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CAUCASICA IV

- I. Sahl ibn-Sunbāt of Shakkī and Arrān
- II. The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān
in 344/955

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Caucasica IV

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THE territory of the present-day Soviet republic of Azarbayjan roughly corresponds to the ancient Caucasian Albania (in Armenian *Ałovan-k'*, or *Ałvan-k'*, in Arabic *Arrān* > *al-Rān*). Twenty-six languages were spoken in Albania and it had its own kings (Strabo, xi, 4). However, during the seven centuries between Pompey's expedition in 66–5 B.C., to which we owe most of our information on the ancient life of the country, and the Arab invasion in the 7th century A.D., great changes had taken place in the area, under the influence of the Persian expansion up to the Caucasian passes, the Khazar and Alān inroads from the north, and the Armenian cultural activities which resulted in the conversion of the surviving Albanians to the Armenian form of Christianity. The Arab geographers refer to the Arrānian language as still spoken in the neighbourhood of Barda'a (Persian: *Pērōz-ābādh*, Armenian *Partav*), but now only the two villages inhabited by the Udi¹ are considered as the direct continuators of the Albanian linguistic tradition.

Our object being the study of the conditions in the 9th–10th centuries, we are not concerned with the further great changes brought about by the invasion of the Turkish Oghuz in the 11th century and the subsequent Turkicization of the area.

Both the Armenian and the Arabic sources show that the Arab occupation did not do away with the old Arrānian and Armenian dynasties, which continued their existence as vassals of the conquerors. Profiting by every occasion to assert their hereditary rights, they succeeded in 'tiding over' the Arabs, the Seljuks, and the Mongols, and even now the so-called 'Qarabagh highlands' form an autonomous area within the Soviet Republic of Azarbayjan.²

The period of decline of the semi-independent principalities presents great difficulties for study. Both in Arabic³ and Armenian⁴ sources the light is turned on to special episodes and we are left to conjecture as to the connecting links. The work of the indigenous historian of 'Albania', Moses Kałankatvats'i, who wrote in Armenian (10th century), contains many important data, but his obscure hints and sudden breaks in the main thread are often exasperating.⁵ A particular complication results from the contemporary Armenian fashion of assuming Arabic patronymics (*kunya*) (such as Abū-Mūsā, Abul-Asad, etc.),

¹ Cf. Plinius, N.H., 6, 13, 16: *Otene*; *Arm. Geography: Uti*. This ancient province extended probably on both banks of the Kur, whereas the surviving villages lie in the Shakkī district near to the passes leading into southern Daghestan.

² To say nothing of the numerous Armenian villages in the whole of Eastern Transcaucasia.

³ Balādhuri (d. 279/892), Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), Ṭabarī (d. 311/923).

⁴ Thomas Artsruni (before A.D. 1000), Asołik (soon after A.D. 1000) and some later historians, like Stephannos Orbelian (about A.D. 1300).

⁵ I am using his *History of Albania* in the Russian translation of K. Patkanian, St. Petersburg, 1861; for a number of clarifications I am obliged to Mr. C. Dowsett, who is preparing a new edition of the Armenian text.

without any connexion with the original Armenian names. These latter too often recur in otherwise unrelated families, and it becomes difficult to discriminate between several Sahl's, Vasaks, and Smbats living at the same time.

On the Islamic side, we have chiefly to profit by the moments when some violent events cut across the local divisions. Such were: the revolt of Bābak (822–837) and its repression; the overthrow of the independent Arab amir of Tiflis (852); the severe measures which the caliph's general Bugha took against his earlier allies, ending in the deportation to Mesopotamia of nearly all the Armenian princes (854?); and finally (in the early 10th century) the great movement of Iranian tribes leading to the short-lived rise of the Daylamite chief Marzubān ibn Muḥammad ibn Musāfir, whose sway in Azarbayjan spread across the Araxes and even the Kur up to the foot of the Caucasian range.

Of the two studies which follow, one is devoted to the sudden elevation of Sahl, son of Sunbāt, at the period of Bābak's revolt, and the second to the list of Marzubān's tributaries preserved in the text of the geographer Ibn Ḥauqal (A.D. 977).

I. Sahl ibn-Sunbāt of Shakkī and Arrān

- § 1. General situation on the Araxes and the Kur.
- § 2. Elevation of Sahl.
- § 3. His successors.
- § 4. 'Isā ibn-Iṣṭifānūs.

§ 1. *General Situation*

Before introducing Sahl, son of Sunbāt, it will be useful to enumerate the protagonists among the Arab vassals about the year A.D. 820. On the southern bank of the Araxes, in the mountainous region now called Qaraja-dagh¹ and extending north of the line uniting Ardabil and Tabriz, we are soon to hear of the great rebellion of Bābak against the caliph's representatives and troops. Opposite Qaraja-dagh, on the northern bank of the Araxes and up to the course of the Kur, there lies another hilly tract which, at the time in question, was studded with small principalities. In its north-eastern corner (on the Terter) lay the dominions of the descendants of ancient Albanian kings issued from one Mihran (of Sasanian times). In the south-eastern corner of Albania, along the banks of the Araxes, we hear of several princes (of Xtiš, of Varthān) whose origin is not quite clear. In the west² stretched the country called Siunia (in Armenian Siunik') whose rulers belonged to a special Armenian family of descendants of Sisak.³

The southern bank of the Kur seems to have depended on the Mihranids, but the situation here was unstable. Beyond the Kur we find the considerable Muslim principality of Sharvān, a survival from Sasanian times, but now ruled by

¹ I am inclined to think that Turkish *Qaraja*- stands here, as a popular etymology, for some ancient name, cf. the second element of *B.lwān-karaj* (?), quoted in *E.I.* under *Urm*.

² Chiefly to the west of the Akera.

³ Though mixed with other elements, see Stephannos Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, ch. 14, transl. Brosset, 1864, i, 32. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, pp. 67–74.

the family of the Yazīdids of the Shaybānī tribe. West of Sharvān was situated Qabala, with a mixed population (including even some Khazars) but ruled by a Christian prince. In the west it bordered on Shakkī, also with a Christian dynasty. The origins of the princes of Qabala and Shakkī are little known, but in view of constant intermarriage we have to assume their manifold links with the princes of the right bank.¹ The special 'Albanian' patriarchate of the Armenian church formed the link between the two banks. Still more to the west, in the basin of the Alazan, the situation is obscure, and there seems to have existed there a special fief called in Georgian Heret'i. Still further to the west lies the present-day Kakhetia, now inhabited by Georgians; at the time in question it was ruled by a *korikoz* (χωρεπίσκοπος),² possibly of the Armenian faith, and the leadership there belonged to a tribal group called Ts'anar, in Arabic al-Ṣanāriya.³

§ 2. Elevation of Sahl

The energetic Sahl ibn Sunbāt, who in the beginning of the 9th century played an important rôle in the affairs of Arrān, is mentioned both in the Armenian and Arabic sources, and though the records are patchy, they throw a vivid light on the march of events in Arrān.

The exact origin of Sahl⁴ is not explicitly stated. Thomas Artsruni, iii, § 11, calls him ruler of Shak'ē,⁵ and we must remember that the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, after having spoken of Shakkī, refers (§ 36, 32) to 'Sunbāt-mān, a town at the farther end of Shakkī, with a strong fortress'. The name *Sunbāt-mān* means 'Sunbāt's house' and is likely to refer to the home of Sahl's ancestors.

According to the Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 249–250), during the reign of king Archil II (668–718) three brothers, who had deprived of sight their uncle Adarnase-the-Blind, 'came from Taron to the country of Šakix . . . because all that country of the Caucasus in the neighbourhood of Ran (i.e. Arrān) had no masters. Heret' and Kakhet' had only a few inhabitants who had fled to the woods and the three brothers occupied the country down to Gulgula'.⁶ The

¹ It is quite possible that the Mihranids at times controlled the left bank of the Kur. Of one of their descendants Hamam (Grigor), son of Adernerseh (a contemporary of Muḥammad Afshīn, 889–901), Moses, iii, ch. 22 (trans. 278) says that he spread his sway 'on to the other side', i.e. apparently to the left bank of the Kur.

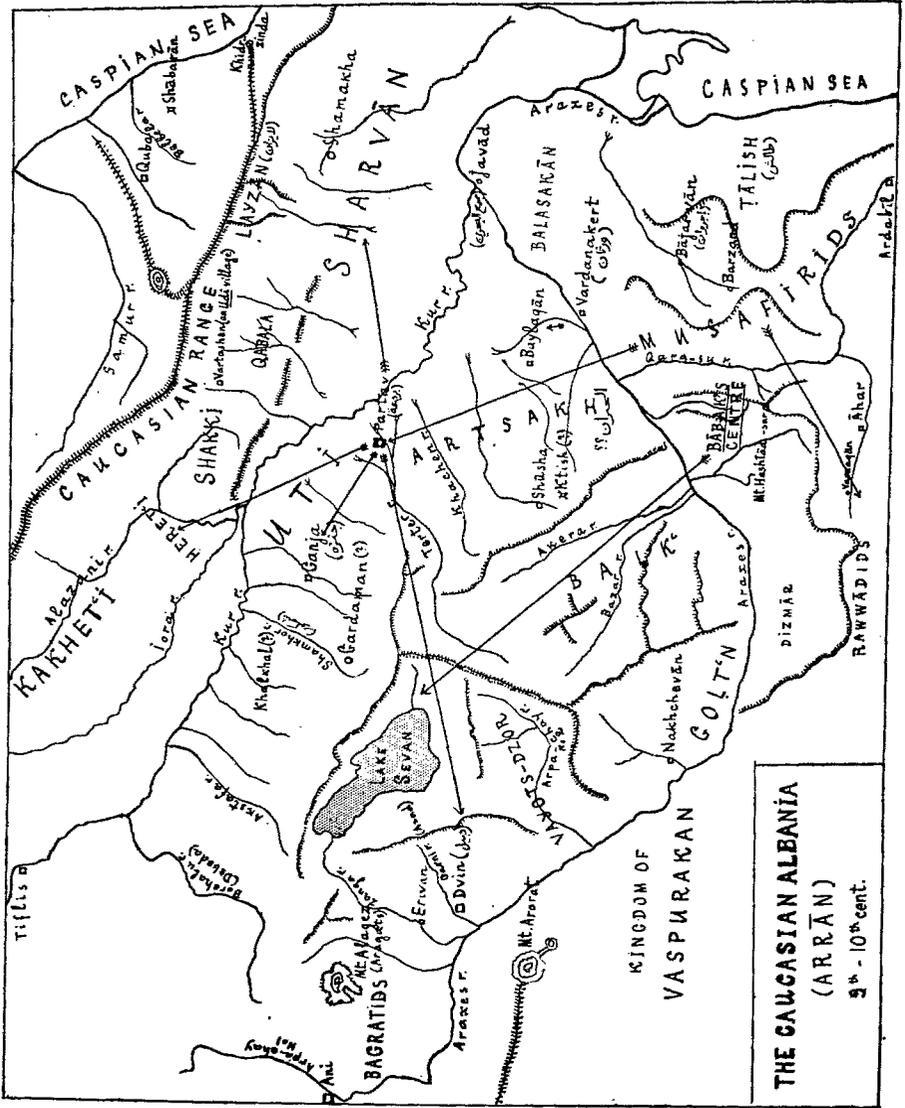
² The title has hardly any ecclesiastic connotation in this case.

³ This people is already mentioned by Ptolemy, viii, ch. 8, § 13, Σαυαρίοι. According to the ancient Armenian geography, the Darial pass was situated in their country, see *Hudūd*, pp. 400–2, but in the 9th and 10th centuries the centres of the Ts'anar/Ṣanār must have moved eastward to the region of the passes connecting Kakhetia with Daghestan, i.e. nearer to Shakkī.

⁴ His real Christian name is doubtful. *Sahl* seems to be an Arabic 'mask'.

⁵ See Minorsky, *Shakki* in *E.I.* (1926), and A. E. Krīmsky, *Sheki*, in the memorial volume *Pamyati N. Y. Marra*, 1938, 369–384. My teacher Krīmsky's article is very valuable for the number of sources consulted, but contains quite a few risky identifications.

⁶ In the Armenian version *Galgal*, possibly *Khalkhal*, on the right bank of the Kur, now *Khilkhina*, on the Dzegam river, some 60 km. west of Ganja. Cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, 272. Also Brosset, I/2., 49.



THE CAUCASIAN ALBANIA
 (ARRAN)
 9th - 10th cent.

exact filiation of the brothers presents considerable difficulties¹ but, as between 700 and 800 we hear of no changes in Shakkī, we might assume *ex silentio* that Sahl sprang from this house. In fact, his designation as *ibn Sunbāt* (Moses Kalan. : *Smbatean*) may be his family name rather than a direct patronymic and point to the name of one of the three brothers (Smbat ?), or even to that of their father.²

Perhaps the earliest reference to Sahl is found in the 'History of Albania (Arrān)' of Moses Kaḷankatvats'i. In his enumeration of Albanian patriarchs (iii, ch. 23), he says that Ter-David (822–850; according to C. Dowsett, 821–849) blessed the unlawful marriage of the prince of Shak'ē and was cursed by his (own) brother. *Shak'ē* is definitely *Shakkī*, and the reference may be to Sahl at the early period of his life when he lived in his original fief.³

According to the Arabic *History of Sharvān* (§ 2), some time after 205/820, a revolt broke out in Shakkī, whose people killed the 'āmīl appointed by Khālid b. Yazīd.⁴ Ya'qūbī, ii, 579, writes that when Afshīn entered Azarbayjan (in 220/835, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1171) he appointed to Armenia Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Azdi al-Samarqandi. By that time Sahl b. Sunbāt had already revolted and seized Arrān (*qaḍ khālaḥa . . . wa taghallaba*). He ambushed Muhammad at night and defeated him, cf. Balādhuri, 211. On the Armenian side, Moses Kaḷankatvats'i, iii, ch. 9, adds that towards the end of the Armenian year 270 (822–3) some Arabs from Partav (Barda'a) destroyed Amaras,⁵ took 1,000 prisoners, and fortified themselves in Mets-Arank' (on the Terter, upstream from Barda'a). 'Then the manly and handsome prince Sahl-i Smbatean⁶ Eranshahik, with his strong brothers and their troops, attacked them at dawn, scattered them and saved the prisoners' (tr. Patkanian, p. 266). To accomplish this feat, Sahl must have crossed over to the right bank of the Araxes and, if Khalkhal (see above, p. 506, n. 6) did form a dependency of his dominions, his task was rendered much easier.

The title *Eranshahik*,⁷ under which the historian of Albania presents him in

¹ Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 396, 416, *Südarmenien*, 292, thought that they were descendants of Grigor Mamikonian, who in 748 blinded the 'patrician' Ashot Bagratuni. J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 1919, p. 110, sees in them cousins of Ashot-the-Blind, who between 750 and 772 were expelled by Ashot's son and went to Georgia. Under the same reign the Georgian Chronicle speaks of a further immigration into Kakhetia and Šakix of some princes from Klarjet' (south-western Georgia).

² According to Vakhusht, the widow of a prince of some mountaineer tribes (T'ush, Khundz) was given by Archil to a prince of Šakix called Adarnase, see Brosset, i, 251.

³ Šakix is only an alternative form of Šak'ē. The reference to *Shako* (*Šak'ē) has been pointed out by A. E. Krīmsky, but he confuses Sahl b. Sunbāt with the Siunian Sahl (see below, p. 509, n. 2).

⁴ Apparently during the first term of office of Khālid, cf. Ya'qūbī, 566. I am quoting the 11th-century *History of Sharvān* according to the edition which I have prepared, cf. my *Studies*, 1953, p. 33.

⁵ The ancient residence of the catholicos of Albania, near the sources of the Khachen river, see Alishan in S. Orbelian, ii, 152.

⁶ Note the Persian construction with the patronymic *idāfat*.

⁷ Which must be understood only as a sublimation of the more modest local title *Aran-shahik*.

this passage, is probably given him in anticipation, for immediately after, and under the same year, Moses speaks of the murder of the last Mihranid Varaz-Trdad by a certain Ter-Nerseh P'ilippean.¹ We do not know whether the latter acted on behalf of Sahl, but Sahl surely profited by the crime, as he assumed the title of the victim. As Varaz-Trdad is called the *last* Mihranid,² it is clear that Sahl did not belong to that house.

About that time the Arab Sawāda (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jahhāfi) raided Siunia and the local ruler Vasak appealed for help to Bābak. The famous rebel responded to this call and married Vasak's daughter,³ but himself committed all kinds of excesses in Balḳ' and Geḷam (in 828), where he destroyed the great convent of Mak'enots'.

These names⁴ indicate how far his sway expanded between the Araxes and the Kur. The Muslim sources only indirectly hint at the facts which Moses Kalankatvats'i has recorded in great detail, and which throw a lurid light on Bābak's activities.

Bābak himself came to live in Amaras, but the Armenians continued the struggle and even defeated his lieutenant Rostom. In the course of these events Sahl's name is not mentioned, but under Mu'taşim (218-227/833-842) he is definitely said to have revolted in *Arrān* (see above, Ya'qūbī, 579) and it appears that for a time the interests of Sahl and Bābak coincided. When in 222/837 Afshīn defeated Bābak and, across the dominions of the Armenian

¹ S. Orbelian (tr. Brosset, i, 95) calls him 'Ter-Nerseh, the Siunian (?), son of P'ilippe', though Moses who is Orbelian's source, says nothing about the origin of Nerseh. According to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 457, he was one of the (Arrānian ?) *baḡriqs* whom Ya'qūbī, 562, mentions among the supporters of the governor appointed by Amīn, and who were opposing the new governor appointed by Ma'mūn (circa 198/813). cf. Brosset in Orbelian, i, 96, ii, 25.

² His widow fled to Khach'en (south of the Terter) and there married her daughter Spram to Atrnerseh, son of Sahl [*Sahak] 'head of the Siunians', see Moses Kalankatvats'i, iii, ch. 22 (see below, p. 522).

³ Ṭabarī, iii, 1221, refers to Bābak's wife who accompanied him on his flight as *ibnat al-Kalandāniya* (?). If an Armenian, she might have been useful to him in his dealings with her countrymen north of the Araxes, but it is difficult to identify her with Vasak's daughter, in view of Bābak's polygamous habits described by Ṭabarī himself, iii, 1223 (see below, p. 510).

⁴ But not 'Tavusin', as in Patkanian's translation, p. 268. C. Dowsett tells me that *Tavusin/Tosin* in some MSS. of M. Kalan. must stand for *Tōsi. In fact Ṭabarī, iii/2, 1099, says that in 211/826 Ma'mūn appointed Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī to fight Bābak, and further, p. 1101, that on 26 (?) Raḥī' I 214/3 June 829 Bābak killed him near Mt. Hashtād-sar and scattered his troops. After *Ṭūsī's defeat, Moses records another success of Bābak over *Abrahim*, son of *Let'* (Dowsett). This man is surely Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth b. al-Faḍl الحى (the editor suggests **al-Tajībī* ?) whom Ma'mūn appointed to Azarbayjan in 209/824, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1072, and who later is referred to in the enumeration of the generals killed by Bābak. See Ṭabarī, iii, 1233 (year 223/837) where his name comes at the last place, after Zurayq b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa and Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī, cf. I. Athir, vi, 275, 338. Among the coins which Khālid b. Yazīd struck in Armenia about 212-217/827-832 his name is associated with that of a certain *Ibrāhīm*, whose father's name cannot be read clearly. R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter*, Wien, 1931, p. 72, suggested that on the coin of 213 the name should be read: *Ibrāhīm b. Zayd*, and on those of 215 and 217: *Ibrāhīm b. 'Attāb*, whereas, in Tiesenhausen's idea, *ibn-Ghiyāth* or *ibn-'Ayān* should be read on all the coins. The absence of *al-* before these names stands in the way of their identification with Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth.

princes, Bābak tried to escape to the protection of the emperor Theophile, he sent a message to Sahl b. Sunbāt and the latter came out to meet him.

Ṭabari's report on Bābak's flight (iii, 1223, year 222/837) contains interesting details but does not indicate the exact route which he followed before reaching the mountains (*jibāl*) of Sahl b. Sunbāt. 'On meeting him Sahl recognized him, kissed his hand and said: "O Lord (*ya sayyidāh*) . . . there is no one worthier to receive you than myself. You know my place. I have nothing to do with the government (*sultān*) . . . You know what has happened to me and you know my country. All the *batrīqs* who are here are related to you, and children have been born to you from their (houses),"—(and this because, whenever Bābak heard of a pretty daughter or sister of a *batrīq*, he sent to him a request for her, and should he not send her, he visited him and took the girl together with the *batrīq*'s other belongings).' All this suggests that Sahl was established south of the Kur and had had personal relations with Bābak. While accepting the invitation to Sahl's castle (*hiṣn*), Bābak took the precaution of sending his brother 'Abdullāh to stay at a different place, namely with Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs.¹

Both the chiefs, who probably had sufficient grievances against their guests, surrendered them to Afshīn. For the signal service rendered, Sahl was highly honoured by the Arabs,² who forgot his previous misdeeds. In the additional passage inserted in some MSS. of Moses Kalan., iii, ch. 20, these facts are confirmed and it is said (with obvious exaggerations) that Sahl 'obtained sovereignty over Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, to rule authoritatively and royally over all'.³ He must have enjoyed his new position for some fifteen years for, according to Thomas Artsruni, iii, ch. 11 (tr. Brosset, 153): 'Sahl, son of Smbat, lord of Shak'ē, who captured Baban (Bābak),' was included in the great deportation of Armenian princes carried out by the general Bugha (in 854 ?), though in Ṭabari's list, iii, 1416, his name is replaced by that of his son Mu'āwiya b. Sahl b. Sunbāt (who once escorted the captive Bābak to Afshīn's camp).

§ 3. *Sahl's Successors*

After this there is a considerable gap in the history of the successors of Sahl until, in the beginning of the 10th century, we hear of the lord of Shakkī called Adarnasē (Ādharnarsē). To render the situation comprehensible we must survey very briefly the changed, but still chaotic, state of the country.

In the beginning of the 9th century a new dynasty, the Bagratids, became prominent in the affairs of Georgia (Kart'li). Bagrat, son of Ashot (826–876) joined Muḥammad b. Khālid in the early operations against the amir of Tiflis, Ishaq b. Ismā'il, and, at this price, survived the period when Bugha, having

¹ On him see below, p. 512.

² Ṭabari, iii, 1272: Sahl's son (Mu'āwiya) received 100,000 dirhams and he himself 1,000,000 dirhams, a gem-studded belt, and the title of *batrīq* with a tiara appertaining to it. Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs was possibly confirmed in his fief, see below, p. 512.

³ I owe this quotation to C. Dowsett (12th August, 1952).

occupied Tiflis (in 852), wrought havoc among the Christian (chiefly Armenian) princes suspected of opposition. The new and energetic dynasty of rulers appointed from Baghdad, the Sājids, subjected the Christian Caucasus to new trials. Between 902 and 914 Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj devastated both Armenia and Georgia, took Tiflis, and invaded upper Kakhetia. The Georgian Chronicle, with its typical legitimism, narrates the events under the phantom reigns of the main branch of the Bagratids of Kart'li. Thus under the reign of Adarnasē II (881-923), grandson of the above-mentioned Bagrat, it gives an account of the happenings in Kakhetia, see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 273-9. Some time after the execution of the Armenian king Smbat by Yūsuf (in A.D. 914),¹ the local king Kuirike invited the king of western Georgia ('Abkhaz') Constantine (then in occupation of Kart'li)² to take part in operations in Lower Kakhetia (Heret'i). The allies were besieging the fortress of Vejin, when 'the patrician Adarnasē' suddenly arrived on the spot, and by ceding to them three fortresses secured peace. Though according to Brosset, loc. cit., 277, note 3, 'the genealogy of this personage is unknown', it is very tempting to follow A. E. Krīmsky in identifying him with that Ādharnasē b. Hammām³ whom Mas'ūdi mentions in Shakkī, for there was no other neighbour who might have encroached on Heret'i. The latter place has been specially mentioned in connexion with the domains of the 'three brothers' and it seems probable that this Adarnasē was a direct, or lateral, descendant of Sahl b. Sunbāt. Mas'ūdi wrote in 332/943 but, as in some other cases, he possibly used previous records, and this would settle the difficulty, if the period between *circa* 914 and 943 appeared too long for one reign.

The Georgian Chronicle (op. cit., 279) ends the chapter by saying that until the reign of Ishkhanik (an Armenian diminutive of *išxan* 'prince') all the inhabitants of Heret'i were heretics (apparently of Armenian creed), but this son of the Georgian princess Dinar converted them to (Greek) orthodoxy. The source is again silent on the relation of this new prince to the above-mentioned 'patrician Adarnasē' but it gives a precious synchronism by adding that his contemporaries in Barda'a and Azarbayjan were the 'salars', i.e. the Musāfirids. In fact in the list of feudatories of the Musāfirid Marzubān b. Muḥammad (dated 344/955), preserved in Ibn-Ḥauqal, 254, there is an 'Ishkhānīq, known as Abū 'Abd al-Malik, lord of Shakkī'.⁴ With Ishkhānīq

¹ i.e. *Smbat Nahatak*, Smbat-the-Martyr (890-914), killed by Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj; see Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 1947, 397-441.

² The dynasty of 'Abkhazia' was of local origin, with some Khazar parentage. Its family tree is given in the document called *Divan*, discovered by Taqaišvili, see *Jour. As.*, 1927, ccx, 357-368. The 'Abkhazian' dynasty ruled over the territories including Western Georgia, and even expanded into Eastern Georgia. In 978 the Georgian Bagratid Bagrat II, whose mother was an Abkhazian princess, succeeded to the throne of her ancestors, and thus united the state.

³ Vakhshut's witness, see above, p. 508, note 2, if true, might be taken as an indication of the persistence of the name Ādhar-Narsē in the family. The fact must still be borne in mind that there were *two* streams of immigrants into Kakhetia and Shakkī: from Taron and from Klarjet', see above, p. 508, n. 1.

⁴ See below, p. 521.

we reach the time of the events recorded in the *History of Sharvān*. The conversion of Ishkhānīq to orthodoxy was apparently a symptom of the growing influence of the Georgian neighbours, and it looks as if a radical change had taken place in the relations between Shakkī and Kakhetia. The latter seems to have absorbed the former, for in the *History of Sharvān* (under A.D. 1068) the title 'ruler of Shakkī' refers definitely to Aghsartan, ruler of Kakhetia.¹

§ 4. 'Īsā ibn-Iṣṭifānūs

It remains to say a few words about Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, whom we mentioned in the story of Bābak's extradition to Afshīn (year 837).² In the passage on his capture by Bugha (year 852), Ṭabarī calls him more explicitly 'Īsā b. Yūsuf b. ukht-Iṣṭifānūs, which apparently means a *nephew* of Iṣṭifānūs, born to Yūsuf of a sister of Iṣṭifānūs (less accurately *ibid.*, iii, 1228: 'Īsā b. Yūsuf b. Iṣṭifānūs). In fact, Moses Kalankatvats'i, ii, ch. 19, mentions 'Step'annos called Ablasad', who brought in Bābak against the 'Balakanians' (the people of Baylaqān?) and was killed in 828. The murderers, Davon and Shapuh, fortified themselves in Horoz and fought Bābak. For twelve years they ruled over a combination of districts of Arts'akh,³ until the dependants of Step'annos (?) murdered them and the 'peacefully minded' *nephew* of Step'annos, 'Isay, called Abu-Musē' recaptured the districts which Davon and Shapuh had seized and 'ruled over them all'. This is the man whom Ṭabarī calls 'Īsā ibn Iṣṭifānūs'. Step'annos brought in Bābak in 828; two years later Bābak defeated Ṭūsī and in the year after 'Abrahim, son of Let', see p. 509, note 4. In the same year Step'annos was murdered and for twelve years his murderers held his districts. According to these indications, 'Īsā's succession took place about 841, i.e. after the liquidation of Bābak, and he must have remained in power for another thirteen years.

Thomas Artsruni (iii, § 10, tr. pp. 145–150) relates how, after a disastrous campaign against the Ts'anar, Bugha marched to Albania, 'the major part of which was ruled by Abu-Musē, known as the priest's son'.⁴ Then he describes the heroic resistance of Abu-Musē and his 'Albanians' to the caliph's troops (reinforced by some Armenian princes). Abu-Musē was victorious in 28 skirmishes and the siege of his fortress Xtiš (Ṭabarī: كئيش *K.thīsh*) lasted a year. Abu-Musē wrote to the caliph protesting against the attack (and, probably, referring to his own services in 837) and the caliph sent him a safe-conduct. He then went to Bugha's camp and was sent to Mesopotamia. The

¹ See my *Studies*, p. 30, 66.

² Brosset did not know his filiation. Grousset, p. 364, note 2, wrongly calls him 'son of Aternarseh of Western Siunia'.

³ Verin-Vaykunik', Berdzor, (Lesser) Sisakan, Haband, Amaras, Pazkank', Mxank', and Tri, of which the latter belongs to the province of Utī, and the others to Arts'ax—all of them situated in the basin of the Kur (and not of the Araxes).

⁴ Brosset suspects this qualification of being a tentative *translation* of Arabic Abū-Mūsā, which is hardly possible.

pivotal rôle of Abu-Musē is shown by the fact that his surrender was followed by the deportation of eight other princes.

Abul-Asad Step'annos's origin is unknown, though the fact is interesting that he invoked Bābak's help against those of Balak (or Balakan). I am tempted to connect this name with Arabic *Baylaqān*, i.e. the town which lay in the present-day Mil steppe¹ on the road from Varthān (now Altan, on the southern bank of the Araxes) to Barda'a (Partav). It had a very mixed population, known for its turbulence.² I feel the strength of C. Dowsett's objection when he writes to me that 'it is rather unexpected to find an Arabic form of the name in Armenian, when they have their own P'aytakaran'. However, I am not quite convinced of the philological identity of P'aytakaran with *Baylaqān* (*Bēlākān*), of which the former is the name of the province and the latter primarily the name of the town (though occasionally referring to its district). A later source (Orbelian, ch. 33, tr. i, 96) presents the events in a slightly different form: 'the people of the district of Balasakan [*sic*] refused to obey Baban (i.e. Bābak) and, with the assistance of the Albanian (Aḷovan) Aplasad, he mercilessly devastated the district and massacred even women and innocent children.' Orbehan's *Balasakan* (?) is probably a mistake, though it points to the same direction. In fact Balāsajān must have lain in the Mūqān steppe and the *Armenian Geography* quotes it under P'aytakaran, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 120.

Coming now to Abū Mūsā 'Īsā himself, we have to admit that he was rather remote from any princely house. Though his mother was a sister of Step'annos, his father, whom Ṭabarī calls Yūsuf, seems to have been a priest (see above, Thomas, p. 145). As the point of his resistance to Bugha was Xtiš, it is interesting to quote Ṭabarī's parallel indication, iii, 1416 (year 238/852), that 'Īsā b. Yūsuf was 'in the castle of K.thīsh, belonging to the *kūra* of Baylaqān and standing at a distance of 10 farsakhs from Baylaqān and of 15 farsakhs from Barda'a. Bugha fought him and conquered (his) castle, and carried him off, together with his father and his son'. The distances given by Ṭabarī point definitely to the region of the present-day Shusha (Shushī). It is characteristic that the castle is placed in the district of Baylaqān. Finally, according to Mas'ūdī, ii, 75, the Araxes flows between the country of Bābak (namely the region of Badhdhayn, on the southern bank) and 'the mountain of Abū-Mūsā', who can be only our 'Īsā. Mas'ūdī's text seems to indicate that this mountain (*jabal*) bordered on the river.

These details suggest that the nucleus of Abul-Asad's and Abū-Mūsā's possessions³ was particularly connected with the south-eastern corner of Albania, namely with the region of the left bank of the Araxes, where this river debouches from its gorges into the plains.

¹ Its ruins are known as Mil-i Baylaqan.

² See Minorsky and Cl. Cahen in *Jour. As.*, 1949, No. 1, pp. 286-336.

³ The original fief of Ibn-Istifānūs might correspond to the still mysterious fief of *Khayzān/Jaydhān*, etc., referred to in I. Ḥauqal (see below, p. 525).

One further observation can be made. The tenor of Ṭabarī's narration might suggest that the castle of Sahl where Bābak went himself, and the dominions of Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, where he sent his brother, were contiguous. In his list of the deported notables, Ṭabarī, iii, 1416, quotes in the same breath Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs; Sunbāt b. Ashot called Abul-'Abbās al-Wāthī (?); Mu'āwiya b. Sahl b. Sunbāt, *batrīq* of Arrān; and Adhar-Narsē b. Ishaq al-Khāshini (*of Khachen).¹ Consequently, we should assume that Khachen² formed a special enclave, though perhaps under the influence of Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs. If the latter possessed all the territories enumerated in Moses Kalankatvats'i, the dominions of Sahl must have lain nearer to the basin of the Kur.

II. The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān in 344/955

- § 1. The Musāfirid Marzubān and the 'Iranian interlude'.
- § 2. The vazir 'Alī b. Ja'far.
- § 3. I. Ḥauqal's passages on the Caucasus.
- § 4. Commentary.
- § 5. Conclusions.

§ 1. *Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir* (A.D. 941-957)

Bābak's revolt in northern Azarbayjan (820-837) was one of the forerunners of a whole series of opposition movements which very soon, and especially in the following century, were to come to light on the Iranian plateau and its periphery.

For a long time, the attention of the historians (van Vloten, Wellhausen, Barthold) was attracted chiefly to 'Khorasan', until the publication of Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-Umam* projected a new light on the more westerly areas, whose destinies had remained somewhat hazy in Ibn al-Athīr's conscientious epitome. The title given by Amedroz and Margoliouth to their excellent edition of Miskawayh, namely 'The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate', still reflects the traditional engrossment with the centre of the Islamic theocracy, whereas, with a more generous allowance for ethnology, economics, and human nature, an historian should give more attention to the awakening of more ancient traditions and to the emergence of entirely new elements which sapped the fabric of the caliphate.

The Būyid period looks now considerably more clear³ and, in its wake, we distinguish a growth of other political formations which sprang up in Kurdistan,

¹ Cf. Thomas Artsruni, p. 133: Atrnerseh, prince of Aljank' > Arran.

² The river Khachen flows south of, and parallel to, the Terter on which stands Barda'a (Partav).

³ See now the 'Eclipse' with its annexes; Sayyid A. Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, 3 vols., 1928, 1929, 1930; Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, 1932; A. A. Dūri, *Studies in the economic life of Mesopotamia in the 10th century* (London University thesis, 1942) and its Arabic version *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq al-iqtisādī fil-qarn al-rābi' al-hijrī*, Baghdad, 1367/1948; A. Ateş, *Deylem in Islam Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 567-573; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 1952, pp. 100-6 (with a still insufficient appreciation of the 'Iranian interlude'). See also H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS.*, April, 1929, 226-245, and M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad* (356-447/967-1055) (London University thesis, 1953).

Azarbayjan, and Transcaucasia. Among them the minor star of the Musāfirids shone brightly for a short period. I have recently followed in the footsteps of my predecessors¹ to explore the further repercussions of the rise of this independent Daylamite dynasty² and, in the present instance, I wish to comment on an important document which has survived in the geographical work of Ibn Ḥauqal.³

It is a list of the tributaries of Marzubān ibn Muḥammad, with the amount of tribute they agreed to pay to Marzubān's treasury.

When, *circa* 330/941, Marzubān and his brother Vahsūdān imprisoned their father in the castle of Shisajān (Sisakān ?), Vahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Ṭarm (Tārom, on the middle course of the Safid-rūd), whereas Marzubān moved north and west into the area then controlled by the khārijite Kurd Daysam. Ardabil (in eastern Azarbayjan) became Marzubān's capital but he crossed the Araxes and penetrated deep into Transcaucasia. We know that the great centre of the former Muslim administration Barda'a (Partav) was in his hands, for here he sustained in 332/943 a prolonged attack by the Russians, so dramatically described in Miskawayh, ii, 62-7. We now know also that his Daylamite garrison was in occupation of the other great centre, Dvin (before 337/948), and that up to 360/971 Ganja (*Janza*) was administered by his representative al-Tāzī.⁴

Ibn Ḥauqal's list reveals the far-flung system of border principalities reduced to the position of tribute-payers. Thus, for a time, the ephemeral Musāfirid organization acquired the proportions of a very sizable body politic.

§ 2. *The vazir 'Alī ibn-Ja'far*

No doubt the preparation of numerous arrangements for the payment of tribute required a long series of diplomatic and financial negotiations, and the credit for this achievement is attributed by Ibn Ḥauqal to Abul-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ja'far, on whose career we possess some information.

According to I. Ḥauqal, he was first employed by the Sājīd Yūsuf. Then (Miskawayh, ii, 31) he passed into the service of the khārijite Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, one of Yūsuf's generals, who succeeded the Sājīds and occupied the stage of Azarbayjan between 326/937 and 344/955 (with considerable interruptions).⁵ Miskawayh reveals the interesting fact that 'Alī b. Ja'far

¹ See Huart, 'Les Musāfirides', in *A Volume to E. G. Browne*, 1922, pp. 228-256; Sayyid A. Kasrawī, loc. cit., i, 1307/1928; Minorsky, 'Musāfirids', in *E.I.*

² See my *Studies*, 1953, pp. 158-166.

³ His work was completed in 367/977. The chronology of his peregrinations, as indicated by himself, is desultory: see Barthold, in his Introduction to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 20; cf. also Barthold's repeated references to the fact that in 358/969 Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 282, less clear on pp. 14 and 281) was in Gurgān.

⁴ See my *Studies*, p. 38.

⁵ The father of Daysam was an associate of the well-known Khārijite rebel Hārūn al-Shāri and, after his death, fled to Azarbayjan, where he married the daughter of a Kurdish chief. See Miskawayh, ii, 32. The said Hārūn (whom I. Mu'tazz surnamed 'the caliph of the Bedouins and Kurds') was active between 272/885 and 283/896, when he was captured by the caliph Mu'ta'īd, see Ṭabarī, iii, 2109, 2141, 2149-2151. cf. M. Canard, *Histoire des Ḥamdānides*, i, 1951, pp. 308-311.

was a *bāṭinī* preacher, and this circumstance may explain the intrigues of his enemies while he was serving his khārijite lord. In fear of Daysam, 'Alī b. Ja'far fled to Tārom, under the protection of Muḥammad b. Musāfir. But he arrived at the moment when Muḥammad's sons, Marzubān and Vahsūdān, revolted against him and occupied his capital Samīrān. Miskawayh has recorded these events under 330/941–2. 'Alī b. Ja'far incited Marzubān to conquer Azarbayjan, and Marzubān followed the advice of the crafty refugee the more readily as he himself was a *bāṭinī*. He allowed his new vazir to preach his doctrines openly. 'Alī wrote letters to those of Daysam's supporters whom he knew to be disaffected and, when the ground was sufficiently prepared, Marzubān marched against Daysam. Daysam's army went over to Marzubān, or fled, and Daysam himself escaped under the protection of the Armenian (Artsruni) princes of Vaspurakan (near Lake Van).

Marzubān seized Azarbayjan, but his relations with his vazir were soon poisoned by intriguers who pointed particularly to 'Alī's wealth. To thwart their designs, 'Alī played on Marzubān's greed by promises to subdue the great city of Tabrīz¹, and Marzubān sent him there together with some of his generals. Once established in Tabrīz, 'Alī hastened to patch things up with his old master Daysam. At his request he incited the townsmen to exterminate the Daylamites whom Marzubān had sent with him, and when this plan succeeded, he went over to Daysam. Now Marzubān regretted his discord with his co-religionist 'Alī. He besieged Tabrīz and, in the meantime, began secret negotiations with 'Alī, invoking the community of their creed and offering him the post of vazir. 'Alī modestly asked for a guarantee of his life and property alone. Having obtained it, he escaped from Tabrīz, and Marzubān kept his word. Miskawayh reports on all these events (ii, 31–5) under the year 330/941–2 but does not subsequently mention 'Alī b. Ja'far.

Many events happened during the following fourteen years, and great disturbances followed on Marzubān's unsuccessful march on Rayy and his captivity (Miskawayh, ii, 115, under 337/948). During his imprisonment, Daysam reappeared in Azarbayjan and several other chiefs became independent. The Būyid of Rayy, Rukn al-daula, intervened in the affairs of Azarbayjan and in 339/951 sent there the well-known *dihqān* of Tūs, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq, who 'grew weary of Azarbayjan' and returned to Rayy in 342/953.²

Only in 342/953–4 did Marzubān escape from his prison (Miskawayh, ii, 149) and restore his position. Before he died in Ramadan 346/Dec. 957 (Miskawayh, ii, 166) we hear of his operations against some rebels in the neighbourhood of Bāb al-abwāb (Darband). 'He settled his affairs and conquered his enemy,' and then returned to Azarbayjan to deal with Daysam. The khārijite chief fled again to his Armenian friends of Vaspurakan, but the latter

¹ Which probably depended on the Rawwādī family, see my *Studies*, 158.

² Miskawayh, ii, 119, 132, 135–6, 148 (omitted in Margoliouth's index). This is the famous *dihqān* of Tūs for whom the *Book of Kings* was translated from the Pahlavi. Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma* is based on this translation.

broke faith and surrendered him to Marzubān who is said to have put him to death. All these events are related by Miskawayh (ii, 161) under 344/955-6, and this is precisely the year quoted in I. Ḥauqal's text. I. Ḥauqal refers even to Daysam's extradition.

It looks then likely that, after Marzubān's escape, 'Alī b. Ja'far was restored in his position as vazir, and that the settlement with the tributaries was connected with Marzubān's expedition towards al-Bāb and the liquidation of Daysam.

§ 3. *Passages on Armenia and the Caucasus from Ibn Ḥauqal's Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*

Ibn Ḥauqal's text is full of difficulties and on some points of the first passage which I quote (A.) I consulted the greatest living authority on Arabic, M. William Marçais, who most kindly has sent me its full translation into French. I have decided to incorporate it in my text, mindless of the disadvantages of such neighbourhood for my own translation of the passages which follow.

A. (Kramers, p. 343; de Goeje, p. 245): 'La ville (et région) de Dvin appartenait autrefois à Sembat b. Achot, roi de toute l'Arménie, comme elle avait appartenu à ses ancêtres. Elle ne cessa pas d'être au pouvoir des chefs de cette famille jusqu'à ce que Abul-Qāsim Yūsuf le Sājide la leur enleva et l'arracha à leur domination, alors qu'ils avaient par devers eux des pactes remontant au premier siècle de l'hégire, consacrant leur maintien dans l'état (où les avait trouvés la conquête arabe), et l'obligation de payer la *jizya* conformément aux clauses du covenant par eux contracté (*muqāta'āt*). Omayyades et Abbasides les avaient maintenus dans leurs résidences, et percevaient d'eux les diverses catégories de contributions (*rusūm*) qui leur étaient imposées (*jibāyāt*). Yūsuf s'attaqua à eux et fit d'eux l'objet de ses entreprises.¹ Depuis lors, leur bonne fortune² d'autrefois cessa et nul redressement d'étendard n'est intervenu pour elle (له = لعذرهم) jusqu'à l'heure présente. C'est la religion chrétienne qui domine en Arménie. Sur les deux parties de ce pays,³ l'état suzerain (*sultān*) perçoit annuellement ce qui peut être assimilé au *kharāj*. Les Arméniens aujourd'hui encore seraient donc⁴ sous le régime d'un pacte (*'ahd*) comme ils l'étaient antérieurement; mais d'un pacte, dont en réalité,

¹ Comp. I. Ḥauqal, p. 61, ll. 14-15: وقصدم العدو.

² I thought that *wa lā yufliḥ ba'du 'udhruhum* (عُذْرُهُمْ) could be improved as **ba'da ghadrihim* عَذْرُهُمْ with the meaning: 'and he (Yūsuf) did not prosper after his treachery towards them and no banner was raised to help him (*ilayhi*) until to-day' (Yūsuf died in 315/927). However, M. Marçais writes: 'Je crois que le mot *عذر* est à conserver. Il n'a pas ici le sens de "excuse" mais celui de "réussite, bonne fortune", les lexicographes le glossent par le mot *nujb*.'

³ See the next paragraph.

⁴ كذاهم théoriquement, du point de vue juridique.

les effets sont nuls, car les états voisins (*salāfīn*) les attaquent,¹ font parmi eux des captifs, les maltraitent, et foulent aux pieds le devoir de les protéger. Les captifs faits parmi eux ne pouvaient être mis en vente comme esclaves a Baghdad et j'ai connu cet état de choses jusqu'a l'année 325/936, personne n'admettant le trafic comme licite en raison de leur qualité bien établie de protégés et de la pluralité des pactes (غير عهد) dont ils étaient détenteurs.'

'There are two Armenias, one called Inner, and the other Outer. In some parts of the Outer Armenia Muslims have towns which are in their hands, and the Muslims have ruled over them without interruption, (though sometimes?) the Armenians have been holding leases. (Such towns) belong to the kings of Islam, as is the case in Arjish, Manāzjird, and Khilāt.² The frontiers of the Outer Armenia are clear, the frontier in the east reaching Bardha'a; in the west, the Jazīra; in the south, Azarbayjan; and in the north, the districts of the Rūm on the side of Qālīqalā. This latter used to be a great march in the middle of the Rūm country, (as against) the people of Azarbayjan, the Jibāl (Media) and Rayy etc. And this is the city (capital) of the Inner (Armenia). It has (already) been stated that there are two Armenias, and the Inner Armenia consists of Dabīl (Dvin), Nashawā (Nakhchavan), Qālīqalā and what follows it in the north, whereas the Outer Armenia consists of Bergri, Khilāt, Arjish, Wasṭān, al-Zawazān (Andzavatsik'), and the places, fortresses, districts, and provinces lying between them. (P. 344) And their access to the sea is at Trebizond . . .'

B. (K., 348, G., 250): 'There used to be imposed on most of these kings some sort of tribute (*darā'ib*) and additional (contributions), which every year were carried to the king of Azarbayjan—regularly (*sahlatan*), without interruption or hindrance—all of them (i.e. the Armenian kings) obeying him who was ruling (over Azarbayjan) and securing its prosperity.³

'Ibn Abil-Sāj contented himself now with a little, and now with a minimum by way of presents (*hadiya*) from them.⁴ But when this region (*mamlaka*) fell to the lot of Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir, known as Sallār, he instituted in it revenue offices (*dīwān*), surveys (*ḡānūn*), and the additional levies (*lawāzim*), while he discussed (*yukhātib*) (the details of) "douceurs" (*marāfiq*), supplementary sums (*tawābi'*) and arrears.

'1. And the greatest of the kings (*malik*) of the region, so far as I could ascertain,⁵ is the sharvānshāh MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ.

'2. After him (geographically?) comes the king of LĀYZĀN, whose kingdom is adjacent to some part of Mt. Qabq, and his districts are known as Layzān-shāh [*sic*].

¹ J'ai eu un instant l'idée de lire تُطَيَّرُ فِهِم (avec ف): 'leur font des invasions sur les bords de leur territoire' (de même تَحْيِفُ originairement a le sens de 'ronger sur les bords') mais *tafarrāqa* 'attaquer, envahir' est connu; et quant à *tatafarrāqa* > *tafarrāqu* 'attaquer, envahir' il est courant: *frāran min ta'āqub al-mithlayn*. c'est à dire 'par dissimulation'.

² On the Arab families settled north of Lake Van and belonging to the Qays tribe (with the exception of Bergri, which was originally held by the family of a certain 'Othmān, see Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 299-304, 501-8.

³ De Goeje, 250, adds 'the lords of these districts, who were kings of the marches (*afrāf*), were obeying the king (*malik*) of Azarbayjan, Armenia, and the two Arrāns'.

⁴ This is strange in comparison with the earlier passage, p. 517.

⁵ De Goeje omits this limitation, which might suggest that I. Ḥauqal did not visit the region.

‘3. After him follows¹ the ŞANĀRIAN, known as Sanḥārīb, who is a Christian by religion, similarly to

4. IBN AL-DAYRĀNĪ, the lord of al-Zawazān (Andzavatsik‘), Van, and Wastān.

‘I shall explain the rank of each of these (kings or kingdoms), while mentioning what his obligations are and what is (additionally) imposed on him, by way of taxes in money (*māl*), tribute (*darība*), and presents—when (the time comes to explain) the revenue (*irtifā‘*) of the (whole) region, and when I have finished with the distances and (general) conditions.’

C. (K. 350, G. 252) . . . ‘The road from Bardha‘a (de Goeje : *Barzanj*) to Dabil crosses Armenia,² and all the villages and towns on this stretch belong to the kingdom of the Armenian Sunbāt b. Ashōt, which was taken away from him by Yūsuf ibn Abil-Sāj (de Goeje : *Ibn Dīvdād*) by treachery and oppression, and contrary to the (commands) of God and his prophet which say . . . [Kramers’ edition quotes here the traditions concerning the strict duty of the Muslims to protect the *dhimmīs*].’

D. (K. 354, G. 254) : ‘As regards the situation obtaining (in Armenia)—so far as I could ascertain—its contributions (*jibāyāt*) and the tributes imposed on the (vassal) kings of the marches (*mulūk al-aṭrāf*), clearly explain the position of the region and point to the correctness of its description. Although at times (the tribute) increased or decreased, the average of what was contributed and the highest standard of what was levied from (the region) in the year 344/955, by virtue of the agreements (*muwāqafāt*) which Abul-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, (a former) steward (*ṣāhib al-zimām*) of Abul-Qāsim Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj—effected on behalf of Marzubān b. Muḥammad, whose vazir he (later) was, were as follows :—

‘1. He (Marzubān) agreed with MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ, lord of SHARVĀN-SHĀH [*sic*] and its king, for a payment of 1,000,000 dirhams.

‘2. *IŠHKHĀNĪQ,³ lord of SHAKKĪ, known as Abū ‘Abd al-Malik, also entered (*dakhala*) into an agreement with him.

‘3. He agreed with SANḤĀRĪB, known as IBN-SAWĀDA, lord of AL-RUB‘ (?), for a sum of 300,000 dirhams, *plus* some additional offerings (*altāf*).

‘4. (Similarly) the lord of Jurz (?), VASHAQĀN (Vach‘agan ?) B. MŪSĀ—200,000 dirhams.

‘5. He agreed with ABUL-QĀSIM AL-WAYZŪRĪ, lord of Wayzūr (*Vayots‘-dzor) for 50,000 dīnārs *plus* offerings.

‘6. (Similarly) ABUL-HAYJĀ B. RAWWĀD, from his districts in Ahr and Varzuqān—50,000 dīnārs *plus* offerings.

‘7. (Similarly) ABUL-QĀSIM AL-JYDHĀNĪ from his districts and (on account of) the arrears (*baqāyā*) due from them—400,000 dirhams, but he wanted (this sum) to be diminished and was importunate in (his) begging; therefore, in spiteful reaction (*tabarrum*) to his behaviour, the sum was increased by another 300,000 dirhams *plus* 100 cuts of Rūmī brocade.

¹ Instead of إليه I read *بليه.

² In fact, Muqaddasi, 382, describes the road from Barda‘a to Dabil across the Arrānian highlands (via Qalqātūs—i.e. Kalankatuk‘, the birthplace of the historian of Albania—M. tris, D. mis, and Kilkūni, i.e. Gelak‘uni). On Smbat’s expansion, see Grousset, loc. cit., 401, 419, but I.Ḥ. exaggerates his power, for since 893 the kingdom of Albania was restored under Hamam (see Asolik (Macler), iii, ch. 3), and in Siunia Smbat met with resistance, see Grousset, loc. cit., 421.

³ Spelt : *ishjāniq*; already de Goeje suggested *Ishkhāniq*.

' 8. He (Marzubān) bound over (*alzama*) the sons of AL-DAYRĀNĪ to pay according to the (previously) agreed (sum), 100,000 dirhams yearly, but exempted them from the payment for four years, in recompense for their having surrendered to him Daysam b. Shādhliya, who had sought their protection but whom they betrayed.

' 9. He agreed with the sons of SUNBĀṬ, with regard to their districts in INNER ARMENIA, for 2,000,000 dirhams (p. 355) but afterwards remitted 200,000 dirhams.

' 10. He agreed with SANHĀRĪB, lord of KHACHEN, for 100,000 dirhams, *plus* offerings and horses (to the value of) 50,000 dirhams.

' The tributes in gold and silver, with supplements (*tawābi'*) and offerings consisting of mules, horses, and ornaments (*hulūyy*) amounted to 10,000,000 dirhams.

' And the *kharāj* of the whole of Azarbayjan, Armenia and the two Arrāns, with their environs (*hawālī*),¹ together with the amounts of their taxes (reading *wa wujūh amwālīhā*) and the "douceurs", amounted to 500,000 dinars.

' This is all that I have learned concerning the situation, and on which I had reports and statements, as much as my opportunities admitted and my understanding encompassed.'

§ 4. Commentary

As is known, Ibn Ḥauqal had undertaken to revise Iṣṭakhri's book, but in his chapter on Armenia, Arrān, and Azarbayjan only the details on the towns and distances follow those of his predecessor. For the rest, the chapter is brought up to date and is based on entirely new material.²

It is doubtful whether Ibn Ḥauqal himself penetrated deep to the north of the Araxes.³ At the end of his chapter he refers to the *akhbār* 'reports' which he used. There is no doubt that these reports were of different dates and reflected different situations. In his description of the great market-centre Kūrsara (between Marāgha and Miyāna) he refers (K. 352) to what he heard from the 'master of the merchants of Azarbayjan Abū-Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān of Shīz and Marāgha' on the days of Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj. The curious pro-Armenian leanings noticeable in I. Ḥauqal's text may be due to this source of his information. However, the severity of Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj towards the Armenians in passages **A.** and **C.** (which may date back to Yūsuf's time) is in contradiction with his financial clemency described in passage **B.** The names of the principal Transcaucasian rulers (passage **B.**) do not tally with those in the list of Marzubān's vassals (passage **D.**).⁴

¹ Perhaps **jawālī*, a term which I.H., 216, substitutes to *jizya* used by Iṣṭakhri, 156, in the corresponding passage on Fars.

² For comparison with the first passage of our translation I shall quote Iṣṭakhri, 188: '(In Armenia there ruled) Sunbāt b. Ashōt, and (Armenia) never ceased to remain in the hands of the seniors (*kubarā*) from among the Christians and these prevail (*ghālib*) over (among ?) the inhabitants of Armenia.' Only isolated words of Iṣṭakhri have survived in Ibn Ḥauqal's expanded and original report (cf. K. 343).

³ He certainly visited the environs of Mt. Sabalan (near Ardabil), p. 249 (347).

⁴ In (**B.**) *Sharvān-shāh* is the prince and in (**D.**) his principality. Lāyẓān is the present-day Lāhijān (west of Sharvān proper). According to the *History of Sharvān*, the Lāyẓān branch of the Yazīdī family had dispossessed the branch of Sharvān by 304/916; cf. Mas'ūdī, ii, 5, and it is characteristic that in (**D.**) (referring to 344/955) Lāyẓān is no more mentioned. The Sanhārīb of Ṣanāriya also seems different from the two Sanhārīb in Marzubān's list.

As regards the list of Marzubān's tributaries (D.), it cannot be taken for an original document from Marzubān's chancery; more probably someone versed in local affairs dictated the details of various financial agreements from memory. This would explain certain misunderstandings and omissions in our text, without detracting from the importance of this valuable estimate.

The list¹ presents numerous difficulties; the readings of some names are uncertain and the Christian tributaries are referred to with the current Arabic *kunya*, which disguise their identities and make it difficult to identify them with the persons known from Armenian sources.

1. The subjugation of SHARVĀN was a major achievement of Marzubān, by which his treasury secured a contribution second only to that promised by the Bagratids (see point 9.). *Sharvān* is the usual designation of the territory lying to the north of the Kur, which only in the 15th–16th century was renamed *Shīrvān*. The mistake (in D.) about *Sharvān-shāh* being the name of the kingdom and not of the king also occurs in Mas'ūdī, ii, 69. The prince who was ruling in Sharvān in 344/955 was Muḥammad b. Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad (337–345/948–956),² and he was succeeded by his son Aḥmad (345–370/956–981).

The ancient *History of Sharvān* (§ 9)³ mentions the invasion of Sharvān by the Daylamites under Muḥammad's father Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad, some time between 334/944 and 337/948, and he is said to have expelled them and made a peace and an alliance with them. Another invasion of Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān took place *circa* 357/968, when Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had to make peace with the attacker and offer him money. Consequently, the arrangement referred to by I. Ḥauqal *may* have been the result of the first invasion, but it seems to have been concluded under Muḥammad b. Yazīd, and possibly renewed under his son Aḥmad. The name in I. Ḥauqal (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad) does not fit into the detailed genealogy of the *sharvān-shāhs*, and more particularly the tribal appurtenance of the dynasty is wrong, for it should be *Shaybānī*, instead of *Azdī*. The latter may be a mistake for **Yazīdī*, as the family was generally known.⁴ This might be an instance of the mistakes resulting from dictation.

2. SHAKKĪ. Instead of the form اسحاس Ashās given in the first edition of I. Ḥauqal (de Goeje), the better manuscript used by Kramers in the second edition gives *Ishjānīq*, which can be easily restored as **Ishkhānīq*—a good Armenian name. His Arabic *kunya* Abū 'Abd al-Malik is of no importance for his nationality, in view of the general onomastic fashion of the age. The name does not fit into Mas'ūdī's indication (ii, 18) that, practically at the same time, the ruler of Shakkī was called Ādhar-Narsē.

The text is somewhat misleading. As the words *اشخانيق * مواافته*

¹ Translated into modern Persian and partly commented upon by Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, i, 101. Cf. also Krimsky, *Sheki*, pp. 377–8.

² According to Mas'ūdī, ii, 5, Muḥammad b. Yazīd was ruling already in 332/943.

³ See above, p. 508, n. 4.

⁴ Even their capital was called Yazīdiya.

follow immediately after the words *فواقف... صاحب شروان شاه*, one might be tempted to explain the passage as indicating that Ishkhānīq was a party to the agreement concluded with the *sharvānshāh*. This interpretation¹ is impossible for, as we now know from the *History of Sharvān*, Shakkī, separated from Sharvān by Qabala, was independent of Sharvān, and needed a special arrangement. Therefore the words *wa dakhala fī muwāqafatihī* are only a modified formula of *wa-wāqafa*, and the personal pronoun ('his agreement') must refer again to Marzubān. Consequently the sum of Ishkhānīq's contribution was left blank.

As shown by the *History of Sharvān*,² the contemporary use of the term *Shakkī* was vague. Following the vicissitudes of local struggles, it covered even some territories of Kakhetia. Moreover, the special territory of Heret'i, lying between Shakkī proper and Kakhetia, was not clearly distinguished by the Muslims.³

The name Ishkhānīq, as connected with Shakkī, evokes the memory of the prince Iṣṣanik of Heret'i, who was a contemporary of Marzubān (see above, p. 511).

3. The name of SANḤĀRĪB IBN SAWĀDA coincides with that of a Christian prince who must have lived about the middle of the 10th century.

The old pre-Islamic dynasty of Mihran which was ruling in Arrān (ancient *Albania*, Armenian *Alvank'*) came to an end with prince Varaz-Trdat, who, together with his infant son, was assassinated in 822 by (his relative?) Nerseh P'ilippean. His widow took her daughter Spram to Khachen, where she married her to Atr-Narseh, son of Sahl (read: **Sahak*, as suggested by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 457). According to the local historian Moses Kalankatvats'i, the offspring of this couple took up the succession of the Mihranids. In the fifth generation, we meet Hovhannes, called Senek'erim, son of Iṣṣan-Savada, through whom, according to Moses, God wished to restore the long extinct kingship. 'The king of Persia conferred upon him great honours, gave him the crown of his own (?) father and his (?) steed. In the same year the Greek *magistros*, David, sent him the royal crown and a sumptuous purple . . .' The period of 131 years (from A.D. 822 to 953) is not too short for five generations, and it looks as if the 'king of Persia' who honoured Sanḥārīb was precisely Marzubān, who used favours in exchange for tribute.

If the coincidence of the names guarantees the identification of the prince, the name of his kingdom remains a puzzle. *الربع* (with the Arabic article) looks like **Rub'* 'a quarter', or **Rab'* 'a territory, a custom-house'⁴ (see

¹ Accepted by A. E. Krinsky, and apparently by Spuler, *Iran in früh-islam. Zeit*, 467.

² See my *Studies*, p. 32, and the chapter on Sharvān. Cf. my article 'Shakkī', in *E.I.*

³ Except perhaps in an addition to Iṣṣakhri's text, 193a; see my commentary in *Hudūd*, p. 402.

⁴ The term *rub'* (plural *arbā'*), as a territorial unit, is used by Ibn Rusta, 171, who says that Nishāpūr has thirteen *rustāqs* and four *arbā'*, as against Muqaddasī, 300, who counts twelve *rustāqs* and four *khānāt*; cf. *Hudūd*, § 23, 1, and p. 325. [However, *rub'* can refer to the quarters of the town.]

de Goeje, iv, 224), but the bare skeleton of the name admits of manifold readings (*Rīgh*, *R.n.gh*, *Zīgh*, *Z.n.gh*). The same name occurs only in one other source, namely in Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil's 'Second *risāla*'.¹ This traveller (§ 15) reports that, on his way from Tiflis to Ardabil, he visited 'the mountains of Wayzūr, Qabān, Khājīn, الربع حندان and the two Badhdh'. With the exception of the last name, all the other names seem to refer to the highlands of Arrān separating the Kur from the Araxes.

Abū-Dulaf must have travelled *circa* A.D. 950 and this increases the interest of his evidence.

My first idea was to compare الربع with the name of the capital of Arrān برذعه (variant بردع, see Iṣṭakhri, 182, note g). Abū-Dulaf could have copied the name from the same source, but, in all probability, his *risāla* was written before I. Ḥauqal had completed his work (in 367/977). We know, however, that at the time of the Russian invasion, in 332/943-4, Barda'a was governed by Marzubān's representative (Miskawayh, ii, 62), and it is unlikely that Marzubān would have left this key-town in the hands of a rather insignificant prince like Senek'erim.²

According to the historian Moses, Spram married 'Atr-narseh, son of Sahl (read: *Sahak?), lord of Siunia, who had seized by force the canton of Geḷam',³ and whose residence was Tohak. In the record of the deportation of Armenian princes to Mesopotamia, Ṭabarī (III/2, 1416: under 238/852) mentions 'Ādhar-Narsē b. Ishaq [*sic*] al-Khāshīnī', and thus connects Senek'erim's putative ancestor with Khachen (see below, 10), but Ādhar-Narsē (and his family) may have still retained the region of Geḷam (Lake Sevan). For Moses, too, the restoration of the kingdom under Senek'erim may have taken place in the *dynastic*, and not in the *geographical* sense, and this would leave us some latitude in identifying the territory of Senek'erim. Abū-Dulaf—if he can be trusted—refers to الربع separately from Khājīn (Khachen), and, in this case, Senek'erim's fief might be looked for in Geḷam, though the final identification of **al-Rub*' should be left to the Armenian scholars on the spot (see also below, under 10.).

4. In the first edition of I. Ḥauqal, 254, there stood وصاحب جرزان وسغیان موسى, and in my article 'Musāfirī' in *E.I.* I took **Jurzān wa Saḡhīyān* for

¹ Which at this moment I am publishing in Cairo after the unique MS. of the Mashhad sanctuary.

² Unless he was an entirely subjected ruler, with some independence in local and internal affairs. [Cf. *al-rab*' 'a custom-house'.]

³ Brosset, in his notes to Orbelian, ii, 24, contests his appurtenance to Siunia and prefers to take him for a scion of the Albanian house who encroached on the territory of Siunia ('*profita de quelque bonne occasion pour se caser en Siounie*'). Brosset's surmise suits well the illuminating identification of Ādhar-Narsē Khāshīnī by Marquart. Moses himself is silent on the appurtenance of Khachen, but even if Spram's marriage was arranged with a prince *outside* Khachen, it is possible to imagine that, *after* the marriage, Khachen—undoubtedly friendly to the Mihranids—was included in the dominions of Spram and her husband.

the villages Gurzivān and Saghiyān (?), lying to the west of Shamākhī. However, the designation of the prince as 'Ibn-Mūsā', without his personal name, would be strange. The second edition gives *وصاحب جزر وشقان بن موسى*, which suggests the reading *VASHAQĀN B. MŪSĀ, i.e. probably *Vač'agan*, a name popular among the princes of Arrān.¹ But what of *J.rz* (which de Goeje restored as **J.rzān*)? Normally it would refer to Georgia (*Jurz*) but Marzubān never penetrated so far as Georgia, and **Vač'agan* is a non-Georgian name. As a mere surmise, one might think in our case not of *جزر* but of **خزر* though not in its direct sense of the Khazar kingdom, but in the local use, as applied to the town of QABALA lying between Sharvān (*v.s.* 1.) and Shakkī (*v.s.* 2.). This was a place where Khazars were probably settled, for Balādhuri (194) says *wa madīna Qabala wa-hiya al-Khazar*.² This suggestion is purely tentative, but it would be strange if Qabala, mentioned by Mas'ūdī (ii, 68) as a separate principality, were unrepresented in I. Ḥauqal's document.

Mas'ūdī calls the prince of Qabala 'Anbasa-the-One-Eyed and the *History of Sharvān* refers to his son Ibn-'Anbasa. 'Anbasa ('the lion') is definitely only a nick-name, and the corollary of our surmise would be that his real name was **Vač'agan*, son of Mūsā, and that in some way he was connected with the princes of Arrān.

5. With Wayzūr we are on firm ground, for it is a usual Arabic form for the basin of the 'Lower Arpa-chay', which in Armenian was called VAYOTS'-DZOR (Const. Porphyrogenitus *Βαιτζώρ*: see Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, No. 111). About the middle of the 10th century its ruler was definitely connected with the Musāfirids (see my *Studies*, pp. 36, 69-70, where I suggest tentatively his identity with Vasak, son of Smbat, of the local Armenian dynasty of SIUNIA). For purposes of identification, the *kunya* Abul-Qāsin is worthless.

6. ABUL-HAYJĀ b. RAWWĀD is a well-known member of the originally Arab, and later Kurdicized, family, which, after the eclipse of the Musāfirids (*circa* 373/983), became the leading dynasty in Azarbayjan down to the Seljuk invasion.³ The capital of the Rawwādids was Tabrīz, but the early fief of the family comprised Ahr, and Ya'qūbī (*History*, pp. 446-7) avers that the governor Yazīd al-Muhallabī (about the middle of the 8th century A.D.) allotted to Rawwād b. al-Muthannā al-Azdī a tract of territory stretching from Tabrīz to al-Badhdh. The latter place, known as the residence of Bābak, lay in the

¹ This restoration was already proposed by Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, 1818, i, 231. He thought that this *Vač'agan* might be the son of the rebellious governor of Uti against whom Ashōt II, son of Smbat, led an expedition in 922. cf. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 451. St. Martin leaves, however, the name *Jurz/Khazar* in the air.

² According to the newly discovered Arabic text of Ibn A'tham, Jarrāh (appointed by Yazīd II, 101-5/720-4) reduced the people of *M.rghūma* (Tarqi?) and moved its population to the village of Ghassāniya in the rustāq of Qabala (see A. N. Kurat, in *Ankara Univer. D.T.C. fakult. dergisi*, 1949, p. 269).

³ See my *Studies*, p. 167.

neighbourhood of Mt. Hashtād-sar, on the eastern ridge of Qaraja-dagh, and Ahr (even now the capital of Qaraja-dagh) was certainly within this zone. The village of Varzaqān (Varzuqān) lies some 35 km. higher up on the river of Ahar.

7. The case of ABUL-QĀSIM JYDHĀNĪ (الجيداني) is similar to that recorded under 3. The other manuscript gives الجنداني (*J.ndānī*), which de Goeje restored as الحيزاني (**Khayzānī*). Abū-Dulaf undoubtedly refers to the same place under the name of حندان *H.ndān*, though this part of his report is still subject to caution. In most of the early Islamic writers, خيزان (Balādhuri, 204, 206-7), جيدان (Mas'ūdī, ii, 7) and similar forms stand for خيداق *Khaydāq*, a Daghestanian people living immediately north of Darband. It is true that, under 344/955, Miskawayh (ii, 161) refers to some operations conducted by Marzubān 'in the region of al-Bāb (i.e. Darband)', but it is highly improbable that he could have reduced to vassalage a people beyond the 'gate' of Darband.

To the south of the Caucasian range, the existence of a *Khayzān* (*Jidān*, *Jandān*?) is implied by I. Khurdādhbih (123-4), who tries to locate the story of Moses and the prophet Khidr (*Qor'ān*, xviii, 59-81) in Sharvān: 'that rock is the rock of Sharvān, that sea is the sea of Gīlān; that village is the village of Bājarvān¹; and when they met the young man and he (Khidr) killed him, it was in the village of *Khayzān* (var. حيران, *Yāqūt*, iii, 252, جيزان)'. (Cf. also *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 90: *Khayzān*, *Chandān*.) The rock in question is possibly Besh-barmaq (standing some 70 km. north-west of Baku in the coastal region), near which lies the village of Khidr-Zinda.² A short distance to the west lies a village called Khizi, and one might compare this name with **Khayzān*, *Khizān*. Nothing, however, is known of a sizable principality having ever existed in that region in Islamic times.

On the other hand, in Abū-Dulaf's itinerary, حندان (which could easily be a mis-spelling of the name quoted by Ibn Ḥauqal) comes between Khachen and Bābak's capital al-Badhdhayn³ and, provided the itinerary is not a fake, this place might be looked for on the left bank of the Araxes, somewhere in the present district of Jibrail.⁴

8. The 'sons of al-Dayrānī' are the rulers of VASPURAKAN (the region of

¹ Bājarvān 'the bazaar place' is a common name. The best known Bājarvān lay south of the Araxes on the way to Ardabil, but the legend may have in view some different place, nearer to Sharvān. The starting point for the strange location is the term *majma' al-bahrayn* (*Qor'ān*, xviii, 59), 'the junction of the two seas, or rivers,' which the sages took to be the confluence of the Kur and Araxes, see I. Khurd., 175. Cf. Minorsky, *Mūkān* in *E.I.* (Supplement).

² This is a conspicuous landmark, and in 1948 a Latin inscription of Legio XII Fulminata was found in the same neighbourhood. See *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1950, No. 1, p. 177.

³ Which stood south of the Araxes, near Mt. Hashtād-sar (between the districts Hōrānd, Kalaybar, and Garmādūz).

⁴ Circa A.D. 835 we hear of a Christian prince in this region called 'Isā b. Yūsuf (or Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, because his mother was a sister of Iṣṭifānūs). On him and his dominions see above, p. 512, but I have not been able to trace his succession.

Van) of the Artsruni family. In 344/955 the ruling prince was Abū-Sahl Hamazasp (953–972), who succeeded his brother Derenik Ashot (937–953). Both were grandsons of Grigor Derenik (in Arabic *al-Dayrānī*) (874–886). The reference to the circumstances in which Daysam was extradited is a welcome detail in favour of I. Ḥauqal's accuracy.

9. The 'sons of Sunbāt' are certainly the ARMENIAN BAGRATIDS of Ani. Ibn Ḥauqal himself (passages **A.** and **C.**) refers to Smbat-the-Martyr (890–914), whose grandson Ashot the Merciful (*Olormadz*) was ruler in 952–977. The sum which the Bagratids agreed to pay, and which was lowered by 10 per cent of the amount originally stipulated, was most probably only security money which the Bagratids paid to ward off Daylamite inroads. From the *History of Sharvān* (see my *Studies*, pp. 10–11) we know that Marzubān kept a Daylamite garrison in Dvin and that Ashot made an unsuccessful attempt to take the town.

10. *Khājīn* is a good transcription of KHACHEN (Arm. *Xaç'enk'*), independent from Ṭabarī, who calls it *Khāshin*.

Professor I. A. Orbeli¹ writes that the old principality of Siunik' collapsed in 1166. 'At this time begins the elevation of the small principality of Arts'ax, or Xaç'en. This latter name was possibly derived from the name of a fortress. The centre of the principality, which was apparently a part of the ancient Albania (Alvank'), was the basin of the Xaç'ena-jur (now Khachin-chay) and partly that of the T'art'ar (now Terter). This region belongs to the territory of the present-day district of Javanshir. In the present state of the historical geography of Armenia, it is almost impossible to indicate its frontiers, because, in the course of almost perpetual wars, the frontiers were moved very often.'

To this statement one has to add that the Islamic sources clearly hint at the existence of a special fief-holder of Khachen already in the 10th century.

Under 3. we have discussed the identity of Sanḥārīb, son of Sawāda, whose characteristic name is a strong clue to his identity. We know that the widow of the last Mihranid married her daughter Spram to the ancestor of Sanḥārīb in Khachen. He is said to have been of the branch of the Siunian (?) house and to have seized Geḷam, but Khachen apparently also belonged to him.² And yet in 10. we hear of another (?) Sanḥārīb of Khachen who paid a smaller sum of tribute to Marzubān. One is tempted to assume that I. Ḥauqal, in his hurriedly taken notes (cf. 1.), reported twice on the same prince. In view of the difference in the tribute, one might surmise that one single tributary was paying for two different fiefs (Geḷam (?) and Khachen).

The inclusion of horses in the tribute of Khachen must be connected with the excellence of the Qarabagh breed. In the 13th century the husband of Queen T'amar of Georgia, David Soslan, gave the fortress of Jarmanam and one village for a steed which he acquired from Vakhtang of Khachen (see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 441).

¹ In his article 'Hasan Jalal, knyaz Khachensky', in *Izvestiya Imper. Akad. nauk*, 1909, p. 405.

² Unless he happened to be there on a visit at the time of his bride's arrival. See above, p. 522.

§ 5. *Conclusions*(A) *Technical Terms.*

The technicalities of Islamic taxation are still insufficiently known and the translation of the financial terms used by I. Ḥauqal can be only tentative. I have quoted the original terms used by I. Ḥauqal and for their translation I have used the experience of the editors of similar texts (de Goeje's index to *B.G.A.*, iv; index to Ṭabari; the list of terms quoted by Amedroz in his edition of Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Kitāb al-wuzarā*).

- (a) *alẓama*—'solvere coegit, solvendum imposuit' (Ṭabari).
- (b) *amwāl*—'revenue (probably in cash)'; de Goeje, iv, 357: 'reditus'.
- (c) *altāf*—'offerings, douceurs'.
- (d) *darība*—according to de Goeje, iv, 285, is not properly 'revenue' (reditus) but rather 'tribute', because it can be paid in various ways—for example, in customs duties ('de variis rebus solvitur, speciatim portorium').
- (e) *divān*—'revenue office'.
- (f) *jibāyāt*—de Goeje, iv, 202, suggests 'tributum non canonicum', and Ṭabari: *jabā, ijtabā* 'tributum exegit'. I translate the term by a less definite 'contributions'.
- (g) *jizya* is the poll-tax paid by non-Muslims, and its amount was apparently fixed by special agreements expressed in leases (see below *muqāṭa'āt*).
- (h) *lawāzim*—'additional levies'; de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, iii, 348: 'varia alia tributa'.
- (i) *muqāṭa'a*—'a lease', by which the suzerain confirms someone in his principality, subject to the yearly payment of the poll-tax; de Goeje, iii, 329: 'pactum cum aliquo inuit, quo concedit ei principatum suae regionis servare, conditione ut quotannis censum capitatis sive aliud tributum solveret'. I do not think that in our case the term is used in the strictly technical sense, as in I.H., 216 (K. 302): *al-qawānīn allātī hiya al-muqāṭa'āt*, meaning 'a fixed sum of taxes evaluated according to a standard value ('ibra) per lunar year'. Cf. Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqṭā'*, in *Annales* (L. Febvre), 1953, pp. 29 and 46, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 1953, p. 33.
- (j) *marāfiq*—'douceurs'; de Goeje, iv, 349: 'emolumenta, tributa diversa non canonica'.
- (k) *muwāqafāt*—(restored by Kramers, possibly following Dozy, instead of *muwāfaqāt*) has a meaning similar to *muqāṭa'āt*, though the latter seems to stress the element of investiture, whereas the former stresses the financial conditions established by the parties.
- (l) *rusūm* seems to be used in the sense of the sums usually collected, 'dues'. De Goeje, iv, 246, equates it with 'tribute'.
- (m) *qānūn*—'survey of landed property and revenue based on it'; de Goeje, vi, 333: 'census soli si quotannis fixa pecuniae summa solvenda est'.
- (n) *tawābi*—'supplements'. Ṭabari: *tawābi' al-kharāj* 'incrementa tributi, quod at tributum accedit'. Possibly also the percentage added for the benefit of the agents collecting the tribute (*mu'āmara*, Hilāl).

(B) *Amount of Payments.*

Only for Vaspurakan does I. Ḥauqal clearly explain that the tribute was paid every year but, as admitted by de Goeje, the payment of all the tributes

was also on an annual basis. Converting the dinars (quoted under Vayots-Dzor and Ahr) into dirhams (at the rate of 1 dinar = 15 dirhams, see Qudāma, 249)¹ we have:—

Sharvān ²	. . .	1,000,000
Shakkī	. . .	?
al-Rub'	. . .	300,000
Qabala (?)	. . .	200,000
Vayots-Dzor	. . .	500,000
Ahr and Varzaqān	. . .	750,000
Jaydhān (Khayzān ?)	. . .	750,000
Vaspurakan	. . .	100,000
Bagratids	. . .	2,000,000
Khachen	. . .	100,000
		5,750,000 dirhams ³

Even with the lacuna of Shakkī and the addition of the occasional offerings, we are very far from 10 m. dirhams, which I. Ḥauqal gives as the total of Marzubān's revenue. It is possible then that the list of the tributaries is not quite complete, or that it includes the *kharāj* paid by his direct subjects. My final impression is that the amount of 'tributes' should be separated from the amount of the *kharāj*.

As regards the '*kharāj* for Arrān, Armenia, and Azarbayjan', evaluated at 500,000 dinars (i.e. 7·5 m. dirhams), this item added at the end of passage D. seems to refer to the time when the three provinces were ruled by governors appointed directly from Baghdad.

According to Qudāma, the average revenue (*irtifā'*) of Azarbayjan⁴ was 4·5 m. dirhams, and of Armenia (including Arrān)⁵ 4 m. dirhams—totalling 8·5 m. dirhams, a sum approaching that of I. Ḥauqal. Qudāma is supposed to have composed his book shortly after 316/928 (see de Goeje's Preface, p. x) but, according to von Kremer, his data go back to a much earlier time (*circa* 204/819),⁶ and the well-known later budget (of 306/918) gives an

¹ Also Miskawayh, ii, 34, for the year 332/943; I. Ḥauqal, 146 (K. 218), for the year 358/968. cf. A. Dūri, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, 222.

² Malik-shah (1072–1092) tried to obtain from the sharvan-shah Fariburz 70,000 dinars, but the contribution gradually dwindled to 40,000, see Bundārī, 140. According to Nasawī, 160, 175, the original sum was 100,000 dinars, but in 622/1225 the khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-dīn requested the sharvān-shāh to pay 50,000, and then further reduced this sum by 20,000 dinars. The real value of these nominal sums is difficult to ascertain in view of the silver crisis of the 12th century, see E. Pakhomov, *Monetī Gruzii*, 1910, pp. 79, 118.

³ According to Barthold's estimate of 4 dirhams = 1 rouble, this would give 1,437,500 roubles, or over £140,000 (at the pre-1914 rates).

⁴ Qudāma, 244, enumerates its provinces: Ardabil, Jābarvān (apparently the region to the south of Lake Urmīya) and Warthān (on the Araxes), adding that its capital is Bardha'a. Ya'qūbī, in his Geography, *BGA.*, vii, 274, puts the *kharāj* of Azarbayjan at 4 m. dirhams.

⁵ Qudāma, 246, enumerates its provinces: Jurzān (Georgia), Dabil (Dvin), Barzand, Sirāj-Tayr (Shirak and Taik'), Bājunays (Bznunik'), Arjish, Khilāt, Sisajān (Siunik'), Arān, Qāliqālā (Erzerum), Basfurrajān (Vaspurakan)—with its capital at Nashawā (Nakhchavan).

⁶ See Qudāma, 236, line 20. Cf. also the unusual indication concerning the administrative centres (*qaṣaba*) of Azarbayjan—at Bardha'a, and of Armenia—at Nakhchavan.

impression of considerable recession (*Verfall*) of income. In practice the revenue must have greatly depended on circumstances. When in 296/908 Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj was confirmed in his governorship,¹ the sum of his farm was fixed at only 120,000 dinars (1·8 m. dirhams), and already towards 299/912 Yūsuf tried to evade even this reduced responsibility.

In any case, I. Ḥauqal's item on the general revenue must belong to a source entirely different from that of his data at the time of Marzubān.

(C) *General Interest of the Passages.*

1. Though admitting that the list is not the original document, but possibly a series of items communicated, or even dictated, to our geographer, one should consider it as a valuable picture of the political structure of a region on which we are insufficiently informed.

2. In view of the great scarcity of financial statistics for the 10th century, I. Ḥauqal's data merit attention both as an illustration of the politico-financial methods and as material for assessing the comparative importance of the principalities.²

3. It is hoped that our identifications will be of utility to local historians working on Christian sources. The figures of Ishkhāniq of Shakkī and of Sanḥārib, son of Sawāda, seem to fit into the pattern of the Georgian and Armenian sources.

Incidentally, our analysis is a preparatory work for the publication of the 11th-century *History of Sharvan*.³

¹ According to Ṭabari, iii, 2284: 'of Marāgha and Azarbayjan'; according to I. Athir, viii, 42, also 'of Armenia'. cf. von Kremer, *Das Einnahmebudget vom Jahre 306 H.*, 1887, 299.

² In his chapter on taxation Spuler, loc. cit., 467, has quoted I. Ḥauqal's table only for the tribute of Sharvān. Ghazarian's reference to I. H.'s passage is incomplete, see his 'Armenien unter d. arab. Herrschaft' in *Zeit. f. arm. Philologie*, 1903, ii/3, p. 205.

³ See above, p. 508, n. 4. The chapters on Sharvān and al-Bāb complete the chapter on the Shaddādids of Ganja published in my *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953.

For the author's bibliography see BSOAS, XIV/3, 1952, pp. 669-681.

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