with over 20,000 families in total. He possessed the famous fortress of Shushi as well, which was atop a high mountain and had never been surrendered to anyone; *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*, 105.

<sup>5</sup> Adigözal Beg (Chapter Six) states that Karim Khan had promised him clemency. Nami confirms this as well; *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*, 122.

<sup>6</sup> Bakikhanov cites the date as 1176 (1762/63); *Golestan-e Eram*, 162. Ghaffari puts it at the end of 1175 (1762); *Golshan-e Morad*, 196. Although Mirza Jamal claims that Fath ‘Ali surrendered the fortress after a few days, Persian sources mention a long siege of seven months (24 July 1762 to 20 February 1763), see *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh*, 457; *Golshan-e Morad*, 192-197.

Karim Khan called himself *vakil* (regent) of the Shah of Persia, stating that: "Since Persia [at the present] does not have a sovereign shah, I shall act as the representative of the shah until one appears and ascends the throne." That is why they called Karim Khan, the *vakil*.

Karim Khan freed Ibrahim Khalil Aqa, who was imprisoned in Urmiye, and had him brought to him. A horse, sword, *khal'at* as well as the title of khan, and the authority to rule Karabagh was granted to him and he was sent with gifts and a retinue to Karabagh.<sup>1</sup> Having special affection for Panah Khan, [22] he [Karim Khan], out of kindness, graciousness, and generosity, requested the following: "In order for me to repay your loyalty and trust, you must spend some time with me." He thus took [Panah Khan] with him to the *velayat* of Shiraz.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bakikhanov and Adigözal Beg (Chapter Six) confirm that Ibrahim was sent to Karabagh; *Golestan-e Eram*, 162. Ahmad Beg has a very different version. He states that Ibrahim Khan was also taken to Shiraz and that the governorship was entrusted to Mehr 'Ali Khan, the younger son of Panah Khan. Ibrahim Khan soon returned (1761) and hence the people usually referred to Mehr 'Ali as "Beg" and not "Khan." Ibrahim brought the remains of his father. He clashed with Mehr 'Ali over the rule of Karabagh and was not firmly established until he married the sister of 'Umma Khan of the Avars. Mehr 'Ali then fled to Karim Khan, who ordered Hedayat Khan, the ruler of Ardabil, to replace Ibrahim Khan, but he was unable to do so. When Karim Khan died in 1779, Mehr 'Ali fled to Fath 'Ali Khan of Qobbe and was later killed (1783/84) by Aghasi Khan of Shirvan and his son, who were dispossessed of their seat of government by Fath 'Ali Khan; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 74-75. Ahmad Beg's date of the return of Ibrahim Khan, as will be noted, is totally inaccurate. Bakikhanov has a different version of the death of Mehr 'Ali. He states that when Fath 'Ali Khan of Qobbe was fighting Aghasi Khan of Shirvan and his ally Mohammad Hasan Khan, Mehr 'Ali Beg, who was fleeing his brother, Ibrahim Khan of Karabagh, joined him. One night, on his way to Shirvan, Ahmad Khan, the eldest son of Aghasi Khan, killed Mehr 'Ali Beg. His body was sent with great honors to Karabagh. This action brought Ibrahim and Fath 'Ali into a short-lived alliance; *Golestan-e Eram*, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Other primary sources unanimously state that Panah Khan was taken as a hostage. Golestane states that Karim Khan demanded that Erekle send Azad Khan Afghan, who was in Tiflis, to him and that, after his arrival, he decamped and, with all of his baggage, set out for Iraq. He also took with him Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar; Panah Khan Javanshir; Kazem Khan Qarajedaghi; Shahbaz Khan and Najaf Qoli Khan Donboli; Hasan 'Ali Khan Qajar of Erevan; Hajji Khan Kangarlu, the ruler of Nakhichevan; Reza

*Fearing that, after his return, he would raise arms against him, Karim Khan demanded that Panah Khan stay with him.*<sup>1</sup>

The late Ibrahim Khalil Khan entered Karabagh as an independent khan and governor and did not take orders from anyone, but rather forced the submission of all of Karabagh and other *velayats*.<sup>2</sup>

The late Panah Khan spent a short time in the city of Shiraz, the capital of Karim Khan. Finally his time came and he passed away in Shiraz. His body was brought with great respect to Karabagh and was committed to earth in his legal and private estate,<sup>3</sup> in the area known today as Aghdam. May Allah have mercy [on him].<sup>4</sup>

Qoli Khan, the brother of Shahvardi Khan Ziadoglu, the *beglarbegi* of Ganje; and Hajji Mohammad Qoli Khan, the ruler of Maraghe. After spending some time in Iraq, he continued his journey and in 1179 (1765/66) entered Shiraz; *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh*, 457; Ghaffari confirms the above; *Golshan-e Morad*, 212; Hedayat also confirms Panah Khan's fate; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 74; Mohammad Hashem confirms the above as well; *Rostam ol-Tavarikh*, 334. Nami's version does not mention the khan of Erevan but lists his nephews instead, as well as Emir Gunay Khan and many other elders of the Shaqaqi, Afshar, and Shahsavan tribal chiefs and others among the hostages; *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*, 114.

<sup>1</sup> "Karabag," 65 (1855), 278. The version of Mirza Jamal's history that was in Berzhe's possession may have, as noted, been different from manuscript C (see introduction). Berzhe's version obviously agrees with the primary sources cited above. It is also possible that Berzhe adjusted his translation to agree with the other sources.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph once more illustrates that Karabagh, contrary to Mirza Jamal's earlier statements, had not totally submitted to Panah Khan. The Armenian *meliks* and a number of tribes had resisted and, at the first opportunity, sought to reestablish their own autonomy. In fact, Ibrahim Khan acted with more force and brutality than his father and transformed the khanate into a more powerful entity.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads *molk-e hallal va zarkharid* ("private property legally purchased in cash"), which illustrates a very important custom among powerful leaders who had usurped property. In order for their body and soul to lie in peace, they had to be buried in a plot that they had purchased free and clear.

<sup>4</sup> The date of the death of Panah Khan is debated. Shukiurzade is sure it was in 1172 (1758-59); he bases this on calculating the *abjad* value (the arrangement of the Arabic alphabet, according to the numerical value of the letters from one to a thousand) of the letters of the last line of a Persian poem on the grave of Panah Khan at a site called the 'Amarat, in Aghdam. He also feels that, by 1759, Panah Khan was in Shushi where he died in

As is evident from his work and from events that have passed, victories, success, fortune, and wealth, *and the love of the people of Karabagh*<sup>1</sup>, were always with the late Panah Khan during the entire twelve-year period of his rule, following the death of the late Nader Shah. Most of the *velayat* of Azerbaijan was under his rule or obeyed him.

Karim Khan took Fath 'Ali Khan with him to the outskirts of Isfahan and executed him on the same spot on which his kinsman was killed during the war with Fath 'Ali Khan's troops, and thus he took his revenge.<sup>2</sup> Because he [Fath 'Ali Khan] had broken his word to the late Panah Khan and had sworn falsely and used tricks and cunning, the Lord of the universe rewarded him only with regret and death.<sup>3</sup>

The Lord of the universe forbids his slaves insidiousness, guile, false oaths, and the breaking of promises. [23] Experience demonstrates that he who lies to his friends, his patron, or his master, and tricks or betrays him, falls from the protection and

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July or August. He bases this on a document in Etchmiadzin monastery, which states that, at the end of June 1759, Hosein 'Ali Khan of Erevan was planning to visit Panah Khan in Shushi and had demanded 100 *tumans* from the Armenian priests for his travel expenses. He settled for fifty *tumans* after they told him they did not possess such a large sum; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 102. Shukiurzade is mistaken, for all primary Persian sources of the time, as well as Bakikhanov, confirm that Panah Khan died in Shiraz, that Karim Khan came and took Urmiye in 1176 (1762/63), and that on October 16, 1763, Panah Khan, together with the other hostages, set out from Ardabil. After staying in other parts of Persia, he returned to Shiraz with his hostages in 1179 (1765/66); *Mojmal ol-Tavarikh*, 457; *Golshan-e Morad*, 222-223; *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha*, 113-114; *Golestan-e Eram*, 162. Panah Khan died soon after his arrival in Shiraz, probably in 1180 (1766/67). As for the Armenian document, it is correct. The trip of Hosein 'Ali Khan of Erevan was in 1759, which was even before Fath 'Ali Khan's campaign in Karabagh, at which time Panah Khan was still in Shushi.

<sup>1</sup> "Karabag," 65 (1855), 278.

<sup>2</sup> According to Bakikhanov, Panah Khan incited Karim Khan to kill Fath 'Ali Khan; *Golestan-e Eram*, 162. Nami states that Karim Khan was incited by a number of khans who despised the bold attitude of Fath 'Ali Khan and could not bear his insults; *Tarikh-e Giti-gosha* 122.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal Beg has a different version of his death (Chapter Six). Ghaffari gives a similar account without mentioning Eskandar. He also dates the event in 1177 (1763/64); *Golshan-e Morad*, 236.

generosity of his master, for the Lord has named him the master, and he will not gain anything but regret and death. "Allah deals out rewards and retribution, he rewards good deeds and punishes evil deeds."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe has the same passage at the conclusion of his fifth chapter, "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290. The sentence loosely echoes sentiments expressed in Surah X of the Qur'an.

## Chapter Five

### *On the Rule of the Late Ibrahim Khan and the Conditions and Events of That Time*<sup>1</sup>

The late Ibrahim Khan commenced his rule as the independent ruler of Karabagh in the Muslim year 1174,<sup>2</sup> which corresponds to the Christian year 1756 (actually 1760/61). His rule was terminated in the year 1221, which corresponds to the Christian year 1806. He did not acknowledge either Persia's or Rum's [Ottoman] suzerainty.<sup>3</sup>

*In the meantime, in Persia, Karim Khan died. His death ushered in a power struggle between his sons and the khans of Iraq, who tried to destroy each other. The governors of the Shirvans, who had been appointed by Persia, also fought each other, and asked for Ibrahim Khan's protection and aid. He helped one side or the other, as it suited his plans or was profitable for him. The exception [to this] was Fath 'Ali Khan,<sup>4</sup> the ruler of Darband, Qobbe, and Baku, a strong and enterprising man, who was related to the tribes of Akoshe (Aqusha)<sup>5</sup> and the Shamkhal of Tarkov (Tarqu),<sup>6</sup> to whom he also paid an annual subsidy for an alliance. Planning to conquer all of Azerbaijan, Fath 'Ali Khan encountered a strong foe in Ibrahim Khan, who forced him to retreat a number of times. When Fath 'Ali Khan died, his son Ahmad Khan immediately concluded a treaty of friendship with Ibrahim Khan.<sup>7</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe's translation has no chapter number; it reads, *The Rule of Ibrahim Khan 1173-1221 Hijri (1756-1806)*. He also combined chapters five and six of Mirza Jamal's history; "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290. Since Chapter Five is very brief, it is possible that the copy used by Berzhe had these two chapters combined as well.

<sup>2</sup> The exact date is not certain, it could have been 1176, see previous chapter. Berzhe's translation has 1173 (1759/60); "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290. Adigözal Beg has the date 1173 as well. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Seven.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal Beg adds, "or other states," *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> Fath 'Ali Khan of Qobbe should not be confused with Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar mentioned in the previous chapter.

<sup>5</sup> Aqusha was a Lesghian tribe in Daghestan.

<sup>6</sup> Tarqe or Tarqu was a tribe that lived north of Darband on the Caspian coast. The title of their chief was *shamkhal*.

<sup>7</sup> "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290.

Ibrahim's orders and wishes were carried out in the *velayats* of Shirvan, Shakki, Ganje, Erevan, Nakhichevan, Khoi, Qaradagh, Tabriz, and Ardabil, including even Maraghe and Qaplan-Kuh, which is the border between Azerbaijan and Iraq.<sup>1</sup> The dismissal or appointment of the khans of these *velayats* had to have the approval of the late Ibrahim Khan. He was also related to the vali of the *velayats* of Avar and Dagehstan, 'Umma Khan, son of Nousal Khan.<sup>2</sup> He was married to the honorable sister of 'Umma Khan.<sup>3</sup>

*In order to secure his position and to have, in case it was needed, a trusted ally, his first act was to become related by marriage to 'Umma Khan, son of Nousal Khan, the ruler of the Avars, whose sister he took as his wife.*<sup>4</sup>

In times of need he would ask for the armies of the *velayat* of Daghestan and the Lesghians,<sup>5</sup> who he would bring, with 'Umma Khan and other military leaders, to Karabagh. Together with his own troops and commanders, he would dispatch them to wherever it was necessary, in order to punish or to bring into submission [those who disobeyed him].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg adds Rasht to the above list and states that Ibrahim's nephew, Asadollah Beg, was the governor of Tabriz and that in the region of Qaplan-kuh Ibrahim stationed a unit of 600 cavalry troops to keep control over the tribes of the region; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, p. 75. Although Ibrahim had strong influence over Qaradagh, Ardabil, Nakhichevan, and Ganje, he had little control over the khans of Shakki, Shirvan, Tabriz, Khoi, Maraghe, and Erevan. Erevan, in fact, would at times submit to Erekle, who was enjoying his own expansion, in the meantime, against Kazakh, Borchalu, Shamshadil, and occasionally even Ganje (see map 3). Mirza Jamal's account is, therefore, exaggerated, for although Ibrahim Khan did actually achieve great power and influence, he did not truly control all these regions.

<sup>2</sup> Adigözal Beg mentions that he was the son of Nousal Khan (Chapter Seven). The line, "son of Nousal Khan," was not translated in the Russian translation; *Istoriia Karabaga*, 78, but appears in both the Azeri and Turkish translations.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal Beg identifies her as Bika (Bike) Aqa (Chapter Seven).

<sup>4</sup> "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290.

<sup>5</sup> A tribe in southern Daghestan, which raided Georgia and other settled communities for plunder and slaves.

<sup>6</sup> Adigözal Beg has additional information. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Seven.

[24] In addition, he was also related to the khans of the *velayats* of Shahsavan, Qaradagh, Khoi, and Ganje and all of them, either through force or through kinship, accepted with body and soul the authority of Ibrahim Khalil Khan.<sup>1</sup> He even presented certain *mahals*, from the *velayats* of Tabriz and Qaradagh, upon some of his famed warriors. Although Ibrahim Khan did not have the title of shah, he possessed the same stature as Persian kings and many of the sons and relatives of the aforementioned khans lived as his hostages in the Shushi fortress.

*Such was the situation, when even before Agha Mohammad Shah took over Fars, Iraq, and Azerbaijan, in the small town of Aq-Dagirman, lying four farsakhs from Shushi in the Varanda mahal, there came to Ibrahim Khan the son of Ahmad Khan, the ruler of Khoi; the son of Najaf Qoli Khan, the beglarbegi of Tabriz; Mustafa Khan, the ruler of Qarajedagh; Sadeq Khan and Mohammad Reza Khan Shaqaqi; Naser Khan, ruler of Ardabil and Shahsavan; and Shokrollah Khan, who stated the following: "We are all Azerbaijani khans who have accepted your authority and are here at your disposal. The rulers of Shirvan, Shakki, and Ganje are likewise under your command. The Avar Khan is also at your disposal. What is preventing you from declaring yourself shah? The situation in Iraq, Fars, and Kerman is extremely critical. All you have to do for their rulers to accept your authority is to appear at the borders of these velayats." To these words, to which Ibrahim Khan listened quietly and carefully, he replied, "I regard the older of you, my brothers, and the younger ones, my sons. I do not seek anything more than having you unanimously accept me as your leader. Do not remind me of the royal crown. I*

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<sup>1</sup> The *velayat* of Qobbe is not included in the list. Under Fath 'Ali Khan, this khanate itself laid claims to large areas in Transcaucasia and Azerbaijan, and according to Bakikhanov, the only one who was spared its influence and remained a foe, was Ibrahim Khan of Karabagh, whose mountains kept him secure; *Golestan-e Eram*, p. 169. Mohammad Fathollah states that Hosein Khan Donboli, the ruler of Khoi, was related to Ibrahim Khan. He later became the ruler of Tabriz, but the extent of Ibrahim's influence over him is not mentioned; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, p. 194. Bamdad also mentions the fact that a daughter of Ibrahim Khan was married to Hosein Khan Donboli. She was sent as a hostage to Qazvin at the request of Agha Mohammad Khan. Hosein Qoli Khan was killed in 1213 (1798/99); *Bamdad*, I, 448.

have never looked for this honor, of which I deem myself unworthy. I, therefore, at the present time, reject your offer.<sup>1</sup>

This situation continued until Agha Mohammad Khan, the son of Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar, who was a hostage in the city of Shiraz, escaped, following the death of Karim Khan, and set claim to the throne [of Persia].<sup>2</sup> After several years of struggle, he managed to gain control over Iraq and Fars and made the city of Tehran his royal residence.<sup>3</sup>

In the Muslim year 1107 [1207]<sup>4</sup> [1792-1793], he [Agha Mohammad Khan] came to the *velayat* of Azerbaijan and

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<sup>1</sup> "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290. Ahmad Beg repeats this as well; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Karim Khan died in February 1779. According to Fasa'i, Agha Mohammad Khan was born on March 14, 1742. His father was hiding from the Afshars and had left his family in Astarabad. His enemies betrayed the family and had the young Agha Mohammad brought to 'Adel Shah Afshar, who at first wanted to kill him, but at the intercession of a friend, ordered his castration. After 'Adel's death, Agha Mohammad went back to his father. After the murder of his father, he was sent to Shiraz by the Davalu Qajars, who did not favor a leader of the Qavanlu among them. He was raised at the court of Karim, who treated him like a son. Upon the death of Karim Khan, he went on to kill the Afshar and Zand chiefs, and a number of Davalu Qajars, and established his rule in Persia proper, before venturing across the Arax. He was an extremely cruel man. His enemies made a pun of his title. During his father's lifetime he was the eldest son; hence he was called *aqā*. After his father's death, he became the head of his tribe and family, and called *agha*, or lord, commander, and great chief. The title of *agha*, however, also applies to the chief eunuch of the harem. Since Agha Mohammad was castrated in his youth, his enemies jokingly called him the *agha*. For details see, *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 228-240. For a biographical account of Agha Mohammad Khan, see E. Pakravan, *Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar* (Tehran, 1969).

<sup>3</sup> Since Agha Mohammad was not shah yet, Mirza Jamal's reference to Tehran as the royal residence is premature. After the death of Karim Khan in 1779, Agha Mohammad Khan fled to Mazandaran, where, with the help of his clan, he gained control of a large part of Persia by 1789. He spent the next five years warring against the Afshars, whom he blamed for the murder of his grandfather, and the Zands, whom he blamed for the murder of his father. He blamed both for his castration, as well, and destroyed their chiefs with particular vehemence.

<sup>4</sup> An obvious scribal error, it should read 1207. Adigözal Beg's text also has an error, for it reads 1176 (1762/63). See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Seven.

conquered all the *velayats* south of the Arax, with the exception of the *velayats* of Erevan and Talesh.<sup>1</sup> Prior to that he had sent the late Ibrahim Khan a sword, and a horse with a gold-inlaid saddle and bridle, and *khal'at*,<sup>2</sup> and he now solicited his submission. [Ibrahim Khan] pretended to do so through verbal and outward formalities, as well as an exchange of messengers. Ibrahim Khan, in addition, dispatched his cousin, 'Abd ol-Samad Beg,<sup>3</sup> with Mirza Vali Baharlu, who was an experienced and eloquent man, as hostages, who the shah<sup>4</sup> kept by his side as well-treated [25] and respected guests.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal must have known that Erevan was north of the Arax. This is probably another scribal error.

<sup>2</sup> Agha Mohammad Khan had asked Ibrahim to come to Tehran and to submit in 1793, but the latter had made excuses and sent impressive gifts instead. It is unclear whether or not he had sent family members as hostages at that time. Adigözal Beg has another version. See Chapter Seven. Persian chroniclers state that Agha Mohammad Khan did not come to the region but sent a *sardar* to watch over it; *Nasekh ol-Tavarikh*, I, 56-61.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg has his name as 'Abu-Samad; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 75. 'Abd ol-Samad was the son of Panah Khan's brother. Some sources refer to his as Ibrahim's nephew.

<sup>4</sup> Agha Mohammad was not shah at this time. Mirza Jamal follows most Persian historians of the period who honor him with the title of shah before his official coronation.

<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Fathollah states that Agha Mohammad Khan left his cousin, Soleiman Khan Qavanlu Qajar, as the ruler of Tabriz to watch over the Transcaucasian khans. Sadeq Khan Shaqaqi, Nasir Khan Shahsavan, Kalb 'Ali Khan of Nakhichevan, Mohammad Khan of Erevan, Javad Khan of Ganje, and even Eshaq Pasha, the governor of Bayazid, all came to Tabriz and submitted. Ibrahim Khan sent a number of notables to Tabriz to assess the situation. He had many enemies and feared that they had already given a bad impression of him to the *beglarbegi*. Soleiman Khan assured them of Agha Mohammad's friendship and so, upon their return, Ibrahim sent his uncle's son, 'Abd ol-Samad, as a hostage, together with expensive gifts to Tabriz, from where he was sent to Tehran by Soleiman Khan; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 241-242. This is confirmed by E'temad ol-Saltane; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1421. Hedayat confirms the above, but adds Mohammad Qoli Khan of Urmiye to those who submitted and states that Ibrahim Khan submitted right away; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 253. Soleiman Khan continued to serve in his post until the coronation of Fath 'Ali Shah. Later on he returned to Tabriz as the *atabeg* (advisor and tutor) of 'Abbas

When Agha Mohammad Khan overcame the young, brave, and generous Lotf 'Ali Khan Zand,<sup>1</sup> who was in Kerman and who was his enemy, and proceeded to massacre the population of Kerman,<sup>2</sup> there occurred a number of incidents which fractured the relationship between Ibrahim Khalil Khan and Agha Mohammad Shah.<sup>3</sup> 'Abd ol-Samad Beg, together with Mirza Vali Baharlu and a number of retainers, escaped from Kerman [during the above events]. Couriers sped night and day and preceded them, where they told the inhabitants of the village of Sarjam to stop the escapees. Thus, troops composed of cavalry and infantry waited for [the escapees] near the Kizil-Uzun River and blocked all roads of escape. In the ensuing struggle 'Abd ol-Samad Beg received a bullet wound in the knee. He and his companions, including Mirza Vali, were arrested. 'Abd ol-Samad Beg died there from his bullet wound, while the others, together with Mirza Vali, were taken to the shah and imprisoned in the city of Tehran.<sup>4</sup> [Later] while Agha

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Mirza, who, at age eleven, had been appointed the crown prince and the governor of Azerbaijan. For more details, see *Bamdad*, II, 118-124.

<sup>1</sup> Lotf 'Ali Khan, the great-grandson of Karim Khan's half brother, Zaki, was the last of the Zands. He tried to revive the dynasty of Karim Khan. He fought Agha Mohammad Khan and although he was popular and achieved a number of victories, he was eventually captured, tortured, and killed by Agha Mohammad in 1209 (1794).

<sup>2</sup> This occurred at the start of 1209 (1794). Some 8000 women and children were distributed as slaves, and all the men were either killed or blinded. The destruction was so terrible that Kerman never revived, and a new smaller town was eventually built outside the old town; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 238.

<sup>3</sup> Although Mirza Jamal generally refers to him as shah, Ahmad Beg, following the Russian historians, refuses to call him shah and uses the title of khan throughout. Mirza Jamal does not describe these various incidents, but Ibrahim's refusal to appear before the khan and his haughty attitude angered Agha Mohammad, who considered himself the ruler of all former Safavid domains.

<sup>4</sup> Mohammad Fathollah's account is the most detailed. He states that taking advantage of Agha Mohammad's campaign in Kerman, the hostages, who had accompanied him, escaped. Orders were sent to stop them. When they reached the Shahsavan tribe, 'Abd ol-Samad was recognized and they rushed to capture him. He fought back and tried to escape. Since Agha Mohammad's orders were to capture the hostages alive, the troops fired at the horse. One bullet struck 'Abd ol-Samad in the leg and, exiting, entered his other leg. Horse and man fell and died. His severed head was sent to Agha Mohammad Khan; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 257. The location of their capture is unclear. Mirza Jamal mentions the village of Sarjam, which is in the vicinity of Mashad in Khorasan.

Mohammad Shah was besieging the fortress of Shushi, the late Ibrahim Khans envoys periodically arrived [to negotiate]. Agha Mohammad Shah was angered by one of the late Ibrahim Khan's offers and sent instructions to Tehran to have Mirza Vali tied to the mouth of a cannon there and blown apart. None of the rest of the prisoners, ten in all, survived either; they were all executed. May Allah have mercy on them.

*Thus perished these unlucky and innocent victims, whose blood was washed [clean] with the blood of many Persian khans, who perished under the walls of Shushi. The Almighty repays good with good and evil with evil.<sup>1</sup>*

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Mohammad Hasan E'temad ol-Saltane states that they were overtaken near Tehran; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1426. Sepehr claims they were taken in Azerbaijan; *Nasekh ol-Tavarikh*, I, 70. Hedayat has the Zanzan region as the location; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 61. Ahmad Beg claims that after the death of 'Abd ol-Samad Beg, another hostage was demanded, to which Ibrahim sarcastically replied that he could not honor another person with such a duty; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 75.

<sup>1</sup>"Karabag," 67 (1855, 290. The same quote appears in Chapter Four of the Persian text, referring to Fath 'Ali Khan's death.

## Chapter Six

### *On Other Events and the End of Agha Mohammad Shah*<sup>1</sup>

Since relations between Ibrahim Khan and Agha Mohammad Shah had deteriorated, in the year 1209 (1794/95), Agha Mohammad Shah, *after quelling the sudden revolts in Fars, once again*<sup>2</sup> came to Azerbaijan with a large army to conquer the *velayats* of Tiflis, [26] Erevan, Karabagh, and Talesh.<sup>3</sup> He first sent 'Ali Qoli Khan Shahsavan,<sup>4</sup> who was the principal commander of Agha Mohammad Shah's army, together with a number of other khans to [take] the fortress of Erevan. He himself, with the entire army of Iraq, Fars, Azerbaijan, and Khorasan, marched on the fortress of Shushi and pitched his camp at the station<sup>5</sup> of Qavakhan, one *farsakh*<sup>6</sup> from the fortress.<sup>7</sup>

The *vali* of Tiflis, the lofty Erekle Khan; the governor of Erevan, Mohammad Khan; and the governor of Talesh, Mir Mustafa Khan, had all sworn with the late Ibrahim Khan not to accept Agha Mohammad Shah's suzerainty, but to remain united and assist each other.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe has combined this chapter with Chapter Five.

<sup>2</sup> "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammad repaired the Khoda-afarin Bridge, which had been destroyed by Ibrahim Khan to forestall his crossing the Arax, and came to the Shushi fortress; *Golestan-e Eram*, p. 174. Fasa'i has the exact date as 12 May, 1795; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 240. Sepehr and Hedayat confirm the above events and the repairing of the bridge; *Nasekh ol-Tavarikh*, I, 71; Hedayat, *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 262.

<sup>4</sup> Berzhe's text reads: his brother 'Ali Qoli Khan, "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290. Adigözal Beg has a slightly different version (Chapter Seven).

<sup>5</sup> Text reads *manzel*.

<sup>6</sup> Adigözal Beg (Chapter Seven) uses the Turkish term *aghach*, which is the same as *farsakh*.

<sup>7</sup> Hedayat and 'Etemad ol-Saltane state that some of the Armenians of Karabagh took refuge in a saqnaq and fought Agha Mohammad's army, but eventually gave up against superior forces and fled to Shushi; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX 263-64; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1249.

<sup>8</sup> Mohammad Fathollah states that it was Ibrahim Khan who asked the *vali* of Georgia not to submit to Agha Mohammad; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 273. Hedayat states that Ibrahim Khan, after the arrival of Agha Mohammad Khan, asked all the khans of Transcaucasia to help him repel the invader; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 263.

Hence a part of the tribal [cavalry] forces of Karabagh were sent to Tiflis, and another part to Shirvan, where Ibrahim Khan had installed Mustafa Khan as the governor of that *velayat*. The remainder of the tribal forces, and the [infantry] troops, who were listed in the military rolls,<sup>1</sup> were placed by Ibrahim Khan in the mountains of Karabagh and inside the fortress [of Shushi]. He gathered a large number of infantry and cavalry from the tribes and from the *mahals* of Karabagh for the defense of the fortress. He assembled large and small cannons and was ready to do battle against the shah.<sup>2</sup>

Agha Mohammad Shah spent thirty-three days<sup>3</sup> in the vicinity of the fortress, but he could not, despite his large army, cross the river that ran some five *versts* from the fortress in order to get closer to it. The infantry and cavalry forces of Karabagh, together with the tribal and village leaders and the meliks of Varanda, Dizak, and Khachen *mahals*,<sup>4</sup> would hide in the thickets, roadways, and passes, attacking and pillaging the Persian army, and stealing hordes of horses, mules, and camels daily. [27] They also grabbed and looted caravans, which brought grain from the *velayats* to the encampment and would bring the captured men, animals, and provisions to the late Ibrahim Khan. The situation became such that one mule, in the

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<sup>1</sup> Unlike the cavalry, which were composed of tribal forces and who received income from villages assigned to them as *tuyul*, the infantry was composed of peasants, who were listed on special rolls. They received tax exemptions and income for the duration of the campaign (see below).

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Beg states that he had 15,000 troops altogether and expected aid from Russia as well; *Karabakhsкого khanstva*, 76. Shukiurzade has passed on a couplet that the shah sent to Ibrahim Khan, stating that Ibrahim had foolishly taken refuge in a glass fortress (a pun on Persian word *shishe*), which could be crushed by a rain of stones (cannonballs). Ibrahim's vizier, Mullah Panah, known as Vaqef, answered immediately with another couplet, which replied that the glass that protected him was hewed into rock; *Ibid*, 102-103. The same account, with more embellishment, can be found in Adigözal Beg (Chapter Seven).

<sup>3</sup> Berzhe's translation read 32 days; "Karabag," 67 (1855), 290. Official Georgian records have it more than a month, *Gramoty*, II (pt.2), no. 73; Fasa'i has July 8 to August 9, 1795; *Farsnameh-ye Naseri*, I, 240; Adigözal Beg (Chapter Seven) and Mohammad Fathollah, *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 271 both have 33 days.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian *meliks* hoping to gain favor decided to cooperate with Ibrahim Khan.

money of those times, sold for [only] four rubles,<sup>1</sup> a camel for [only] six rubles, and a good horse for [only] ten rubles.<sup>2</sup>

Fearing a night raid by the forces of Karabagh on their encampment, they [Agha Mohammad Khan's troops] erected a number of strong and well-constructed towers. [Nonetheless], one night, a group of soldiers from Varanda *mahal*<sup>3</sup> captured a large tower which housed Agha Mohammad Shah's private musketeer guard and in one hour killed all of them, except for two or three, who at dawn were brought to the late Ibrahim Khan.<sup>4</sup> There was no peace or rest, day or night, for the Persian army. The shah himself tried three or four times to cross the river with his entire army and approach the fortress, but the swift infantry and brave horsemen [of Karabagh], led by their commanders, met him, and, after manly exchanges of blows, defeated him and threw him back [across the river].<sup>5</sup>

Finally, Javad Khan, the ruler of Ganje, and Melik Mejlum, the melik of Jraberd,<sup>6</sup> who had turned away from the late Ibrahim Khan, and who had chosen to reside in the *velayat* of Ganje with Javad Khan, came to Agha Mohammad Shah. Acting upon their advice, he decided to give up the siege of the [Shushi] fortress, which

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal uses *manat*, a Russian term for a silver ruble, taken from the Italian *moneta*. The term eventually slipped into the Persian and Azeri dialects.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ahmad Beg, the setbacks angered Agha Mohammad so much that he, at one point, took 100 Karabaghi captives, tied them up, laid them on the ground and had horses with sharp nails attached to their horse-shoes trample over them until they became a mass of bloody flesh; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 76.

<sup>3</sup> These were part of the Armenian musketeer units.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Beg states that in response to Agha Mohammad's cruelty (see above), the Armenian leader Melik Abbas (the great-grandson of Melik Egan of Dizak) of Togh and Mohammad Beg, a nephew of the khan (more will be said of him later), on that same night, in two separate raids, captured 100 Persian prisoners, who were tied and shown off (probably killed as well), in the main square of Shushi; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 76-77.

<sup>5</sup> The Persian chroniclers state that the shah's forces caused havoc in Karabagh and defeated the Karabaghis in the field many times; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 269-270; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 265-267.

<sup>6</sup> Melik Mejlum was the son of Melik Hatam of Jraberd, who was forced by Panah Khan to abandon his land and settle in Ganje. The family had thus become fierce enemies of the Javanshir khans.

had led to numerous defeats and great anxiety, and moved in the direction of Tiflis, with the aim of conquering Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

The late Ibrahim Khan, prior to the shah's move [into Georgia], sent the following message to the lofty vali of Georgia, "Agha Mohammad Shah has given up the attempt to take the fortress [of Shushi] and has suffered large losses of men and animals. He now wants to make up his losses [save face] by taking Tiflis and pillaging the settlements of Georgia. Prepare yourselves to repulse his encroachment."<sup>2</sup>

Agha Mohammad Shah, in order to give respite to his cavalry and troops, which in fact were [themselves] under siege, set up camp near Aghdam and rested there for a month [28] or more.<sup>3</sup> From there he set out to conquer the *velayat* of Georgia and the city of Ti-

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<sup>1</sup> Persian chronicles have a very different version of the siege of Shushi. According to Fasa'i, Ibrahim Khan was defeated so many times that he sent a number of Javanshir notables to Agha Mohammad and offered to pay taxes and subsidies (*baj va kharaj*) and to send hostages (*gerogan*). The shah forgave his "sin" and accepted his offer; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 240. Mohammad Fathollah states that after some of his family members, who were hiding outside the fortress, were captured, Ibrahim Khan, who was not having any success against the troops of Agha Mohammad and who was tired of the bombardments, submitted by giving one of his sons as a hostage together with money and presents. He asked Agha Mohammad "to forgive an old man"; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 270. Hedayat and E'temad ol-Saltane both mention that his nephews Mohammad Beg and Asadollah Beg and their wives were hiding outside the fortress. Their capture by Agha Mohammad forced Ibrahim to come to terms, promising to appear in person soon after; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 267-68; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1428-1429. The reality is somewhere in between. Ibrahim did not surrender the fortress and waited to see the result of the Georgian campaign. He seems to have given presents and hostages to get rid of Agha Mohammad; each side thus saved face. On his return from Georgia, Agha Mohammad continued to harass and loot Karabagh, but before Ibrahim could act, Agha Mohammad Khan left for Tehran. On his return, Ibrahim, as will be seen, fled the fortress and the population, tired of the plunder, opened the doors to the shah.

<sup>2</sup> Adigözal Beg (Chapter Seven) adds that the *vali*, after receiving the message, immediately informed the *vali* of Imeret'i, who was his grandson, Solomon Khan, and with his sons and grandsons, to whom he had willed various parts of Georgia, prepared to do battle at age seventy.

<sup>3</sup> Fasa'i says he encamped in the region of Ganje; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 240.

flis. Javad Khan and Melik Mejlum constantly rode in front of the troops, acting as guides to the shah.<sup>1</sup>

Once they approached Tiflis, they took the city in a short time.<sup>2</sup> The population of the city and villages in its environs were pillaged, prisoners were taken, and the city burned.<sup>3</sup> He then moved back to Azerbaijan, keeping to the banks of the Kur until he reached the confluence of the Arax River near the settlement of Javad. Here, in the plain of Moghan, Agha Mohammad and his army set their winter quarters.<sup>4</sup> In the spring, with the fortress and *velayat* of Erevan still not taken,<sup>5</sup> a rebel-

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<sup>1</sup> Mohammad Fathollah states that, after observing the terrible fate of Karabagh, Mohammad Khan of Erevan came bearing great gifts; Javad Khan of Ganje arrived with 1000 troops, attendants, and many gifts; Melik Mejlum, Melik Qoli, and Melik Isma'il, who were the leaders of the Armenians, arrived with presents and 600 troops, and that they all joined Agha Mohammad Khan. At the same time Sheikh 'Ali, son of Fath 'Ali Khan of Qobbe, sent 5000 *tumans* with a relative, Hosein Khan of Baku dispatched 'Ali Beg, his uncle (on his mother's side) and his brother Mahdi Qoli Khan, with money and gifts. The governor of Baghdad, Suleiman Pasha, also sent horses; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 270-271. Hedayat states that after the sack of Tiflis, Mohammad Khan of Erevan and Javad Khan of Ganje came with gifts and were reinstated as governors; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 271. Sources indicate that the submission of Ibrahim Khan and the campaign against Georgia was a signal that the Qajars were finally reestablishing the Safavid realm.

<sup>2</sup> The date was September 12, 1795.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal Beg has more details. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Seven. The number of prisoners according to various Russian and Georgian sources, ranged from 3,000 to 30,000. See *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 103. Fasa'i has 15,000 women and children taken as slaves; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 240. Mohammad Fathollah has great details of the Georgian campaign; *Tarikh-e Mohammadi*, 272-277. Hedayat describes this event, the death of Armenian and Georgian priests, looting, and the taking of 15,000 prisoners as slaves; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 269-271. The famous Armenian bard (*gusan*), Sayat Nova, was reportedly killed at that time.

<sup>4</sup> The Turkish term *qeshlaq* used by Mirza Jamal refers to winter quarters.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Jamal has made an error, for the khan of Erevan and most others had already submitted and were generally confirmed or replaced with loyal commanders; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 240. Agha Mohammad Khan's brother, 'Ali Qoli Khan, stayed in Erevan in order to ensure the obedience of its khan. The khan of Nakhichevan, Kalb 'Ali, was blinded, and a garrison obedient to 'Ali Qoli was stationed there as well; for more details, see Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 9.

lion once again broke out in Fars, as well as major uprisings in Kerman and other [places], forcing [the shah] to go to Fars.<sup>1</sup> During that spring while the shah was in Fars, the late Ibrahim Khan, having convinced the vali of Georgia [to join him], brought an army from Daghestan and together they laid siege to the city of Ganje, whose ruler [Javad Khan] they blamed for the destruction of Tiflis.<sup>2</sup>

Within a short time Javad Khan submitted and swore eternal obedience and an unbreakable alliance with the late Ibrahim Khan. He also gave his son and sister to the late Ibrahim Khan as hostages.<sup>3</sup> During that siege Melik Mejlum was killed.

In the meantime, when Agha Mohammad Shah was still in the region of Fars and Khorasan, the supreme *sardar*, general en-chef<sup>4</sup> Count Valerian Zubov,<sup>5</sup> by the order of the great empress Catherine,

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal does not mention the coronation of Agha Mohammad Shah, which followed in Tehran immediately after his return there. The exact date of the coronation is debated but, according to Fasa'i and other sources it was in the spring of 1796; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 241. Bakikhanov is the only local historian, who, in passing, states that Agha Mohammad was crowned in Tehran; *Golestan-e Eram*, 180.

<sup>2</sup> This was a lame excuse to attack, for Javad Khan was not responsible for the sack of Tiflis. Agha Mohammad had written to Erekle to submit long before that; see *Gramoty*, II (pt. 2), 82-83, 85-89. Bakikhanov states that during the shah's absence, his *sardar* in Tabriz, Mustafa Khan Davalu Qajar, fought various khans and kept them under control and obedient to Agha Mohammad Shah. He gave his sister to Ibrahim Khan and married Ibrahim's daughter; *Golestan-e Eram*, 175. It thus seems that once Ibrahim realized that the Qajars were there to stay, a truce was reached, for the moment.

<sup>3</sup> Berzhe's version reads nephew, "Karabag," 68 (1855), 294; Adigözal Beg's text (Chapter Seven) has "son and daughter."

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal uses this term, which appears in some Russian and Georgian sources as well. The exact definition is unclear, but it probably signifies a very high-ranking general, or commander-in-chief.

<sup>5</sup> Valerian Aleksandrovich Zubov (1771-1804), the brother of Platon Zubov, a favorite of Catherine II, participated in the Russian action against the Polish uprising of 1794. He was wounded and lost one leg. In 1796 he was dispatched by Catherine II to conquer Transcaucasia and to rid the khans of the Qajar threat and bring them into the Russian sphere; for details, see Atkin, *Russia and Iran*, 39-42. Ahmad Beg refers to him as *Kizil Ayagh* ("golden leg" in the local Turkic dialect); *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 77. Fasa'i also calls him by that name and explains that it was because his false leg was made of gold; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 242. Hedayat calls him by the same name; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 291. Kizil has a

entered the region of Darband with a great force and unlimited equipment and took its fortress. [He then] arrived at the outskirts of the city of Shamakhi and pitched his camp there.<sup>1</sup>

The late Ibrahim Khan voluntarily sent his son, Abu'l Fath Khan, accompanied by a number of the sons of the *begs* of Karabagh, to the supreme *sardar*, Zubov, with thoroughbred horses and other gifts and offered, from the bottom of his heart, his submission, loyalty and friendship to the Exalted Russian State.<sup>2</sup> [The young men] also carried a letter petitioning the empress' protection and expressing his [Ibrahim Khans] devotion.<sup>3</sup>

[29] Showing great respect to Abu'l Fath Khan and the sons of the *begs* of Karabagh, the supreme *sardar* forwarded the petition of the late Ibrahim Khan to her majesty the empress, through a trusted adjutant, who went via the Darband and Qezlar (Kizliar) route. A prince was sent with expensive gifts to the late Ibrahim Khan, assuring him of the eternal friendship of Her Majesty the Empress.<sup>4</sup>

When the neighboring khans discovered that Ibrahim Khan had sent his son to the supreme *sardar*, all of them, that is: Mir Mustafa Khan of Talesh, Mustafa Khan of Shirvan, and Javad Khan of Ganje, and even the khans of Erevan, Nakhichevan, Khoi, and Qaradagh, dispatched envoys to the late Ibrahim Khan and declared, "We do not want to go against your decision.<sup>5</sup> Since you have decided to submit to the Russian government, all of us will agree to submit to the benevolent king of Russia."<sup>6</sup> The late Ibrahim Khan forwarded all these letters and messages to the supreme *sardar*, Zubov.

number of meanings in Turki, such as "gold," "red," and "expensive," among others.

<sup>1</sup> Adigözal Beg (Chapter Seven) has a slightly different version.

<sup>2</sup> Bakikhanov confirms the above; *Golestan-e Eram*, 179. Abu'l Fath Khan was one of the younger sons of Ibrahim Khan, who later turned against his father (see below).

<sup>3</sup> Ibrahim Khan was eager to have the Russians as the protectors of Karabagh. The same agreement had been made with Georgia earlier. Although the Russians had violated that agreement, Ibrahim never had any intention of surrendering his authority or the khanate.

<sup>4</sup> Adigözal Beg adds more details. See Chapter Seven.

<sup>5</sup> Khoi is not included in Adigözal Beg's list, *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> The word used here is *padeshah*. The irony is that the ancient Persian word applies only to a king, while the "king" in question was Catherine. A woman ruler had caused amazement earlier, when Anna was on the throne of Russia. Nader Shah had even proposed to the Russian envoy that Anna become one of his wives; see *'Alamara-ye Naderi*, I, 410-411. Bakikhanov has

Although the *vali* of Georgia surpassed the khans of Shirvan, Khoi, Erevan, and others in power and majesty, as he was of a very old dynasty<sup>1</sup> and possessed a vast and wealthy territory, he, nevertheless, consulted in all matters with the late Ibrahim Khan. This was due to the fact that the late 'Umma Khan,<sup>2</sup> the ruler of the Avars and Daghestan, and other elders of those regions, because of kinship ties, were obedient to and always in agreement with the late Ibrahim Khan. Should there have been a sudden falling out between the *vali* of Georgia and the late Ibrahim Khan, 'Umma Khan and the other khans of Daghestan, at a sign from Ibrahim Khan, would have raided [30] Georgia with a large army and caused major devastation.<sup>3</sup> [Such an attack indeed occurred] in the year 1199 (1784/85), when there was a falling out between the *vali* and the late Ibrahim Khan. 'Umma Khan, the ruler of Avars, attacked Georgia with a large force. He took the fortress, *saqnaq*, and *kumesh-khane*,<sup>4</sup> killed many people, and imprisoned the remaining women and children of the place.<sup>5</sup> After looting many of the surrounding villages, he ['Umma] went to Akhesghe (Akhaltzikhe) and wintered with Suleiman Pasha.<sup>6</sup> He received *khal'at* and many gifts from the Sultan of Rum. In the spring, on his way [back] to Daghestan, again through Georgia, he besieged the fortress of Vakhhan (Vakhun) on the border. This was

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Salim Khan of Shakki as the only one sending a message; *Golestan-e Eram*, 179.

<sup>1</sup> Erekle was of the Georgian Bagrationi (Bagratuni) family, a branch of the Armenian Bagratids, whose nobility was established in the classical period and who ruled Armenia and parts of Georgia as kings during the medieval period.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmad Beg has Ummay Khan; Karabakhskogo *khanstva*, 93.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal Beg's editor has an ellipsis here. See Chapter Seven.

<sup>4</sup> The exact meaning of this word is difficult to ascertain. Bakikhanov also mentions it; *Golestan-e Eram*, 185, but none of the translators or editors has been able to define it. *Kumesh* or *kumish* is a well digger; *kumesh-khane* would imply the house of the well digger, which does not apply in this case. It could mean the head well or water supply, which was necessary for any fortress or *saqnaq* to withstand a long siege. If the word is read as *kamsh*, it would mean provisions, which would also apply. The term may also be *gumesh-khane* or house of oxen.

<sup>5</sup> The Persian texts do not identify what city or settlement in Georgia was attacked. Georgian texts refer to Tiflis and its environs.

<sup>6</sup> Suleiman Pasha, the Pasha of Akhaltzikhe, would also periodically raid Georgia. Erekle had merged his house with that of Imeret'i, in western Georgia. The rise of Georgia and its close ties to Russia made the Ottomans, and especially the neighboring pashas, nervous; hence, with the approval and support of the Ottoman sultan, the pashas and Daghestani tribes would raid the region.

a strong fortress where Prince Abashirza (Abashidze) and his family resided.<sup>1</sup> After surrounding it, he ['Umma Khan] took the fortress, killed many of its inhabitants and imprisoned the women and children, taking their money and belongings. He sent one of the daughters of the prince, along with some of the plunder, as gifts to the late Ibrahim Khan. Ibrahim Khan married her, and from this same daughter of Prince Abashidze a boy and a girl were born. 'Umma Khan himself married the other daughter of Prince Abashidze, who remained in his harem.<sup>2</sup>

Given all of this, the *vali* greatly desired [the goodwill] of the late Ibrahim Khan, especially since the khans of Shirvan, Shakki, Ganje, Erevan, Khoi, Qaradagh, Nakhichevan, Talesh, [31] Tabriz, and the khans of Shahsavan and Shaqaqi [tribes] obeyed.<sup>3</sup> The late Ibrahim Khan and would not go against him. Being cautious, the *vali* of Tiflis expediently submitted to the Exalted State of Russia, as well, sending envoys and petitions [there].<sup>4</sup> Thus, everyone was ready to accept Russian suzerainty, when suddenly the great empress died.<sup>5</sup> The supreme *sardar*, Zubov gave leave to Abu'l Fath Khan and the sons of the *begs* and elders of Karabagh and sent them with respectful greetings and gifts to the late Ibrahim Khan, informing him of his departure to Russia at the order of the late emperor Paul.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Abashidze were one of the main feudal families of western Georgia. They had constantly fought to remain autonomous and had even refused to accept the authority of Nader Shah. It is probable that the prince in question was the son of Levan Abashidze, one of the great lords of Imeret'i.

<sup>2</sup> Bakikhanov mentions his looting and destruction in Georgia, which forced Erekle to pay him an annual subsidy of 5000 *manats* to keep him out of his domain. He would raid and plunder Ganje and one time, when his ally, Ibrahim Khan, gave him safe passage, 'Umma Khan even raided Nakhichevan; *Golestān-e Eram*, 185.

<sup>3</sup> Once again Mirza Jamal exaggerates the extent of Ibrahim's influence.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal does not seem to recall that Erekle already had a treaty with Catherine, the Georgievsk agreement of 1783.

<sup>5</sup> November 6, 1796.

<sup>6</sup> It seems that the Karabaghi notables had served as hostages of sorts. Bakikhanov states that Javad Khan of Ganje, realizing that Russia had decided to annex his khanate to Georgia, began to look to Persia. Erekle, Ibrahim Khan, and Salim Khan of Shakki then came to Ganje, deposed Javad and installed 'Ali Sultan of Shamshadil as the *nayeb* (deputy) of the khan. Javad Khan was planning to flee, but his wife went to the young commander and reminded him of a kindness she had once done for him; after that, 'Ali Sultan gave up the keys to the fortress to Javad and re-

This news distressed everyone,<sup>1</sup> and also unleashed the animosity of Agha Mohammad Shah, who had hoped to gain the late Ibrahim Khan's submission with kindness and without much effort. The action of the late Ibrahim Khan, who, without any struggle or resistance, had offered his loyalty and friendship to the eternal Russian State, while cutting himself off from the Islamic ruler of Persia, greatly enraged him. He decided to crush the late Ibrahim Khan [once and for all] and, in the spring [1797], moved with a huge army toward Azerbaijan.<sup>2</sup>

The *velayat* of Karabagh was suffering from a three-year drought sent by God. No wheat or vegetables grew, and there was major famine. The price of rain had increased so much that one *chetvert* of wheat was difficult to obtain, even for forty-five rubles of that time. The situation was unbearable and thus, when the Persian army and Agha Mohammad Shah reached the Arax River, it would have been difficult, in the face of the famine and the difficulties of the previous few years, to resist such a strong foe and remain in the fortress of Shushi.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, having no other alternative, [Ibrahim Khan], together with his family, relatives, the families of important commanders, and his loyal attendants, [32] left the fortress for Jar and Tale,<sup>4</sup> to wait and see if any help would be forthcoming from Daghestan,

mained at his side; *Golestan-e Eram*, 179-180. Adigözal Beg has a different version. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Seven.

<sup>1</sup> Particularly in Transcaucasia, which now had to deal with Agha Mohammad Khan, who viewed their former actions as treason.

<sup>2</sup> Fasa'i places it in late May or early June 1797; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 242. This passage sounds like a mild rebuke by Mirza Jamal for those who do not back their co-religionists. There is some evidence that Ibrahim Khan once again tried to damage the Khoda-afarin Bridge and either succeeded in doing so or was stopped by Soleiman Khan of Tabriz, who had stationed a garrison near the bridge. Ibrahim then opened a number of irrigation canals and flooded parts of Karabagh to halt the shah's advance; *Bamdad*, I, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg describes the horrible conditions in Karabagh at that time. His account is based on oral history gathered from those who survived the famine. Apparently there was no bread, and wheat was not even sown. Animals were slaughtered, and people consumed carrion, roots and acorns. Cases of cannibalism were reported as well. Thousands died and many emigrated to other lands; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 78.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Beg has Jar and Belakan; *Ibid.*, 78.

Georgia, and other *velayats* for a counteroffensive.<sup>1</sup> At worst, he could go from there to Daghestan, to his relative, 'Umma Khan, the ruler of the Avars, where he would be safe from Agha Mohammad Shah's punishment.

Among the khans who accompanied him and refused to be parted from him were Nasir Khan, the khan's son-in-law; 'Ata Khan Shahsavan; and Salim Khan, the ruler of Shakki, who was also the khan's son-in-law; and the chiefs of the *velayat* of Shakki and Shahsavan and their families.<sup>2</sup>

Upon learning of Ibrahim Khan's flight from the fortress, Agha Mohammad Shah, who was at the Arax River, dispatched some two thousand horsemen with commanders so that they could perhaps intercept him on the road to Ganje or by the Kur River. They caught up with the baggage carts of the retreating group accompanying the late Ibrahim Khan, near a bridge by the Tartar River. They attacked but did not harm the servants and other people. They did, however, loot some of the baggage on the carts and returned.<sup>3</sup>

The late Ibrahim Khan crosses the Kur, went through the *velayat* of Shakki, and entered the region of Belkan and Jar (Jaro-Belakan).<sup>4</sup> Agha Mohammad Shah sent orders to all the elders and leaders of Jar and Tale<sup>5</sup> to detain the late Ibrahim Khan and the other khans and not to permit them to proceed to Daghestan. Despite this, the inhabitants of Jar, Belakan, and Ilisu<sup>6</sup> showed the necessary respect and hospitality, because they had enjoyed the kindness and gifts of

<sup>1</sup> Bakikhanov confirms the above; *Golestan-e Eram*, 180. Hedayat also confirms Ibrahim's flight; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Fasa'i's account is different and interesting. Since Ibrahim Khan had not submitted (that is he had not allowed Agha Mohammad to enter Shushi) the shah decided to settle the affair once and for all. Seeing the shah, the citizens of Shushi claimed that they were planning to rebel and arrest Ibrahim for going against the shah, but that he and his family had escaped to Daghestan; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 242. Ahmad Beg also mentions that the citizens were happy to see the shah and the shah welcomed him with songs; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Berzhe's translation states that all their belongings were taken, "Karabag," 68 (1855), 294.

<sup>4</sup> Jar and Belakan were settlements located northwest of Shakki on the border of Daghestan; see map 3.

<sup>5</sup> Tale is south of Jar; see map 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ilisu or Elisui was a town and territory on the banks of the Alazani River. This small state was established by the Tsakhur tribe; its leader bore the title of *sultan*; see map 3.

Ibrahim Khan for a long time and were always ready to selflessly carry out all his wishes.

They had stayed [no more than] twenty days in the land of Belakan when news of the murder of Agha Mohammad Shah in the fortress of Shushi [33] reached the late Ibrahim Khan. The details of the murder of Agha Mohammad Shah are as follows:

After Ibrahim Khan's departure from the fortress of Shushi for Belakan, Agha Mohammad Shah entered the fortress without any resistance.<sup>1</sup> After a week's stay there, one night he sentenced two of his close attendants, Safar 'Ali Beg and 'Abbas Beg, because of something they had done which had greatly displeased and angered him, to severe punishment.<sup>2</sup> Knowing that he [the shah] never changed his mind and fearing for their lives, they [the two] decided to kill him before daybreak. At dawn, while the shah was asleep, they entered [the bedroom] with sharp daggers and murdered him.<sup>3</sup> They shut the doors, took his armband, crown, and his jewel-encrusted cordon,<sup>4</sup> went to Sadeq Khan Shafaqi and told him the

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg gives great details on the reaction of the population, and their welcoming of the shah into Karabagh. He also details all the conversations and events involving Mohammad Beg, Mullah Panah and others, that led to the fateful, final night; *Karabakhslogo khanstva*, 79-84.

<sup>2</sup> Severe punishment, or *siyasat-e 'azim*, refers to capital punishment.

<sup>3</sup> According to Fasa'i, this occurred on the night of June 16-17, 1797. He also has a slightly different account. There is no Safar 'Ali beg in his version. Three days after his arrival in Shushi, the shah's Georgian servant, named Sadeq, and his valet, Khodadad Isfahani, had a row and raised their voices. The shah got angry and ordered their execution, Sadeq Khan Shafaqi tried to intercede but to no avail. Since it was Friday (the Muslim Sabbath), the shah postponed their execution until Saturday and allowed them to go on serving in the royal apartments. Knowing the shah always kept his word, they, together with another valet, 'Abbas Mazandarani, murdered the shah; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 242. Hedayat, *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 298, also confirms this version.

<sup>4</sup> Fasa'i describes the jewels worn by the shah at his coronation: The armbands were studded with the "Ocean of Light" and "The Crown of the Moon," diamonds; the cordon hanging on his neck was composed of string of pearls, each one as big as a sparrow's egg and as white as camphor; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 241.

truth of what had transpired.<sup>1</sup> Sadeq Khan was terribly fearful of the shah and did not trust him; [therefore], he did not believe them.<sup>2</sup> Being in constant fear of his life, he thought this story to be a trick of the shah [to trap him into betrayal]. Finally after receiving numerous oaths, he gathered up his nerve, and still greatly fearful, entered the apartments of the shah, which were in the house of the late Major-General Mohammad Hasan Aga,<sup>3</sup> the eldest son of Ibrahim Khan, where Agha Mohammad Shah had been residing. Still following all the appropriate protocol, he slowly approached the shah's bedroom, pulled the curtain that was across the door and peeked in. Then he very slowly entered the room and approached the bed. No matter how much Safar 'Ali Beg assured him, he was still afraid. Safar 'Ali Beg then stepped forward and lifted the quilt that covered the shah and showed him the corpse of the shah bloodied with [34] dagger slashes.

Sadeq Khan was not able to tolerate the scene. He took the arm-bands, crown, and cordon [from the two killers] and rushed to his apartments, where he announced that the shah had ordered him to depart for Ganje and Georgia. He left the fortress with all his followers and the Shafaqi army (Kurds), taking one of the shah's murderers, 'Abbas [Beg], with him. Safar 'Ali Beg remained in the fortress.<sup>4</sup> Barely two hours after the departure of Sadeq Khan, the news of the shah's murder had spread all over the fortress. The confused Persian khans gathered whatever followers were close by and, group after group, escaped from the fortress. The population of the city sur-

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg states that Mohammad Beg, the nephew of Ibrahim Khan, was present when the assassins brought the jewels; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 81-82. Donboli states that they also took a box of precious jewels and brought it to Sadeq Khan; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 25. Nader Shah, during his Indian campaign, had taken the treasury of the Mughals. A number of famous stones, as well as the famed peacock throne, were among the loot. See *'Alamaray-e Naderi*, II, 739.

<sup>2</sup> In 1205 (1790) Sadeq Khan had fought Agha Mohammad's forces, was defeated, and sought refuge with Ibrahim Khan in Shushi. He later apologized and joined Agha Mohammad, but was always fearful for his life; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1413.

<sup>3</sup> The Russian gave this rank to Mohammad Hasan Aqa at a later date. Berzhe's version reads, Mohammad Hasan 'Ali; "Karabag," 68 (1855), 294.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Beg states that Mohammad Beg and Sadeq Khan felt that one was to go after the throne of Persia and the other to take over Shushi; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 85.

rounded those [remaining] inside the fortress and whomever they caught they stripped of everything.<sup>1</sup> They rushed into the apartments [of the shah] and started looting carpets, furniture and other household goods, gold and silver objects, and jewels belonging to the shah.<sup>2</sup>

When Mohammad Beg, the son of the brother of Ibrahim Khan, and a youth famed for his bravery heard of this, he, together with a number of servants, stood by the door and took back the jewels and gold coins, silver and gold utensils, carpets, and other items which were left, from those who had not already absconded.<sup>3</sup> He transferred all of these items from the apartments of Mohammad Hasan Aqa to his household and began to govern and administer the fortress. He sent the head of Agha Mohammad Shah, which had been cut off, together with a letter, with an old trusted retainer to the late Ibrahim Khan in Belakan.<sup>4</sup> Once the head of the shah reached Ibrahim Khan, it became clear to everyone that the shah had really been killed. The head of the shah was washed with great honor, wrapped in a shroud, and sent with esteemed mullahs who knew the obligatory rituals, to Jar where it was buried in the cemetery of great nobles.<sup>5</sup>

[35] For three months [Ibrahim Khan], due to several obstacles, delayed his return to Karabagh and stayed in Belakan.<sup>6</sup> He received gifts and messages of loyalty and friendship from everyone, especially the *vali* of Georgia, Javad Khan, the governor of Ganje, and Mustafa Khan of Shirvan. Since the shah, who had been a powerful enemy, was dead, all the khans of Azerbaijan and other [regions], who had always been aware of the power, greatness, and authority of the late Ibrahim Khan, wanted, primarily for their own benefit and security, to gain his attention and establish a strong friendship with him. Until the arrival of the

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<sup>1</sup> This confirms the famine and poverty, as well as the hatred of the population for Agha Mohammad Khan's army and the devastation they had inflicted on Karabagh for a number of years.

<sup>2</sup> Bakikhanov confirms the general events, but not in the same detail; *Golestān-e Eram*, 180.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg states that he organized his followers into units, arrested those commanders of Agha Mohammad who had remained, released the prisoners, including Mullah Panah, the vizier of Karabagh and began to rule the region; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 85-86.

<sup>4</sup> Adigözal Beg has more information. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Eight.

<sup>5</sup> His body was buried in Shushi.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmad Beg states that Ibrahim did not trust Mohammad Beg's assurances of his return to Shushi; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 88.

late Ibrahim Khan, Mohammad Beg continued to manage the affairs of Karabagh.<sup>1</sup>

A month after the arrival of the late Ibrahim Khan at Belakan, 'Umma Khan, the ruler of the Avars, and other leaders of Daghestan arrived with a large army and provisions of food and clothing, all evidence of the kindness, kinship, and hospitality due such a grand amir (Ibrahim).<sup>2</sup> This treatment was not limited only to the late khan [Ibrahim], his renowned sons, and the *begs* of Karabagh, but extended even to the Shahsavan khans and the offspring of their *begs*, who were granted all their food and expenses.

Two months after the arrival of 'Umma Khan, [Ibrahim Khan] accompanied by the army of Daghestan, some of the Karabaghi people, and the leaders of the Shahsavan, left Belakan for Karabagh.<sup>3</sup> Prior to his departure, the late Ibrahim Khan sent Mahdi Qoli Khan, who in those days was called Mahdi Qoli Aga,<sup>4</sup> together with the sons of some of the *begs* of Karabagh, ahead of him to warn the population against any [possible] opposition and to force them to abandon any thought of disobedience after the arrival of his excellency. In addition, they were to inform Mohammad Beg, who was full of youthful pride and energy, and moreover, [36] was [due to the circumstances] in control of some of the wealth and instruments of kingship, not to

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg states that Sadeq Khan had advised him to take over Karabagh and to declare himself independent. Javad Khan of Ganje offered him a marriage alliance, and offered to kill the family of Ibrahim who had remained in Shushi. The tribesmen of Jaro-Belakan, who hoped to satisfy Agha Mohammad Khan's wrath, had already killed Ibrahim's brother, Taleb Khan. The notables of Shushi also encouraged him to take the reins of government stating that Ibrahim was already too old. But his reply was that he would not go against his uncle and commit a shameful act; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 87.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that this sudden hospitality occurred only after the murder of the shah. Prior to that, Ibrahim Khan, despite Mirza Jamal's account, was not assured of his safety.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg states that Ibrahim Khan, in order to gain the favor of Fath 'Ali Shah, at his request, returned Safar 'Ali, one of the assassins of Agha Mohammad Shah; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 88. Persian chronicles do not mention any demands for the assassins. According to them the killers were all in Persia.

<sup>4</sup> Mahdi Qoli, in fact, succeeded Ibrahim as the last (nominal) khan of Karabagh (1806-1822).

be tempted by Satan and not to dare to go against [Ibrahim Khan] and claim supreme authority.<sup>1</sup>

Mahdi Qoli Khan, together with the sons of the *begs*, entered Karabagh. Mohammad Beg, although outwardly expressing his devotion, and boasting of his friendship, stating that he would never cease to obey the late khan [Ibrahim], inwardly, however, wished to rule [in Karabagh]. He gathered around himself a group of traitors, liars, and ruffians and planned a takeover. Mahdi Qoli Khan, out of necessity, treated him [with respect]; to denounce him outright would not have been prudent. He carefully observed the situation inside the fortress as well as in the surrounding region, accurately reported conditions to the late khan [Ibrahim], and awaited his [decision]. Receiving the report while on the banks of the Kur, the late Ibrahim Khan immediately dispatched his eldest<sup>2</sup> son, the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa, with five hundred Lesghian warriors and leaders of Karabagh [to the fortress]. Mohammad Beg, hearing of the arrival of the late khan [and his cavalry], decided to [forcibly] transfer the tribes of Karabagh to the Arax and stopped by the river to foment dissent.<sup>3</sup> When the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa reached the vicinity of Mount Kers,<sup>4</sup> three *farsakhs*<sup>5</sup> from the fortress, where the supporters and troops of Mohammad Beg were located, the people of Karabagh, seeing the late Aqa and his soldiers, came out in droves, appeared before him and kissed his hand. The tribal forces gathered [by Mohammad Beg] were [forced into] the steppes and thickets. [Mohammad Hasan Aqa] sent a messenger summoning Mohammad Beg to appear before him. At first Mohammad Beg was afraid, but he was eventually assured [37] and came to the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa, kissed his hand, and remained trustfully at

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<sup>1</sup> Ibrahim Khan did not feel secure. Some of the Armenian *meliks*, tribal chiefs, Erekle, Javad Khan, as well as the Qajars, were still major threats. The economic conditions were also not favorable.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian text emphasizes that he was the eldest; in this context it means he was also the most capable.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg puts the place at 40 *versts* from Shushi, by the Togh settlement; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 91.

<sup>4</sup> The present-day Bolshoi or Büyük Kers, located in the southern part of the Karabagh range.

<sup>5</sup> Berzhe's translation from this point on transforms all *farsakh* to the Russian measure of *verst*. Each *farsakh* is seven *versts*; the changes will not be noted hereinafter; "Karabag," 68 (1855), 294.

his side.<sup>1</sup> A number of criminals, who during [Mohammad] Beg's control had committed outrages, were executed by [Mohammad Hasan Aqa] in the presence of Mohammad Beg. In the meantime, Mahdi Qoli Khan, who was in the fortress and heard the news of the arrival of the Aqa [his brother] and his approach with troops, arrested the appointees of his [paternal] cousin, Mohammad Beg.

The late Mohammad Hasan Aqa calmed and assured the tribes of Karabagh and wrote to all the *mahals* to resume their work and trades. After that, Ibrahim Khan, accompanied by troops and the retinue of Nasir Khan and 'Ata Khan Shahsavan, arrived and entered Karabagh.

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg states that Mohammad Hasan Aqa, even prior to that, was the main protector of Mohammad Beg against Ibrahim Khan's suspicions and against his being sent to Fath 'Ali Shah. According to Ahmad Beg, the shah blamed Mohammad Beg for the murder of his uncle, Agha Mohammad Shah, for a detailed account; see *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 88-91.

## Chapter Seven

### *On a Number of Events Which Occurred after the Death of Agha Mohammad Shah and the Return of Ibrahim Khan from Belakan to Karabagh*<sup>1</sup>

After the late [Ibrahim] Khan reached Karabagh and took up the reins of government, the population of the *velayat* was suffering from famine, hardships, and unsettled conditions. Many [members] of tribes and [people of] villages were forced to go into the *velayats* of Georgia, Ganje, Erevan, and the Shirvans, and even to the *velayats* of Rum. Their belongings and wealth were all plundered. Although the neighboring khans outwardly spouted words of obedience and friendship [to Ibrahim], inwardly they desired private gain. Among them [for example] was Mustafa Khan of Shirvan. During the absence of Ibrahim Khan in Belakan, he brought over Mohammad Hasan Khan of Shakki (Shakkilu), the elder brother of Salim Khan [of Shakki], and assisted in appointing him as the ruler [of Shakki], so that Salim Khan, the son-in-law of the late Ibrahim Khan, may not [one day] sit in Shakki and endanger his own rule. [At the same time], Mohammad Beg, [38] after being reassured [of his safety] by the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa, like the other sons of the khans of the late Panah Khan's clan, did not fear for his life. But being youthful and arrogant, he went to the bank of the Kur [River] and made friends with Mohammad Hasan Khan of Shakki.<sup>2</sup> Mohammad Hasan Khan deceived him, [saying], "I am a blind man and I can no longer tolerate Mustafa Khan's rule [over me].<sup>3</sup> Come join me and I will wed you to my daughter and you will [eventually] rise to [become] the ruler of Shakki." Mohammad Beg was fooled by such

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<sup>1</sup> Berzhe's translation reads *Chapter Six*, with no title. It is, as noted, a very condensed version of the manuscript used in this translation; "Karabag," 69 (1855), 297.

<sup>2</sup> He was the son of Hosein Khan and grandson of Hajji Chelebi. Ahmad Beg's version is different. He states that once Ibrahim Khan entered Shushi, Mohammad Aqa, instead of going to Ganje or Russia, fled to Shakki; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 91. Bakikhanov states that Mohammad Aqa was the son of Mehr 'Ali Beg, son of Ibrahim Khan (he was Ibrahim's nephew), who for a short time claimed to rule Karabagh, but upon the arrival of Ibrahim Khan fled to Shakki; *Golestan-e Eram*, 181.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg confirms his blindness and calls him *Kor* or *Kur* (blind) Mohammad; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 91.

words and turned away from his famed kinsman and esteemed uncle [Ibrahim] and went to Mohammad Hasan Khan. Upon arrival [in Shakki], Mohammad Hasan Khan captured and imprisoned Mohammad Beg and took all the jewels, money, and goods that were in his possession. Mustafa Khan, who for many years had been the mortal enemy of Mohammad Beg, as he had killed Mustafa's father and brother to avenge his own father's death, sent an agent to Mohammad Hasan Khan, to take Mohammad Beg [to Shirvan], and executed him.<sup>1</sup> Having killed the son of the late Ibrahim Khan's brother, he [Mustafa] became even more of an enemy of the Khan, and, out of fear, commenced hostile activity against Karabagh. On another side, Mohammad Hasan Khan [of Shakki] also became an enemy [of Ibrahim Khan's], and Javad Khan, the ruler of Ganje, joined them.<sup>2</sup>

At that time news arrived that Fath 'Ali Shah, who was called Baba Khan Sardar, and who had been appointed the *vali* of the *velayat* of Fars in Shiraz by Agha Mohammad Shah, had heard the news of the shah's murder, moved from Shiraz, and had entered Tehran.<sup>3</sup> He had taken over the treasury and other royal property and had ascended the throne.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the above-mentioned Sadeq Khan Shaqaqi, who had fled the fortress of

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<sup>1</sup> Bakikhanov confirms these events; *Golestan-e Eram*, 181. Ahmad Beg claims that folk songs were composed about the brave deeds of Mohammad Beg. He adds that the khan of Shakki handed over Safar 'Ali Beg, one of the assassins of the late shah, who had accompanied Mohammad Beg, to Fath 'Ali Shah, a fact not confirmed by Persian chroniclers; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 92.

<sup>2</sup> This and other similar passages clearly demonstrate that just as among the Armenian *meliks*, there was no feeling of unity among the Turkic groups. Personal gain and clan allegiance came first.

<sup>3</sup> Baba Khan was the nephew of Agha Mohammad Shah. Since Agha Mohammad was castrated at youth, Baba Khan, who took the title of Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834), continued the Qajar dynasty. Fath 'Ali Shah made up for his uncle's childlessness. His large harem gave him over one hundred princes and princesses.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal, following the Qajar chroniclers, once again jumps ahead and gives Fath 'Ali the title of shah, before the fact. Fath 'Ali Shah was not crowned until the defeat of Sadeq Khan and a few other pretenders and after he had gained control of central Persia. His coronation occurred in 1798 after the body of Agha Mohammad was recovered. See *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 320 and *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 30-31. Fasa'i has March 11, 1798 as the auspicious day.

Shushi, found Azerbaijan without a governor and claimed the throne. [39] He gathered a large army and moved towards Iraq to capture Tehran and release his kin, who were hostages there.<sup>1</sup>

Fath 'Ali Shah met and defeated him, and forced him to flee. After that he [Fath 'Ali] sent an envoy to the late Ibrahim Khan with utmost respects. He asked for the body of Agha Mohammad Shah and expressed his sincere desire for Ibrahim Khan's obedience.<sup>2</sup> [Economic] Conditions of the Karabagh *velayat* were destitute and enemies surrounded it; [therefore], the late Ibrahim Khan deemed conciliation prudent, and with great honors, sent the corpse of Agha Mohammad Shah to Tehran. Fath 'Ali Shah interpreted this action of the late Ibrahim Khan as a good sign. He generously rewarded the envoys who had brought the body and sent them back with *khal'at* and swords. He gave the governorship of Qaradagh<sup>3</sup> with all its income to Ibrahim Khan, and expressed his wish to become related to him. He stated: "For the peace of

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<sup>1</sup> Agha Mohammad, like previous Persian rulers, had kept hostages, usually sons, to ensure the obedience of the khans of the various provinces.

<sup>2</sup> The messenger, Hosein Qoli Khan, actually came from the new governor of Tabriz, Ja'far Qoli Khan Donboli, who was rewarded by the new shah for his loyalty to the Qajars. E'temad ol-Saltane adds that Hosein Qoli escorted the body back to Tehran; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1442. Hedayat and Mirza Jamal mention that Ibrahim's son, Abu'l Fath Khan, escorted the body; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 314-315. Donboli states that Ibrahim was ordered by the new *sardar* to exhume the body and to return it with proper dignity to Tehran; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 31. Ahmad Beg states that the Persian party in Karabagh led by Mirza 'Ali Beg, Fazel Beg, and others urged Ibrahim to follow the example of Shakki and acknowledge Fath 'Ali Shah. Silver coins (which Ahmad Beg wrongly calls *sahibqeran*) bearing the name of the shah, were then struck in Shushi; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 92-93. Fasa'i states that Fath 'Ali Shah ordered by a royal *farman* that Ibrahim put the corpse on a litter and arrange its transfer with all the respect due a shah. Fasa'i adds that the three murderers of the shah were also executed at this time, suffering horrible deaths; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 244. Donboli states that they were executed earlier; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 30. Two of the assassins were caught in Qazvin, after the defeat of Sadeq Khan. They were hacked to death. The third one was caught in Kermanshah and burnt to death in Tehran.

<sup>3</sup> Ibrahim Khan became the governor of Karabagh and Qaradagh. The Turkish translation erroneously has "Karabagh"; *Karabagh Tarihi*, 22.

both our parties, consider your beloved daughter Aqa Begum Aqa worthy of our harem, [to] become the lady<sup>1</sup> of our harem.”

After some consultation, it was considered appropriate. The shah made huge preparations, dispatching noted khans [to fetch] Aqa Begum Aqa with great honor, and married her. She became his respected wife and the head of his harem.<sup>2</sup> The son of the late Ibrahim Khan, Abu'l Fath Khan, who was then called Abu'l Fath Aqa, was sent to the shah, where he was treated as one of the grand khans. [The shah] made him a close confidant and always showed him great respect.<sup>3</sup> Every year Fath 'Ali Shah would send *khal'at*, a

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<sup>1</sup> Text reads *banu*, which implies she was one of the main wives.

<sup>2</sup> Donboli and Hedayat do not mention the marriage; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 31; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 314-315. Since the marriage did occur, it may have occurred either earlier or later. E'temad ol-Saltane has the marriage earlier in 1214 (1799); *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1453. There is more evidence that the legal affair occurred later. This can be explained by the fact that Fath 'Ali Shah, at that time, had four legal wives. He therefore took Aqa Begum as a *sighe* (temporary wife). Upon the death of Asiye Khanum, the daughter of Mohammad Khan Qajar Qavanlu, he married Aga Begum, who became his wife; *Bamdad*, I, 12. Aqa Begum, whose mother was Tuti Begum, the daughter of the khan of Ganje, became very influential. According to some sources, after the death of Fath 'Ali Shah, she became a recluse in a mosque in Qom and died there. She apparently wrote poetry in Persian and Turkish. She was extremely anti-Russian, due to the fact that the Russians had killed her family in Ganje (see below); Shukiurzade in *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 104. Fasa'i confirms Mirza Jamal's account and states that she was the primary lady of the harem. In fact she was the same lady to whom Sir Gore Ouseley presented, through his own wife, who had received the special privilege of visiting the harem, an expensive gift from the wife of George III of England in late 1811; *Farsname-ye Naseri*, I, 261. Bamdad's account differs. He states that she was known as Agha Baji, the 129<sup>th</sup> consort of Fath 'Ali Shah. He adds that either because of Ibrahim Khan's behavior, or for other reasons, the shah, from the very first day, did not like her. He refused to sleep with her, but did not divorce her. She lived a life of luxury in Qom and died there, just prior to Fath 'Ali Shah's death, in 1833; *Bamdad*, I, 12.

<sup>3</sup> It seems that he started as a hostage but was soon persuaded by Fath 'Ali Shah to serve him, with hopes of becoming the next khan. Abu'l Fath Khan, realizing that there was no chance of him ever becoming the khan of Karabagh, threw his lot with the Persians and was rewarded with various posts. His son, 'Abbas Qoli Khan Javanshir, known as Mo'tamed ol-Doule,

sword, a horse with golden-inlaid saddle and bridle, and other ceremonial items to the late Ibrahim Khan and the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa.<sup>1</sup> This continued until the Supreme Emperor of the Exalted and Mighty Russian State sent a *sardar*, who entered Georgia with an army and who settled in Tiflis as its independent [governor].<sup>2</sup> Since [40] even before the heads of Russian State had contemplated the conquest of the *velayats* of Erevan, Ganje, the Shirvans, and Karabagh, the late Ibrahim Khan had freely expressed his feelings of devotion and loyalty to the late ruler of the everlasting state of Russia, Catherine, and had especially shown friendliness at the time of the arrival of *general en-chef* Zubov, with the approval of the *vali* of Georgia—he and the *vali* of Georgia had a friendly relationship and watched for each other's well being—the envoy of the late Ibrahim Khan, together with the envoy of the *vali* of Georgia, were sent to Count Gudovich,<sup>3</sup> who was the *sardar*

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held a number of governorships under Mohammad Shah, and became the minister of justice under Nasr al-Din Shah; *Bamdad*, I, 44.

<sup>1</sup> Mohammad Hasan Aqa was the heir of Ibrahim Khan and hence was accorded special honors as well.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal does not mention who this *sardar* was. The commander of the Caucasian Line was Lieutenant General Karl Fedorovich Knorring, but he did not come to Tiflis at that time or assume the position of governor. It is probable that Mirza Jamal refers to Major-General Ivan Petrovich Lazarev (a member of the wealthy and influential Russian Armenian Lararev [Lazarian] family), who in 1799 was the commander of the Russian regiment in Tiflis. On 3 August 1800 Lazarev, by imperial decree, became the official representative of Russia at the Georgian court. Upon the death of Giorgi XII, Lazarev temporarily assumed the control of Tiflis. The queen dowager of Georgia stabbed Lazarev to death on April 18, 1803.

<sup>3</sup> General, Field Marshal, and Count Ivan Vasil'evich Gudovich (1741-1820) fought the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774 under the command of General P. A. Rumiantsev. He served as a commander of a unit under General G. A. Potemkin in the Russo-Turkish war of 1787-1792. In 1791 he was appointed as the commander of the Russian forces on the Caucasian Line (see map 5). After Agha Mohammad's sack of Tiflis, he began preparing a campaign against Persia, but Catherine appointed Zubov, a favorite. Gudovich resigned in anger and Catherine gave him the title of *general en-chef* as a consolation. After Catherine's death, Paul removed Zubov and others of her favorites, and Gudovich was reinstated as the commander-in-chief of the Caucasian forces. Alexander I soon replaced him with Tsitsianov. After the death of Tsitsianov, Gudovich led the Russian command on the eastern front of

of the Mozdok Line, expressing their devotion and obedience to the eternal Russian State. Meanwhile, he wrote a letter, [with the intention of] renewing this old friendship, and sent it with an envoy to the *sardar*, who, representing the Exalted Russian State, had entered Tiflis. After that *sardar* took his leave, General Kovalenskii was appointed *sardar*. Another envoy bearing gifts was sent to Kovalenskii, expressing his [the khan's] friendship. Indeed, Kovalenskii treated the envoys [of the khan] with great respect. He sent the late Ibrahim Khan grand and special gifts, expressing particular kindness to him. Finally, the supreme *sardar*, Prince Tsitsianov,<sup>1</sup> arrived in Georgia. Since His Excellency was a bold and brave *sardar*, he did not tolerate certain actions of the Lesghians of Jar and Tale, and of Javad Khan, the governor of Ganje, as had the previous *sardars*.<sup>2</sup> He decided that, for the peace of mind of the population of Georgia, the Lesghians of Jar and Tale and Javad Khan had to be punished.<sup>3</sup>

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the Russo-Turkish War (1806-1812) and fought the Persians in the First Russo-Persian War (1804-1813). He was a tyrannical and reckless commander. In 1809 he was replaced by General Alexander Tormasov and left for Russia, where he was appointed state counselor and senator. He retired in 1812.

<sup>1</sup> Tsitsianov arrived in February 1803. He was a Russified Georgian nobleman. Extremely arrogant and ambitious, he considered the Muslims of Transcaucasia contemptible and treated the khans accordingly. His plan was not to have alliances with the local rulers, but to annex their territory outright. A number of times he went against the wishes of his superiors. One of his titles was Inspector of the Caucasian Line. The word inspector was pronounced *ishpokhdor*, which in the local Turkic dialect translated as "his work is dirt." Persian sources call him the man that shed blood and other derogatory names; see Hedayat, *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 389.

<sup>2</sup> Tsitsianov was indeed different. He exiled most of the Georgian royal family and began the formal annexation of that kingdom. Two Georgian princes, one of them the famed Alexander, fled to Daghestan and Persia and for some years fought the Russians to reclaim their throne; see *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 108-109.

<sup>3</sup> The real reason was Tsitsianov's plan to annex the khanate of Ganje. On the pretext that it was part of Georgia, he attacked without any real provocation. Javad Khan, however, realizing that the Russians had decided to make his khanate part of Georgia, had begun correspondence with the Persians. There was no threat from Ganje or its allies at that time, for Ahmad Beg clearly states that General Lazarev had defeated Omar ('Umma) Khan and thus the threat from the Avars had subsided;

At the end of the Christian year 1803 he laid siege to the fortress of Ganje. The siege lasted one month, [during which time] he sent a number of messengers to Javad Khan and urged him to submit to the great emperor and surrender the fortress, [41] but to no avail.<sup>1</sup> Finally, on the last day of the month of Ramazan (Ramadhan) on the night before the 'Aid-e Fitr, the fortress was stormed and taken.<sup>2</sup> Javad Khan and one of his sons, Hosein Qoli Aqa, were killed in the massacre [that ensued].<sup>3</sup> The rest of the khan's family was taken prisoner. Some of the inhabitants of the city were killed, but the rest survived.<sup>4</sup>

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*Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 93-94. Russian primary sources also record that Lazarev routed the Avar and Lesghian tribesmen and their Georgian allies, under the command of Prince Alexander of Georgia and 'Omar Khan, on November 7, 1800. In fact 'Omar died a few weeks there after; *Akty*, II, 111,170-175. Some time later (April 1803) Tsitsianov sent troops to Belakan under the command of General Guliakov; *Ibid.*, II, 685. Adigözal Beg has details on the Russian campaigns in Georgia and Daghestan. He adds that the Russian and Ganjavi armies met in the Quluqubi field where Javad Khan was defeated and retreated into the citadel in Ganje. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Nine.

<sup>1</sup> See letters from Tsitsianov to Javad Khan (November 29 through December 29, 1803) in *Akty*, II, 588-591. As stated, Javad Khan did not want to give up his khanate to Georgia and hoped for a Persian relief force.

<sup>2</sup> Dawn of January 3, 1804.

<sup>3</sup> E'temad ol-Saltane states that the massacre continued for three days; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1469. Hedayat has a more accurate time of three hours; *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 390. Adigözal Beg (Chapter Nine) states that Javad fought bravely but was finally shot by Major Lisanevich.

<sup>4</sup> Donboli blames the Armenian population and Nasib Beg Shams od-Dinlu for the fall of the fortress and the death of many people; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 109-110. Adigözal Beg's account (Chapter Nine), as noted in the introduction, is extremely pro-Russian. He blames Javad Khan for not heeding the peaceful overtures of Tsitsianov and does not mention the massacre. The wives, daughters and grandchildren of Javad Khan sought refuge in a mosque and years later (1812) were given permission to go to Persia via Baku. His younger son, Ughurlu, survived, went to Persia and later fought against the Russians when the Persians attacked Ganje in the Second Russo-Persian War.

[Tsitsianov] dispatched Major Lisanevich<sup>1</sup> from the fortress of Ganje to the late Ibrahim Khan and urged him to submit to the ever-gracious ruler of Russia. The late Ibrahim Khan gave the major a favorable answer and treated him with great respect and sent him back with a letter in which he expressed his deference [to Tsitsianov].<sup>2</sup>

In the spring of 1804, the governor of Erevan, Mohammad Khan, who feared Fath 'Ali Shah, and Kalb 'Ali Khan, the governor of Nakhichevan, who had fled from Fath 'Ali Shah and who had taken refuge in Erevan, sent an envoy to *sardar* Tsitsianov, seeking his help. They stated, "Fath 'Ali Shah has ordered his son, crown prince 'Abbas Mirza,<sup>3</sup> to take Erevan. If the *sardar* would honor us with his visit and gives us [military] aid, we will surrender the fortress to him and will accept the suzerainty of the Exalted Russian State."<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, Sardar Tsitsianov moved towards Erevan. The army of the crown prince ('Abbas Mirza] made its appearance from Persia. The two forces clashed and the Persian were defeated.<sup>5</sup> Hearing the news, Fath 'Ali Shah himself arrived in the field to crush Prince Tsitsianov and to prevent the fortress of Erevan from being turned over to the Russian State. He entered Erevan with a large force. From

<sup>1</sup> Major D. T. Lisanevich was appointed as the commandant of Shushi. He served in the Caucasus until 1825, when a Chechen he had insulted killed him.

<sup>2</sup> Confirmed by Donboli; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 110. Although Ibrahim had made contacts with the Russians before this, the bloody encounter in Ganje frightened many other khanates into submitting to Tsitsianov. Some Persian sources claim that the massacre was carried out specifically to scare the remaining khans into submission; *Bamdad*, I, 288.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian term *nayeb ol-saltane* can be translated as "heir to the throne," "heir-apparent," "vice-regent," or "crown prince." 'Abbas Mirza was not the first son of Fath 'Ali Shah, but since he was born from a Qajar princess, he was named the heir. He was a believer in Western military superiority and tried to set up modern infantry and artillery units under his command. Although he died a year before Fath 'Ali Shah (1833), his son Mohammad Shah (1834-1848), according to the Treaty of Turkmenchay, continued the Qajar dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> Donboli points out that the khan's abusive rule had forced many to emigrate and that he occasionally did not obey the central government. He had flirted with the Russians and Fath 'Ali Shah in 1804 was on his way to punish him and bring him into submission; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 95-96.

<sup>5</sup> June 19 or 20, 1804 near Etchmiadzin, but this was just a skirmish; there were other battles where the Russians lost.

one side, Fath 'Ali Shah, from another, the army of the crown prince, and from the third, Mohammad Khan and Kalb 'Ali Khan, who had broken their pact with the *sardar* and had not surrendered the fortress, surrounded the Russian army from all sides.<sup>1</sup> They would not even let provisions reach the Russian force. But despite many attempts they did not succeed in gaining a victory over the Russians. Both sides suffered heavy losses and [42] finally Sardar Tsitsianov decided to return to Tiflis. Fath 'Ali Shah also returned to Azerbaijan and then Tehran.<sup>2</sup>

Since Fath 'Ali Shah had been informed of the missions of the late Ibrahim Khan's envoys to the Russian commanders, on his return from Erevan, he sent Abu'l Fath Khan [Ibrahim's son] to Karabagh with five thousand troops, to assure the late khan of [royal] protection and assistance.<sup>3</sup> He asked that [Ibrahim] send Mohammad Hasan Aqa and a number of *begs* of Karabagh to the shah.<sup>4</sup> He also instructed Abu'l Fath Khan, whom he invested with the authority of acting on behalf of [the khan], to remain permanently at the side of the late Ibrahim Khan for as long as he lived and make sure that no decision was made without his [Abu'l Fath's] advice or approval.

Fath 'Ali Shah's instructions insulted the late Ibrahim Khan. He wrote a harsh reply to Abu'l Fath Khan, demanding that he return [to the shah] and not set foot in the territory of Karabagh. Abu'l Fath Khan did not obey the order of [his] esteemed father and entered [crossed the Arax] with his Persian army.<sup>5</sup> At that particular moment,

<sup>1</sup> The attack began on July 2, 1804. Donboli states that Mohammad Khan of Erevan, after the siege of Erevan by the crown prince, realizing the size of the Persian forces, changed his allegiance, sent his son as a hostage to 'Abbas Mirza and begged forgiveness; *Ma'ser Soltaniye*, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Donboli has more details on this campaign as seen from the Persian point of view; *Ibid.*, 110-120.

<sup>3</sup> Abu'l Fath Khan accompanied the shah on his campaign in Erevan. Ahmad Beg states that the shah dispatched him from his camp prior to his departure for Persia; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 94.

<sup>4</sup> This was a polite way of asking for hostages. Ahmad Beg states that Mohammad Hasan Aqa represented the Russian party in Shushi; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 94. This explains why the shah wanted him in Tehran, why he was later decorated by the Russians, and why the Russians agreed that, in the event of his death, his son would succeed him as khan of Karabagh.

<sup>5</sup> Ahmad Beg states that he entered from the region of Zangezur; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 95.

the late Ibrahim Khan and the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa were in the area of Togh in the Dizak *mahal*. Mahdi Qoli Khan [his other son], with great speed, gathered crack musketeers from among the population on the other side of the mountain, [and] together with his followers and others, assembled a large army, which arrived at night in the presence of his venerable father, the late Ibrahim Khan and his esteemed brother, the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa.<sup>1</sup> The next morning, Abu'l Fath Khan stormed Togh with all his forces. The musketeers, renowned as crack shots, and the famed cavalry, who were at the disposal of the late khan and his sons, counterattacked and defeated the Persian army, seizing all the horses and four-legged animals of their encampment, [and] killing and imprisoning many [men]. Abu'l Fath Khan then fled to the other side of the Arax.

Fath 'Ali Shah, upon hearing this, [43] censured and reproached Abu'l Fath Khan, and, hoping to bring the late Ibrahim Khan to his side by peaceful means and to discourage his submission to Russia, dispatched two or three khans as messengers. These khans were Karim Khan, Rahim Khan, and Abdullah Khan, who were instructed to subtly and affectionately deliver to the late Ibrahim Khan the shah's firm assurances and unbreakable oaths. They solemnly promised that the entire *velayat* of Qaradagh, with its income, even that which belonged to the shah,<sup>2</sup> would be entrusted to the late Ibrahim Khan and his descendants in perpetuity. In addition, two of the shah's sons would be sent to the fortress of Shushi as hostages of the late Ibrahim Khan. In exchange, both of the fortresses of Askeran,<sup>3</sup> which were located three *farsakhs* from the fortress of Shushi, on the road between Tiflis and Ganje, had to be given over to the [shah's] army, so that they could house a sufficient number of [the shah's] troops to block the road along which Russian troops might enter [Karabagh]. In addition, the river which was situated one *farsakh* from the fortress of Shushi, and which had a barrier three *versts* from the fortress, was also to be given to the [shah's] army, so that both rivers,[and] all passages and roads to the fortress would be in the hands of the Persian army, who would

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Beg includes Khanlar Aqa, a younger son of Ibrahim, in the group accompanying Mahdi Khan; *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal does not specify whether these estates were *khass*, that is, private property of the king, *khalese* (crown property), or *divani*, which were lands belonging to the central treasury. For details, see Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 127-128.

<sup>3</sup> Donboli spells it with an 'ein 'Askeran; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 150.

have to construct strong fortifications there to be able to halt the army of the great Russian State if it decided to attack the fortress of Shushi. A *sardar* with two to three thousand horsemen had to remain in Shah-Bulaghi to observe [the conditions] in Tiflis and Ganje and to commit murder and plunder in those regions. All [of the above] would be under the command of the late Ibrahim Khan and would have to obey his orders without question. The entire expense of the Persian army would be born by the treasury of Fath 'Ali Shah. No soldier would be permitted to covet or expect even the most insignificant item in the *velayat* of Karabagh. Everything that was indispensable for the army would have to be obtained through cash purchase.<sup>1</sup> [44] The goal [of all this was to make certain] that the impregnable fortress of Shushi, the fortress by the Khoda-afarin [Bridge],<sup>2</sup> [which is] the gate to Georgia and the Shirvans, would not fall into the hands of the army of the Russian State.

Although the daughter of the late Ibrahim Khan, Aqa Begum Aqa, was the head of the [shah's] harem and the primary [wife], and Abu'l Fath Khan was held in great respect and had the title of *amir al-omara'* [at court],<sup>3</sup> nonetheless, the late Ibrahim Khan believed in the eternity of the Exalted Russian State and in the constancy and fairness of his majesty the emperor. He was certain that such a powerful state would always maintain its compassion [toward him] and that nothing would always maintain its compassion [toward him] and that nothing would change the emperor's favor. [Therefore], he once again rejected the government of Persia and its favorable offers and again sent an envoy to Tiflis, and pleaded a meeting with Sardar Tsitsianov in order to conclude the conditions for his obedience.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hence the customary requisitioning that had devastated Karabagh earlier would be avoided.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian (*Istoriia Karabaga*, 92) and Azeri (*Garabağ Tarikhi*, 39) translations erroneously use the literal translation of Khoda-afarin ("created by God"). Their text reads: "the impregnable fortress of Shushi, created by God, the gate to Georgia and Shirvan."

<sup>3</sup> The title signifies the head of the amirs or field marshal.

<sup>4</sup> That is, to draft the articles of making Karabagh a protectorate and nothing else. Ahmad Beg here avoids the complimentary terms of Mirza Jamal and states that the council of Mohammad Hasan Aqa and his pro-Russian sympathies convinced Ibrahim; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 95.

Sardar Prince Tsitsianov returned the envoy of the late Ibrahim Khan with great respect and gifts, promising to meet in the spring in [one of] the regions of the *velayat*. Therefore, in the year 1805, on the first day of the month of May, the late Ibrahim Khan, together with his sons, the late Major-General Mohammad Hasan Aqa, Major-General Mahdi Qoli Aqa, Colonel Khanlar Aqa<sup>1</sup> and other notables of Karabagh, appeared before the great Sardar Prince Tsitsianov who, prior to their coming, had arrived and had camped by the Kurek River. [Ibrahim Khan] dispatched a trusted messenger to Salim Khan, the ruler of the *velayat* of Shakki, who was the hereditary and rightful owner of the *velayat* of Shakki and the son-in-law of the late Ibrahim Khan, and convinced him to appear with the elders of the *velayat* of Shakki before the great *sardar*. For several days they held fabulous banquets and welcoming feasts by the Kurek River.<sup>2</sup> After that the draft of the agreement was formulated.<sup>3</sup>

The late Ibrahim Khan and Salim Khan, the ruler of Shakki, sealed the agreement [with their name seals], and the great *sardar*

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal again jumps ahead and mentions the titles prior to their actual conference. The titles were officially announced a few months later in September/October, 1805. His other reason for mentioning the Russian titles in almost every passage is to demonstrate his clan's loyalty to the Russians and the legitimacy of their income and position.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the Turkish term *chay* here.

<sup>3</sup> Bakikhanov states that Ibrahim had to pay 10,000 (another manuscript of his states 6000) *ashrafis* (a gold coin weighing 190,894 grains troy) every six years and was to receive 500 troops; *Golestan-e Eram*, 187. Ahmad Beg has more details. He states that Ibrahim Khan had to cease relations with Persia and accept the authority of the emperor; not involve himself in the affairs of the other khanates; take care of the housing and animal feed of the Russian troops; and improve the road from Ganje to Shushi, to make it suitable for the passage of carriages. Moreover, his grandson, son of his oldest son, would remain in Tiflis as a hostage (more likely to protect him as his father, Mohammad Hasan, was the main Russian sympathizer). The sum mentioned is 8000 rubles annually, to be paid in two installments, on February 1 and September 1. In exchange, Russia would protect his domain: a 500-man unit would be stationed there, he and his sons would receive titles, medals and salaries, and his grandson would be housed and fed in Tiflis in a manner which befitted him; *Karabakhsogo khanstva*, 95-96. The treaty also stipulated that the right of primogeniture would be observed (this, as will be noted below, caused problems later on).

accepted it with his signature.<sup>1</sup> Showing each other great honor and respect, they returned [to their respective lands]. It was agreed that the second son of the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa would stay in Tiflis [45] as a hostage.<sup>2</sup> [At the same time] the late Ibrahim Khan had asked that a Russian artillery unit be permanently garrisoned with him in the fortress of Shushi.

During that same meeting, the *sardar* sent a request to the emperor, asking that the rank of lieutenant general be given to the late Ibrahim Khan and Salim Khan, and [that of] major general to the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa and Mahdi Qoli Khan, and [that of] colonel to the late Khanlar Aqa. After four months, they were officially confirmed [from St. Petersburg] in these ranks and titles and began to receive the appropriate salaries.<sup>3</sup>

After returning from the Kurek-chay talks, on the order of the *sardar*, Major Lisanevich arrived in Khan-Bagh, which is ten *versts* from the fortress, with a group of chasseurs<sup>4</sup> and artillery.<sup>5</sup> At this time news arrived that the Persian army was approaching the Arax River.<sup>6</sup> Flooding had occurred. The Arax River had risen considerably and there was no other way for [the troops] to cross except by bridge [Khoda-afarin Bridge].<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa took a group of the chasseurs, and the major (Lisanevich), and with the famed horsemen of Karabagh went to meet the Persian [army], which was in the vicinity of the bridge. Their object was to block it [the shah's army] from crossing into the territory of Karabagh and ravaging tribes, villages and crops of the *velayat*.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibrahim had convinced the khan of Shakki to join their pact. Salim was married to a daughter of Ibrahim and his sister became a wife of Ibrahim Khan.

<sup>2</sup> Berzhe's translation reads *Mohammad Hasan Aqa* (not his son) was to come to Tiflis as a hostage; "Karabag," 69 (1855), 298.

<sup>3</sup> Confirmed by Bakikhanov; *Golestan-e Eram*, 187.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the Russian term, *eger*.

<sup>5</sup> Adigözal Beg puts the number at 500. He adds that the same number of troops were sent to Shakki. See *Karabagh-name*, Chapter Eleven.

<sup>6</sup> Bakikhanov states that 'Abbas Mirza sent a 10,000 man army, under the command of Isma'il Beg Damghani and 'Ali Qoli Khan Shahsavan, who crossed the Khoda-afarin Bridge; *Golestan-e Eram*, 187. Donboli confirms the above; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 147.

<sup>7</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the term *korpi* here.

But the Persian had outstripped them and had crossed the bridge into Karabagh. Near the orchards of Jebrailu (Jebrail) they [Persian] unexpectedly came across the Russian soldiers and the Karabaghis. A major battle took place. The late Mohammad Hasan Aqa considered it more important to defend the fortress of Shushi. Therefore, at night he returned to the fortress with his forces. The Persian army entered Agh-Oghlan,<sup>1</sup> which is situated four *farsakhs* from the fortress.<sup>2</sup> Close to five thousand of them came to the vicinity of the Askeran fortress and camped there. Their intention was to take the fortress from two sides.<sup>3</sup> The major (Lisanevich) informed the *sardar* [Tsitsianov] of these events. At that moment, the crown prince of Persia ['Abbas Mirza] was camped in the Chanakhchi region and was awaiting the arrival of the troops from Askeran.

[Meanwhile] Colonel Kariagin<sup>4</sup> and Lieutenant Colonel Kotliarevskii, on the orders of the great *sardar*, appeared near Shah-Bulaghi with troops and artillery. The crown prince moved from Chanakhchi and took the field to repulse Colonel Kariagin. [46] He reached the vicinity of Askeran, fighting all the way. Since the Persian army had taken and fortified all the roads, and had taken as well the Askeran fortress, the [Russian] artillery and troops were blocked off, had difficulty moving ahead, and had to barricade themselves in the area. For eleven days,<sup>5</sup> this one unit of the Russian army<sup>6</sup> [Kariagin's group] fought the entire Persian forces day and night. The fortification of the Russian army was also far from the water. After eleven days and nights, despite the fact that the colonel [Kariagin] and Kotliarevskii were both wounded, and half of the Russian army was killed or wounded in battle, they, together with

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<sup>1</sup> Donboli spells it Aq-Oghlan; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Donboli states that Isma'il Beg faced stiff resistance from Mohammad Hasan and the Armenians of Karabagh and was ready to retreat when 'Abbas Mirza arrived with reinforcements; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 147-148.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear which fortress, Shushi or Askeran; it is probably Shushi.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Paul Mikhailovich Kariagin served under Tsitsianov and participated in the 1803 siege of Ganje. His heroic stand against the Persian army (see below) earned him a decoration. He died on May 7, 1807.

<sup>5</sup> Berzhe's translation has *fifteen* days, "Karabag"; 69 (1855), 298.

<sup>6</sup> Berzhe's translation reads, *this unit of the Russian army composed of 400 men*, "Karabag"; 69 (1855), 298.

approximately three hundred infantry troops,<sup>1</sup> took their entire artillery, and with the help of Vani Yuzbashi, who is today Melik Vani,<sup>2</sup> who was their guide and who on that march had rendered them great service, withdrew toward Shah-Bulaghi fortress.<sup>3</sup>

In order to prevent the Russian army from entering the Shah-Bulaghi fortress, a large contingent of infantrymen from the Persian army was stationed there. [Ignoring that] the [Russians] stormed the fortress that same night [of their arrival], taking the fortress from the Persian, killing one of the khans and several of the Persian. They paused there for three days and from there, again with the guidance of Melik Vani, withdrew to Ganje.<sup>4</sup>

[At that time] Fath 'Ali Shah himself, with the entire Persian army, entered Karabagh and camped *six farsakhs* from the city of Shushi.<sup>5</sup> Crown prince 'Abbas Mirza, after the withdrawal of Kariagin to Ganje, camped in the area of Shah-Bulaghi.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile the great *sardar* Tsitsianov entered the territory of Karabagh with Russian troops to repulse the crown prince and Fath 'Ali Shah. The crown prince, with the troops under his command, moved on Tiflis,<sup>7</sup> with the intention of destroying and

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the Russian term for infantry troops, itself borrowed from a French term

<sup>2</sup> Vani Yuzbashi was from the Avanian *meliks* of Dizak. His title of *yuzbashi* (head of hundred), or captain was given to him either by Ibrahim Khan or Melik Abbas of Dizak.

<sup>3</sup> Donboli is truly objective here, for he states that the Russians fought heroically. He also calls the Shah-Bulaghi fortress the Tarnavut fortress, which, as noted, was its other name; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 150-151. E'temad ol-Saltane confirms the role of the Armenians in this campaign; *Montazam-e Naseri*, III, 1426.

<sup>4</sup> Donboli also cites the role of the Armenians of Karabagh as crucial in saving the troops; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 152.

<sup>5</sup> Bakikhanov implies that the shah had arrived earlier; *Golestan-e Eram*, 187. Donboli states that the shah was in the vicinity of the fortress, in the Takht-e Tavus station, which was seven *farsakhs* away, from where he dispatched *begs* and khans to Shirvan, Erevan, and other places to bring various regions into submission. He himself was not involved in the war with the Russians at this time; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 152-153.

<sup>6</sup> Bakikhanov has him joining the army of Tsitsianov; *Golestan-e Eram*, 187.

<sup>7</sup> Bakikhanov has Ganje, which was defended well by the Russians and Armenians; *Ibid.*, 187. Donboli also states that 'Abbas Mirza went

looting Georgia, while Fath 'Ali Shah stayed on in the region of Agh-Oghlan.

At that time, Fath 'Ali Shah received news from Rasht, that the army of the Russian State had moved from the Caspian Sea coast in the direction of the *velayats* of Talesh and Rasht. [47] Because of this news and the approach of *sardar* Tsitsianov, the shah withdrew to Ardabil.<sup>1</sup>

Sardar Tsitsianov advanced to Khonashin,<sup>2</sup> located two *farsakhs* from Agh-Oghlan, where he learned of the withdrawal of the shah. From there he came to the Shushi fortress, where, after putting right some affairs, he took the three Persian khans who had come as [the shah's] envoys to Ibrahim with the aforementioned conditions and promises, and with much pomp and full satisfaction left Karabagh for Tiflis.

During the winter of the same year [1805], he [Tsitsianov] with the army of the Exalted State [of Russia] crossed the Kur in the direction of Shakki, with the intention of conquering Shirvan, Baku, Qobbe, and Darband.<sup>3</sup>

The late Ibrahim Khan, because of his sincere devotion to the Great State [of Russia], dispatched his worthy son, Mahdi Qoli Khan, with the Karabagh forces and the sons of several *begs*, to the *sardar*, so that they would join the imperial army and perform the duties assigned to them. Salim Khan, the governor of Shakki, who was obedient to the Great State [Russia], made the necessary preparations and proper offerings, and escorted the *sardar* from the border of the *velayat* of Shakki to the border of the *velayat* of Shirvan.

Although, during the first few days, Mustafa Khan, relying on his unassailable site and his might and position, sent harsh replies to

on to Ganje, where the Muslims of the city greeted him and some of whom returned with him to Persia; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 153-155.

<sup>1</sup> Donboli's account is slightly different. The shah may have left Takht-e Tavus, but it was 'Abbas Mirza who crossed the Arax to stop the Russian threat to the Caspian coast; *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Donboli lists it as Khanshin; *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmad Beg gives an interesting piece of information here. He states that on October 25, Budagh Sultan of Shuragol had submitted and hence the northwestern section of Shuragol, which technically belonged to the khanate of Erevan, but was claimed by Georgia, had fallen to Russia with Gumri as the border; *Karabakhskogo khanstva*, 96; see also Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 32 note 3.

the *sardar's* [requests for submission] refusing to submit, in the end he realized that he could not resist the [combined] forces of Russia, Karabagh, and Shakki. Furthermore, the Karabagh army, taking advantage of the situation, had begun to raid and loot the villages of Shirvan. With Mahdi Qoli Khan and Salim Khan acting as intermediaries, he [Mustafa Khan] agreed to discuss his terms of submission. He signed the same kind of agreement that had been signed by the late Ibrahim Khan and Salim Khan, and he [48] outwardly<sup>1</sup> accepted the suzerainty of the Exalted State [Russia].<sup>2</sup> The supreme *sardar* then passed through Shirvan and moved on to Baku.

At that moment, the eldest son of the late Ibrahim Khan, Major General Mohammad Hasan Aqa, who had been ill, joined the Grace of God [died].<sup>3</sup> This confusing and anguishing event brought chaos and sadness to the *velayat* of Karabagh. Certain individuals were inwardly not satisfied with the submission to the Exalted State. The death of the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa, the absence of Mahdi Qoli Khan from the *velayat*, as well as the illness, weakness, and age of the late Ibrahim Khan, led them to plot against the agreement and the treaty. Therefore, the supreme *sardar* reckoned it imperative to return Mahdi Qoli Khan with the Karabagh army [to his father]. He dispatched him with full respect, appropriate gifts, and hopes, to Karabagh. Having a deep respect, devotion, and love for the late Major General Mohammad Hasan Aqa, he [Tsitsianov] expressed his deep sorrow and regret at the death of the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa, in a letter in which he demonstrated his kindness and [expressed his] condolences to Colonel Ja'far Qoli Aqa, promising his friendship and protection.<sup>4</sup>

Major General Mahdi Qoli Khan appeared before his honorable late father with the Karabagh army and sons of the *begs*, and

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<sup>1</sup> The word "outwardly" is repeated by Bakikhanov; *Golestan-e Eram*, 188. Donboli calls him a weak man, but states that the agreement was not taken seriously by the khan, that it was a "wolf's peace"; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 161. Mustafa Khan eventually fled to Persia in 1235 (1819/20). In 1241 (1826), at the start of the Second Russo-Persian War, he joined the Persian army and reached the outskirts of Tiflis, where they were defeated.

<sup>2</sup> The agreement was signed December 25, 1805, *Akty*, II, 674.

<sup>3</sup> Mohammad Hasan Khan died from a lung disease, probably tuberculosis.

<sup>4</sup> Ja'far Qoli was the elder son of Mohammad Hasan Aqa, who, according to the treaty, was to succeed Ibrahim Khan.

conveyed the kind and reassuring messages of the supreme *sardar* and set forth to remove and crush the plotters. He tried to strengthen the trust and devotion [of the people] to the Exalted State.

At that moment, news arrived of [what had occurred during] the negotiations of the supreme *sardar* in the *velayat* of Baku. Not suspecting that Hosein Qoli Khan<sup>1</sup> and his followers were capable of such a base and hideous act, the *sardar*, accompanied by the sons of two [49] *begs*, went to discuss [terms of surrender]. A certain Ibrahim Beg, with two other individuals, ambushed the supreme *sardar* and his companions, killing them with bullet wounds,<sup>2</sup> then opened the gates and began hostile action against the imperial army. This mournful news greatly grieved the late Ibrahim Khan, his children, and the population of the *velayat*, for they did not yet know of the order [which existed] in the Russian government. They imagined that [Russia] was like Persia, where if such a supreme *sardar* died, it would have seriously disrupted the army and the state. In reality [in Russia] the death of even several *sardars* and military leaders in war with the enemy would have absolutely no effect on the order within the army or the workings of that *velayat*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hosein Khan, the son of Hajji 'Ali Qoli Aqa, was the khan of Baku. After the death of Tsitsianov, he escaped to Ardabil, received an income from the shah and died in 1845.

<sup>2</sup> Bakikhanov identifies him as Ibrahim Beg ibn 'Ali Beg Aqa ibn Mohammad Hosein Khan ibn Imam Qoli Khan Darbandi. The Khan of Baku was his cousin; *Golestan-e Eram*, 188. Donboli confirms the relation between the khan of Baku and Ibrahim, he goes on to state that a number of Russians who had accompanied Tsitsianov were killed or imprisoned. Tsitsianov's head and hand was sent to Fath 'Ali Shah in Tehran, but 'Abbas Mirza was not pleased with what had occurred. It seems that he knew of the plan to trap the Russian commander, but had hoped to capture him alive; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 162. According to Bamdad, Ibrahim entered the service of 'Abbas Mirza and in 1238 (1822/23) was appointed as the governor of Zur; *Bamdad*, I, 447.

<sup>3</sup> The term *velayat* is used as "state" here. Mirza Jamal is being too generous to the Russians. The actual amount of panic and disarray was greater than Mirza Jamal states. Bakikhanov states that the various khans, who had agreements with Russia revolted; *Golestan-e Eram*, 188. Donboli confirms the fact that the Russians were confused and that there were a number of revolts in Ganje and Shirvan and that the Persians began attacking certain districts, especially on the southern borders of Georgia, by the khanate of Erevan; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 162-164.

After the death of Sardar Tsitsianov, general Nesvetaev<sup>1</sup> took charge of the command of the army and the *velayat*<sup>2</sup> in the city of Tiflis. The late Ibrahim Khan sent a messenger with letters [repeating] his devotion [to Russia] and assuring them of his loyalty in every way.<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of the same year, which was 1806, the Persian army once again began to cross [the Arax] into Karabagh. Men were secretly sent to the late Ibrahim Khan with renewed offers [to switch allegiance to Persia]. Since, aside from Major Lisanevich's detachment of chasseurs, there was no other force in Karabagh able to repulse such a strong enemy, the tribal pastures and villages would be trampled upon, precisely at a time when the grain harvest was approaching. Therefore, the late Ibrahim Khan reckoned it was wise to be conciliatory to the Persian. [While at the same time] he kept the major informed of everything.<sup>4</sup> The major constantly assured and promised the late

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Baddeley, a pro-Russian source, using Russian accounts, admits the Russian retreat; J. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (New York, 1969), 71. The retreat was, of course, temporary and the Russians maintained their hold on Shushi, Nukha, and Ganje. Erevan and its great fortress now became the center of the Persian defenses and remained so until 1827; for more details, see Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 14-25.

<sup>1</sup> Major General Peter Davidovich Nesvetaev had served with distinction in the second Polish and Ottoman campaigns of Catherine the Great. He was sent to the Caucasus in 1804 and fought the Persians near Etchmiadzin. He participated in the campaign in which Shuragol was annexed to Russia (1805). He commanded the Russian army in Transcaucasia after the death of Tsitsianov. He fought the Turks in the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-1812 and died in 1808.

<sup>2</sup> *Velayat* here signifies "Transcaucasia."

<sup>3</sup> The sentence implies that since some of the other khans had turned against Russia, Ibrahim wanted to assure the Russians that he was not one of them. Interestingly enough, however, he was secretly negotiating with Persia.

<sup>4</sup> Bakikhanov states simply that Ibrahim Khan had turned to Persia and was making his submission to the shah. His son Abu'l Fath Khan, at his request, was coming with troops from Qapan to Shushi, and 'Abbas Mirza had crossed the Khoda-afarin Bridge; *Golestan-e Eram*, 188-189. Donboli states that Ibrahim Khan, after witnessing the generosity of the shah to those khans who had abandoned Russia in favor of Persia, decided to switch sides and sent his son-in-law to 'Abbas Mirza, who then ordered Abu'l Fath Khan to enter Karabagh from Qapan, and Farajollah Shahsavan from Chanakhchi, while he himself crossed the Khoda-afarin Bridge; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 169-171. Bamdad states that, at this time, the shah sent a number of commanders, led by

Ibrahim Khan that the army of the Exalted Russian State would soon arrive. In reality their arrival was greatly delayed [while] the Persian army came within two *farsakhs* of the fortress. [Then] the late Ibrahim Khan resettled his household, who were in [50] Khan-Baghi, closer to the fortress.<sup>1</sup> A number of ill-intentioned people<sup>2</sup> made such slanderous [accusations] to the major [about Ibrahim Khan] that he [the major] went at night with a group of soldiers to Ibrahim's camp, where, due to ill luck, the late Ibrahim Khan, together with some members of his family and close associates, were killed.<sup>3</sup>

Major General Mahdi Qoli Khan<sup>4</sup> and Colonel Ja'far Qoli Aqa,<sup>5</sup> who were at the fortress at the time, did not participate in any action

Hosein Qoli Khan Qajar (later *sardar* of Erevan), but they arrived late and had to retreat; I, 247.

<sup>1</sup> Berzhe's translation states the opposite: *he moved his family from the fortress.*

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal does not accuse the son and grandson of Ibrahim, who were his [Jamal's] kinsmen; see below.

<sup>3</sup> The incident occurred on June 14, 1806. Mirza Jamal's son, Reza Qoli Mirza Jamal Beg Oghlu, in an unpublished manuscript, lists 17 individuals: Ibrahim Khan; one of his wives, Tuba Khanum (sister of Salim Khan of Shakki, according to Bakikhanov; *Golestan-e Eram*, 189); a daughter, Saltanat Begum (a niece of the Lesghian Homy Khan, according to Donboli; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 171); the 12-year-old son of the khan, 'Abbas Qoli Aqa Kebirli; Hajji Khachan; 'Ali Beg; Mirza Ahvardi; Hummat Beg Harvandi; the sons of Qolimali Beg Sarijah, Hasan Aqa; the servant of 'Ali-Panah Harvandi; Mirza Naqi Afshar; the son of 'Ajam 'Ali Kebirli; Hajji Hasan and his two sons; two individuals from Shelli; and a number of Javanshir clan members, *MS Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan*, no. B-470/5224 cited in *Karabağ Tarikhi*, 43. According to Bakikhanov, Salim Khan of Shakki, whose sister was the wife who was killed, later avenged the death of his sister by killing some Russians. General Nebol'sin, on orders from Gudovich, went from Ganje to punish him, forcing him to flee to Persia; *Golestan-e Eram*, 189-91. The well-documented account of the death of Ibrahim and the detailed reasons behind it can be found in M. Atkin, "The Strange Death of Ibrahim Khalil Khan of Karabagh," *Iranian Studies*, XII (1979), 79-107.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the word *bandgan* (a variation of *bandehgan*) before the military title of Mahdi Qoli. The term, which can be translated as "overlord" or "master," appears a number of times in the text. This honorific has been left out from this translation.

<sup>5</sup> Ja'far Qoli, son of Mohammad Hasan Aqa, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khan. Donboli and E'temad ol-Saltane accuse him of telling the Russians about his grandfather's plan; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 170;

or move against the Exalted State, but tried to calm the fear of the populace

They not only did not act against the major [Lisanevich] in any way but, on the contrary, they even helped to obtain provisions for the [Russian] troops, for food was in extremely short supply at the time.<sup>1</sup>

The Persian army, under the command of crown prince 'Abbas Mirza, was camped at Agh-Oghlan. Barely fifteen days had passed since the sad events of the death of the late khan, when the Russian forces and artillery appeared in Shah-Bulaghi under the command of General Nebol'sin.<sup>2</sup> The moment this news reached Mahdi Qoli Khan, he immediately came out of the fortress with the famed Karabaghi cavalry, attendants, and the sons of several *begs*.

Although the Persian army was in the vicinity and on the roads, he appeared before General Nebol'sin, joined [his forces] with the Russian army and camped in the vicinity of the Askeran fortress. Colonel Ja'far Qoli Aqa, together with the major [Lisanevich] and the detachment of chasseurs stayed on in the fortress [of Shushi] to protect it.<sup>3</sup>

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*Montazam-eNaseri*, III, 1481. Some sources claim that both Mahdi Qoli and Ja'far had a hand in the murder. Although Ja'far was only seventeen at the time, he felt that, by right of primogeniture (stipulated in the Russo-Karabaghi treaty), he was to succeed Ibrahim Khan. Mahdi Qoli, who was over thirty, was the designated heir according to Mirza Jamal. It is possible that being aware of the stipulations of the treaty, he hoped to ingratiate himself with the Russians and assume control of the khanate. Although the Persian sources do not mention the Armenians, Atkin, citing Russian sources, lists the Armenian Melik Jamshid (of the Shahnazarian family of Varanda) as one of those who spoke ill of the khan, Atkin; "Strange Death," 95. This account is quite possible, for Melik Jamshid and Meliks Abov and Feridun (of the Beglarian family from Golestan) were the offspring of the Armenian *meliks* who had fled Ibrahim Khan. Ibrahim in the 1770s and 1780s had repeatedly attacked the Armenian *mahals* and had caused the death of a number of their secular and religious leaders. Some of the *meliks* left Karabagh and, together with their followers, settled in Georgia. They made contacts with the Russian court and participated on the Russian side in the First Russo-Persian War.

<sup>1</sup> The effects of the famine and devastations of Agha Mohammad Shah and the campaigns in Karabagh had a terrible effect for a number of years, forcing migrations of both Armenians and Muslims.

<sup>2</sup> For more details on Nebol'sin, see introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Donboli states that Armenian troops were also present in the defense of the fortress; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 172.

General Nebol'sin waited two or three days for the crown prince and his army to attack, but they did not appear. He, therefore, decided to move against the Persian army and to battle them, if the latter wished to fight, if [they did] not, to attack and to expel them from the territory of Karabagh.

Having been informed of the movement of the Russian army towards [his camp], the crown prince [51] with his entire army moved to meet with them and to do battle. The two armies reached each other near the Khonashin station<sup>1</sup> and a battle ensued. Mahdi Qoli Khan, with his entourage, and the Karabagh army constantly assisted [the Russian army] during the march, and during the battle took an active part in the rout and expulsion of the Persian. The battle on the 15th of July [1806]<sup>2</sup> at the Khonashin station lasted seven hours, and the Persian army, [due to] the general's strategy, the bravery of Kotliarevskii, and the help of Mahdi Qoli Khan, was defeated.<sup>3</sup> Part of the Persian army was killed, and another part was captured, while the rest fled in the direction of the Arax. Kotliarevskii was wounded and some thirty officers and soldiers were killed or also wounded. The general and the army pursued the enemy to Qozlu-chay but did not find any trace of them. In full retreat with the Persian army, the crown prince abandoned a considerable part of his heavy transport on the way, and in a period of two days crossed the Arax to the other side of the border.

The moment the news of the Persian defeat arrived, Colonel Ja'far Qoli Aqa took Major Lisanevich, some of the renowned horsemen of the tribes, and his close associates and moved through the mahals of Zangezour to crush the Persian army and to return all the tribes and the inhabitants of the villages that were being forcibly driven towards Nakhichevan and Ordubad by Abu'l Fath Khan and the other fugitive khans and *begs* of Karabagh.<sup>4</sup> Using all their

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<sup>1</sup> The Persian word *manzel* in this context can be translated as a resting stop, a station, or a defile.

<sup>2</sup> Berzhe's translation reads: "June 13"; "Karabag" 69 (1855), 298.

<sup>3</sup> Donboli states that both sides fought extremely well, but since the Russians had the river behind them they controlled the water. Lack of water and the stifling heat forced the Persians to retreat; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 173.

<sup>4</sup> Donboli states that Abu'l Fath Khan would have succeeded in saving the tribes from the Russians (implying that the tribes had gone voluntarily), but that the Jebrailu tribe sent a message to the Russian commander (whom he calls a general and not a major) who then came with Ja'far Qoli, and

strength, they rode day and night without stopping, even though the Russian infantry had a hard time keeping up with the cavalry in the mountains [and fell behind]. Finally Colonel Ja'far Qoli Aqa and the Karabagh cavalry overtook the Persian army near the mountains of Qapan and Ordubad. At the very start of the battle, the Karabagh forces defeated a Persian army of approximately two thousand infantry and cavalry in the narrow ravines. They captured a large number of them, took their horses, clothing, and everything else they possessed. When the Russian infantry arrived, [52] part of the Persian army was already captured and the rest were on the run. The tribesmen and the villagers of Karabagh who had been taken by force were all returned to their mountain regions near the fortress.<sup>1</sup> The crown prince was at that time [already] in the vicinity of the Arax River [and had left Karabagh].<sup>2</sup>

The victory won by the troops of General Nebol'sin and Mahdi Qoli Khan against the crown prince, as well as the successful operation of the major and Colonel Ja'far Aqa, pacified the inhabitants of Karabagh. The strength of the Russian army became evident and everyone settled in their own region and house and began to live in full confidence and peace.

In the winter of that same year (1806), *general en-chef*, Count Gudovich,<sup>3</sup> whom the grandest emperor, Alexander Pavlovich,<sup>4</sup> had appointed as the *sardar*, arrived in Tiflis. Major General Nesvetaev had already dispatched the letters of Mahdi Qoli Khan, along with his own personal requests, to the Emperor. [Therefore, Gudovich], *after he had heard of the death of Ibrahim Khan*,<sup>5</sup> called him [Mahdi Qoli Khan] to his presence to Tiflis. Mahdi Qoli Khan, together with all the elders of the villages, the tribal *begs*, and others, went to Tiflis. On the day after his audience with the count, a grand ball was given, where the [count] handed Mahdi Qoli Khan the decree to rule

halted the flight. The Persian army would have still won the day had their ammunition not run out; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 175.

<sup>1</sup> These tribes must have been those brought by Panah Khan and Ibrahim Khan to Shushi and its environs in order to have some support against the Armenian meliks whose territories surrounded Shushi.

<sup>2</sup> Donboli's version has the same results but obviously not as enthusiastic or exaggerated; *Ma'ser-e Soltaniye*, 175-178.

<sup>3</sup> Berzhe's translation reads, "general of infantry"; *Karabag*, 69 (1855), 298.

<sup>4</sup> Tsar Alexander I, 1805-1825.

<sup>5</sup> "Karabag," 69 (1855), 298.

Karabagh, and the promise [to also deliver] a sword encrusted with jewels, and imperial banners, as stated in the treaty. After that, with many promises of future kindness and friendship, he [Gudovich] sent him [Mahdi Qoli Khan] back to Karabagh.<sup>1</sup> The history of Mahdi Qoli Khan's rule began from that time and continued until October 1822,<sup>2</sup> which is of course known to your highness from the journals of the administrators of the Exalted State. [Therefore], there is no need for my devoted self to record it.

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<sup>1</sup> Ja'far Qoli's right of succession was thus ignored. According to Bamdad, Ja'far Qoli's disappointment and his anti-Russian feeling made him suspect. He was arrested and was being transported to Tiflis, from where he was to be sent to Siberia, when he freed his horse by the Tartar River and bolted into the water. After swimming across, he sought refuge with friendly tribes and eventually reached Persia (1812). 'Abbas Mirza appointed him as the governor of Qaradagh; I, 247-248. It is probable that being so close to Karabagh he kept in touch with the tribes and played a role during the Second Russo-Persian War.

<sup>2</sup> Berzhe's translation ends here; "Karabag," 69 (1855), 298. Mahdi Qoli Khan, as noted, was soon fed up with Russian interferences and may have flirted with the idea of shifting his allegiance to Persia. Russian suspicions and provocations forced him to flee to Persia in 1822. He fought against Russia in the Second Russo-Persian War. He returned to Karabagh in 1836, was forgiven, and until his death in 1845 received a pension from the Russian state. He is buried with the other Javanshir khans in Aghdam.

## Chapter<sup>1</sup>

### *Facts [about the events] Which Took Place during the Period when These Velayats [53] Were Transferred over to the Rule and Protection of the Officials of His Majesty the Most Generous Emperor*<sup>2</sup>

Despite the major losses, which they suffered during the years of hostility with Persia [Russia],<sup>3</sup> the officials of the Persian government, in the year 1826, broke the treaty of friendship and union that they had concluded with the eternal state of Russia.<sup>4</sup>

Expelling His Excellency Prince Menshikov, who had gone to Persia as the [Russian] ambassador,<sup>5</sup> they (the Persians) suddenly entered the *velayats* belonging to the Russian State. But their calculation proved incorrect. They did not realize that they could not withstand the might of the imperial army, and that once the Russian State's forces moved [against them] they would perish like straw in the stormy waves of the sea.<sup>6</sup>

In the first period [of the war], the late Crown Prince ('Abbas Mirza) laid siege to the fortress of Shushi with all his forces. Although there was only a small force under the command of General Reutt' and almost no food, gunpowder, shells, cannons, or other supplies, the Crown Prince, despite his large force and artillery, could not, during the month-and-a-half siege, approach the ramparts of the fortress. [Finally], hearing that Amir Khan *sardar*, who had experienced the might of the imperial army under

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<sup>1</sup> As indicated these additional chapters may have been written later. Some have titles, others do not; none are numbered.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish translation has erroneously identified this chapter as "Chapter Eight"; *Karabagh Tarihi*, 31.

<sup>3</sup> This is a scribe's error. It should read "Russia," and refers to Persia's losses by the treaty of Golestan (Gulistan) in 1813.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Jamal blames Persia for breaking the truce and starting the Second Russo-Persian War. In fact, both sides were to the blame for the breakout of hostilities. See Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 21-24.

<sup>5</sup> Prince Alexander S. Menshikov (1787-1869) was the diplomat who, in 1826, was sent to Persia by Nicholas I to bring word that Nicholas had become tsar and, more importantly, to negotiate on the border dispute between Persia and Russia. He refused to make any concessions, which was one of the reasons for the Second Russo-Persian War.

<sup>6</sup> The sentence refers to the early Persian successes at the start of the Second Russo-Persian War; Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 25.

the command of General Prince Madatov,<sup>1</sup> was being smashed in the *mahal* of Shamkhor, he ['Abbas Mirza] was forced to [raise the siege] of the fortress, and to face the imperial forces under the command of His Excellency Prince and Count Paskevich Erevanskii.<sup>2</sup> He reached the outskirts of Ganje, but he did not last an hour and was defeated. In a period of two days he [retreated], crossed the Arax River and withdrew to [54] Qaradagh.<sup>3</sup> The supreme *sardar* pursued them until the Charehkan station [but] did not come across even one Persian soldier.

In fact, the military might of the victorious imperial forces became evident to the entire populace in the year of 31 [1831], when His Excellency Prince and Count Paskevich Erevanskii was appointed as the *sardar* and governor general of these *velayats*, and demonstrated the power of his Supreme Imperial Majesty's troops to the subjects of the governments of Persia and Rum (Ottoman Empire). He calmed the dispersed and ravaged inhabitants of the *velayats* that belonged to the exalted Russian State. Those inhabitants and notables of the *velayats*, who, [in desperation], had lost hope in the supreme emperor's sea-deep

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<sup>1</sup> Valerian G. Madatov (1782-1829) arrived in the Caucasus in 1816. He defeated the Persian army in Shamkhor (1826), thus halting the Persian invasion of Tiflis; see introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal again anticipates the title given to Paskevich after he conquered Erevan in fall of 1827. Ivan Fedorovich Paskevich Erivanskii-Varshavskii was a count. He was born in 1782 to a Ukrainian gentry family and began his career in the famous Preobrazhenskii Guards. He fought the Ottomans and Napoleon and rose to favor during the reigns of tsars Alexander I and Nicholas I. In 1826 he was sent to the Caucasus to replace General Ermolov and in 1827 he became the commander-in-chief and administrator-in-chief in the Caucasus. He conquered the fortress of Erevan (hence Erevanskii), crossed the Arax and forced the Persians to sue for peace (Treaty of Turkmenchay). Soon after, he won victories against the Ottomans and ended the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829. In 1831, Nicholas sent him to Poland to suppress the uprising there (hence Varshavskii), a mission which he accomplished with great brutality. In 1832 the tsar made him the Vice-Regent of Poland, a post he held for some twenty years. In 1849 he became a field marshal and, in 1854, he became the commander-in-chief of Russian troops on the southwestern front in the Crimean War. He was wounded and retired in 1854. He died in 1856.

<sup>3</sup> The Russian and Turkish translations have "Karabagh"; *Istoriia Karabaga* 99 and *Karabagh Tarihi*, 31.

grace, who had abandoned their homes and belongings, were scattered and in flight, were all returned to their homes. Their crimes and sins were deemed like a drop of water, which disappeared in the sea-deep generosity of the Supreme Emperor, who forgave their errors.<sup>1</sup>

Praise Be to Allah, that all of them and other landowners have gained their property and belongings and are living a quiet, peaceful, and secure life. Expressing their gratitude, they await the call to serve with devotion, along with the troops of the exalted State. [Particularly so] since those Karabaghis who had fought alongside the victorious imperial troops in Persia, Rum, and Daghestan, have obtained high ranks and salaries, and none have been left without a reward [and decoration].

### *The End Except for the Conclusion*

[55] I hope that the work of this devoted writer, who, from the Muslim year 1205 (1790/91) to 1260 (1844), has been a loyal employee and an official in the service of the khans of the *velayat* of Karabagh; who has been present at most of the events [recorded here]; as well as the wars; who has written them down; and who has presented it to His Excellency, will result in the increased favor and grace of the Prince Viceroy [Vorontsov]. I am hopeful for the goodwill of such a supreme, lofty, and grand emir, who has always made me, the loyal one, happy, that he would not erase me from his noble memory. In fact, it is everyone's duty to serve him and wish him well. He showers all his devoted officials with generous favors. The one God is forever pleased with those who wish one well. He always rewards them with happiness and fortune.

Amen! [Allah] provide assistance!

It is better for a man to leave a good name than a golden palace.

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Jamal alludes to Mahdi Qoli Khan and a number of other khans, who returned from exile and regained their property and pensions.

**Conclusion and Resume**<sup>1</sup>

Since I have dedicated these few pages, containing the true facts about the land and *velayat* of Karabagh and the rule of the late khans, Panah Khan and Ibrahim Khan, to Count and Prince Mikhail Semenovich Vorontsov, the viceroy of His Majesty the Emperor, and the source of all munificence and kindness, the supreme emir, who possesses mercy and generosity, I have composed this poem in the fortress of Shushi.<sup>2</sup> It is a description [56] of his fine qualities, nobility, and greatness, and I have concluded it with a blessing.

Dedicated to him, who is famous for his grace  
 He is Count Prince Vorontsov.  
 He devoted his entire life  
 Serving the greatest Emperor.<sup>3</sup>  
 Whoever comes to his threshold with hope  
 Is sent away with his wish granted.  
 May his power and fortune increase, O Lord  
 May he always be content and happy in this world.

End of events

[Written in] 1294 (1877/78)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Turkish translation has erroneously titled this section as "Chapter Nine"; *Karabagh Tarihi*, 32.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian translation has "Karabagh"; *Istoriia Karabaga*, 100.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Jamal once again uses the term *khaqan*.

<sup>4</sup> As stated in the introduction, this is the date of this particular manuscript (manuscript C). The Azeri, *Garabağ Tarikhi* (46), Russian, *Istoriia Karabaga* (110), and Turkish, *Karabagh Tarihi* (32) translations have erroneously calculated it as 1875.

## Chapter

*[On the Rule of the Khans]*

The length of the rule of the late Panah Khan in the *velayat* of Karabagh, after he received the title of khan and the decree from 'Adel Shah, son of the brother<sup>1</sup> of the late Nader Shah, naming him governor, was twelve years. The length of rule of the late Ibrahim Khan was more than forty-four years. [57] The length of the rule of the late Mahdi Qoli Khan, [granted his office] by the decree of His Supreme Majesty, was seventeen years and some months.

*On the Monuments and Buildings Which Were  
Constructed by the Late Panah Khan in Karabagh*

First: The fortress of Bayat, which was built with baked bricks<sup>2</sup> and included a bazaar, bath, ramparts and [other] structures. At present [the fortress] is in ruins, with [some] unimportant remains.

Second: The fortress of Shah-Bulaghi, whose mosque at the spring, bath, the city buildings and bazaar were constructed from stone and lime.

Third: The walls of the earlier fortress of Shushi and a building, which, at present, is [used as] the granary for the army.

*On the Monuments and Buildings That Remain from the  
Late Ibrahim Khan*

First: The large main mosque<sup>3</sup> built<sup>4</sup> in the Muslim year 1182 (1768/69). Later when it became dilapidated, it was renovated to a better than the original [condition] by his honorable daughter, the late Gohar Aqa.

Second: The outer ramparts of the Shushi fortress, which were constructed in the Muslim year 1198 (1783/84). Their construction

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<sup>1</sup> The Russian translation erroneously refers to 'Adel Shah as the brother of Nader; *Istoriia Kaarbaga*, 101.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Jamal uses the Russian word *kirpich*, which had entered the Persian vocabulary as *karpich*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the main or Friday mosque where the *khotbe* (sermon) is read.

<sup>4</sup> The Persian term *ta'mir* refers to both building and repairing. The date indicates that the former was meant here.

took three years. At present the trustees of the state have built new walls, [but] in some areas [the original walls of] the khan still remain.

Third: The two fortresses of Askeran, which were constructed three *farsakhs* from the Shushi fortress<sup>1</sup> in the Muslim year 1203 (1788/89) between two mountains, through which runs the Gargar River. If, during wartime, even a small number of infantry troops are placed in these fortresses, the enemy would not be able to pass through them and approach the fortress of Shushi.

Fourth: The building and rooms of the ravine known as Khazine. Constructed in a mountain cavern from stone, it has only one road to it. The interior of the cavern has been constructed with stone and lime.<sup>2</sup>

Fifth: The buildings of Khan-Baghi, which are located one *farsakh* from the fortress (of Shushi).

Sixth: The walls and canals of the orchard in Aghdam, with large cupolas on the grave of the late Panah Khan and his children.

### [58] Chapter

#### *On the Rules and Practices Which Existed during the Rule of Ibrahim Khan*

All the tribesmen of Karabagh, who were listed in the rolls and registers, formed the cavalry.<sup>3</sup> When necessary, infantry musketeers from the *mahals* and villages, along with their *meliks*, joined the army.<sup>4</sup> The tribes of Karabagh were exempt from *touji*<sup>5</sup> and *mal va jahat*<sup>6</sup> taxes from their produce. The *mahals* and villages, however,

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<sup>1</sup> The Russian translation has deleted "three farsakhs from the Shushi fortress"; *Istoriia Karabaga*, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Judging from its name meaning "treasury," and its location, this must have been the secret hideout for the khan's valuables, stored there in times of war.

<sup>3</sup> The cavalry was recruited from among nomadic tribes, who were exempt from taxes.

<sup>4</sup> As demonstrated, this was not always the case; some cooperated, others did not.

<sup>5</sup> *Touji* is identified as a levy collected in cash from the peasants by the village headsmen or *kadkhodas*. Its amount varied from khanate to khanate; for details, see Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 153-154.

<sup>6</sup> The *mal va jahat* (*mal-o-jehat*), which the peasants paid to the treasury, the landowner, or the *tuyul* holder, ranged from 1/10 to 3/10 of

paid the *mal va jahat* and the *touji* taxes annually. Occasionally, when Lesghian fighters were brought from Daghestan, then even the tribes paid the *touji*, as well as grain, sheep, and larger animals in order to pay the Lesghians and to make up for the loss of their horses. Those families, who had members not listed in the registers as soldiers and retainers<sup>1</sup> and those who were listed as soldiers and retainers, paid nothing; they were exempt [from taxes]. The feed for their horses and the expenses for their gear were provided by the khan. Every soldier was attached to a specific household, which took care of the needs of that soldier and his retainers.

### Chapter

Every year, on the day of *nowruz*,<sup>2</sup> which is a holiday, the late khan gave *khal'at*, monetary gifts, horses, and swords to all the commanders of the army, and to the *minbashis*. Each, according to his rank, would bring gifts [to the khan], [including those] from the *velayats* of Azerbaijan, from the *meliks*, and from the *mahals*.

### Chapter

When the late Ibrahim Khan was traveling or had camped somewhere, most of the *minbashis*, *yuzbashis*,<sup>3</sup> *begs*, *aqas*, and those khans of Azerbaijan who were present, as well as some of the soldiers, workers, scribes, *ishik-aghasis*, *keshikchis* (watchmen), and *yesawuls* (guards),<sup>4</sup> had their breakfast, lunch, and dinner [59] from the kitchens of the late khan and their horses were given oats. Often, in the evenings, aside from live sheep, which were given to the *minbashis* and others, the kitchens of the late khan used (cooked)

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the produce or harvest. It was generally paid in kind. It was collected after the harvest, and included a tax on looms, fruit trees, domestic animals, wells, mills, and anything else which the khans wanted to tax; for details, see *Ibid.*, 150-153.

<sup>1</sup> The word used in the text is *nokar*, which means a retainer, servant, or groom.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian New Year, which occurs on the first day of spring. This ancient Zoroastrian holiday was taken over by the various non-Persian and Muslim rulers of Persia.

<sup>3</sup> The Turkic term *yuzbashi* refers to officers (captains) who commanded a unit of 100 soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> See glossary for more details.

forty *puds*<sup>1</sup> of rice and thirty sheep. From these one can only imagine [the quantities of] baked bread, fodder for horses, oil, and various sweets, etc. [used].

### Chapter

#### *The Income of the Late Ibrahim Khan*

The income of the khan derived from] *mal va jahat* from the *mahals* and villages either in the form of grain or in the form of silk cocoons, and other field crops, as well as the ploughs belonging personally to the khan.<sup>2</sup> I remember, during one count, it became apparent that the late khan had as many animals and ploughs as did the entire population of Karabagh, plus two pairs more. The army, kitchen, harem, servants, workers, and guests used all the grain and other taxes in kind. A large amount [of income, in cash and in kind, was received] from rents, *pishkesh*,<sup>3</sup> and *ekhrajat* of Karabagh,<sup>4</sup> the mint, and the many gifts, presented in cash and kind, which were brought from the *velayats* of Azerbaijan.<sup>5</sup>

### Chapter

#### *On the Character and Behavior of the Late Khan*

The late Ibrahim Khan was a hospitable man, who helped strangers, raised orphans, and cared for his subjects. [He was] proud, courageous, and generous, [and] being charitable, he distributed gratuities, favors, and food. He gave many offerings to the ulama,

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<sup>1</sup> A Russian weight that equals 16.38 kilograms or approximately 36 pounds.

<sup>2</sup> The khan collected a *joft* or *juft-bashi* tax (a yoke tax) from every pair of oxen; see Bournoutian, *Erevan* 152.

<sup>3</sup> *Pishkesh* was a combination of tribute, bribes, and gifts presented during special occasions or when requesting a favor.

<sup>4</sup> *Ekhrajat* were indirect and extraordinary taxes collected mainly for the upkeep of officials, saving the khan from bearing the sole responsibility for the upkeep of his administration; see Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 152.

<sup>5</sup> Unlike some khanates, the taxes of Karabagh were collected annually and were referred to as *saliane*; Bournoutian, *Ibid.*, 152.

*seyyeds*,<sup>1</sup> and the poor. He had total respect for the ulama and the *seyyeds*.<sup>2</sup> He helped everyone who sought refuge with him. The surrounding khans and *begs* of the *velayats* of Azerbaijan and Shirvan, and others enjoyed his favors, and he tried to oblige them and satisfy their wishes. He had a great passion for the company of beautiful women. [60]

### Chapter

#### *On the Thoroughbred Herds [of the Khan]*

The khan<sup>3</sup> possessed many fine thoroughbreds, other four-legged animals [horses], and numerous steeds as studs. The great fame of the studs of the late khan had reached Persia and Rum. Most of the studs of the late khan were descended from the studs of the late Nader Shah, which were gathered from the *velayats* of Azerbaijan, [the regions populated by] the Shahsavan and the Shaqaqi, and from the khans of Khorasan. There were approximately some three to four thousand mares, which were kept together with the pedigree males. The number of sheep, goats, cows, and bulls was so large that it could not be counted.

### Chapter

#### *The Officials of Ibrahim Khan*

The officials of the late Ibrahim Khan were his brothers and their sons, his children, the sons of his uncles, and were all noted *begs*. Each of them, in property and wealth, retainers, and splendor, was equal to the khans of other *velayats*. Among these were Mirza 'Ali Beg, the son of his uncle; Lotf 'Ali Beg, the son of his paternal aunt; and Fazl Beg, 'Abd ol-Samad Beg, Kalam 'Ali Beg, and Hemmat

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<sup>1</sup> The ulama are the Muslim religious hierarchy. The *seyyeds* are notables, who claim to be descendants of 'Ali.

<sup>2</sup> The population at large and the income from *vaqfs* (religious endowments) supported the religious institutions. The khans granted special income to important clerics; see Bournoutian, *Erevan*, 155.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian text reads "Sarkar Khan," which if translated literally means "Sir Khan." It is used as a title of respect to a person present or absent.

'Ali Beg, who were the children of his brother and their children. Mehr 'Ali Beg and Ibrahim Khan were [themselves] the sons of Panah Khan. The *begs* of the Javanshir, Otuz-iki, Kebirli, Damirchi-Hasanli, Bargoshat, Qarachorli, Hajji-Samlu, Kolani, and the tribes of the Qapans; as well as the *meliks* of the *mahals* of Dizak, Varanda, Jraberd, Golestan, and Khachen, matched the khans of some *velayats*, in their grandeur, glory, wealth, and property. Other *begs*, whom he had raised, educated, or reared, gained his favor through their bravery, service, and sincerity, receiving *ra'yats* and positions.

### Chapter

#### *On the Officials and Workers in his Household and the Functionaries who Administered [61] the Khanate*

The first and the most famous among these was the late Akhund Mullah Panah, who used the pen name of *Vaqef*, and who was a wise and experienced vizier. He was well known in Persia and Rum as well. His wonderful poems in Turki remain on the people's tongues today. His other respected officials, the *ishik-aghasis*, *nazers* (overseers), and other workers were all eloquent, competent, and talented people. After the events [involving] Agha Mohammad Shah, and the [resulting] chaos and dissent in the *velayat* of Karabagh, such famous and respected individuals, [as well as] the majority of the functionaries and supervisors of the late Ibrahim Khan, all died.

### Chapter

#### *[On the Khan's Noted Descendants]*

The grown boys<sup>1</sup> of the late Ibrahim Khan, who in his own lifetime joined the grace of God, were: Javad Aqa and Mohammad Hasan Aqa, born from the same mother, a daughter of [one of] the *begs* of Jebrailu. After the death of the late khan, Colonel Khanlar Aqa [died], while Abu'l Fath Khan passed away in Persia. After that,

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<sup>1</sup> The term *farzand* is usually translated as "child" or "offspring," but in most texts it applies only to boys.

Colonel Mohammad Qasem Aqa,<sup>1</sup> Fath 'Ali Aqa, Soleiman Aqa, Hosein Qoli Aqa, and Safi Qoli Aqa, also passed away.

At present, there are left in Karabagh: Major General Mahdi Qoli Khan,<sup>2</sup> who possesses a plumed sash decorated with expensive stones,<sup>3</sup> and Ahmad Khan. Both of them were born of daughters of khans; Sheikh 'Ali Aqa [another son] was born from a slave girl.

The daughters of the late Ibrahim Khan who are presently living [in Karabagh] are: Gohar Aqa, born from a daughter of a famous Georgian prince,<sup>4</sup> and 'Ezzat Begum, born from the daughter of Mirza Rabi', the vizier of the *vali* of Georgia. The *vali* of Georgia, Erekle Khan, was always interested in friendly relations and an alliance with Ibrahim Khan, but since he could not become related himself for religious reasons [restricted as a Christian], he gave three daughters of his vizier to the late khan [one married the khan] and [the other two] married his two sons, Abu'l Fath Khan and Mohammad Qasem Aqa, so that [at least] in that way their friendship might be strengthened.

## [62] Chapter

### *On Why Mahdi Qoli Khan Became the Heir and Successor [of Ibrahim Khan]*

During the first meeting of the late Ibrahim Khan with *sardar* Tsitsianov in Kurek-chay, the eldest son of the late Ibrahim Khan, the late Mohammad Hasan Aqa, was designated heir-apparent and successor. The second son of Mohammad Hasan Aqa was sent as a hostage to Tsitsianov. Since Major General Mohammad Hasan Aqa died during the late Ibrahim Khan's lifetime, Major General Mahdi Qoli Aqa, the oldest of the remaining sons of the late Ibrahim Khan, inherited the position and became the heir-apparent. A document was

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<sup>1</sup> The Russian translation erroneously has Mohammad Hasan Aqa; *Istoriia Karabaga*, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Mahdi Qoli Khan is described here as being alive. Throughout these additional chapters, however, he is mentioned as "the late Mahdi Qoli Khan." Since Mahdi Qoli died in 1845, just prior to the composition of these chapters, such an error is understandable. See introduction.

<sup>3</sup> This could have been a Russian or a Persian medal, for he had received both. In all probability, Mirza Jamal refers to a Russian decoration, which he does not identify further.

<sup>4</sup> The daughter of Prince Abashidze; see Chapter Six in text.

prepared to which the late Ibrahim Khan and other notable individuals of Karabagh affixed their seals. The late Ibrahim Khan gave this document to Mahdi Qoli Khan during his own lifetime, naming him his heir and granting him the title of khan.

For these reasons, after the death of Ibrahim Khan, Major Lisanevich wrote to Major General Nesvetaev, and in the year 1807, by the decree of the Supreme Emperor, the late Alexander Pavlovich, a standard and a bejeweled sword [was presented] to the late Mahdi Qoli Khan, and he was appointed as khan and governor of Karabagh. The events that occurred during the rule of the late Mahdi Qoli Khan can be obtained from the registers written by the officials of the exalted [Russian] State. They are known to your Excellency and there is no need for me, your devoted servant, to present or to write them down. The End.<sup>1</sup>

The transcript of the writings of the Late Mirza Jamal Karabaghi is what is written here. Copied in haste! Forgive the errors!<sup>2</sup>

Peace to you.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Russian, Azeri, and Turkish translations end here; *Istoriia Karabaga*, 16, *Garabağ Tarikhi*, 52, *Karabagh Tarihi*, 36.

<sup>2</sup> As stated, a scribe must have copied it. See introduction.

<sup>3</sup> The Arabic term of *wa-sallam* literally means "peace to you." The term has occasionally been rendered in the West as "Amen."

**Karabagh-name**

***English Translation***



## [Preface]

...<sup>1</sup> Some time after Russian rule was established over Karabagh...one of the Russian governors, Lieutenant Colonel Mikhail Petrovich,<sup>2</sup> son of General Kolubiakin...[was appointed an official in Tiflis].<sup>3</sup> He was very anxious to learn about the past history [of the region]. The lieutenant colonel especially wanted to know about the history of the khans of Karabagh and the founder of the city [of Shushi]. He, therefore, asked me, Captain Mirza Adigözal Beg, to write the above-mentioned brief narrative, because I had served the *sardars*<sup>4</sup> and emirs<sup>5</sup> of Georgia in the past,<sup>6</sup> knew the languages and the diverse dialects [of the region], which differ from each other, had questioned the Georgian, Armenian, and Muslim old people about some of the events, and had become thoroughly familiar with them. In view of that, I took upon myself the task to fulfill the assignment of His Honor and asked Mirza Hosein Mohammad Aqaoghli, who is known as Salari, to set down in a beautiful [script] and befitting expressions everything that I related to him. I hope that this short narrative, with its shortcomings, will reflect well in the mirror of public perception, and will be a balm<sup>7</sup> to the sagacious eyes of nobles and common people. These scanty pieces of information contain a foreword and a number of chapters...

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<sup>1</sup> Leviatov has cut out repetitive material, odes, and data with no historical information. He has indicated these with ellipses. I have reinstated some of these passages with the help of Mirza Yusuf's text.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Michael Petrovich Koliubakin (1801-1866). He served in a number of posts in Transcaucasia from 1836 to 1863. He was the administrator of Erevan and Kutais and served as vice-governor of Tiflis.

<sup>3</sup> The information in brackets is derived from the last part of the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> Adigözal Beg means Viceroy Ivan Paskevich and Commander-in-Chief General Alexei Ermolov.

<sup>5</sup> This is the Persian equivalent of emir. The author means various Russian commanders mentioned in the text.

<sup>6</sup> Text reads Gurjistan, the Persian term for Georgia. Georgia will replace Gurjistan throughout this translation.

<sup>7</sup> Text reads *vasma*, from the Arabic *wasmat*, a dye from the juice of walnuts or leaves of woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) or indigo-plant, which was used as eye shadow, and to highlight eyebrows or eyelashes.

***The Year This History Was Written***

Centuries passed, years and months went by and the year 1261 *hijri*, 1845 according to the Russian calendar, arrived...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AH 1261 began on January 10 and ended on December 29, 1845.

## Chapter One

### *On the Collapse of Persia, the Accession of Nader Shah to the Throne, and Other Events*

As a result of the whim of fortune and the movement of the stationary and rotating stars, the sun of the Safavid kings began to set.

...The moon of this kingdom had reached its zenith and entered its final phase of destruction and disappearance. Persia was pillaged by surrounding bandits and turned into dust under the foot of the enemy. An autonomous ruler governed each one of its districts. In each one of its *velayats*<sup>1</sup> a *vali*<sup>2</sup> became the master, possessing grandeur and an elevated position. The wind of their brutality and violence, and the hot gust of their stubbornness and tyranny turned that verdant garden into a naked steppe. Eventually, the ruling breeze and valor of Qiriqli<sup>3</sup> Nader Shah Afshar<sup>4</sup> began to blow from heavenly Abivard,<sup>5</sup> located in the province of Khorasan... After many battles, he halted on the wide Mughan (Moghan) Steppe, wintered there, and began to raise the foundation of the house [of Persia].

In the year AH 1148 [1736],<sup>6</sup> Nader summoned there [Moghan] a *quriltai*<sup>7</sup> of noted men of the land and the elders of the *velayats*, each of whom was a firm pillar of the throne and a buttress of the state's structure. Some 100,000 notable and venerable men, emirs and chiefs, were gathered in that place. The *quriltai* commenced.

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<sup>1</sup> As noted, *velayat* or *vilayet* can be translated as "province," "state," "dominion," "territory," "region," or "kingdom." It will not be translated in this text.

<sup>2</sup> As noted, the term *vali* can be translated as governor of a *velayat*, a ruler, or, in the case of Georgia, it meant the king or viceroy of Georgia appointed or approved by the Safavid shahs.

<sup>3</sup> Nader's family formed the Qiriqlu clan of the Afshar tribe.

<sup>4</sup> Nader Shah Afshar (1736-1747).

<sup>5</sup> Abivard was a town near the Marv desert and the seat of the Safavid district governor. The Afshar tribe populated the region.

<sup>6</sup> The year began on 24 May 1735 and ended on 11 May 1736.

<sup>7</sup> A *quriltai* was a tribal council. For details on that particular *quriltai*, see G. Bournoutian, *The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 1999).

At the time, when the cup of Shah Tahmasp [II]<sup>1</sup> Safavi's life was not yet filled with the bitter *sherbet* of death by the Universal Cup-Bearer; when his four-year old son, 'Abbas Mirza, was not yet deprived of his father, and still possessed his sweet and scarlet, ruby-like, milk-smelling lips; when he was still in the cradle of life, and was drunk with calm and imperturbable sleep, Nader Shah strung the following words as pearls on a string. Turning to the state notables, he said, "It is as clear as the bright sun and the moon of the fourteenth night that in the land of Persia expanding forces have subjected each square [of the chessboard] to attack by an intoxicated elephant (bishop).<sup>2</sup> The provinces of Persia, like pawns, are encroached from all sides by nameless rebels. Each worthless pawn has turned into a commander of cavalry on the chessboard of Persia and has become a jester to the world. Each pawn has become a vizier (queen), has tried to sit on the throne of Persia, and has checkmated the state nobles and members of the Safavid dynasty. My zeal as a player of backgammon could not let me stand by. I took the two dice of my fate and power in my hopeful and eager hand, and putting my trust in it, as had to be done, set out into the thickets and deserts of the world, which are made up of the four elements. Resorting to a thousand tricks, a thousand wiles and lures, I caught the head of my drunken and dumbfounded enemy in a *sheshdar*.<sup>3</sup> So far the aim of my design has not appeared on the pages of time. In such a manner I have saved the devastated land of Persia from its enemies. Now, you have Shah Tahmasp and his son 'Abbas Mirza, both of whom have been illuminated by the sky of nobility and the lucky stars of the royal circle. Whichever one you find worthy of the royal throne, worthy to occupy the seat of ruler of the world, I shall, without any objection or opposition, together with you, obey him. I shall wear the ring of obedience in my ear and will be ready to sacrifice myself in his service. I shall carry out his orders and will sincerely obey his commands."... Nader Shah, not

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<sup>1</sup> Shah Tahmasp II (1722-1732). He was deposed by Nader and sent to Khorasan. His infant son 'Abbas III was named shah (until 1736) and Nader became the regent. They were both murdered in 1740 on Reza Qoli Mirza's (Nader's oldest son) orders, while Nader was in India.

<sup>2</sup> The chess pieces in Persia have different designations than those in the West.

<sup>3</sup> A point in the game of backgammon when all the six houses are blocked and one cannot escape.

finding anyone else around him...[who] deserved the crown more than he, ascended the throne.

The throne accepted him as her wonderful beloved...

The khans of Ganje, who were from the Qajar tribe and who were called the Ziyadoglu<sup>1</sup>...were known to the entire world as *beglarbegis*<sup>2</sup> and *sardars*.<sup>3</sup> They had power and autonomy. The border of the khanate of Ganje with Georgia passed above the Broken Bridge<sup>4</sup> near Suri-Dash and reached [the province of] Azerbaijan<sup>5</sup> by the Khoda-afarin Bridge.<sup>6</sup> There was a time when the sovereignty of the Ganje khans and the shade of their peace and tranquility extended to Dar ol-Sorur (Tiflis)<sup>7</sup> and the entire population of Tiflis submitted to their rule. The khans of Ganje, who were present in the *quriltai* at Moghan, secretly and openly, and with exceptional zeal, strived that no one except the Safavids be named king; that no one but a Safavid ascend the throne. It turned out that all their thoughts and words were reported to Nader Shah...

Nader Shah, knowing that the tribe of Ziyadoglu was old and that their *ojagh*<sup>8</sup> had existed for many generations, did not think it a good idea to punish them, as he had the tribes of Qazzaq (Kazakh) and Boshchalu (Borchalu), who with their khans were ordered to submit to the emirs of Georgia and its highly placed *vali*. He ordered that the tribes of Javanshir, Otuz-iki, and Kebirli, who were

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<sup>1</sup> The Qajar tribe was divided into two rival branches: Yukhari-bash and Ashaqa-bash, each further subdivided into clans. The Qyunlu clan provided the ruling dynasty, while the Develu and Ziyadoglu (Ziyadlu) clans provided the functionaries, commanders, and governors, especially in Transcaucasia.

<sup>2</sup> These were governor-generals of a province.

<sup>3</sup> These were the commander-in-chiefs.

<sup>4</sup> Text reads *siniq korpi*, also known as the Red Bridge over the Khrum River.

<sup>5</sup> All references to Azerbaijan refer to the Persian province of Azerbaijan, located south of the Arax River. As noted, no other Azerbaijan existed prior to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>6</sup> The Safavids divided their Transcaucasian lands into two governorships: Chukhur-e Sa'd (Erevan and Nakhichevan) and Ganje (Ganje and Karabagh).

<sup>7</sup> The epithet for Tiflis was Dar ol-Sorur or "Land of Merriment." Adigözal uses Tiflis and Dar ol-Sorur interchangeably. Tiflis will replace Dar ol-Sorur throughout the text.

<sup>8</sup> *Ojagh* can be translated as hearth, family, race. In this case it means the family or clan.

among the tribes of Karabagh, be resettled in Sarakhs in the *velayat* of Khorasan. It was ordered that they be given land there for permanent settlement.

The *meliks* of *Khamse*<sup>1</sup> were handed a decree, which freed their nobility and common people from the submissive yoke of the khans of Ganje. They could consider themselves free<sup>2</sup> from them and were to send all their petitions and requests directly to the sovereign.

Thus, the khans of Ganje were completely deprived of their rights and authority and the bridle of rule fell from their hands. They resembled a bird with a broken wing.

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<sup>1</sup> The five Armenian districts were known by their Arabic designation of *khamse* (five). Petty princes called *meliks* ruled them. See *Tarikh-e Karabagh*, Chapter 3, for more details.

<sup>2</sup> They sent annual gifts.

## Chapter Two

### *On the Origin and Genealogy of the Late Panah Khan*

Panah 'Ali Beg, the great-grandfather of Panah Khan was of Sarijallu extraction.<sup>1</sup>

In those days the situation of the khans of Ganje was fine and their power was increasing day by day. At that time Panah 'Ali Beg went to Ganje and entered into the service of the aforementioned khans. But soon his proud nature could not accept what he thought to be a very low position, for he considered himself far above the duties he had to perform. He came to the Javanshir *oymaq*<sup>2</sup> in the Karabagh province. He was young and strong as a lion and luck began to favor him. He became very wealthy and then married. A fortunate and lovable son was born to him. They gave this glorious youth, who resembled the brightest star in heaven, the name of 'Ali. His face radiated like the sun, resembling amber that drew straw to itself. Because of their love for him, his parents called him Sarija 'Ali.<sup>3</sup>

Sarija 'Ali possessed great wealth and influence. People passing by, including nomads, field workers, servants, shepherds and horse keepers, gathered around him. Their numbers increased constantly and, finally, they made up an entire *oba*.<sup>4</sup> The *oba* got the name of Sarijallu. Their incalculable wealth—which was God's gift—increased even more when all this property passed into the hands of Ibrahim Khalil Aqa. The glory of this prosperous house became known throughout the world. Ibrahim Khalil Aqa possessed an estate and an orchard in Aghdam. He had a *mulk*<sup>5</sup> in Arasbar, and a pasture and a cattle enclosure on the bank [of the Arax River]. In his *yeilq*<sup>6</sup> he had a mansion, which was known as Ibrahim Khalil Kal-

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that some say he was from a Tatar tribe. He adds that they went to Georgia and settled in the fortress of Lori from where he served the khans of Ganje. Afterwards he came and joined the Javanshir tribe in Karabagh; *T.S.* 81r.

<sup>2</sup> *Oymaq* is a sub-division of a large tribe.

<sup>3</sup> Translates as Yellow 'Ali.

<sup>4</sup> It means a large nomad tent, a family, or an encampment.

<sup>5</sup> *Mulk* is best described as private property.

<sup>6</sup> *Yeilq* means a summer pasture, summer residence.

asi.<sup>1</sup> All this eloquently proved the greatness and glory of Ibrahim Khalil Aqa.

When Nader Shah recruited troops from the Javanshir, he found it necessary to appoint the eldest son of Ibrahim Khalil Aqa, the agile and valiant Fazl 'Ali Beg, as his *nayeb*<sup>2</sup> and *ishik aghasi*.<sup>3</sup> Fazl 'Ali's forehead glittered with the brilliance of nobility, and his face the sun of high birth. By God's predestination and in a reversal of fortune, he was killed<sup>4</sup> and forgiven by God. When this lucky star was extinguished from the tower of fortune, Nader Shah called his younger brother, Panah 'Ali Beg, handed him the *chomaq*,<sup>5</sup> presented him with a *khal'at*,<sup>6</sup> gave him the rank of *ishik aghasi* and invested him with the rights of his late brother. For several days he carried out his duties faithfully and diligently. However, first of all, witnessing the angry looks cast in his direction by Nader Shah and his deliberate malicious behavior toward him, Panah 'Ali Beg was convinced that he had to be careful, for Nader Shah would not delay to nip in the bud such a daring and bold youth as he. Second, he considered walking with a *chomaq* in his hand, standing, constantly bowing [to Nader Shah], and conversing with the *esawuls*<sup>7</sup> below his dignity. That is why he decided to flee.

Panah 'Ali Beg came to Karabagh and there, from among his high-ranking relatives, the descendants of Khalil gathered some men, who followed him. Waiting and hoping for the rise of the radiant sun of power and the arrival of the day of his appointed and most beautiful reign, Panah 'Ali traveled throughout the land. His glory, his braveness, his valiant manhood, his stoicism, and his fearlessness made everyone shudder. Young and old trembled at the mention of his name. If his wrathful look, which resembled that of a lion, or his lithe figure, which resembled that of a panther, appeared in a dream during his hyena-like enemies' deep sleep, the nightmare

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<sup>1</sup> *Kalasi* is a fort. Mirza Yusuf's text reads "Qalaq"; *T.S.* 81r. Kostikian thinks that it may be Qalaq-tapa, one of the burial grounds near Bayat, 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Na'eb* or *na'ib* has a variety of meanings; in this case it means lieutenant or deputy. See glossary.

<sup>3</sup> *Ishik-aghasi* can be translated as chief courtier or chamberlain. See glossary.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that he was killed in a battle; *T.S.* 81v.

<sup>5</sup> A mace. See glossary.

<sup>6</sup> These were robes of honor. See glossary.

<sup>7</sup> A horseman, an officer, or an attendant of a man of rank. *Esaul* in Russian (Cossack captain). See glossary.

would make them jump out of bed and, like rabbits, they would not be able to shut their eyes again.

If Rustam, the son of Zal,<sup>1</sup> tightened his belt intending to do battle with him, he would lower his shield after experiencing the blows of his [Panah's] arrows and his bloodthirsty sword.

If a painter saw his visage, he would  
Destroy all his drawings out of amazement<sup>2</sup>

No matter how often Nader Shah, with his keen, all-powerful, and fateful quill, wrote to the khans of [Persian] Azerbaijan and Shirvan, and sent decrees by swift messengers; no matter how he persistently and authoritatively demanded the capture of this courageous falcon of the skies, no one could manage it. Panah 'Ali would sometimes hunt in the steppe of Shirvan after gazelles; other times he would delight himself in the meadows of Karabagh. His position became stronger every day. It so happened, however, that at the whim of fickle fate, Nader Shah was killed in the Khorasan province in the month of Jomada II of the year 1160 (1747).<sup>3</sup>

The news of the shah's death spread and the populace could not stop talking about it. When Panah 'Ali Beg, who was under God's protection, would, like an angry lion or a furious dragon, direct the power of his strike on someone, it would fall upon him like a hurricane, it would sweep away everything in its path as if it were a wood chip, and it would break the resistance of the enemy. No one could oppose his strength and onslaught; they would turn to dust. His days passed in this manner until the population of the Javanshir, Kebirli, Otuz-iki, and the tribes of Georgia, moved by the proverbial saying, "The love of one's homeland emanates from faith," were awakened to the love of their homeland, moved from Khorasan and returned to their native hearths. Panah 'Ali Beg ensured shelter for the repatriates, showered them with his kindness, gratified their needs, and put them under his caring wing.

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<sup>1</sup> These are legendary figures in Ferdowsi's *Shahname* (Book of Kings).

<sup>2</sup> The text abounds with verses, couplets, and odes. Not all of them are translated here.

<sup>3</sup> The month began on 10 June and ended on 8 July 1747. Nader was killed on the night of June 30/July 1, 1747. Mirza Yusuf has the date 1161 (1748); *T.S.* 81v.

The community was thus revived and became strong. News of this reached Emir Aslan Khan,<sup>1</sup> the all-powerful *sardar* of 'Ali Qoli Shah [Khan], the nephew of Nader Shah and the son of Ibrahim Khan. 'Ali Qoli Shah ascended the throne after Nader Shah and took the name of 'Adel Shah,<sup>2</sup> struck coins and built *mimbars*.<sup>3</sup>

Emir Aslan Khan came to meet Panah 'Ali Beg and was rewarded for meeting him. That same evening he [Aslan Khan] bestowed the title of *sultan*<sup>4</sup> on him. The next day Panah 'Ali Beg was given the rank of khan. Emir Aslan Khan proposed that he accept 'Adel Shah as his sovereign. Panah 'Ali gave his agreement and, for the moment, became his subject.

Emir Aslan Khan informed 'Adel Shah of this. 'Adel Shah, on his part, sent a *firman*<sup>5</sup> to Panah Khan, confirming the rank of khan on him and accompanied it with expensive gifts: a dagger, decorated with costly jewels, and many other items.<sup>6</sup> 'Adel Shah gave the title of "khan" to the late Panah Khan. Finally, the grandson of Nader Shah, Shahrokh Mirza,<sup>7</sup> ascended the throne and executed 'Adel Shah.<sup>8</sup> The governor of Qarajedagh (Qaradagh), Kazem Khan, arrested *Sardar* Emir Aslan Khan.

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf calls him Emir Aslan Khan Qırıqlu; *T.S.* 81v.

<sup>2</sup> He ruled for a year (1747-1748).

<sup>3</sup> *Mimbar* are pulpits; that is, he built mosques.

<sup>4</sup> Lowest-ranking governor, below that of a khan, but higher than a *beg*.  
Not to be confused with sultan of Turkey.

<sup>5</sup> From the Arabic *firman*, a decree or official writ.

<sup>6</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds a *khal'at* to the above; *T.S.* 81v.

<sup>7</sup> Shahrokh ruled for two years, 1748-1750, and then only in Khorasan from 1750 to 1796.

<sup>8</sup> 'Adel Shah was actually tortured to death by his brother, Ibrahim.

## Chapter Three

### *On the Founding of the Fortress of Bayat and Other Events*

The moment the late Panah Khan received the title of khan, something that he always desired, he felt that fate had finally adorned his faction with the garb of power. He thought about his future and about the fact that one could not rely on the fickleness of fortune, could not trust the durability of luck, or that one would remain wealthy forever.

He realized that he could not trust the guile of the wolf's mother, who had appeared to be luck itself, but whose face changed constantly. Fortune was cunning and insidious; it could transform itself to any color. A wise and learned man could not trust fate, which, too, changed its color. He could not trust its wiliness and meanness. That is why it was not fitting for him to spend more time on the plain [of Karabagh]. It was not possible to reach his goal there.

Therefore, it was necessary to build a mighty fortress, so that in hard times one could seek refuge there. No matter how strong a lion is, he must have his den. If the eagle is the king of the birds, if all the birds tremble before his strong claws, he still has to base himself in a nest. This is imperative, so that even they, in times of difficulty, can save themselves from the noose of adversity and the danger of attacks from the enemy.

Thus, in the year AH 1161 (1748),<sup>1</sup> he built a refuge in Bayat, with a moat and a palace.<sup>2</sup> Because of this, the minds of the Otuz-iki and Javanshir tribes, which were essentially mixed with the water of envy, malevolence, and malice, caught fire with the flame of enmity. Their brain was struck with the passion of spite. They constantly made a great effort to destroy this government. They drew on the *meliks* of *Khamse* as their allies and approached Hajji Chelebi of Shakki, who was, at that time, the sovereign and sole master of the Shirvanat.<sup>3</sup> They wrote a letter to him and informed him that Panah Khan had mounted the throne, was building a for-

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<sup>1</sup> The year began on January 2 and ended on November 22, 1748. Mirza Yusuf has 1162/1752, an obvious error; *T.S.* 82r.

<sup>2</sup> The ruins of the fortress can be seen on the left bank of the Karkar River, several miles east of Aghdam.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds that he was from the Shirvanshah family; *T.S.* 82r.

tress, was fortifying it, and that if this undertaking was not destroyed, it would not be possible to resist him in the future.

If the sapling is newly planted it can be uprooted by one man.  
 If that same tree is left alone for a long time,  
 Then it cannot be uprooted even with a plow

Hajji Chelebi yielded to their guile and began his intrigues. He gathered all the army of Shirvanat, from Darband to Jar and Belakan, not realizing that:

If a wick is lit by God himself, no one can extinguish it  
 Without singeing his beard

Hajji Chelebi approached the fortress of Bayat with a countless and splendid army, which cannot be described, and surrounded it on all sides. Panah Khan, who had learned about his march earlier, gathered all his tribes, informed them of the attack and took refuge with them in the fortifications.

Hajji Chelebi arrived and besieged the fortress. Not a day passed without skirmishes and clashes. Finally, Hajji Chelebi could not achieve his aim and suffered great losses. He ordered the striking of the drums of retreat. Returning home, Hajji Chelebi said,

“Until now Panah Khan was raw silver that was not minted. We came, minted it, and returned.”<sup>1</sup> This expression became a common saying among the people.

After this event, Panah Khan said to himself: I have just recently risen to power; the Javanshir and Otuz-iki tribes are against me; the *meliks* of *Khamse* are my enemies; I need to settle in a more fortified, impregnable, and unassailable location. I should not be reckless and ignore the intrigues and encroachments of my foes. Coming to that conclusion, he razed the fortress of Bayat, went to Tarnakut,<sup>2</sup> and settled by the foot of the mountain, where the famous Shah-Bulagh spring is located. Here he erected a fortress, built houses, mosques, baths, and trading arcades from stone and

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf's text reads, “Until now Panah Khan was merely gold, we came and minted a coin from that gold”; *T.S.* 82r.

<sup>2</sup> Tarnakut is the middle flow of the Tartar River.

lime. The entire construction was completed in the year AH 1165 (1751-1752),<sup>1</sup> and he based himself there.

He aggravated the enmity between the *meliks* of Talesh<sup>2</sup> and Chilabiurd (Jraber),<sup>3</sup> frayed their friendly ties each day, and shook their union. At that time Melik Shahnazar of Varanda,<sup>4</sup> madly in love with the languid eyes of the beautiful Lady of Power, wishing to embrace the silver staff of *Melikdom*, poisoned his father's brother, Melik Husi, notified the world that he had taken over the *melikdom* and ascended the throne.<sup>5</sup>

When news of this reached the [other] *Khamse meliks*, they gathered hurriedly and hatefully, and became his enemies. They said, "Why did you rebel against your own uncle, whom you should have obeyed?" All the *meliks* marched to overthrow and to punish Melik Shahnazar. Before the four *meliks* arrived, Melik Shahnazar fortified the fortress of Chanakhchi<sup>6</sup> and took refuge inside it.

The *meliks* of *Khamse* came, looted the entire *mahal*<sup>7</sup> of Varanda, but could not take the fortress. They did not achieve their goal and returned with bitter feelings in their hearts. They swore to each other that they would return again in spring and take the fortress.

Melik Shahnazar realized his weakness and that his wings were broken. Since he was farsighted, he decided, as a sign of loyalty, to wear the ring of submission in his ear and to appear before the threshold of the khan. Behaving like a slave, he tightened his belt of loyalty and submitted to the khan. He stressed his love and favor toward the khan in every possible way. He thus told the khan about the place where Shushi is located today. He praised the beauty of the place, brought him and showed it to him. The place greatly

<sup>1</sup> The year began on 20 November 1751 and ended on 7 November 1752.

<sup>2</sup> As stated, the *meliks* of Talesh were later called the *meliks* of Golestan, for they moved their residence to the fortress of Golestan, located in the upper regions of the Inja River, some 26.5 km southeast of Ganje.

<sup>3</sup> See below; see also Chapter 3 of Mirza Jamal's text.

<sup>4</sup> See below; see also Chapter 3 of Mirza Jamal's text.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that the disagreement was on account of the election of the chief of the *Khamse*; *T.S.* 82v.

<sup>6</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that he fortified himself in the village of Avetaranots'; *T.S.* 82v.

<sup>7</sup> District. See glossary.

pleased the almighty Panah Khan. He began to construct a city there and chose it as his residence.

After Panah Khan settled there, strengthened the fort, and chose it as the center of his rule, he freed the *mahals* of Meghri and Gunay,<sup>1</sup> and the lands reaching Bargoshat<sup>2</sup> from the rule of the governor of Qaradagh and submitted them to himself. He took the *mahals* of Tat'ew and Sisian from the governor of Nakhichevan. He took the *mahals* of Qapan and Zangezur from the *beglarbegi* of Tabriz. He seized all the lands from the bank of the Tartar River, beginning with the village of Ushajigh, up to the border of Gökcha (Sevan), which was inhabited by the subjects of the governor of Erivan. Later, he subjugated to his will the lands that lay from the Khoda-afarin Bridge to the Kurek River in the domain of the governor of Ganje.

In addition to all this, the Kangarlu tribe of Nakhichevan, under the control of their *minbashi*,<sup>3</sup> and the famed Demirchi-Hasanli tribe, being a branch of the Demirchi-Hasanli of Georgia, and also under the supervision of their *minbashi*, as well as the famous tribe of Jinli, under their own *minbashi*, hearing of Panah Khan's justice, mercy, and greatness, came voluntarily to him, entrusted themselves to his mighty protection, and settled in Karabagh.

All these tribes, because of their loyalty to and love for the khan, earned his attention and his great favor. Not one of them was blamed for his behavior or action. Their mightiest would obey the slightest wish of the khan; such was their loyalty.

The native tribes of Karabagh, except those who lived in villages [had settled down], were the Javanshir, Otuz-iki, and Kebirli. The Kebirli served the late khan, who now resides in heaven, with utmost and indescribable loyalty. But the Javanshir and the Otuz-iki, at times, behaved in a manner that forced the khan to suspect them of treachery.

Each of the five *mahals*, known under the group name of *Khamse*, had its own name. As they tell us, there were five *mahals*. Together they were called the *Khamse*, for *khamse* means five in Arabic.

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<sup>1</sup> They are in present-day Zangezur, where the Zangezur Mountains meet the Arax River.

<sup>2</sup> Bargoshat is located near the Bargoshat River, on the right bank of the Akera River.

<sup>3</sup> This officer was in charge of 1,000 men.

One of these *mahals* was called Dizak. The *meliks* of this *mahal* were called Melik Egans. They were refugees from Lori.<sup>1</sup> They received the title of *meliks* during the reign of Nader Shah, and because of his decree, they mounted the throne of *meliks*.

The second *mahal* was Varanda. Their *meliks* were the Shahnazars. They were descended from an older family than the previously mentioned *meliks* and enjoyed great trust. The Shahnazar *meliks* were notables from Sevan, from where they had fled to Karabagh, and became the rulers of the Varanda *mahal*.

The third *mahal* was Khachen. The *meliks* of Khachen were the descendants of the Hasan-Jalalians. They were born rulers. When this family was deprived of independence and the rank of *melik*, the beautiful Maiden of *Melikdom* became the cupbearer and intoxicated various people with a yearning for power.

This continued as long as they did not appear on the horizon of the radiant Panah Khan Javanshir and did not shine their bright light on the Karabagh province. At the same time, Melik Mirza-khan of Khndzistan,<sup>2</sup> because of his loyalty, and being well disposed toward the commands of the ruler of Karabagh, began to mint coins of pure silver in his *melikdom* in the name of Panah Khan. After him, as the saying goes:

“Each man has but five days on earth [our days are numbered].”

His son Melik Allahverdi and his grandson Melik Qahraman raised the [fame of this] *melikdom* to the sky.

The fourth *mahal* was Jraberd. The *melik* of this *mahal* was Melik Allah Qoli. His ancestors came here from Mahaviz (Mahavuz).<sup>3</sup> They became *meliks* and settled by the Tartar River, in an inaccessible place called Jermuk.<sup>4</sup> They selected the fortress of Jermuk as their residence, took over the area of Jraberd, and became its independent and famous rulers.

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<sup>1</sup> Lori is in the northern part of Armenia, near Georgia; see also Chapter 3 of Mirza Jamal's text.

<sup>2</sup> Khndzirstan is a village in Mountainous Karabagh, some 25-30 km northwest of Shushi.

<sup>3</sup> Mahavuz is a village in Zangezur. The village of Chardakhli in Karabagh in the upper part of Tartar, where Melik Allah Qoli settled, was also occasionally called Mahavuz.

<sup>4</sup> Text reads Chermikh.

During the war between Nader Shah and the Turkish *seraskar*,<sup>1</sup> Koprülü-oglu Abdullah Pasha, Melik Allah Qoli demonstrated an exemplary and unparalleled courage and valor. Nader Shah reckoned that the title of *melik* was not enough for him; he ordered that, from then on, all notables and common folk should address him not as *melik*, but as *sultan*. These *meliks* came from an old and famous family.

The fifth *mahal* was Talesh/Golestan. Its *melik* was Melik Usub (Yusub/Yusuf/Hovsep). The ancestors of this *melik* came from Shirvan. They lived, for some time, in the village of Talesh. Many of them served repeatedly as [chief] *meliks*. After that, Melik Usub seized the fortress of Golestan and settled there.

At the start of the late Panah Khan's rule, the *melik* of Dizak, the offspring of Melik Egan, became an enemy of Panah Khan and his state, which had been granted to him by God himself. The flame of war burned for a long time and consumed people from both sides.

Finally, God's grace was on the side of the late Panah Khan. By God's predetermination, Panah Khan emerged victorious from this battle. Some men from the family of Melik Egan were executed... Their wings were broken and they remained in a weak position.

Our fragrant and bilingual<sup>2</sup> quill has already mentioned Melik Shahnazar Beg, one of the *meliks* of Varanda. Melik Shahnazar was a man of noble birth and very wealthy. He, together with his son Melik Jamshid, always enjoyed the late Panah Khan's and the late Ibrahim Khan's love, respect, and attention. Since one of the daughters of Melik Shahnazar was the wife of Ibrahim Khan, they were even tied by kinship. However, the grandson of Melik Shahnazar, Melik Ulubab, gathered various riff-raff in the form of an army from the environs and neighboring regions of Khachen, fortified himself in Ballu-qaye<sup>3</sup> and rebelled against the late Panah Khan.

Learning this, the late Panah Khan, residing now in heaven, marched out with extraordinary swiftness and grandeur against the union of troublemakers. He struck a crushing blow at the heart of

<sup>1</sup> Commander-in-Chief.

<sup>2</sup> This indicates that the scribe, Salari, wrote the *Karabagh-name* in a mixture of Persian and Turki, see introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Also known as Ballugay. A village by that name was on the left bank of the Khachen River, east of the village of Arajadzor; Kostikian, 219.

the rebels, defeated them, and turned them and their trenches and strongholds to dust...<sup>1</sup>

After that, the population of Khachen wore the ring of submission in its ears and placed the coat of loyalty on its shoulders. They took the step of submission, entered into the cloister of mercy and ceased thoughts of enmity.

At the beginning of the late Panah Khan's accession to the throne, Melik Allah Qoli Sultan of Jraberd, who lived in Agh-Oghlan, came to visit the late khan.

At that time, the governor of Nakhichevan, Heidar Qoli Khan, was also a guest of the late khan, who now resides in heaven. He noticed the wealth and splendor that surrounded Allah Qoli, and began to convince Panah Khan that such a *sultan* would not submit to him. He added that two rulers, both equally wealthy and prosperous, each with equal chances, could not exist in the same city (state). The situation demanded that a dagger, thirsty for warm blood, should drink from the stream of Allah Qoli's throat. The flowers of Agh-Oghlan must turn into scarlet red, and Allah Qoli's eyes be darkened forever to the universe.

The late Panah Khan agreed fully with his ideas and ordered the death of Allah Qoli Khan. The successor of the murdered Allah Qoli Khan, his brother, Melik Hatam, became the *melik* of Jraberd.

Melik Usub of Golestan, with the help of the above *melik*, killed his uncle and sat on the throne. Both of these *meliks* made an alliance and raised the flag of enmity and discord [against Panah Khan]. They both locked themselves in the fortress of Jermuk and, for a long time, made sorties and engaged in killings. Panah Khan, in his turn, attacked them several times and caused casualties.

Although Panah Khan, because of the impregnability of the fortress, could not achieve his aim, he had his troops' horses trample the grain sown at the foot of the mountain.

The inhabitants inside the fortress found themselves in a difficult situation. Both the *meliks*, despite the unbelievable deprivation of the previous four years, continued to be examples of firmness and stubbornness. During this long period they did not cease their killing and looting, and displayed desperate obstinacy and audacity. They headed and commanded armed units of the surrounding khans, who

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<sup>1</sup>The passage describing the building a minaret from their heads is not included. Leviatov probably deleted such passages, in order not to disturb the so-called "Great Friendship" among the Soviet nationalities, i.e. Armeno-Azeri friendship. See *Tarikh-e Karabagh*, Chapter Three.

had come to battle the late Panah Khan. They did not retreat a step from the war initiated against them by Panah Khan.

Finally, Panah Khan tightened the noose so much that they chose to depart their native land for a better life. They gathered their people and subjects, loaded their equipment on camels and retreated toward Ganje. They stopped in Shamkir (Shamkhor) *mahal* and lived there for seven years, enduring deprivation and incredible hardship.

### *On Panah Khan's War and Battles Against the Meliks of Khamse<sup>1</sup>*

*At the beginning of Panah Khan's reign, Melik Sa'i (Esayi), the melik of the Dizaq (Dizak) mahal, who was known for his bravery, fought many battles with Panah Khan.*

*For a while there was enmity between them. At one time Melik Esayi defeated Panah Khan's army, scattered it, and forced Panah to flee to Bayat and spend a month in the forest among the grass and trees. Then, with the help of Hajji Chelebi, he [Panah] gathered troops and continued his war against Melik Esayi.*

*Soon, through the mediation of negotiators, the hostility ended. Since Melik Esayi was a humble, honest, and self-confident man, he, together with some of the kadkhodas and village elders (rish-sefid), went to Panah Khan. Panah Khan treacherously seized him and murdered him.<sup>2</sup>*

*He persecuted and victimized all his sons and seized their property. Some of them fled, others had no choice but to convert to Islam. Today, some of his [Melik Esayi's] descendants are Muslim and others are Christian.*

*In the mahal of Khachin (Khachen), the grandson of (Melik) Ulubab rose against (Panah Khan). He gathered people from different villages in the fort of Ballu-qaye and started a war against Panah Khan.*

*Panah Khan attacked the fort with a large number of men, had a major battle, captured their stronghold, massacred the majority of the men, and built a minaret out of their heads. After that, the inhabitants of that region submitted to Panah Khan, served him, and obeyed his orders.*

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has additional data in a separate chapter. It is included here in its entirety. I have followed the Persian text and have polished Kostikian's translation.

<sup>2</sup> This occurred in 1781; Kostikian, 219.

*At the start of Panah Khan's rule, Melik Allah Qoli of Jraberd went to Agh-Oghlan<sup>1</sup> on a friendly visit.<sup>2</sup>*

*At that time, Heidar Qoli Khan, the governor of Nakhichevan, was Panah Khan's guest. Seeing Allah Qoli's wealth and splendor, he said to Panah Khan, "Such a wealthy person will not serve you, for two rulers<sup>3</sup> will not walk in one velayat. I would advise you to stab him with your dagger and paint the black earth of Agh-Oghlan red with his blood".*

*The hunter fell into such a trap that  
It is not possible for learned men to release him  
A stone is on his face and a snake rests upon the stone  
Good advice is not measured by delay<sup>4</sup>*

*Panah Khan took Heidar Qoli Khan's advice. He seized Allah Qoli Sultan and murdered him.<sup>5</sup> As a result, a conflict began between Allah Qoli Sultan's family and Panah Khan.*

*After the murder of Allah Qoli Sultan, his brother, Melik Hatam, began a blood feud, rebelled, and unleashed a war.*

*Together with Melik Usub, the Melik of the Golestan mahal, who, with the help of Melik Hatam, had killed his uncle and had become melik in his place,<sup>6</sup> they had numerous armed battles and skirmishes with Panah Khan.*

*They settled in Jermuk, a fortress that became their refuge. Panah Khan attacked them many times, but, because of the strength of the fort, could not succeed in taking it. Nevertheless, he destroyed their harvests and trampled their fields.*

*The struggle continued for four or five years. Sometimes they allied with Panah Khan's enemies and damaged his reputation.*

*It is said that a certain Arzuman<sup>7</sup> gathered a group of brave warriors and resisted Panah Khan with feats of valor. Once Panah Khan asked Arzuman's father, "Why don't you advise your son to*

<sup>1</sup> Kostikian (219) calls it Amaras, the Armenian name of the place.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *estemzaj-e karash*—to ask about his health, or to ask his opinion about a matter.

<sup>3</sup> Text reads *sahib*.

<sup>4</sup> Not included in Kostikian, 220.

<sup>5</sup> This occurred in 1749; Kostikian, 220.

<sup>6</sup> Kostikian has misread this sentence, 220.

<sup>7</sup> Arzuman Yuzbashi was from Jraberd. He died in 1796 and was buried in the churchyard of St. Hovhannēs-Mkrtich' in Ganje; Kostikian, 220.

*calm down and cease his aggression?" He replied, "He is not my son, for, if he was, he would not allow anyone [that is, Panah Khan] to set foot out of the fortress of Shushi [and attack the Armenians]."*

*Once Panah Khan sent a man called Cheragh Beg with a group of horsemen to capture Arzuman.*

*Learning of this, Arzuman attacked, scattered the cavalry, and captured Cheragh. The next day he made a shooting target of him and said, "Either admit that Jesus is the only God or I will shoot." Cheragh admitted that Jesus was the sole God and was set free.*

*When he came to Panah Khan, the latter reproached him, saying, "Were you not ashamed to call Jesus the only God in order to save your life?" Cheragh replied, "O Khan, when I saw Arzuman in all his grandeur, I called Jesus God. If you had also seen him, you would have called Arzuman God."*

*Thus, despite the quarrels among the Armenians, they fought for a long time, until Panah Khan and his son, Ibrahim Khan, strengthened their position daily and finally began to oppress them.*

*Melik Hatam and Melik Usub were forced to leave their native land and fled to Ganje.<sup>1</sup>*

*They stayed in Shamkhor for seven years. During Agha Mohammad Khan's invasion of Karabagh, Melik Mejlum, Melik Hatam's son, joined him and fought against Ibrahim Khan.<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> In a report written in 1800 Kovalenskii writes that *Melik* Jamshid, son of *Melik* Shahnazar; *Melik* Abov, son of *Melik* Yusuf; *Melik* Fridon (Feridun), son of *Melik* Beglar, and the other *meliks*, five in total, were independent rulers in Karabagh from ancient times. The father of Ibrahim Khan made war on them and forced them to leave. *Melik* Mejlum and Abov came to Tiflis and received land from Erekle. After the death of Mejlum, his followers and his young son went to Ganje. *Melik* Abov remained in Georgia. He, together with *Melik* Jamshid and *Melik* Feridun, went to St. Petersburg and petitioned the Emperor to make them his subjects and to permit them to live in Russia or Georgia, *Akty*, I, 123-124 (doc. 34).

<sup>2</sup> *T.S.* 82v-84r.

## Chapter Four

### *On the Foundation of the City of Shushi and On the War Between Mohammad Hasan Khan, the Father of Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar, and the Late Panah Khan*

After the environs of Karabagh became relatively calm and the *meliks* of *Khamse* were somewhat pacified, some of the leaders of the rebellious nomadic tribes, either voluntarily or by force, submitted to the rule of Panah Khan. When the late Panah Khan heard about the strife among the princes in Persia,<sup>1</sup> he resolved to subject the governors of Qaradagh, Ardabil, Ganje, and Nakhichevan to his will and wielded his authority over them.<sup>2</sup>

For a time Panah Khan managed to subdue them under his authority: some by the force of his victorious arms, others through his envoys, with whom he sent letters expressing his good will. He appointed Dargah Beg of Sarijallu as the governor of Ardabil. The appointment and confirmation of the khans of Ganje also depended on Panah Khan. As was customary, several of the sons of these khans were long-term hostages at the fortress of Shah-Bulaghi.

This arrangement continued to exist until Panah Khan received the news that Mohammad Hasan Khan,<sup>3</sup> the father of Agha Mohammad Shah Qajar,<sup>4</sup> had established himself as the independent ruler in [central] Persia, Azerbaijan, and Mazandaran.<sup>5</sup>

All the notables around the late [Panah] Khan, who had been summoned to a council by him, said, "After the death of Nader

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<sup>1</sup> This followed the death of Nader Shah.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds that he took the lands from Meghri, Gunay, and Bargoshat from Qaradagh; the *mahals* of Tat'ew and Sisian from the governor of Nakhichevan, Zangezur and Qapan from the *beglarbegi* of Tabriz, and the territory stretching from the Tratar River to the Ushachogh (Uzajigh) River, at the borders of Lake Sevan—the settlement of the Kolani tribe, from the governor of Erevan. Thus, from 1755 to 1757, Panah Khan ruled the entire region from the Khoda-afarin Bridge down to the Kurek River, which had been under the rule of the *beglarbegis* of Ganje. Moreover, he brought some of the Kangarlu tribe and their *minbashi* from Nakhichevan, and the Demirchi-Hansali and the Jinli tribes from Georgia to Karabagh; *T.S.* 84v. Tat'ew and Sisian are missing from Kostikian, 221.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Tarikh-e Karabagh*, Chapter Four.

<sup>4</sup> See also *Tarikh-e Karabagh*, Chapter Four.

<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Hasan Khan fought Azad Khan of Urmiye.

Shah, 'Ali Qoli Khan and *Sardar* Emir Aslan kept a strong bond and friendship with us. But now it is highly likely that Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar will take the road of enmity against us. We cannot be sure of the behavior of the surrounding khans and our state has many ingrained enemies. It is possible that they will poison the mind of Mohammad Hasan Khan against us, join him, and do battle against us. Then the population of Karabagh, as well as the tribes, will perish under the hoofs of our foes' horses. The fortress of Shah-Bulaghi will hardly be able to resist their onslaught. There is a possibility that this might happen soon. In which case, as they say in the proverb: "we must prevent the event before it starts." It would be prudent to find a more fortified and impregnable place and build a town there, surround it with walls and towers, and thus be secure from our enemies."

Panah Khan, as noted, always conferred with Melik Shahnazar. On the advice and the direction of the latter, Panah Khan founded the town of Shushi. Since there was no flowing water or springs near the place where the town was to be built, they dug several experimental wells. After it became possible to take water from the wells, in the year AH 1170 (1756/1757),<sup>1</sup> they laid the foundation of the future town of Shushi.

The inhabitants of Shah-Bulaghi and several other villages were relocated here. Each family was given a place to live. After the population had settled down in the new area, Panah Khan built a tall and spacious palace for his family. Skillful masters, famed builders and specialists began to construct the walls and the towers of the fortress, the remains of which are still evident today.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has 1171/1765 [should read 1757]; *T.S.* 85r. Leviatov states that despite the fact that all the various manuscripts of the *Karabagh-name* have the date of 1170, that date is not possible. He adds that Panah Khan's tomb dates his death in 1172 (1758/1759). The text clearly indicates that, Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar arrived there a year after the completion of the fortress. A month after his departure the various khans met with Erekle Khan to attack Hajji Chelebi. The year of these events was 1752. Hence the fortress must have been constructed sometime between 1750 and 1751, *Karabagh-name*, 61-62. The same error appears in *Tarikh-e Karabagh*; see Chapter Four.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf has the following: High rocks from the east, west, and northwest surrounded it. No one could get there by foot or horseback...the walls had a height of five *zar'* (cubit) and were two and a half *zar'* thick...Four gates were also constructed: two on the northern and eastern [reads western and northern in Kostikian, 223] sides, the first called

A year after the foundation of the town of Shushi, the father of Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar, Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar, with his bloodsucking retinue, gathered an army in Astarabad, Mazandaran, and Gilan.<sup>1</sup> Their numbers exceeded stones and the raindrops from the sky. He moved to conquer the town of Shushi. He camped at the small town of Khatun-arkh, which is not far from the fortress.<sup>2</sup>

Mohammad Hasan Khan tried, in various ways, to find a way to bend Panah Khan and to make him submit to his rule. Mohammad Hasan Khan resorted to numerous tricks and snares, but could not catch this high-flying falcon in his net. Mohammad Hasan Khan stationed his camp in Khatun-arkh. He ordered tents erected and trenches dug, but the bold Karabaghi men caused great harm to his troops. They carried off livestock and captured men transporting provisions.

At that moment, Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar heard that Karim Khan Zand was enjoying great success, that he was victoriously proceeding, and was conquering more and more lands. Mohammad Hasan Khan left his cannons at Khatun-arkh, struck the drums of retreat and lifted the banners of the rearward march.<sup>3</sup> The late Panah Khan took the cannons into the fortress. When the Kizilbash<sup>4</sup> troops besieged the town of Shushi, these cannons were at the

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Shushikend, the second Mokhtar; the other two, on the western and north-western side, one called the Erevan, the other, the Ganje-Jraberd Gate. The fourth gate is destroyed now and a wall has covered it... He established a mint and minted a coin—named Panahabadi. It weighed a little over one *mesqal* (4.6 grams) of silver. The word Panahabad was stamped on one side, while the other side read “There is one God, His name is Allah and Muhammad is his Messenger.” Six of them equaled one Russian *manat* (ruble) and eight equaled one Karabaghi (Persian) *tuman*; *T.S.* 85v.

<sup>1</sup> *T.S.* has also Iraq, 85v. It should not to be confused with present-day Iraq. The Persian province of Iraq was ‘Araq-e ‘Ajam, located in the central part of the country, see below for further details.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf has added the following: Panah Khan summoned the brave young men and experienced warriors from his tribes and from the villages of Takht-e Qapu... *T.S.* 86r.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf has: He left the two big cannons he had brought from Tehran, which were called *hesar-tupi* (fortress cannons), *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> The Russians and the Ottomans occasionally called the Persian army or the territory of Persia, “the Kizilbash” or the “Land of the Kizilbash”—after the early followers of the Safavids. Although the Safavid state had disappeared, the term remained. Persian/Persia will replace “Kizilbash” throughout the text.

disposal of the soldiers of the powerful Russian State,<sup>1</sup> and were used when necessary.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has added, "in 1242/1826"; *T.S.* 86r.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds: "As the population of Shushi increased rapidly, the old walls of the fortress, built at the time of Panah Khan, were destroyed in 1789/1204, during the rule of Ibrahim Khan...New, stronger, walls were built within a *verst* (3500 feet) away...Its inhabitants were mostly Armenians. Panah Khan had brought some of them from Meghri, Agulis, Ordubad, Kazanchi, and others from Jraberd and various villages [of Karabagh]...Although at the time of Panah Khan, when Shushi was just founded, the Muslim population prevailed—they were mostly brought from Tabriz, Nakhichevan, and the Karabaghi tribes; the Armenian population, because of the impregnability of the fortress, increased, and by 1271/1855, during the rule of the Great Russian State, two-thirds [of the population] is Armenian and one-third Shi'i Muslims...The Armenian *mahalle* (quarters) are: Meghrilu, Kazanchilu, Agulisu, Jraberdlu, Dareh, and Baghan. The lower and western quarters are the Muslim sections: Qurtlar, Julfa, Quyluq, Chukhur, Hajji-Yusuflu, Mardinlu, Juhudlar (probably Jewish), Sa'tlar, Mamani, and Khoja Marjanlu; *T.S.* 86v. According to Kostikian, 224, additional Armenian quarters existed and are listed in the Dadyan fund at the Central State Archives of Armenia, 319, folder 1, file 1, 52.

## Chapter Five

### *On How the Vali of Georgia, Erekle Khan, Insidiously Captured the Late Panah Khan, Kazem Khan of Qaradagh, Heidar Qoli Khan of Nakhichevan, and Shahvardi Khan of Ganje*

After the departure of Mohammad Hasan Khan Qajar from Karabagh, Panah Khan, Kazem Khan of Qaradagh, Heidar Qoli Khan of Nakhichevan, and Shahvardi Khan of Ganje had a meeting and agreed that Hajji Chelebi, who was the rightful and independent ruler of all Shirvan, had scorned them. Therefore, they decided that measures had to be taken to tame him. When this was agreed among them all, they stated their motives and their decision in a special letter and dispatched it to Erekle Khan. He replied that he agreed with them in this matter and that he completely shared their views. He added that there should be no delay in resolving the problem and that all the khans should come to him, to make a joint plan regarding this matter.

All the above-mentioned khans, after the necessary preparations, journeyed with their retinues and troops.

Above the city of Ganje, in the small town called Kizil-qaye, they pitched splendid tents that reached the sun and the moon.

The above-mentioned *vali* of Georgia lured the four into his presence and took all of them captive.<sup>1</sup> One of the servants of Shahvardi Khan immediately mounted a swift horse and galloped away. At the same time, Hajji Chelebi, with the intention of gathering a large number of troops, dispatched a letter throughout all of Shirvan. Together with a huge army, which included reserve supplies and equipment, he camped at the Mingechavir (Mingechaur) crossing and prepared for battle [with Erekle]. At that time, on the other side of the river, a certain horseman of Hajji Chelebi appeared and ordered that they transfer him by boat to the other side of the Kur.

After crossing the river, he appeared before Hajji Chelebi and said, "O father,<sup>2</sup> the *vali* has imprisoned all the khans."

Hajji Chelebi replied, "Your father [i.e. Chelebi] will free them from captivity and will go to war to do so."

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<sup>1</sup> March 21, 1752, according to the anonymous Georgian Chronicle, translated into Russian by E. S. T'aqaishvili, cited in *Karabagh-name*, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads "Baba."

Hajji Chelebi summoned his retainers and officials. Listening to their conversation he assessed their opinions. When the time came to make a decision, he told the emirs, "Whatever decision you make, it has to include the crossing of the Kur River."

The moment they heard this, they turned around and said to him, "We came to confer so that the matter would not involve crossing the Kur. But if you so wish, let it be so. Order the troops to march!"

From that time on, the above words of Hajji Chelebi have become part of the common people's lore and have survived to our days.

Hajji Chelebi ordered them to saddle the horses and to immediately cross the Kur. Hajji Chelebi's army moved speedily. Learning this, the *vali* of Georgia panicked. Fear took hold of him, for the valor and bravery of Hajji Chelebi's army was well known to him from a previous battle.<sup>1</sup> He could do nothing, however, but face him.

By the radiant tomb of Sheikh Nezami,<sup>2</sup> may the almighty God bless him; there where God's light emanates and illuminates the hearts and minds of men, the two armies collided and the battle commenced. The soldiers of Georgia suffered a humiliating defeat. The *vali*, not able to join his [retreating] troops, also took flight. All his tents, with all that they contained, provisions, and the captive khans, remained in Kizil-qaye. Hajji Chelebi pursued the Georgian army up to three *aghach*<sup>3</sup> before the Broken Bridge. He almost reached Tiflis; the city was only five *aghach* away. Cutting off the

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<sup>1</sup> The battle between Hajji Chelebi and King T'eimuraz and Erekle occurred in Jar in 1751; P. G. Butkov, *Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza s 1722 po 1803 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1869), I, 238. Notes referring to Russian sources are culled (checked and sometimes corrected) from the Russian translation of the *Karabagh-name* and from Kostikian.

<sup>2</sup> The tomb of the great poet Ilyas b. Yusuf Nezami of Ganje (1141-1209) is on the outskirts of the town. According to Leviatov, Mirza Adigözal Beg had repaired it, *Karabagh-name*, 22. His five (*Khamse*) epic works, all written in Persian, contain the famous *Leyli and Majnun* and the *Haft Paykar* ("Seven Portraits"). The Persians consider him one of their poets, but since Ganje became part of the Azerbaijan Republic in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Azeris claim him as well. Contesting the Azeri notion of Turkicizing everything in what was the eastern Caucasus, Jan Rypka in his *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, 1968) states, "The Azerbaijan of today...is not content with the mere fact of his being a compatriot but also considers him as belonging to its Turkish tribe," 210.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf has "three farsakhs," *T.S.* 87r; one *aghach* is 7 *versts*.

retreating Georgian troops in Shamkhor, Shams-od-din (Shamshadil), and Kazakh, Hajji Chelebi's troops massacred many of them. Hajji Chelebi ordered the construction of fortifications in the land of Baydar. He appointed his son, Aqa Kishi Beg, the ruler of the Muslims who lived on the road to Tiflis. He sent each khan, who was imprisoned by Erekle, back to his homeland, and then returned to Shirvan.

For three years, Aqa Kishi Beg governed the above provinces. Finally, the *vali* gathered a huge army from Georgia, Bashi-achok (Imeret'i), and even Circassia, and moved against Aqa Kishi Beg. When Aqa Kishi Beg learned of the *vali's* march, he fled, not having sufficient troops and knowing that he did not have the strength to repel the enemy. The vanguard of the *vali* caught up with him by the Tavus (Tauz) River. In the skirmish that followed, a number of Aqa Kishi's men were captured, but he managed to reach Shakki unharmed.

The army of the *vali* continued to move and reached the Khodaafarin Bridge. Upon their return they looted many districts of Ganje and Karabagh.

## Chapter Six

### *On the Invasion of Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar, the Governor of Urmiye, of the Karabagh Province; On the War and Peace; On the Deception and the Taking of Ibrahim-Khalil Aqa and the Death of Panah Khan*

The governor of Urmiye, Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar, was one of the most beloved and renowned captains and commanders of Nader Shah's musketeers. He conquered all the districts of Azerbaijan and the light of his crescent triumphantly illuminated the places he had vanquished.

To increase his power and glory, he had no other rivals to defeat except Panah Khan. Therefore, Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar, in the depths of his soul, maintained an irreconcilable enmity toward Panah Khan. The dough of his being was mixed with the water of hatred toward him.

He undertook seven campaigns against the late Panah Khan, but suffered many losses each time and returned. The last time, he, and his large army, set up camp on a wide plain between the streams of Balluja and Khaje-alilu. He dug bastions in this place, which was located on a big road. The remains and traces of these fortifications have been preserved to this day. The place is known presently as Fath 'Ali Khan Sangeri.<sup>1</sup> Fath 'Ali Khan Afshar spent the entire winter there.

At that time, the *meliks* of Jraberd and Golestan, Melik Hatam and Melik Usub, joined the army of Fath 'Ali Khan and dug entrenchments next to the bastions of Fath 'Ali Khan's army. Traces of these dugouts have been preserved to this day [as well].

They camped there for six months. Although Fath 'Ali Khan selflessly took the field every day against his enemy, his effort and suffering did not bring success. He suffered great losses and returned disappointed.

Finally, he, together with the *meliks*, began an all-front attack and fearlessly took the field of battle. Panah Khan, with his Karabagh troops, who were vindicated on the field of struggle and battle, and whose hearts had turned scarlet like poppies from thirst for the blood of the enemy, also came out to defend [Shushi] and to fight.

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<sup>1</sup> From *sangar*, entrenchment, bastion.

The troops from both sides closed ranks  
 They girded themselves and dashed to battle.  
 The sound of trumpets and the noise of the kettledrums  
     Shook the blue sky.  
 With bows and arrows they went against each other  
     Much blood was shed on that field.  
 From the roar of those lions in the commotion  
 The fish<sup>1</sup> was set in motion and fortune died away.  
 In the hands of the gallant troops on the field  
 The arrow became a bow and a bow an arrow.  
 The dust that rose from the hoofs of the horses  
     Darkened the air into an ocean of tar.  
 The shimmer of the bows and the lightning flight of the arrows  
     The abundance of arrows raining down like a downpour  
         Made a red river of blood on the ground  
 The land became red like the field on the Day of Judgment.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Fath 'Ali Khan, realizing the fair Maiden of his Desire would not appear in the mirror of life, and that nothing but loss and disgrace had come of the struggle and battle, decided to remove the causes for hatred and enmity and began to make plans and conditions for peace and agreement.

Panah Khan, on the strength of the saying, "Forgiveness is a sign of strength," sincerely accepted his request. The meeting occurred on the Aqa Bridge,<sup>3</sup> and peace was secured by concluding a treaty and an agreement.

Fath 'Ali Khan told the late Panah Khan that the possibility of a rupture or disagreement between their two governments was hereafter eliminated. He added, "Now, our friendly request is that you deign to send your worthy son to our camp for several days as a guest; for, because of our love for Ibrahim-Khalil Aqa, our eyes are constantly in tears and our heart is broiled like *kebab*.<sup>4</sup> This will be a great honor for us and we will be able to demonstrate our hospitality. After we are rewarded with his visit and our heart is content, I

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<sup>1</sup> According to ancient belief, the earth was balanced on the horns of a bull and the bull stood on the back of a fish.

<sup>2</sup> The Muslims believe that, on the Day of Judgment, the land will turn red, like a red-hot iron. Mirza Yusuf has a similar ode; *T.S.*, 88r.

<sup>3</sup> Not far from Shushi. Yusuf Khan reads Aq Korpi; *T.S.* 88v.

<sup>4</sup> Broiled meat.

shall present him to Your Grace and will organize festive and splendid farewells for him.”<sup>1</sup>

The late Panah Khan trusted his false words, which were accompanied by solemn oaths. Accompanied by a number of wise and eloquent men, he sent his brave son, the light of his eyes, to Fath ‘Ali Khan’s camp.<sup>2</sup>

When they informed Fath ‘Ali Khan about this, he was terribly happy and dispatched several men from among his sons, retainers, and commanders to greet Ibrahim Khalil Aqa. With exceptional splendor, Ibrahim Aqa left for the camp of Fath ‘Ali Khan Afshar.

He spent several days as a guest and realized that they would never permit him to return. Since he spent each evening dining with one of the emirs or khans, he could not leave [escape at night].

He sent news to Panah Khan, “In all probability Fath ‘Ali Khan plans to take me with him. Send me immediately from the *qal’α*<sup>3</sup> my chestnut-colored horse. Maybe with the help of my horse, I shall be lifted like the morning breeze and will be able to flee.”

By the time they brought the horse to the camp of Fath ‘Ali Khan, he was already leaving and the drum beats of his retreat reached the blue skies. He took Ibrahim Khalil Aqa with him and went back.

When this tragic news reached Panah Khan, and he realized that the light of his eyes was separated from him, the entire bright world grew dim in his eyes. He summoned his retinue and began to confer with them about how to find a way to free his beloved son, his first-born.

When Fath ‘Ali Khan turned the direction of his horse to his homeland, Karim Khan Zand,<sup>4</sup> who was one of the powerful emirs, had mounted the Steed of Greatness in Fars<sup>5</sup> and who had drank from the cup of fortune in Iraq,<sup>6</sup> seized the reins of government in his hands and went against Fath ‘Ali Khan.

Karim Khan Zand sent his brother, Eskandar Khan, with a large number of troops to do battle with Fath ‘Ali Khan.

<sup>1</sup> Bakikhanov writes that Panah Khan gave his son Ibrahim Khan as a hostage to Fath ‘Ali, when the latter marched on Karabagh in 1175 (1762), *Giulistan-Iram* (Baku, 1926), 130.

<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that Panah Khan had to give his son as a hostage.

<sup>3</sup> From *qal’e*, fortress.

<sup>4</sup> Karim Khan Zand (1750-1779).

<sup>5</sup> See also *Tarikh-e Karabagh*, Chapter Four.

<sup>6</sup> Mirza Yusuf has added Dar ol-Marz (borderlands); *T.S.* 89r.

The two armies met near Isfahan. Eskandar Khan was killed in that battle, his army was defeated, and Fath 'Ali Khan emerged victorious from the conflict. He conquered a number of districts in Iraq and raised his banner of power and glory.

When Karim Khan learned of this sad news, he became extremely angry and the feeling of revenge began to burn in his heart. It was still long before he managed to equip and send an impressive army to Azerbaijan and, with the force of his victory, dominate that region and bring it peace and quiet. [Meanwhile], he wrote an amicable letter and sent it to Panah Khan with one of his trusted men. He informed Panah Khan of his respect toward him and requested that they form an alliance.

The letter stated: "Fath 'Ali Khan is presently involved in insidious acts; he is our wily enemy. He has also become your most malevolent foe. He broke his promise and oath, took Ibrahim-Khalil Aqa, and caused you great sorrow and pain. Every day he attacks this or that emir. Reasonable people do not hold back in a storm. I have turned into a blazing hurricane. I have drawn the sword of hatred and have made the decision to go to war against him. In connection with this, I request that you, as a friend, urgently and without losing time, together with your victorious and battle-experienced army, come to my help. For, deep in my soul, I wish to avenge the blood of my brother and to free your son."

The late Panah Khan, who had always sought a way to destroy Fath 'Ali Khan, immediately gathered a large army, together with numerous horsemen, and went to assist Karim Khan. He met Karim Khan in Azerbaijan. The latter accorded him great honor and respect. There, they concluded an alliance against Fath 'Ali Khan, moved forward, reached the environs of Urmiye, and pitched their tents, which reached the sky, around the city.

The abundance of tents turned the land into a marvelous color  
As if it was covered by flowers of heaven

Fath 'Ali Khan, together with his huge army, also marched to battle. After a short skirmish, he fled to the fortress of Urmiye. The fortress was surrounded.

Several days later, Fath 'Ali Khan was convinced that the feather of victory had turned away from him, as had the star of his fortune. The sunset of his rule had approached. He realized that he had no

other choice except to submit. Trusting in Karim Khan's promises, he appeared obediently before him.<sup>1</sup>

Karim Khan, in the absence of an independent shah in Persia, called himself the *vakil*<sup>2</sup> and refused the title of shah. He summoned Ibrahim Khalil Aqa and rewarded him with expensive gifts: a sword decorated with precious stones and a horse with a gold-laden harness and saddle. He gave him the title of khan of the Karabagh province and sent him home. He then turned to Panah Khan and asked him to come to Shiraz for a few days.<sup>3</sup> Panah Khan accepted his invitation.

Karim Khan took Fath 'Ali Khan and Panah Khan and went to Dar ol-'Elm (Shiraz).<sup>4</sup>

On the way, not far from Isfahan, they reached the place where Eskandar, the brother of Karim Khan Zand, and Fath 'Ali Khan had fought the fateful battle.

Prior to that, no matter how much Karim Khan's mother had asked and had begged that he dispatch Fath 'Ali Khan to the other world to meet the dead Eskandar Khan, Karim Khan remained implacable. He did not want to break his promise.

But, when they reached the aforementioned place, Karim Khan asked Fath 'Ali Khan, "Are you familiar with this place? Where is it?"

Fath 'Ali Khan boldly replied, "Yes. This is the same field of battle and fateful place where the sun of Eskandar Khan's life grew dim."

When Karim Khan heard this inappropriate answer, he became so incensed that he almost had a heart attack. He immediately slew him and sent him to the other world, to his [Karim Khan's] brother, Eskandar Khan.

After several days they arrived in Shiraz. Some time later Panah Khan passed away. His remains were brought with great honor to Aghdam and buried on his private estate.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bakikhanov states that this occurred in 1176 (23 July 1762-11 July 1763), *Golestan-e Eram*, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Regent.

<sup>3</sup> He was, in fact, a hostage.

<sup>4</sup> The epithet of Shiraz was the house of knowledge.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf has added the following, "Panah Khan ruled Karabagh for seven years. Some say that Panah Khan pretended to be dead and had ordered his retainers to take his body back to Karabagh. He would thus trick his host, would escape his captivity in Shiraz, and would assume

Such is the law of the universe  
Its favor is not eternal nor its anger lasting  
There has never been a case that after nursing someone  
It did not hand him to death in the end  
It is tender and sweet in love  
As it is harsh in enmity

Come cup-bearer, my old friend  
My heart is once again gripped by fire...

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power in Karabagh. Karim Khan realized this and said 'since he was my dear friend I have to send his body with great honor [and intact] back to Karabagh. He ordered that they open his stomach, fill it with spices [to preserve it], and then send it on"; *T.S.*, 90r.

## Chapter Seven

### *On the Appointment of the Late Ibrahim Khan to the Position of the Governor of Karabagh; on His Accession to the Seat of Government; and the Events which Occurred during His Rule*

After the death and the passing of Panah Khan to the house of God's mercy, his eldest and valiant son, Ibrahim Khalil Khan, in the year AH 1173<sup>1</sup> occupied the post of governor of the Karabagh province and began to organize the life of the population. Not subordinate to the rulers of Persia, Rum,<sup>2</sup> or other states, he spread his rule over Karabagh, Shakki, Shirvan, Ganje, Tabriz, Nakhichevan, Ardabil, Khoi, Maraghe, Erevan, and even to regions reaching Qaplan-Kuh,<sup>3</sup> which was the border between the Azerbaijan [province] and [the rest of] Persia.<sup>4</sup> The appointment and removal of the governors of these provinces was by his command. In addition, 'Umma Khan, son of Nousal Khan, the governor of the Avars, which was part of Daghestan, became a relative of Ibrahim Khan, when the beloved and exalted sister of the former, Bike Aqa, lived at the court of Ibrahim Khan as his wife, surrounded by honors befitting her position.

Whenever necessary, Ibrahim Khan, with the help of the brave warriors (Lesghians) of Daghestan, removed his rebellious neighbors from the face of the earth, and broke the resistance of surrounding rebels. With the strength of his armed troops and with the help of the warriors from Daghestan, he conquered the Qaradagh *mahal* and emptied its district of Kur-dasht<sup>5</sup>...Traces of its ruins, towers and walls remain to this day. The inhabitants of that district were saved by flight and found refuge in Ahar. He took the governor of Kur-dasht, Mustafa Khan, as prisoner.

The khans of Qaradagh, Shahsavan and some other tribes submitted to his *firmands*, some because of marriage ties, others by force. Often, as a sign of respect, he would assign some of the provinces to his commanders, so that they could profit from the income.

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<sup>1</sup> The year 1173 began on 25 August 1759 and ended on 12 August 1760. Mirza Yusuf has the date 1168/1762; *T.S.*, 90v. There is no agreement among the primary sources. Mirza Jamal has 1174, Berzhe's version reads 1173; see Chapter Five in *Tarikh-e Karabagh*.

<sup>2</sup> Ottoman Empire.

<sup>3</sup> This range is a spur of the Azerbaijan range.

<sup>4</sup> The extent of his actual control is somewhat exaggerated.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf has "Korusht"; *T.S.* 90v.

In brief, although the late Panah Khan was not called a shah, his wealth and splendor so far surpassed that of contemporary Persian shahs that the khans of the aforementioned provinces and their sons were always in Ibrahim Khan's residence [as hostages].<sup>1</sup>

### *Ibrahim Khan's Invasion of Nakhichevan*

*At that time hostility arose between Ibrahim and Kalb 'Ali Khan of Nakhichevan. Ibrahim Khan called the Lesghians of Daghestan to help him. Omar ('Umma) Khan came to his aid. With the cavalry and the cherik<sup>2</sup> of Karabagh they attacked Kalb 'Ali Khan. They halted at the village of Karababa, surrounded it, and began to rob and pillage the region. Prior to this, Kalb 'Ali Khan had requested aid from the governor of Erevan. The latter sent a cavalry of Kurds and other tribesmen. They clashed in Karababa. Kalb 'Ali feigned a retreat. Seeing this, Omar ('Umma) Khan, against Ibrahim's repeated entreaties, started to pursue him. The Zilan Kurds and the Karapapakh, renowned for their bravery, halted and turned their swords against the Lesghians. The latter took flight. Ibrahim Khan, who had left his cherik in Karababa, was forced to send a man to the meliks and the yuzbashis and ask them to come. He then began peaceful negotiations and established friendly relations with Kalb 'Ali Khan. After that, he took his cherik and his army and returned to Karabagh.<sup>3</sup>*

### *Ibrahim Khan's Invasion of Khoi*

*Having finished the affair of Nakhichevan, Ibrahim Khan felt more powerful. Although Agha Mohammad Khan had secured his seat in Persia, he had not yet become very powerful and was busy in Shiraz and Fars. Ibrahim Khan, therefore, decided to subdue the velayat of Khoi to his will. In the year 1203 (1787/1788) he marched on Khoi with a large army comprised of the Lesghians of Jar and Avaria, the cherik of Karabagh, and the army of Karabagh. Moving from one station to another, he reached Marand with his huge army. Ja'far Qoli Khan, the governor of Khoi, came out to meet him with*

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the khans were temporarily held hostages. Their sons remained hostages longer.

<sup>2</sup> Auxiliary forces, recruited from nomadic tribes.

<sup>3</sup> T.S. 91r.

his army. Mullah Panah Vaqef, one of Ibrahim's retainers, who was a good astrologer, said that Khoi would be in their hands by the next day. The armies and their charkhchis<sup>1</sup> clashed on a field in Marand. During the battle the charkhchi-bashi of the Khoi cavalry cut the head of the charkhchi-bashi of the other side. [Ibrahim's] troops did not fight on but fled. The cherik infantry units dropped their arms, were robbed, and captured. The others ran back to their lands and homes. The entire army of Ibrahim Khan was robbed naked. Mullah Panah, who had previously predicted the capture of Khoi, was captured and brought to Khoi with several other notables. Farzi Beg, one of Ibrahim Khan's retainers who was a prisoner, told him angrily, "You said we would be in the city as conquerors and not prisoners." The captives stayed there for a long time, until Ibrahim Khan started negotiations, made peace with Ja'far Qoli Khan, and had him set his men free. Mullah Panah recited the following couplet:

*I am the vaqef (learned) man who came out alive  
I have repented as a prisoner of judgment...*

As Ibrahim Khan had power over many khans and governors, he took their children and relatives hostage and kept them in the fortress of Shushi. Erekle Khan, the vali of Georgia, also controlled a number of khans. At first the two were close and consulted each other about everything. This was because Omar Khan, the governor of Avaria and Daghestan, was an ally of Ibrahim Khan and would, at Ibrahim's request, invade and plunder Georgia. Thus in 1205 (1790/1791),<sup>2</sup> taking advantage of a disagreement between Ibrahim Khan and the vali, Omar Khan invaded Georgia and pillaged the land. He occupied the fortress of Gomushkhane,<sup>3</sup> massacred the majority of its population and took the rest captive. Omar Khan then went to Suleiman Pasha in Akhaltsikhe and spent the winter there. In spring, he once again attacked Georgia. On the way he besieged the fortress of Vakhan,<sup>4</sup> which was the abode of Prince Abashidze,

<sup>1</sup> These were skirmishers sent ahead to cause panic and to make it difficult for the enemy to maneuver. See W. Floor, *Safavid Government Institutions* (Costa Mesa, Ca. 2001), 264-265.

<sup>2</sup> Kostikian, citing another source, states that it was in 1785, 231.

<sup>3</sup> The village of Akhtala in the Lavlar ravine, near Lori; Kostikian, 232.

<sup>4</sup> The earlier Tmogvi or Tmkaberd fortress in the Upper Javahk region, now Akhalkalaki; Kostikian, 232.

*his family, and retinue. After a battle, he captured it, killed some of its inhabitants, imprisoned some of them, married one of Abashidze's daughters, and sent the other, Javahir [Jewel] Khanum, to Ibrahim Khan.*<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Karim Khan Zand,<sup>2</sup> Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar, the son of Mohammad Hasan Khan, who was a hostage in Shiraz, fled from there. Wishing to become the rider of the Steed of Power in Fars, he seized Iraq and Fars, and made *Dar ol-Khilafa* (Tehran)<sup>3</sup> his capital.

In the year AH 1176 (1762-1763),<sup>4</sup> Agha Mohammad Khan invaded the borders of Azerbaijan and occupied the provinces that lay south of the Aras<sup>5</sup> (Arax) River. He then crossed the river with the intention of conquering the provinces of Talesh and Erevan.<sup>6</sup> As they say, "Someone knocked at the door and growled." He knocked uninterruptedly at the gates of war, but the doors of success did not open before him.

Before that, he (Agha Mohammad Khan) sent a *khal'at* and a saber to the late Ibrahim Khan. Demonstrating every sign of respect, he tried to attract him to his side, but aside from cordial messages nothing happened. Finally, in that same year, Agha Mohammad Khan returned from Azerbaijan, decorated his person with kingly dress, named himself shah of Persia,<sup>7</sup> and lit the camphor<sup>8</sup> candle of power in the tent of *dara'i*.<sup>9</sup> As a result of these constant changes, the relations between Agha Mohammad Khan and the late Ibrahim Khan were damaged. The flowers of the banquet of their affection and alliance began to wither. [But, nonetheless,] events that oc-

<sup>1</sup> T.S. 91r-92v.

<sup>2</sup> Karim Khan died in February 1779.

<sup>3</sup> The epithet for Tehran was "House of Government."

<sup>4</sup> Scribal error. These events occurred in the year 1791, *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 233-236.

<sup>5</sup> The text has the Persian term "Aras" for the Arax River; "Arax" from the original "Araxes" will be used throughout.

<sup>6</sup> According to Butkov the event occurred in 1791; *Materialy*, II, 321.

<sup>7</sup> Incorrect; Agha Mohammad was crowned in the spring of 1796 in Tehran.

<sup>8</sup> Such a candle burns bright, long, and without any soot.

<sup>9</sup> Dara'i was a fabric woven from simple silk. Brightly colored stripes were mixed with the yarn. See W. Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry* (Paris, 1999), 149.

curred in Fars and Shiraz, and the disturbances and rebellions that flared up there<sup>1</sup> forced Agha Mohammad Shah to reject the march on Karabagh.

He turned the reins of his horse in that direction [Fars], established order in these lands and fastened the necks of the rebels with the rope of obedience. Then, in the year AH 1209 [1794-95],<sup>2</sup> he gathered a huge army with the intention of seizing Georgia, Erevan, Talesh, and Karabagh. He turned Azerbaijan into a field for swift horses and a place for his banners with the rising sun.<sup>3</sup> He dispatched his brother, 'Ali Qoli Khan, who was his apprentice and one of his main commanders, together with other khans and numerous forces, to capture Erevan. He, at the head of the units from Iraq, Fars, Khorasan, and Azerbaijan, which sparkled like the stars in heaven, approached the fortress of Shushi and camped at a distance of one *aghach* from it.<sup>4</sup>

The *vali* of Georgia, Erekle Khan, the governor of Erevan, Mohammad Khan,<sup>5</sup> and the governor of Talesh, Mir-Mustafa Khan, united with the late Ibrahim Khan, gave a solemn vow not to submit to Agha Mohammad Shah, to aid each other in every way possible, and to keep each other abreast of the situation.

Then, the late Ibrahim Khan dispatched some of the Karabagh tribes to Georgia, [and] some to Shirvan to Mustafa Khan of Shirvan, who was one of his appointees.

The mighty gentleman, the late Ibrahim Khan, sent into the mountains of Karabagh those tribes and some of his villagers who were recorded in his *daftar*s<sup>6</sup> and who had remained [in Shushi], and

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds Kerman to the rebellious provinces; *T.S.* 93r.

<sup>2</sup> The year 1209 began in 29 July 1794 and ended on 17 July 1795.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian flag has the sun rising behind a lion.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf identifies the place as being between Chanakhchi and Shushi, called Nabat-khan or Yurt-shah, which is located between the villages of Avetaranots' and Shushikend; *T.S.* 93r. They besieged the fortress of Shushi for 33 days from July to August 1795. See *Gramoty*, II (2), 93.

<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Khan Qajar was, with minor interruptions, the governor of Erevan from 1784 to 1805. He accepted Erekle's superior military strength and managed to keep most of his territory intact. Not known for his bravery, he was a good politician and negotiated with Russia, Turkey, Persia, Karabagh, and Georgia to keep himself in power for two decades. His procrastination in supporting the shah and 'Abbas Mirza during Tsitsianov's invasion of Erevan (1804) ended with his removal and exile into the interior of Persia.

<sup>6</sup> Tax registers.

kept some in the city by his side. He took a large number of cavalry and infantry from the tribes and peasants. He gathered a great deal of provisions, stored many shells, installed dragon-like cannons, and prepared for war. For a period of thirty-three days, Agha Mohammad Shah besieged Shushi with his famed troops. His tents were pitched all over. He sent envoys and letters and resorted to every measure to bind Ibrahim Khan and to make the population of Karabagh submit to him. But his efforts did not succeed.

Finally, Agha Mohammad Shah Qajar, to frighten the noble Ibrahim Khan, chose a couplet from the *qaside*<sup>1</sup> of the poet Seyyed Mohammad Shirazi, known as Urfi, which suited the situation and the moment. Considering the beautiful array of [the poet's] stanzas the weapons for achieving his aim, he set them in a different order and dispatched them in a letter to Ibrahim Khan.

The stones of disaster descend from the bastions of fortune.

While you, weakling, you have locked yourself in *shishe*.<sup>2</sup>

When the letter reached the late khan and was seen by his happy sparkling eyes, he summoned Mullah Panah, a native of Kazakh, who was not only his close associate and strong defender, but also his main secretary and advisor regarding every affair in the land. He was a man of colossal wisdom and endurance. He wrote poems under the pseudonym of Vaqef. He was a poet of great knowledge and had a passionate temper. His poems reminded one of rare pearls strung on a thread. He was a poet who possessed the highest artistic speech. If someone claims that the *ghazals*<sup>3</sup> recited by the great poets of China could, in their eloquence, rival the *ghazals* created by his melodious inspiration, it would be absolutely untrue. You must truly believe that his brilliant *beyts*<sup>4</sup> and the priceless pearls stored in his heart would dim the beautiful rubies of Badakhshan.<sup>5</sup>

They call him the master of words

When he begins to compose his verses

The mind becomes drunk from the songs of the tip of his quill

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<sup>1</sup> An ode.

<sup>2</sup> A play on words. *Shishe* means glass, alluding to Shushi. The "stones" imply cannon balls fired from the bastions of Agha Mohammad.

<sup>3</sup> A short lyric poem or a sonnet.

<sup>4</sup> A couplet.

<sup>5</sup> The region was famous for its rubies of the finest color.

Like musk from a deer his quill drops words on paper.  
 In the stream of his inkwell froths the pure wine of *kosar*<sup>1</sup>  
 Graceful beauties robe themselves in the black fabric of his mind.  
 His quill paints black curls and eyes on the beautiful maidens  
 When the bridegroom of his muse twinkles  
 The heart of the coquettish beauties beats faster.  
 His winged talent and the sound of his lyre  
 Take away Sa'di's<sup>2</sup> cup of eloquence.

Mullah Panah there and then wrote a reply to Agha Mohammad Shah's letter:

If my guardian is that which I know  
 The *shishe* is hewn into rock

Agha Mohammad read the reply, was enraged and almost went out of his mind from fury. He ordered, "Let the fire-spitting cannons roar their shots of lightning and shower the enemy with fire."

*Agha Mohammad Khan's army consisted mostly of tofangchis (musketeers) from Mazandaran, called karachukha (black jackets). Their guns were long, lacked steel, and had a flint with a slow burning fuse attached to them. The battle went on from six in the morning until sunset...Hillocks were formed from the heaps of dead bodies and a river of blood flowed. The Karabaghis, both Muslims and Armenians, stood firmly against the sea-like army, fought bravely, and accomplished great feats and fearless deeds. A great number of people, both men and women, were savagely slain from cannon and mortar shells. There were innumerable deaths among Agha Mohammad Khan's men as well.*<sup>3</sup>

After a while, Agha Mohammad Shah noticed that the stronger and more frequently his cannons spewed fire like Nimrod,<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim Khalil Khan became more untroubled.

He, like a dragon,<sup>1</sup> and more exactly, like Ibrahim Khalil's ancestor [Abraham], did not fear fire. To him, the fire of cannons

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<sup>1</sup> A stream in heaven.

<sup>2</sup> He is the great 13<sup>th</sup>-century Persian poet famous for his *ghazals*.

<sup>3</sup> T.S. 94r.

<sup>4</sup> He is the great-grandson of Noah and the legendary founder of the Babylonian Kingdom, a tyrant and a great hunter.

resembled rose petals. The shah realized that the beautiful Maid of Victory had turned her face from him. His troops quivered under the brave and resolute blows of the fortunate Karabaghi warriors. He knew that, if this continued for a few more days, his army would suffer a defeat. Therefore, he called a council of his closest emirs, commanders and major government figures. In the meeting he said, "It would be better to retreat rather than to suffer defeat. The key to our salvation lies in turning our horses around and leaving this unlucky place. Otherwise, in a short time, our army and horses will drown in this deep sea of blood and none of us will reach the land of Persia alive." After that they prepared their retreat...

*At that time Javad Khan of Ganje and Melik Mejlum of Jraberd, who had left Ibrahim Khan and had joined Agha Mohammad Khan, said to him, "You did not have any luck in capturing the fortress of Shushi. If you return without achieving your aim, the people of Persia will rebel and you will not be able to reign any longer. It is, therefore, advisable to march on Tiflis, plunder it, and take a great number of prisoners in order to raise the spirits of the army."*<sup>2</sup>

Agha Mohammad Shah gave the order to move toward Georgia.<sup>3</sup> Moving through the valleys, he marched forward with his banners.

The late Ibrahim Khan, in his turn, immediately sent speedy couriers to the *vali* of Georgia, stating, "Agha Mohammad Shah Qajar, being unable to capture Shushi, has moved his army in the direction of Tiflis. Hence, do not lose time, prepare the necessary provisions and all measures of resistance."

Receiving such news, the *vali* immediately informed the *vali* of Imeret'i, his grandson, Solomon Khan, and his sons and grandsons, among whom he had divided Georgia, and asked for their help.

The *vali* of Georgia was an old man. Nevertheless, he hastily prepared everything necessary to repulse the enemy.

But since his family members fought with each other, with the exception of the ruler of Imeret'i, who sent his 4,000 troops, no one sent any help.

No matter how many *yesawuls* the *vali* of Georgia dispatched, no matter how many strict orders he gave, his sons remained deaf to

<sup>1</sup> Text reads *samandur*, from the Persian *sam* (fire) and *andarun* (within). A mythical dragon living in fire.

<sup>2</sup> T.S. 94v-95r.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf has recorded the date as 1210 (1795); T.S. 95r.

his call and continued their merrymaking and drinking. Finding himself in an inextricable position, the *vali* took the 4,000 men sent to him and the cavalry he had gathered from the tribes of Kazakh—Muslims—and immediately marched against the enemy. He wanted to halt the advance of the foe and not permit him to enter the borders of Georgia. Together with his troops, he went to the Kazakh *mahal* and set up camp by the Inja River.

For a while, he awaited help from his sons and grandsons, thinking that [at least] one of them would arrive. But they did not come and the beautiful Maiden of Wishes did not reveal her face to him. Agha Mohammad Khan entered Ganje. The *vali* was forced to return. As a precautionary measure, he sent his wife, known as *Deda-vali*,<sup>1</sup> to Tushet (Dusheti), which was only accessible by difficult roads. He himself remained with his small number of troops in Tiflis. Agha Mohammad Shah marched on and reached Soghanloq, where he stopped and spent the night. In the morning he marched on Tiflis. The *vali* took his troops, cannons, many armaments and went to the bank of the Kizrans (Mardanes) River, which is now called the Quarantine [Station]. The armies met here. The brave *charkhchis* went forward and a bloody battle ensued.<sup>2</sup>

The fury and the feverish speed of the fire-spitting cannons caused confusion among the Persians. Then, there occurred an unexpected event. A thick fog moved in early in the morning and nothing could be seen. Since the Persians were not familiar with the surroundings, they began to move toward the mountains. When the fog began to lift and the field became visible, the *vali* saw that the Persians had appeared at their rear and had even set themselves above the city.

Seeing this spectacle, the *vali* returned. Not being able to secure himself in the citadel [of Tiflis], he jumped on a horse and, together with a horseman and a muleteer, crossed the Havlabar (Hellevar) Bridge and fled to the Qara-qalkhan Mountains. The Persian army entered Tiflis and turned it into a house of deep mourning. The Persians slaughtered some of the population and took others captive.<sup>3</sup>

Every beautiful maid fell into the hands of a demon,<sup>4</sup> and every silver object became the booty of a tyrant. The heart of every poppy

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<sup>1</sup> *Deda* is mother in Georgian. The wife of Erekle II was called Daria.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that Mostowfi Khan Davalu was in charge of the attack; *T.S.* 95v.

<sup>3</sup> This occurred on September 12, 1795.

<sup>4</sup> Text reads *div*.

flower languished for its beloved; the white chest of every rose was wounded with grief for its bud [mothers cried for their children]. The radiant eyes of each strong person shed bloody, jasmine-like tears.

Do not give in to the snares of wily fortune  
The pawn has won a victory over the skillful horseman [king].  
It so easily surrounded it from six sides,  
That it checkmated it in the sixth move.  
In this battle all pawns became bishops and queens,  
And the horses became their property.

They [the soldiers of Agha Mohammad Shah] pillaged and seized everything that was valuable in the churches and the palaces. They stayed seven days in the city and during that time they set houses on fire, destroyed tall palaces, and took down the towers and the walls of the city. After that, the sound of their retreating kettle-drums rose to heaven. That winter they spent in the *qeshlaq* of Moghan.

The *vali*, who was in Dusheti, gathered all the *tavadi*<sup>1</sup> and his relatives and together they began to assess the situation. He struck the plectrum<sup>2</sup> of council on the strings of the *saz*<sup>3</sup> of appraisal, and brought its sound to their ears.

He said, "My years are numbered and the Carver of Fortune has filled my cup to the brim. Henceforth, it does not befit me, and my heart does not wish, that I humbly bow my head, sit somewhere in a corner in the presence of Agha Mohammad Shah and listen to his voice, which is abhorrent to my heart, giving orders and punishments."

Knowing that I have nothing but my intermittent breath  
How can I breathe the breath of life happily?  
The mind, which understands all delicate situations, tells me  
That the key to the citadel is the gate to salvation  
It seems that, in order to have peace talks and harmony, I have to  
send one of my sons to Agha Mohammad Shah as a hostage

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<sup>1</sup> *Tavadi/tavadni* were Georgian noblemen.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *mizrab*.

<sup>3</sup> A string instrument.

At this moment the *vali* received the news that Agha Mohammad Shah had returned to Persia. After receiving this news, the *vali* wrote and dispatched a frank letter to the Empress of the most exalted Russian State, Catherine [II], in which he explained all the details [of what had occurred].

The Empress, wishing to help those who had suffered, sent an order to General *en-chef* Count Valerian Zubov to enter [Transcaucasia] with his countless and brave soldiers, put the *vali* under his protection, and to prevent the encroachments of Agha Mohammad Shah Qajar.<sup>1</sup>

His Excellency General Zubov marched on and reached Darband.<sup>2</sup> He chose the plain of Bab al-Abvab (Darband) as the place the camp for his victorious army. After that, the army of General Zubov occupied all the provinces that were on this side (south of) of the Caucasus. They reached the borders of Karabagh and wintered in Salian.<sup>3</sup>

When news of this reached the late Ibrahim Khan, he sent his son, Abu'l Fath Khan, with many expensive gifts to present himself to the honorable person, the great *sardar*, Count Valerian Zubov. He declared his loyalty and gratitude to the mighty and exalted Russian State, and wrote reassuring letters of humility to Her Highness, the Empress Catherine. The all-powerful *sardar* accorded him infinite kindness and respect, and sent the letter of the late Ibrahim Khan, who now resides in heaven, via Darband and Qezlar (Kizliar), to be presented to the great threshold of Her Highness, the mightiest Empress, who was elevated to the heavens. Count Zubov sent a prince, with many expensive gifts, to the late Ibrahim Khan and informed him of the boundless kindness and favor of the Empress. He also sent a staff covered with rare jewels to that learned man, Master Mullah Panah Vaqef.

When the surrounding khans learned that the late Ibrahim Khan, who now resides in heaven, had announced his loyalty to the Russian State, they dispatched their own envoys to the khan with letters which stated, "We have put the cloak of humility on our shoulders; we wear the rings of slavery in our ears; we are loyal to the great khan. We have always deemed serving him the paramount duty of

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<sup>1</sup> The letter is in G. Bournoutian, *Armenians and Russia, 1626-1797* (Costa Mesa, Ca., 2001), doc. 426.

<sup>2</sup> He reached Darband in the beginning of May 1796.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf has "Salian" and "Chehel" (Chehel Chubasi), a settlement in the Moghan; *T.S.* 97r.

our honor. We consider the hoof-dust of his speedy, storm-like horse as *kohl*<sup>1</sup> for our gazing eyes. Since the almighty khan has announced his loyalty to the Russian State, we state that we cannot disagree with him in this matter.”

The late Ibrahim Khan selected from among these letters the one from Mir Mustafa Khan of Talesh, Mustafa Khan of Shirvan, Javad Khan of Ganje, and even the letters of the khans of Erevan, Nakhichevan, and Qaradagh and sent them to the *sardar* (Zubov).

Although the *vali* of Georgia was more elevated than the other khans and belonged to an ancient line,<sup>2</sup> he could not afford to ignore the decisions of the late Ibrahim Khan. For, the ruler of the Avars, ‘Umma Khan, and other governors of Daghestan were his [Ibrahim’s] relatives, and he also submitted to Ibrahim Khan...

Such was the might and grandeur of Ibrahim Khan, who resides now in heaven. At that time the khans of Shakki, Shirvan, Ganje, Qaradagh, Erevan, Nakhichevan, Tabriz, and the khans of the Shahsavan and Shaqaqi tribes were under his rule, while the *vali* of Tiflis, as a precaution, acted friendly, and was, willingly or unwillingly, forced to carry out his orders. Suddenly, by the movement of the stars and by the will of fate, the Queen with the Crown of the Sun<sup>3</sup> died unexpectedly. Because of this, a letter arrived ordering the mighty *sardar* to return to Russia.<sup>4</sup> Obeying the lofty command, he, together with his army, returned (to the Caucasian Line). The moment the late Ibrahim Khan heard the news, he sent a message to the *vali* of Georgia, which said, “I, together with the victorious troops of Karabagh and Daghestan, am preparing to invade Ganje. You must also gather the Georgian army and join us immediately in the invasion of Ganje. We will seize Ganje and teach Javad Khan a lesson...”<sup>5</sup>

The *vali* also gathered his army and marched against the khan of Ganje. After a siege, they captured the city. Melik Mejlum was killed during the battle. Javad Khan surrendered and sent his son

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<sup>1</sup> From the Arabic *kuhl*, a powder consisting of antimony sulfide or lead sulfide, used as an eye make-up and as eye ointment.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *ojagh*.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine II died on November 6, 1796.

<sup>4</sup> The order came from Emperor Paul.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds that Ibrahim Khan’s letter stated that, since Javad Khan and Melik Mejlum were responsible for the sack of Tiflis, they should be punished; *T.S.* 97v.

and daughter as hostages to Ibrahim Khan.<sup>1</sup> He promised to obey Ibrahim Khan in all matters.

After Agha Mohammad Shah's invasion of Tiflis, the *vali* did not return to that city and resided in Kakhet'i. Two years after these events, the *vali* died.<sup>2</sup> He exchanged his royal throne for a grave of bricks.<sup>3</sup> His eldest son, Giorgi Khan, succeeded him.<sup>4</sup> However, his other brothers, Yulon Khan, Parnavaz Khan, and Alexander Mirza,<sup>5</sup> did not agree with this.<sup>6</sup> The reason for this was because they were all born from the same mother, while Giorgi Khan was the son of another woman. Each one was an enemy of Giorgi Khan and started rebellions against him. Alexander Mirza occupied the districts of Kazakh, Borchalu, Shamshadil, and refused to obey the new *vali*, Giorgi Khan.<sup>7</sup> The latter was forced to seek help from troops that he had gathered in Daghestan.<sup>8</sup> The Georgian army, with the help of the Daghestanis, moved through the Kesaman *qeshlaq* and entered the region of Kazakh. Alexander Mirza, sensing his own weakness, fled to the *velayat* of Karabagh.<sup>9</sup> The *vali* then punished some of the rebels of Kazakh and Borchalu. Giorgi Khan ordered the same army to invade the *velayat* of Kars, to cause havoc and to rob the people. His valiant troops carried out the *vali*'s orders and returned to Tiflis. After the flight of Alexander Mirza to Karabagh, the other sons of the late *vali* thought only of preserving their own lives.

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<sup>1</sup> Khorshid Begum, Javad's sister, was a wife of Ibrahim Khan.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf has added in the year 1213/1798; *T.S.* 101v.

<sup>3</sup> Erekle II died in the town of Telavi in Kakhet'i on January 11, 1798. See N. Dubrovin, *Georgii XII poslednii tsar Gruzii i prisoedenenie ee k Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Giorgi XII; see also *Tarikh-e Karabagh*.

<sup>5</sup> Persian sources call him Eskandar Mirza (1780-1844). He did not accept the Russian annexation of Georgia, fled to Persia in 1800 and fought the Russians for many years. He married the daughter of Melik Sahak Aghamalian of Erevan. He died in Persia.

<sup>6</sup> Prince Yulon was the eldest son of Erekle from his second wife, Queen Daria. In 1798 he was about 40 years old. Prince P'arnavaz was the sixth son of Daria and was 26 years old. Prince Alexander (Eskandar) was the fifth son of Daria and was 32 years old.

<sup>7</sup> Prince Alexander was in Shamshadil on January 8 and Kazakh on January 11, 1801; *Akty*, I, 203-204 (doc. 162, reports to Prince Orbeliani).

<sup>8</sup> As noted, Christians would seek the help of Muslims against other Christians, and Muslims would ally with Christians against other Muslims.

<sup>9</sup> He arrived at the beginning of March 1801. See *Akty*, I, 284-285 (doc. 320; General Lazarev to General Knorring, March 15, 1801).

## Chapter Eight

### *On the Second Invasion of Agha Mohammad Shah, the Capture of Karabagh, the Departure of the Late Ibrahim Khan to Belakan, and All the Final Events that Affected Agha Mohammad Shah*

Learning that the *sardar* (Zubov) had returned, Agha Mohammad Shah decided to subdue Karabagh. In the spring (1797)<sup>1</sup> he gathered his army, numbering as many as the drops of rain and the leaves of trees, and raised the banners of war. Karabagh was suffering from a three-year drought sent by heaven. There was no harvest and each kernel of grain cost more than a musk-smelling maiden's eyebrows. The Persian army, headed by Agha Mohammad Shah, came to the banks of the Arax River. Because of the famine it was impossible to stay in the Shushi fortress and to give battle to the bloodthirsty foe. Taking his family, and the families of the *begs*, who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for him, the almighty khan departed for Jar and Tale. The son-in-laws of the late Ibrahim Khan, Naser Khan [Shahsavan] and Salim Khan of Shakki, Ata Khan Shahsavan,<sup>2</sup> and other noted *begs* of Karabagh accompanied Ibrahim Khan, who now resides in heaven.

Hearing this, Agha Mohammad Shah, who had stopped by the banks of the Arax, sent a detachment to capture Ibrahim Khan, who now resides in heaven, his close associates, and kinsmen.

They caught up with Ibrahim Khan's group not far from the bridge over the Tartar River. A battle ensued, but the pursuers gained nothing and suffered losses. The late Ibrahim Khan, with his family and close associates, crossed the Kur River and reached Jar and Belakan. On orders from Agha Mohammad Shah, some Lesghians tried to stop Ibrahim Khan en route and hand him over to Agha Mohammad Shah. Just as they were ready to grab him, the late Ibrahim Khan's wife, Bike Aqa, the sister of 'Umma Khan, the ruler of the Avars, interceded and managed to avoid bloodshed.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> N. Dubrovin, *Istoriia voiny i vladychestva russikikh na Kavkaze* (St. Petersburg, 1886), III, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf calls him Ata Allah Meshkini; *T.S.* 98r.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that she told them they would be violating the laws of hospitality; *T.S.* 98v.

Soon Mohammad Rafi' Beg of Karabagh brought the blood-soaked head of Agha Mohammad Shah to Belakan and informed the esteemed Ibrahim Khan, who now resides in heaven, of his death.

The details of this [the death of the shah] are as follows: One night, a week after Agha Mohammad Shah entered Shushi, he became enraged at the inappropriate behavior of his retainers, Safar 'Ali Beg and 'Abbas Beg, and said, "Early in the morning, when the all-powerful sovereign of the sky—the sparkling sun—raises its headless trunk in the east and the enamel hem of the horizon will turn rose-colored, I shall order, for the edification of others, to sever your heads from your loathsome bodies, and raise them on pikes, to paint red the flowerbeds of Karabagh [and turn them] into a poppy-colored field.

*Agha Mohammad Khan entered Shushi and settled down in the house of Mohammad Hasan Aqa, the eldest son of Ibrahim Khan, which was in the lower part of the fortress, near the gate of Shushikend. He ordered all the notables and officials, who had not left with Ibrahim Khan to be seized. Melik Jamshid, the son of Melik Shahnazar of Varanda, Mullah Panah Vaqef, and many others were imprisoned. Agha Mohammad Khan intended to kill them all after obtaining ransoms.<sup>1</sup> A few days later he grew angry with two of his servants and said, "Tomorrow morning, when the sun rises on the horizon, I will order to cut the heads of all the prisoners here, build a minaret from their heads, and put yours on top of it." They say that the reason for this was that during namaz (prayer) the shah ordered one of them to call one of his commanders. The servant did not hear this. After finishing his prayer, he asked, "Why hasn't the commander arrived?" Apologizing, the servants said, "Because of the shah's praying, I was deprived of hearing the shah's order." The shah ordered his ears to be cut off immediately, stating, "It is better to cut the ears that cannot hear the shah's order."<sup>2</sup>*

They [Safar 'Ali Beg and 'Abbas Beg] knew well that Agha Mohammad Shah never went back on his word. No plaintive words could warm his cold and steel heart. They decided to kill the wrathful king that same night. Thus, at dawn, while Agha Mohammad Shah was drunk from the languor of the Cup of Dreams, they en-

<sup>1</sup> Kostikian notes that he took 70,000 rubles from Melik Jamshid, 238.

<sup>2</sup> T.S. 98v-99r.

tered the palace harem, stabbed him repeatedly with a bloodthirsty dagger, so that he resembled [King] David's chain mail.<sup>1</sup> Taking with them the *bazuband*<sup>2</sup> with rare jewels, the crown, and the *hamayel*,<sup>3</sup> they went to Sadeq Khan Shaqaqi and informed him of what had transpired. Sadeq Khan did not believe them. He always feared Agha Mohammad Shah and thought that the latter had sent them to test him. Finally, after many oaths, they convinced Sadeq Khan of the truth. With great caution, they took him to the palace of Mohammad Hasan Aqa, the son of the late Ibrahim Khan, where Agha Mohammad Shah Qajar was housed. Safar 'Ali Beg entered the bedroom first and lifted the corner of the blanket from the shah's face. He then drove his bloody dagger into the shah's chest again. Seeing this spectacle, Sadeq Khan almost lost his mind. Taking the armband, the crown and the cordon, he returned to his quarters. He gathered his Shaqaqi troops and left Shushi. Prior to his departure, he said, "The shah is sending me after Ibrahim Khan. He also took one of the murderers of the shah, 'Abbas Beg, with him. Safar 'Ali Beg remained in the fortress.

Two hours after the departure of Sadeq Khan from the fortress, the news of the shah's murder spread throughout the city. When the Persian khans learned what had occurred, they became confused and froze. Each one of them, with their followers, hurried to leave the city. The people thronged to the house where the shah's body was located. The population fell on the Persian troops and took whatever they had away from them... Meanwhile, the nephew of the late Ibrahim Khan, Mohammad Beg, came to the palace and took whatever had not been looted. He ordered all the gold and silver to be brought to his private house. He seized the reins of government. He sent the head of Agha Mohammad Shah with Mohammad Rafi' Beg to his uncle in Belakan.<sup>4</sup> When the khan, who now resides in heaven, was

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<sup>1</sup> It seems that, in a battle, King David's chain mail was torn to pieces.

<sup>2</sup> Armband; in this case made of expensive material and covered with jewels.

<sup>3</sup> Riband or grand cordon; in this case a necklace made of rare and large pearls.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf's text reads, "He cut Agha Mohammad Khan's crownless head off and made it a ball for children's games. A shah, who with utmost arrogance and haughtiness had considered the heads of others too heavy for their bodies, was now headless. His body was thrown in the town square. Agha Mohammad Khan ruled for twelve years. He was a very rough, cruel, and blood-sucking king, who was hostile and vindictive to

freed from Agha Mohammad Shah's wrath, he sent the severed head as a gift to the *vali* of Georgia. After several days, Ibrahim Khan sent his brave son and heir, Mahdi Qoli Aqa, to Karabagh with an order to pacify the population of the city [Shushi] and to restore calm and order there. After that he sent his eldest son, Mohammad Hasan Aqa...

After a few days, the khan, who now resides in heaven, arrived in Karabagh and once again took the reins of government into his own hands...

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everyone. He spent most of his time hunting and feasting; otherwise he would find a pretext to kill or punish someone. Although castrated, he loved rosy-cheeked maidens. *T.S.* 100r-100v. Mirza Ysuf adds that, during his rule in Karabagh, Mohammad Beg seized the opportunity to kill Vaqef and his son 'Ali Aqa, because of an old animosity that existed between them. They say that when they were taking them to the place of execution, the son asked the father, "Where are they taking us?" Vaqef replied, "To the place where we sent many others."

Once Jesus saw a dead person on the road

He was amazed and bit his finger with his teeth.

He said if you killed to be killed

Where he who killed you will be killed,

To not put the finger of harm on anyone's door

So that he will not put his fist through your door.; *T.S.* 101r.

## Chapter Nine

### *On the Second Appearance of the Russian Army on This Side of the Caucasus and on the Events That Occurred at the Time*

The moment the man who wore the Persian crown, Agha Mohammad Shah, was killed and Giorgi Khan became the independent ruler of Georgia and adorned the throne of the *vali*, Fath 'Ali Shah Qajar ascended the Persian throne.<sup>1</sup>

The *vali* first feared Rum [the Ottomans], second, Persia, and third, he felt danger to his domain from Daghestan. Added to all this was the enmity of his brothers. He sent a letter via his eldest son, David Mirza,<sup>2</sup> to the court of the great Emperor of the radiant, star-like State, the king of kings, ruler of many people, His Highness Paul Petrovich,<sup>3</sup> with requests and entreaties. The letter stated:

"I am surrounded by unbelievers and am left to my own resources. Every minute I expect an attack from some direction and I am in despair. The counselors around you are aware of my situation. The misfortune that has overtaken me is reflected in the mirrors of their hearts. The bilingual quill<sup>4</sup> is not able to write all the evil that we suffered under Agha Mohammad Shah.

"To the king of the universe, the sovereign of the world, we request, as a sign of respect for our nation and for the sake of guarding our religion, to take us under His wing. We ask Thou, who adorns the entire world with Thy radiant banners, to drive away the shadow of repression of our insidious and brutal enemy from our face."

After David Mirza, he dispatched to the heavenly and magnificent threshold of the Emperor, one of the chosen men of Georgia, a trusted individual, who belonged to a noted *tavadi* family, and who held the position of *ishik-aghasi-bashi*,<sup>5</sup> and who was earlier known

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<sup>1</sup> Actually, as Mirza Yusuf points out, Fath 'Ali Shah had to fight for the throne, "The nephew of the murdered Agha Mohammad Khan, Baba Khan, known as Fath 'Ali Shah, subjugated and punished his enemies and rebels. He gained victory over the rebel Sadeq Khan Shafaqi and Ja'far Qoli Khan Donboli. He annihilated most of his enemies"; *T.S.* 102r. The Russians began to view him as the new ruler of Persia only at the beginning of 1800; see *Akty*, I, 113 (doc. 34, Kovalenskii's report).

<sup>2</sup> He was his eldest son from Erekle's first wife.

<sup>3</sup> Tsar Paul (1796-1801).

<sup>4</sup> The letter was written in Georgian and translated into Russian.

<sup>5</sup> Chief chamberlain of the court.

at the court of the ruler of the world (Russia), Prince Garsevan Beg Chavchavadze. After receiving the letter, the lion heart of the king of kings, His Highness the Emperor, was disturbed. He ordered Major-General Lazarev to move with a detachment of troops and to zealously guard the borders of Georgia.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, he appointed the state counselor, Kovalenskii, as envoy, and ordered him to present himself to the Georgian *vali*.<sup>2</sup>

The above-mentioned men arrived in Tiflis and presented themselves to the *vali*.<sup>3</sup> After a year 'Umma Khan with an army of 20,000 men left Daghestan for Georgia.

'Umma Khan thought, "Since the *vali* has put himself under the protection of Russian arms and has forgotten his friendship and our good relations, I shall go to Georgia, drive the Russian troops from there, and, as in the past, put Tiflis to the sword and fire and rob it clean."

Hearing this, the *vali* was extremely worried and fell into fearful and gloomy thoughts, for he recalled Agha Mohammad Shah's villainy in Tiflis. He was even afraid to remember the awful event. The population of Tiflis, wishing to save itself, decided to flee. Each person chose a safer place.

No matter how much the aforementioned general (Lazarev) admonished them, no matter how much he tried to convince the population of Tiflis not to give in to panic and not to abandon the city, they did not believe him, for they did not yet know the strength of the victorious Russian army and had not tested its valor. The general realized that no matter how strong the flame of his exhortation was, it could not move the cold metal in the hearts of the Tiflis inhabitants. The drops of his promises and assurances could not chisel through the granite of the people's heart. Courageously, through town criers, he informed the people of Tiflis that they were abandoning their native hearths. He added that they were abandoning their motherland in vain, and that he, with the Russian army, would march against the Lesghians. If he were victorious, then the people would rejoice; if, God forbid, he was defeated and could not with-

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf's text reads: In 1214/1799, Lazarev with 5,000 troops arrived to defend Georgia; *T.S.* 102v.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds, "Lieutenant General Qnoring (Knorring) was appointed to the post of minister and inspector; *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Lazarev and his troops arrived in Tiflis on November 29, 1799. Kovalenskii had arrived on November 8, 1799. See *Akty*, I, 98 (doc. 6, Kovalenskii to Knorring, dated December 2, 1799).

stand the enemy, only then should the population flee to wherever they wanted.

Hearing this, the population of Georgia became calm. The fluttering birds in their hearts became quiet. After that, the aforementioned general gathered his brave army, drilled them, and marched against 'Umma Khan.<sup>1</sup> In the evening, near the village of Suhrajo (Saharejo?) by the Kibir River (Iori), the two armies, thirsting for blood, and the two fierce warriors met face to face. When the Daghestani forces noticed that the number of the Russian troops was not large, they were simply astounded and could not understand how such a small force had decided to wage war. How could they, with their wooden legs,<sup>2</sup> cross the difficult and rarely traversed roads of that land?

The two forces set camp and pitched their tents at that same place. Some of the Lesghian commanders said it would be better to start the battle in the morning. 'Umma Khan and other commanders replied in verse:

Who, but God, knows what fate has in store for us tomorrow?  
I advise that we start the battle immediately and deafen the world  
with the firing of our cannons and arms.  
Our shining sabers will give these scoundrels  
Sticky drinks from the cup of death.

Saying this, 'Umma Khan ordered part of his army to surround the warriors of the general from four sides, like a jewel encased in a ring, take them prisoner, and return to him.

The army of Daghestan, following the orders of their commander, dashed to battle.<sup>3</sup> When the Lesghians began to approach the Russian army, the aforementioned [Russian] general immediately ordered the loading of the dragon-like, fire-spitting cannons. He also ordered the brave soldiers to shout "hurrah" and to make a

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has General Lazarev and General Qulaqov (Gukiakov); T.S. 103v.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian troops wore heavy boots; hence the Lesghians referred to them as having wooden legs.

<sup>3</sup> The battle took place near the village of Kakabetu on November 7, 1800. Prince Alexander was with the Lesghians, while Prince Ioann accompanied Lazarev. According to the Russians, the Daghestanis lost 2,000 men, while the Russian dead and wounded amounted to 13 men; *Akty*, I, 168-169 (doc. 109 Lazarev to Knorring, dated January 8, 1800).

lightning-like dash at the enemy. The Daghestani troops noticed that the Russian cannon fire had turned everything around them into a sea of fire. The uniforms of the Russian troops turned scarlet from the blood of the Daghestanis. The Daghestanis could not hold their ground against the Russians. Their legs refused to obey their brains. The Lesghians, not able to resist the charge, turned to flight. Their losses in men and equipment were great. Those who escaped the sword joined the remaining part of their army with great effort. They detailed what had occurred. Hearing this, the remaining Lesghians were frightened.

For the sake of honor and glory  
 We shall remove the saber of hatred from its sheath.  
 We will gallop on horseback into the arena of battle  
 With the shot, the lance, and a sharp saber.  
 We will plunge like whales into a sea of blood  
 And will make the field of battle cramped for them.  
 If we do not glorify ourselves by bravery  
 Let us not wear the *papakh*<sup>1</sup> in the future

When Lazarev saw this joyous occasion, he ordered the drummers to strike a cease-fire. After resting, he took his victorious army and went on to destroy the enemy. With a resolute advance and courageous attack, he scattered the Lesghians. 'Umma Khan and the other Lesghian commanders tried every ruse to stop the flight of their wild warriors and to force them to fight the Russians, but it was all in vain. The Daghestanis were scared and terrified by the initial Russian blow.

When the face of the day darkened, as did the fate of 'Umma Khan, the Lesghians fell on their faces into mud, put their litters<sup>2</sup> on retreating camels and fled. They ran until the borders of Ganje. Since the mountains were then covered with snow, it was impossible to go to Daghestan. They thought that if they reached Ganje, they could go on to Karabagh, where they would winter and then return to their homeland in the spring.

The moment the population of Ganje learned of the appearance of the Lesghians, they took out their swords and began to massacre the small and helpless groups. Even those who survived and fled

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<sup>1</sup> Fur hats worn by Cossacks.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *kejave*.

were pursued and killed.<sup>1</sup> The remaining Lesghians could not hide anywhere. After many hardships they managed to get to Jar, where they wintered.<sup>2</sup> Some time later, 'Umma Khan became ill and died.<sup>3</sup> They buried him in Jar. The Lesghians suffered his loss terribly and put on the clothes of mourning.

The general immediately dispatched his men to Tiflis to inform the population and even sent the heads of some of the dead. But no one believed the news.

I myself was in Tiflis at that time. After several days the general, with great honor and celebrations, arrived within the borders of Georgia. Tiflis rejoiced on this occasion. The faith of the people of Georgia and the surrounding regions in the courage and bravery of the victorious Russian army increased greatly, for they had performed a unique and very difficult task. After that the fame of the general and his victorious army was on everyone's lips. Indeed the general's bravery spread over all the Caucasus.<sup>4</sup> The quill cannot record such courage.

After this event, the *vali* lived for another year and died in winter.<sup>5</sup> His brothers gathered a large army from K'art'li and moved on Tiflis. They wanted to make their eldest brother Yulon Mirza, the *vali* of the land, the ruler of both the learned and the common folk. They came to the village of Khabuchala<sup>6</sup> near Tiflis and halted there. The general, with his brave army, marched to meet them. He drove them out to Imeret'i. After his return, he appointed David Mirza, the eldest son of the late *vali*, as the new *vali*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to Russian reports, Javad Khan had sent his army to stop the Lesghian encroachment into Ganje. They killed 104 Lesghians and took 30 prisoners; *Akty*, I, 183 (doc. 127, Lazarev to Knorring, December 4, 1800).

<sup>2</sup> Russian reports confirm this; *Akty*, I, 187 (doc. 132, Lazarev to Knorring, dated December 21, 1800).

<sup>3</sup> He died on March 10, 1801.

<sup>4</sup> Russian reports indicate that Fath 'Ali Shah changed his mind about sending troops to Georgia; *Akty*, I, 683 (doc. 973, Lazarev to Knorring, dated May 1, 1801).

<sup>5</sup> Giorgi XII died on December 28, 1800; *Akty*, I, 188 (doc. 137, Lazarev to Knorring, dated December 28, 1800).

<sup>6</sup> Nirza Yusuf calls it Halu-hala (Kelmechura); *T.S.* 105r.

<sup>7</sup> The author has made an error. Prince David did not become king of Georgia. Lazarev, on instructions from St. Petersburg, announced that there would be no successor for the time being; *Gramoty*, II (2), 296-297. Soon after Georgia was annexed outright. See also *Akty*, I, 413 (doc. 519,

Time thus passed until the arrival of spring, when the eternal golden sun entered the time of the Ram (Aries) and reached its springtime residence.<sup>1</sup> It was the time of plants and flowers, the appearance of buds, which spread their sprouts and beautified the forests and fields. The nightingales trilled their songs, constantly circling the rosebuds in the gardens. Turtledoves also exulted from joy and rapture. The artistry of the dawn zephyr spread its color and art and gave a blush to the rosebuds.

At that time, General of Infantry Knorring, who lived on the [Caucasian] Line, arrived in Tiflis as Inspector.<sup>2</sup> He established his chancellery there. He formed it from four men selected from among the Georgian *tavadi*, and appointed them as the pillars of state, the *divan-begis*.<sup>3</sup> By the orders of Knorring, all the important affairs of state and petitions had to be examined by the council of four. He himself returned to the Line. A year passed in this manner. After that, prince Tsitsianov was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy of the Transcaucasian provinces.<sup>4</sup> He was given wide authority over the region.

Prince Tsitsianov laid the foundation of a provincial administration in Tiflis and organized the necessary departments of the province.<sup>5</sup> All the sons of the *vali*, who were present in Georgia at the time, were against the new order and demanded the return of the old ways.<sup>6</sup> They were prepared to start discord. Prince Tsitsianov, because of his graciousness toward them, tolerated their behavior for a long time and admonished them, but they did not alter their ways. They stubbornly continued their intrigues.

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Knorring to Lazarev, dated January 18, 1801). The manifesto of annexation was published in Moscow on September 12, 1801, *Polnoe sobranie zakonov*, XXVI (no. 20,007).

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has 1217/1801; *T.S.* 105v.

<sup>2</sup> He arrived in May of 1801; *Akty*, I, 420-422 (doc. 536, Lazarev to the Georgian nobles, dated May 25, 1801).

<sup>3</sup> These were judges or magistrates, *mdivani* in Georgian.

<sup>4</sup> Tsitsianov arrived on February, 9 1803; *Akty*, II, 17 (doc. 14, Tsitsianov's report). Mirza Yusuf has 1219/1803; *T.S.* 105v.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf writes, "He introduced the gubernia (provincial) system with five provinces, Qezlar (Kizliar), Mozdok, Georgievsk, Aleksandrovsk, and Stavropol. He opened state offices in the provinces to implement Russian law and order; *T.S.* 105v.

<sup>6</sup> They were angry at the annexation of Georgia, which was contrary to the agreement with Russia.

Finally, Prince Tsitsianov became convinced that he could not change the mind of the *vali*'s sons, that the gentle wind of admonition would not open the buds of their hearts. He sent all of them forcibly to Russia.<sup>1</sup> Among those exiled was the wife of the late *vali*, *Dade-vali*. Prince Tsitsianov had sent General Lazarev and ordered him to convince her of the uselessness of her stubborn behavior. He ordered Lazarev to treat her with respect and convince her to leave.

General Lazarev went and spoke to her for a long time, trying to persuade her, but it was of no use. She did not accept the general's offer. She ignored the services of the general and the fact that the population of Georgia owed him a great deal. She, unexpectedly, took out a dagger and killed him.<sup>2</sup> When news of the tragic death of Lazarev reached Tsitsianov, he gave orders that she be exiled to Russia, forcibly, if necessary.<sup>3</sup> After that, no one from the family of the *vali* remained in Georgia. The affairs of Georgia became peaceful and quiet replaced alarm.

At that time, the Lesghians of Jar and Belakan continued, as usual, to conduct raids on Georgia and to take the people captive. They could not give up their wild and indecent behavior. No matter how many letters the Tsitsianov wrote with his amber pen, nothing came out of it. He wrote that times had changed. They no longer dealt with a subject *vali*. There was now a tsar, who was equal to Jamshid in greatness,<sup>4</sup> at the head of government. He demanded that they cease their evil ways and stop harassing their neighbors. He wrote that such behavior would not result in anything beneficial, but would have terrible consequences.

Prince Tsitsianov repeatedly approached them on this matter, but they absolutely refused to listen. Finally, he decided to punish them. He took a number of troops and went toward Daghestan. The moment the Lesghians heard this, they gathered an assembly and decided to prepare to repulse him. They approached the Kanik (Alazani) River, pitched their tents, set up camp, and awaited the Russian army. They planned not to let the victorious Russian army

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<sup>1</sup> Princes Wakhtang and David were sent to St. Petersburg in February 1803; *Akty*, II, 69 (doc. 112, Tsitsianov to Guliakov, dated February, 19, 1803).

<sup>2</sup> Queen Daria killed Lazarev on April 21, 1803; *Akty*, III, 5 (doc. 1).

<sup>3</sup> She left on October 25, 1803; *Akty*, II, 102-103 (doc. 167, Tsitsianov's report of October 27, 1803).

<sup>4</sup> Jamshid was the legendary Persian king; also refers to King Solomon.

to set foot in the territory of Jar, not knowing that a splinter cannot withstand fiery lightning and that there is no way to avoid misfortune from heaven.

The moment the Russian army reached the Alazani River, they, like falcons thirsty for prey, swam across the river. The whistle of bullets from their arms was a song of victory for them, and the sheen of their sabers reflected their might. In one instant there remained not one trace of the Daghestanis. The Russians did not halt or rest until Belakan. They destroyed the strong fort of the Belakanis and turned their place of hope and asylum to dust. The Russians gave them such a beating that they would never again dare to take a Georgian captive or cross the boundaries of this ancient, and, for them, fatal land. Prince Tsitsianov left a garrison on the territory of Jar and appointed Major-General Prince Orbeliani and Major-General Guliakov as its commanders.<sup>1</sup>

He instructed them that, in case of hostile and unruly acts on the part of the Lesghians, they should take appropriate measures and not let them harass the population of Georgia. Prince Tsitsianov himself returned and entered Georgia the next year.

Prince Tsitsianov wrote a letter to Javad Khan of Ganje and offered him Russian protection, as was given to Georgia.<sup>2</sup> He added that Javad must not start a conflict, or else he would gather nothing but blossoms of harm from the flower garden of the mightiest and the most ancient state. The seeds of enmity would not produce anything but regret.

Javad Khan did not pay heed to the peaceful advice and did not respond to Prince Tsitsianov's words.<sup>3</sup> Moving his banners, Prince Tsitsianov stirred his army, which resembled a stormy sea, toward Ganje.<sup>4</sup> Gathering a cavalry of *tavadi*, *aznavuri* (knights), horsemen from Kazakh and Shamshadil, Prince Tsitsianov prepared to attack. Entering the land of Ganje, the victorious Russian army occupied the region. Javad Khan gathered his men and army and went against

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<sup>1</sup> This occurred in April 1803. See *Akty*, II, 685 (doc. 1387, Tsitsianov's report of April 17, 1803). Guliakov was a commander of a brigade.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter of November 29, 1803 in *Akty*, II, 588-589 (doc. 1172). Tsitsianov accused Javad Khan of aiding Agha Mohammad Shah's attack on Tiflis. He added that Ganje had been part of Georgia. Javad Khan replied that Ganje had never been part of Georgia and that he was a friend of Russia, *Akty*, II, 589 (doc. 1173).

<sup>3</sup> The example of Georgia has left him wary of Russian promises.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf has the date 1220/1803; *T.S.* 107r.

the foe. The two armies met face to face, two *versts* from Ganje, in a place called Qulu-qubi. A heated battle ensued. After several clashes, Javad Khan lost his strength and took flight with his unhinged troops. Somehow he managed to get into the citadel [of Ganje] and locked himself in.

The brave Russian army entered the city and tightly surrounded the citadel from all four sides. They stayed there for a month. On the night before the last day of Ramadan<sup>1</sup> they decided to ascend the wall by ladders. Javad Khan repulsed a number of these heroic attacks. Finally, he was shot by Major Lisanevich and fell from the wall of life into the land of death. The soldiers attacked from all four sides and entered the city...<sup>2</sup>

Following the order of the highly placed almighty commander-in-chief, they brought the families of the defenders to the city. The family of the Javad Khan was placed in a mosque<sup>3</sup> and was later moved to a house, and kept under guard.<sup>4</sup>

The prince established Russian authority in Ganje and appointed a commandant. He calmed the population, promised them peace and security, and returned to Georgia.

*Tsitsianov organized the government of the region, appointed a commandant and opened courts of law there. Soon afterward, he changed the name of the town of Ganje to Yelizavitbol (Elizavetpol') after the respected Empress (wife of Alexander I). He made other arrangements as well; he established good and acceptable rules... There are many verses composed in Turki and Armenian on the conquest of the fortress of Ganje and the death of Javad Khan. I am going to note some of them here, so that the readers will realize the hardship suffered by the people of Ganje prior to their submission to the Great State.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Text reads 'Aid-e Fitr.

<sup>2</sup> Ganje fell on January 3, 1804; *Akty*, II, 592 (doc. 1182, Tsitsianov's report of January 8, 1804). Leviatov has removed the following from Mirza Yusuf's text, "Tsitsianov ordered the slaughter of the population of Ganje. 'Ayd-e Fitr turned to 'Ayd-e Qorban (holiday when they sacrifice animals). Swords and lances were at work for three hours. After that, His Excellency ordered to stop the massacre; *T.S.* 107v.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf reads, "Friday mosque"; *T.S.* 107v.

<sup>4</sup> The family of Javad Khan and some of the Muslim khans became Russian subjects and received annual subsidies.

<sup>5</sup> *T.S.* 107v-108r. The verses are on ff. 108r-108v.

## Chapter Ten

### *Prince Tsitsianov's March on Erevan, War and Success, and His Return after His Failure to Take Erevan*

Returning to Tiflis, Prince Tsitsianov spent the winter preparing his army and equipment for a campaign. With the arrival of spring he planned his move on Erevan.<sup>1</sup> The governor of Erevan, Mohammad Khan,<sup>2</sup> constantly sent letters to the prince, in which he said, "Do not lose time. Come to Erevan immediately and enlighten these lands with the crescent of your banners. The moment your brave troops appear, I shall immediately hand the keys to the fortress to you. I shall submit to the power of the mighty and radiant Russian State."<sup>3</sup>

The governor of Nakhichevan, Kalb 'Ali Khan,<sup>4</sup> happened to be in Erevan at that time. Although Mohammad Khan was the independent governor of Erevan, Kalb 'Ali Khan's advice was imperative in making decisions on important questions and large and small details concerning the khanate of Erevan. Tsitsianov moved forward,<sup>5</sup> reached the town of Üc-Kilisa (Etchmiadzin),<sup>6</sup> and ordered the tents pitched there.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Akty*, II, 613-616 (docs. 1224-1230, May 10 to June 13, 1804).

<sup>2</sup> A member of the Qajar tribe, Mohammad Khan was the governor of Erevan from 1784 to 1805. He accepted Erekle's superior military strength and managed to keep most of his territory intact. Not known for his bravery, he was a good politician and kept contact with the Russians, Ottomans, Persians, Georgians, and the Karabaghis. He managed to remain in power for some two decades. His procrastination in supporting the shah during Tsitsianov's invasion ended with his removal and exile to the interior of Persia.

<sup>3</sup> *Akty*, II, 616 (doc. 1233, July 2, 1804).

<sup>4</sup> Kalb 'Ali Khan Qajar was a relative of Mohammad Khan. He was blinded by Agha Mohammad Shah in 1797 and lived in Erevan. He and his family were forced to settle in Persia in 1809. One of his sons, Sheikh 'Ali Beg, escaped to Karabagh and became a Russian subject; the Russians appointed another son, Ehsan Khan, as the governor of Ordubad.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf has the date as the spring of 1220/1804; *T.S.* 108v.

<sup>6</sup> The text refers to the town of Vagharshapat (modern-day Etchmiadzin), the site of the three churches and the Holy See of the Armenian Church.

<sup>7</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds the following here, "The fame of Tsitsianov's courage had spread throughout the Kizilbash country. He was called

The government of Persia provided the young ‘Abbas Mirza with a large army,<sup>1</sup> named him commander-in-chief, supplied him with unlimited equipment, and dispatched him against *Sardar* Tsitsianov. ‘Abbas Mirza, hot for a battle, raised the banners of attack. The two armies met at Etchmiadzin. A bitter battle ensued.<sup>2</sup> The dust from the horses’ hooves darkened the stars. The blaze of sabers covered the rays of the sun in the vault of heaven.

On the field of battle, the dust that rose from the horses,  
 Covered the sun and the moon...  
 The shriek and noise of the animals reached the heavens.  
 The bugles of the young warriors sounded  
 “Strike, do not spare!”  
 They knocked out brains and exhausted the foe’s strength.  
 A river of blood flowed in that battle.

Most of the army was killed; few remained unharmed. The Russian army was divided into three groups. The Persians stormed them so fiercely that the world turned dark [from the dust that rose from the galloping horses]. The Russian soldiers lost sight of each other. Each group thought that the other was defeated and destroyed. When the air cleared, the Russians saw that they were alive and well, while the Persians realized that they were routed. The buds grown from their blood had red blossoms.<sup>3</sup> After that, the reins of resolve fell from their hands. They were no longer able to resist. Stricken by fear, they did not dare approach the foe. They retreated and set up camp above Erevan, in the strong fortifications of Kanaker.

Tsitsianov and his army rested by Etchmiadzin. After that, he went after the Persians. It so happened that they reached the Persian troops at dusk. Seeing them, the Persians left their tents and arms

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‘Ishbakhtur,’ which was a corruption of the word ‘Inspector’”; *T.S.* 109r. The word inspector was also pronounced as *ishpokhdor*, which in the local Turki dialect translated as “his work is dirt.” Persian sources call him “the man who shed blood” and other derogatory names; see Hedayat, *Rouzat ol-Safa*, IX, 389.

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has “170,000 warriors”; *T.S.* 109r.

<sup>2</sup> The battle took place on 19-20 June 1804; *Akty*, II, 809 (doc. 1868, Tsitsianov’s report of July 7, 1804).

<sup>3</sup> Text reads *kizilbash* (red head), a pun on the word Kizilbash (Persians).

and took flight. The Russian army captured all their equipment and supplies.<sup>1</sup> From there they moved to besiege Erevan.<sup>2</sup>

After sending 'Abbas Mirza, Fath 'Ali Shah followed him with a huge army. On the way he heard of 'Abbas Mirza's defeat. Moving with the speed of wind and lightning, the two armies met each other in a town called Davalu.

In a place located above Erevan they engaged in a heavy battle with the Russians. They did not achieve their goal, became totally confused, retreated, and camped in the environs. They attacked the people who were bringing provisions [for the Russians]. The Russian army surrounded Erevan, while the Persians surrounded the Russians. The Persians had blocked all the routes in such a manner that the Russian army had no exit. The Georgian princes, who had joined Tsitsianov in his march, fell into Persian hands during their flight.<sup>3</sup> Fath 'Ali Shah sent *Sardar* Pir Qoli with the *vali* of Georgia, Alexander Mirza,<sup>4</sup> to Tiflis.

The tribes of Kazakh and Borchalu were the first to turn away from the Russians. Except for Nasib Beg, who had performed great services during the Battle of Ganje, and who was with Major Lisanevich, as well as the inhabitants of Shamshadil, all other towns and villages near Tiflis, all the tribes, and even the sons of the *vali* [Erekle II], who had fled to Imeret'i, joined Alexander and rebelled against the Russians.<sup>5</sup> There was a small group of soldiers in the village of Kara-Kilisa. The rebels surrounded them and the villagers, but in the end could not conquer the place. Because of the lack of provisions in his army, Tsitsianov dispatched a troop of some 150 soldiers, led by Major Qandararov,<sup>6</sup> whom they called Qara (Black) Major, to Georgia for provisions. The son of Melik Abov, with his men, joined him. They were ordered to bring provisions for the army as soon as possible. The Persian army learned of this and followed them. They pursued them for three days and had repeated

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<sup>1</sup> This occurred on June 30, 1804; *Akty*, II, 809 (doc. 1668, Tsitsianov's report of July 7). Mirza Yusuf has some poems added here; *T.S.* 110r.

<sup>2</sup> The siege began on July 2, 1804; *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Akty*, II, 815 (doc. 1682, Fath 'Ali Shah to King Solomon, Jomada I, 1219/1804).

<sup>4</sup> The Persians considered Alexander as the rightful king of Georgia.

<sup>5</sup> *Akty*, II, 820-821 (doc. 1689, Fath 'Ali Shah to the leaders of Kazakh, Pambak, Borchalu, Jomada II, 1291/1804).

<sup>6</sup> The man was actually Major Montresor, commander of the Tiflis infantry.

clashes. When they reached Panbak (Pambak), they [the Persians] informed *Sardar* Pir Qoli that they had fought them for three days, and that both side were in a desperate situation. They asked Pir Qoli to help them. *Sardar* Pir Qoli and the sons of the *vali* joined together and came to the aid [of the Persians]. The battle raged from daybreak until dusk. Many men perished in that struggle. As long as the major was not wounded, the heated fight continued. But the moment the major received three bullet-wounds and died, his soldiers lost all hope and were defeated. The Armenians [in the troop] fled, hid in a ravine, and turned it into a stronghold. But they too eventually became prisoners. The Persians returned, besieged and took Kara-Kilisa, settled there, and began to sow the seeds of gloom and discord.

The governor [of Tiflis] dispatched a small troop of soldiers with a large amount of provisions, approximately 200 carts,<sup>1</sup> for Tsitsianov. When the string of carts reached the *yeilag*<sup>2</sup> of Jilgi, the tribes situated there barred the road. The soldiers, placed in a difficult situation, alighted from the carts, took up arms, and hid behind the carts. Chasing some sheep away from the large flocks of the tribes [for food], the troops made a circle and defended themselves. No matter how much they tried, the tribes could not break the defenses. They finally had to inform *Sardar* Pir Qoli and ask for his help. *Sardar* Pir Qoli jumped on his speedy wind-like horse and came to their help.

Pir Qoli tried by various means and within reason to defeat them, but the lasso of his mind could not catch the defenders. He could not take the wooden fort. Finally, not able to achieve his goal, he lost all hope. His face turned red and he cried from shame. He came, with wet eyes, to the foot of the Aghlaqan (Geghama) Mountains and fell on it like a teardrop.

The moment the news of this [the surrounded carts] spread throughout Tiflis, a general with 300 men and four cannons, placed on carts, was dispatched. He was not supposed to stop anywhere, but urgently get the provisions to the soldiers of *Sardar* Tsitsianov. When the general approached the soldiers who were surrounded in their fortification, not one of the tribesmen came out. *Sardar* Pir Qoli was also hesitant to come out to the battlefield. The Russians took the provisions in their entirety and, safeguarding them reached

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<sup>1</sup> Text reads *arba*, from *arabe* (cart or wagon).

<sup>2</sup> Summer quarters.

Kara-Kilisa. Seeing that the provisions could not reach Erevan and that he could not take the fortress, Prince Tsitsianov, after a breakout of malaria, gave up, returned to Kara-Kilisa and distributed the provisions among his troops. Seeing this, *Sardar* Pir Qoli and the unlucky sons of the *vali* were forced to flee with the speed of lightning.

The tribes of Borchalu and other districts of Georgia [had also] turned against the almighty [Russian] state and raised the voice of rebellion. They asked to be resettled in Karabagh and to leave their ancient homeland. Major Lisanevich learned of this and went to them with Nasim Beg. He gave them good advice and softened their hearts. He kept them in place until the return of the *sardar* [Tsitsianov] within the borders of Georgia. Tsitsianov invited the elders of these tribes to the village of Sadaklu. He drugged their minds with a strong and bitter *khanzar*<sup>1</sup> [he approached them bitterly and angrily], and said, "What was the reason for your rebellion against the mighty state? Who poisoned your healthy minds?"

Not finding any answers to Tsitsianov's questions, they attached the stamp of silence on their mouths, and willingly or unwillingly submitted. Seeing them in such a state, the *sardar's* sea of kindness ran high [he was greatly moved], and he said to them, "Since this unsightly and improper affair happened because of your lack of information, I shall forgive your sins. But you have to return all the items you have looted from Georgia back to their rightful owners." After that, he entered Georgia. Several days later he went to pacify the rebellious population in the mountains. After establishing order and peace there, he returned to Tiflis, spent the winter there, and went to Ganje in the spring.

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<sup>1</sup> A wild and poisonous gourd.

## Chapter Eleven

### *On the Peace Treaty Between the Sardar and the Late Ibrahim Khan and Salim Khan, and On Some Other Events*

Arriving in the city of Ganje,<sup>1</sup> Prince Tsitsianov pitched his victorious tents around the city. He sent his representatives with letters to the governor of Karabagh, Ibrahim Khan and his son-in-law, Salim Khan, whom Ibrahim Khan had appointed as the governor of the khanate of Shakki. In matters of state, Salim Khan relied on Ibrahim Khan. Prince Tsitsianov proposed that they submit to the Mighty Russian State. He made them realize that submitting to the Great Russian State would be like submitting to the mighty Jamshid, and that by doing so they would strengthen the basis of their own power. He [Tsitsianov] received the reply of the aforementioned high-ranking khans. Ibrahim Khan set out from Karabagh, Salim Khan from Shakki, and Prince Tsitsianov from Ganje. They met by the Kurek River. They talked and argued for a long time and set the conditions for an agreement. Both sides reinforced the peace agreements with oaths. Agreements and treaties were concluded.<sup>2</sup> After that, the high-ranking *sardar* sent Major Lisanevich with 500 soldiers to Karabagh and the same number of troops were dispatched to Shakki.<sup>3</sup> He, himself, began to establish order in Georgia and Imeret'i.

### *On the Murder of Ibrahim Khan*

*Fath 'Ali Shah was related to Ibrahim Khan and was, therefore, hopeful that Karabagh would submit to his rule. So when he heard of Ibrahim Khan's submission to the Russian State, he dispatched an army to Karabagh. His troops arrived at the Khoda-afarin Bridge and started plundering and causing destruction to Karabagh. Abu'l Fath Khan, the son of Ibrahim Khan, attacked the*

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has the date as 1221/1806; T.S. 112r.

<sup>2</sup> The treaty between Russia and Ibrahim Khan was signed on May 14, 1805, *Akty*, II, 702-705 (doc. 1436, Tsitsianov's report of May 22, 1805). The treaty is on pages 704-705. It has 11 articles and an oath of allegiance. The treaty between Salim Khan and Russia was signed on May 21, 1805; *Ibid.*, II, 705 (doc. 1437, Tsitsianov to Foreign Minister Adam Czartoryskii, dated May 22, 1805).

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf has Nukha; T.S. 112r.

village of Togh, with a big regiment. The Armenian inhabitants made fortifications and barriers to defend themselves.

The Persians fought a hard battle, but failed to overcome them. Then, Mahdi Qoli Aqa, with a large group, advanced and defeated Abu'l Fath Khan.

As Ibrahim Khan was very old, he sometimes had strange and useless ideas. After consulting with his retainers, he decided to submit to Persia. He left the fortress of Shushi and stopped at the place south of it, which is called Sangar-khan at present.

He intended to betray the Russian State and to join the Persian army, as soon as they arrived. He wished to become a true subject of Persia. Word spread that the invasion of Abu'l Fath Khan and his troops was because of Ibrahim's appeal.

So on May 8, 1221/1806, Major Lisanevich, known as Dalu (Crazy) Major, took a group of 100 soldiers, came out of the fortress, encircled Ibrahim Khan and his retinue, and murdered the khan and some of his followers. Then, according to the decree of the Russian government, Mahdi Qoli Aqa was appointed to the post of khan and governor of Karabagh. The population, according to Russian law, had to obey him.

Ibrahim Khan's rule lasted fifty-two years.<sup>1</sup> Forty-five years of them passed prior to his departure to Belakan and eight years after his return from there...<sup>2</sup> He was a woman chaser and always used stimulating drugs to have frequent affairs with women. He would possess them either freely or by force. If a girl was underage, he would keep her in his harem until she was older and would then take her...<sup>3</sup>

### **The Invasion of the Persian Army and the War Against Colonel Kariagin in Karabagh**

The Persians thought, "Since Ibrahim Khan, who was the ruler of Karabagh is dead, we must now go and take it." Colonel Kariagin was dispatched from Tiflis with 400 soldiers to stop them. He had a battle with the Persian troops in the vicinity of Askeran. He could not go further, because of the large concentration of Persian forces. He, therefore, returned to Tarnakut.

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<sup>1</sup> It lasted less than that, some 44 years, 1762-1806.

<sup>2</sup> Followed by verses.

<sup>3</sup> T.S. 113r. It is followed by a verse.

However, 'Abbas Mirza had sent a large detachment of troops under the command of Emir Khan Jahanbeglu to defend that fort. Thus, when the colonel reached the fort, he found its gates blocked. He ordered his troops to open fire and destroy the gates. The Russian troops entered the fort and killed all the Persians. Emir Khan was so scared that he threw himself down from the wall and perished. The Russians stayed there for several days, surrounded by the Persian army. They had little food, but Melik Vani Atabegov of Jraberd smuggled in food a number of times during the night. Finally, realizing the difficulty of obtaining food by such means, the colonel and his troops exited the fort at night and reached the fort of Jermuk through a mountain pass. There, the Armenians provided them with food. They went on to Ganje and from there to Tiflis. The colonel, once again, took an army and returned to do battle with 'Abbas Mirza by the Zangam River. He defeated him and forced him to flee to Persia. Fath 'Ali Shah then came with a large army and stopped by the Arax River. In August of that same year, His Excellency Prince Tsitsianov took an army and went against him. He defeated the shah and forced him to flee to Iraq and Azerbaijan.<sup>1</sup> He then returned to Georgia.<sup>2</sup>

The *sardar's* main thought was to take the lands between the [Caspian and Black] seas and to secure the movement of the people on land and sea. With this in mind, he built the fort of Qoli (Redut-qale) on the territory of Migrel (Mingrelia) on the shore of the Black Sea.<sup>3</sup>

After that he had the idea of capturing Badkube (Baku) and decorating that city with his victorious banners. With this goal he returned to Tiflis and, with his detachments dressed in armor, resembling a stormy sea (dark gray armor), he set off to conquer Baku.<sup>4</sup> He asked the assistance of Ibrahim Khan, and the khan, who now resides in heaven, sent his fortunate eldest son, Mahdi Qoli Khan.

The territory of Mustafa Khan of Shirvan was on the route of victorious Russian army. Despite this, he refused to submit to that

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<sup>1</sup> In reality, the Persian army withdrew when they heard Tsitsianov was on his way; Kostikian, 255.

<sup>2</sup> T.S. 113v-114r.

<sup>3</sup> The fort was at the mouth of Khopis-tsqali River in Mingrelia; Kostikian, 255.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf has "made preparations for a campaign in February 1221/1806; T.S. 114r.

Great State. He kept firmly to the path of enmity and malice. The *sardar* decided to punish him and to awaken him from hibernation. With this goal he set off for Shirvan.<sup>1</sup> Hearing the dismal news, Mustafa Khan was frightened. He gathered his tribes and subjects and went to Mount Fit,<sup>2</sup> which was the only available fort, and a strong asylum. He lodged himself and settled down there. At the arrival of the *sardar*, a peace was concluded and a treaty was signed between them.<sup>3</sup>

The *sardar* would visit Mustafa Khan numerous times accompanied by just one horseman. Mustafa Khan, feeling benevolent, commented to the *sardar*, "Traveling with only one rider can cause harm to your fortunate self." The *sardar* replied, "The Jamshid-like king of kings of the universe (Russian Emperor) has millions of soldiers like me. If I die, there will be one less. It will make no difference if they kill one of rank like me, or a simple soldier."

After that, they moved and encircled Baku from land and sea.<sup>4</sup> After some time, the khan of Baku, Hosein Qoli Khan, with various propositions and conditions, set forth an agreement for peace.<sup>5</sup>

The *sardar* believed his hypocritical words. Hosein Qoli Khan exited the fort, pitched his tents and settled there. He then sent the following message to the *sardar*, "I have some important and confidential ideas which I have to discuss with you. I would like you to come to my tent."

Not seeing anything amiss with the request, the trusting and sincere *sardar* went to Hosein Qoli Khan's tent. They sat down and talked. During their discussions, one of the relatives of Hosein Qoli Khan, who was called Ibrahim Beg, wounded the *sardar* with a villainous bullet. The *sardar* died then and there.

With its beauty and scent the world would have been heaven  
If it did not contain old age and death

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<sup>1</sup> Tsitsianov's letters to Mustafa Khan are in *Akty*, II, 671-672 (doc. 1359, December 12, 1805).

<sup>2</sup> It was located near the village of Lagich.

<sup>3</sup> The treaty was signed on December 25, 1805; *Akty*, II, 673-674 (doc. 1365, Tsitsianov to Czartoryskii, dated December 27, 1805).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 745 (doc. 1522), Tsitsianov to Hosein Khan, dated January 31, 1806).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, (doc. 1523, Hosein Khan to Tsitsianov).

Considering it a great service and an act of loyalty to the Persian State, Hosein Qoli Khan, through speedy couriers, who slashed through the roads, hurriedly informed the Persian government of what had occurred.

The countless, star-like armies of the Persian State, with innumerable provisions and equipment, flooded the steppe of Baku. The concentration of nobles and common folk, of soldiers and four-legged beasts, which all moved like the wind, made the mountains and the plains resemble the Day of Judgment.<sup>1</sup>

Learning this, the Russian army decided not to return by land, but boarded ships and sailed to Hajji Tahir Khan (Astrakhan).

Persian customs applied in these *velayats*. The region was under their law, without its own foundation; hence these *velayats* were on the verge of exploding into rebellion.

Stationed in Pambak as the senior commander, Major General Nesvetaev temporarily carried out the duties of the *sardar* (Tsitsianov). He tried to turn the hearts of the nobility and the common people toward him. After seven or eight months, General Field-Marshal Count Gudovich arrived in Tiflis as the *sardar* of the Caucasus and took over his duties.<sup>2</sup>

Months and years passed, and the road of enmity widened between Russia and the sultan of Rum (Ottoman Empire). Count Gudovich began huge and immeasurable preparations, which no accountants could calculate. He left Nesvetaev with the victorious and auspicious army, which was as innumerable as the stars, in Gemri (Gumri),<sup>3</sup> while he himself, with a huge army that shattered and endangered the fiery detachments<sup>4</sup> of the enemy, dashed like a river in the direction of Akhalkalek (Akhalkalaki).

Selim Pasha Humshi-zade was the governor of Akhisge (Akhalsikhe) at that time and was in charge of order and the affairs of state. Hearing the disturbing news about this amazing situation, he became perplexed by the surge of worry. He sent an army to defend Akhalkalaki and to repulse the Russians. He did not know that sap-

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf has added, "owing to a great number of pink-colored tents." The Muslims believe that on doomsday the ground will be red hot.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf has the correct date of June 1222/1806. He also adds that General Bulgakov was named the chief commander of the Caucasian army and was sent to occupy Baku, Qobbe, and Daghestan. General Gregory Glazenap captured Darband and advanced toward Kabarda; *T.S.* 115v.

<sup>3</sup> Renamed later Alexandropol', Leninakan, and the present-day Gumri.

<sup>4</sup> It probably refers to the Janissaries.

lings and small trees could not stop a flood, that a shield of people and jinn could not stop the strike of a meteor.

Not stopping anywhere, Count Gudovich, with his heroic army, stayed in the saddle. He turned the environs of Akhalkalaki into a camp for his victorious troops.<sup>1</sup> His bloodthirsty troops pitched their tents there. Akhalkalaki, like a jewel in an encased ring, was surrounded on all four sides. They [the Russians] stayed there for eight days. They then built ladders and ascended the city on four sides. The hearts of the inhabitants were filled with fear. The battle began two hours before dawn. Three hours after sunrise, the shining swords revealed the blood-red faces of the renowned heroes.

In the end, the Count saw that he could not reach the tower of victory. Not achieving his goal, he retreated. He halted during the night and at daybreak he returned to Georgia. Upon his arrival in Tiflis, he heard that Yusuf Pasha had been appointed commander-in-chief<sup>2</sup> and had come to Kars to start a war. The Count made the necessary preparations and went on to Gumri.<sup>3</sup>

The two armies met at the Arpa River (Akhurian) and set camp facing each other. After some time a battle took place. By dusk the Ottomans were defeated.<sup>4</sup> The Russians took great trophies and many cannons from the Ottomans. The *sardar* (Gudovich) then returned to Tiflis.

Making great preparations and raising the banners of victory, Count Gudovich moved on Erevan in the winter.<sup>5</sup> He sent General Nebol'sin with many detachments of victorious troops, via Karabagh, to conquer Nakhichevan. Nakhichevan was taken. Erevan was tightly encircled. After a long delay, the Russian troops attacked.

Fortune overfilled the carved cup of life of many men. The wind of death darkened the light in many eyes. The hand of zeal stretched

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<sup>1</sup> This occurred in May 1807; *Akty*, III, 542 (doc. 942, Gudovich's report of May 10, 1807).

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *sarasker*. His name was Yusuf Ziya Pasha.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf has the date June 17, 1223/1807; *T.S.* 116r. See also *Akty*, III, 546 (doc. 951, June 5, 1805).

<sup>4</sup> The battle took place on June 18, 1807; *Ibid.*, 548-549 (doc. 957, Gudovich's report of June 20, 1807). Ten cannons and two mortars were taken.

<sup>5</sup> The blockade of Erevan began in October of 1808. Mirza Yusuf confirms the date; *T.S.* 116r. See also *Akty*, III, 496-497 (doc. 825, Gudovich to Nebol'sin, dated October 18, 1808).

out to the hem of the beautiful Maid of Victory, but could not reach it.<sup>1</sup>

Not achieving their goal, the Russian army sounded the drums of retreat and returned to Tiflis.

After that, the officials of the Eternal Sovereign (Tsar) appointed General of Infantry, Tormasov,<sup>2</sup> to the post of *sardar*. He received the taste of high rank. The Count was recalled to Russia.<sup>3</sup> The above-mentioned *sardar* made peace and concluded an agreement with the Ottoman State. Despite the fact that Tormasov did not halt the fighting and did not cool down the arena of battle against the Persians, he did not shut his shinning eyes and could not sleep in peace. He expected problems from Persia.

The Persians succeeded in dulling the vigilance of the commanders of the almighty Russian State and secretly moved Mohammad 'Ali Mirza<sup>4</sup> across the border. Arriving in Georgia, he looted Borchalu, brought terrible losses to the population and took many captives.<sup>5</sup> The next year, they [Persians] sent *Sardar* Hosein Khan of Erevan<sup>6</sup> with the *vali* [Prince Alexander] toward Georgia, to pass through Akhaltsikhe, and to spread trouble and disorder in Georgia. The moment *sardar* Tormasov heard this, he moved via Shamkhor and hurriedly came and set himself at the Sadra Bridge. He gave the command of the troops to Lieutenant-General Paulucci<sup>7</sup> and General Lisanevich and sent them to Akhaltsikhe against *Sardar* Hosein Khan. At midnight, when the world, like the 'Abbasids, put on black clothes and resembled one who is in mourning for the dead Persian troops, the victorious army dealt a *shabikhun*<sup>8</sup> on the Persians, during which major looting and the massacre of many men occurred.

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<sup>1</sup> The failed attack on Erevan occurred on November 17, 1808; *Ibid.*, 509-510 (doc. 895, Gudovich's report of January 5, 1809).

<sup>2</sup> Count and General A. P. Tormasov was the chief administrator of the Caucasus from 1808 until 1811.

<sup>3</sup> Gudovich left on March 5, 1809, confirmed by Mirza Yusuf; *T.S.* 116r.

<sup>4</sup> He was the eldest son of Fath 'Ali Shah Qajar.

<sup>5</sup> *Akty*, IV, 697 (doc. 1076, Tormasov's report of September 16, 1809).

<sup>6</sup> He was the last Khan of Erevan (1807-1827). For more details, see Bournoutian, *Erevan*.

<sup>7</sup> Marquis and General P. O. Paulucci was chief administrator of Georgia and the Caucasus from 1811 to 1812.

<sup>8</sup> An unexpected nightly attack.

The Persian troops became confused. Some of them, with great difficulty, saved their souls from the whirlpool of death and misfortune, left their horses, and fled on foot [via the Ottoman border].<sup>1</sup>

The Ottomans seized many of them and robbed them naked. The remaining Persians, suffering great hardship and misfortunes, reached the borders of Erevan.

*Sardar* Hosein Khan, scared and embarrassed for the Persian State, fled and hid in the fortress of Kior-oghli.<sup>2</sup> After some time the Persians reassured him and asked him to return to his post.

*In November of 1809 Major General Orbelianov smashed the Ottoman army and occupied the beautiful fortress of Budi (Poti). In January of 1225/1810 the same fortress was given to Orbelianov.*

*In the same year, the whole of Georgia, including Imeret'i, passed into the rule of the Russian Empire and was subject to its taxes. In 1226/1811 its government was formed and the district was called "Imeretskii oblast." The town of Kubansk became the center of that district.*<sup>3</sup>

The next year, Tormasov went to Russia and the government officials appointed Marquis Paulucci as the *sardar*.<sup>4</sup> He arrived in Tiflis. Moving from there to Baku, he halted in Ganje.<sup>5</sup> He freed the family and children of Javad Khan<sup>6</sup> and some Persian khans from prison and moved on to Baku.<sup>7</sup> At this time the population of Kakhet (Kakhet'i) and Kisik (Kizikh) raised a rebellion.<sup>8</sup> The grandson of the late Ibrahim Khan, Ja'far Qoli Aqa, fled from Karabagh and

<sup>1</sup> This occurred on September 4-5, 1810; *Akty*, IV, 819 (doc. 1242, Tormasov's report of September 19, 1810).

<sup>2</sup> Also called the fort of Ir-abad in the Darakend-Parchenis district of the khanate of Erevan; Kostikian, 259.

<sup>3</sup> *T. S.* 116v-117r.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf has the date of his arrival as September 1227/1811; *T.S.* 117r. See also *Akty*, V, 1 (doc. 2, Paulucci to Tormasov, dated September 22, 1811).

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds that Colonel Kotliarevskii was sent to Akhalkalaki; *T.S.* 117r.

<sup>6</sup> They were permitted to go to Persia. See Paulucci's letter to 'Abbas Mirza, dated February 20, 1811; *Akty*, V, 119 (doc. 167).

<sup>7</sup> He arrived in Baku on February 12, 1812; *Akty*, V, 59 (doc. 88, Paulucci's report).

<sup>8</sup> The main reason for the rebellion was the behavior of the Russian commander, who raised the taxes paid in kind (grain). The bad harvest and plague made the payment impossible. See letters of complaint in *Akty*, V, 81-82 (doc. 94, dated March 26, 1812).

joined the Persian government.<sup>1</sup> The *nayeb ol-saltane*<sup>2</sup> came to Karabagh and crushed the battalion in Qorchi.<sup>3</sup> The Marquis heard this terrible news, refused to go on to Baku, and went to Mustafa Khan in Shirvan. From there, he moved into Karabagh. He arrived in the city [Shushi] and was terribly angry with some and cursed them for the events that had occurred in Girchi. That same evening he received a letter from his wife, informing him that the Georgians of Kakhet'i and Kizikh had rebelled. She asked him to immediately return there and to try to calm the population.<sup>4</sup> The *sardar* did not delay and went toward Tiflis. Fearing the Kazakhs, the *sardar* tried to avoid them en route. They, however, met him, accorded him great respect and attention and escorted him to Tiflis.

Prior to that, the Kazakhs had attacked Georgia and looted it several times. This time they indeed accorded the *sardar* a great service and demonstrated their loyalty. A victorious army was dispatched to punish the rebels. It fought some of the rebels, while others submitted.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, the rumor of a French invasion of Russia spread everywhere. Marquis Paulucci was removed from the

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<sup>1</sup> According to Mirza Yusuf, he was arrested and was being taken to Russia, when, while crossing the Tartar River, he convinced a Russian officer that he was scared to travel in a carriage and wished to do so on horseback. He then fled on the horse; *T.S.* 117v. See also *Akty*, V, 59 (doc. 88, Paulucci's report of February 22, 1812).

<sup>2</sup> It means heir to the throne, that is, 'Abbas Mirza. 'Abbas Mirza will replace *nayeb ol-saltane* in the text.

<sup>3</sup> Qorchi is one of the right tributaries of the Hagari River; Kostikian, 260. Mirza Yusuf adds the following, "At that time, 'Abbas Mirza came with his army and halted at Aslanduz, by the banks of the Arax. In the winter of that same year, Ja'far Qoli Khan led the prince, with his army and artillery, against Mahdi Qoli Khan. The latter was in Qorchi, trying to quiet some Turkmen tribes. A severe battle ensued and many Persians were killed. Finally the Turkmen and other Muslim tribes, fearing the threat of Persian plunder, came to the Russian side. But when the Russian troops got involved with the Muslim women, a problem arose and the Persians, together with the tribes, smashed the Russians [Battle of Soltanbud in February 1812]. Some surrendered, the rest were killed. Mahdi Qoli fled to Shushi; *T.S.* 117v.

<sup>4</sup> He left on February 21, 1812; *Akty*, V, 75 (doc. 97, Paulucci's report of March 26, 1812).

<sup>5</sup> The rebellion was crushed on March 10, 1812; *Ibid.*, 80.

post of *sardar* and was recalled to Russia. General Rtishchev replaced him.<sup>1</sup>

*In October of the same year Major General Kotliarevskii, named Aghzi pare ("mouth piece") General, made a night attack from Amaras on 'Abbas Mirza, who was in Aslanduz, and crushed his army. The details of that event are as follows:*

*The General advanced with a bloodthirsty regiment of Kazakh cavalry and a group of brave warriors of Karabagh from Agh-Oghlan. Guided by the Murad-khan Deraghorda,<sup>2</sup> they crossed the Arax by the light of a lamp and got to the camp of 'Abbas Mirza. At sunrise they attacked him at Aslanduz. When the artillery fired on the camp, the Persians leaped from their sleep. They left their tents, and ran to the fortifications built on a hill at Aslanduz. At dawn the Russians made an assault from two sides. It was still dark and all the soldiers stayed in formation. The Persians, thinking that the Russians had already penetrated the fortifications, became confused and started firing at each other. They killed their friends without recognizing them. They left the fortification and continued to fight. Many were killed or captured. 'Abbas Mirza fell into a pit and was covered by dead bodies until one of his servants recognized him, and brought him a horse, whereupon he fled to Tabriz.*

*General Kotliarevskii returned in triumph to Karabagh. He stayed there for a while and, in January 1228/1813, he recruited an army and marched on Lenkoran and Talesh. The winter of that year was so cold that even the warm waters of the Caspian Sea were covered by ice. The general left Shushi to attack the Argevan fort. He fought fierce battles there. Many people died from the frost as well as the battles. The general was wounded several times. The fortress was captured and Kotliarevskii returned.<sup>3</sup>*

In 1814 [actually in 1813], after his arrival in Georgia, General Rtishchev began to strengthen the bond of friendship with the Persian State.<sup>4</sup> To conclude peace, Mirza Abdul-Hasan Khan went to

<sup>1</sup> He was removed by the order of Tsar Alexander I, dated February 16, 1812; confirmed by Mirza Yusuf; *T.S.* 118r. See also *Akty*, V, 20 (doc. 32, dated February 16). General N. F. Rtishchev was the chief administrator of the Caucasus from 1812 to 1816.

<sup>2</sup> This was a Turkish tribe, which lived in Karabagh. They worked with Russia and were known as good spies and thieves; Kostikian, 261.

<sup>3</sup> *T.S.* 118v-119r.

<sup>4</sup> The discussions began earlier; see *Akty*, V, 732-733 (doc. 875 Rtishchev's report, dated September 10, 1813). The Treaty of Gulistan

the land of night.<sup>1</sup> Festive celebrations began for the conclusion of peace. The peace is called the Peace of Gulistan (Golestan) and remains so in the uttering of nobles and common folk. After this, peace and quiet descended.<sup>2</sup> General insidiousness doomed the peace, however.

This continued until General Rtishchev was recalled and General Ermolov replaced him as the *sardar*.<sup>3</sup> His Excellency, familiarizing himself with the conditions in all the *velayats*, instituted new regulations, depending on the needs and conditions of each *velayat*.<sup>4</sup>

At this time the khans of Shirvan and Karabagh fled to Persia.<sup>5</sup> The khan of Shakki, Isma'il Khan, died.<sup>6</sup> Thus the three khanates passed into the domain of the almighty and exalted State [Russia]. His Excellency, Ermolov, opened *divan-khanes*<sup>7</sup> in these regions, installed *divan-begis*,<sup>8</sup> appointed commandants, and governed by the laws set up by them [local people].

(Golestan) was signed on October 12, 1813. The English text is in J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, I, 84-86.

<sup>1</sup> Lands in the west (sunset) and north are referred to as regions of the night, while those in the east (sunrise) and south are called regions of the day in Persian sources. In this case he went to St. Petersburg.

<sup>2</sup> Everything was not calm; see *Akty*, VI (2), 122-128, which contains Foreign Minister Karl Nesselrode's instruction to Ermolov on his upcoming embassy to Persia (doc. 267, dated July 19, 1816). Ermolov's insulting behavior in Persia did not help the peace.

<sup>3</sup> Ermolov arrived in Tiflis on October 10, 1816; confirmed by Mirza Yusuf, *T.S.* 119r.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds, "In 1232/1817, Ermolov, with some of his well-known generals, went to Soltaniye (30 miles southeast of Zanzan, the summer camp of the shah). There he met Fath 'Ali Shah and some high-ranking Persian officials. By the will of the Russian Emperor, the Qapan Mountain was designated as the frontier. Ermolov changed it to the Arax River; *T.S.* 119r.

<sup>5</sup> Mustafa Khan of Shirvan fled on August 19, 1820 and Mahdi Qoli Khan of Karabagh fled on November 21, 1822. Mirza Yusuf has incorrectly dated it as 1822 and 1823. See *Akty*, VI (1), 810 (doc. 1212, Major-General Vlasov to Ermolov, dated August 19, 1820); and *Ibid.*, 848 (doc. 1293, Madatov to Vel'iaminov, dated November 21, 1822).

<sup>6</sup> He died on July 24, 1819.

<sup>7</sup> Local courts.

<sup>8</sup> Judges.

### *The Meeting of General Madatov with 'Abbas Mirza*

*His Excellency General Madatov, being very haughty and proud, looked down on everyone, except for his immediate chief. In winter, Crown Prince 'Abbas Mirza came to the bank of the Arax for hunting and rest in the Moghan Plain. General Madatov, with the permission of the government, asked the prince to meet with him. Together with some eminent officials and noblemen of his provinces and Cossack cavalrymen, he went to the other side of the Arax, near the Khoda-afarin Bridge, to have an audience with the prince. The prince received him with great honor. The general asked the prince's permission to organize a festival and fireworks. With the prince's approval, he arranged fireworks that made most of the Persian horses cut their bridles, rush into the camp, and scatter. Many were not found until daybreak. The Persians were amazed at the great fireworks and praised the fête.*

*During one of his talks with the prince, the general said, "You must relinquish some territory from Sevan and Sadarak so that our tribes from Georgia can spend their summers there." The prince was astonished and grew angry at his [the general's] impudence and lack of tact. The next day, when the general's uncle, Petros Beg Madatov, had an audience with the prince, the latter complained and said, "Your sister's son is very ignorant and arrogant. He does not know his place. He is just a general and the Russian Emperor has thousands like him. No one dares speak of such matters [with me]. Although my father, the Shah in Tehran, and the Russian Emperor, in Petersburg, can present each other territories exceeding thrice those mentioned, we should not talk of such matters. You are an old and experienced man, you must teach him." The latter gave a reply in verse, indicating the folly of youth. 'Abbas Mirza was so pleased that the matter ended peacefully.<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> T.S. 120v.

## Chapter Twelve

### *The Narrative On the Second Violation of the [Peace] Treaty by the Persians and Their Hostile and Malicious Acts Against the Almighty State [Russia]*

A long-term peace was concluded between the two glorious states. Interrelations and ties continued, as in the past. But in the year 1826, word had spread among the nobles and commoners that the Persian government officials had violated the peace and planned hostile acts [against Russia]. The Russian government officials did not believe this [these rumors] and considered it false.

*More than eleven years had passed since the signing of the peace treaty between Russian and Persia. During that period the population and army of Persia lived in tranquility. Not a single enemy troubled any part and the insurrections and skirmishes that occurred were put down with the help of small regiments. Thus the Persians felt strong, broke their friendly ties with Russia, violated the peace treaty and began a war. The causes of the war were: First—British aid. They sent guns, cannons, and other arms to Persia to make it strong and to prevent the passage of the Russians through its territory to India. ‘Abbas Mirza, Fath ‘Ali Shah’s eldest son and heir-apparent, had reorganized the infantry (sarbaz) units and artillery in Azerbaijan under the control of an English military officer. During these few years, several battles were waged at various places against the Turkmen, Ottoman Turkey, and other rivals, and victories were won. They thus thought that a war against Russia would have similar results...Second: Border disputes—in Sevan and Sadarak—both sides could not agree and bided their time to resolve the dispute by war. Third: The rebellion led by Ghazi Mullah under the banner of ghazavat and shari’a in Daghestan. He incited the Muslims against the Russians. The mullahs and mujtaheds<sup>1</sup> in Persia wrote essays and proclaimed ghazavat and jihad against the Russians. Even Aqa Seyyed ‘Ali Mujtahed, who lived in the holy shrines (Karbala and Najaf), wrote a letter to Fath ‘Ali Shah, stating, “The war against the Russians should be viewed as ghazavat. I dreamt that if His Majesty starts the war, he will win a victory within a month.” People also said that the mujtahed had claimed that he [the mujtahed] would take the shells of the Russian cannons*

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<sup>1</sup> Major religious figures issuing pronouncements on religious matters.

*and throw them back at them. People in those days, and especially in Persia, believed such tales. Fourth: Prince Alexander of Georgia had lived for several years in Persia. He claimed to be the vali and had the title of Honorable Vali. Some of the khans, for example Mustafa Khan of Shirvan, Mahdi Qoli Khan of Karabagh, Ughurlu Khan Ziyadoghli of Ganje, and the sons of Salim Khan of Shakki, had fled Russia (Transcaucasia) and had sought refuge in Persia. All of them were biding their time to return home and to assume power. Thus, in 1242/1826, Fath 'Ali Shah summoned his son, 'Abbas Mirza, to Tehran, and gave him the task of waging war against Russia...At that time His Majesty Alexander Pavlovich died and His Majesty Nicholas Pavlovich ascended the throne. This circumstance became one of the causes of the violation of the peace...<sup>1</sup> Some of the wise retainers of the prince advised against the war. They attempted to make the shah give up his idea. Therefore, under the pretext of bringing money and making preparations, they sent sanduqdar<sup>2</sup> Heidar 'Ali Khan, an eloquent high-ranking official and great khan to Tehran. During his reception with the shah, he said, "According to the decree of the Ka'ba of the World,<sup>3</sup> the Crown Prince is recruiting troops and making war preparations. He is trying to fulfill Your Majesty's will. But when a faithful servant knows something and conceals it, he acts like a traitor. So if the Ka'ba of the World permits me, I shall speak my mind." With the shah's permission, he said, "Although no one can resist the shah's glorious army, war against Russia is not desirable or useful at the present. Russia is an old country, good at war, and gentle in its friendship. It harms no one because of its religion. They have given us no grounds for war. Their ruler has just died and a new king has ascended the throne. Let us keep an eye on his actions and behavior and then act accordingly. If we show enmity now, the [Persian] people will consider us harsh and cruel, which goes against His [the Tsar's] royal favor. Fath 'Ali Shah became so enraged that he asked his young son, Mucheli Khan, who always stood nearby with a decorated sword, to cut off Heidar 'Ali's head, because he was a traitor. A wise man has said that "it is suicidal to express ideas different from*

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<sup>1</sup> Refers to the Decembrist uprising in St. Petersburg following the death of Alexander I.

<sup>2</sup> Treasurer.

<sup>3</sup> The holiest shrine of Islam in Mecca. In this case, one of the titles of the shah.

*the shah's.*" When Mucheli Khan tried to cut off Heidar 'Ali's head, a greedy courtier, knowing that the shah loved money, suggested that he ransom his life. The latter handed 100 ashrafi bajaghi,<sup>1</sup> which he had kept with him, knowing the shah's nature. After that he began to agree with the shah and approved all his suppositions. The shah then ordered to speed up the preparations for war...<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, Prince Menshikov was appointed as the plenipotentiary envoy of His Imperial Majesty, king of kings, and was dispatched to Persia.<sup>3</sup> He went to Persia via Karabagh and the Khoda-afarin Bridge.<sup>4</sup> The news calmed the nobles and common people. It had already been three years since I was appointed to guard duty on the border of Persia by the [khanate of] Erevan. I received daily accurate and credible information from the Karapapakh,<sup>5</sup> and passed it on to my commander. Finally, the commander told me to stop writing to him about these troublesome events, for he was forced to deliver them to top government officials and received nothing but censure in return. The commander asked me to be vigilant and to carefully follow the situation.

In short, the above-mentioned envoy, passing through Tabriz and Kochan,<sup>6</sup> saw with the Persian army. He realized the situation, but was not able to inform the officials of the Great State.<sup>7</sup>

*The infantry troops of Azerbaijan that were under the command of the Crown Prince 'Abbas Mirza were called sarbaz, while the infantry of Iraq, serving the shah, were called janbaz. Heidar 'Ali Khan returned from Tehran with an urgent decree from the shah [to invade Transcaucasia]. 'Abbas Mirza completed the military preparations and sent his troops to invade the Caucasian provinces from several sides. First of all, he took the infantry and cavalry regiments*

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<sup>1</sup> Dutch gold coins.

<sup>2</sup> T.S. 120v-122r.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that Menshikov was sent to Tehran with his interpreter Shahamir Beglarov to proclaim the accession of the new tsar and to strengthen friendly relations. He brought a crystal throne as a present to Fath 'Ali Shah; T.S. 124r.

<sup>4</sup> The embassy reached the bridge on May 23, 1826; *Akty*, VI (2), 344 (doc. 620 report to Vel'iaminov, dated May 23, 1826).

<sup>5</sup> A Turkic tribe that roamed in Transcaucasia, especially around Nakhichevan and Erevan; see Bournoutian, *Erevan*.

<sup>6</sup> Mirza Yusuf has Ujan, which is a district in Azerbaijan; T.S. 124r.

<sup>7</sup> He actually informed General Vel'iaminov from Khoja Qiyas on June 23, 1826; *Akty*, VI (2), 347 (doc. 628, dated June 23, 1826).

of Azerbaijan and moved with an army of 60,000 through Qaradagh and the yeilaqs of Mushkambar and Golambar<sup>1</sup> toward Karabagh. Another regiment of infantry and cavalry from Khoi and Salmas, as well as the Afshars from Urmiye led by Emir Khan sardar and Mahdi Qoli Khan of Karabagh, were sent to the Shushi fortress through Nakhichevan and Sisian. The infantry of Iraq and the cavalry from Chaharduli,<sup>2</sup> under the command of the Qajar noble, Ibrahim Khan Sardar, and Mostowfi Khan of Shirvan moved toward Shirvan. Hosein Khan of Erevan and his brother Hasan Khan, called Sari Aslan (Yellow Lion), were sent to Georgia with Eskandar Mirza, son of the vali of Georgia, and waged war against prince Sevarsamidze<sup>3</sup> at Kara-Kilisa in the region of Pambak and Shuragol. Mir Hasan Khan of Talesh moved with his troops to Lenkoran and Aregvan. Hosein Khan, the son of Salim Khan of Shakki, moved to Ganje with his brother Hajji Khan. Thus, the sons of the khans with their 15,000 troops displayed the banners of war and set out to conquer the regions.<sup>4</sup>

While crossing the Arax River, the Persians killed a number of Cossacks who were bathing there.<sup>5</sup> On the advice of the Karabaghis, the Persians went to Gerus (Gerusi) against the [Russian] battalion there.<sup>6</sup> The battalion was ordered not to delay but to immediately go to the fortress (Shushi).<sup>7</sup> Lieutenant Safar 'Ali Beg, who was the *nayeb* there, was their guide. On the way, near Korunzor, the Russian battalion met the Persian army and a battle ensued. The Russian soldiers suffered from thirst due to the excessive heat. They desperately tried to reach the Akeri River. Captain Hajji Aqalar Beg

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<sup>1</sup> They lay between Tabriz and Ahar.

<sup>2</sup> The southeastern region of Maraghe.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Prince L. Savarsamidze was the commander of Pambak and Shuragol. He was named major general of the reserve grenadiers in 1827.

<sup>4</sup> T.S. 123r-123v.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that Emir Khan Sardar and Mahdi Qoli Khan were informed that a battalion of Eger *soldats* (Cossacks), known for their courage, was in the village of Goris to defend Qapan and Zangezour. Therefore, contrary to 'Abbas Mirza's orders, they moved cautiously and took 3-4 days to go from Nakhichevan to Sarkoduk (Sarkoghovk, a village in the valley of Gayledzor) in Sisian. There they captured fifty Cossacks who were fishing and bathing in the Bazar-chay; T.S. 125r.

<sup>6</sup> The first Persian troops crossed the frontier from several points on July 15, 1826; Dubrovin, *Istoriia*, VI, 617.

<sup>7</sup> Text reads *kala* from *qal'e*.

learned of this. Together with a number of *Begzadehs*,<sup>1</sup> he gathered Kurdish infantry and cavalry, and cut the road to the river. Thus, they did not permit the [Russian] soldiers to move on in either direction. They cut some of them down with sharp sabers and took others captive.<sup>2</sup> No one was saved or could flee from there. Taking the captives, the Persians went to Korunzor as Hajji Aqalar Beg's guests. From there, they sent Colonel Nazim and Major Kovalenskii, together with other captives, officers, and *fath-names*,<sup>3</sup> to Fath 'Ali Shah, who was, at that time, with his army in Ardabil.

Mahdi Qoli Khan of Karabagh and *Sardar* Emir Khan left Nakhichevan and joined the *shahzadeh*<sup>4</sup> in Korunzor. At daybreak they moved on. Guided by Mahdi Qoli Khan through Kurdish pasturelands, the prince decided to go with his army against the [Russian] army, which was in Chanakhchakh (Chanakhchi).

Prior to that, when the Cossacks were killed on the banks of the Arax, Mahdi Qoli Khan's brother, Soleiman Beg, who, with his other relatives, was in the *Varanda mahal*, turned against the Russians and was prepared to betray them. But the commander of the regiment, General Reutt', realizing this, warned Soleiman Beg, and brought the troops into the fort (Shushi).<sup>5</sup> But the Javanshir tribes, which were in Zergiar, Daragoz (Daragots), and other nearby places, looted Agh-Oghlan, took the Russians' provisions and ammunition, and captured them. Just at that time I had sent provisions to the troops. The attackers looted everything and even took the oxen used for transportation.

The prince had planned to go in the direction of Chanakhchi via the Gerusi road, but, hearing this, he moved toward the fortress [Shushi]. He came as close as shooting distance, and even reached the walls, but did not achieve his goal and returned. For, the strong measures taken by the colonel and the commander of the fortress forced him to retreat and give up his plan. Some Armenians took Safar Yuzbashi of Shushi and entrenched themselves on a cliff in Khazin (Sghnakh) on the southern side of the fortress. They settled there and the soldiers of 'Abbas Mirza could not take that fortification.

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<sup>1</sup> Sons of *begs*.

<sup>2</sup> Dubrovin, *Istoriia*, VI, 624.

<sup>3</sup> Announcements of victory.

<sup>4</sup> Son of a king, prince; in this case 'Abbas Mirza.

<sup>5</sup> The Persian army surrounded the fort on July 25, 1826; *Akty*, VI (2), 357-358 (doc. 651 report to Ermolov, dated July 30, 1826).

*The Crown Prince besieged the Shushi fortress. Since some of the begs and meliks of Karabagh who lived far from the fortress could not take refuge there, they came and swore allegiance to 'Abbas Mirza and Mahdi Qoli Khan. They included Vani Atabegov of Jraberd,<sup>1</sup> Melik Aslan of Dizak, khalife (catholicos) Sargis of Gandzasar,<sup>2</sup> and the Tekellu and Moghanlu tribes.<sup>3</sup>*

Except for the inhabitants of the city [Shushi], all the rest of the people of Karabagh, all the *begs*, *sultans*, and *meliks* came to Mahdi Qoli Khan and to 'Abbas Mirza and announced their allegiance. They were presented with expensive *khal'ats* and high decorations. Joining the Karabaghis to his army, he surrounded the city like a jewel encased in a ring. Skirmishes and clashes occurred between them every hour of every day.<sup>4</sup>

*A few days later, when the two sides calmed down a bit, groups of Persian cavalry and infantry units were sent to raid the mahals of Karabagh and its environs, which were subject to Russia. They caused great harm to the mahals and set fire to many villages in revenge for the Karabaghi resistance. Then, news came that the inhabitants of Shushi were coming out of the fortress to collect food from the surrounding villages and take it into the fortress. Mahdi Qoli Khan and Emir Aslan Khan conferred and decided, "Since we made an error in Goris and deserve reproach for that, we should take advantage of this situation and perform a service. Let us take a regiment of the army and lay in ambush near the Khalifalu River, which is the pass to the impregnable fortress. We will thus capture those who are trying to bring food, as well as attack and capture the fortress." They told 'Abbas Mirza of their plan and decided that the prince would bring the cannons close to the fortress, would attack in the morning, and conquer it. After that Mahdi Qoli Khan and Emir Aslan Khan left with four sarbaz regiments and 2,000 Karabaghi cavalry and lay in ambush near the Khalifalu River by the Khachen gate. Some of 'Abbas Mirza's retainers, who were on hos-*

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<sup>1</sup> As noted, he had assisted Colonel Kariagin in 1805. The Persians captured him and brought him to 'Abbas Mirza; Kostikian, 273.

<sup>2</sup> Sargis Hasan-Jalalian (1794-1815). The Russians terminated the Catholicosate of Aghuank' in 1815 and Sargis was made a metropolitan. He thus hoped to re-establish his position in Karabagh. After the war he was accused of collaborating with the Persians and died in 1828 in Tiflis.

<sup>3</sup> T.S. 126v-127r.

<sup>4</sup> Shushi was besieged on July 25, 1826. See Akty, VI (2), 356-357 (doc. 650, report to 'Abbas Mirza, dated July 25, 1826).

tile terms with these khans, took advantage of their departure and lied to the prince. They said that there were some Russians in the fortress and if he assisted them by sending cannons and arms, they would occupy the fortress and would help rob Agha Mohammad Khan's treasures and the wealth of the inhabitants of the fortress. In addition they would be praised and rewarded by the shah. Their words made an impression on 'Abbas Mirza. He changed his mind and refused to send cannons and infantry [to the Khachen gate]. The following morning, the khans, according to their previous plan, ambushed the hungry men who had gone out to get food. They made a great noise, captured, and killed some of them. They then attacked the fortress. Ganjom Aqa Khandamirof, who was the qal'e-beg at the time, opened the gate, came out with two units of Russian troops, and attacked the Persians. Those who had gone in search of food returned to the fortress. Ganjom Aqa then returned to the fortress, fortified the gate, and began to fight from atop its walls and towers. Although the sarbaz tried to ascend the walls, they were shot down. The Armenians in the fortress also fought stubbornly on the side of the Russians. They were given arms and protected the walls of the fortress. The battle continued from sunrise to midday. No aid came from 'Abbas Mirza and they returned without success.

At this time some good news came of the victories and successes of the khans in various parts of the Caucasus, which increased the pride and arrogance of the Persians. One of them, Mir Hasan Khan of Talesh, went and occupied Talesh and Lenkoran, easily driving the Russians out of the fortress of Argevan.<sup>1</sup> Ibrahim Khan Sardar and Mostowfi Khan conquered Shirvan down to Salian and Baku. General Qrabbi (Krabbe),<sup>2</sup> the commander of the Russian troops, which defended the area, left for Qobbe (Kuba). Hosein Khan Sardar conquered the territory of Pambak and Shuragol and destroyed the Russian buildings there. His brother, Hasan Khan, made raids into Borchalu, completely devastated the region, and captured many prisoners. The Russian troops in these regions fled to Tiflis. The Russian troops at Zurnabad<sup>3</sup> wanted to enter the fortress of Ganje and then move on to Tiflis, but they were stopped by the in-

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<sup>1</sup> He attacked the guard posts of the Russian navy on the Caspian Sea and caused great losses; Kostikian, 275.

<sup>2</sup> Major-General K. von Krabbe commanded an infantry unit in Daghestan.

<sup>3</sup> An Armenian village near Ganje, where the Russian garrison rested during the hot summers.

*habitants and had to flee straight to Tiflis, leaving their baggage, cannons, and means of transport.*<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, because of the departure of the Russian troops from the *velayat* of Talesh, the khans of Talesh removed the yoke of obedience [from the people].<sup>2</sup> The governor of Talesh, Mir Hasan Khan, sent his brothers to serve 'Abbas Mirza. Mustafa Khan of Shirvan also went to Shirvan. The inhabitants of Shirvan gave in to his deceit and announced their loyalty to him. They rose up and played the tune of rebellion on the drums of betrayal.<sup>3</sup> The Russian troops experienced continuous clashes. Finally, the Russians gathered all their troops and followers from the villages of Shirvan and went toward the *velayat* of Qobbe. Mustafa Khan became independent, ascended the throne of the khanate and settled in the region of Shamakhi.

The Russian commanders, who were in Shakki, also left it and went to the city of Tiflis.

Hosein Khan, the son of Salim Khan, went to Shakki and became the independent khan of that province.<sup>4</sup>

The [Russian] troops, which were in Zurnabad, asked the leaders of Ganje to allow them to pass through Ganje to Tiflis. The people of Ganje found out and decided to impede their passage. The troops went back [to Zurnabad].

Ughurlu Khan<sup>5</sup> came to Ganja and became its khan. After the departure of Prince Sevarsamidze from Pambak and Shuragol, Hosein Khan [of Erevan] and Hasan Khan came there from Erevan, burned the buildings erected by the Russians and took control of those places.<sup>6</sup> Hasan Khan even went to the Borchalu *mahal*, robbed the foreigners who lived by Kunjik, and took much booty.

The Persians spread false rumors that *Sardar* General Ermolov had vacated Tiflis and was planning to return to Russia, and that no

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<sup>1</sup> T.S. 127v-129r. 'Abbas Mirza's letter to Hosein Khan Sardar praising him and his brother, Hasan Khan, is in *Ibid.*, 129r-129v.

<sup>2</sup> They attacked Russian battalions by the Caspian Sea; *Akty*, VI (2), 358 (doc. 651, report to Ermolov, dated July 30, 1826).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 357.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, VI (2), 362 (doc. 661, report to Ermolov, dated August 13, 1826).

<sup>5</sup> He was the eldest son of Javad Khan of Ganje; see genealogy chart in *Ibid.*, VI (2), 906.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, VI (2), 375 (doc. 681, report to Ermolov, dated September 12, 1826).

one knew where Madatov was. This continued until my courier arrived with the news that Ermolov was in Tiflis, dignified and confident and that Madatov had arrived from Russia with a great number of troops, which they said was the personal army of the Tsar.

Hearing the news, the Persians were alarmed. 'Abbas Mirza sent his heir, Mohammad Mirza, and his mother's brother, Emir Khan *Sardar*, as well as Nazar 'Ali Khan, with a great number of troops to Ganje, with orders to camp there, to strengthen its citadel, and to make every effort to guard the borders. Several days after the fortress of Shushi was surrounded, 'Abbas Mirza sent his close associate, Bijan Khan, with a proposal to surrender the fort. He promised peace and favors.

After that they sent Major Klugenay from the fort. In short, after long discussions and innumerable debates, they agreed to leave the commandant, Major Chiliaev, with a captain (Adigözal Beg)<sup>1</sup> as hostages, and to send Major Kliugenau with a Persian *yesawul* to *Sardar* Ermolov to get his permission to surrender the fort of Shushi.<sup>2</sup>

Ermolov replied that the term "capitulation" did not exist in the Russian vocabulary, because "capitulation" in French means surrendering the fort. The major remained there and sent Ermolov's letter, via a *yesawul*, addressed to Ibrahim Khan. The letter was detained and did not reach its addressee.<sup>3</sup>

Just at that time Allah-yar Khan, with a large number of troops, joined the army of 'Abbas Mirza, and together they stormed the fortress [of Shushi]; but even this came to naught.

*The Crown Prince hoped that the people of Shushi would submit to him and surrender the fortress, so that he could take the riches of the city and not his troops. Meanwhile the others wished to capture it by force so that everyone would get his share of booty...Although Shushi was not yet taken, they had already divided the loot among themselves. 'Abbas Mirza intended to seize the wealth of Sohrab Aqa Tarimof (Zohrab Tumanian) and that of the Sheikhof family, while Mahdi Qoli Khan hoped to grab the money of the Maqdasi*

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<sup>1</sup> Mirza Yusuf identifies him as Mirza Adigözal Beg; T.S. 130r. See below.

<sup>2</sup> Dubrovin, *Istoriia*, VI, 637-639.

<sup>3</sup> General Madatov told the Persian *yesawul*, who carried a cane that he would beat 'Abbas Mirza with the same cane; T.S. 130r.

*Baba Haqumov (Aqa Baba Haghumian) and that of the Khandami-rof family. They were counting their chickens before they hatched.*<sup>1</sup>

*Emir Khan Sardar persisted in attacking and capturing Shushi. He gave no rest to 'Abbas Mirza. The latter, therefore, sent him and his own son, Mohammad Mirza, to Ganje. 'Abbas Mirza realized that the siege of Shushi would be a long drawn-out affair. He, therefore, sent messengers to the fortress with the aim of enticing the Armenians to his side and convincing them to stop aiding the Russian soldiers. But nothing came of it. He sent Sarukhan Yuzbashi, an Armenian kadhoda, to the fortress to advise his people and to impel them to submit to Persia. After delivering his message, Sarukhan said in Armenian, "My sons hold firm, for they are weakening." A Karabaghi Turk, who spoke Armenian, denounced him to Mahdi Qoli Khan. The latter became incensed and ordered that Sarukhan's tongue be cut. Another beg, who was on friendly terms with Sarukhan, mediated and saved his tongue. Mahdi Qoli Khan went to the walls of the fortress, and, together with other Persian khans, called Aqabeg Kalantarov,<sup>2</sup> a respectable man in the fortress. At first Aqabeg refused to come, for, having been a close retainer of the khan, he feared he would be chastised. Finally, by the colonel's command, he went to meet Mahdi Qoli Khan and the Persian khans, with two officers who spoke Turkish and were dressed in servants' clothes... After [Mahdi Qoli's failure] 'Abbas Mirza consulted with Hajji Aqalar. The Russian officials had prudently collected the arms from the Muslims of Shushi. The Armenians, however, joined the Russians and defended the fortress. The Armenians of Shushikend and Dash Altilu (Karintak), who with their chief Safar Yuzbashi had fortified themselves in the ravine of Khaznadarasi, constantly attacked the Persians. 'Abbas Mirza was so incensed that he offered ten ashrafis for anyone who brought him a head of an Armenian. Because of this, a large number of Armenians were killed.*<sup>3</sup>

*Emir Khan and his troops moved on, made stops, and finally reached Ganje. Its inhabitants went out into the orchards below the city, welcomed Prince Mohammad Mirza and the sardar, and swore allegiance to them. Ughurlu Khan went into the citadel and reassured the people. The prince and the sardar camped by the Kurek*

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<sup>1</sup> T.S. 130v.

<sup>2</sup> Aqabeg Kalantarov was the governor of Shushi during Mahdi Qoli Khan's reign. He was in charge of the Armenian troops defending Shushi.

<sup>3</sup> T.S. 130v-131v.

River. The khans of the Ayrumlu and Shamshadil tribes submitted and began to serve them. Emir Khan sent his nephew, Mohammad Zaman Khan, with 1,000 Chaharduli horsemen to the Hasan-su and Zagam streams, which were the border between Ganje and Tiflis. They were to stay there and send news about the events in Tiflis. Two weeks later, sudden news arrived that general Madatov had come from Akhstafa and was making preparations to march on Ganje. Emir Khan informed 'Abbas Mirza and wrote, "During the battle of Shushi I volunteered to take the command of the army and conquer the fortress. You refused to agree. I now request that you send me five or six sarbaz regiments and five cannons so that I can fight against Madatov. If I defeat him, I will go on to Tiflis, otherwise I will be murdered." 'Abbas Mirza did not accept his appeal, for he was told that Madatov's army was not numerous. He felt that if he sent additional forces, Emir Khan would defeat Madatov, march to Tiflis, and be praised by the shah. He therefore, refused and wrote, "You settle in the fortress of Ganje, take all the cannons left by the Russians, and defend it, until I come and do battle with Madatov." Emir Khan refused to obey... Mohammad Mirza wrote to his father about Emir Khan's refusal and 'Abbas Mirza wrote a letter of reprimand...<sup>1</sup>

The army of 'Abbas Mirza camped on the environs of the town. At that time the news of the battle between Emir Khan *Sardar* and Madatov, Emir Aslan's death and the defeat of his army arrived.<sup>2</sup> 'Abbas Mirza moved to Aghdam. From there, he sent the commandant (Major Chiliaev) and me to Tabriz. Leaving Mahdi Qoli Khan in Karabagh, 'Abbas Mirza moved toward Ganje. Madatov killed Emir Khan *Sardar* and entered Ganje.<sup>3</sup> *Sardar* Paskevich, with his

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<sup>1</sup> T.S. 132v-134r.

<sup>2</sup> The battle occurred on September 2, 1826 by the right bank of the Shamkhor-chay; *Akty*, VI (2), 373-374 (doc. 677, report by Ermolov, dated September 7, 1826). According to Mirza Yusuf Emir Khan and Mohammad Mirza joined Ughurlu Khan. They caught a messenger of General Madatov by the Kurek River. Madatov carried a letter for the defenders of Shushi with words of encouragement; T.S. 132r.

<sup>3</sup> September 4, 1826. The details of Madatov's battle with Emir Aslan Khan are in Mirza Yusuf's text; T.S. 132r-136r. According to Mirza Yusuf, Emir Khan was a fat, thickset man. He was the son of Shah Qoli Aqa Qajar, the brother of Jan Mohammad Khan, from the clan of Yukhari-bash. He was fifty years old and was a good shot; T.S. 136r.

army, came and joined him.<sup>1</sup> The Persians, continuing their retreat, entered the territory of Ganje. Leaving his carts on the banks of the Kurek River and taking only *sarbaz*<sup>2</sup> and cavalry, ('Abbas Mirza) left. He spent the night at the banks of the Zazalu River in the *velayat* of Ganje. By daylight *Sardar* Paskevich and General Madatov brought their armies into order, moved on, and reached [the tomb of] Sheikh Nezami, where they met the Persian army. A great battle ensued, and the Persians were defeated within the hour.<sup>3</sup>

Not able to resist the onslaught, the Persian army fled. Within one day the Persian army crossed the Arax River. Two of their cannons were left between the Tartar-chay and Inja-chay. After crossing the Arax, the Persian army scattered. 'Abbas Mirza went to the shah, who had left Ardabil and had camped near Ahar, in the settlement of Tavile-Sham. *Sardar* Paskevich went to Tavus and camped there for a time to rest.

Mustafa Khan was in Shirvan and Hosein Khan in Shakki; Hosein Khan's brother, Hajji Khan, gathered the troops of Shakki, crossed the Kur River, robbed one of our nomadic encampments,<sup>4</sup> and two royal [belonging to the treasury] villages. Subsequently Mustafa Khan voluntarily left Shirvan for his home in Karabagh.<sup>5</sup> Hosein Khan remained in place until the *sardar* approached Nukha and was three *farsakhs* from it. Hosein Khan, not able to resist or arm himself, fled, crossed the Arax, and sought refuge with the Per-

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<sup>1</sup> According to Mirza Yusuf, Madatov liberated the besieged Armenians of Kilisa-kend, who fearing for their lives and possessions had constructed fortifications in their *mahals*. Their chief, nobles, and *kadkhodas* came out to welcome him. Two days later, General Paskevich, with 15,000 troops, joined him. On the whole, they had an army of 19,000 infantry, some cavalry, Cossacks, and twenty-two cannons; *T.S.* 137r.

<sup>2</sup> There were regular infantry units organized by 'Abbas Mirza.

<sup>3</sup> The details of the battle are in *T.S.* 137v-138v. After that defeat the Persians gave up the siege of Shushi and retreated to the Arax River. One of the officers of 'Abbas Mirza was Major Samson Miakintsev, who commanded a group of Russian prisoners and deserters (some of who had converted to Islam); Kostikian 286.

<sup>4</sup> Text reads *oba*.

<sup>5</sup> Realizing that the Persian army had left Transcaucasia, Mustafa Khan of Shirvan and Sheikh 'Ali Mirza, the son of the Khan of Shakki, fled to Persia; *Akty*, VI (2), 383 (doc. 693, Ermolov's report, dated October 14, 1826).

sian government.<sup>1</sup> *Sardar* Paskevich also crossed the Arax and went to Karabagh. He devastated the Karabagh province and took many captives and trophies from there. Calming and resettling the population of Karabagh, Paskevich took additional troops and went to Tiflis. After that, Madatov gathered the fighters of Qaradagh [Karabagh] and the Shirvans, and together with the Russian troops,<sup>2</sup> reached Meshkin.<sup>3</sup> He carried out great devastation and looting and brought the Shahsavan khans into submission. He made them swear an oath not to contemplate betraying Russia.<sup>4</sup> Disturbance spread in the Persian land. Tabriz began to fortify its citadel. Rumors spread of the arrival of the Russian army.

At that time, we were prisoners in Tabriz. From the condition of the city and from the mood of the inhabitants, it was obvious that if General Madatov came there, he would, without any trouble or war, take Tabriz. Then, the news of Madatov's return arrived and made the residents of Tabriz very happy. Madatov returned to Tiflis. He prepared to march on Persia in spring. *Sardar* Ermolov supplied Madatov with all the necessary preparations and sent him on a march to Persia. Madatov reached the Khoda-afarin Bridge. The Persian army met him and a great battle ensued.

At that time Ermolov was removed from the rank of *sardar* and Paskevich ascended the *sardar's* seat.<sup>5</sup> He appointed Colonel Prince Abkhazov the governor of these cities<sup>6</sup> and entrusted the troops [originally] under the command of General Madatov to General Pankrat'ev.<sup>7</sup> He appointed Abkhazov as the Chief of Staff. Leaving

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<sup>1</sup> General Ermolov, with a detachment of Russian troops from Kakhet'i, crossed the Alazani River and entered Nukha on October 19, 1826.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *soldat*.

<sup>3</sup> The area is in the Qaradagh region. Madatov's invasion began on December 26, 1826 and ended on January 16, 1827; see *Akty*, VI (2), 387-389 (docs. 702-705, Ermolov's reports, dated January 5-26, 1827).

<sup>4</sup> This occurred on December 28, 1826. Ata Khan Shahsavan, Mohammad Khan, the son of the Qaradaghi Khan, and other chiefs of Qaradagh swore allegiance to Russia. The Russian troops remained there until January 16, 1827 when they returned to Karabagh.

<sup>5</sup> Order of His Majesty to the Senate dated March 28, 1827.

<sup>6</sup> Abkhazov replaced Madatov as governor of Karabagh, Shirvan, and Shakki in April 1827.

<sup>7</sup> Lt.-General N. P. Pankrat'ev became the commander of the Karabagh army in May 1827; *Akty*, VII, 452. He occupied Bayazid in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 and was, for a time, the governor of Erzurum. In 1831 he was made commander of the Russian army in Transcaucasia.

Tiflis, he (Pankrat'ev) reached the army at the Khoda-afarin Bridge within five days. He slept that night, took over the affairs from Madatov the next day, and sent Madatov to Tiflis.

Pankrat'ev returned with the army to a place called Kozlu-chay. *Sardar*, well provisioned, went to the Erevan province.<sup>1</sup> The *sardar* of Erevan moved all the tribes to defend Sardarabad, and left his brother, Hasan Khan, to defend the Erevan fortress, while he himself roamed the province. *'Abbas Mirza also made military preparations and came with his sarbaz, cavalry troops, and artillery, to assist Hosein and Hasan khans. He camped at Kara-ziaddin near the Arax and Mount Keljar.*<sup>2</sup> Mahdi Qoli Khan, the governor of Karabagh who possessed the *hamayel* (cordon) was, at this time, in Daralagöz. He turned against the Persians and got in touch with Paskevich. He wished to return and to submit to the glorious Russian State. Prince Abkhazov, after conferring with Pankrat'ev, took two battalions of troops and went to meet Mahdi Qoli Khan. Their meeting occurred in Agh-Karavansaray on the border of the two states. The prince took the above-mentioned khan, calmed him, and they became two of those who submitted.<sup>3</sup>

At that time, the guardian and defender of the 'Abbasabad<sup>4</sup> fortress,<sup>5</sup> Ehsan Khan of Nakhichevan, learning that I was in the vicinity, sent a courier with the following request, "Tell the prince to move in our direction. The moment he arrives, I shall surrender the fort to him." The Russian commanders considered this question, but, without the sanction of the commander-in-chief, nothing was decided. They informed the *sardar*. Learning this, he halted his advance on Erevan and moved toward 'Abbasabad. Hearing this, the head of the Persian State gave several thousand troops to Mohammad Amin Khan Qajar and sent him,<sup>6</sup> together with several khans and Bakhtiyari<sup>7</sup> troops, in the direction of the 'Abbasabad

<sup>1</sup> The Russians reached the outskirts of Erevan in June 1827.

<sup>2</sup> *T.S.* 141v.

<sup>3</sup> Adigözal Beg was involved in this affair. See *Akty*, VII, 453-454 (doc. 402, Paskevich to Diebitsch, dated June 12, 1827).

<sup>4</sup> The 'Abbasabad fortress was built after the plan of French engineers on the bank of the Arax near Astapat in 1810.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abbasabad was 10 *versts* from Nakhichevan on the bank of the Arax River. It was defended by a garrison of 3,000 men led by Ehsan Khan and Mohammad Reza Khan of Tabriz.

<sup>6</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that he was the shah's son-in-law; *T.S.* 142v.

<sup>7</sup> A nomadic tribe in Persia.

fort. Ehsan Khan was divested of his rights in the fort. The *sardar* arrived and surrounded 'Abbasabad. Several days later, 'Abbas Mirza arrived on the other (right hand) side with a large number of troops.<sup>1</sup> On orders from the commander-in-chief, the Cossack cavalry rode against them first. The infantry followed them across the Arax. The battle began. 'Abbas Mirza was defeated.<sup>2</sup> The Russian soldiers returned and stormed the fortress from all four sides. The sappers dug tunnels [under the fort]. The inhabitants of the fort gave up hope of receiving any help from 'Abbas Mirza.<sup>3</sup> Realizing that the sappers were approaching the walls, and that Ehsan Khan was a traitor and had promised to surrender the fortress to the Russians [they surrendered the fort].<sup>4</sup> After taking the fortress, *Sardar* Paskevich took possession of cannons and other types of equipment.<sup>5</sup> He imprisoned Mohammad Amin Khan, other khans, and soldiers, who were in the fortress, and sent them via Karabagh to Tiflis.<sup>6</sup> He appointed Ehsan Khan, as a reward for his services, as the *nayeb* of the fortress of Nakhichevan. Since the 'Abbasabad fortress was extremely hot, Paskevich left a commandant there and he then crossed into the *yeilaq* of Kara-baba and camped there to rest.<sup>7</sup> 'Abbas Mirza heard that the Russians were gathering cannons of large caliber for the destruction of the fortress. He sent a letter [to Hosein Qoli Khan] and then himself crossed to the other side of the Arax.

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<sup>1</sup> July 5, 1827.

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Yusuf has additional details. According to him, 'Abbas Mirza, together with Ibrahim Khan Sardar, laid an ambush at the foot of Keljar Mountain, in the Jevan-bulagh ravine, a short distance from the Arax. In the morning Ibrahim Khan feigned flight and dragged the Cossack dragoons into the ambush. The Cossacks stood their ground and the Russians defeated the Persian army, forcing 'Abbas Mirza to return to Khoi; *T.S.* 142r-143r.

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that Paskevich brought one of the captured flags of 'Abbas Mirza to convince them that resistance was futile; *T.S.* 143r.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds that they apologized for their former faults; *T.S.* 143r.

<sup>5</sup> The fortress fell on July 7, 1827.

<sup>6</sup> Mirza Yusuf adds that he was kept for several days in Shushi. He was a short and thin person. He had a big horse and looked like a boy when he rode it. His wife divorced him after he had surrendered the fortress, and 'Abbas Mirza named his eldest son a *sardar*; *T.S.* 143v.

<sup>7</sup> Mirza Yusuf states that he went to the mountainous area of Sisian and Karabagh; *T.S.* 143v.

*He [Abbas Mirza] decided to go to Erevan and meet the Russians there. He took his artillery and troops and marched by Aghri-dagh, a mountain called Ararat, toward Erevan. After his arrival he met with Hosein Qoli Khan Sardar and discussed matters with him. Hosein Qoli Khan advised against attacking the Russian fortifications in Abaran, for the Russians had cannons there. After preparing the fortress of Erevan for a siege, 'Abbas Mirza took 200 of his best cavalrymen and went to survey the Russian positions from a mountain slope in front of Abaran. Soon afterward, he returned and moved his army to Etchmiadzin. He halted two farsakhs from Ashtarak and sent Sohrab Khan Gorji<sup>1</sup> with two sarbaz units and two cannons to attack Etchmiadzin. Paskevich had left 500 men to defend the area. The Persians surrounded them and pounded them with the cannons.<sup>2</sup> The Russians soon ran out of food. The Armenian monks sent a messenger to Krasovskii,<sup>3</sup> who was at Abaran. He took 4,000 soldiers, several cannons, and marched on Etchmiadzin. The Persian guards brought the news and the army was gripped with fear. They took their belongings, mounted their horses, and were ready to flee, for the Persians did not fight at night. The Russians, however, had to repair a bridge, which had been destroyed by the Persians to prevent the Russians' sudden night attack. Two hours after sunrise the Russian army appeared. 'Abbas Mirza sent all his cavalry on both sides of the road leading to Etchmiadzin, placed his cannons on a hill, and waited for them. Although he feared a Russian attack, he ordered his troops not to descend the hill without his permission. The four Russian units advanced toward Etchmiadzin. The Persian troops, with the horsemen of the Kazakh, Borchalu, and Karapapakh, attacked them from all sides.<sup>4</sup>*

A terrible battle was fought in the town of Abaran. Both armies fought with exceptional bravery. *The noise of guns and cannons*

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<sup>1</sup> He was one of the Christian *ghulams* (personal guards recruited from Christian slaves who had converted to Islam), who became the *pishkhedmat-bashi* (chief valet); Kostikian, 295.

<sup>2</sup>The Battle of Ashtarak was on August 17, 1827.

<sup>3</sup> Lt.-General A. I. Krasovskii was the commander of the 20<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division during the Second Russo-Persian War. He participated in the taking of Sardarabad and Erevan and was the governor of the Armenian Province from 1828 to 1830.

<sup>4</sup> T.S. 144r-144v.

went on from two o'clock until late at night.<sup>1</sup> The lack of water made the Russian position difficult and they had great losses. Even General Krasovskii received a number of bullet wounds. 'Abbas Mirza was satisfied with this, was glad with his success, turned around and went to Dar ol-Safa, that is, Khoi.<sup>2</sup>

*Sardar* Paskevich, who was at the Kara-baba *yeilaq*, received the terrible news. He left the carts with their heavy equipment, and with his victorious army went to the field of battle. By the time the *sardar* reached the battlefield, 'Abbas Mirza had turned around and had left. The *sardar* took cannons and first went to Sardarabad. With the strength of his fire-breathing cannons, he destroyed the walls and towers and conquered the fortress. A large amount of provisions, cotton, and military equipment was captured.<sup>3</sup> Leaving there, Paskevich went towards Erevan. For several days, the fire-breathing cannons spewed thunderous flames from their mouths. They turned the city walls into a handful of ash. The city inhabitants tried zealously to defend the fortress but nothing came of it. Finally,

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<sup>1</sup> T.S. 145r.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet for Khoi was "the House of Serenity." Mirza Yusuf's version differs considerably. He states that when the Russians realized that the Persians were defeating them, they put their clothes and other useless items in carriages, left them behind, and retreated. The Persians, thinking that the carriages were full of valuables, began to plunder them. The Russians then fired their cannons on the mob and killed many. Meanwhile Sohrab Khan, hearing the cannons of the Russians, moved his *sarbaz* and artillery toward 'Abbas Mirza's camp. On his way he ran into the Russian vanguard and fled to a hill. Many of them were killed. Ibrahim Beg of Khoi, who with his detachment had fortified a hill, saved the rest. Ibrahim Beg received the title of khan for his action. The three different Russian units reached Etchmiadzin and entered it. The fourth, suffering from the great heat and thirst, broke their order when they reached a river. The Persian cavalry then rushed in and started a massacre. Many Russians were killed and captured. 'Abbas Mirza was happy. He sent the prisoners to the shah and turned in the direction of Erevan, stopping on the way in Tokhmakh [Tokhmakh-gol, named after Mohammad Tokhmakh Khan of Erevan]. He then heard that Paskevich, with an army of 15,000 men, was approaching. He turned towards Khoi. On the way he passed Erevan and told the officials to defend it at all costs. Fear of the Russians caused havoc among his troops...He then went to Nakhichevan, but, realizing that Prince Eritsov was already there, he went to Khoi and camped by Evoghli (also known as Ive, a big village north of Khoi); T.S. 145r-146r.

<sup>3</sup> September 19, 1827. Thirteen cannons, 14,000 *chetverts* of wheat, gunpowder, and cotton.

Hasan Khan and other Persian emirs were captured.<sup>1</sup> Putting the affairs of Erevan in order, Paskevich gathered his army and on swift, wind-like horses moved in the direction of Khoi. He ordered the troops under the command of Prince Eristov<sup>2</sup> in the Kara-baba yeilq to immediately move on Tabriz as well.<sup>3</sup>

*When 'Abbas Mirza stopped at Evoghli near Khoi, he learned that Prince Eristov had passed by 'Abbasabad and was heading across Marand toward Tabriz.<sup>4</sup> This was the Commander-in-Chief's order. 'Abbas Mirza, therefore, went to Marand and stooped at Harzand,<sup>5</sup> to attract Eristov's attention. 'Abbas Mirza arrived there and found out that Eristov had already left and had appointed soldiers to defend the town. 'Abbas Mirza went back to Evoghli. Meanwhile rumors arrived that Paskevich had completed his campaigns in Sardarabad and Erevan and was coming toward Khoi. One evening a cloud of dust was seen from the other side of the Arax. The Persian soldiers became frightened, thinking that Paskevich's army created the dust. They took all their belongings and ran to Khoi. The scouts soon discovered that the dust was created by a flock of sheep that had come to the river to drink. 'Abbas Mirza was very upset and said, "It is insane to fight the Russians with an army that runs from a flock of sheep..." He then added, "I am an unlucky king, for every other king has had an enemy equal to him and could either win or escape to save his life. But my enemy is not equal to me. It is a powerful rival like the Russians. I can neither overcome nor escape from them." After that he hurried to Tabriz through Guney and Tasuj,<sup>6</sup> to get there before the Russians. He wanted to negotiate a peace with them. However, a manzel distance from Tabriz, he was told that Prince Eristov had entered the town accompanied by the sons of Nazar 'Ali Khan of Marand.<sup>7</sup>*

Paskevich himself went and took the *velayat* of Khoi. Meanwhile Prince Eristov, without a battle and without shedding blood, occu-

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<sup>1</sup> Erevan was taken on October 1, 1827. 48 various cannons and 50 falconets were captured.

<sup>2</sup> Prince and Lt.-General Georgii E. Eristov was the commander of the Caucasian Reserve Grenadiers in Kakhet'i.

<sup>3</sup> Prince Eristov moved from Marand on October 11, 1827.

<sup>4</sup> Eristov invaded Marand on October 3, 1827.

<sup>5</sup> Harzand lies to the north of Marand, on the southern bank of the Arax River.

<sup>6</sup> They are located north of Lake Urmiye.

<sup>7</sup> T.S. 146v-147r.

pied Tabriz.<sup>1</sup> He then brightened that province with his banners of victory. 'Abbas Mirza's army scattered around. He himself, highly confused, spent his time at the border of Maraghe. *Sardar* Paskevich entered Dehkhwarqan (Azarshahr).<sup>2</sup>

*The detailed account of the events is as follows: Prince Eristov was ordered by Paskevich to take his army, cross the Arax, and march on Tabriz. The prince took his troops, crossed the Arax, and came to Marand. There the sons of Nazar 'Ali Khan, who mourned their father's strangling by 'Abbas Mirza, had turned against him, [the latter] sought revenge, and swore loyalty and obedience to Prince Eristov.<sup>3</sup> The prince reassured them. A few days later, they persuaded the prince to move toward Tabriz. Thus, after some preparations, His Excellency Prince Eristov left Marand for Tabriz, guided by the khan's sons. As soon as the Russians arrived near Tabriz, the population opened the gates.<sup>4</sup> With the keys of the city, some bread and salt, as evidence of their obedience, they welcomed the prince's arrival. High-ranking officials and nobles such as beglarbeg Fath 'Ali and the mujtahed, Aqa Mir Fateh, accompanied them. Before they met the prince, a cannon was fired from the gate. The prince thought they planned to fight, but they explained that it was a salutary shot. After receiving the prince with honor, they took him into Tabriz with great respect.<sup>5</sup>*

Although 'Abbas Mirza took defensive measures, he, not finding a way out, appeared with a number of close associates before the *sardar*.

*On hearing the unfortunate news, 'Abbas Mirza had a meeting with his retainers and khans that night and said, "I cannot go to my father and brothers and ask them to provide me with a region. I would rather die. I will go and kneel before the Russian Emperor. He is powerful and gracious. There are many kings and princes under his rule. I am sure that he will consider me of them and will provide me with a piece of bread, so that I can live in peace." He decided to go to the Russian Emperor with 500 retainers. That night*

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<sup>1</sup> October 13, 1827.

<sup>2</sup> A town east of Lake Urmiye.

<sup>3</sup> According to Kostikian, the khan of Marand had started a rebellion against 'Abbas Mirza prior to the arrival of the Russians, 298.

<sup>4</sup> Allahyar Khan and a regiment of 2,000 troops had the duty to defend Tabriz, but the population refused to cooperate; Kostikian, 298.

<sup>5</sup> T.S. 147r-147v.

he wrote a letter and sent it with his *sanduqdar*,<sup>1</sup> Bijan Khan<sup>2</sup> to His Excellency Sardar Paskevich, who had stopped at Marand with his army. Sardar Paskevich replied, "Let us put this problem aside for now until I come to Tabriz. We can then have a meeting and decide what to do." 'Abbas Mirza, having lost the majority of his subjects and troops, was ashamed and left for Dehkhwarqan with a few of his retainers. Sardar Paskevich arrived in Tabriz through Salmas and Maraghe and began to settle the affairs of that region. Every governor and official was assigned a suitable post and rank, and was thus appeased. Some of the [Russian] generals were dispatched to occupy the important towns. Major General Lafetovin (Laptev) took Urmiye,<sup>3</sup> Major General Banqrativ (Pankrat'ev) took the town of Maraghe, and Lieutenant General Count Sukhdelin (Sukhtelen),<sup>4</sup> took Ardabil.

The *sardar* did not, for one moment, leave him without making sure that he was accorded the necessary respect and attention. The rest of the time they spent together. They talked about the peace, the borders, and the indemnity. The discussions bogged down, because the shah would not give his consent. Finally, they parted. The *Sardar* went to Dar ol-Saltane,<sup>5</sup> that is, Tabriz, and 'Abbas Mirza went home [to the interior]. There was a strong bond between them. The *sardar* realized that no one, but the shah, could conclude the peace. Therefore, the *sardar* summoned his victorious and loyal troops in the *velayats*, gathered them, and said, "I shall go to Tehran and seize that city, which is the capital of Persia." 'Abbas Mirza wrote to his father and informed him about the situation, stating, "The *sardar* is coming at you like an unexpected calamity." Finally, the shah was also forced to accept peace. The peace was concluded in the town of Turkmenchay (Torkamanchay).<sup>6</sup> The Arax

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<sup>1</sup> Treasurer.

<sup>2</sup> Hajji Bejan Khan was an Armenian from the Dmais village of Somkhet'i. He was captured by the Muslim in his youth and given to 'Abbas Mirza. He converted to Islam, went to Mecca, and became one of the prince's court administrators; Kostikian, 299.

<sup>3</sup> He entered the town on January 15, 1828; Kostikian, 299.

<sup>4</sup> Count and Lt.-General P. Sukhtelen was the commander of the Independent Caucasian Corps and participated in the taking of 'Abbasabad, Sardarabad, and Erevan.

<sup>5</sup> The epithet for Tabriz was the House of Government; the seat of the heir to the throne was there.

<sup>6</sup> The treaty was signed on February 10, 1828; see Hurewitz, I, 96-102.

River became the border between the two mighty states. Persia agreed to pay seven *korur*<sup>1</sup> in indemnity; *one korur equaled 500,000 babakhani tumans; one tuman was less than four Russian manats (rubles),<sup>2</sup> that is, 13 million<sup>3</sup>* and agreed to other conditions. The Russian took the *velayat* of Khoi as security until the indemnity was paid. The peace was signed in February 1244/1828.<sup>4</sup>

After the receipt of the indemnity, Khoi was returned to the Persian State and His Excellency the mighty *sardar* took his army and went to Tiflis...<sup>5</sup> At the same time the war with the Ottoman State began.<sup>6</sup> Paskevich began to prepare for that. If God permits, after I write about the events in Daghestan, in accordance to the wishes of commanders of the Great and Eternal State, my amber pen will put on paper the narrative of the Ottoman campaign, which I shall detail in another volume.<sup>7</sup>

This book is finished, written...by the hand of Mirza Hosein Mohammad Aqa-oghli, whose pseudonym is Salari.<sup>8</sup>

*May God guard us and make us prosperous<sup>9</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> The indemnity was actually ten *korurs*; see Article VI of the treaty, Hurewitz, I, 97

<sup>2</sup> T.S. 148v.

<sup>3</sup> The treaty equates it to 20 million silver rubles; Hurewitz, I, 97.

<sup>4</sup> T.S. 148v.

<sup>5</sup> He was in Tiflis in April 1828. Mirza Yusuf has added several lines of verse in these folios; T.S., 148v-149r.

<sup>6</sup> The war began on June 14, 1828 and ended on September 2, 1829 with the Treaty of Adrianople.

<sup>7</sup> Mirza Adigözal Beg never wrote this work or it has not survived; see introduction.

<sup>8</sup> See introduction.

<sup>9</sup> T.S. 149r.

## Final Chapter

### *The Biography of the Author, Captain Mirza Adigözal Beg*<sup>1</sup>

The author of this work, Captain Mirza Adigözal Beg, son of Ahvardi Beg, son of Adigözal Aqa, hereby sets out his life on paper. I was born in Karabagh. When I was a student at a school in Shushi, Agha Mohammad Shah came to Shushi and surrounded it.<sup>2</sup> Then, we, together with our relatives and tribes, picked up and went to the *velayat* of Georgia. At that time, the late *vali*, Erekle Khan, received us cordially. He took us to a *qeshlaq*<sup>3</sup> near a village with an area for sowing, called Sari-kilisa and supplied us with provisions and seeds.

At that time Agha Mohammad Shah could not conquer the Shushi fortress, and, trusting the counsel of Javad Khan and Melik Mejlum, went toward Tiflis. The moment we heard this, we decided to leave Sari-Kilisa and hide in the Kojor (Kojori) Mountains, which are located above Tiflis.<sup>4</sup> Then, news came that Agha Mohammad Shah had halted at the Aghlet River. Not able to remain in Kojori, we, taking the *yeilag* road, went to K'art'li.<sup>5</sup> From there, we went to the town of Akhalkalaki and saw that the population had fled, leaving all their belongings and cattle. We found a man and asked him the news. He informed us that the shah had taken Tiflis the day before. Learning this, we immediately fled north of the Kur and saw that the population of the city of Kepri had also fled. From there we went to the region of K'art'li,<sup>6</sup> and saw that no one was left there either. Finally, realizing that staying in these places was difficult, we fled and went into a pine-tree forest. We went on a road, not knowing where we were going. We traveled for three days and three nights and did not stop anywhere. On the fourth day we entered a steppe and saw that there were dwellings there. We asked where we were. They replied that it was the land of Akhaltsikhe. We stayed there. Then, the [Ottoman] troops from Kars and Shuragol came and robbed us. After that, the pasha of Akhaltsikhe, Sherif Pasha, placed

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<sup>1</sup> This part was written in a very loose fashion. I have added explanatory phrases and words in brackets. Much of the material is repeated from Chapter 12.

<sup>2</sup> Summer of 1795.

<sup>3</sup> Winter quarters.

<sup>4</sup> The Kojori settlement is located on hills west of Tiflis.

<sup>5</sup> Southern K'art'li, below the Kur River.

<sup>6</sup> Northern K'art'li, above the Kur River.

us in villages. We spent the winter there. I learned to read and write the Ottoman language (Ottoman Turkish) from an Ottoman mullah.

In the summer we left for Georgia and halted by Melik-abu, near the settlement of Bolnis (Bolnisi). Our robbed and scattered tribes gathered together, one by one, and made a community. We continued to live there.

Erekle Khan died at that time.<sup>1</sup> His son, Giorgi Khan, became the *vali* of Georgia. He asked help from the Great Emperor [Paul]. Major-General Lazarev and Minister Kovalenskii were sent at the head of the [Russian] troops. The *vali* then thought of something else. He decided to sent to the sultan [of Guria] his brother-in-law and *ishik-aghasi*, Aslan Beg Orbeliani. Learning of this, Lazarev stopped trusting the *mirzas* of the *vali*. He ordered that a man be found who could read the Ottoman script. They pointed me out. He called me and made me write many secret letters to the pasha of Akhaltsikhe, Na'ib Pasha. They detained Aslan Beg and sent him back. The minister deigned to give me a salary.

Minister Kovalenskii kept my position a secret until the *vali* died and Georgia fell under the protection of the Great State.

I was in the service of the state authorities. After that, Major-General Lisanevich was appointed commander-in-chief in Pambak and Shuragol and took me with him. I stayed with him in the post of secretary until the year 1811, when he condescended to give me the rank of second lieutenant. Finally, in the year 1816, I received the permission of *Sardar* Ermolov and joined the service of the ruler of Karabagh, Mahdi Qoli Khan. His Excellency returned our ancestral lands, and, in addition, gave me many agricultural plots and estates with *ra'yats*. When the above-mentioned khan went across the border [fled], the government officials made me the *nayeb* of the Ikirmi-dort *mahal*.

After that, arguments about borders rose between General Ermolov and Hosein Khan *Sardar* [of Erevan].<sup>2</sup> A battalion of fifty Cossacks was appointed to guard our borders. After that, Ermolov wrote to the commandant, "I also appoint Captain Mirza Adigözal Beg to guard the borders." The troops, as well as the tribes, were under my control for the duration.

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<sup>1</sup> Erekle II died on January 11, 1798; N. Dubrovin, *Giorgii XII poslednii tsar Gruzii I prisoedinenie ee k Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 1.

<sup>2</sup> The arguments had to do with the border separating the khanate of Erevan from Georgia; see Bournoutian, *Erevan*.

For three years, until August 1825, we were occupied as the *sarhad-begs*,<sup>1</sup> the watchmen and guardians of the frontier. In the year 1826 they took the [Cossack] battalion away. We took sixty soldiers with one officer, 200 riders from the tribes, and a detachment of 100 Armenians, and began to guard the borders. At that time the Karapapakhs were around Lake Sevan. Some of them became my associates. They informed me that the Persians were planning to violate the peace and start a war. I repeatedly, and in detail, wrote to the commandant, Major Chiliaev, about this affair. Finally, Chiliaev wrote me and said, "I am obliged to inform General Ermolov about everything you write to me. His Excellency has reproached me and said to report only when I am sure that the Persians are violating the peace and are preparing for war. He added that he has written to second lieutenant Makarov, who is in my service, that the moment Captain Mirza Adigözal Beg informs him [of any violation], he must go to the fortress [of Shushi]. The moment the Persians start animosities against us, he must send an officer to me, and you (Adigözal Beg) have to summon the tribes and prepare for defense."

I wrote that the population would not listen to me and would not remain in the trenches, for Mahdi Qoli Khan was on the other side and the population would join him. I asked him to permit me to come to the fortress, or to go to Tiflis. The commandant did not agree and ordered me to remain among the people.

In short, at the time when we were at Bazirgian-bulagh, a certain man from the Kolani tribe, called 'Ali Mohammad, came and told me, "Get up! I have something secret to tell you." I stood up and we entered a gully. He took out many papers and handed them to me. I saw that these were letters from Mahdi Qoli Khan to the *begs*, *yuzbashis*, and *kadkhodas*. To me he had written that 'Abbas Mirza had massacred the battalion at Gerusi and had taken the rest prisoner. "You also bring all your soldiers to 'Abbas Mirza. Let our lives be sacrificed to him. You will receive boundless favors and kindness for this service, will receive a permanent salary and will become wealthy."

When I read this letter, I became ill at ease. I immediately informed the above-mentioned officer and ordered him, "You have to leave tonight for Shushi." The officer was worried and said, "How

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<sup>1</sup> *Sarhad* means border or frontier, hence border-lords.

can I traverse these mountains, cliffs, and roads that pass through the Kolani tribe?"

I reassured him and said, "I shall not reveal these words to anyone. At dusk you shall receive a certain letter and will inform me, in front of everyone, that the herd belonging to the state has come to Jraberd and that you have been ordered to go and guard it and that you have to have thirty horses this night. I shall reply, 'How are you planning to leave? You know that the pastureland is far away. If you can do with fewer animals, then I can give you horses that are in possession of my riders.'"

In short, the officer asked for eight horses. He took them and their riders. I told him, "Leave an hour after sunset; you shall be able to cover a long distance and reach the village of Hasanriz at daybreak. Do not stop there, quickly take horses from the *kevkhi* (*kadkhodas*) and, under the pretext of the herd, continue on. Leave all the provisions and ammunition for the troops in Kilisa, and moving through the forest hurry to the fortress [Shushi]." Thus, I gave the officer good escorts and sent him equipped. I remained there until the next day, when the people learned everything. Groups of people said to each other, "The Russians have fled." I told them that the officer had gone to guard the state herd. I stayed there until the officer had passed through all the dangerous places. I admonished the people and said to them, "The year when Tsitsianov went to Erivan, the people of Kazakh and Borchalu did not help the Russian State and, like you, were indignant. Later they were sorry for that. You are in the same situation now. You should not be fooled by the same unfounded rumor and give up your loyalty. I repeated these words a number of times and then went home. I wished to reach the troops who were in Ganje, and from there go to Tiflis.

At that time, news arrived that the population of Ganje had betrayed the Russians, and that the Persians were moving on Tiflis. Upset by this news and deprived of hope, I went back to the tribes. Letters from the khan and 'Abbas Mirza addressed to me arrived every day, stating, "The inhabitants of all the *velayats* have come, why haven't you?" Evading their letters, I stalled for time. Finally, I decided to go to the tribes and admonish them one more time. I was a guest at the house of *Yuzbashi* 'Ali Reza. A man from the nomads arrived and informed me that the *yuzbashi*, in whose house I was, had sent a man to Khanlar Aqa and had requested fifty Kurdish horsemen to arrest me and to hand me over to 'Abbas Mirza. Hearing these words, I became perturbed and thought for a long time.

Having no other choice, I decided not to go with bound hands. I then wrote a letter from my brothers, addressed to me, gave it to a man unknown to the tribes, and told him to bring it to me at night. The said man brought the letter from our home to the pasture of Qara-Qoyunlu, said that the letter was for Mirza Adigözal Beg, and that his brothers had sent it. He added, "My horse is tired and I cannot go on, take it and give it to him."

*At midnight, when I was deep in thought, I heard the yuzbashi saying, "Who are you, horseman?" He replied, "I have brought a letter."* Receiving the letter, the elder shook my legs to wake me up. I was not asleep but was burdened by thoughts. I pretended to be awakened and said, "What is it?" He replied, "I have gathered people to guard you, so that no one would shoot at you or harm you." He himself was the assassin. He said that he would bring me a lantern to read the letter. I said that I would read it in the morning. He insisted that I read it there and then, so that he would learn its contents.

He brought a *cheragh*.<sup>1</sup> I opened the letter, read it, and pretending to be happy said, "Prepare a horse, I have to depart." The *yuzbashi* asked for the reason and I said, "General Madatov has come to Ganje and has summoned me. Ermolov has arrived in Shamkhor."

They relaxed and brought a horse. The elder asked me to give him the letter so that he could show it to the people tomorrow. Afraid, I gave him the letter, got on the horse and left. I intended to gallop once more toward Tiflis.

At this time I met an Armenian called Verdiev. He told me that Ughurlu Khan had come and had become the khan of Ganje and that the Russian troops had left. He added that the people of Shamkhor, Shamshadil, and Kazakh had submitted [to Persia]. Hearing this news, I lost hope, and, putting my trust in God, I remained among the tribes.

After two days Isma'il Tulu Mustafa-oghli brought me a *firman* from 'Abbas Mirza and a letter from Mahdi Qoli Khan. Wanting to bring me to their side, they invited me to go to them. I wanted to find a way not to go. It was then that Isma'il secretly showed me another letter and said, "If you do not go, I will have to show the letter to the people." I saw that 'Abbas Mirza had written, "It is twelve days that I am outside the fortress. The entire universe, even the

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<sup>1</sup> Lamp.

Shirvans, Ganje, and all the people of Karabagh, have submitted to me. Only Mirza Adigözal Beg opposes me and refuses to submit. Bring me his head or bring him as a prisoner, keep his property for yourself.”

Seeing this, I told myself, “It is not right that for the sake of my own life, I should endanger the lives of so many people [tribes]. I shall go myself and tell him that I never saw the faces of the Persians and have never served them. If they are kind, they shall do nothing to me.” In a word, I went. I saw the khan first. He escorted me with his *ishik-aghasi*, ‘Ali Mardan Beg, to ‘Abbas Mirza. He was sitting on a chair in his tent. I bowed my head. He asked, “Who are these people?” The *ishik-aghasi* replied, “Mirza Adigözal, Melik Usub, and others,” ‘Abbas Mirza asked, “This is Mirza Adigözal?” The man answered, “Yes.” ‘Abbas Mirza ordered, “Bring the *falak*.<sup>1</sup>”

They threw me to the ground right there, put my feet into the *falak*, and struck them 500 times with the birch rod. No matter how much I begged and pleaded nothing helped. Finally, I said, “You are planning to go to Georgia. You will seek someone like me there and shall not find one.”

The moment I said this, ‘Abbas Mirza said, “Enough! Take him and put him in chains.” They took me and put me in chains. Prior to this, I had said that an officer of the Russian State was above a Persian khan, for the officer could not be beaten with birch rods, while the khan could. My words were reported to ‘Abbas Mirza, and when they were beating me, he said, “This is an officer, you cannot beat him, but you can beat the khan.” After this they put me in chains. The *farrash-bashi*<sup>2</sup> immediately brought a *qalamdan*<sup>3</sup> and paper and said, “Write something.” I said, “How can I write in this condition?” He said, “It is well known that the letter given to the elder, ‘Ali Reza, was written by you. They have given it to ‘Abbas Mirza and he wants now to compare your handwriting.” Since I had written the letter with my left hand, it was impossible to identify the handwriting. I did not accept, but they insisted, saying, “You must write.” Finally, I forced to write the following couplet by Sa‘di:

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<sup>1</sup> The instrument or “stocks” in which the person’s feet were held when the *bastinado* was applied.

<sup>2</sup> Chief footman, butler, or major-domo.

<sup>3</sup> Pen-box.

“The charming kings go hunting and tie the feet of the beasts.  
But sometimes they untie them and let them go free.”

They took this couplet to the khan and saw that there was no similarity. Reading my poem, they smiled and laughed. After that, they appointed the khan's brother, Soleiman Khan, as the *nayeb* (of Ikirmi-dort) and sent him there. After that, they sent the khan's servant, Avez-khan Beg, to my home. He went and recorded all my movable and immovable property. They also seized my brothers and took them to the khan.

I remained in chains. They tormented and tortured me every day. [Previously] when the Russian army came, the commandant had, once again, asked me to send provisions to the troops. I gathered them from the population and sent 100 ox-carts of flour. 'Abbas Mirza somehow heard about this and ordered, “Gouge the mirza's eyes out!” On that order they threw me down and tied my hands to the door. They brought the knife close to my eyes to gouge them out. At that moment Mirza Mohammad 'Ali Mostowfi<sup>1</sup> appeared and said, “Give 5,000 *ashrafi*<sup>2</sup> and I will not gouge your eyes out.” I replied, “You have recorded and confiscated all my possessions. Now, except for my body, I have nothing.”

They then sent someone called Mohammad Beg to bring all my possessions. After the departure of the above-mentioned person, my brother Mustafa Aqa heard this, grabbed whatever of my possessions came to his hands, and fled, trying to reach Georgia. Gathering many horsemen, Soleiman Beg went after him and caught up to him at the border of Ganje. They seized my brother, his family, and property and brought them back. They subjected him to all sorts of torments, took away my herd, cattle, sheep, and all my property. My family became hungry and was in a very difficult situation. My brothers, Mohammad Aqa and 'Ali Aqa, fled to the *velayat* of Shakki. Mustafa Aqa, tortured and wounded, went to live with his children. Our kind friends gave bread and sustenance to our children.

At that time, when they had detained me and had put me in chains, I wrote a letter to *Sardar* Ermolov and gave it to my people, called Mohammad 'Ali and Ravas. I gave them five *tumans* and sent the letter to Ermolov. The above-mentioned men went to Kazakh

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<sup>1</sup> He was one of the most important court officials of 'Abbas Mirza.

<sup>2</sup> Gold coins.

and appeared before Count Simonovich.<sup>1</sup> The Count asked them what had happened and learned about everything; he was happy that the fortress [Shushi] had not fallen. He permitted them to go on to Tiflis. He sent Mohammad 'Ali to Tiflis, and kept Ravas at his side. Mohammad 'Ali secretly made his way to Tiflis and went to the house of Prince Madatov. Madatov met him, learned about everything, and happily informed Ermolov. Ermolov immediately came to Madatov's house and questioned Mohammad 'Ali about all the details.

They kept Mohammad 'Ali for three days in hiding, so that no one would know of his arrival. On the fourth day, they wrote a letter to Antonovich<sup>2</sup> and one to me. They gave Mohammad 'Ali thirty *ashrafis*. He hid the letters in the saddle and went on his way.

That night, Mohammad 'Ali unexpectedly bumped into watchmen in Shamkhor. They seized him and brought him to Ughurlu Khan in Ganje. Although Ughurlu Khan questioned him persistently, he did not learn anything and let him go. After his departure, one of the Karabaghis told Ughurlu Khan that the man was a courier and should not have been released. Learning this, they sent a man after him, caught up with him at the tomb of Sheikh Nezami and brought him back to Ughurlu Khan. They searched him thoroughly. Finally, they found the letters in the saddle and were overjoyed. They sent him, with the letters, to 'Abbas Mirza. The prince took the letters, questioned him, and summoned me to his presence. The executioner came and released me from my chains and took me to 'Abbas Mirza. The moment I entered, he turned to me and said, "Your courier has arrived. Ask him what your "co-religionists" [i.e. Russians] are up to."

I replied that my people live all over Kazakh and Borchalu. It is possible that they went there [to Tiflis] on their own business, or to visit their relatives.

'Abbas Mirza replied, "What is this letter written to you by Ermolov?" I remained silent. He said, "If you wish, I shall read it." He began to read the letter written to me by the *sardar*, until he reached the part that read, "You are higher and more esteemed than everyone. You have demonstrated your loyalty to the governors of the Russian State." The moment he read this, he jumped up from his

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<sup>1</sup> Count Simonovich was a lieutenant colonel and the commander of the grenadier detachment.

<sup>2</sup> Iosif Antonovich Reutt'; see note on page 6 of text.

seat in anger and said, "Has anyone, from Darband to Tiflis, done anything like this? I am forced to put you to death."

He immediately ordered the chief executioner, "Take him and tie him to the mouth of a cannon. Maybe after they fire it, a piece of his flesh might reach his friends. Let him be cursed!" They tied me in chains and took me away there and then. It was nighttime and darkness fell. They brought me back. 'Abbas Mirza ordered, "Leave him be tonight. Execute him tomorrow at noon, so it would be a lesson to others." They put another chain on me that night. They left me and planned to tie me to the mouth of a cannon and fire it the next day. I reflected and decided to ask the *farrash-bashi* for a *qalamdan* and paper, under the pretext that I wanted to write my will. He gave them. I wrote to Mahdi [Qoli] Khan that the day I was put in chains, I considered myself dead. However, the moment I was killed, the Russians would massacre all the *begs* imprisoned in Shushi. I added, "I do not want so many *begs*, especially Rostam Beg,<sup>1</sup> to perish because of me." I sent the letter right away with someone. It was delivered to the khan. After reading it, the khan summoned Hajji Aqalar Khan, and together with Karim Khan, sent him to 'Abbas Mirza. He asked him not to execute me until the capture of the fortress, for the Russians might execute all the *begs*. He added, "You can execute him, after we take the fortress, with God's help. In short, 'Abbas Mirza, with great difficulty, gave in to their request. I, once again, remained in chains.

After that, Ughurlu Khan wrote to 'Abbas Mirza that my brothers had blocked the road and killed anyone that approached. Because of this, 'Abbas Mirza summoned me once again. When they were taking me to him, the *mujtahed* forbade it. They took me back and put me, once more, in chains. They then secretly informed me that Madatov had defeated the Persian army in Shamkhor and that *Sardar* Emir Khan was killed.

The army of 'Abbas Mirza immediately took off. They sent us in chains to Aghdam. They placed the commandant [Chiliaev] and me in one cell. They made stocks and put our legs in them. They borrowed nags from the *charvadars*,<sup>2</sup> covered them with *palans*<sup>3</sup> and placed us on top of the nags. They gave Hasan Khan of Gerusi 500 Shahsavan horsemen, appointed the brother of the *farrash-bashi*,

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<sup>1</sup> A close relative of Mahdi Qoli Khan.

<sup>2</sup> Caravan leaders.

<sup>3</sup> Cheap covering for horses.

Aqa 'Ali Akbar Beg, as their leader, and sent us to Tabriz. 'Abbas Mirza left for Ganje.

Meanwhile, my brother, Mustafa Aqa, after his flight, immediately went to Madatov and informed him, "Let it be known to you that 'Abbas Mirza has arrived." This is recorded in Madatov's memoirs.

Madatov sent him back and said, "'Abbas Mirza will arrest you and your children the moment he arrives. Send them somewhere else." My brother immediately returned, took his children, and fled to the pastureland. Mustafa Khan, accompanied by four servants, went after him. The nomadic inhabitants informed him that Adigözal Beg's brother had fled with his family. They arrested nine people from our family and took them to 'Abbas Mirza. They put them in chains.

The commandant and I were sent that same night across the Arax. At that time a rumor spread that 'Abbas Mirza had suffered a defeat. They dragged us through all the *mahals* of Qarajedagh, and told everyone that Ermolov had given us as hostages and had promised to return the lands [occupied by Russia] to the Persians. [About us] They said, "These are very important and high-ranking people."

In short, they took us to Tabriz. They kept the commandant separately under heavy guard. They tied us in chains and put our legs in stocks. In this fashion they tormented us for several months.

There was a Sunni prisoner, called Ibrahim, in jail with us. He was a citizen of Tabriz. Fed up with the torment, he would say, "Let's flee!"

I did not agree. Finally, we were worn out. There were twenty of us prisoners. One night, we somehow seized the warden, tied him, took his keys, and opened the locks. We put the warden in our chains. There was a tent nearby. We cut off the ropes and took them with us. We went on some kind of road. Further on, we descended the walls with the help of the ropes. I descended first. The rope tore the skin off my hands. I told my friends to hold the rope, and tie their hands with cuttings from rags to avoid wounding their hands. While they were climbing down, one of them fell and broke his shin. He stayed there. From there, with the help of the ropes, we crossed the ditch to the other side.

The citizens of Tabriz had gone to the mausoleum of Seyyed Hamze. We ran in the direction of Payan-dagh and hid under a large rock until nightfall. In the evening we got up and moved on. Moving by the banks of the Aji River, we crossed a bridge to the other

side of the river. Walking by the river, we reached some kind of a dyke, where two men rose and shouted, "Who are you?" We replied that we were from Ganje. They immediately said, "Shoot!" They opened fire at us with guns. Our friends threw themselves into the water. I turned around and began to run. Two men followed me, but could not catch up with me and fell behind. I climbed a mountain, dragged myself to a cliff and began to listen. I heard that they had seized some of my friends and were asking about me. They answered, "We swear by God that we did not see him. He fled." Just then I heard the sound of footsteps. I recognized the man. It was the *yesawul* Zein al-'Abedin. I called him. He also recognized me and came over. We climbed up the mountain. We entered a cave and shut the entrance with rocks. We stayed there until morning. The population of all the villages was sent up the mountain to look for us. They passed by us several times, but by God's grace did not see us. Night came. We thought, "The place and the roads are unfamiliar to us; where can we go cut-up as we are?" We decided to put our fate in Seyyed Hamze [hide in his mausoleum]. We went barefoot on the road to Aji. Twice we noticed that soldiers were looking for us. We hid from them and with great difficulty reached the Seyyed Hamze mausoleum. There was a guard of ten soldiers by the door of the mausoleum. They were all asleep. We passed by them and entered. We saw that all the *farrashes*, afraid of our flight, had come there and had taken *bast*.<sup>1</sup> The moment they saw me, they were overjoyed and ran to tell 'Abbas Mirza. He was also glad and, in place of taking a fine of 300 *ashrafis* from the *farrash-bashi*, ordered that he be rewarded.

An hour before daybreak, 'Abbas Mirza sent the *khaje-bashi*<sup>2</sup> Hajji Alesker and Hajji Aqalar Khan. They came to Seyyed Hamze and tried to convince me with pledges concerning my life so that I would come out from the *bast*. When they swore their oaths, I said to Hajji Aqalar Khan, "Why are you swearing? Don't we trust each other? I trust you." I came out of there and went to the house of Hajji Aqalar Khan. They brought *shorbe*.<sup>3</sup> We ate it. We wanted to rest a bit, but the *farrashes* came and took us away. We saw that our guide, the Sunni Ibrahim, was quartered, and the warden had had his eyes gouged. More than 100,000 citizens of Tabriz came out in the

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<sup>1</sup> A sanctuary or an asylum.

<sup>2</sup> Chief eunuch.

<sup>3</sup> A kind of rice soup.

streets to watch us go to the prince. 'Abbas Mirza stood on the upper part of the square. Seeing us, he was enraged and said, "Hey, *kafir*,<sup>1</sup> it seems that you recalled the pork soup and the wine of the Russians; that is why you fled." I replied, "Your Majesty,<sup>2</sup> an hour of your justice is worth 1,000 years of prayers. You told me in Karabagh that I drank wine with the Russians and have become like them. The truth is, I have never in my life put wine to my lips. You never asked me if this was true or false."

When I said this, he asked Hajji Aqalar Khan, "What is he saying?" The latter answered, "I swear by your head that he is telling the truth."

After that, he ['Abbas Mirza] questioned me for more than an hour. I answered all his questions. Finally, Hajji Aqalar Khan said, "You promised to give the *mirza* to me in place of my brother Rostam Beg." 'Abbas Mirza said, "I give him to you."

Hajji Aqalar Khan took me to his house, put balm on my wounded hand, and ordered to sew clothes for me. I thus spent several days with him. During the time when Madatov was nearing Meshkin, Mostowfi Mirza Mohammad 'Ali said that the Russians were coming and that we had to go into the fortress. He added that I should not remain in Tabriz, but be taken to the island in the Shahi Sea (Lake Urmie).

Hajji Aqalar Khan heard these words and pleaded for a long time against this decision. Finally, they took me away from Tabriz to the village of Binab. I was there for more than a month under guard. After, that a man came and took me to Tabriz. The moment I arrived, Abu'l Fath Khan<sup>3</sup> told me, "The shah has sent a *qa'em-maqam*<sup>4</sup> and has ordered him to conclude a peace [with Russia]." He conferred with me and said, "In order for that to happen we have to send an influential person to convince Madatov to conclude peace." I pointed you out to him and said, "If Mirza Adigözal Beg wishes it, he can do it." My advice made him happy, that is why he summoned you here to send you to Madatov. Of course, you must speak to 'Abbas Mirza properly."

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<sup>1</sup> An unbeliever, a Christian.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads *padishah*, obviously a flattery.

<sup>3</sup> He was the brother of Mahdi Qoli Khan, who had fled to Persia during the First Russo-Persian War. 'Abbas Mirza gave him lands on the left bank of the Qapan-chay (Chugundur) in the Meghri *mahal*.

<sup>4</sup> The title means deputy and was bestowed upon an important minister.

I replied, "Do you really think that the decision has to do with Madatov or Ermolov?"

Abu'l Fath Khan said, "I know, but I want you to be freed from jail."

I said, "They do not trust me." He replied, "They are such fools! Tell them anything you wish and they will believe it. They are fools and flatterers!"

The moment it became dark, the *qa'em-maqam* sent the *farrash* after me and they brought me secretly to him. The *qa'em-maqam* treated me with great respect and said, "You are a prisoner and I am in need. We have to help each other. His Highness has sent me here and has ordered me to conclude a peace. I have decided to send you to Madatov and, through you, conclude the peace. In the name of the Persian government, you have to explain and assure Madatov that we are fully prepared to pay compensation for the destruction of buildings, for the damage the crops, and other losses. At the same time we will replace all the losses suffered by you. You have to use fine words and bend Madatov's mind to peace. You have to bring me an answer within a month."

I replied in the manner he wished and convinced him. He then took me to 'Abbas Mirza. He also received me cordially, expressed regret [for my suffering], made me great promises, reassured me, gave me a month's time [to carry out my duty], and then, let me go. He sent Hosein Qoli Beg of Minjavan with me. We departed for Tabriz. The moment we arrived in the fortress of Shushi, I went to Iosif Antonoch Reutt'. Seeing me, he was overjoyed and said that I had to go to Tiflis. Saying farewell, I first went to my home and saw that nothing had remained of my property. Not able to bear this, I departed for Tiflis and arrived there that same day. I learned that General Dibich (Diebitsch)<sup>1</sup> had also arrived that day in Tiflis. I went to see General Madatov that same day. The moment he saw me he cried from happiness and took me to *Sardar* Ermolov. Ermolov hugged me and was overjoyed. For three days he questioned me about the situation in Persia. He was very pleased that I had so successfully fooled them and had extricated myself from that [terri-

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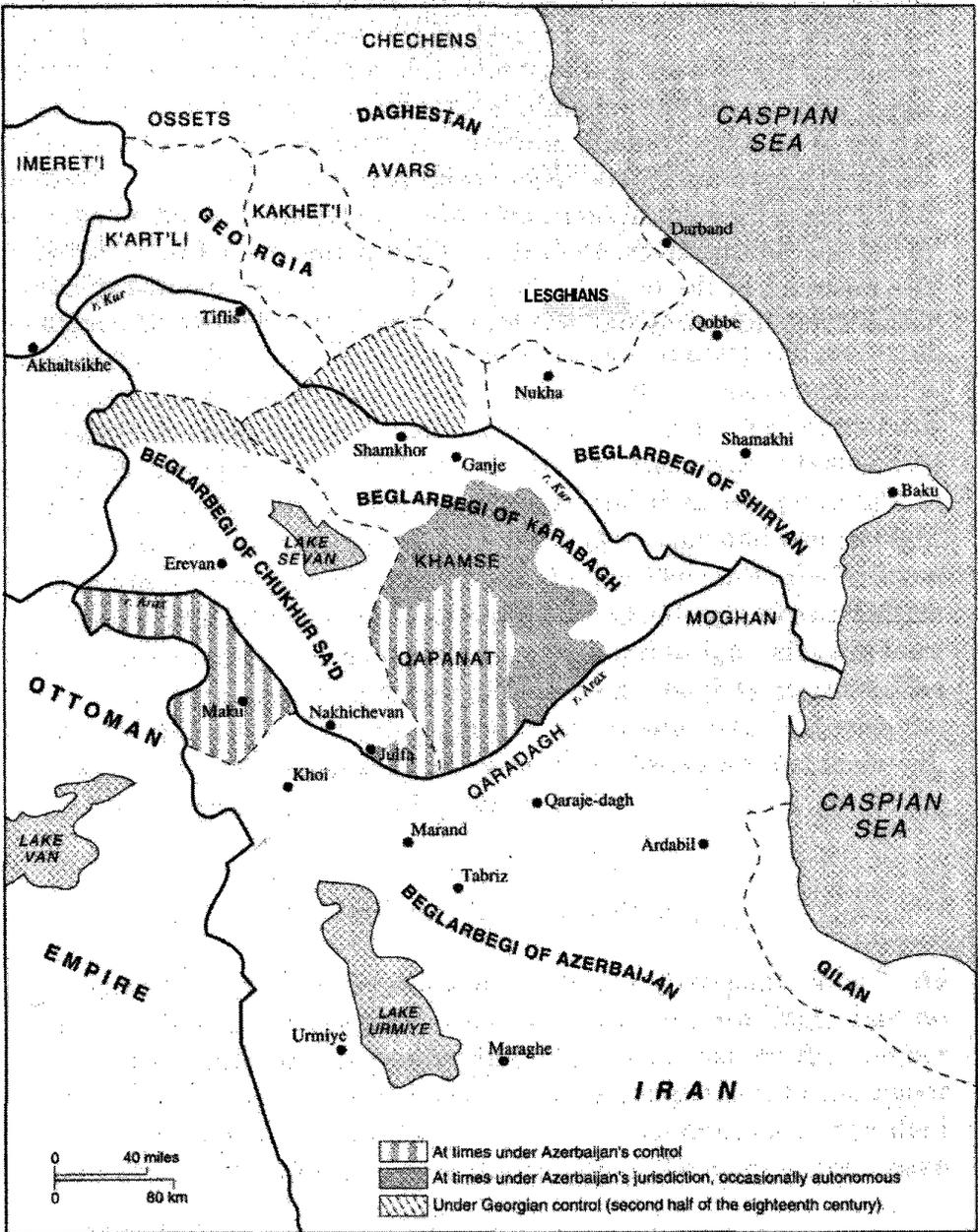
<sup>1</sup> Count Field-marshal General Ivan Ivanovich Dibich (Diebitsch), 1785-1831. He was the chief quartermaster of the Russian armies. He informed Nicholas I of the Decembrist plot and was put in charge of their arrest. He was the Commander-in-Chief during the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. He was also in charge of crushing the Polish rebellion in 1830-1831.

ble] situation. He was even proud of my cleverness. Ermolov introduced me to General Diebitsch. Diebitsch learned about all my adventures and was happy [for my lucky escape]. He was satisfied with me and thanked me. I was then sent to General Paskevich. My brothers were serving him and he was aware of my situation. He accorded me great respect and attention.

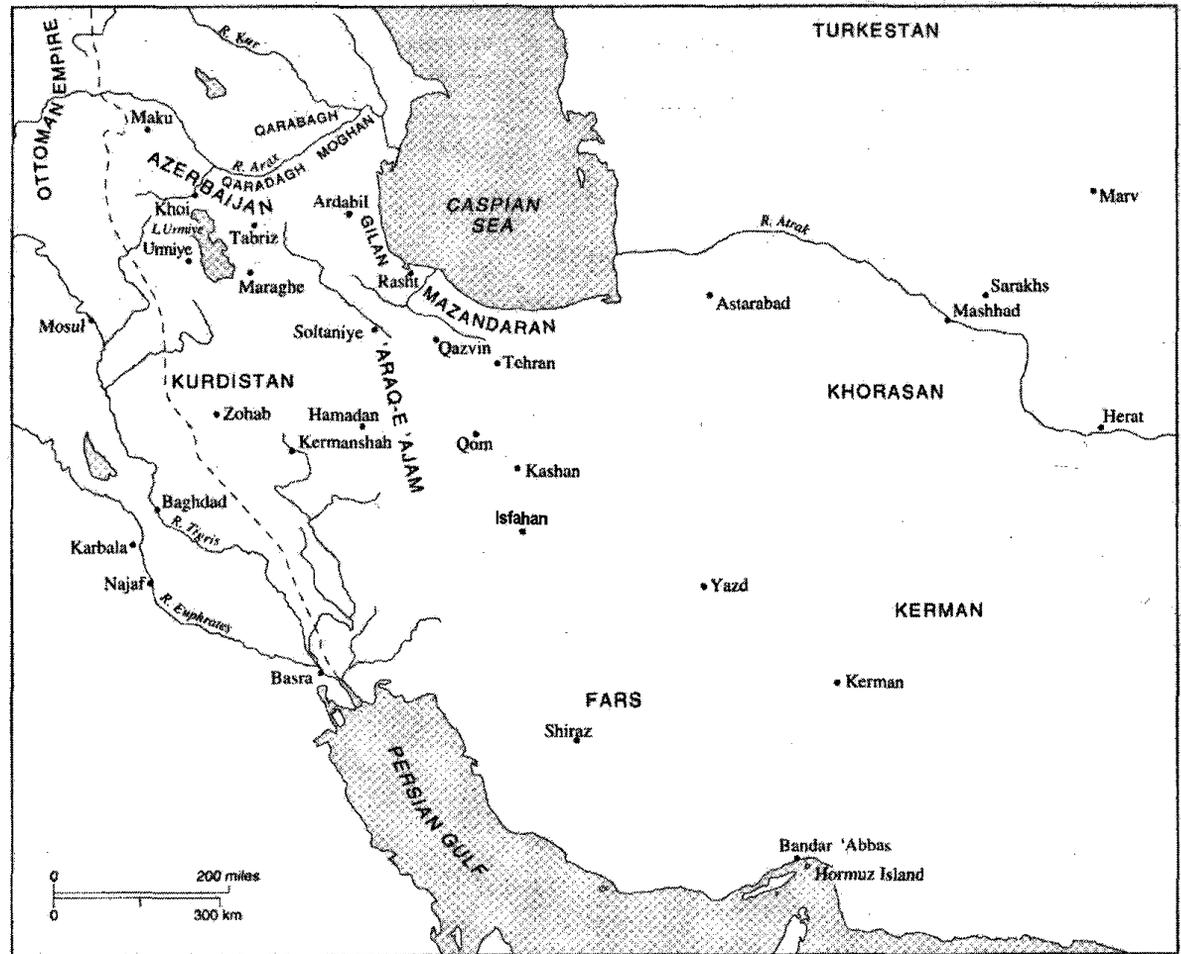
After some time, Prince Madatov was appointed the commander of the troops located here [Karabagh]. He asked General Ermolov to permit him to take me with him. Ermolov would not agree. Finally, Madatov told him that the moment Ermolov stepped into the region of Erevan Madatov would send me back to him. With this understanding, Ermolov dispatched me, together with Madatov, to Karabagh. I remained with Madatov until he was replaced with Prince Abkhazov. Mirza Hosein Mohammad Aqa-oghlu, known as Salari, has informed you of this in my book which he has written with his bilingual quill.

After Prince Abkhazov became familiar with my biography and with the difficult times I had lived through, he raised my rank and wished for me to stay with him. I became one of his close associates. I served him with great zeal and loyalty, gave him advice regarding Persia, sent couriers, and arranged affairs there. My work was mentioned in journals and noted in the chancellery of the viceroy [Paskevich]. If you wish to familiarize yourself with all that, you can check it. Prince Abkhazov petitioned General Paskevich to grant me the military rank of captain and a pension of 400 rubles. His Excellency the plenipotentiary and noble viceroy, in turn, petitioned His Imperial Majesty, the master of the souls of all the people, and He graced me with his royal approval. From then on I have quietly lived in my house. I have property befitting me, my own *ra'yats*...

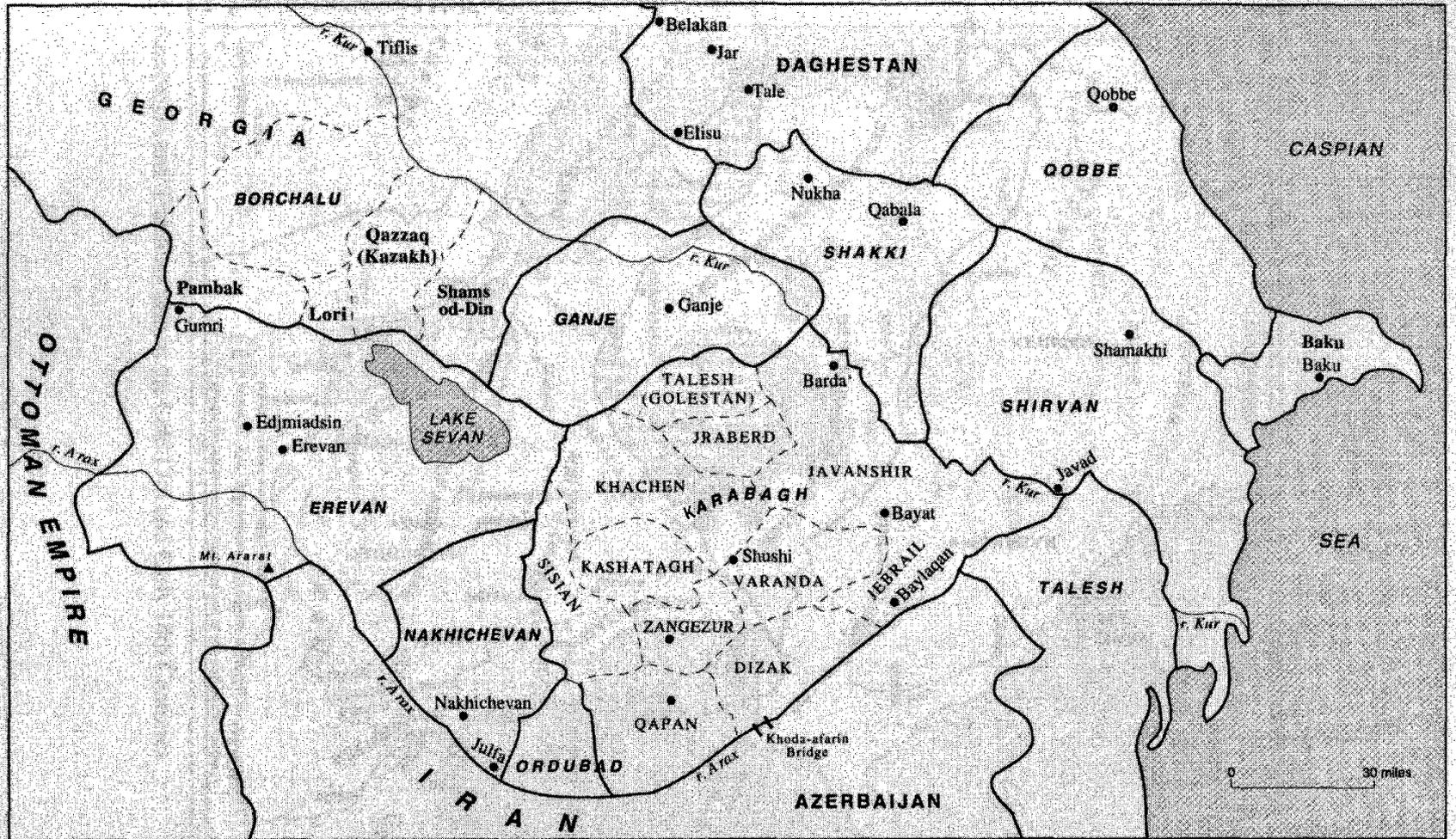
I present this short essay, with shortcomings, to the son of His Excellency General Koliubakin, Lieutenant Colonel Mikhail Petrovich. I hope that when he becomes familiar with it, he will present it to whomever he deems appropriate.



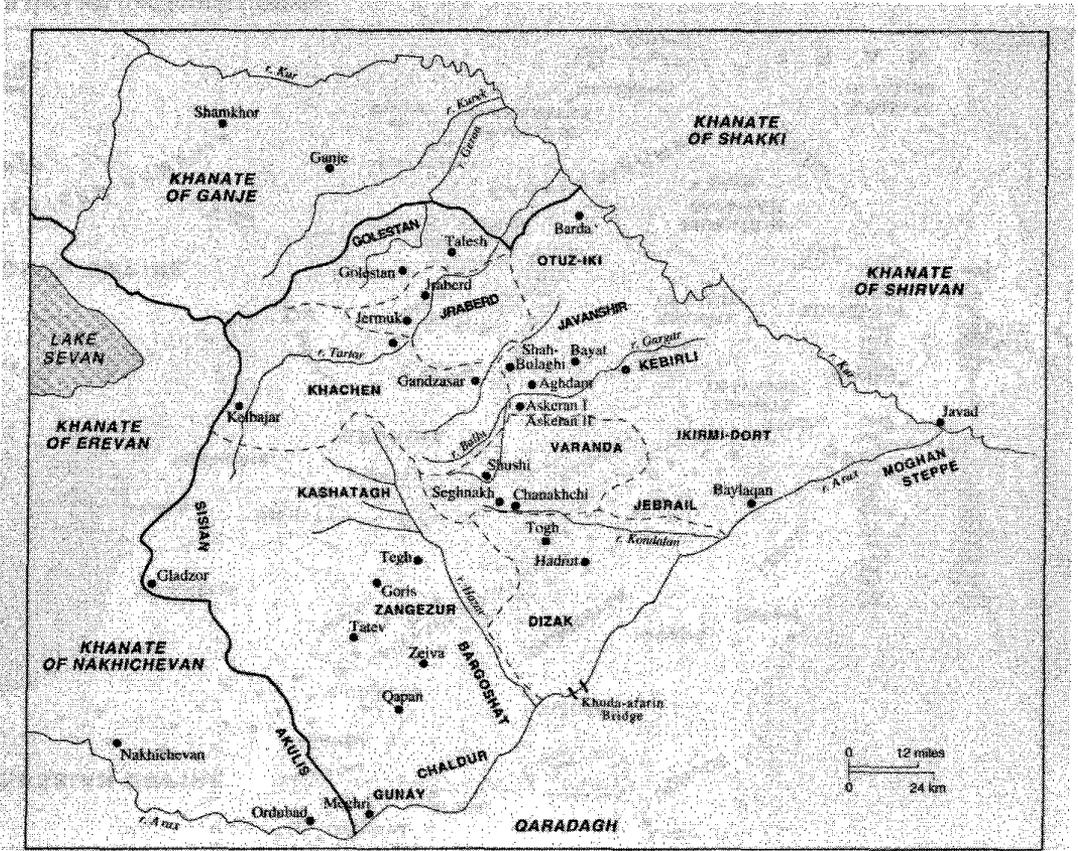
1. Azerbaijan and Transcaucasia in the Late 17th and Early 18th Centuries



2. Persia in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century



3. Karabagh and its Neighboring Khanates in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century



4. The Khanate of Karabagh in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century



5. The Caucasus in the Late Eighteenth Century

## Appendix

### ***Examples of Material on the Armenian Presence in Karabagh that was Removed by Ziya Buniatov and Nazim Akhundov from Various Reprints Published in Baku***

A) Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave im Osmanischen Reich und bei den Tataren: 1394-1427*. Reprinted from the original. Stuttgart: Thienemann Press 1983.

#### *Chapter 62*

*In Armenien bin ich oft gewesen. Nach dem Tode Tämertins kam ich zu seinem Sohn Scharoch, der in Armenien zwei Königreiche hatte. Er war gern in Armenien, denn die Landschaft dort ist sehr schön. Er verbrachte auch oft den Winter mit seinen Volk dort, da es schöne Weidegründe gibt. Ein großer Fluß, der Chur oder auch Tigris, fließt durch diese Lande. Heir am fluß wächst die beste Seide. Die Landschaft heißt in heidnischer Sprache Karabag, und die Heiden hatten sie ganz in Besitz, wenn sie auch in Armenian lag. Auch in den Dörfern leben Armenier, doch sind sie den Heiden zinspflichtig (p. 209).*

Johann Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Afrika, 1396-1427*, English translation by J. Buchan Telfer. London: Hakluyt Society, 1879; reprinted, New York: Burt Franklin, 1970.

*I have also been a great deal in Armenia. After Tämertine [Tamerlane] died, I came to his son, who has two kingdoms in Armenia. He was named Scharoch [Shahrokh]; he liked to be in Armenia, because there is a very beautiful plain. He remained there in winter with his people, because there was good pasturage. A great river runs through the plain; it is called the Chur [Kur], and it is also called the Tygris [Cyrus?]; and near this river, in the same country, is the best silk. The infidels [Muslims] call the plain, in the infidel tongue, Karawag [Karabagh]. The infidels possess it*

*all, and yet it stands in Armenia [Armenia]. There are also Armenians in the villages, but they must pay tribute to the infidels* (p. 86).

Iogann Shil'tberger, *Puteshestvie po Evrope, Azii, i Afrike s 1394 goda po 1427 god*, Russian translation by F. K. Brun, Odessa: Imperial University of South Russia, 1866.

*Ia takzhe provel mnogo vremeni v Armenii. Po smerti Tamerlana, popal ia k synu ego, vladevshemu dvumia korolevstvami v Armenii. Etot syn, po imeni Shah-Rokh, imel obyknovenie zimovat' na bolshoi ravine, imenuemoi Karabag i otlichaiushcheisia khoroshimi pastbishchiami. Ee oroshaet reka Kur, nazываемaia Tigr, i vozle beregov sei reki sobiraetsia samyi luchshii sholk. Khotia eta ravina lezhit v Armenii, tem ne menee ona prinadlezhit iazychnikam, kotorym armianskie seleniia prinuzhdeny platit' ban'* (pp. 110-111).

The material in bold has been deleted from the new Russian edition by Ziya Buniatov. Baku: Academy of Sciences, 1984, p. 67. In addition, Buniatov removed Chapters 63, 64, 65, and 66—some 20 pages, which deal primarily with Armenia and the Armenians, from this edition.

B) 'Abbas-qoli Aqa Bakikhanov, *Golestan-e Eram*. Critical edition based on five manuscripts in the original Persian at the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, edited by Abdul-Karim Alizadeh. Baku: Academy of Sciences, 1970.

*Velayat-e Shirvan: Az taraf-e sharq be-darya-ye Khazar va az samte jonub-e gharbi be rud-e Kor ke anra az velayat-ha-ye moghan va Arman fasl midahad* (p. 4).

Abas-Kuli-Aga Kudsi Bakikhanov, *Giulistan-Iram*. Baku: Izdanie obshchestva obsledovaniia i izucheniiia Azerbaidzhana, 1926. First published edition in any language was this Russian translation.

*Granitsy oblasti Shirvan sostavliaiut: s vostoka—Kaspiskoe more; s iugo-zapada reka Kura, otdeliaiushchaia ee ot Armenii i Mugana* (p. 3).

English translation (Bournoutian): *The borders of the Shirvan province are: In the east, the Caspian Sea, in the southwest, the Kur River, which separates it [Shirvan] from Armenia and the Mughan [Steppe].*

New Russian edition, edited by Ziya Buniatov, Abbas-Kuli-Aga Bakikhanov, *Giulistan-i Iram*. Baku: Academy of Sciences, 1991.

*Oblast' Shirvan ogranichena na vostoke Kaspiiskim morem, na iugo-zapade rekoj Kuroi, otdel'aiushchei ee ot Mugana* (p. 11).

The word "Armenia" has been removed.

By stating that the borders of Armenia ended at the Kur River, Bakikhanov, the most respected historian of what later became Azerbaijan, is confirming that Karabagh, and even Ganje was part of historic Armenia. Buniatov chose to remove the word "Armenia" for obvious political reasons.

C) Esayi Hasan Jalaleants' (Catholicos of Aghuank'-Gandzasar), *Patmut' iwn hamarot Aghuanits' erkri* [Concise History of Caucasian Albania {Karabagh}] Jerusalem: St. James Monastery, 1868.

*ěst jamanaki ishkanut`ean hayots`...*(p. 57).

French translation by M. Brosset, *Histoire D'Aghovanie, par le Catholicos Esai Hasan-Dchalaliants*, in *Collection d'Historiens Arméniens*. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1876, II (pp.193-220).

*Depuis l'epoque de la domination arménienne...*(p. 219)

English (Bournoutian): *Since the period of Armenian rule...*

Esai Khasan-Dzhalalian, *Kratkaia Istoriia strany Albanskoi (1701-1722)*, new Russian edition by Ziya Buniatov. Baku: Academy of Sciences, 1988.

The above line is missing (p. 39).

D) Mirza Jamal Javanshir, *Tarikh-e Karabagh* (MS B 712/11603, Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, Baku.

Original Persian manuscript reads:

*Va ahl-e an shahr dar qadim Armani va ya gheir-e mellat budeand* (f. 4).

First Azeri translation by F. Babaeva, Mirzə Jamal Javanshir Garabaği, *Garabağ Tarikhi*. Baku: Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, 1951, reads:

*Gədimdə o şəhərin əhalisi erməni və ya başqa bir millət imiş* (p. 12).

Russian translation by F. Babaeva: Mirza Dzhamal Dzhevanshir, *Istoriia Karabaga*, Baku: Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, 1959, reads:

*Zhiteli togo goroda v drevnie vremena byli to li armiane, to li kakoi-to drugoi narod* (p. 64).

*The inhabitants of that city, in olden days, were either Armenians or other people*

The new Azeri edition edited by Nazim Akhundov, *Garabağnamələr I*, Baku: Yazıçı Press, 1989, has deleted the above sentence (p. 108).

Same book:

(Persian) *Mahal-ha-ye khamse-ye aramane Qarabagh* (f. 9).

(Russian) *Armianskie magaly Khamse* (p. 67).

(Azeri) *Garabağən erməni Khəmsə mahalları* (p. 16).

*The Five Armenian districts of Karabagh*

New edition has removed the word "Armenian," and reads *Garabağın Khəmsə mahalları* (p. 111).

Same book:

(Persian) *Be-fekr-e moti` kardan-e mahal-hay-ye khamse-ye aramane oftad* (f. 10)

(Russian) *On zadumal podchinit' sebe armianskie magaly, Khamse* (p. 68).

(Azeri) *erməni Khəmsə mahhallarını özünə tabe etmək fikrinə düşdü* (p. 16)

*He decided to subject the five Armenian mahals to his authority*

New edition has removed the word "Armenian," and reads:

*Khəmsə mahhallarını özünə tabe etmək fikrinə düşdü* (p. 112).

As noted in the introduction, there are a number of other Persian manuscripts dealing with Karabagh in the archives of Azerbaijan. Some of these have already appeared in edited editions and others will undoubtedly follow. Unfortunately, unless they include a certified facsimile of the original manuscript, the tendentious scholarship demonstrated above will render all these editions suspect and unusable by scholars. Such blatant tampering with primary source material strikes at the heart of scholarly integrity. The international academic community must not allow such breaches of intellectual honesty to go without notice or censure.



## Glossary

Although the etymology of these terms are derived either from Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Georgian, and even Russian, they were in common use by all the peoples of Transcaucasia. I, therefore, have not specified their origin.

- aghach*: Turkish equivalent of *farsakh*, measuring some three and a half miles
- aqal/agma*: a great lord, nobleman, commander; brothers of a khan, eunuch (*agma*)
- akhund*: member of the religious classes, theologian, preacher; a tutor
- 'amale*: worker, mason
- arkh[i]*: irrigation trench, canal
- ashrafi*: gold coin weighing 190.894 grains troy
- ayalat*: government, dominion; a major administrative division such as a province
- aznavuri*: Georgian knights
- bajaghi*: gold coins struck in the Netherlands
- banu*: lady
- bashi*: suffix meaning head of, e.g. *charkhchi-bashi*
- beg (bey/bek)*: civil or military officials of a district; landlords who performed a service
- beglarbeg (beylerbey)*: provincial governor; governor general; military governor with a title of khan or emir. There were numerous *beglarbegs* during the Safavid period. The governor of Azerbaijan possessed that title and supervised the Persian possessions above the Arax River.
- begum*: princess or lady of high rank
- catholicos*: Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian Church
- charkhchi-bashi*: commander of the skirmishers (*charkhchi*)
- chay*: river
- cherik*: troops recruited from the nomadic tribes
- chetvert*: Russian weight measuring 3 liters for liquids and 210 liters for grains
- dagh*: mountain
- dar ol-khilafa*: "House of Caliphate"; epithet for Tehran
- dar ol-saltane*: "House of Government"; royal residence; epithet for the city of Tabriz, the residence of the Crown Prince
- dar ol-safa*: "House of Serenity"; the epithet for Khoi
- dar ol-surur*: "House of Merriment"; epithet for Tiflis
- divan*: chancery, ministry
- eger*: Russian term for chasseur
- ekhrajat*: indirect and extraordinary taxes
- emir (amir)*: a commander, high-ranking military chief, high-ranking palace official, prince

- farrash*: attendants, footmen  
*firman (farman)*: royal decree  
*farsakh*: Iranian measure equal to three and a half miles  
*ghazavat*: war against the infidel  
*ghulam*: the term means slave; in this case they were Georgians or Armenians who had adopted Islam, or whose parents had become Muslims; they formed the personal guard and cavalry of the shah and their numbers varied from 10,000 to 30,000 men  
*ferqe*: clan, tribal group  
*hakem (pl. hokama)*: judge; governor; ruler  
*halal*: legal; sanctioned by Islam  
*hammam*: public bath.  
*'il (pl. 'ilat)*: tribe(s)  
*ishik-aghasi*: chamberlain  
*jahad (jihad)*: holy war  
*janbaz*: regular infantry of Fath `Ali Shah trained by English officers  
*javanghar*: right flank  
*juft (joft, juft-bashi)*: oxen, plough tax  
*kadkhoda*: village or tribe headman  
*kargozar*: official, supervisor  
*karkhane*: kitchen or workshop  
*khal'at*: robe of honor  
*khamse*: the five Armenian districts of Karabagh  
*khanum*: lady  
*keshikchi*: watchman  
*khan*: governor, commander, tribal leader  
*khanate*: province, a state ruled by a khan; similar to Ottoman *pashalik*  
*khass*: royal estates  
*khazine*: treasury  
*kizilbash (Qezel-bash)*: Persian, Persian army  
*kniaz*: prince (Russian)  
*korpi*: bridge, in the Turki dialect  
*korur (kurur)*: 500,000  
*mdivan-begi*: same as *divan-begi*; chief minister or judge in Georgia  
*madrase (madrassa, maktab)*: school  
*mahal*: district or county  
*mahalle*: quarter  
*manat*: silver ruble  
*manzel*: station  
*marhum*: "the late"  
*meidan*: square  
*melik (malek, malak)*: Armenian prince or feudal lord, secular leaders of Karabaghi Armenians  
*mesqal*: unit of weight, approx. 4.64 grams  
*minbashi*: head of one thousand, tribal leader

- mirza*: when the term is used after the name, it means prince (*amir-zadeh*); when it precedes the name, it means scribe or secretary
- mujtahed (mujtahid/mojtahed)*: theologian who issues opinions on religious matters
- mulk (molk)*: private property
- monshi*: scribe
- mostowfi*: an accountant, tax official
- nayeb (na'eb)*: deputy
- nayeb ol-saltane*: crown prince, heir-apparent
- nazer*: overseer
- nokar*: retainer, attendant
- nowruz*: Persian New Year, first day of spring
- oba*: nomad family, large nomad tent
- ojagh*: hearth, tribal unit
- qa'em-maqam*: deputy, important minister
- qalamdan*: pen-box
- padishah*: emperor.
- pasha*: Ottoman provincial governor, same as khan
- piadeh*: infantry
- pishkesh*: gift, bribe
- pishkhedmat-bashi*: chief-valet
- pud*: Russian weight equal to approximately 36 pounds
- qal'e*: fortress.
- qeshlaq (kishlak)*: winter camps for tribes
- ra'yat (pl. ra'yya)*: peasants, subjects
- rish-sefid*: literally white-beard; village or community elder
- sanduqdar*: treasurer
- sarbaz*: infantry units trained according to European standards, started by `Abbas Mirza
- sardar*: commander-in-chief, general, governor of a major border province
- savareh*: cavalry
- seyyed*: Muslim religious figures who were descendants of Imam `Ali.
- sghnakh (saqnaq)*: stronghold, lair
- shabikhun*: nightly raid
- shahzadeh*: son of a king (prince)
- soldat*: soldier
- sultan*: lowest-rank governor (below the level of a khan)
- tavadi*: Georgian nobleman
- tofangchi*: musketeer
- touji*: taxes, generally in cash
- tuman*: Persian currency equal to 10,000 *dinars*; worth about one pound sterling in the eighteenth century and about 4 silver rubles in the early nineteenth century.
- tupchi*: commander of the artillery (cannons or *tup*)

*tuyul (tiyul, toyul)*: land grant or its revenue in lieu of salary

*üc-kilisa*: "Three Churches," refers to the Holy See of Etchmiadzin

*uymaq*: clan

*vakil*: regent

*vali*: viceroy, regent, governor of one of the four frontier units of Persia.

*Valis* were descendants of hereditary rulers and were expected to help the shah in time of war

*vaqf (wagf)* : charitable or religious endowment

*velayat*: province, country

*verst*: Russian measure of length equal to 3500 feet or two-thirds of a mile

*yesawul (yasavol)* guard, messenger, herald; Russian *esaul*

*yeilaq (yailak)*: tribal summer quarters

*yuzbashi*: village headman; head of one hundred; captain

*zar'*: measure of length equal to a cubit or more

*zar-kharid*: purchased for cash

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### **About the Translator**

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*Front Cover:* A tower of the Askeran Fortress in Karabagh

*Back Cover:* Site of the former fortress of Shushi, from the south  
(photos: Bournoutian)