

VOLUME II

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**Names and terms not spelt in strict
transliteration. P.681.**

LIST OF MAPS

- I The Van region and its context. 1:1,000,000.

 Boundaries and sub-divisions of principalities and Kara Koyunlu
 governorships; transhumance paths.
- II Bitlis principality. 1:250,000.

 Boundaries of sub-principalities, *nahiyas* etc..
- III Hakkari principality: inland districts. 1:250,000. (Equivalent information
 to map II.)
- IV Mahmudi principality and shore districts of Hakkari principality.
 1:250,000.
- V Hizan and Moks. 1:250,000.
- VI Kara Koyunlu territory. 1:250,000.
- VII The early medieval Armenian districts. 1:1,000,000.

 With special reference to argument in Ch.II, sect.4.4; Ch.III, sect.II;
 Appendix III, note. Includes Nestorian districts of Hakkari.

KEY TO MAPS

Coloured boundaries etc.

Maps I-VI

Map VII



Principality border:
known with reasonable
confidence



Principality border:
some or much doubt as
to alignment



Border of sub-division
of principality: e.g.
apanaḡe, sub-
principality; or of Kara
Koyunlu governorship.
Reasonable confidence



Sub-division of
principality: doubt as to
alignment



Further sub-division,
e.g. *naḡiye*



Nestorian district



Nahiye attested only in
Ottoman period



Transhumance path, winter to summer. Modern times, i.e.
19th or 20th century. Only those mentioned in text are shown.

Medium-range

Short-range



Transhumance path, winter to summer. Late Middle Ages or
early Ottoman period. Argued in text.

Medium-range

Short-range

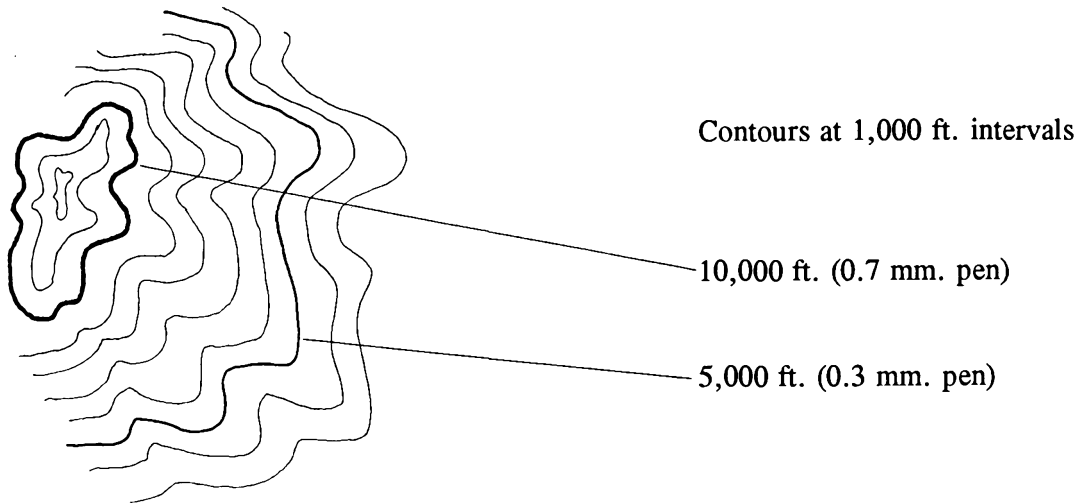
Border of Armenian
province or *aṣṣarḡ*: 7th
century A.D.

Border of Armenian district
or *gawār*

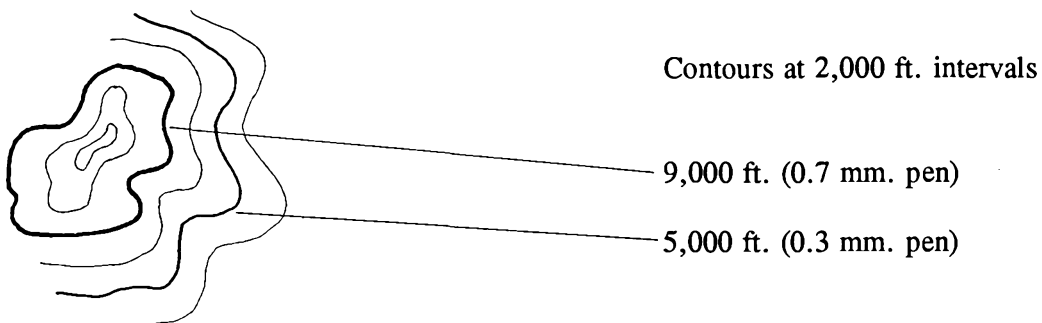
Nestorian district

Contours

Maps II-VI: 1:250,000



Maps I & VII: 1:1,000,000



Base maps. Maps II-VI are based on USAF 1:250,000 (see bibliography). Maps I and VII are based on USAF *Operational Navigation Chart*, 1:1,000,000, 1972, revised 1979. There are discrepancies between the two: USAF 1:250,000's contours are not based on systematic survey, whereas USAF 1:1,000,000 maps are based on satellite photographs. For the present maps it has been thought better not to adjust those of the 1:250,000 maps, but simply to preserve its contours. For purposes of medieval political geography the discrepancies are not serious.

The 9,000 ft. contour has been chosen for the thickest line (0.7 mm. pen) in the 1:1,000,000 maps, partly because the intervals in these maps are of 2,000 ft. and partly because the 9,000 ft. contour reveals the topography more efficiently than the 10,000 ft..

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. After the defeat of Hasan 'Ali by Uzun Hasan, a branch of the Kara Koyunlu went to India and founded the dynasty of Golconda. See Sherwani, *Qutb Shah Dynasty*.
2. *Histoire des Arméniens* Ch.9, esp. pp.358-9 on the economy and the impression given by pp.342-50 on the politics of the Turcoman period. Mention is made of certain cities, however, on pp.360-1. Manandian, *Trade and Cities* 201-2. Manandyan, *K'nnakan Tesut'yun* III.344-62, stresses little more than the destruction wrought by Timur's invasions.
3. No historian has put the point explicitly, but the implicit argument seems to be: if the sources are unenlightening, the situation must have been dark. If the sources are fragmentary, we are entitled to neglect a thorough study of the period and instead to dismiss it, without thorough study, as a disaster.
4. *Histoire des Arméniens* 361, 369 on the Van region in the 15th century.
5. It is worth remembering that if our reconstruction of its history, particularly in Appendix IV, is right, the known history of the Bitlis principality is as long as the known history of the Ottomans.
6. P.125 below.
7. Pp.125-6 below.
8. They involve establishing identity criteria perhaps not sufficiently worked out by anthropologists themselves.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

9. It could be added that constructing the histories of the principalities is a purpose worth pursuing for itself. The present thesis does not offer fully-worked out histories, but certainly makes a serious start and provides a good basis for more complete work.

10. A further advantage of examining neighbouring periods is simply that a start is made on the study of those periods. Moreover the study of the Turcoman period is essential for the understanding of the Ottoman; a point which is not vitiated by the use of data from the later period for the illumination of the earlier.

Note that the point here is different from the point made in n.9 above, that the construction of histories of the individual principalities is worth pursuing for itself. The point being made here concerns a region-wide view of different periods.

11. For the meaning of "tribal section", Ch.II. sect.2.1.

12. If the term were not so vulnerable to misuse, such schemes could be called models; on the whole we shall avoid the term "model".

13. Sh.I.391, 392 (Hakkari); and perhaps that of the Ahlat gravestone of A.D.1420: Karamağaralı, *Ahlat Mezartaşları* 241, no.105; Appendix I, Ahlat.

14. The following collections have been checked. Busse, *Untersuchungen*; Papazyán, *Fermans*; Tabatabai, *Fermans*; Keçik, *Briefe und Urkunden*; Fragner, *Repertorium*; (strictly on the Saḫavid period) Schimkoreit, *Regesten*. Articles in other bibliographies have also been checked.

The information on taxation in the Diyar Bakr in Uzun Hasan's and earlier times

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

contained in Hinz, "Steuerwesen", is not relevant. The document relates to taxes specific to given places, and if argument by analogy is in question then it is much more valid to argue from the general nature of taxation in Iran than from the very incidental and varied taxes revealed in the Diyar Bakr document. What has not been noticed is that the parts of the Diyar Bakr covered by the document are those under direct Ak Koyunlu rule rather than in the jurisdiction of various local Kurdish principalities. So the document could only be of help in reconstructing the taxation arrangements in the districts directly governed by the Kara Koyunlu.

15. Sh.I.376-8, 428-30.

16. Properly "Sharafnāma": the spelling adopted here reflects the most common pronunciation and the most common spelling variants.

17. Sh.I.454-5.

18. Sh.I.456; here, p.129 and n.61 there.18.

19. His one serious defect in this respect is the history of the Bitlis house before the mid-14th century. There, strands of different foundation myths and what appear to be genuine elements of historical narrative are mixed in a highly confusing manner. The author's time scheme is also dramatically telescoped. See Appendix IV.

20. The purpose of the work would appear to be to solidify the position of the Kurdish dynasties within the Ottoman empire. The work demonstrates on the one hand the loyalty of the Kurdish houses, and on the other hand the respectability of their antique

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

patrimonies, the hereditary principalities, and the workability of retaining those principalities within the Ottoman system.

21. Sevgen and Van Bruinessen (discussed in sect.4 below) were primarily interested in the Kurds, of course, but for reasons to be explained in sect.4 each failed to exploit the *Sherefname* in at least one dimension.

22. KD I, p.XVI (Sümer's comment). However material went on being added at least until 878/1473-74 (ibid., n.18).

23. EI², "Ewliyā Čelebī", II.718.2, for a general expression of doubt.

24. It has to be remembered that about ten different sanjaks are covered, however, and there are seven or eight documents in question. It would be hard to justify doing what amounted to a standard defter study, though on a larger scale than usual, in order to examine a subject which was not Ottoman at all.

25. Sanjian, *Colophons* 12-14 describes the motives for producing manuscripts, without evaluating the implications for the quality of colophons as historical sources. The editor's discussions in Clph.XIV, pp.IX-XXI (general value as sources) and Clph.XV.I, II, introductions (specific contributions to periods covered by these volumes) go some way towards such an evaluation.

26. Two scholars familiar with the Mamluk sources tell me that it is most unlikely anything relevant to the subject in hand would come out of those sources.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

27. A more accurate argument would be to take the region as a whole, so that the mismatches between minting and general economic fortune which may have existed in individual cities' histories tend to cancel one another out. However general economic history is not the aim here.

28. Appendix I, Ahlat, Vostan.

29. Reports differ as to whether vol.II has been written or will appear.

30. CHI VI, Ch.III. The chapter is presented from the point of view of Iranian history, but the bulk of the historical events which it narrates in fact took place in Armenia. The narrative has the great merit of intertwining Kara and Ak Koyunlu history, but it fails to outline accurately the respective geographical positions of the two states.

31. Van Bruinessen's theory. It will be helpful to indicate the salient reasons for disagreement.

-- The primary driving force behind change in tribes and tribal principalities is changes in the patterns of winter and summer grazing, tribal allegiance and in the habit of pastoralism per se. Such changes are not independent of action or inaction on the part of the overlord power, but there is no mechanical relationship between overlord power and tribal principality or tribe such that the tribe and the state rise and fall together. To an extent the opposite is the case. The modern state, and many overlord powers governing the Near East in the past, have been inimical to tribes and will tend to weaken it where possible. It is this which explains the condition of Kurdish tribes in modern Iraq, Iran and Turkey. It is unlikely that the decline of the Ottoman empire (the phrase certainly means

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

something and corresponds to something in reality) was the cause of the principalities' decline. Much more likely, the empire intended to get rid of the principalities in the first place, and only accommodated them out of necessity. As for the Kara Koyunlu, the latter dynasty allowed the Kurds much local freedom for the same reason: they had not the resources to impose more discipline on them. This is not a reason for supposing that the Kurdish principalities were less well organised in the Kara Koyunlu period.

-- It does not allow for differences between principalities. For example, as far as can be made out the Hakkari principality did gradually crumble from perhaps the mid-17th century to its final dismantling in the mid-19th, and it does not seem ever to have been especially cohesive. But the Bitlis principality does seem to have been cohesive, and there is little evidence for the type of decay noticeable in the Hakkari principality.

-- It does not distinguish, for purposes of historical narrative, between tribes and principalities. It assumes, without proof, that the decay of the one will go hand in hand with the decay of the other.

-- With little proof or argument it subscribes to various pervasive and persuasive models and metaphors: the notion of decay, the notion of a natural group and an unnatural group in human society, the notion of a gradual tendency (i.e. a gradual increase in degree of organisation and complexity, leading to a peak, after which a gradual decline takes place).

-- Van Bruinessen did not by any means consult the range of sources available.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. First in 796/1394 (Sümer, KK 59). He must have lost it by 799/1397 (ibid. 60); but by 802/1399-1400 he must have regained it, because in that year he was forced to flee to Mosul (ibid.). This was well before his flight to the Mamluk empire in 805/1403 (on the events leading up to his taking refuge in the Mamluk empire, and his imprisonment there, ibid. 60-67).
2. The literature on which the discussion is based is that which is descriptive exclusively of the Kurds, except for considerations of a very general nature such as the rationale of pastoralism.
3. Rich 86-8: the tribesmen in the following of one of the Baban royal family would even follow him into exile, because they are his cousins.
4. V.Br., ASS 171-3; Barth, *Kurdistan* 60-61. Both are based on Rich. Note esp. the following in vol.I. 270: the Pasha's [prince's] own clan [lineage] is the Bebbeh; the whole principality is the Kermanj. (But pp.80-81 the Bebbeh are described as a family, chief of the Kermanj clan.) 280-2 (in note): list of tribes in the principality. 88: lands given to faithful followers. 90: family divisions. 96: tribesmen hold estates. 101: tribes' conflicts exploited by the Bebbeh Pasha. 149: Abdullah, uncle of the pasha, is given a rich estate although he has schemed against the Pasha. Cf. 74, 76.
5. Discussed by V.Br., ASS 57-9; 90 (expansion of Mirawdeli); 109 (Jibran subjugated Khormek); 118 (Ermeni-Varto migrate with Teyyan).
6. This generally happened only in obvious cases of mental or physical defects, but

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

the council's ability to reject the man next in line according to hereditary succession is the important point.

7. For the Bābān principality's council (a tribal body, despite advising a prince), Rich I.76, 78, 79. For some interesting variations, Rich I.123 (the Jaf have no council, although the elders must be consulted); I.150-1, 152 (in the Bilbas every man has a voice, apart from the existence of a council).

8. At the same time the council constituted, at the level of the tribe or principality's leadership, an institution which is typical of and prevalent in Kurdish society. This institution has been called the smoke-filled room (Barth 103-6; Leach 28-9; V.Br., ASS 81-5). The village's guest-house belongs to and is financed by the village's agha or owner, on which see the next section, 2.4. In the guest house meet the village's men, sitting in order of prominence and influence within the village.

The institution is needed in a society where decisions are not, on the whole, made according to written laws or rules. Instead they are made in discussions where an individual member's advice is evaluated according to his influence and weight within the given society (in this case a village). Societies need a means of symbolising greater or lesser influence, respect, status etc.: in the Kurdish case the "smoke-filled room" supplies this means.

But the council of a tribe or principality, some of whose members resided at the prince's court or in the chief's entourage, was, at the highest level, also a "smoke-filled room". It was constantly ready to provide advice for the prince, it was the immediate

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

source of his authority, and it provided, too, a visible and obvious means of showing the order of precedence and respect among the tribes, the tribe chiefs and other people of influence and power within the tribe or principality. Rich remarked that in the Bābān council the chiefs took their seats in order of rank (I.154-5).

9. Nevertheless it seems strange that the word comes up, within the Van region, mainly in connection with the Mahmudi principality. See appendix II on nomenclature.

10. Rich I.177 (most families [tribal section would perhaps be more accurate] within the Bābān principality are transhumant); 112-13 (annual migration of Jaf). Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs* 147-8 (Jaf migration routes).

11. For example: Sykes, "Tribes" 460, the Atmanikan winter near the Bohtan river and summer on the Muş plain; Cribb, *Nomads* 197, the Alikanlı winter in various parts of the Tigris basin and summer south and west of Lake Van [including Nemrut Dağ].

12. For a modern example, V.Br., ASS 96, 98: when the Duriki tribe seized part of the Mesopotamian plain [near Nusaybin], Jacobites [i.e. Syrian Orthodox] sometimes became their tenants. Cf. *ibid.* 118: the Ermeni-Varto, an Armenian tribal section, migrated with the Teyyan, a Kurdish tribe, in the 1950's.

13. Sh.I.398; discussed Ch.III, sect.I.3.1.(b). Cf. Rich I.114, bestowal of villages by Pasha.

14. By "modern" is meant the period during which accurate observations are available. This means observations by anthropologists or by other visitors which are capable of

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

providing data for anthropologists. The point was made above (sect. 2.2, beginning), but is repeated here to avoid any wrong impressions which might be created by the word "modern".

Apart from the connotations just dealt with, another implication of the term "modern" should be guarded against. This is the implication that the Ottoman occupation of parts of Kurdistan had brought about changes in specifically tribal forms of land tenure. The argument here depends on the assumption that the tribal arrangements observable in the 19th and 20th centuries have survived, at least to an extent, successive Islamic administrations. The same point applies to post-Ottoman administrations, particularly the British mandate administration in Iraq and that of the subsequent kingdom of Iraq.

15. For example, Shams al-Din's of Bitlis in 1406 (Sh.I.376).
16. E.g. Iskender in 1422-25 on the Bitlis principality, Ch.III, sect.I.5.(iv); Jahan Shah on Bitlis in the mid-15th century, *ibid.* (v).
17. E.g. the exploitation of the rivalry between Bitlis and Hakkari in 1406: discussed Ch.III, sect. I.4.2.
18. Esp. Ch.III, sects.I.5.(vii), II.5.(v), III.3. Note that in the latter case another attempt was made to instal a Dunbeli as governor (Sh.I.303-4).
19. Dankoff, *Bitlis* 15, passage translated from MS of Evliya, unfortunately without transcription of original. Tahrir, Sh.I.354.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

20. The integration of the petty landowners into the timar system may well have represented a departure, in some respects, from the previous patterns and basis of landholding. The timar system could not accommodate the payment of rent in a "tenant" village as the basis of taxation. But if the basis of taxation had changed, the quantities may well not have done. The point might be resolved by working through the relevant defters.

21. The Melek Ahmet Paşa episode, dealt with in some detail in Ch.III, sect.I.5.00 below, is the best example.

22. There is no evidence that the Ottoman state wished the Kurdish principalities to remain; the point here is that it found a sensible formula for the time being. In the long term the plan must have been to replace the hereditary sanjak beys with centrally-appointed beys. Quite apart from the exceptional difficulty of doing this, the Ottoman state was overtaken by events.

When the Ottoman state finally did evict the princes, it seems that the principalities had, in varying degrees, disintegrated already. (This is only a superficial impression of a matter of peripheral interest to this thesis; more evidence could be found.) The question is, why? Van Bruinessen's answer would be, Because the state, too, had decayed. Quite apart from the highly disputable veracity of the statement, it is questionable whether the decay of the state would of itself explain the loosening of bonds within the principalities. Certainly loose control, or none, on the part of an overlord, was necessary for their formation. I would prefer to look for an explanation in terms of changes in transhumance patterns and the location of tribal pastures. This would certainly have been facilitated by

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

slack supervision and control on the part of the Ottoman state.

23. T'M 110-11. He probably levied the tax outside the district of Amik because he was a lieutenant of Jahan Shah's rather than Iskender's during the struggles between the two.

24. Strictly speaking the district of Çatak, discussed in the next paragraphs, belonged to the Hakkari later on.

25. Yaqut's *Mu'jam* was almost completely finished in Mosul (which lends the information on the Zawazān a certain reliability) in the year 621/1224, though finishing touches were put to the text in 626/1229, the date of Yaqut's death. (EI¹, "Yākūt al-Rūmī", IV.1153.2.) Yaqut was by this time in Aleppo, where he met Ibn al-Athīr. (EI², "Ibn al-Athīr" (2), III.724.1.)

26. The castle has not been accurately and certainly located. However there are some clues. The village of Wasta was by the fortress of Jurdaqīl (Jurdaqīl in Syriac transcription, or Ğurdaqīl in Fiey's system): Fiey, *Nisibe* 264. This village lay north of the river Habur: *ibid.* 181. The latter clue does not by any means tie down the position of Wasta or Jurdaqīl, but we cannot be dealing with the Mesopotamian plain, as both the village and the castle were in Qardū/the Bohtan district, which comprises the mountainous areas north of the plain. Qardū is the region within which the monastery under discussion in Fiey's text lies, and the Bohtan district is the territory of the Bukhtī principality: see below. We must therefore be on Judi Dagħ, the first massif reached if going northward from the plain.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

However the precise location of sites and other aspects of the historical geography of Judi Dagħ are still in an unsatisfactory state. Some discussion in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, III.335-7, 387, 395-6.

27. Description of Tili, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* III.306-7. Identified with the late medieval Nestorian bishopric of Atel ("of the Bukhtī", meaning "within the Bukhtī principality"), *ibid.* 408, on the basis of Fiey, *Nisibe* 229-31.

28. Markwart, *Südarmerien* 423. According to a *salname* of 1297/1879-80, there was in the *nahiye* of Berwari a castle called Kal'e-i Rüstem, sometimes called Eruh (Ott.)/Arūkh (Arab.). The *nahiye* of Berwari comprised the part of the Bohtan valley immediately east of the Tigris basin: it is separated from that basin by a clear barrier of hills (see Ch.III, sect.IV.1, p.223).

29. The place now called Eruh was formerly Deh, "Village". The former bearer of the name was Eskieruh, a few km. north-east of Deh. In the post-Mongol period, when the Bukhtī principality flourished, the place now called Eskieruh must have been the chief town of the apanage of Arūkh. But that apanage may not have belonged to the Bukhtī in the early 13th century. Not only is Arūkh not mentioned as one of their castles by Yaqut, but the castle that is mentioned is not part of the Bohtan district. The latter, of course, is a different area from the Bohtan Su valley.

The position of the castle of Arūkh in a different district from Eruh/Arūkh of the Bohtan district is probably the key to the solution of the old problem of the location of Rehimena. The latter was a district handed over to the Sasanian empire by the East Roman

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

Empire in a treaty of A.D. 363. The other districts were Arzanene/Aljnik', Moxoene/Mokk', Zabdicene/Beth Zabday (Syr.), and Corduene/Korduk'. Leaving aside Mokk', these lay respectively west (the Tigris basin), well to the south-west (in the Mesopotamian plain) and south-west (the Bohtan district) of Rehimena, the district dependent on Kal'e-i Rüstem/Arūkh. Moxoene/Mokk' was a combination of the Hizan basin, the Müküs valley and the adjacent part of the Bohtan Su valley (Ch.III, sect.IV.3). It is not clear whether Mokk' was conceived of as including or exclusive of the Rehimena sector of the Bohtan Su valley (that dependent on Kal'e-i Rüstem/Arūkh), but this makes little difference to the interpretation of the treaty. By the treaty the Tigris basin (Arzanene/Aljnik'), the mountainous areas immediately east of it (Moxoene/Mokk', Rehimena and Corduene/Korduk', all of whose rivers flow westward into the Tigris) and part of the Mesopotamian plain adjacent to Corduene/Korduk' (i.e. Zabdicene/Beth Zabday) are ceded to Persia. The area possesses a clear rationale of coherence and definition and was, indeed, the diocese of Nisibis in the Church of the East (Fiey, *Nisibe*, esp. pp.160-1; the modern scholarship on the Rehimena question is summed up on p.184).

Rehimena is named for one of two possible reasons: either it is separate from Moxoene/Mokk'; or it is part of Mokk', but the treaty, for purposes of avoiding ambiguity, spells out that this district will be included in the region ceded to Persia. Probably both reasons were applicable. From the point of view of church organisation in the Church of the East, Rehimena was a suffragan bishopric separate from Arzanene, Moxoene etc. (Fiey, *Nisibe* 184) and required to be included in the names listed by the treaty. From the point of view of Armenian political organisation, Rehimena was part of

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

Moxoene/Mokk', but even then it may have been worth specifying in the list. The district was part of the Bohtan Su valley; the next sector of the valley downstream is in the Tigris basin or Arzanene/Aljnik'. The division between the two is not especially clear and obvious. Arūkh, as Aribachon, was included with Arzanene in the 6th-century survey of Byzantine castles by George of Cyprus (Markwart, *Südarmerien* 424; Hartmann, *Bohtan* 127). Even less obvious is the division between the district of Kal'e-i Rüstem/Arūkh and the sector of the Bohtan Su valley immediately upstream, where the Müküs Çay and Çatak Su join the Bohtan.

Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* IV.366-7, equates Rehimena with the modern district of Eruh. This therefore makes Rehimena part of Corduene/Korduk', not Moxoene/Mokk'.

30. Hartmann, *Bohtan* 80; Markwart, *Südarmerien* 422. In 1312/1894-95 a *nahiye*, and well-defined by topography. This narrow section of the Norduz Çay valley does not fit naturally with the more open upper Norduz basin, or with the Çatak valley.

31. Conceivably the name "Bākhawkha" is related to "Šatak", the true Armenian form of the name "Çatak". For an attempt at the etymology of the name "Bākhawkha", Markwart, *Südarmerien* 425.

32. There are a number of places bearing the name Nerwa, but none fulfilling the dual condition: a likely location for a castle and in the summer pasture area.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III, SECT.I

1. The valley of Kifendūr. (a) An enduring unit of territory. (i) Sh.I.382: the *nāhiya* of Kifendūr was the home of ‘Umar Yadīgārān, of the Bāyegī ‘*ashīret*, one of those said to constitute the Ruzagi ‘*ashīret*. Date: late 1420’s or early 1430’s (during reign of Shams al-Din II; sect.5.(vi) below). (ii) Sh.I.361. The *nāhiya* seems to be identified as the valley of Kifendūr, where its men are associated with the Bāyegī tribes "tavāīf" and doubtless included them or were identified with them. Date: early in the period of direct Ottoman rule (sect. 5.(viii) below). (iii) The Ottoman registers themselves identify the district of Kifendūr as Kīfendūr/Kīfendīr deresī. See Appendix III.

(b) It belonged to the Bitlis principality. (i) Sh.I.406. ‘Imād Āghā Bāyegī rescues the two-year-old Shams al-Din IV, son of Sharaf Khan, by claiming the right to wreak vengeance of death on him and then, instead, keeping him safe in the valley of Kifendūr. The date is 1507 or 1508 (sect.5.(viii) below). (ii) Sh.I.424. Kifendūr is one of several castles or walled towns, presumably the most important in the principality, entrusted to his aghas by Sharaf Khan in 938/1531-12 at the approach of Fīl Ya‘kūb and Ulama (sect.5.(vii) below).

2. Note 1, parts (a)(i) & (ii), (b)(i) for the evidence. The Bāyegī are one of the five tribes named as the ancient ‘*ashīrets* of the immediate district of Bitlis at Sh.I.361: see appendix IV, story C.

3. Tātīk (Pers.) was the Armenian district of Tatik: on its place in the *Armenian Geography* (*Aṣṣarhac‘oyc’*) and for other references see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 312. The district centred on a small plain: on the geography, references in Sinclair, *Eastern*

NOTES TO CHAPTER III, SECT.I

Turkey I.230. At the time of the Ottoman attacks on Bitlis in 1531-33 there was a castle of Tātīk (Sh.I.432, see n.4), but the archaeological literature does not mention any trace of it or any memory of its position.

4. Sh.I.424: in 938/1531-32, when Sharaf Khan anticipated that his principality would be attacked (I.423-4), he made over the more important castles, including that of Tātīk, to aghas. Sh.I.432: mentioned as one of the dependencies (*i'māl*) of Bitlis. Ulama has come to its borders to find Sharaf, who is returning from the siege of Hizan. They meet just north of the castle of Tātīk.

5. Sh.I.302: it was bestowed by the Ottomans on Husayn Qūlī Bêg of Hoşap, after the subjugation of the principality of Bitlis. See also: (a) Sh.I.380. The village of Kfū in the *nāhiya* of Kārjikān was one of the pious donations (*mauqūfāt*) of Shams al-Din I ("Veli"; early 15th century) to his waqfs. Of course this information only makes it likely that Kārjikān was part of the Bitlis principality at the time; it does not prove the point. (b) Sh.I.424. The castle of Selm was one of the important castles of the principality entrusted to an agha in face of the likely attack of Fīl Ya'qūb and Ulama in 938/1531-32. Selm is the Armenian Selm, known from the Arcruni period and from Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, 101). It must be that at Ağın (Thierry, "Monastères VIII" [REArm 11(1975-76)], 382, esp. n.26; Berkian, Thesis 141-2). These are, precisely, in the Kārjikān district, not far west of the peninsula (known in Armenian as Kaputkol) which divides the lake's southern shore in half. Bağ is much more likely, because, changes of name or location apart, Ağın should be accounted for by Mustawfī's 'Ayn (ibid.). However according to Mustawfī this

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was a *qasaba*, and no town site by it is known. (c) *Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy, 171: Kārcikān is a *nāhiye* dependent on Bitlis, which has on some occasions been an independent *emāret*. But this is unhelpful without indication of period, and probably derives at least in part from the reference in the *Sherefname* at I.302 (this note, above).

(d) Ev.IV.88: to the east, Vostan is adjacent to the Khanate of Bitlis. Since Kārjikān's east border is on and south of the Kaputkoḷ peninsula, of which the town of Vostan (now Gevaş) is east again, Kārjikān belonged to the principality in the mid-17th century A.D..

6. Sh.I.398: after the recapture of Bitlis from the Ak Koyunlu in that year, Abū Bakr Āghā was given Khnzūrgīn, one of the dependencies of Tatvan, and the village of Iksūr, as a reward for making rope-ladders available in the siege. See n.5, (a) for a comment on the strength of the deduction.

7. On the positions of these districts, see Appendix III. Some time in the Ottoman occupation the principality lost the district of Tatvan. Ev.IV.88: to the south-east, the Khanate of Bitlis is adjacent to the subaşılik of "Tāht-i Vān".

8. Chuqūr as a nahiya. Sh.I.382, not long after the death of Shams al-Din I ("Veli") in 1423. The Ottoman *nahiye*'s boundaries are likely to indicate the late medieval district's boundaries fairly accurately: see Appendix III. The town. Modern Çukur has no monuments and the site is a flat one lacking natural defences. The town is much more likely to have been adjacent or very close to the cemetery at Norşin, 5 km. to the east: the modern village of Norşin is a further 2 1/2 km. to the south-east of the graveyard, and is probably not the exact site of the medieval town. In the cemetery stands a large kümbet

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dated 689/1290 (Tuncer, "Üç Kümbet" [SanTarYıl 6 (1976)], 94-8, esp. 97) and three others whose cylindrical trunks are lost (ibid. 98). One of the gravestones is dateable to 720/1320 (Karamağaralı, *Ahlat Mezartaşları* no.87, pp.214-15). By the graveyard is an astonishing spring in the form of a deep natural pit from which fresh water from the water table wells up (Taylor, JRGS 1865, 45; Lynch II.162-3, 317-18).

In the middle of the 19th century it was said that the village of "Muschakschir" (German spelling) just by Norşin had once been a large and mighty town of Armenia (Koch, *Wanderungen* II.416). This perhaps means simply that there was a town by the cemetery in the Middle Ages. The town may have been protected by a castle: a ruined castle "above" Norşin was noticed in 1840 (Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches* II.378). In the mid-19th century Norşin was the residence of the *müsellim* or governor of the *kaza* of Çukur (Koch, *Wanderungen* II.416).

In the late Middle Ages, therefore, a town probably stood by the Norşin graveyard, and was the capital of the *nāhiya* or district of Chuqūr. The former town's population probably moved in the first instance to Norşin (Arm., "New Settlement").

The villages of Muşakşin and Norşin figure in the Ottoman *defters*: see Appendix III.

9. On the assumption that the Ottoman *nahiye*'s boundaries reflect those of the medieval district, the boundaries implied by the villages in the Ottoman *nahiye* imply this position straightaway: see Appendix III.

From the spelling in the *Sherefname* (I.329) and the Ottoman *defters*, اوحکان , many pronunciations are possible: Evhakān, Evhagān, Uhkān, Ohgān, Ūhkān.

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From the *Sherefname* we learn that early in the Safavid occupation Shah Ismail joined the *ulkā* of Khinūs and Malāzgirt to the nahiya of اوحكان of Mūsh as an *ifrāz*. This seems to be the only mention of Hınıs and Malāzgirt being combined for administrative purposes. However Hınıs as an administrative area means here, as ever in the *Sherefname*, not only the plain of Hınıs but the tract of land, much of it flat, between the Hınıs and Muş plains. This tract comprises the valley of the Çarbuhar Su and part of the Murat Su valley. This brings Hınıs as a district right up to the Muş plain. (See below, under D.Hınıs.) So the *nāhiya* of اوحكان should be looked for against the Muş plain's northern edge.

The Armenian castle of Olkan or Olakan (pron. Oghkan, Oghakan: if the Armenian name were still in use in the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. it would have been pronounced Oghgan or Oghagan) lay on the plain of Muş (Arm. Tarōn): the castle, as opposed to the district, is known under the name Olkan or Olakan only in the 4th century A.D.). The clues as to Olakan's location combined with those for اوحكان lead to an extremely plausible site.

According to the *Buzandaran Patmut'iwk'* (V.iii; for other references to the castle see BP, tr. Garsoian, p.485) the fortress of Olakan was "above" the Ēp'rat (Euphrates) in the district of Tarōn. Indeed the story which this section of the BP relates requires that the castle be almost directly by the river: the *hayr-mardpet* was killed by being "lowered" from the castle to the frozen river.

The only castle site in the plain of Muş immediately by the Lower Euphrates or Murat Su is Mercimekkale ("Lentil Castle"; Armn. "Ospn Blur", "Lentil Hill"), which in the 19th century at least was also called Sultan Mahmud Kalesi. Koch, writing of a visit

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c.1840, says that the river makes a bend around the castle -- the map also suggests this -- and that it is on the way from Muş to the districts of Upper and Lower Bulanık. It was called Lentil Castle because of the flat form of its hill. The periphery of the built walls was quite long. (Koch, *Wanderungen* II.412-13.) Southgate (*Tour* I.197) describes "Sultan Mahmud Kalesi" as a castle on the top of a solitary conical hill at the entrance of the river into the plain of Muş.

Ainsworth, also writing of a visit in 1840, says that on his way from Muş to Hınıs he passed Sultan Mahmud Kalesi or "Osp Polur". In the castle had lived a Kurdish chief, "Alau-ddin", said to have resisted Ottoman forces a century previously. (*Travels and Researches* II.384.) Koch tells us (*Wanderungen* II.403) that this chief (Koch says "scheikh"), basing himself at the castle, subjugated, among other places, the whole of the province of Bitlis. Strictly speaking he only identifies the castle as the one at the point where the Murat Su breaks out into the plain of Muş; but see Southgate's description above.

The name Ohgān appears to have become detached from Mercimek Kale sometime between the date of composition of the *Sherefname* and the 18th-century rebellion of Ala al-Din mentioned above. However it is conceivable that the name "Ohgān" influenced the development of "Osp(n)" as a substitute. As a name for the *nāhiye* "Ohgān" became transmuted into "Akcan" (centre of a late Ottoman and early Republican *nahiye*; see e.g. *Köylerimizin Adları* 423). As a place name it was attached to a village well east of the Murat Su, where there is no castle site or hill, and no memory of residence by any prince, chieftain or rebel.

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10. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 325, and cf. 317-18, for other references to Xoyt'. The district is that of the feeders of the Garzan Su, one of the principal tributaries of the Tigris. A "Khoit Kale" is known in the mid-19th century (Koch, *Wanderungen* II.404).

11. On the character of the plain and surrounding heights, my synthesis in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.288-89. Late Middle Ages: "[speaking of and in the late Middle Ages] in respect of [Ottoman] imperial taxes (huqūq-i dīvānī) [the whole district] is the equal of Muş, although the Armenian re'āyā of the district have become fewer. But they have given most of its villages and *mezra'as* to *iqta's* and timariots" (Sh.I.355). The Armenian population in the late 16th century must have produced most of the district's revenue, though the district is not confined to the Hınıs basin (see next few sentences of my text). So the likelihood is that the Armenian population was large even at the end of the 16th century. But the *Sherefname* states that the population was larger in the past. Of course part of the population was Kurdish, and used the yaylas surrounding the district's various flat spaces (including the two Bulanıks; again see next few sentences of my text), in particular those to north and south of the Varto basin: *ibid.*, lines 4-6, Sū Shehrī and Bingöl to the north and Jabal Sharaf al-Dīn to the south.

12. A. Upper and Lower Bulanık. The two names, not commonly used but particularly useful as a way of referring to the two districts, can be found in Koch, *Wanderungen* II.319-20. In early medieval Armenian history the two together were generally known as Hark: for references, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 328 (there are difficulties over the eastern border of Hark in the early Middle Ages, as Hark is sometimes referred to as including

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Malazgirt; but the permanent and natural boundary was the west edge of the Malazgirt plain, a low ridge which is also the east boundary of the Kör Su valley or Upper Bulanık. See Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 330 and Adontz, APJ 245-6, the latter somewhat misleading). The two are separated by a much-worn, extinct volcano, Bilecan (*Geographical Handbook* I.183, 187), and a low ridge running west-north-west from the volcano to the Murat Su (Koch, *Wanderungen* II.420). North of the Murat Su the district does not extend more than a few miles, since the hills separating it from the Hınıs plain start up almost straightaway on this side. (1) Upper Bulanık. The Bulanık Su was so called because it issues from a lake, Bulanık Göl, whose water is always disturbed and reddish, and the river is disturbed and reddish too (*Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy, 168). The *Cihānnüma* (ibid.) states that Bulanık Göl is in the "canton" of Hınıs, which must mean that the Bulanık Su valley was in that canton, since it lies between the lake and the Hınıs plain. (2) Lower Bulanık. Our argument is based mainly on the proposition that if Varto, the district of the Çarbuhar Dere, to the west, and Upper Bulanık, to the east, belonged to the district of Hınıs, then so did Lower Bulanık, which lay between them. However our point about the annexation of the *nāhiya* of Ohgān to Hınıs and Malazgirt in the early 16th century (above, n. 9 and below, this note) applies as much to Lower Bulanık as to Varto.

B. Varto, the valley of the Çarbuhar Dere, which drains Bingöl Dağ. MC II.558 (Karnec'i): "the erkir of Apahunik' is now called Xnus ... it has a border as far as the Č'arbhör and its confluence with the Murat river. ... There is a small gawař, which they now call Vardo [then pron. "Varto"]; it has a border as far as the monastery of Surb Karapet of Glak." Karnec'i explicitly disassociates what he knows as the district of Hınıs

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(which had come to be called Apahunik', though in the first half of the Middle Ages that name belonged to the district of Malazgirt) from Vardo; but if the plain of Hınıs and that of Muş were within the principality of Bitlis, then Varto could hardly have escaped being within the principality. Despite Karnec'i's words, the boundaries of Vardo are likely to have been the watersheds of the two hill ranges to north and south. The southerly one, to the south of which lies the plain of Muş, is much more difficult to cross and more likely as a border between districts.

Early in the Safavid occupation of the Van region Shah Ismail joined the "ulkā" of Hınıs-and-Malazgirt to the *nāhiya* of Ohgān of Muş, as an ifrāz; and bestowed it on the Pāzūkī (Sh.I.329, cf. I.435). Both Ohgān and Hınıs had formerly been part of the territory of Bitlis, and the *Sherefname* omits to say that Hınıs (on the wider definition worked out in the previous paragraphs) was taken from the Bitlis principality at the same time as the *nāhiya* of Ohgān, about whose transfer to the Pāzūkī the *Sherefname* is fairly explicit. Now if Ohgān can be joined to an estate consisting of the districts of Hınıs and Malazgirt, it is very likely to have been contiguous with the district of Hınıs; it could never be contiguous with that of Malazgirt. This in turn means that either Varto (the Çarbuhar Dere valley) or Lower Bulanık, and preferably both) were part of Hınıs.

C. Two further points, neither of which strictly helps in this discussion but both of which have needed clearing up for some time. 1. Korē and Hark in Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Moravcsik & Jenkins, I.200-2, II.170; on the 10th-century events which this passage concerns, Canard, *Hamdanides* 184; Ter-Ghevondyan, *Arab Emirates* 83-88, esp.85). This was Upper Bulanık; Hübschmann,

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Ortsnamen 330 made the equation with the valley of the K r Su on the basis of similarity of names, though he does not call the K r Su valley Upper Bulan k. Constantine mentions Hark side by side with Kor , so his Hark must be Lower Bulan k. 2. Thomas of Metsop's Hark. Thomas only uses the term Hark once; but it is not clear from the passage what district he has in mind, nor if the term then had any kind of administrative, rather than purely geographical, significance.

13. Sh.I.353-4: the plain of Mu  surrounded by mountains with excellent, well-watered yaylas; Muslim villages lie on the skirt of the mountains. Discussed more fully in pp.49-50 of ch.II.

14. Such yaylas were not on the plain of H n s or the floor of the  arbuhar Dere or Lower Bulan k basins, but on adjacent hill ranges and mountain massifs. The *Sherefname* (I.355) mentions three yaylas for the H n s district: S  Shehri (the district of the  u ar Deresi, to use its modern name; see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* II.237-8); Bing l Da  and the Jabal Sharaf al-Din (present name  erafettin Da ları).

15. Ev.D.181, 261b.12-15 (> Ist. IV.197). Melek Ahmet Pa a has sent a letter to Abdal Khan demanding, among other things, that Abdal Khan return the 40,000 sheep he seized from the territory of the sanjak of Malazgirt. Abdal Khan replies that the Kurds went to summer pasture in Malazgirt and decided to "exact the sheep-due, according to imperial statute". Of course in respect of a sheep-due granted to Abdal by imperial statute Abdal is telling a big lie (Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Sheikh and State* 167 actually believes him !): this is a form of browbeating. But the assertion that Abdal's Kurds went to the

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Malazgirt district for summer pasture is credible; and if it happens not to be true, the fact remains that Abdal says it because circumstances make it credible. There must have been some kind of transhumance to the district of Malazgirt (perhaps to some of the hills or mountains above its plain).

16. For example, Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs* 143: the Gelali clan (sic) were defeated by the Jaf and subordinated to its Begzada, becoming the Jaf's fourth largest clan. Edmonds 143-5: other tribes (sic) were displaced by the Jaf; some were subordinated to other tribes, among whom were the Jaf (sic) and Hamawand. (I.e. the Jaf displaced certain tribes, and of those tribes they subordinated some.) The two examples show that whether it is a tribe or a clan which gets subordinated, after incorporation it becomes one of the Jaf's *tīras* or tribes.

17. By 1919 the Begzada (though Edmonds writes "Begzadas") had lost all authority over the nomad clans of the Muradi group (one of the three groups of clans [really tribes] -- above, pp.88-89)(Edmonds, *Turks, Kurds and Arabs* 149). The "clans" of the Muradi could be divided into nomad and settled (Edmonds 149).

18. (a) Ahlat. AT 332, During the Safavid attack of 955/1548, Shāh Qūlī Sultān Afshār was sent with a large force to attack the encampments of those parts. He plundered the tribesmen of Ahlat, and took 5,000 horses, 100,000 sheep and 50,000 oxen. This is unsatisfactory information, but some indication of the numbers of Kurdish tribesmen resident in the district of Ahlat. (b) Muş. Sh.I.353, quoted elsewhere in this thesis, talks

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of the Muslim villages on the skirt of the mountains surrounding the plain, whereas the Armenians lived on the plain proper. This leaves room for a substantial Kurdish population. (c) Hınıs. Sh.I.355: "in respect of [Ottoman] imperial taxes (*huqūq-i dīvānī*) [the whole district, former sub-principality of Hınıs] is the equal of Mūsh, although the Armenian *re'āyā* of the district have become fewer. But they have given most of its villages and *mezra'as* to *iqtā's* and timariots." The passage clearly implies that the Armenian population was greater in the past; but as the Armenian population of the district's flatter parts probably produced much of its revenue, the likelihood is that it had a large Armenian population in the late 16th century (of which the *Sherefname* is speaking) and an even larger one in the late Middle Ages. But Kurdish tribes undoubtedly grazed the yaylas to north and south of the Varto basin: *ibid.*, lines 4-6, which discuss the yaylas of Sū Shehrī and Bingöl to the north and Jabal Sharaf al-Dīn to the south. Unluckily it does not give any clue as to the winter residence of the tribes summering on those yaylas; but some of them may well have lived on the slopes just above the flat districts, as happened in the case of the Muş plain. The location of the Sū Shehrī yayla is fixed in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* II.237-8.

19. Armn. "Xnjorkin", from Armn. "Xnjorik", "Little Apple". Modern "Han Elmalı". Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 433. The name "Khznzörgīn" is a convincing textual emendation. For the variants, Charmoy n.1074, 1075.

20. Sh.I.380. Strictly speaking the list given in the text is that of what remains of Shams al-Din's endowments: others had been lost by the time the *Sherefname* was penned.

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21. Sh.I.432-3. Discussion of "jumlat al-malik", Appendix II, pp.437-38: the phrase seems to mean a counterweight to the prince, who in this episode at least may have exercised almost equal authority to the prince in the deliberations of the council and who perhaps took some of the day-to-day decisions in the government of the principality.

22. When the Bitlis principality was conquered by Shah Ismail's general Chayān Sultān in 1510 or 1511 (see sect.(vii), esp. n.51), Bitlis (presumably meaning the whole principality -- its prince, Sharaf, was now in prison in Iran), Adilcevaz and Erciş were given to a single Safavid governor, Kurd Bêg Shārqlū (Sh.I.414). When Shah Tahmasp helped Sharaf keep his principality at the first Ottoman attack in 1532, he may well have had to relinquish Ahlat as the price of Tahmasp's support; again it would have been governed in a threesome from Adilcevaz or Erciş. By spring 1534, at any rate, Ahlat was in Safavid hands, although along with Adilcevaz and Erciş it was then won from the Safavids by Ottoman diplomacy and arms in the following year. At that time Shams al-Din, the prince of Bitlis, fled the Ottoman empire and the principality was divided into sanjaks, that of Bitlis at any rate being given a non-hereditary sanjak bey, Ulama. The district of Ahlat then became a *nahiye* of the Adilcevaz sanjak (Sümer, *D.A. Türk Beylikleri* 63). That Ahlat could be associated administratively with Adilcevaz and Erciş in c.1511 and in A.D. 1534-5, suggests that in 1532, the date of the diploma, it was already in Persian hands and administered in the same governorship as Adilcevaz and Erciş. On the events of 1531-5, sect.5(vii) below.

23. The diploma continues "... with the dependencies (tavāb') and territories (lavāhiq)

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and other districts (sā'ir mahal) which up till now have been in the possession of the aforementioned exalted amirs [the Bitlis princes] ..." The continuation of the sentence suggests that the names Bidlīs, Mūsh and Khinūs were not exhaustive of the principality's territory. However the language of the continuation is that of legal completeness, political precaution and aristocratic hyperbole: by itself the phraseology here need only only betray a desire to safeguard the Bitlis princes in their rights over their existing territory.

24. Given that the castle above Mūsh (see Appendix I, Muş) was the seat of the princes of Muş, it is likely that the "lord of the castle of Mūsh" who went with Shams al-Din I of Bitlis to submit to Shah Rukh in 1420 (Sümer, *D.A. Turk Beylikleri* 60) was also the prince of Mūsh.

25. On Ahlat, Appendix I. The Bitlis princes must have appointed a commandant at the city of Ahlat. The Kurd called Sharaf who defied İskender from the walls of Ahlat in 1423 (T'M 83) may have been such.

26. Hazo. Its territory abuts, and extends a little into, the Taurus mountains. Probably in the late Middle Ages and certainly in the early Ottoman occupation its territory's common border (see Ev.IV.89) with Bitlis was at the foot of the Bitlis pass and in the southern slopes of the Taurus. The town of Hazo is not heard of until the very early Ottoman occupation. It seems to have grown from more than an insignificant market town as a result of the realignment of trade routes in the 14th century. (Briefly argued in Appendix IV, story E; more in Sinclair, "Site of Tigranocerta".) To an extent it replaced the great city of Arzan, which lay further south in the Tigris basin. Arzan appears to have

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failed as a city in the mid-14th century. Hazo and its district probably became a separate estate after that time and were then acquired by Sasun. A small estate around the now deserted city of Arzan remained; its beys resided at the castle now called Zercel Kale a few miles from the old city. This estate was not acquired by Sasun until the Ottoman occupation. (Sh.I.191, 194-5 and 436.)

27. Sasun. (a) Clph.XV.II.221, p.174 (S.1462.3, p.273). The colophonist even thinks of Sasun as part of the Bitlis principality, which even at this stage it probably was not. The colophon concerns the mediation between Jahan Shah and the Bitlis prince by the Katholikos of Aghtamar in 1462. (b) (i) Sh.I.406, 434. Sharaf Khan was married to the daughter of 'Alī Bêg Sāsūnī. (ii) Sh.I.434. Shams al-Din IV, product of this marriage and briefly prince of Bitlis from 1533 to 1535, was married to the daughter of Muhammad Beg of Hazo. (iii) Ev.000 (D.000). The bey of Hazo was the son-in-law of Abdal Khan of Bitlis, and helped him in his defiance of Melek Ahmet Paşa. (c)(i) Sh.I.442. Shams al-Din IV was warned off going to Malatya by Sulaymān Bêg 'Azizānī at Sasun. ('Azizānī was the surname of the Sasun-Hazo dynasty -- Sh.I.364 -- so Sulaymān Bêg was probably the sanjak bey of Sasun, less likely that of Hazo.) Sulaymān suspected a plot; Shams al-Din fled to Iran. (ii) Sh.I.361. Bahā' al-Dīn of Hazo mediated between the Ruzagi and the Kurdish tribes whom the Ottoman Süleyman I had instigated to attack them. (iii) Hazo is a kind of sister city of Bitlis in stories B and E of the *Sherefname*'s account of the Bitlis dynasty's origins (Appendix IV; for explanation see there). The author evidently wants to emphasise a link between the two principalities.

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28. Hizan. The evidence is tangential. (a) Sh.I.212. In 1421, when Shams al-Din I of Bitlis went to Shah Rukh and submitted to him, the son of Sulayman of Hizan went with Shams al-Din. This need not, of course, mean that Hizan was the vassal of Bitlis, but it indicates some sort of relationship. (b) Sh.I.417-18. Mīr Dāwud Khīzanī was one of the amirs helping to besiege Bitlis and restore it to the Ruzagi. This was after the battle of Koçhisar, 1516. (c) Sh.I.431-4. Sharaf Khan's undoing in 1533 was to revenge himself on Dāwud of Hizan for helping the Ottoman force to besiege Bitlis the previous year. Sharaf besieged Dāwud in Hizan. This is the best evidence for a vassal relationship.

29. The Pāzūkī. The earliest news of them comes during the internal struggle at the very end of the 15th century between Ibrahim, heir to the throne, and his cousin Sharaf, over the Bitlis principality. Chōlaq Khaled, son of the Pāzūkī chief, Suvār Bêg, was in Ibrahim's faction; his maternal uncle was Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsī (Sh.I.402). This means his father had married the sister of Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsī, very likely in the 21-year interval of direct Ak Koyunlu government. Of course Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsī was the leading supporter of Ibrahim's rival Sharaf, and Suvār Bêg, chief of the Pāzūkī, father of Khaled and brother-in-law of Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsī, was a supporter of Sharaf. (Ibid.) Suvār Bêg then prevailed on Khaled to change sides, which was decisive in forcing Ibrahim and his faction to bring in an arbiter (Sh.I.402-3). After the dissolution of the Ak Koyunlu empire Suvār Bêg became a subject of Sharaf (Sh.I.392).

It is highly risky to argue, however, that the Pāzūkī were involved in the affairs of the Bitlis principality in a similar manner during the Kara Koyunlu period. They may have managed to arrange the marriage alliance with the Bilbāsī group just because the

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Bitlis principality lacked its ruling family and its constituent tribes were in a relatively weak position vis-à-vis the Pāzūkī, who were appointed governors of Erciş and Adilcevaz by the Ak Koyunlu. Before that the Pāzūkī may well have been in a position of dependence on the Bitlis principality, effectively one of the outer circle of its tribes. Suvār Bêg, indeed, submitted to Sharaf once Ak Koyunlu protection had been removed (Sh.I.329).

Probably he had an alternative, to submit to Shah Ismail the Safavid; and this was the course taken by his son Khaled. The reward was to be given as an estate the "ulkā" of Hınıs and Malazgirt and the *nāhiya* of Ohgān of Muş (Sh.I.329; see also 435). Later, or possibly at the same time, Shah Ismail made him *amīr al-umarā* of Kurdistan, in other words gave him the leadership of the Kurdish princes within the Safavid empire (Sh.I.435). Of course there had been no "ulkā" of Hınıs and Malazgirt before; Hınıs had been Bitlis territory, Malazgirt had not. So both Ohgān and Hınıs had been wrested from Sharaf by Shah Ismail and given to the Pāzūkī. After Ismail's defeat at Çaldıran, Sharaf reconquered Ohgān (922/1516). (Sh.I.435-6.)

After Sharaf Khan of Bitlis had escaped from his confinement by Shah Ismail, he made a first attempt on Bitlis. (Sh.I.412-15.) This was defeated, essentially, it seems, because of the treachery of Muḥammad Bêg Pāzūkī, brother of Chōlaq Khaled (I.329), who attacked the Ruzagi troops from the rear after promising them his support and assuring them he had deserted the Safavids (Sh.I.414). Finally Qilīj Bêg (Khān) Pāzūkī, grandson of Khaled and not yet chief of the Pāzūkī (Sh.I.329-30), was part of Sharaf Khan's force in 939/1533 when Sharaf was defeated and killed by Ulama (AT 244).

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After this review of the evidence it is worth going back to the submission of Suvār Bêg Pāzūkī to Sharaf of Bitlis immediately after the crumbling of the Ak Koyunlu empire. Even after the Kara Koyunlu period the Pāzūkī had sometimes to submit: it very much depended on the general position of the Bitlis principality.

30. T'M 69. The date of Ibrahim's death at Mirān Shāh's hand is somewhere between 1396 and 1399, as argued in sect.5.(iii).

31. (a) Sh.I.301. When the Mahmudi several times invaded Hakkari territory with the help of the Ak Koyunlu, a force to help 'Izz al-Dīn Shīr of Hakkari was sent from Bitlis.

(b) Sh.I.392. During the Ak Koyunlu occupation of the Bitlis principality Hakkari was the asylum for the two heirs to its throne. (c) Sh.I.413. Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsī was on Hakkari soil when Sharaf Khan escaped from Shah Ismail. (d) Sh.I.436-7. Under remarkably similar circumstances to (a), only during the Safavid occupation, a force under the same commander, Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsī, who also features in (c), was sent to the help of Hakkari. (e) Shams al-Din's wedding: Sh.I.434-5.

32. Cahen, "Diyar Bakr" (14 c.), 77, quotes "al-'Umari" (Cairo 1312), p.34, mentioning that Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Bakr of Bitlis was suspected of being a Nusayri. Unfortunately Cahen has quoted his source wrongly, and I have not had time to check if his mistake is in the quotation of the source or of the page number. Cahen believes that for "Nusayri" one should substitute "the Ali-Illahi sect". But he gives no reason, and most likely the Bitlis princes' true faith was Yezidism, while there is no reason to disbelieve that they were suspected of being Nusayri. The observers probably did not understand

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either Yezidism or the Nusayri sect. In reality the Nusayris are close to Alevi beliefs, and are in the Shiite camp, whereas the Yezidis are a Kurdish sect within the Sunni camp, although needless to say they disagree with standard Sunnism in many respects.

33. Coins were minted at the town of Muş from 715 onwards in the reign of Uljaytu and in the reign of Abu Sa'id, but could well have been minted by whatever vassal of the Ruzagi, including perhaps members of the ruling Ruzagi family, held the Muş plain.

34. On the assumption that they maintained a presence at some of the key points on the track between Erzurum and Erciş, of which Hınīs was one. The track must have become more important after the establishment of the Mongol-Mamluk border in north Syria after 1260. See Ch.II, p.37, and Appendix I, Bitlis and Ahlat, esp. pp.297-8, 313-14.

35. Cahen, "Diyar Bakr" (14 c.), 78. Among the coalition were: Dīā' al-Dīn al-Rūshakī, lord of Bitlis; his brother Shams al-Din of Muş; and Ibn al-Ghīrz, lord of Ahlat. Later in the text (p.89) we find that the lords of Mūsh and Bitlis are both sons of Ghīrz. As the lord of Ahlat in the coalition of 750 was Ibn al-Ghīrz, in other words a son of Ghīrz too, it would seem all three were brothers. On the seniority of the lord of Bitlis, sect.3.2.(a) above.

Initially the Kurdish coalition was crushed (27th Safar 750/23rd May 1349) by Husayn, but Bayram Hoca then killed him. On the incident, Sümer, KK 39.

36. Cahen, "Diyar Bakr" (14 c.), 79 (years 754/1353-54 and 761/1359-60); 81 (year 774/1372-73); 83 (years 783-7/1381-85).

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37. The argument, which has limited force, is as follows. At Timur's visit to Bitlis in A.D. 1394 he granted to Haji Sharaf of Bitlis three districts: Pasin, Avnik and Malazgirt (Sh.I.373). Hınıs does not figure among these, unless by any chance it was included in the district of Malazgirt, as in the early 16th century (Sh.I.329). The districts granted by Timur, especially those of Pasin and Avnik, make little geographical sense unless the grantee already possesses Hınıs. Towards the end of the 15th century Hınıs certainly was part of the Bitlis principality (Sh.I.403, the episode in which the whole principality was divided between Ibrahim, who took Muş and Hınıs, and Sharaf).

Avnik and Pasin together accounted for the great plain of Hasankale (modern name) which stretches eastward from the end of the plain of Erzurum and is only separated from it by a low belt of hills. The plain of Pasin and Avnik does not directly adjoin the district of Hınıs, but the one is only separated from the other by the upper basin of the Aras, which was perhaps not under any organised administration at this stage. Avnik is the name of a powerful castle in a southern inlet of the plain. Timur had just captured it from the Kara Koyunlu Kara Mehmet (Muhammad). At this stage the district dependent on the castle was the south-east quarter of the plain, as defined by the Aras, which flows northwards into the plain and then turns eastwards to flow down the middle of the plain. Pasin probably meant at this stage all the rest of the plain; its chief town must have been the modern Hasankale/Pasinler.

38. Kara Yusuf, the reigning Kara Koyunlu, was on the plain of Muş, in other words on the territory of his former vassal. Timur tried to catch him there, but he escaped. (Sümer, KK 57.) Timur then received from Haji Sharaf of Bitlis the keys of Bitlis, Ahlat,

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Muṣ and other towns: 15th Rajab 796/18th May 1394. Haji Sharaf received Timur with "affection" and "obedience", and gave him presents. (Sh.I.372.) Timur then granted him Pasin, Avnik and Malazgirt. (Sh.I.373; n.37 to p.113 here.)

39. T'M 69. Mirān Shāh was told that Ibrahim, prince of Bitlis, did not wish to submit to him. Mirān Shāh then suddenly marched on Bitlis. Ibrahim came out to him, and was seized and killed. Mirān Shāh then caused much destruction to be wreaked on the city of Bitlis and its district (gawaṛ). He imposed on Bitlis Šamšati (probably a corruption of Shams al-Din, and perhaps the future "Veli" Shams al-Din), the baby son of Sharaf. The date implied by Clph.XV.I.III, p.111 (S.1410.2, p.133), is 843/1394-95. This mentions only an attack by Mirān Shāh, rather than an execution; however Mirān Shāh had not yet been appointed by that date.

Mirān Shāh was appointed governor of Azerbaijan by Timur in 1396 and was dismissed in 1399 (CHI VI.93; cf. p.74). The repudiation of Timur's sovereignty, whether by Sharaf or by Ibrahim, could have taken place any time before Ibrahim's punishment by Mirān Shāh and after 1394.

40. Sh.I.376-8; T'M 70 (gifts; date given as Armn.857/1407-8); Sümer, KK 69. On Pasin and Avnik, n.37. The text of the nishani is one of the most remarkable pieces of evidence given us by the Sherefname; on the other hand it frankly tells us little about the relationship between Kara Yusuf and Shams al-Din.

41. T'M 70, directly after the narration of Shams al-Din's reception of Kara Yusuf. Thomas therefore implies that the attack on the territory of Van and Vostan took place

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immediately after Kara Yusuf's visit to Bitlis, which in the absence of other evidence must be taken as true, despite the fact that he puts both events in the wrong year, 857/1407-8 (on which see n.000 [35-6, N6]). See also Aṛak'el 597, which may well depend on Thomas.

42. Sh.I.378-9. Shah Rukh renewed the diploma (*manshūr*) of the Bitlis principality (Sh.I.379), presumably that granted by Timur.

43. The events and chronology of the two attacks are worth sorting out.

In 1422 İskender attacked the "berd" (i.e the walled area) of Ahlat: he did not capture it, but set the city on fire, which presumably means that he burnt the houses extra muros. (Clph.XV.I.300, p.283 (S.1422.1, p.159).) A Kurd called Sharaf, probably the commandant, but possibly the prince of Ahlat, defied him from the "berd". İskender slaughtered local Armenians at other places. (T'M 83. On the possible function of the Kurd Sharaf at Ahlat, above, sect. 3.2(b), esp. n.25 to p.106).

In 1423 İskender attempted to capture the citadel of Bitlis, but the attempt was frustrated. He then made an attempt on Ahlat; this too failed, but İskender left a force to pursue the siege and came back to Bitlis to renew the siege there. (KD I.98.) Then follows the siege of Ahlat during which Shams al-Din was executed.

The circumstances seem to have been the following. He was with İskender on Bingöl Dağ, where İskender was hunting. (He had been invited by İskender to join him - Clph.XV.I.400a, p.375 (S.1428.1, p.174).) Presumably he had joined İskender with the thought that this would pacify him without the sacrifice of one of the cities or the

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disruption of the principality.) İskender arrested him. Then he besieged Bitlis, where the citadel commandant, Mihmad, refused to surrender. İskender then executed some Kurdish leaders who had joined him. (Sümer, KK 125.) The siege of Bitlis in question here is presumably the second one; the hunt on Bingöl Dağ and the arrest of Shams al-Din would then have taken place between that and the second siege of Ahlat.

At this siege of Ahlat, Shams al-Din indicated to the defenders (from outside the city, of course) that even if he were to be executed they should not give up the city. (T'M 83-4: Shams al-Din's signal was to loosen his belt and lay his head-band on the ground. How these actions could be a signal to the defenders not to surrender is not clear.)

The Sherefname correctly gives the reason for the execution of Shams al-Din, and dismisses a rival explanation, that his wife was İskender's sister and he had broken her tooth. But it has to be remembered that İskender was in fact Shams al-Din's brother-in-law, because İskender's father Kara Yusuf had married his daughter to Shams al-Din.

44. Clph.XV.I.400a, p.376 (S.1428.1, p.175). The colophon calls this the third siege of Bitlis [by Iskender], rightly if, as argued above (n.43 to p.116), there were two sieges of Bitlis in 1423, and wrongly if there was only one. We have no evidence for a siege of Bitlis in 1422.

45. Woods, AQ 112 on the defeat. On Abu Sa'id's career, EI².I.147-8, "Abū Sa'id b. Muhammad ..." (J.Aubin). Abu Sa'id can hardly have been coming to the aid of Jahan Shah, as Aubin (148.1, bottom) suggests. He was attempting to recover former Timurid land in western Iran, no doubt seeing an opportunity in Jahan Shah's death.

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46. Clph.XV.II.424b, pp.333-7 (S.1472.1, pp.303-7; also in MC II.218-21), a poem by Moses of Arckē/Adilcevaz, is the best source. See also Sh.I.388.

The first attack took place in Armn. 919/1470: the colophon (pp.334-5; S.p.305) puts the date three years after Uzun Hasan's seizure of the "t'alt" (throne [of the former Kara Koyunlu empire]), which would imply 1472. However the colophon gives the next year as 920/1471 (p.335; S. p.305), and it fits much better with the chronology of other events to take the year of the first attack as 919/1470. That attack lasted two months. The siege of Bitlis, led by Sulaymān Bizhen Oghlī, was fiercely resisted, and the army of Muş [presumably that of the sub-principality of Muş -- see sect.3.2.(b) in particular] was sent to relieve the siege (KD II.543). Ibrahim, prince of Bitlis, sent his own mother to intercede, and at the order of Uzun Hasan the siege of Bitlis was raised. However forces were sent to besiege Muş (under Khalīl Pilten) and Ahlat (under Ahmad Beg)(KD II.543-4).

Next year (Arm. 920/1471) Sulaymān Bizhen Oghlī again attacked Bitlis, Sūfī Khalīl (a son of Uzun Hasan's) attacked Muş and Bāyandūr attacked Ahlat (colophon p.335; S. p.305). None seem to have been successful.

In 1472 Sūfī Khalīl seems to have been defeated at Muş (colophon p.335; S. pp.305-6). However Bāyandūr gained Ahlat; and from the fact that he was buried there in a large mausoleum one may wonder if he was not given the sub-principality of Ahlat as a personal estate. Bāyandūr was one of the faction which in H.883/1478 overthrew Sultān Khalīl, Uzun Hasan's son and appointed heir, in favour of Ya'qub, another son of Uzun Hasan (Woods, AQ 139-41). However Bāyandūr proclaimed himself Ak Koyunlu

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ruler in opposition to Ya'qub in H.886/1481 and was defeated and executed in the same year (Woods 143). (Gabriel, *Voyages* I.349 (no.139) on the inscription of Bāyandūr's mausoleum at Ahlat which gives the date of his death; I.245-6 on the date of the mausoleum itself.)

Bitlis, too, was besieged in 1472; but the siege lasted a year and five months (colophon p.336; S. p.307), which meant that the city was finally captured only in Armn.922/1473 (S. p.307 erroneously translates "nine hundred and twelve": the Armenian has "twenty-two" (without "nine hundred"), so the translation "[nine hundred and] twenty-two" would have been better). According to the colophon only the prince and eight men were alive inside the citadel at the final capitulation.

It seems a clear mistake to date this colophon to 1472 (Clph.XV.II, p.331; S. p.333) when it mentions an event in the year 1473. The companion colophon, XV.II.424a, is dated [9]21/1472 in one of the opening lines, but the one used in this footnote, 424b, must have been written a year or two later.

Woods' date for the first attack on the Bitlis principality, 873/1468-69 (AQ 123), seems also to be wrong. It is probably based on KD II.542, which gives the date 873 for an attack on the Bukhti principality by the Ak Koyunlu governor of Amīd, sultan Ahmad.

47. The evidence is only (1) that the leading members of the Ruzagi family had been removed, and the Ak Koyunlu must have administered the territory somehow, which would have required that the new governors have an income; (2) that Bāyandūr Bêg, son of Rustam, was buried at Ahlat (n.46), which, considering that he had conquered the place on behalf of the Ak Koyunlu (ibid.), may well indicate that he received Ahlat as a

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governorship. This would most likely have been a personal estate.

48. There was an early attack on Jazira in 1434-5 [Seleucid 1764] (BH Budge, App., xli). Hasan secured the submission of Hisn Kayfa in 1455 (Woods, AQ 105) and Jazira in 1456 (Woods 94). Hisn Kayfa was captured after a long siege in 1461-62 (Woods 105), and Jazira in 1469 (Woods 123 [KD II.542]).

Uzun Hasan's earlier relations with the Kurdish princes of the same area were somewhat different; but he was not in a position to subordinate them. Instead he married their daughters: that of Dawlat Shāh, Bulduqānī prince of Agīl/Eğil, 844/1441 (Woods 200) and that of the Zraqī prince of Tercil in c.850/1446-47 (Woods 214). But again he did later force the Zraqī to submit to him (865/1460 -- *ibid.*). See also Woods 104-5 for discussion of the marriages.

49. On the whole episode, Sh.I.390-99, a fine, complicated and interesting narrative. Date of recapture, I.396-7. The two elder sons of Ibrahim were killed in the first attempt, caught up in the crushing of an Assyrian/Nestorian revolt against the Hakkari prince (I.390-93). It is interesting that the next candidate was Shams al-Din, Ibrahim's brother; he was defeated at Rahva (I.394-5).

50. S.I.409, without a date, but specifying that Ismail was on his way back from a punitive expedition against the Dulğadır in which fighting had taken place in the Diyar Bakr and Ismail had captured Harput, which the Dulğadır had recently taken, within a week (I.408-9). The expedition in which Ismail did recapture Harput was that of 1507 (on which see Yınanç, *Dulkadir Beyliği* 93-4), and the *Sherefname* includes several of its

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details as if they had taken place just before the interview at Ahlat. This is impossible, as Sharaf was already at loggerheads with Ismail by then: either he was already in prison, or he was in a state of half-rebellion (see n.51). Moreover Ismail had to hurry back from Harput through snow, losing men and much of the plunder taken from the Dulgadır (Ramusio 110; Merchant in Persia 198); hardly easy circumstances for a banquet at Ahlat, with tents, singers, presents and an investiture (Sh.I.409-10).

The expedition of 1502 must be meant. In this, Ismail advanced as far as the district of Tercan in his pursuit of the Ak Koyunlu Alvand, and sent a detachment against Alā al-Dawla the Dulgadır in revenge for the denial of his daughter's hand and his attempt to prevent Kızılbaş tribesmen on his territory from joining Shah Ismail. See Yınanç, *Dulkadir Beyliği* 90.

51. The *Sherefname* appears to have confused the chronology. It seems to put the capture of Bitlis at 913/1507-8, when it is much more likely that Sharaf himself was captured. Thus the events in the principality's history which it recounts are put two and a half years too early.

(a) Sequence of events. (i) Sh.I.408-12. At the time of Ismail's punitive expedition to Maraş, a quarrel arose between Muhammad, Safavid governor of the Diyar Bakr, and one of the leading amirs of the Ruzagi principality, Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsī. As a result Muhammad persuaded Ismail to imprison all the Kurdish amirs present at his court, of whom Sharaf was evidently one. Ismail charged Chāyan Sultān with the subjection of the Bitlis principality. Hearing of the Uzbek invasion, Ismail released some of the Kurdish amirs, but not Sharaf. (ii) Ibrahim, Sharaf's cousin and former rival, took over the

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principality on Sharaf's imprisonment and battled with the Kızılbaş for two years (Sh.I.405-6). But he then fled to Siirt, and the Ruzagi, after a further six months' resistance, surrendered (Sh.I.406, 407).

(b) Dates. (i) The *Sherefname*'s. I.407: the date of the principality's surrender was 913/1507-8. Working back two and a half years, this would put the date of the decision to annexe the principality to 910/1504-5 or 911/1508-9. I.405: Ibrahim was kept in captivity for seven years after his defeat by Sharaf, or strictly the defeat of his faction by Sharaf, as he was only a small boy. This defeat took place shortly after the death of Shah Muhammad, Ibrahim's father, in 903/1497-8 (on these events, pp.122-23 above). If we suppose up to a year between Shah Muhammad's death and Ibrahim's imprisonment, and add on seven years for that imprisonment, we again get to 910/1504-5 or 911/1505-6. The Uzbek invasion at which the majority of the Kurdish amirs were let go would be that of 1506 (CHI VI.217).

(ii) Objections to the *Sherefname*'s dates. 1. The Maraş expedition during which the quarrel arose which led to the imprisonment of the amirs was in reality that of 1507 against the Dulğadır, in which Shah Ismail recaptured Harput from them; in fact he came from Elbistan and Maraş, the Dulğadır's two chief cities, to Harput (Yınanç, *Dulkadir Beyliği* 93-4). Keeping the same sequence of events, this would put the final capture of the principality in 1510 or 1511. 2. When the anonymous Italian Merchant in Persia passed through Bitlis in 1507, Sharaf was there, in a state of half-rebellion and considered by the Safavid court pretty much his own master (as the merchant puts it, Merchant in Persia 157). So he had not even been arrested at this point ! He and the other chiefs must

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have been arrested shortly afterwards. The Uzbek invasion which persuaded Ismail to let the majority of Kurdish amirs go must have been that of 1508 (CHI VI.217). Again if we add two and a half years to this we get to 1510 or 1511.

(iii) Source of the confusion. First of all the *Sherefname* muddles two punitive expeditions against the Dulgadır, those of 1502 and 1507. It seems to assume the latter expedition took place at an earlier date, when the investiture of Sharaf by Ismail, at which naturally they were on good terms, occurred (n.50 above). This would be enough to put back the whole string of events two and a half years or so. Secondly the *Sherefname* may be confusing two Uzbek invasions. That of 1508 caused the release of the Kurdish amirs; that of 1506 caused a punitive expedition against Bitlis to be recalled (Merchant in Persia 158). If the author of the *Sherefname* assumed that the second took place at the date of the first, or a year earlier, its chronology would fit perfectly: the expedition takes place in 1505, after which it is two and a half years to the capture of the Bitlis principality in 1507 or 1508.

52. (a) Ulama's defection, being conducted into Ottoman territory (amid great mutual suspicion) by Sharaf, and grant of Bitlis principality to him: Sh.I.435-7. (b) Sharaf put his whole principality on a defence footing and fled to Shah Tahmasp; Tahmasp's rescue of Bitlis: Sh.I.423-5. (c) Tahmasp gave Sharaf a diploma as *amir al-umerā'* of Kurdistan and ruler of the Bitlis principality: Sh.I.428-30. (d) Next year Sharaf decided to take revenge on the Kurdish princes who had sided with Ulama in the first Ottoman attack on Bitlis: in particular on Mir Dawud of Hizan, whom Sharaf besieged. At the second approach of Ulama with an Ottoman force, several of Sharaf's subjects and allies defected; and Sharaf

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was defeated and killed. Sh.I.431-34.

53. Ev.IV.88, 129-30: in Evliya's time Tatvan was a *hāşş* of the pasha of Van, and was ruled by a *subaşı*. Probably the district in question is the *nahiye* of Tatvan which we find in the *tahrir defters*: see Appendix IV.

The sub-principality of Ahlat first became part of the sanjak of Adilcevaz, on which see Appendix IV, then, by the mid-17th century, a separate sanjak (Ev.IV.89). Hınıs was a sanjak in the Erzurum province. There was a separate sanjak of Muş. On the sanjaks of Hınıs and Muş, see also Appendix IV.

A *hüküm* (Md. [i.e. MM] 32, 81, 168) of 9th Muharram 986/19th March 1578 exists in which the *beylerbeyi* of Van is instructed to give the sanjak of Adilcevaz to the returning Sharaf. But this order seems never to have been carried out. (This is the fourth document dealt with by Sevgen in BTDD 9 (1968): see pp.74-5. However it is missed out in his numeration. It is reproduced on p.73, right-hand column, beneath the *fermān* which is Sevgen's document III. In the caption at the bottom of the column, "Belge III" correctly applies to the *fermān*, but "... hükmü şerif" to the fourth document.)

54. The order (MM 32.506) translated by Sevgen, BTDD 9 (1969), 75-6, dated 19 *Zilkāde* 986/17th January 1588 (Document IV in caption to reproduction and at end of translation, but fifth document translated). The villages are Tiol, Asikent, Urmah and Kermuc; the *mezra'a* is Haruri. Sharaf's total income, according to this document, is 500,564 akçes, which is confirmed by MM 32.543 (Sevgen's Document VI in caption and translation, but seventh document translated) of 27th *Zilkāde* 986/25th January 1588, to

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the Van *beylerbeyi*.

Van Bruinessen (*Agha, Sheikh and State* 167) discusses the various sources of income, but seems to assume that the *bāc-i bāzār* mentioned by Evliya (IV.88) as part of the bey's income, was separate from the *iẖtisāb*.

As pointed out on p.126, the *Sherefname*, written in 1597, calculates that with the addition of the revenues of the plain of Muş (200,000 akçes) the total income of the bey, the author of the *Sherefname*, comes to 1,400,000 akçes. The discrepancy probably derives from the fact that the bey was given extra sources of income not mentioned in the order of 19th *Ẕilkāde* 986/17th January 1588.

In the face of these very specific denominations of the bey's estates it is hard to believe Evliya's assertion in the passage translated by Dankoff, Bitlis 15 (see n.57) that the estates from which the bey derived income before the Ottoman *tahrir* were simply kept by him, but in name only, and for purposes of classification within the *tahrir* were treated as *malikane*.

55. Sh.I.456, giving 200,000 as the yield of the Muş *nāhiye*'s *hāss*. Some check could be made by adding up the income given by the *tahrir defters*. The date of 1583 is implied by Evliya (IV.88) and by the *Sherefname* (I.455-6), which both say the grant was made in recognition of Sharaf's services in the capture of Erevan in 1583.

56. Ev.IV.88, the *cizye* of the Ya'kūbī and Arab re'āyā goes to the *kul* of Van; but Ev.IV.89 half of the *cizye* goes to the kul of Van, half to the bey. This suggests that in effect the whole *cizye* goes to the kul of Van, but the bey of Bitlis is the latter's agent in

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the disbursement of half. On the other hand the obvious destination for that half would be the janissary garrison at Bitlis. However that garrison's pay was met by half the *harāc*, not half the *cizye*, of Muş: Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Sheikh and State* 169. So the Bitlis bey genuinely did keep half the *cizye*.

The grant of the *harāc* of the sanjak of Muş after the Erevan campaign of 1031/1621-22 (Ev.IV.125 (D.169)) does not, however, seem to have been much of an addition to the personal revenue of the Bitlis bey, since part of it was used for the payment of janissary garrisons at various citadels within the Van province.

57. Dankoff, Bitlis 15, translating a passage from Evliya's MS (255a.19) which, as Dankoff says, is left out of the printed text at IV.179. This was probably because to the late Ottoman censor it would have seemed to justify claims for local rights.

On the officials appointed by the bey, Ev.IV.89.

58. Ev.IV.203 (D.195). On the position of Cıska/Cıksı, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* III.279. On the site of Zerikī/Derzin, *ibid.* III.308; *Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy 147 (the castle of Zerakī, on a plain, above which passes the river of Bitlis; here it is classed among the sanjaks of Āmid/Diyārbekīr, where geography suggests, and is missing from the list of sanjaks in the Van province on p.162).

59. Ev.IV.238 (D.271). Except Zerikī and Şirvān these are dealt with below, sect. IV.2.1. On Zerikī, above n.58. On Şirvan's position, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* III.307; and the refs. on p.309 (Hdbk. Mes. 1917 = Handbook of Mesopotamia (1917)). History: Sh.I.231-7.

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60. Ev.D.335, 283b.21-27 (not in Ist.). Dankoff's supposed two sanjaks of Ekrad and Beni Kotur are really one, Ekrad-i Beni Kotur. His Erecîk is Erecêk, modern Erçek. Ağākis was south-west of Vostan: see Sect. IV.2.1 below. The five others I have not yet placed, but they must be just within the modern Iranian border.
61. Sh.I.456. Sharaf presumably abdicated in order to write his Sherefname, so the date of abdication was no doubt a few years before the current date given at this point in the text, 1005/1597. We are about half way through the text here.
62. But for a qualification as to the amount of additional revenue actually accruing to the Bitlis bey, n.56 to p.126 above.
63. Dankoff, *Bitlis* 11 n.2, quotes 'Abdī Pāṣā's *Vekāyi'nāme* (available only in MS - - Dankoff p.xx) on the subject of Abdal's deposition and replacement, and its date; and cites Eremia, *Patmut'iwn* (1982 ed.), 276 to the same effect and on the subject of Abdal's imprisonment and execution. The date of his execution may have been 1078/1667-68: but as Dankoff says it needs to be verified whether the *Zübde-i Vekāya'āt* of Hācī Mehemmed Paşa, again available only in MS, and cited Köhler, *Kurdenstadt* 40-41, actually does state that Abdal was executed at that date.
64. (a) 1672. Zulalyan, *Ar. Hay.* 323-4: a colophon of 1672. Attack on Bitlis by a pasha from Stambul. (b) 1685. MC II.416 (anon. Vanec'i II). Attack on Bitlis; no apparent result. (c) 1687. MC I.357 (anon. Vanec'i I). Two different pashas intervened in succession. (d) 1732. MC I.371 (anon. Vanec'i I) & II.487 (Martiros Xalifay) replaced the khan and killed his three eldest sons. (e) 1779. MC I.378 (anon. Vanec'i I) & II.493-4

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(Martiros Xalifay). Hostages taken from Muş (I.378) after an attack on Bitlis.

65. Lynch II.149, without reference; but his source is consular records, which would reveal much about the last ten years of the dynasty's existence. Perhaps the history of tribal aghas and in particular those of the ruling family in Bitlis could be taken even further than that. A large turbe in Bitlis, the Küfrevî Türbesi, built in 1316/1898 (although the Hacı Yusuf buried there may only have died in the early 20th century -- Arık, *Bitlis* 70-72), bespeaks one or more prominent influential families in the city during the 19th century. Lynch (II.151) also speaks of a Shemseddin Bey, a notable of Bitlis, which again implies such families. This prompts the question whether such families still exist (they do in one or two other towns nearby), and if so whether they have kept documents of historical value, or given them to mosques or to the müftülük. These documents might, of course, date from before the 19th century.

66. Even so, once at least in this period the bey submitted to the Porte and paid tribute (Kinneir 395; visit of 1813); however at Southgate's visit in 1837 the bey was in practice independent (Southgate, *Tour* I.228-9) and expressed contempt for the sultan (*ibid.* 216-18).

67. The image of the Bitlis beys as essentially laws unto themselves in the Ottoman period seems to derive from Lynch's assessment (II.148-9). That in turn seems to have been founded on Tavernier's report of 1665 (1679 ed., I.303), in which Abdal is described as acknowledging neither the Ottoman sultan nor the Safavid shah.

Van Bruinessen (*Agha, Sheikh and State* 169) endorses the view that the Bitlis beys

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were essentially independent of the Ottoman government: "a high degree of independence had been granted to the ruling family; when possible they arrogated even more."

68. The extent to which it was the same principality and the difficulties and assumptions involved in making the comparisons are discussed in Ch.II.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III, SECT.II.

1. The only record of movement by this route is Aṛak'el, 1669 ed., 482, and concerns the mid-17th century; but the Hakkari principality still controlled Çatak at that stage (ibid. 471).

2. In the Ak Koyunlu occupation the castle of Bāy and part of the principality were seized by the Dunbeli tribe (Sh.I.310). Later, during the short allegiance to Shah Ismail, the reigning prince divided the whole principality between his sons: one received Bāy (Sh.I.95). We also hear of a *dīzdār* of the castle (Sh.I.95-6). This suggests a district of the principality which could be held by one man, but may sometimes have been joined to other districts.

The district dependent on Bāy, Humaru, was in the late Ottoman period a *nāhiye* coming under a *mudīr*. For the villages within the *nāhiye* and its boundaries, see Appendix III. It was centred on the Humaru valley. The river in this valley was a northerly affluent of the Shamsdinan Su. The river rises near the edge of the Gevar plain, flows south-east, then describes a series of sharp angles after which it is flowing south-west rather than south-east. At this point the side-valley containing the present village of Bāy comes in from the west, and the combined stream flows off southward to join the Shamsdinan Su.

Bay was the seat of Beth Bgash, a bishopric of the Church of the East known from the synod of 410 (Fiey, "Hakkari Turc" 448-50). The bishopric was much wider than the much later *nāhiye* of Humaru, as it included the Gevar plain and the hills rising from that plain north-east to the present Persian border; nevertheless Bāy must be looked for in the later Humaru. The present village of Bāy cannot be ruled out, but there are no records of ruins or a castle or town site there. Fiey ("Hakkari Turc" 468) reports the ruins of the



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church of Khumâro at Sürünis (Fiey's version of the names). The church was supposedly of the 6th century. Now there was no village of Khumâro, but only a district. This suggests that the church in some sense served the whole district of Khumâro/Humaru, which in turn suggests that Sürünis was the capital of Humaru. The ruined church, whether or not the actual remains date from the 6th century, is no doubt the cathedral. Bay, seat of Beth Bgash, was at Sürünis. It lay in the main valley, which carried one of the routes from Mesopotamia into the Hakkari district. Its location, near the junction of the tributary to the district's main river, was reasonably central within the district of Humaru.

However the castle may well not have been at Sürünis/Sürünüs. The only castle whose existence has been reported in Humaru is that visited by Percy in 1899 (Percy, *Highlands* 236-7). The castle he visited had been built only recently (Percy p.240), but it could well have replaced a previous one, and the site, "the summit of a low rounded hill", sounds more promising than Sürünüs. Percy does not place the castle precisely, but gives only the clue that after crossing the col from the Gevar plain into the Humaru valley, it is ten miles (16 km.) down the valley to the castle. Percy's destination was Neri, so he must have followed the valley down its first section, then round the first sharp turn (to the south-west), but afterwards left the valley south-eastwards, climbing out to a saddle from which he could reach Neri: the latter lay in the Shamsdinan Su valley. If we follow the Humaru valley downstream for 16 km. we get more or less to the point where Percy turned out of the valley. This, at a junction of tracks, would be a sensible location for the castle, and it is only four kms. or so from Surunus.

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The map marks a village of Bay a few kilometres south-west of Julamerk/Hakkari. The village is a conceivable candidate for the castle of Bay, but no castle or castle site is known, and it would be hard to explain why the castle was so near the capital, Julamerk.

3. Chal and Dize. (a) *Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy 176-8, mainly concerning the mid-17th century. [1] Chal is a sanjak ... depending on Hakkari. [2] The Zab passes beneath Chal, then the castles of Bīsutūn ["without pillar"] and Ustūn ["pillar"], then flows under a stone bridge in the canton of Zibārī ... [3] Bīsutūn is a large castle on the summit of a mountain between 'Amadīa and Ziril. [4] The river of Culamerk [form in Ottoman text; standard Turkish form "Çölemerik"; Arab. "Julamerk"] flows near and to the south of Bīsutūn. [5] Chal is an *emaret* on its own, but has been regarded as a dependency of the Hakkari. [6] It is to the south of and in face of ... Bīsutūn, on the corner of a big mountain. The river flows between the [corners] of the two mountains. [7] Dīzī is a *place forte* subject to Hakkari. It is on a mountain south of Chal, and to the east of Ustūn, from which it is not far. [8] Ustūn is on a mountain near and to the west of Urmia.

(b) Chal the town. The text identifies it correctly: [2] and [6].

(c) Dīzī, probably modern Dize on the Zab not far south-west of Julamerk/Hakkari. The text appears to confuse it with Bīsutūn. The castle of Ziril lies at the southern end of the Catak valley, in other words Dize lies between Amadiya and Ziril: [2], [3], [6], [7].

(d) Chal the district. In the mid-17th century it was evidently a sanjak on its own:

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[1], [5]. But the *Cihānnüma* also states it to *be* and to *have been regarded* as a dependency of Hakkari ([5]). Hakkari only became an Ottoman vilayet in the 19th century. So at this stage Chal could not have depended on it in the Ottoman administrative system. A dependence on the tribal principality must be meant. There is no inconsistency between [1] and [5], which state respectively that the dependence obtained at the present time [the date of composition of the *Cihānnüma*] and that it had obtained in the past. Both were true, because it both has been and still was part of the tribal principality of Hakkari. There are no claims on Chal from other estates or principalities such as Amadiya: see notes 4 and 14 below.

4. Amadiya, Arab. "'Amadiya". Our information on the town's medieval history dates from well before the Kara Koyunlu period. But the town and surrounding district are likely to have continued as an estate, much as 'Aqra and Shūsh (combined) did. On the proposal that the tribe to which it belonged was a branch of the Hakkari tribe, n.000 in section 5 below.

5. For example, during the short Safavid overlordship, when the Hakkari prince Zahid put each of his seven sons in command of part of the principality, Rustam received the *nāhiya* of Gavāsh and the *qal'a* of Akhtamār (Pers. spelling). (Sh.I.95.) But Sayyid Muhammad received Vostan (Sh.I.96.) On Gavāsh as a district, see Clph.XV.III.225, p.173 ("erkir"); ibid. 227, p.177 (plain); AT²⁵⁸, year 942/1535; ³⁶⁰, year 959. There was a village of Gawaš (Arm. translit.): Clph.XIV.725, pp.579, 580, written at Aghtamar.

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6. The anonymous Merchant in Persia passed Vostan in 1507 and described it (in the 19th-century English translation) as "on a large gulf of the sea [the lake], with large numbers of villages, all inhabited by Kurds." He cannot have been right in saying that they were all inhabited by Kurds, but there must have been a sizeable Kurdish element.

7. Thierry, "Monastères IV" [REArm 7 (1970)], 130, 131: dismantled. Thierry is mistaken in supposing (p.130) that Çatak is the successor of Strabo's Satalka, one of the three cities of the kingdom of Gordyene. A much more plausible site is that of Eskieruh/Sedukh, former capital of the northern division of the Bohtan district. (Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* III.359.) Gordyene was the predecessor in the Classical period of Late Classical Corduene (Arm. "Korduk'", Syr. "Qardū"), the Bohtan district. Thierry relies on the name Sadakh found in Cahen's history of the Hisn Kayfa principality (Cahen, "Diyar Bakr" (14 c.), 100: as "Sadaḥ"). But this place was just east of Jazira/Cizre, as Cahen's source itself states. It must correspond to modern Shakh (Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.336, 337). Admittedly Shakh is another candidate for Satalka.

Thierry is also in error when he places Ĵermajor, one of the districts of Mekk', in the Çatak valley (p.130). Ĵermajor was the sector of the valley of the Bohtan Su starting precisely at the southern exit from the Çatak valley.

8. A rebellion of the prince's Nestorian subjects is mentioned at Sh.I.392. Clearly then he had Nestorian subjects; but the text is otherwise unspecific as to just which and where. There is one exception: the incident in which Nestorians living in the vicinity of the castle of Diz help Asad al-Dīn of the Golden Hand to regain his throne from the Ak Koyunlu

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by capturing the castle (Sh.I.93). The castle will be that at the point of debouchment of the Diz valley into the Zab valley, upstream of Julamerk. Unfortunately the incident tells us what we already know more or less for certain on a priori grounds: Nestorians in a district not far from Julamerk, capital of the principality, and from Gevar, another district where Kurds are known for sure to have resided, were in general loyal subjects of the princes.

9. Rhea, "Hakkari district" [JAOS 10 (1880)], 118-19: [after detailing the location of the Pinyanishi] "further east and to the east of Jelu". Probably "further east" means east of the main habitat of the Pinyanishi, which lay south of Tkhuma. That would mean part of modern Iraq, in the foothill area. But "east of Jelu" should mean the Oramar valley.

10. Yalçın-Heckmann, *Tribe and Kinship* 100, following Blau, makes a slightly different point, that the adoption of a name derived from that of a geographical area is the result of settlement in that area after prolonged migration; but there is little evidence for this.

11. Where the two sources, Rhea and Blau, mention "tribes" (really tribal sections) in the same locality, there may have been cases of one and the same tribal section known under different names at the same time.

12. (a) On Šapat, Fiey, *Adarb. Chret.* 406, 407-8. (b) "The city of Malāzkird". Minorsky, "Kurds" (EI), 456.2, no.11, suggests that "the city of Malāzkird" in al-'Umari's text is a mistake for the Rubār-i Barāzgīrd, the next river south of the Shamsdīnan Su. There is no record of association between this river's valley and that of

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the Shamsdinan Su, and it seems unlikely that a city would be confused with a river. Still, the idea of a confusion of names is a warm suggestion, and river names could enter and influence the confusion. If "Dazgīr" is right, perhaps the mistake is influenced by "Barāndūz", the name of the river whose upper drainage basin is the district of Dazgir. "Barāzjīrd" itself may be somewhere in the amalgam of sounds; which does not entail that the Barāzjīrd's valley is the district denoted by al-'Umari's "city of Malazkīrd".

The district of Mergevar encompasses Šapat, which poses a serious difficulty for this suggestion. Nevertheless two tribes can inhabit the same territory, and Mergewār and Šapat were probably not coterminous. Another possibility for "the city of Malāzkird" is a location within Rustāq. The map marks a Navsar (formerly "Nowshahr", "New City" - - Nikitine, "Shamdinan" (EI), 303.1), though the capital at the time may have been Neri.

13. Despite the abundance of clues within Evliya (IV.276-84), I have not been able so far to pinpoint Kal'e-i Pinyānīšī or any other of their castles. This is because I cannot find on the map (USAF 1:250,000) any of the places to which, by journey times and compass directions, Evliya relates the castle. At the time of his visit the Pinyanishi had their own sanjak, within Ottoman boundaries. But the general area of the Pinyanishi sanjak is clear.

(a) To speed up the process of identification, I put down here the first batch of clues contained in Evliya, and his information on the castle itself.

Abāgay Kal'esi-Vān Karāhīsār, 7 hrs. [Abāgay Kal'esi, as opposed to the district of

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Abāgay, can be identified with Saray -- see sect.III.00].

Vān Karāhīsār-Pasin Aga village, 5 hrs. east

Pasin Aga village to Melakin village, 3 hrs. east again

Melakin village to Kal'e-i Pinyānīš, 3 hrs., direction unspecified

Kal'e-i Pinyānīš. It is on a high rock, with caves in its side. There is a staircase up to a gate on the south side. Below the castle, by the Bezdük deresi [stream], there are 600 Kurdish houses.

(b) Possible ways of finding a solution.

(i) On the map so far consulted, USAF 1:250,000, the only places and features which could correspond to any of Evliya's places (whether or not mentioned by name in this note) are: Berdük, on the main feeder of the Nāzlū Chāy; Qal'ah Rash Pa'in on Zowla Chāy, another feeder of the Nāzlū Chāy; Esma'il Āgā Qal'ehsi, on the Nāzlū Chāy, north-west of Urmia.

(ii) Other maps could be consulted, particularly Persian ones. Adamec's *Historical Gazetteer* could also be combed, though the names will still be those of the early 20th century.

14. One indication of the western boundary of the territory of Amadiya is the position of the castle of Herwer (as it is written by modern scholars) or (more probably) Harūr.

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This is known to have been one of the Hakkari's castles in that territory. ('Um., Mas.Abs., tr.Q., 323; I.Ath., K. VI.313, quoted in Quatremère's n.3.) The village of Harur 27-28 km. west-north-west of Amadiya fits perfectly Maunsell's Kumri Kale, the path to which went via Derishki [Dirishkah on map], Binervi [Baynavi], Hadenā [Hadyanah] and Deshish [Darshish] (MRETA I.383). The castle is presumably just outside the village. Another castle which would be well worth locating exactly and looking at on the ground is Maunsell's Benyamin Kale, "the site of an ancient city" (MRETA I.384). From Maunsell's description this is by the Khabur on its west bank, more or less due west of Harūr (Maunsell's track crosses the Khabur by a ford one mile north of Begovi [Bayguwah]). This might be another of the Hakkari fortresses in the Amadiya district, for example Qal'at al-Jadīda (I.Ath., K. VI.254; 'Um., Mas.Abs., tr.Q., 327, refs. in n.8).

15. In 370/980 a force was sent against the Hakkari by the Buyid ruler; the Hakkari surrendered, but were then crucified. (I.Ath., K.VIII.521.) The Hakkari are heard of in 432/1041 (ibid. IX.270-2). Another expedition is known in 516/1122 (ibid. X.374, 377, 426). The atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (Zengi) of Mosul captured various forts in northern Iraq, among them Jalab and, in 537/1142, al-Sha'bānī. (I.Ath., K. V.59; see Quatremère in 'Um., Mas.Abs., tr.Q. 327-8.) On all these events, Minorsky, "Kurds" (EI), 452.2-454-2.

It is at this point that Amadiya (Arab. "Amadīya") acquired its name: one of the fortresses taken by Zengi was renamed after him. But the sources disagree as to whether it was Jalab, Sha'bānī or Āshib, and therefore as to the previous name of Amadiya.

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16. (a) The Māzinjānīs. At this point in the text (tr.Q., 320) the name is written المرنجانية ; المارحانية at 310; the name of the town is مارجان . The Māzinjānīs lived at Māzinjān, Nirwa and Bikhma and in the districts around the Zab, "al-bilād al-Zabīya" ('Um', Mas.Abs., tr.Q., 310; Minorsky, "Kurds" (EI) 456.2). Although I have not located any of the three settlements, the general whereabouts of the Māzinjānīs must be south-east of Amadiya, 'Aqra and Shush, and well down the Zab. (b) The Zīnārīs. They, and the district of Zīnār, must therefore be between the Māzinjānīs (to the south-east) and Amadiya, 'Aqra and Shūsh (all to the north-east), and adjacent to the latter.

17. Proposed by Quatremère, 'Um., Mas.Abs., tr. Q, 317, n.2. But the suggestion that descendants of Marwan II, grandson of Marwan I, had Kurdish blood in them makes good sense. Marwan II's mother is said by some sources to have been a Kurd, and by others to have been at any rate non-Arab (EI², "Marwan I", 6.623.1 (G.R.Hawting)). To treat realistically the idea that the Hakāmīs of the 14th century were descended from Marwan II one would have to suppose that a Kurdish tribe grew up around those descendants, and that that tribe was the same as the Hakāmīs known to al-'Umari. On Marwan I, ibid. 6.621.2-623.1 (C.E.Bosworth).

18. Al-'Umari correctly saw that the Hakkaris of the Amadiya district could have been Hakkaris in both senses, but stopped short of explicitly connecting the tribe name with the area name. Perhaps he was afraid that the reader would think he, the author, had glibly invented the tribe name on the basis of the area name, and had forgotten the real tribe name.

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Is there a hint in the name "Hakāmī" that al-'Umari or an informant had heard the real tribal ancestry of the Julamerkīs and had heard, too, their other tribal name ? The author or his source hears the name "Hakkari", decides it must be wrong, remembers the claim of Umayyad ancestry, and produces "Hakāmī".

19. (a) Clph.XV.I.185, p.177 (S.1415.1, p.137): "Belek' Bek" is not an unknown prince (as Sanjian comments), but Malik Beg, i.e. the *malik* Muhammad. The latter is already known at the battle of Asad in 1410 (p.189 above). (b) Muhammad is mentioned as "Melik, son of 'Izz al-Din" in a colophon of the same year, XV.I.187, p.177 (S.1415.2, p.137). (c) Clph.XV.I.217, p.204 (S.1417.5, p.141-2): "Melik Mahmat". (d) Clph.XV.I.238a, p.220 (S.1418.3, p.142): Melik' Mahmed". (e) Clph.XV.I.252, p.231 (S.1419.4, p.144): "Melik'". (f) Clph.XV.I.269a, p.243 (S.1420.4, p.145): "Melik'".

20. The chronology and course of these events (including those of 1423), and the personalities involved, need an explicit clarification.

According to a colophon (XV.I.400a), in Armn. 872/1423 "the prince of our land [Rštunik'], Melik' Mahmad, set forth with countless gifts to side with Sk'andar in battle;" but İskender made him drink poison. (Clph.XV.I.400a, p.375 (S.1428.1, p.174). It is not absolutely clear that the phrase used, "deḷ mahu arbuc'eal", lit. "he caused him to drink the potion of death", means "poisoned", however.) The colophon does not say in which battle Muhammad wanted to take İskender's side; but as the sieges of Ahlat and Bitlis appear to have occupied İskender's campaigning season in the summer of 1423, those sieges are the most plausible. Neither does the colophon give İskender's motive.

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Next year (Arm. 873/1424) Īskender besieged Van. Whether before or during the siege, he commanded Sultan Ahmad of Vostan, son of 'Izz al-Din, to come before him and then seized him. He took him off to assist in the siege of Van. (Clph.XV.I.400a, pp.375-6 (S.1428.1, p.176); T'M 84, "Ēzdin" = 'Izz al-Din.) The trick of inviting a prince to come before him and then seizing him had been employed by Iskender before: sect.I.5.(iv) and n.43.

It is convenient now to switch to the fullest account of 1424 and 1425, that of Thomas of Mecop' (84-85). This account leaves the story of the second siege of Ahlat and turns to Īskender's initial attack on Van in the same year, 873/1424. (Cf. Clph.XV.I.400a, pp.375-6 (S.1428.1, pp.174-5).)

Before the first attack on Van, says Thomas of Mecop', Īskender seized the lord of Rštunik', son of the emir Ēzdin. He "hastily" attacked the fortress of Van, stayed for four months in the district, and wrecked that district. Numberless and uncountable Christians died from hunger and from [thirst]. Cf. Clph.XV.I.330, p.314 (S.1424.1, p.165), which confirms the date of 1424; Clph.XV.I.348, p.328 (S.1425.4, p.167) confirms the seizure of Ahmad and gives 50 days as the length of the failed siege.

After the failed siege of 1424, Īskender went to Tabriz. Ahmad was taken to Erēnĵak, a fortress in Azerbaijan several times used as a prison, and was executed there.

In 874/1425 he besieged Van again. This time "Melik' Asd, the son of the K'urd" was forced to surrender the fortress. He was allowed to leave with his furniture and goods, and went to Julamerk. "Melik' Asd" [Malik Asad, "Lion"] was therefore another son of 'Izz al-Din Shir [also "Lion"] of Hakkari. (Cf. Clph.XV.I.400a, p.376 (S.1428.1,

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p.175).)

Thomas of Mecop' continues: in the same year they killed his uncle, Pahat'in, taking the land of Rštunik' and the island of Alt'amar. "His" refers to Malik Asad, who as we have seen was a son of 'Izz al-Din. Pahat'in [Bahā' al-Dīn] was therefore a brother of 'Izz al-Din. As Thomas of Mecop' associates the capture of the land of Rštunik' with the murder of Bahā' al-Dīn, we can suppose with reasonable confidence that Bahā' al-Dīn was its lord, the replacement for Ahmad. (This makes three rulers of Vostan murdered by Iskender in three consecutive years.) Many of the inhabitants of Rštunik' and Alt'amar fled and starved.

The capture of Van is put by Sümer (KK 127) in 1424 rather than 1425. Minorsky ("Thomas of Metsop'" 13, n.25) thought that "Ahmat" in T'M was a mistake for "Mahmat". Neither of these modern scholars had the collected colophons available to him. Cf. Album, "Lake Van Hoard" [NumChron 1976] 119-20, who sees that the colophons indicate the latter date.

21. According to Clph.XV.I.400a, p.375 (S.1428.1, p.174), when Īskender captured Van and other fortresses, he "made our country his mulk'". As the colophon was written in Aghtamar, the direct Kara Koyunlu administration must have extended to Vostan and Aghtamar.

22. T'M 99-100; Samarkandi II.644 (gives date of H. 835/1431-32); Sümer, KK 132. Yār 'Alī fled to the Shīrvān Shāh at Shammakhī, where he was given over to Shah Rukh. In revenge Īskender plundered Shammakhī.

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23. (a) In 1444 the Kara Koyunlu held Vostan and Van: Clph. XV.I.637a, p.565 (cf. p.566)(S.1444.2, p.201). Jahan Shah is named as the ultimate overlord. The Kılıç Arslan mentioned here as the *kolmnāpet* or governor of the district is a Kara Koyunlu, not, of course, the Ak Koyunlu Kılıç Arslan, son of Pīr ‘Alī, whom Sanjian takes him for. (b) Siege of 1452: Clph.XV.II.25a, pp.20-21 (S.1452.4, p.220).

24. They must have taken Van by Armn. 919/1470, because they withdrew there after their first siege of Bitlis in that year: Clph.XV.II.424b, p.385, S.1472.1, p.305. On the chronology, Sect.I.5.(vi), p.120 and esp. n.46.

25. Sh.I.93-94, including the invitation to Asad al-Dīn by the Nestorians of the principality to return from Egypt and their dramatic recapture of the castle of Diz (at the mouth of the Diz valley). The date: nothing accurate fixes it; if the Ruzagi regained their own principality in 900/1494-95, perhaps the Hakkari did likewise about the same time. Any date from 1490 onwards would be credible, as the Ak Koyunlu empire was almost continually wracked by internal wars in that period. Woods’ references (AQ 285 (n.76)) seem unhelpful.

26. The *Sherefname* fails to mention the event; but it was not much of an event in any case. Joining the Ottoman cause did not suddenly make the Hakkari prince anti-Safavid: he was anti-Safavid already.

27. Ulama, governor of Safavid Azerbaijan, defected in 937/1529-30 to the Ottoman side (see sect.I.5.(vii)). He had been residing at Van and Vostan (Sh.I.418-20). But this residence cannot have lasted for more than a few months. He only moved to Van in 937.

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After he had decided to make a bid for the vezirate of the Safavid empire, he was discredited by rivals and took up residence for a short time. He soon sent a message to Istanbul that he would enter Ottoman service. (Kırzioğlu, *Kafkas-Elleri* 128.) So this argument would only prove the inclusion of Van and Vostan within the Safavid empire by 937/1529-30. Metin Kunt drew my attention to the idea that he probably took up residence in Van merely in order to defect to the Ottoman empire -- or, more exactly, to give himself that option.

28. Zahid figures as one of the "great lords of Kurdistan" in a list of all Ottoman sanjaks of the year 1527 (Kunt, *Sultan's Servants* 108 and fig.6). Conspicuously the beys in the "province" of Kurdistan featuring in this list are paid no salary. The Hakkari principality, like the other great Kurdish principalities, is not divided into sanjaks at this stage.

29. Kırzioğlu, *Kafkas-Elleri* 146, part of a *fetihname* of 941/1534 (see Kırzioğlu p.144). In the relevant part it is addressed to Sayyid Muhammad, son of Zahid, bey of the Vostan sanjak, and to the servants (*bendeleri*) of Malik Beg, now the Hakkari prince. (a) Vostan. Sayyid Muhammad was a son of Zahid, who was appointed prince of Vostan in the division by Zahid under Safavid suzerainty. He was later to become the Hakkari prince. (Sh.I.95-6, 97. Cf. I.435: Sayyid Muhammad at the wedding of Ibrahim, son of Sharaf Khan of Bitlis.) (b) Remainder of principality. The Ottoman *fetihname* apparently betrays, by the term *bendeleri*, that Malik Beg still governs the whole principality, Vostan excepted, in the traditional manner, by the medium of several apanages which are in the

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hands of members of the princely family. No mention is made of sanjaks.

30. Dankoff, *Bitlis* 15, an important and so far unpublished passage in Evliya. For exposition and comment, Ch.2. Otherwise see Ev.IV.178-9 ("başka hükümetdir").

31. "Eşêr" in Kurdish means "tribes" (Yalçın-Heckmann, *Tribe and Kinship* 107): it is a transmuted form of the Arabic plural "'ashā'ir". In an Ottoman text it might well be rendered "eşîr". Ottoman officials etc. would hear the Kurdish rather than the Arabic or (East) Syriac form of the word. Cf. Hütteroth, *Bergnomaden* 110-11, where the force of "aşîr" is tribal as opposed to subject population.

32. Because the Hakkari prince appointed its bey: see below, esp. p.119.

33. Sh.I.97. The text says that Muhammad expelled Zaynal, not Malik Beg. But since Malik Beg was certainly the Hakkari ruler in 1534, and the *Sherefname* does not know that he ever became ruler, my account assumes that it was he who succeeded Zahid. He would have been a more natural successor than Zaynal. Zaynal did later become prince, after expelling Muhammad; this suggests that the author of the *Sherefname* assumed Zaynal, not Malik Beg, became prince after Zahid was expelled. The *Sherefname* is misled by the fact that Zaynal was the rebellion's leader and that he succeeded Muhammad as Hakkari prince.

Conceivably, however, the dynastic history is more complicated. For example, if Malik Beg was made prince by the rebels, he could have been succeeded by his son Zaynal before Muhammad, expelling Zaynal, seized power. Zaynal would then have had a second period of power after his expulsion of Muhammad.

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Sevgen (*DGA Türk Beylikleri* 143) assumes that it was Zaynal whom Muhammad expelled.

34. Sevgen, *DGA Türk Beylikleri* 146, 147. The castle is probably that of Pizan, which is not mentioned before the Ottoman period. It is described in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.249-50 (with ref.).

35. MC I.379 (anon. Vanec'i); MC II.494 (Martiros Xalifay). The Julamerk bey paid off the Van pasha with 23 or 25 purses, and seems to have given him a boy, probably his son, as hostage.

There is no evidence for Sevgen's assertion that the dynasty was expelled in 1688 and the principality then converted into a non-hereditary sanjak (Sevgen, *DGA Türk Beylikleri* 158, followed by Yalçın-Heckmann, *Tribe and Kinship* 55). Yalçın-Heckmann (pp.55, 59), however, also assumes that Nurallah, the last Hakkari prince, was descended from the ruling family of the late Middle Ages and early Ottoman period: the assumption is impossible if the sanjak was non-hereditary by the 1840's.

36. By 1839 the dynasty was confined to the inland territory. Başkale/Albāq was the senior of the two domains.

37. The fact that several issues of coins in the name of the Jalayrid rulers were minted at Van and Vostan in this period does not mean that the Hakkari princes were undergoing a sudden subjection to the Jalayrids, but just that they wished to mint coins and the Jalayrids were the overlords.

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1. MC II.484-5 (Martiros Xalifay) and I.365 (anon. Vanec'i I): in 1711 Recep Paşa of Van mounted what was presumably a punitive expedition against Hoşap. On the way he plundered the castle of Zeṛnak. This strongly implies, but does not prove, that Zeṛnak belonged to the Hoşap beys. According to MC I.365, many people had put their valuables in the castle of Zeṛnak. The information suggests that although within the domain of the Hoşap bey, the castle of Zeṛnak was not inhabited and maintained by him but, perhaps, by a close relative, who made the castle available to his *re'āyā* during an invasion.
2. *Handbook of Mesopotamia* (1917), p.150: "Qasriq or Aqcheh Qal'ah ... 30 Kurd houses, the residence of Amer Agha, a Kurdish Bey." However the medieval site is likely to have been at Kangavar, about 4 km. south-east of Kasrik: see n.4.
3. This becomes clear in a complicated incident, which shows essentially that Āghchaqal'a was an estate belonging to a member of the Mahmudi ruling family. During the Safavid occupation of the Van region, Shah Tahmasp had allowed the Dunbeli to govern the Mahmudi principality, and part of the Dunbeli had fortified themselves in Āghchaqal'a. Shah Tahmasp had temporarily appointed Muḥammad Benjevī, a Mahmudi, though not the next in hereditary succession, as Mahmudi prince (Sh. I.303; Benjevī only at I.307). This was essentially because the Mahmudi had murdered the Kızılbaş amir put over them by Tahmasp in place of the hereditary successor (I.303). Muḥammad Benjevī was grandson of Mīr Hāmid (I.303); Hamza, the rightful Mahmudi heir, was also Hāmid's grandson (I.302, Mīr Hāmid and 'Ivāz Bêg; I.303, 'Ivāz Bêg and Hamza).

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Therefore he was Hamza's cousin.

Now Muhammad in turn was deposed and imprisoned. The Dunbeli were put in by Tahmasp to govern the principality. Part of the Dunbeli tribe's Mamreshān clan (*'ashīret*) fortified themselves in Āghchaqal'a, others in the castle of Khōshāb (Sh.I.303; Mamreshī at I.303-4). [This by itself would be strong evidence that Āghchaqal'a was part of the Mahmudi principality.] Muhammad now escapes from prison and wins back the principality for the Mahmudi; but then resigns the command over the Mahmudi and contents himself with Āghchaqal'a (I.304, 307), which from ancient days (according to the *Sherefname*) has been in the power of his ancestors and forefathers (I.307). But we are not dealing with a collateral branch of the family. As just explained, Muhammad was the cousin of the recently murdered rightful heir and grandson of a previous prince, Mīr Hāmid. Āghchaqal'a was no doubt an apanage of the ruling family, although there may well have been conventions surrounding its allocation.

Arak'el (1669 ed.), 488, says that the monastery of Hogwoc' Vank' is in the "district" of Hoşap, in the "domain" of Suleyman Bey, then (mid-17th century A.D.) bey of Hoşap. This monastery is in the Norduz Çay basin. The passage seems only to show that the district in which the monastery lay was part of the Mahmudi lands, rather than part of the personal estate of the prince, Sulayman. If the latter is meant, Āghchaqal'a is likely nevertheless to have been an apanage which at this point happened to have been taken by the ruling prince, rather than one of the estates permanently set aside for the ruling prince (Hoşap and Qal'a-i Ashōt were such estates: see below.)

Note that the monastery of Hogeac' Vank' (to use its most normal, but, by the rules

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of Classical Armenian, grammatically incorrect, name) itself possessed large estates within the Norduz Çay basin: see Thierry, "Monastères I" [REArm 4 (1967)], 173. These were the valley of the Kasrik Çay and a big estate at Mezra near Kangvar. The valley of the Kasrik Çay cannot be the whole Norduz Çay basin, but must mean the environs of the river upstream and downstream of Kasrik, certainly as far upstream as the monastery. Kangvar must have been a village at or near the site of the medieval castle of Kangavar (the *Sherefname*'s "Āghchaqal'a"). By the time of the report of the monastery's estates used by Thierry, the castle had been moved to the present Kasrik; see n.4 below. These details of the size and whereabouts of the monastery's estates do not help much with the question what land it was whose produce the lord of medieval Āghchaqal'a could tax: in practice he is likely to have taken some part of the produce from the monastery's estates. Beside the two estates within the Norduz Çay basin, the monastery held another outside it, in the Hayoc' Jor, i.e. the valley of the lower Hoşap Su.

4. The highly destructive earthquake of 1648 caused the springs of the castle of Elnaberd (these springs had turned six mills) to dry up. A new castle was built at Kasrik. (A whole village, that of Lower Palak', was also moved to Kasrik.) See Arak'el (1669 ed.), 469. Elnaberd must be yet another name for the area's medieval castle: its other names were Kangavar or Āghchaqal'a.

Thierry ("Monastères I" [REArm 4 (1967)], 168) found that modern Kasrik, officially Kırkgeçit, was a village about 500 m. from old Kasrik, a hamlet which encloses the ruins of a fort (illustrated in Thierry's fig.1). So Thierry's old Kasrik and its fort will be the new village and castle built after 1648.

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Three km. east of the present village Thierry reported a hill with a double hump called Kengvar Tepe (ibid.). The hill must be the site of the medieval castle of Kangavar, the Āghchaqal'a of the late Middle Ages or at least that known to the *Sherefname*.

5. Evliya's vague comment that the castle of Kotur was "behind" the Mahmudi (IV.177) suggests that the next district upstream from Kotur in the Kotur valley was in Mahmudi territory. This district is, precisely, the Satmanis plain.

The history of the Satmanis district in the late Middle Ages and the first three centuries of Ottoman rule is otherwise unknown.

6. Possibly it could be identified with the site found by Dodwell in 1986 near L.Erçek, and probably (Dodwell does not say) near the present town of Erçek: Dodwell, *Traveller on Horseback* 151. Evliya (IV.274) says the castle was on a high hill and rectangular. It contained 2,000 soldiers and there were 500 houses in the ribāt below. Dodwell's site was, according to local people, that of an Urartian town. The two men who took her there had dug a large hole at the foot of a rock, uncovering the masonry of old walls. Unfortunately Dodwell does not specify the side of the lake on which her site lay. She told me the date of her visit in a letter.

7. Appendix III for the extent of the Ottoman *nahiye* and an indication of the district's boundaries in the late Middle Ages. However the Ottoman *nahiye* stretched into the south part of the Çaldıran plain, which on the argument of Appendix I must have been under direct Mongol, and therefore probably Kara Koyunlu, administration.

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8. Ev. IV.131 and 275; Aṛak'el (1669 ed.), 495, where Evliya Beg, youngest son of Sulayman of Hoşap, goes to the fortress of Apaḷay, his "previous" residence.

9. Seven hours would mean a journey of anywhere between 20 and 50 kms.. Saray is 45 kms. due east of the present town of Erçek. According to the *Handbook of Mesopotamia* (1917)(p.163, detailing the track between Kotur and Van), Saray was formerly the summer headquarters of a regiment stationed at Van and the residence of the kaymakam of the Mahmudiye kaza. For the name of the plain, *ibid.*.

Evliya (IV.275) says the castle was pentagonal and on a high rock. It may be that there is a castle site on a rock at Saray: an Urartian site is reported here (Burney, AS 7 (1957), 43). No check has been made. That the *Handbook* of 1917 omits mention of a castle site on a rock is not conclusive.

10. A second piece of evidence vaguely supports this conclusion. Evliya (IV.275) tells us that "Karaca Kale" is the Kurds' name; otherwise the castle is known as Vān Karahisārı. Although the latter name is a strange one for a castle in such a place, the *Handbook of Mesopotamia* (p.167) records that between Satmanis and Saray the track crosses the "Qara Hisar Dagħ" by a pass at an altitude of 9,100 ft.. As the ridge of hills in question continues eastward, forming the southern wall of the Çingi Dere, it is quite possible that it was named after a castle lying in the Çingi Dere. If "Vān Karahisārı" reflects a genuine relationship with the city of Van, perhaps that relationship was one of summer pasture and winter quarters: Saray was, for part of the late Ottoman period, the summer headquarters of a regiment stationed at Van (n.9 above).

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11. The conclusion is based mainly, of course, on the height and vegetation of the three plains, but it is worth recalling that the Saray plain functioned as summer pasture for a regiment based at Van and that the district of Karaca Kale may have had a similar function: notes 9 and 10 above.

12. For an example of heredity: Shaykh Mahmūd, putative founder of the dynasty, was succeeded by his son Mīr Husayn Bêg (Sh.I.301); late in the Safavid occupation, the succession goes to Hasan Beg, son of 'Ivāz Bêg, who himself had been the prince (Sh.I.306, and for 'Ivāz' rule I.302).

13. MC I.362 (anon. Vanec'i I): in 1702 Abdi Paşa of Van attacked Hoşap in order to replace Xan Mahmet [i.e. Muhammad, evidently the name of the reigning Mahmudi prince] with Ibrahim Beg, his son. They failed, and Xan Mahmet's forces raided the camp of the Bitlis soldiery who, interestingly, were taking part in the expedition against Hoşap. MC I.365 (anon. Vanec'i I): in A.D. 1711 Recep Paşa marched on Hoşap, and Ibrahim Beg did not oppose him, but gave himself up. The pasha replaced him as bey (paron) with [another] son of Xan Mahmet. There was an attempt by another pasha to put Ibrahim Beg in place of this second son (MC I.366). By 1715 the prince was Zaynal, and another pasha tried, again unsuccessfully, to replace him with Ibrahim Beg (MC I.367).

14. Ev. IV.179-80. Āghchaqal'a, Abāghay and Karāca Kal'e are absent from Evliya's list of sanjaks (IV.176-7) whose bey is subject to appointment and dismissal by the sultan. On the other hand these same three are also absent from the list of hereditary

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sanjaks (hereditary in the sense that the sultan had no rights of interference in the succession) at IV.179, and the presence of Erçek in the former list (subject to dismissal etc.) suggests that the three sanjaks were in fact of the non-hereditary type.

15. Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, II.957, discussed by Markwart, *Südarmenien* 372-3, 374 and Hartmann, *Bohtan* 3, 41. This passage is fully discussed in Ch.II, sect.4.2.

Guest (*Yezidis* 43) implies that al-‘Umarī (Mas. Abs., tr. Q., p.324) mentions the Mahmudi dynasty, in which case we would have evidence of the tribe’s existence as early as c.1340 A.D.. However the text only mentions the "Muhammadiya".

16. Sh.I.300 (Jazira rulers); 301 (Kara Yusuf). Before being settled at Hoşap the shaykh, according to the text, came first to Azerbaijan (I.300). He originated from either Syria or the Jazira (region, not city)(I.301). It is possible that the Mahmudi originated as a splinter section of the Bukhti, particularly given what is known about migration routes from the vicinity of Jazira/Cizre to the Taurus watershed above Hoşap and Kangavar. However, on a balanced view, the story appears apocryphal.

17. Sh.I.301. According to the *Sherefname*, Mīr Husayn was the son of Shaykh Mahmūd; if father and son were relatively long-lived, this would fit into the chronology of relevant events such as Shaykh Mahmūd’s dealings with Kara Yusuf (probably between A.D. 1406 and 1420) and the Ak Koyunlu occupation of the Van area (A.D. 1469).

18. Sh.I.303-4. The name Benjevī only occurs in the sentence 303.19-304.1. Muhammad has been discussed in sects. 1 and 2 in connection with the castle and district of Āghchaqal’a. This was his ancestral estate. After rescuing the principality from the

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Mahmudi he voluntarily resigned the charge of it to another Mahmudi, Hasan, and retired to Aghchaqal'a (I.304). An account of the second appointment of Muhammad, followed by Hasan's appointment and Muhammad's resignation and withdrawal to Āghchaqal'a, is given again at I.306-7. Hasan was more directly in line for the succession than Muhammad: he was son of 'Ivāz (I.306), therefore a brother of Hamza (I.303), Hamza is son of 'Ivāz).

19. Sh.I.309, asserting that the majority of the cousins and of the aghas of the Mahmudi have now reached high positions within the empire. The actual number of Mahmudi reaching positions in the empire outside Mahmudi territory must have been smaller. Those mentioned by the *Sherefname* are: Mansūr Bêg (I.306); Zaynal, Mansūr's brother (I.306, 305); Hamza, son of Zaynal (I.306); Hasan, under whom the Mahmudi principality left the Safavid for the Ottoman sphere (I.308; p.218 above; cf. n.3 to p.367 -- Appendix I, sect.3).

20. (a) Aṛak'el (1669 ed.) 471. Expedition against the prince of Hoşap in the mid-17th century A.D. to force him to hand back goods seized from caravans. Sulaymān bought off the attackers. (b) Ev.IV.276. In 1060/1650, Mehmed Emin Paşa of Van bombarded the castle of Hoşap for 29 days and went away without dislodging a single stone. This sounds like a punitive expedition, though the source offers no reason for it. (c) MC I.357 (anon. Vanec'i I) and II.414 (anon. Vanec'i II), and cf. II.483 (Martiros Xalifay). In 1683 Koca Ömer Paşa ("Gōjāy Ōmar p'ašē" and similar spellings) brought Shams al-Din ("Č'smzdin", "Mełtin" etc.), bey of Hoşap, to Van by deception and killed

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him in the church of the Mother of God. Of course the pasha's motives may have been personal and discreditable, but it is unlikely that he would have lured the bey to Van and had him murdered if the bey had not in some manner crossed him. MC II.483 (Martiros Xalifay) provides a clue as to how this might have happened (perhaps Shams al-Din of Hoşap took part in a conspiracy against the pasha).

21. (a) MC I.360 (anon. Vanec'i I). In 1702, attack on Hoşap with the object of replacing the bey, Muhammad ("Mahmet") with his son Ibrahim. The attackers did not succeed in this object, but burnt alot of villages. (b) MC I.365 (anon. Vanec'i I) and II.484-5 (Martiros Xalifay). In 1711 [a different] pasha marched on the castle of Hoşap with a big cannon. Ibrahim Beg voluntarily surrendered [i.e. without a prolonged siege] and the pasha substituted [another] son of Muhammad. (c) I.366 (anon. Vanec'i I). In 1712, [yet another] pasha attacked Hoşap. He wanted to replace the son ("lač": the word seems to imply a second or more junior son) of Muhammad with Ibrahim [i.e. to return to the previous position]. But the pasha was unsuccessful. (d) In 1715, Murtaza Pasa [different again] attacked Hoşap so as to depose Zaynal [probably the "lač" whom the previous pasha was trying to oust in 1712] and replace him with Ibrahim. There was a battle: afterwards the parties were reconciled. (e) MC I.370 (anon. Vanec'i I) and II.486 (Martiros Xalifay). The pasha marched on Hoşap; Zaynal came to the pasha and loaded him with gifts. They became friends (f) MC II.489 (Martiros Xalifay). In 1754, during an attack on Hoşap, the bey escaped at night [which probably means the attack was unsuccessful]. (g) MC.I.374 (anon. Vanec'i I) and II.490 (Martiros Xalifay). In 1762 the pasha seized the bey's son. The bey fled from Hoşap after a siege.

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22. The sources reveal at least some communication and collaboration between the bey of Hoşap and neighbouring Persian khans. MC II.420-21 (anon. Vanec'i II) and I.360 (anon. Vanec'i I): in 1701 the pasha of Van, after an attack on the Mahmudi castle of Zernak, fled Van and went to a [local village] called Č'ors. The Mahmudi attacked him there, and he fled again to Persia (or, according to Vanec'i I, to a Persian force). However the Persians robbed him at the request of the bey of Hoşap.

23. The main route lay through the Erçek and Kotur valleys. To turn south and take in Hoşap was a longer journey. That Sulaymān, bey of Hoşap in the mid-17th century, used to seize goods being taken between Van and Tabriz on a scale warranting an expedition against him (Arak'el (1669 ed.) 471) is highly interesting. Probably but not certainly the goods in question did go via Hoşap. What was the advantage of going via Hoşap ? Possibly, as our appendix on Hoşap suggests, sufficient traffic passed through Hoşap on the routes through the Hakkari district from northern Iraq, for the detour from the main (Erçek) route between Van and Tabriz to be worthwhile. At Hoşap, merchants travelling between Van and Tabriz could exchange their goods with goods from northern Iraq. For more on the routes, Appendix I, Hoşap.

There is one explicit mention of a journey between Iran and Van passing through Hoşap. In 1733, Tamur Paşa came to Van from Salmast via Hoşap (MC I.372 -- anon. Vanec'i I). There is no suggestion in the text that he chose this route in order to bypass or escape from anyone on the track through the Erçek valley.

24. According to the *Cihānnūma* (tr. Charmoy, 175), Hasan Bêg - probably the

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same Hasan Bêg who took the Mahmudi principality into Ottoman allegiance - was the first Mahmudi to renounce the Yezidi faith. He could have done this at any time between his accession c.1534 and his death in 1585 at the battle of Sa'dābād (*Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy, 175 -- this fits the *Sherefname*'s information (I.310) that at the time of writing in 1596-97 Hasan's son Shīr Bêg has been reigning for 12 years).

MC I.367 (anon. Vanec'i I): in 1716 an Ottoman force assembled at Berkri (Muradiye) and attacked the *erkir* [district] of Abala and the "Mahmutanay erkir" [the district of the Mahmudis]. It killed the Yezidis and the Christians indiscriminately. The district (not the castle) of Abala was the Çaldıran plain (above, pp.211-12 and below, p.248 and p.250), and given that the Ottoman force assembled at Berkri it must have attacked only the northern part of the principality. So at least some, and probably most, of the Mahmudi Yezidis were in that part by the early 18th century.

What proportion of the Mahmudi tribe adhered to the Yezidi faith at any given time is a difficult question, not to be answered by taking the blanket assertions of the texts at face value, particularly those of the *Sherefname*, with its anti-Yezidi sentiment.

Guest, *Yezidis* 43-6, discusses the Yezidism of the Mahmudis in so far as it relates to Ottoman conquest and massacres.

25. If merchandise regularly came through Hoşap in the mid-17th century, as n.23 argues, then it may have done so in the 14th and 15th centuries. It is unlikely the beys of Hoşap could resist the temptation to levy taxes on goods passing through the town. The position with regard to the northern and presumably more frequented route (the Erçek valley) is less clear, but the settlements (Erçek, Saray etc.) along that route were adequate

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as staging-posts where taxes could be levied.

26. There is a little evidence for dynastic conflict: see the discussion of the mid-17th century attempt by a dissatisfied faction to oust the ruling prince on p. 24 above.

27. Examples on p.111. The enmity between Bitlis and Hakkari is discussed on pp.109-11 above.

The Hoşap amirs were not always at odds with Bitlis. (a) Sh.I.419-20. During the Safavid occupation Amīra Bêg Mahmūdī acted as the agent of Sharaf Khan of Bitlis: he tried to persuade Ulama's wife to come out of the citadel so that Sharaf could be secure against surprise attacks when he negotiated with Ulama. (b) Sh.I.433. In the critical battle of 1533 between Sharaf of Bitlis and Ulama, Amīra Bêg Mahmūdī defected from Sharaf's to Ulama's side; but probably he was sincere in joining Sharaf in the first place.

28. It is doubtful whether, at least on a short-term view, Bitlis wanted Hakkari to be defeated by Hoşap, because its power depended, in part, on a balance between itself and Hakkari.

For other foreign relations of the Hoşap principality: (a) Sh.I.218-19. In the Ottoman period, the Mahmūdī tribe helped one of the princes of Moks to regain Kārkār (in the north-east part of the Moks valley). (b) AT 338. A marriage had taken place, in the Ottoman period or just before, between a Mahmudi princess and Hājī Bêg Dunbelī. In 955/1548-49 the beylerbeyi of Van, at the instigation of the Mahmūdī prince, attacked Khoy and killed Hājī Bêg Dunbelī. Hājī Bêg's Mahmūdī wife opened the gates.

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29. Sh.I.92-93. The Ak Koyunlu generals Sūfī Khalīl and ‘Arab Shāh Bêg "captured" the *vilāyet* [principality] of Hakkari. The Nestorian subjects of the Hakkari princes later restored Asad al-Dīn to the throne (Sh.I.93-94).

NOTES TO CHAPTER III, SECT.IV.

1. For a summary of the history of this principality, Sov.Arm.Enc., "Mokk'", 7.695.1-696.3 (V.Vardanyan); Thierry, "Monastères IV" [REArm 7 (1970)], 123-7. (However Thierry does not recognise that early medieval Mokk' spread into the Hizan basin.) The remainder of Thierry's historical section (pp.127-8) is less reliable. The Armenian prince of Mokk' known in 1169 (Markwart, *Südarmerien* 519 & 523) can be considered prince of only part of the former principality. By this time Hizan was in the power of the Shāh-i Arman (Turan, *DA Türk Devletleri Tarihi* 94, 159; Appendix I, Hizan).
2. Namīrān was given, early in the Ottoman occupation, to Yusuf, uncle of the prince of Hizan. The latter, Hasan, had with popular support gained the principality from Yusuf, who was backed by the Ottoman sultan and the vizier. Yusuf received Namīrān in compensation. (Sh.I.216, cf.216-17; below, sect.5.)
3. During the Ak Koyunlu occupation of Bitlis, Shaykh Amīr Bilbāsi and the claimant to the throne of Bitlis, Muhammad, after meeting in Hakkari territory, approached that of Bitlis via the 'ashīret of Isbāird. They were received by the amir Sharaf, and stayed a few days. (Sh.I.413-14.) Nothing should be read into the term 'ashīret here: the text means merely that the two men passed through the territory belonging to the amir.
4. A colophon of A.D. 1437 written in the village of T'ac'u (Tasu in its Turkish form) mentions an Awdal Bēk (Abdāl Bēg) as the local ruler. (Clph.XV.I.523, p.477 (S.1437.8, p.188).) T'ac'u fell within Aghakis, and if it is fair to assume that Aghakis was an estate within Isbāird at this stage, we have a mention of Isbāird's prince, or of Aghakis' lord,

NOTES TO CHAPTER III, SECT.IV.

and thus can argue for the principality's existence. It is possible, but less likely, that Aghakīs was independent at this stage, in which case the argument does not go through. But it is certain at least that Aghakīs was not controlled by Hizan in 1437: the prince of Hizan's name was not Abdal (see sect.5).

5. "Išk'" means "Donkeys" (sing. "ēš"). But it seems wrong to translate "District of the Donkeys". Certainly the name may have been influenced by the circumstance that "ēš" meant "donkey".

6. Arcruni spells "Aŗvank'". (a) Arcruni (ed. Patk.) 127. Žirak quickly reached Rštunik', taking his troops into the valley of Aŗvank' on the border with Mokk'. This leaves it open whether Arcruni thought Aŗvenic' jor was in Mokk', but shows that for the *Geography* it was just inside the border of Mokk'. The latter position fits the Orans valley well. (b) Arcruni (ed. Patk.) 280. Gagik returned from Mokk' to Eriwark (Arcruni's spelling). There he captured the fortresses of Pał and P'arhuk. Proceeding to the valley of Aŗuank', he seized that fortress too and took control of its provinces. Pał at least can be located. It was at Bağ, just west of the Kaputkogh peninsula. (Thierry, "Notes géogr. hist.", 170, cf. 173.)

The "that fortress" mentioned after the valley of Aŗuank' raises a problem, because there is no castle either in the Orans Dere or in the Kesan Dere. There is, however, one by the name of Kesan Kale above the east bank of the Gindig Su, between the mouths of the Aghakīs and the Isbāird/Sparkert valleys. The castle's name, and the phrase "all its provinces", suggests that the *district* of Kesan stretched further south than the present

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Kesan Deresi valley. But if the castle is now known as Kesan, which connects it with the Kesan Deresi valley, and if the castle is said by Arcruni to be the castle of the valley of Aŗuank', then for Arcruni and probably for the *Geography* "the valley of Aŗuank'" is a phrase covering the Orans and the Kesan Deresi valleys and parts of the Gindig Su valley to the south of these. This conclusion in turn lends some support to our contention that both Aŗvenic' jor and the sanjak of Kesan covered both the Orans and the Kesan Deresi valley.

Eremyan (*Hay. ěst Aŗx.* 37.2-38.1) correctly sees "Uŗanc'" in "Aŗvenic'", but on his map places Aŗvenic' jor in the Mŗkŗs valley, west of the Mŗkŗs  ay. In fact his map excludes the actual Orans Dere and Kesan Deresi valleys from Mokka' altogether, a mistake probably inspired by Arcruni's phrase "on the borders of Mokka'". The *Soviet Armenian Encyclopaedia's* map (7.696), although essentially based on Eremyan's work, does place Aŗvenic' jor in the Orans and Kesan Deresi valleys.

7. Eremyan, *Hay. ěst Aŗx.* 70.2. But his map makes the district stretch well to the west of the Nemran district, as far as the Gindig Su. It also makes Miŗa hug the Bohtan Su as far as the confluence with the Gindig. This is most unlikely:  ermajor must have straddled the river.

8. There may even be a link between the two names. "Hizān" or "Khizān" (Pers.) might be a Kurdish plural form, leaving "Hiz", "Khiz". "Iŗoc'" is likewise a plural genitive form, which leaves "Ēŗ-".

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9. Eremyan, *Hay. ėst Ašx.* 39.1. The district is one of moderate geographical extent, in fact considerably greater than most of those elsewhere in Mokr'. It is clearly separated from the Bohtan valley. So a separate mention in the list makes good sense. The name appears to denote only an area, not a people ("-ovit" is Armn. "hovit"). Most of the district is and was pastureland.

10. He was the son of Rustam, himself son of a previous Hasan. Ahmad was son of Abdal, himself son of a previous Ahmad, who was the brother of the first Hasan. The first Hasan and the first Ahmad were brothers: so their respective grandsons were second cousins.

11. Sect I.5.(ix) above. He had also established an ascendancy over Kesan, but it has been argued (sect.2) that in the late Middle Ages Kesan was probably a *nāhiya* of the Hizan principality in any case.

12. The *Handbook of Mesopotamia* (1917) (also abbrev. *Hdbk.* (1917)) is hard to interpret: by selecting information from it, pointing to the relevant locations on the map and composing the map itself it can be made to reveal the district's character.

211. The deep, narrow valley of Yerun (in the south-west of the district); a river gorge; the Hizan plain, fertile and cultivated. The Kara Su valley: well-wooded, fertile, many villages; vines, wheat.

212. The Kara Su valley, broad and cultivated. The Khoros valley (towards the north): vineyards. A narrow gorge. The Gindig Su in another gorge.

213. The Asgōr Dereh (east edge of district). Fine walnut- and fruit-trees.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III, SECT.IV.

216. Taghik (village near centre of district): broad, cultivated terraces; deep valleys. Village of Gindig (on map as Hindinis): in a small, cultivated basin.

217. The Kara Su valley in neighbourhood of Piranis/Pürünüs and Duranis/Darünüs: well-cultivated valley.

13. (*Hdbk. (1917)* 214.) The Uranc' valley: patches of cultivation; walnut trees. 214-15. Kesan Dere: steep, some cultivation.

14. Clph.XV.II.350, p.274 (S.1468.5, p.295). The amir is named as Melek', which means simply that he was known as such by local Armenians. Cf. Muhammad, prince of Vostan; sect.II.5.(iv), p.189, esp. n.19.

15. Mentioned with great frequency between 1601 (Clph.XVII.I.32, p.34 and 1618 (Clph.XVII.I.872, p.647). The frequency is due to the intense scriptorial activity in the town of Hizan at the time.

16. MC I.359 (anon. Vanec'i I); II.420 (anon. Vanec'i II); II.483 (Martiros Xalifay). The attacker was Sarı Osman Paşa; no reason for the attack is given.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. This is clear from the number of Urartian forts, towns and village sites on the plain: for a convenient summary, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.268-9.

2. (a) Sh.I.314. In 966/1558-59, bestowed on Hājī Bêg Dunbeli. Charmoy's n.564, Sh. tr. Charmoy II.2.125, deals with the date.

(b) Sh.I.315. The Safavid Shah Muhammad (1578-88) added to the Dunbeli dominions the *nāhiya* of Sulaymān Sarāy i.e. the present Saray) and half of that of Abaghā. The event requires explanation. Since Abaghā and Sulaymān Sarāy were on Ottoman territory, it is hard to see how the Safavid Shah could add them to anybody's domains. However the bestowal could have come about as the result of some local deal between the two empires. It is also strange that half of Abaghā was bestowed on the Dunbeli by Muhammad Shah, when the whole of it had already been bestowed on Hājī Bêg Dunbeli. Probably the explanation is that in fact only half had been given to Hājī Bêg in the first place.

(c) Sh.I.313. In 1005/1596-97 the *nāhiyes* of Qotūr Deresī and of Abāqāy (Pers. spellings) were, as ocaks, in the possession of Velī Bêg Dunbeli.

3. Sh.I.395. On the sequence of attempts to recapture Bitlis, Sh.I.390-9 and on Shams al-Din's attempt, I.394-5. See n.49 to Ch.III, sect.I.5.(vi).

4. The date was about 1506, given that it took at least four, and possibly five, years for Shah Ismail to capture Erciş (MC I.126-7 (Tēr Barsēl)).

5. If the Bitlis principality had not been part of the governorship, more districts would have been mentioned: the author does not want a long list.

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6. T'M 29. Thomas's text is obscure, and appears to order events wrongly. "... azatec'aw i nmanē erkirn amenayn ew mnac' i xałalut'ean": "the whole district was freed from him and remained in tranquillity." "Erkirn amenayn" probably means "the whole area for which the Kara Koyunlu assumed direct responsibility", i.e. the districts of Adilcevaz, Erciş and Berkri. Thomas says it was freed from Timur, because (although Thomas fails to mention it) Timur had ordered the pillage of various districts including Muş and Adilcevaz (Sh.II.67).

The next few sentences after that stating the bestowal of Erciş on Sahand appear to mean the following: a counter-offensive against a Ruzagi attack on Ahlat and its district, which Timur appears to have taken from the Ruzagi; a pillage of that district by the Ruzagi in spite of the counter-offensive; and Sahand's return to Adilcevaz. (T'M 29-30.)

7. T'M 112. Thomas has just narrated another martyrdom at the hands of a *k'alak'apet* of Arckē, the martyrdom of Muratšah (T'M 109-10; the incident will be mentioned below). Thomas lifts the Step'annos-Sahand episode from its true date so as to add another instance of martyrdom at the hands of a *k'alak'apet* of Arckē; but he forgets, or fails to signal, that the date of the Step'annos-Sahand episode is inappropriate at this point in his text.

8. Later Berkri became a sanjak which was regularly granted to members of the Mahmudi ruling family. (Sh.I.306, after the demise of Shah Ismail II (1577); Ev.IV.150-1; Ev.IV.201 (D.189).) The territory of Berkri may well have been contiguous with

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Mahmudi territory; but it was not contiguous with Hakkari territory if that principality did not hold Van. In this instance the appointment of the Hakkari is a Timurid lever on local Kara Koyunlu positions. It is a loose argument in favour of saying that the Mahmudi were not implacably opposed to the Kara Koyunlu.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. But it has to be remembered that the Ak Koyunlu attacked and subjugated the district of Moks in 1467 (Clph.XV.III.118, p.98); in other words Moks was only immune from attack, or any other type of dealing with the overlord, as long as it caused little trouble.
2. Again there is a danger of applying the moral strands which are intertwined in present-day arguments involving the notion of loyalty. In considering the Middle Ages, the question whether a vassal is loyal towards his overlord is not strictly a moral one at all. This does not preclude, of course, judging such behaviour according to moral notions.
3. In part the difficulty is linguistic: one cannot describe change except by comparing one state of affairs, assumed to be steady, with another, also assumed to be steady.
4. The reader will simply be referred to the material assembled by Thierry in his articles "Monastères" [REArm]. IV/7 = "Monastères IV" [REArm 7 (1970)]. VII/10 = "Monastères VII" [REArm 10 (1973-74)].

Moks (i.e. the Müküs valley). Kç'awavank'/Kiça: VII/10, 195. Cpativank'/Beyaz Kilise: IV/7, 159. Holy Cross of Moks/Dıra Meleşehi: IV/7, 154-5. Aparank': VII/10, 204-5, 214.

Hizan district. Barijorivank'/Gökçimen Kilisesi: VII/10, 227. Mother of God of Hzar, near Sori/Süre: VII/10, 230. Sinijorivank'/Simhaç: VII/10, 224-5. However Thierry's dates for the Hizan district monastery churches are based on art-historical reasoning.

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5. They import elements, particularly of background pattern, from Timurid painting. See Thierry, *Armenian Art* 264. But the observation includes no estimate of the means or vehicles by which such elements could have found their way into the Hizan and Moks paintings.

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1. The streams in the two tributary valleys join the main river, i.e. that flowing from the confluence of the two main southward-running valleys, rather than the two streams in those two southwards-running valleys.
2. "Aşağı varoş kal'esi", Ev.IV.92. The topography forbids a wall's being run along any other circuit.
3. The *Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy 167, says precisely that the inhabitants of Bitlis reside in the country for six months.
4. Interestingly the number seems not to have gone down with the population decline: in 1837 there were 32 mosques in total (Southgate, *Tour* I.225).
5. For the pairs, Sov.Arm.Enc., "Balēš", II.255. For the monasteries, which will be mentioned again below, Voskean, *Vaspurakan-Van* III.896-918, 919-37, nos.2, 3, 4, 6 and 8. The odd one out in Voskean's text is his no.3 on p.914, which perhaps failed after the 15th century; or it could have been on the site of the Qizil Masjid, a mosque with the reputation of having been converted from a church (Sh.I.347, and see below, p.299). Southgate (*Tour* I.225-6) counts eight churches for the Armenians, each one a monastic establishment, in 1837: he must have misunderstood the situation as regards the function of the monasteries and churches, which is the reverse of his description.

Southgate mentions one Syrian Orthodox church, which will be that in the Kizil Masjid mahalle (the one served by the Qizil Masjid, just mentioned): Lynch II.152. There was another Syrian church. It was by the Awex (pron. "Avekh") monastery in the valley of the same name, which is the tributary valley approaching from the east. The monastery

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and church were two miles or three km. from the confluence of the two main streams in the centre of the town. (Lynch II.154.)

6. See the list of scholars and sheikhs at Sh.I.341-6, which were the more prominent of those known to the author at the time of writing, the end of the 16th century. Also Ev.D.75-7 (MS 225a.31-b.1; > Ist.IV.93).

7. Ev.IV.121 (D.145). Merchant in Persia 158 contradicts himself when he says "Many merchants leave this city to trade in Aleppo, Tauris, and Bursa, as there is nothing to buy in it, nor any merchandise to be retailed, as the inhabitants are all Curds and a vile race. There are also many Armenian Christians ..." The situation he describes cannot have lasted for long, and probably never obtained.

8. The whole description in Evliya: Ev.IV.241-3 (D.281-7); 245-7 (D.289-95); 249-54 (D.299-309) -- but note that this is the bridal trousseau of Khānūm Sultān, wife of Abdal and daughter of Zal Paşa of Adilcevaz --; 255-7 (D.313-19).

9. Ev.D.307 (MS 278a.9). N.B. again that the rubies belong to the trousseau of Khānūm Sultān.

10. It has been suggested to me that Evliya's list is pure invention. The purpose of the invention, on this supposition, was to amuse and flatter Melek Ahmet Paşa, Evliya's patron, who at the same time was responsible for the defeat of Abdal Khan. Of course it is not possible to disprove such an opinion rigorously, and there may well be some exaggeration in Evliya's list. However to support the idea of an invented list one would

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have to find other sources either capable of showing what Abdāl's and Khānūm Sultān's treasures did contain, or else capable of giving a general indication of the likely scale and type of their contents. In other words it is not fair to cast doubt on the quality of the source when no other source is available. It is certainly not fair to argue that since the list is incredible, therefore the source must be lying. We have to rely on the sources to derive the relevant standards of credibility.

Abdal and his predecessors did not necessarily buy all the goods in question with revenue from their estates, or with the taxes on market activities and goods in transit. They could have seized the goods from passing merchants. Evliya himself tells of Abdal's seizure of goods: no modern scholar is inclined to doubt the latter story. Nor is there any inclination to doubt the extraordinary size of Abdal's palace above Bitlis. A further impressive demonstration of wealth on the part of another Kurdish prince is the İshak Paşa Sarayı above Doğubayazıt.

11. This is putting it mildly. *Only a few* scholars of my acquaintance have ever stopped in Bitlis, let alone taken a thorough look. The others have *perhaps felt* uncomfortable as they passed through the town, and hurried on, normally to Van. Another index is the modern literature.

12. The mosque is described by Arık, *Bitlis* 13-15. Like some others Arık (p.13) gives the date of building as 545/1150, relying on the Kufic inscription. However the only published account of the inscription (Aslanapa, *1st International Turkish Arts Symposium*, 26-27; id., *Turkish Art and Architecture* 95) makes it clear that the inscription

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commemorates a repair rather than a construction *de novo*. Recently a well-known British scholar whose field is epigraphy, but who wishes to remain anonymous, checked the inscription (see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.454). So, even going by its inscription, the mosque is likely to have been in existence by that date. But this was likely on *a priori* grounds anyway.

To make matters worse, there is no guarantee that the prayer-hall we have is the structure left by the repair of 545/1150. For one thing, the mosque is known to have been repaired in 1062/1651-52 (Arık, *Bitlis* 13, 15); for another there is no certainty that the repair inscription of 545 is in its original place; and for another the mosque's architectural details, particularly the treatment of the arches, resemble so much those of other buildings in Bitlis dating from the late Middle Ages and the Ottoman period that it is hard to believe its present state is the product of the mid-12th century. It is preferable to believe the present prayer-hall was constructed in its present form perhaps in the early 15th century along with the buildings founded by Shams al-Din I or else at the end of the 15th century, which would fit well with the construction date of the minaret, 898/1492-93 (Arık, *Bitlis* 15). Of course that precise date would put the minaret's construction in the Ak Koyunlu occupation, though it would not require the builder to be an Ak Koyunlu. Another possibility for the date is the reign of Sharaf Khan (most of it in the early 16th century).

If the present structure's date is moved out of the 12th and into the 15th or 16th century, then the case for saying, or at least implying, that the prayer-hall was laid out in the 12th century following the conventions of Rum Seljuk mosques (as Arık, *Bitlis* 93) dries up, as does the case for talking of a renaissance of the forms of Seljuk architecture

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at Bitlis in the 15th and 16th centuries (as Arık, *Bitlis* 117-18), if the latter point is intended to carry the implication that the 15th- and 16th-century masons of Bitlis were inspired by models of the Seljuk period in the same city.

13. The date is established by the following considerations. The *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* of the kādī Ahmad Nigīdī (Fatih kütüphanesi MS no.4519, quoted by M.H.Yınanç, İA, "Bitlis", 2.663.1) says that in 598 [sic]/1201-2 Bêgtīmūr captured Bitlis. However Bêgtīmūr died in 589/1193; so the probable date is 588/1191-92.

14. Judith Kolbas has contributed the following coin information. (a) The coinage of Āmid/Diyarbakır and Hisn Kayfa/Hasankeyf comes to a halt after Hulagu's death in 663/1265. (b) The last coin of Māyyāfarīqīn is dated 665/1267, apart from a gold coin of Ghazan's in 698/1299. (c) On the other hand the mints of Mardin, Sinjar, Jazira/Cizre and Arbil are highly active in the years 658/1260 to 736/1335.

These points indicate that the Diyar Bakr did suffer from a rapid slump in the passage of merchandise; but that the cities of the northern Mesopotamian plain were much more lively. It was somehow still possible to pass along that plain and across the Zagros into Iran.

15. This view is somewhat at variance with that of Arık (*Bitlis*, esp. 117-19), who thinks that the observable buildings in Bitlis show a style which is conservative within Bitlis, that is to say where buildings of the 15th and more particularly of the 16th century hark back to ones of the Seljuk period in the same city. The view presented here is that the style supposedly peculiar to Ahlat is in reality a regional style whose principal

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exponent down to c.1350 was Ahlat and thereafter was Bitlis. The principal considerations can be stated in summary form.

(1) The style, once Bitlis took Ahlat's place as the principal venue for new building, was not confined even then to Bitlis. Two of the mosques in Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf), for example, dating respectively from the mid-14th and the early 15th century A.D., possess minarets very similar to those of the Great Mosque at Bitlis, which is dated 898/1492-93 (Arik, *Bitlis* 15).

(2) The prayer-hall of the Great Mosque, the only building for which a date in the Seljuk period could be reasonably argued, carries no ornament with which the later buildings could be compared. So regardless of whether the fabric of the Great Mosque's present prayer-hall belongs to the mid-12th century A.D. (see n.12), it is meaningless to say the decoration of the 15th- and 16th-century buildings harks back to that of buildings of the Seljuk era in Bitlis. Buildings of the Seljuk era elsewhere than Bitlis are a possibility, but it is much more likely that the late 13th- and early 14th-century türbes and gravestones of Ahlat represent the style followed by the buildings of Bitlis: quite what "follow" means will be briefly explained in (3) below. As for the buildings' layouts, Arik's case is more convincing, but the exact picture is more complicated than he makes out.

(3) Arik does not distinguish between, on the one hand, stylistic similarity due to force of tradition, where the mason carves what he was taught to carve or a small variation on that, and, on the other hand, stylistic similarity due to conscious copying of an original, where the mason may well not be carving what he was taught to carve but is

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instead deliberately culling designs from specific originals. Arık seems to think that the "conservatism" (itself a word in need of careful definition when applied to art) of Bitlis all belongs to the former type of stylistic similarity, but in reality the buildings of Bitlis show a mixture of the two types. Several of the most interesting 16th-century buildings, such as the Şerefiye Camii and the İhlasiye Medresesi, show the second type of stylistic similarity to previous buildings, i.e. they are examples of deliberate copying of elements of known originals, in this case originals at Ahlat and cities in Syria and Mesopotamia, not to mention Rum Seljuk facades in Asia Minor.

16. (1) It is convenient to deal with the *jāmi'* first. The present Gökmeşdan Camii is probably a successor, on a neighbouring site, of Shams al-Din's mosque, which is known to have been on the Gökmeşdan, a square to the north of the citadel (suggested in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.303). There are no other mosques or remains of mosques than the present Gökmeşdan Camii by the side of the square. The present mosque's prayer-hall, though it seems to be above a zaviye, is a rectangular chamber of limited size (Arık, *Bitlis* 35-6); however to the east is a large arch, parallel with the qibla wall (Arık 35), which perhaps led to a now lost building or its courtyard; this lost building may perhaps have been Shams al-Din's mosque. Admittedly Shams al-Din's mosque may have been considerably bigger than the present one, which in the absence of excavations is our only guide.

(2) Zawīya. Could this be the zaviye on the ground floor below the present first-floor Gökmeşdan Camii ? If so, it is small.

(3) Dār al-shifā. This is perhaps the ruined building known as the Şemsiye Camii

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Harabesi (Arık, *Bitlis* 72), whose form suggests a hospital, though a small one, rather than a mosque. (Proposed in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.303.)

(4) Dār al-ziyāfa. Without excavation this is hard to place, except if it is the so-called "Üç Bacılar Türbesi" ("Türbe of the Three Sisters"), which bears no sign of being a türbe but is instead a small rectangular open-sided building (Arık, *Bitlis* 64).

17. Described in Arık, *Bitlis* 51-3 and 27-8; he does not identify them as Haji Muhammad's, but see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.304. Since Haji Muhammad was buried by the side of the masjīd (Sh.I.387), it must follow that the "Şehitlik" Türbe (see Arık 65-6) which adjoins the masjīd is his tomb. (A conclusion which, however, I did not draw in *Eastern Turkey*.) Strangely the türbe appears to have been built before the masjīd (Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.305).

18. Described Arık, *Bitlis* 17-19. The 15th-century date is based on the repair inscription of 913/1507 (Arık 19): the mosque is hardly likely to have been built in the seven years preceding this, and on the other hand the 14th century or earlier seems unlikely, though still possible. The site seems to have been that of the former Armenian cathedral (Sh.I.347), which again would argue for a date in the 15th century or at least the late 14th, rather than in the Mongol period or earlier. The monastery of Goms was later the seat of the bishop (Voskean, *Vaspurakan-Van* III.921), and seems first to be mentioned in 1414 ((Clph.XV.I.168, p.165).

19. Sh.I.437. The text lists the *jāmi'*, *madrassa* and *zawīya* together, which might suggest that the building opposite the prayer-hall of the Şerefiye Camii is a *zawīya*. But

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Arık is probably right in calling that building an *imaret*; which means that the *zawfya* is elsewhere in the city, and that the *Sherefname* does not mention the imaret.

20. Arık, *Bitlis* 28-30. Since Abdal Khan was responsible for the repair of a türbe in the same Islamic year (Arık 67; discussed Dankoff, *Bitlis* 11, n.2), perhaps the builder of the mosque was Abdal Khan.

21. Ev.IV.99-100 (D.91-3), 104-8 (< D.109-17). At IV.102 (< D.97) Evliya states that the prince had designed the palace himself, which is probably untrue, but at least it shows that he commissioned it.

22. To save a particularly cheerless note I give only the page numbers from Xaç'ikyan (Clph.) and Sanjian (S. page nos. after stroke). Clph.XV.I: p.378/175; p.465/185; p.486/191; 545/198; 546/199; 585/204; 592/205. Clph.XV.II: 45/252; 46/252; 68/255; 71/256; 101/262; 126/265; 141/267; 194 (nos.237, 238)/279; 257/291; 421/322.

23. See Lynch II.154-5 and esp. the plate on p.155, which illustrates the second monastery of the Theotokos (Astuacacin) in Bitlis, also known as Xndrakatar (Voskean's no.8, *Vaspurakan-Van* III.924-37). The first was that of Gomk' (Voskean no.6, pp.919-24).

24. For the years 711/1312-736/1335, see the gravestones in Karamağaralı, *Ahlat Mezartaşları* 180-7, 189-213, 216-18, 222-5, 226-37, 256-8, 259-60. For those between 736/1335 and c.749/1349, *ibid.* pp.213-14, 218-22.

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25. On the monuments at Ahlat, the references are collected in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.204-8, esp.207-8, to which add Gabriel, *Voyages* I.241-51. The work on the tombstones is discussed by Rogers, "Calligraphy" (Akhlāt), esp. 114-20, which adds a note of caution about the significance of the frequency of the high-quality gravestones. On masons signing themselves "of Akhlāt" elsewhere, esp. Van Berchem & Edhem, *CIA* 3.1, 79-80, in the Great Mosque at Divriği. That the mason at Divriği does so sign himself indicates the competence and reputation of Ahlat masons just by the fact that the mason wishes to sign himself "of Akhlāt". It does not indicate he was born there or spent his first working years there. He may have spent some years at Ahlat, and signs himself "of Ahlat", in preference to any other of his previous places of residence, in order to draw on the city's reputation for stonemasonry.

26. Sh.I.351-2: Husayn Akhlātī, a man of science, is known to have flourished here towards the end of, or just after, the reign of Jengiz Khan, and eventually migrated to Cairo with about 12,000 families; Molla Mu'hi al-Din Akhlātī, whose field was "speculative" sciences and astronomy, flourished in the reign of Hulagu.

27. Turan, *D.A. Türk Devletleri* 120-21. Turan (p.120) also makes a case out for the existence of a cadre of medical scientists of more than average calibre and reputation; but his argument is not strong.

28. Turan, *D.A. Türk Devletleri* 121-2. The cemetery itself bears witness to an active madrasa or madrasas, as several of the men buried there belonged to the 'ulemā' (Rogers, "Calligraphy" (Akhlāt), 111-12); but this was evidently the city's prestige cemetery, so

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one expects a concentration of 'ulemā'. Like much else, the city's other cemeteries have been lost, and await discovery by excavation.

29. Hamam: Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.207, and no.14 on Lynch's plan, II.293. Şerif, *Ahlat Kitabeleri* 67, mentions both hamam and mosque. House: described from Judith Kolbas's photos in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* IV.355-6.

30. The *Sherefname* (I.353), in a highly transparent passage, speaks of the state of the ruins at Ahlat: wherever one digs, the remains of palaces, caravansarays and hamams come to light. At I.351 the text speaks of the ruins of *masjids*, *madrasas*, *hatāīrs* [charitable institutions ?] and *kh"āniq* [pl. of *kh"ānqah*]. It is not clear that all the buildings whose remains could be seen at the end of the 16th century A.D. were whole and operative in Il-Khanid Ahlat: some could have been ruined even in the Il-Khanid period, and some could have been built later in the Middle Ages. Nor is it clear that in the late 16th century local people could identify the former function of each ruined building they found.

Mosque with inscription: Ev.IV.137-8. At IV.138 Evliya recounts impossible numbers, apparently from the same source, of madrasas, hamams, caravansarays, dār al-ḥadīth, schools, tekkes, fountains, palaces, covered bazaars, and imarets. But this could at least indicate the character of the public buildings in medieval Ahlat.

31. Sümer, *D.A. Türk Beylikleri* 60. This was on Timur's way back from the region (T'M 29).

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32. Karamağaralı, *Ahlat Mezartaşları* 238-9, no.104. The argument that the date is somewhere near 780/1378, that of no.103 (Karamağaralı 237-8), is based on similarity of execution (ibid. 239); given the great complication of the designs this seems reasonable. The only digit of no.104 which has not been erased is the last, 7. The hundreds figure of 7 can be supplied with fair confidence. This might give us 777 or 787.

33. Karamağaralı, *Ahlat Mezartaşları* 241-2, no.106. Only the first digit of the date, 7, can be read with assurance. The last digit is probably 8. This immediately means the gravestone dates from 798/1395, or a decade earlier, etc.. But the craftsman is the same as that of no.105, dated 815/1412. Even allowing for the possibility that no.106 lay around for a period before being bought and inscribed, the fact that the two are the work of the same man suggests it is right to look as late as possible for the date of no.105's inscription. Hence 798 or 788.

34. The türbe is described Tabak, *Ahlat* 24-6. On the date, Gabriel, *Voyages* I.249. As Sümer, *D.A. Türk Beylikleri* 66, points out, Şerif, *Ahlat Kitabeleri* 91 misread the date on the inscription as 707.

35. Karamağaralı, *Ahlat Mezartaşları* 246-54. For remarks on the name Rūshagī (Rūzagī), Rogers, "Calligraphy" (Akhlāt) 110. Karamağaralı points out that the decoration of these tombstones repeats that of the first third of the 14th century. Rogers (ibid., 119) would draw the conclusion that a bank of early 14th-century tombstones was still available: this is perhaps pushing a little far the argument that the tombstones were produced at a steady rate, and carved on demand with the personal details of the deceased

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and appropriate verses from the Koran (Rogers 109).

36. Clph.XIII.1286.478, pt.2, p.595; T'M 27 (Timur's advent, 1387); Clph.XV.I.87, p.89 (S.1408.2, p.131). However Clph.XIII.1205.18, pt.1, p.47 calls Muş an "awan" (small town), which is smaller than would be implied by the appellation "k'alak'".

37. For a comment on why, Ch.I, sect. 3.8, pp.26-27.

38. Mustawfi, (LS), 106: it has been a greater city than it is now; now it is a ruin. The information dates to 1339 or 1340. Mustawfi at any rate believes that Muş was a city before its current misfortune.

39. No walls, but only some rubble, were left on this mound by the time of Lynch's visit (Lynch II.170). The relation of the town site and citadel mound are described with some precision in Lynch, II.166-7; at present the citadel mound does not carry any houses, but has been turned into a park.

40. Sh.I.403. During the struggle between Ibrahim and his cousin Sharaf in the late 15th century, when Muş was Sharaf's base.

41. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches* II.382. Above this castle was the mansion lived in by the "pasha" (i.e. the sanjak governor) at the time of Ainsworth's visit. This will become relevant at the end of this section.

42. Clph.XV.II.315, p.250 (S.1466,7, p.290). The invader's name is missing, but it can hardly have been anyone other than Uzun Hasan.

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43. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches* II.382. Koch, *Wanderungen* II.414-15, seems to be thinking of the same house when he tells of a castle above the village of Mogunkh. The castle, he says, is a summer habitation for the family owning it. Later on, p.416, Koch mentions the residence of the governors of Muş, but seems not to equate it with this house; in which he was probably wrong.

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1. Barbaro (49-51) came from Siirt to Hizan, then to Vostan. Admittedly the party was attacked half a day out of Hizan. But Barbaro was not deflected to a different route by the attack; it simply caused him to reach Vostan quicker.

The anonymous Merchant in Persia (159-60) went to Tabriz by one side of the lake, and came back by the other. In his text he mentions seven coastal towns and cities, and divides them into two groups, implying he divides them according to route. But his choice of constituents for the two groups is not in fact such as to arise out of two sensible routes, one to and one from Tabriz. He appears simply to group the cities wrongly.

2. Arcruni (ed. Patk.), 292 (really the work of a continuator) implies that the *amroc* (fortress or strong place) of Vostan lay to the south. This might mean that the citadel, as opposed to the walled area, lay to the south. That in turn would imply that the citadel was a small castle on the tell. However it is most unlikely that such a small citadel would be mentioned while the walled area was passed over in silence. In this passage the word "amroc" probably refers to the walled area. This in turn implies that part of the inhabited area lay to the north of the walled area. The shore plain is unlikely to have been built on (except with türbes). The ground is unstable (the existing turbe has rocked over at an angle), sometimes damp, and liable to flooding. So the northerly part of the city, outside the city wall, lay on the slopes. This means that the walled area did not occupy all of the slopes, even on the west side of the valley; probably it occupied the highest part, midway between the two plains. This is likely on *a priori* grounds too.

A surface search in this area would probably reveal the line of the wall. Much more about the contents of the city, whether inside or outside the wall, would be learnt

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from excavation.

3. See the information in n.2 above. Gagik Arcruni rebuilt the city wall; he is described by the historian Arcruni as "encircling with walls the hill of Ostan, [walls which had been] ruined for many years" (Arcruni (ed. Patk.), 252). The hill in question must be, not a genuine hill but the highest part of the valley slopes.

4. Lynch II.125; on the madrasa, Southgate, *Tour* I.249. Lynch describes a more or less square prayer-hall about 20 m. along either side. It is divided into three aisles by walls which themselves are pierced at intervals by arches. There is a dome over the mihrab. The mosque's design is typically medieval, but the design alone would not fix the mosque's construction date in the Middle Ages.

According to Lynch the inscription records that the mosque was restored by a "Khosrov Pasha" in 850/1446. So the restoration date is probably early in the Ottoman occupation, which started in 955/1548. (Unfortunately a simple change of the hundreds digit gives a date just before the Ottoman occupation.)

However an early Ottoman date probably means the mosque is medieval in date; and even if the initial construction of the mosque had taken place in the Ottoman period, it would still be of some help in indicating the position of the medieval walled area.

5. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.323; based on a check through Arcruni for all remarks relevant to the towns of the principality.

6. Mustawfi, *Nuzhat* (LS) 102, says in about the year 1340 that Vostan had declined from a large to a middle-sized city; which implies that in its brightest period, the Arcruni

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one, it was a large city.

7. (a) Walls. (1) Clph.XV.I.400a, p.374 (S.1428.1, p.173). This colophon talks of the capture by İskender [in 1425] of "the impregnable fortress (*berd*) and metropolis of our region, the city of Ostan". The impregnable fortress is most unlikely to have been the small castle (Hişet Kale) on the promontory towards the lake, though this castle must have served as Vostan's citadel. The colophon equates fortress and metropolis; and the little castle in question is unlikely to have attracted the epithet "impregnable". (2) Merchant in Persia 161. Shah Ismail had demolished the "castle" of Vastan, leaving only the town with its bazaar. Again the "castle" in question is not Hişet Kale, but the city walls. This is why the town is felt to be what is left behind after the destruction of the "castle" by Ismail.

(b) Permanent market. See the passage just cited: if Shah Ismail left a bazaar standing in some attack on the town early in his reign, then there must have been a bazaar at the time; but the town had already declined drastically by this time, so the bazaar is almost certain to have been built in or before the more prosperous century of its existence identified above -- the mid-14th to the mid-15th century.

(c) Palace. Below, p.343.

8. *Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy 171. Cf. Arak'el (1669 ed.), 483: the Ottomans collected dues from travelling merchants here.

9. Arcruni (ed. Patk.), 252-3. One highly interesting feature of Gagik's work is the construction of a church "in a hollow spot, diagonally to the north" of the citadel rock. Two other churches were built on the same spot. The most likely site is that occupied by

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a türbe now (no.10 on plan, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.181), which is on flat ground near the east end of the northern base of the rock.

10. Clph.XV.II.221, pp.175-6 (S.1462.3, pp.274-5). "... ew yleal taraw i glux berdin" -- "he sent for him and [had him] brought up to the *berd*" (lit. "to the head of the *berd*"). This means that the *berd* cannot be on the plain; otherwise the patriarch could not go up to it. "... ënd duirn verin berdin ..." -- "by the gate of the upper *berd*". The *hisār* is meant. Sanjian's translation, "the uppermost part of the citadel," is not specific enough.

11. The only wall where Urartian blocks survive to the present day is that of the inner citadel (e.g. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.185 & pl.6); but in 1387 part of the outer citadel wall could have been built of such blocks. On the north side its line coincided with that of the outer Urartian wall. The blocks which Timur's general could not remove must have been taken by the Ottomans for some building project. Perhaps they were cut or broken up and used in the reconstruction of the citadel's walls; the citadel mosque's masonry would also repay examination.

12. Some of the terminology used by Arcruni is revealing if not conclusive. For example at 294 Van is referred to as a *k'alak'aberd*, a "city-castle" or "town-castle". The word does not imply a castle which just happens to have a town below it (thus giving primacy to the castle). But it does imply that the citadel *is* the town. This would mean that the entire extent of the town lay within the citadel. Although this cannot be true, the word does indicate that some civilian buildings stood within the citadel, and the latter notion is entirely plausible. The word "*k'alak'aberd*" also slips towards the suggestion of a kind of

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partnership, given the natural topography of the site and the distance between citadel and town, between the two. In other words the citadel is considered just as important as the town; whereas in most cases the citadel would be thought a defensive appendage to the town.

At p.263, a Gagik (not the king-to-be, builder of Aghtamar etc.) is imprisoned in the *awan* of Van. *Awan* is a word normally reserved for market towns: cf. 215, where Van is called a *k'alak'* and Artāšesean an *awan*. *Awan* in connection with Van probably means the unwall'd part of the settlement lying on the plain.

13. On the mosque, AST III.316-17 & fig.37, summarised and discussed Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* IV.353. The date is not certain in any case; I was probably being hasty in disagreeing, purely on grounds of urban history, with the surveyor's estimate of the 13th century.

14. For this thesis I intended to search the literature on Persian medieval architecture from the 12th century A.D. onwards to tie down the date of this mosque. This would have taken too long. Bernard O'Kane, an expert in the field of medieval Persian architecture, and particularly its decoration, very kindly gave me an estimate, 13th or 14th century, of the date of the Van mosque. He compared its decoration to that of the mosque at Farumād. This is illustrated in Ferrier (ed.), *Arts of Persia* 89, plate 12 (in a chapter by R.Hillenbrand on architecture). As Hillenbrand points out (p.93) the mosque at Farumād is among those Il-Khanid buildings whose dates are controversial. But going on general probability the date is likely to fall in the first third of the 14th century, when the only

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demonstrable wave of Il-Khanid building took place (ibid. p.91). Any later date is somewhat unlikely, in view of the political conditions. But it has to be said that some authors place the Farumād mosque in the Seljuk period.

An early 14th century date is much more likely than the 15th-century date given it by Turkish art historians, which I accepted in *Eastern Turkey* (I.185). See the bibliography, ibid. I.187. The Turkish argument seems to run: the mosque is Turkish; it resembles the Blue Mosque at Tabriz, which is a Kara Koyunlu mosque; therefore the Van mosque is the work of the Kara Koyunlu, and roughly of the same date as the Blue Mosque at Tabriz; moreover the Kara Koyunlu were the only pre-Ottoman Turkish dynasty in the Van area who could have built the mosque. The Van mosque resembles the Blue Mosque at Tabriz only in respect of layout and construction materials, not in respect of decoration. The Kara Koyunlu did not occupy Van for long periods; if it had been a 15th-century product the mosque would much more likely have been the work of the Hakkari dynasty.

15. Merchant in Persia 161. Apart from the coins and the evidence of the two medieval mosques, this is the only direct indication of the large size in the late Middle Ages. One sideways and highly problematic indication is furnished by the town's plunder in 1491 by, apparently, the Ak Koyunlu Baysungur (MC I.144 (Anon. Chron.)) -- i.e. if plunder took place there must have been something worth plundering.

16. (1) This emerges for sure from two of the three passages cited above in the discussion of evidence that no walled area existed on the plain below the rock. (a)

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Merchant in Persia 161: within the citadel the population was all Kurds. (b) Clph.XV.II.221, pp.175-6 (S.1462.3, pp.274-5). At the time of the patriarch's visit to Van, the citadel was "occupied" by Jahan Shah's foster-brother Mahmud. The patriarch entered the gate of the uppermost part of the citadel, and Mahmud, his chieftains and their families and his sons, all greeted him.

(2) T'M 99: Yār 'Alī, a son of İskender, was made "*işxan* [i.e. Kara Koyunlu governor] over the fortress of the *gawaṣ* [district] of Tosp ... in the town of Van;" later he was summoned by his father to give an account of his local malpractices. It is highly interesting that Yār 'Alī is described as *işxan* over the fortress, rather than the district, of Tosp; this immediately suggests that the citadel was regarded as the permanent residence of the governor of Tosp, the Van plain: i.e. successive overlords would station their governor in the citadel. It is also interesting that the citadel of Van is described as the fortress of Tosp. The citadel is conceived of as directly related to the whole district; it is not presented by this passage as serving the town, which can then be assumed to serve the district as its administrative centre.

17. Gagik's building work is in fact reported by a 14th-century continuator, who would probably have had most of Gagik's buildings in front of his eyes.

18. Clph.XV.II.221, p.176 (S.1462.3, p.275) and Sanjian's notes, *Colophons* 407, 412. This will no doubt be the rock of Manakert mentioned by Arcruni (ed. Patk.), 229. But I have never seen, or seen a mention of, a site actually carrying its ruins. The best possibility is the promontory shown in pl.6, opp. p.26, of Der Nersessian & Vahramian,

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Aghtamar. The promontory seems to consist in a low mound ringed by a band of natural rock, which would provide a natural line for a defensive wall.

"K'aradašt" should mean "rocky plain". Sanjian misses out the "t" and assumes the name is Turkish "Kara Taş", "Black Rock". It is very hard to know what form the name originally took. "Kara Taş" is possible. The name fits, as the site is rocky. In that case a transformation of the name in Armenian mouths would have to be assumed. There is no question of assuming that the spelling in the colophon is a mistake on the part of the writer. But the original form might equally well have been the form that we find in the text. Of course the shore strip is not an obvious case of a plain in any normal sense of the word; as far as I know it is not markedly stony; and in any case the name would be inapplicable to the site. However place names, formed in the mouths of children and peasants rather than geologists and philologists, often do lack a precise rationale.

19. Angiolello 101; Merchant in Persia 160; Hewsen, "House of Sefedinian" 129.

But the Merchant's information is baffling. First of all the name he gives, "Arminig", is not that of a town or other site, but of a nation and a region, Armenia. Moreover, to the extent that it resembles the name of a town or other individual site, there is a place whose name is closer to "Arminig" than to "Alt'amar". This is Amik or Amiwk', off which there does lie another island, Lim. Lim had its own monastery. On the other hand the name in question, "Amik", is not that of the island, but that of the town on the shore. At this period there seems to have been no town on Lim: see Thierry, "Monastères VIII" [REArm 11 (1975-76)], 402.

Secondly the Merchant mentions that opposite the island there is "a large gulf, with

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a delightful plain with many villages inhabited by Armenian Christians, with much cultivated land, and beautiful gardens ..." The plain etc. is a description which very comfortably fits the country opposite Lim, but can only be made to fit the country opposite Aghtamar on the assumption of very loose talking or of faulty memory. Opposite Aghtamar there is a narrow shore strip and hills. The nearest large plain is that of Vostan, which is strictly an inland plain.

Thirdly, the Merchant continues (p.161) "At two days' journey from this place, one finds the castle of Vastan. ... It is on a large gulf of the sea,". Vostan can only have been two or three hours' walk from the Aghtamar landing-stage. On the other hand from the Aghtamar landing-stage to Vostan and then from Vostan to Van would have been two good days' journey by horse. The distances were abnormally long for single stages, but the land is flat all the way and there is no reason to suppose travellers would have wanted to take longer. Furthermore there is no question of the Merchant's having mixed Van and Vostan in the sense of misdescribing the town on either site. The details of Van (pp.161-4) all fit and ring true.

There is the possibility that the Merchant has transposed Van and Vostan in the sense of relating them to the wrong starting-place. There is another statistic of two days which he may have remembered. If one were to start from the Aghtamar landing-stage, or, better, from the island itself, and go on foot to Van, then the journey, if not done in a hurry, would take two days. The stop would be at Engil or Edremit/Artemit. Suppose we represent as a sequence of mistakes what is really a single composite one produced by a hazy, distorted and muddled memory of the region's geography. He starts off by wanting

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to say that Aghtamar is near Van. In the early 16th century this would be natural, as Van had overtaken Vostan in importance. So he wants to say the distance is two days (on foot). But then he confuses Aghtamar with Lim and starts to describe the latter. He wishes to give a distance from Lim, knows that the distance to Van is only one day (by horse) whereas the distance to Vostan is two days; so he finishes by giving the distance to Vostan instead.

The solution to the problem as a whole seems to be that, as he writes, the Merchant is thinking of Aghtamar, but wrongly attributes to it certain features of Lim. The basic notion of an offshore island, on which lies a town, is applicable more to Aghtamar than to Lim, and for reasons of prestige he is much more likely to be talking of Aghtamar. He is right in attributing to it a small city, or at least a middle-sized town, and many, or at least several, churches. Here, too, his information agrees with that of Angiolello. On the other hand he is to an extent muddling the two, either by creating in his memory a single island or by cross-attribution of features. He wrongly gives to Aghtamar the name "Arminig"; possibly he is trying, mistakenly, to reproduce the name "Amik". He also wrongly gives to Aghtamar the plain opposite the island of Lim, and wrongly attributes to it a two-day distance from Vostan. Even given that he was making the latter mistake, he still gets matters wrong. Probably what he was trying to do was give the distance between Aghtamar and Van, which on the assumption of a leisurely walk did take two days. However because he is thinking of Lim for the time being and he knows also that Vostan, at a good pace on a horse, is two days from there, he substitutes Vostan for Van. Even if this is an unjust decomposition of the Merchant's various confusions, the

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extent of the confusion here illustrates just how cloudy and faulty such accounts can be.

20. No walls are mentioned in the texts; it is hard to imagine walls being much help in protecting the town.

21. We are badly informed about this castle. The castle rock, which still bears some ruins, rises some 600 ft./200 m. from the outer edge of the plateau; since the town is on the north-east side of the valley, this is the south-west edge (Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches* II.245: "Kalah Barwa").

A castle, which must be the present ruined one, existed in the mid-17th century (*Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy 176: *kasaba* and citadel). The description by al-'Umari c.1340 ('Um., Mas.Abs., tr.Q., 318) talks of a fortress on a high, isolated mountain, and of an immense plain at the top of the mountain. The description may depend on a confusion between the site as a whole (the plateau) and the citadel rock rising above the plateau at its edge (see below). In other words al-'Umari is right to say (if exaggeration is permitted) that the fortress stands on a high, isolated mountain, but wrong to say that the plain is at the top of the mountain: it is on the plateau, or more truly it *is* the plateau. If this interpretation of al-'Umari is right, there was a castle on the rock in c.1340 and no doubt for the whole of the late Middle Ages.

But by the time of Ainsworth's visit in 1840 the castle was already ruined and the bey lived in a massive fortified house on the east edge of the town (Ainsworth, *ibid.* II.244). [The bey in question was not necessarily the senior member of the ruling family; by this time the senior member may have resided at Başkale.]

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My brother and I visited the town in 1978. My brother went to visit the castle, and reported a castle site whose interior had been made into a park. This unfortunately is the only information we picked up from the visit. (Reported in Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.252.) Dodwell, *Traveller on Horseback* 146, implies that at the time of her visit in 1986 there were ruins left, but says they are in a military firing zone.

We do not know the shape or size of this castle, and for some time will be unable to ascertain them. However it is unlikely that Dodwell means by "military firing zone" a place where shots are fired; the rock is more likely to be in some military use, and therefore out of bounds. So perhaps it will be possible to investigate this citadel thoroughly some day.

22. One indication is the position of the Meydan or Kilise Medrese, 2 km. down the hill from the town centre. (Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* IV.357; for description, refs. at I.256.)

23. 'Um., Mas.Abs., tr.Q., 318. There is some confusion here. Al-'Umari describes the plateau as if it were the top of a mountain: in reality the mountain in question is the citadel rock to one side of the plateau.

24. By 1840 there was a permanent market, which took the form of a square court lined by buildings or at least walls: there were round towers at the corners. (Binder, *Au Kurdistan* 172; Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches* II.244 -- Ainsworth did not realise this was a market.)

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25. Julamerk is known to have been a Syrian Orthodox bishopric in A.D. 757 (Honigmann, *Barsauma* 160-1). This suggests but does not prove that there was a town here at that date.

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1. On the castle's structures, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.212-15, with sketch of layout.

The entrance tower and probably the other two large bastions were built in 1082/1671, the date of a building inscription of Sulaymān, the reigning Mahmudi prince (Ch.III, Sect. III.3). These are clearly built to carry guns and resist cannon balls, so the medieval wall here must have been less imposing and was probably a little easier to capture. (I am not inclined to take Evliya, IV.272, seriously when he says that the castle was enlarged by Sulaymān in 1060/1650. Much more likely Evliya knew the details of the siege of 1060, which he recounts, and decided that the castle must have been enlarged immediately beforehand.)

2. For the town walls, which as far as I know have not been comprehensively inspected, let alone surveyed, see my remarks, *Eastern Turkey* I.214 and Sevgen's sketch, *Anadolu Kaleleri* 144.

Given that the wall was taken along the northern hills, it does not follow that the hill slopes were empty of houses. Some of the slopes may have been built on, since sloping land offers better drainage etc.. Equally part of the flat land within the walls might have been left unbuilt and free for livestock or gardens.

Evliya estimates the town wall's circumference at 1000 paces (IV.273), which is perhaps a little short, but not misleading as to the town's size.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.3.

3. The Mahmudi prince Hasan, whose reign started c.1534 and ended in 1585 (Ch.III, sect.III.3), built several masjids and madrasas in Hoşap (*Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy, 175); which is some clue to the size of the town, but on the whole unhelpful. On the evidence of the *Cihānnüma*, Hasan was the first Mahmudi prince to renounce the Yezidi religion. Owing to the Yezidi faith of the inhabitants there may have been no masjids or madrasas before Hasan.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.4

1. "... les restes de palais et d'habitations somptueuses": Cuinet II.570, describing the state of the site after the town had moved to its present site, called Kara Su, 5 km. to the north-east.
2. Thierry, "Monastères IV" [REArm 7 (1970)], 166, accepts the *Sherefname*'s version of the foundation of Hizan, which is based on the argument that if the same type of fruit tree grows in two different areas, a city in the second of these areas must have been founded by a man originating in the first. Thierry would put the town's foundation in the mid-13th century.
3. Clph.XIV.762, p.611 (S.1395.1, p.114); 772, p.618 (S.1397.1, p.115); 785a, p.630 (S.1400.2, p.119); XV.I.5, p.8 (S.1401.5, p.122); 19a, p.22 (S.1402.1, p.123); 72a, p.66 (S.1407.1, p.128); 212a, p.198 (S.1417.2, p.140); 213a, p.200 (S.1417.3, p.141); 274, p.247 (S.1420.6, p.146); 293, p.267 (S.1421.12, p.149); II.104, p.76 (S.1456.5, p.256).
4. As in the case of Bitlis, there is no space to go into the question of the reasons for and the provenance of this migration. Here the migrants are likely to have come from nearby parts of the Diyar Bakr, which in the mid-14th century were in turmoil.
5. Clph.XVII.I.13, pt.a, p.13; 32, p.34; 101, pt.2, p.88; 137, pt.2, p.110; 173, p.144; 175, pt.1, pp.146-7; 240, p.192; 254, pt.1, p.201; 366, p.302; 373, pt.1, p.309; 378, pt.1, p.312; 1611, pp.429-30; 782, p.586.
6. Sh.I.212, without specifying which Dāwud. However as the *Sherefname* does not

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.4

elsewhere mention the first (reigned 1421 to 1442 or after), it is hardly likely to be attributing the madrasa to him.

7. Sh.I.211, saying the mosque was built by the town's founder: the structure at present standing in the middle of the walled enclosure may be this mosque.

8. Sometimes also written "Mogs" in the Ottoman period. Each was pronounced "Mokës", with unstressed shwa. The name is originally a district name, not a town name. It occurs originally as Mokk', then as Moks, the accusative. The town seems never to have been known as Mokk'.

9. This would also have been pronounced "Mokës" (see preceding note), and on the system employed here it should be transliterated "Mōkes" or "Mōkus". But it seems best to avoid the confusion which might be caused by this transliteration.

10. Maunsell's photograph in "Central Kurdistan" [GJ 18 (1901)], 129; Thierry, "Monastères IV" [REArm 7 (1970)], 147-8.

11. Tr. Charmoy 180. It was from the battlements of this kal'e that the amir Abdal slipped to his death in 1005/1596-97 (Sh.I.218).

12. Clph.XVII.I.676, p.529; 764, pt.1, p.577. The two churches which remain in the town are both monastery churches: see Thierry, "Monastères IV" [REArm 7 (1970)], 147-

9. In the early Ottoman period, several issues of coins were minted here.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.5

1. The Armenian spelling shows that it would be better to transliterate "Arjêsh" in Persian.
2. Sov.Arm.Enc., "Arčēš", 2.88.1: in 1228 Jalal al-Din the Khwarizmshah, having wrecked the city, then repaired the walls and lakeside citadel. At least in 1228 there was a city wall as well as a citadel. Lynch's photograph, II.28, shows what appears to be a city gate to the north of the citadel.
3. Lynch II.29. Evliya notes that it was generally called the Yūsuf Şāh Cāmi'i, but himself calls it the Süleymān Hān Cāmi'i, because Süleyman I had it restored. (Ev.IV.148.) Şerif assumes this was Kara Yusuf's mosque (*Ahlat Kitabeleri* 19); during his visit it was already half under water.
4. Şerif, *Ahlat Kitabeleri* 19, 62; Tunçer, "Van Yöresi" [SanTarYıl 6 (1974-75), 2nd article], 132-3. The mound was probably not built on; the ruined walls noticed by the Lakes (Lake MS, 1938, no.6, p.2) must have been part of the settlement layers of Bronze Age and Urartian times. The mound in question is the one just south of the village of Çelebibagı.
5. Evliya, IV.148, says that on one side the *kal'e* is an island, and there is a harbour. As there was a good stretch of land to the south, west and north, this must mean that the citadel almost touches the lake's shore on its east side.
6. The place is mentioned by the *Cihānnüma* (tr. Charmoy, 166), who mentions that one of the springs turns a mill. The name the text gives to this spring, Diyādīn, is probably transferred from another town with sulphurous springs, which lies to the north-

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.5

east of Ala Dağ (the confusion perhaps resulted from the equal proximity to Ala Dağ of the springs just north of Erciş).

7. The only one to have survived is the so-called Kadım Paşa Hatun Türbesi. The relation of the various people buried in it to the leading Kara Koyunlu family is not clear. It is the tomb of Yār 'Alī, Shāh Mustafā, Shāh Sevik, Shāh 'Alī and their mother Kadım Pāshā Khātūn. The latter died in 863/1458. (Aslanapa, "Kara Koyunlu Kümbetleri" 105; Şerif, *Ahlat Kitabeleri* 12-13, 61.) Kara Yusuf was buried at Erciş, presumably in the same spot. (Sümer, KK 112, 115, 117.) So were Jahan Shah (KD II.426) and the latter's mother (Barbaro 84, where Harzil = Arjish).

8. T'M 54. Thomas also refers to this village as Erişat (T'M 48), and its modern name is Erşad. On p.48 Thomas states that in 1394, during clashes between Chaghatay forces and those of Kara Yusuf, 15,000 men arrived in the village. This would indicate a large village, though the evidence is somewhat equivocal.

9. Ev.IV.148-9. According to Evliya they left in July and spent six months or so in the gardens. Six months is impossible. Evliya says "Ala Dağ".

10. Kolbas (Thesis II.550-51) believes that in the years 700-2/1300-03 and 704/1304-05, Erciş was the leading mint in the Il-Khanid province of Armenia. Ahlat became the leading mint in 705/1305-06.

11. Clph.XIII.486, pp.600-1 (1287; S. Step'annos); 499.1, pp.616-17 (1288; S.Yakovb [=Yakob]); 556, p.685 (1292; S.Georg etc.). Compared to Vostan, for example, it is impressive to have three different churches named.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.5

12. Krawulsky, *Reich* 419. The builder was 'Ali Shah, vizier of the Il-Khan's empire jointly with Rashid al-Din from 712/1312. He died in 1324.
13. T'M 69: Miran Shah came through Arčēš/Erciş on his way to Bitlis. He "worshipped the holy church and did not go into the mosque of the Turks"; he despised and rejected them. His action was not meant to express acceptance of the Christian faith, but instead expressed support for the Christians. Thomas gives the date as 845/1405-6, but this is wrong, as Miran Shah was demoted in 1399. See Ch.III, sect.I.5.(iii), esp. n.39.
14. (a) [Kara Yülük] Osman's attack and Iskender's counter-attack in 1429. (T'M 88-9, and for the date, 85-6; Sümer, KK 130.) (b) Plunder by Iskandar, son of Nuralvand, in 1448. (MC I.143 (Anon. Chron.).)
15. MC I.143 (Anon. Chron.). Again, Hasan 'Ali's reason will have concerned the need to secure local Christian support.
16. MC I.126-9 (Tēr Barsēl). The Kızılbaş blockaded the city, which according to the text was occupied by a son of Hasan 'Ali, for two years. After a further Kızılbaş attack, which appears to have been successful, the population fled to neighbouring cities. It was then occupied by Dolvat'iar [Arm. spelling], son of the Ak Koyunlu Alvand. He seems to have stayed for four years, during which time the population came back. However he was driven out in another Kızılbaş attack. Further attacks followed, during which the city was left deserted once more.

The latter had been proclaimed sultan of a breakaway Ak Koyunlu state in the Diyar Bakr, then put on the throne at Tabriz in 1498 (Woods, AQ 170). This may be the year in which Alvand's son Dolvat'iar took Erciş. After a series of defeats Alvand was

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.5

driven out of Tabriz by Shah Ismail in 1501 (possibly 1502 for the last time), then went back to the Diyar Bakr, ruling there until 910/1504-5. (Ibid. 171-5.) This may have led to Dolvat'iar's loss of Erciş, which can be placed in 1505 or 1506. However the chronicle (p.128) implies a date of 1504 for a Kurdish attack *after* he lost it.

17. The mid-17th-century *Cihānnüma* (tr. Charmoy, 166) says that the rising waters of the lake have submerged [more strictly, surrounded] several hills, which are now [islands] in the lake. This rise in the level of the lake took place in the 15th or the first half of the 16th century: see below. The hills in question cannot have lain on (subsequently offshore of) the plain at the mouth of the valley, so must have been at the end of the ridge to the west.

18. (a) Rise in level of lake. *Cihānnüma*, tr. Charmoy 166. (b) New walled area. Evliya mentions first a *kal'e* [i.e. walled area] where the 700 houses were small and lacked gardens or orchards. This will be the medieval walled area. (Ev.IV.142-3.) Evliya then mentions a lower citadel, on a low hill. This was rectangular, and 600 paces in circumference. (Ev.IV.143-4.) This second walled area is most unlikely to have been built in the lower part of the medieval walled area, particularly since part of that had been flooded. Moreover the ground inside that walled area is and was irregular, which would more or less preclude a rectangular wall. So the second walled area must have been somewhere on the plain. Evliya goes on to say that to the west of the [second] *kal'e* is a *bağlık*; which fits well with a position on the plain.

19. The last mention of the island monastery seems to be 1428 (Clph.XV.I.403 a, b, pp.380-1 (S.1428.4, p.176), without the monastery's name). This of course is just a

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.5

terminus post quem for the evacuation of the monastery, which had been sacked in Armn. 874/1425 by the Ruzagi of Bitlis (T'M 42-3).

20. In 1598 the Safavid general Alaverdi besieged and eventually captured Adilcevaz apart from the medieval walled area. He took 23,000 prisoners. (Aṛak'el (1669 ed.), 30-32.) This provides some indication of the city's size, but some of the prisoners would have been inhabitants of villages outside the town.

21. T'M 89. The strength of the medieval walled area was again demonstrated in the late 16th-century event referred to above, when its Ottoman commandant Mustafa Paşa defended the city against the Safavid general Alaverdi. Alaverdi could not take the walled area. (Aṛak'el (1669 ed.), 30-32.)

22. Lynch II.272-3 and plan opp. p.271. The plan is not accurate in detail; for example there is no evidence that the wall was double.

23. The city was the object of fighting between Ayyubids and Jalal al-Din the Khwarizmshah between 1226 and 1229 (ĪA, "Malazgirt", 7.241.2): Jalal al-Din was in the end unsuccessful in his attempts to capture the city. This suggests a city of substantial size. There exists an unpublished inscription above a doorway in the walls. The script marks this inscription as no later than the 13th century. The inscription names a Muzaffar al-Dūnyā wa'l Dīn, whom it seems impossible to identify. The inscription shows that the walls were kept in a defensible state at least until c.1230.

I am grateful to Prof. C.E.Bosworth for persuading one of his students to read my photographs of the inscription. I am also grateful to Prof. J.M.Rogers for improving on this student's transcription, and in particular for extracting the personal name. My

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photograph was taken in bad conditions and with an unsatisfactory lens. Possibly more could be deciphered. However parts of the inscription are effaced, and by now it may have been completely lost.

24. Hasan 'Ali's motive was probably to maintain the support of local Christians; he had helped to repair the dome of the principal church at Erciş: *ibid.* and see on Erciş.

25. Ev.V.40. He estimates 2,000 houses, but this is probably based on the existence of just one *cāmi'* and two madrasas, and will include an underestimate of the Armenian population's numbers. Evliya says Timur had damaged part of the *kal'e*, which means at any rate that part of the wall was in bad repair.

26. Description of site: Burney, "Uartian Fortresses" (1957) [AS 7], 48; *id.*, "Uartian Fortresses" (1960) [AS 10], 183, 185. This mainly concerns the citadel. Mustawfi, *Nuzhat* (LS) 101, says the town was on a hill, with a strong citadel to one side. This would fit very well the present town's situation, backed by the citadel rock to the north-east. The Uartian town site is ruled out, because it lay on the flat ground north of the citadel.

27. See below. That battles took place on the plain or on its approaches also suggests its use as a venue for mustering troops. See in particular the examples from the years 1410 and 1420 on pp.391-2 below.

28. (a) In 1394, Timur, frustrated of catching Kara Yusuf in the plain of Muş, went first to Ala Dağ, then to Bayazīd/Doğubayazıt, then to Üç Kilise (Bagaran, at the east end of the present Ağrı plain; not Echmiadzin as Sümer says) and Alashkerd/Eleşkirt. (Sümer,

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.5

KK 57-8.) (b) In 1421, after his siege of Bayazīd, Shah Rukh came to Ala Dağ, then to the Muş plain and the north shore cities. (Sümer, KK 120.)

29. In the summer of 1262 Hulagu and some of his troops were spending the summer on Ala Dağ and set off from there to meet an invasion by the Golden Horde. (CHI V.353.)

30. CHI V.356. The capital, Tabriz, was not the same as the Il-Khan's winter residence, which alternated between various places, including Baghdad.

After the inspection of the bloody Mongol defeat near Elbistan in 1277 and the subsequent punitive destruction which he ordered in Asia Minor, Abagha spent the remainder of the summer of 1277 in the Ala Dağ. It was here that the *pervane* Mu'in al-Dīn Sulaymān, held responsible by the Mongols for the defeat, was tried and executed. (CHI V.361.)

31. Mustawfi, *Nuzhat* (LS), 101; Kirakos, ed. Blake and Frye, 343; MC II.146 (Anon. Sebastac'i), attributing the palace to Abagha.

32. (a) A quriltay was held here in summer 1292, shortly after Geikhatu had come to power. In the same year the expedition to relieve Rum Kale set out (too late) from here. This was led by Tegüder/Taghachar, who had been pardoned in the quriltay for his part in a rebellion. (CHI V.373.) (b) In summer 1294 took place the incident in which Baidu was beaten up by Geikhatu, for a reason about which the sources disagree. This led to Baidu's rising in rebellion and dethroning Geikhatu. (CHI V.375.)

33. (a) In April 1336, Musa had ousted Arpa Khan. Muhammad was then set up as

NOTES TO APPENDIX I, SECT.5

a rival by Hasan Buzurg, founder of the Jalayrid dynasty, and this faction defeated Musa. (CHI V.413-14.) Musa's faction was based at Ala Dağ, and set out to meet Hasan from there, meeting him in the Qarādere, east of the plain. (Tar.Uws. 62; on Qarādere, below.) (b) In 1338 Muhammad and Hasan Buzurg were the defenders, and Hasan Kuchak the attacker: the battle took place at Nawshahr. (CHI V.415.) (c) Haji Taghay appears to have been based here when Hasan Kuchak plundered the Ala Dağ district. (Tar.Uws. 69.) (d) A battle took place in the Ala Dağ district between Malik Ashraf and Surghan. (Tar.Uws. 72.)

34. In 1391 Kara Yusuf left two deputies to besiege Tabriz and returned to Ala Dağ to spend the summer. This would suggest that his summer pasture took precedence over personal attendance at the siege. In 1392 he came to Ala Dağ in the spring, then set off towards Tabriz, which this time he successfully occupied. (Sümer, KK 56-7.)

35. (a) 1408. After the battle of Serd-Rud (April 1408), he permitted his amirs to go back to their territories and himself went to Ala Dağ. (Sümer, KK 77.) (b) 1409. After relieving the siege of Mardin he went back to the Ala Dağ to spend the summer. (Sümer, KK 80.) (c) 1410 and 1411: Sümer, KK 82, 89.

36. In 1421, after besieging Bayazīd/Doğubayazıt, Shah Rukh came to the Lake Van shore and the plain of Muş via Ala Dağ. He then came back to Ala Dağ, intending to continue to Tabriz; but he heard of the presence of Aspad Kara Koyunlu in the district of Ahlat and Adilcevaz; so he went back to Erciş. (Sümer, KK 120.)

37. I have myself been shown the site of the battle, towards the south end of the plain. My informant even pointed out the two sides' troop dispositions. Just when the battle was

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located here rather than at its true site west of Maku would be interesting to discover. I suspect the early Republican period.

38. MC II.146. The author attributes the palace to the Il-Khan Abagha c.1275 rather than to Arghun. One local tradition may have presented Abagha as the builder, which would explain the plain's Ottoman name of Abagha.

39. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 342: note the spelling with D in the manuscript tradition of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* itself.

40. Çaldıran: Burney, "Urartian Fortresses" (1957) [AS 7], 48-9; "Urartian Fortresses" (1960) [AS 10], 182-3. Aşağı Şerefhane: Lake MS, 1938, no.5, p.5.

41. Lake MS, 1938, no.5, p.5. Strictly speaking they were told that this was a Vannic (i.e. Urartian) castle and that it lay *at* the north end of the plain. Since the Lakes did not visit the place they were only relying on the word of local people, who would not know an Urartian from a Mongol building. The building cannot have been at the north end of the plain, as it would then be easily accessible on foot. So it must have been higher up.

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

1. To make the exercise more thorough the following steps could be taken.

-- Certain pages of the *defters* need to be consulted: that they were not is a misfortune due, in broad terms, to the difficulties involved in obtaining photocopies.

-- *Mezre'as* mentioned in the *defters* could be included: I collected many of these, but have not used them to define the Ottoman *nahiyes*.

-- Other documents could be read: see below in the main text.

-- Information from the *salnames* and Cuinet could be used to supplement that in the *defters*, exercising due caution with respect to possible boundary changes over time.

-- The *nahiye* boundaries implied by the village lists in *Köylerimizin Adları* itself and in the modern censuses could be used as proxies for the early Ottoman *nahiyes*.

2. See Thomson's discussion in Arcruni, tr. Thomson, esp. pp. 18-19. The first continuator appears to have been writing at roughly the same date.

3. Sometimes Kodrik' (Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 334-5).

4. In the 4th century A.D. a district of Kordrik' and a district of Tmorik' existed side by side (BP IV.1, V.x). So the process by which the Kordrik' (the people) took the district of Tmorik' was gradual.

In the fourth century A.D. a much more extensive district called Κοδρικ' or Ἀρδικ' stretched between Korduk' in the west and the district of Zarewand and Her

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

(centred on Khoy) in the east. This perhaps helps little with the racial character of the Kordrik', because it does *not* imply that the latter resided in all the districts (those around the Zab; Gevar; and the Persian border districts) between the Habur valley and Zarewand and Her. See BP, tr. Garsoian, 474.

5. Sebēos (ed. Abgaryan), 60; Hübschmann 335 (quoting a different edition). But it is possible that by "unbelievers" Sebēos means "of a different Christian sect".

6. I owe the argument to an unpublished typescript by Hewsen, which concerns the locations of the districts of Korčayk'. But I disagree with his conclusion, that Kartunik' was the Gevar plain.

7. As noted above, these two rivers flow in opposite directions, the first into Gevar and the second into the Nazlu Chay in Iran.

8. And if (*per impossibile*) it had been on the original list it would have had to be part of Vaspurakan rather than Korčayk'. I do not push this argument, though, because it is unclear under what name the Zab valley immediately downstream of Albak was known in the early 7th century. I suspect it was a grey area for which the original list did not have a name.

9. Percy, *Highlands* 184-7. The feature actually called Suringah Kaleh (p.185 and photo p.186) was a small, isolated mountain shaped somewhat like a peak in the Dolomites and more or less sheer on all sides. Percy says there are no traces of a fort proper, and there never could have been a fort here. It would have been hopelessly difficult for its defenders

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

even to get up the rock, let alone live at its top. But Percy mentions a castle, ruined by the time of his visit, not far from the mouth of the Diz valley and on the right bank of the river, behind the village of Ras. This is no doubt the medieval Sring.

10. In the fourth century A.D. a Korčēk' is known which is clearly of much smaller extent than the Korčayk' of the Ašx. (for references, BP, tr. Garsoian, 473). The best suggestion for its location would be the Hazil Su basin; but the clues are nowhere near precise enough to justify certainty. If the Hazil Su basin is right, the district of Tmorik' was originally the Habur valley. This was the state of affairs before Tmorik' was encroached on by the Kordrik'.

The following point arises out of the discussion of Korčayk' as a whole rather than at the very end:

I disagree with the notion that the 1st-century B.C. kingdom of Gordyene was the predecessor of the Ašx.'s Korčayk': it must be the predecessor of Qardū/Korduk'/Corduena. (For some arguments, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* III.360 (cf. 359 for the kingdom's three towns).) However the notion that the 4th-century Assyrian march of the Armenian kingdom, ruled by the prince of Korduk', stretched as far east as the Habur valley, makes very good sense. (See BP, tr. Garsoian, 474-5.)

NOTES TO APPENDIX IV

1. Khūyt was a district in the Taurus mountains north-west of the city of Bitlis and south of the plain of Muş. For more on its location and history, n.1 to p.483. The text spells Rūzhagī, not Rūzagī, at this point.
2. The *Sherefname* gives alternative accounts at this point (I.328-9). Some say Bitlis was ruled by the Kōrdekī/Gōrdegī ‘ashīret and Hazo by the Georgian. Others that the Zuqīsī ‘ashīret held Bitlis. The significance of the inclusion of the Kōrdekī tribe in the first alternative is unclear; they probably have nothing to do with Qardū (Syr.)/Korduk‘ (Arm.), the district on the east bank of the Tigris dependent on Fenek or (subsequently) Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar/Cizre. The Kōrdekī and Zuqīsī are mentioned in the next story, B, as two of the five component tribes of the Ruzagi, original inhabitants of the immediate locality of Bitlis, who were absorbed by the Ruzagi confederation after its foundation; perhaps this is an attempt on their part to claim superior status as original inhabitants.
3. (a) The Bāyegī. The evidence that they lived in the valley of Kifendur, the section of the Bitlis valley below the city of Bitlis, is assembled in Ch.III, sect.I.2, p.79, n.2. (b) The Mōdikī. Before the siege of the citadel of Bitlis in 900/1494-95, by means of which the Bāyegī regained the city from the Ak Koyunlu, it was men from the Bāyegī and Mōdikī tribes who volunteered to lead the assault by fixing ropes to its battlements: Sh.I.397. Of course this suggests the two are neighbours; quite apart from our knowing that the Mōdikī or Mutki district is just north-west of the valley of Kifendūr. (c) The

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Zuqīsī. They figure in part of story A, where they are said to be the tribe from whom the Ruzagi took Bitlis; strictly speaking this part of the story is given in three alternative forms, of which the proposition that Tavit the Georgian prince held Bitlis and Hazo before the Ruzagi is the first to be given and is apparently the one favoured by the author.

4. At the death of Shams al-Din II in the early 1430's the principality endured a period of chaos, when many aghas seized a *nāhiya* at will (Sh.I.381-2). The Qavālīsī seized those of Chuqūr and Mūsh. The most likely *nāhiya* for a tribe to seize is the one that it lives in.

5. The text only says that it is 760 years since the Bitlis dynasty has controlled Bitlis; but this assertion comes immediately after the story of Bahvāṣ, and taken with that of Zia al-Din and 'Izz al-Din (story B) must be meant as an indication of the date at which Bahvāṣ settled at Ahlat. We are not told the length of the gap separating Bahvāṣ from Zia al-Din and 'Izz al-Din.

Zamasp (not Jamasp) was in reality the brother of the son (Kavad) of Firūz or Peroz: see CHI III(1).149-50.

If we go back 760 Hijrī years from 1005, the date given as the current year in this passage, we get 245/859-60: a particularly striking facet of the whole fascinating mosaic of historical memory available to the author.

6. The text does not state the connection between Bahvāṣ and Zia al-Din and 'Izz al-Din, but clearly means us to draw such a connection.

NOTES TO APPENDIX IV

The text continues straight on to the next story, E, but the two are chronologically separated by story B, so we have kept them apart here.

7. The date of 245/859-60 given by the *Sherefname* as the start of the Bitlis dynasty may possibly reflect one aspect of historical reality. If we remember that Bahvāṣ must have taken up residence at Ahlat before that date (according to the story), and that Ahlat is the city whose historical glow the author is always trying to steal on behalf of Bitlis, then it is possible to conclude that the *Sherefname* is reflecting the history of the rise of Ahlat, which certainly took place in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.; conceivably that of Bitlis in the same period.

8. The text derives the name Dīādīn, which at this point in the text (I.364) the author, for some reason, attributes to the Bitlis dynasty, from *Ẓīā' al-Dīn*. The author probably wishes us to derive "Hazo" from "'Azīzān", the surname which he gives to the Hazo dynasty at this point; in "'Azīzān" he no doubt sees "'Izz al-Dīn".

9. See e.g. Humphreys, *Saladin to the Mongols* 181, 215-16, 217-18. Jalal al-Din unsuccessfully besieged the city in 623/1226, then raided its district in 625/1228, before finally capturing it. He abandoned it after the battle of Yassı Çimen in Ramadan 627/August 1230 (Humphreys 219).

10. The Serājīān do not feature in the list of tribes in story B; on the other hand they seem genuinely to have existed in the 14th century, not in the Bitlis district but in the Diyar Bakr (Cahen, *Diyar Bakr* (14 c.), 89, "Sarājika"). Perhaps they had moved to the

NOTES TO APPENDIX IV

Bitlis valley by the late 16th century ? The unbelievable element is that the Serājīān were Turks.

11. Strictly speaking, by the late 12th century Ahlat was no longer a vassal of the Great Seljuks; but the Shah-i Arman dynasty is generally known as such.

12. Perhaps the reconstruction of the series of muddles and mistakes by which the local tradition reflected in the *Sherefname*, and perhaps also the *Sherefname*'s own inventions, arrived at this part of its narrative account, is too ingenious and fanciful ? The *Sherefname*'s account, however, certainly incorporates a great number of confusions and other mistakes; one cannot aim at a reconstruction of the process of historical distortion which does not include a number of such mistakes. Luckily the interpretation of story G proposed here is inessential to the reconstruction of the dynasty's history given below.

13. But it should be remembered that story E, which seemed at first sight to link Bitlis with Hazo in a manner neither historically attested nor plausible *a priori*, turned out to be the transmutation of a historical reality of which, in its true form, the *Sherefname* is unaware.

NOTES TO APPENDIX V

1. Hewsen, "House of Sefedinian", esp. pp.123-4. This is a history of the dynasty, which lasted certainly until 1586. Akinean, *Aghtamar*, assembles most of the data on the patriarchate's history. Hewsen is better informed than Akinean on the wide historical circumstances affecting the patriarchate's history, and so achieves a more accurate interpretation of the data. This section of the present thesis similarly reworks Akinean's data by interpreting it according to the *local* historical circumstances. Other material than Akinean's and Hewsen's has been found.

2. Loss of K'aĵberunik', Adilcevaz, Bitlis principality. (a) Date. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 71: the event took place in the 7th year of the katholikos Dawit' III's reign, which started in 1393 (one of the better-established succession dates, since we know the year in which Dawit's successor was murdered: Akinean 68, and the discussion below, pp.509-10). The agent of the see of Sis was Grigor of Tat'ew. Cf. (i) T'M 35, which gives inadequate clues as to the date, and (ii) MC II.352 (Dawit' of Baleš), which implies the date 1409. (b) Adilcevaz. Dawit' of Baleš usefully adds that all Bznunik', as well as the district of Erciş, was taken out of Aghtamar's jurisdiction. In the Late Classical period Bznunik' meant, in my opinion, the districts of Ahlat and Adilcevaz (Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* I.319; others would confine Bznunik' in this period to Ahlat and its district). It is not clear whether after the loss of Bznunik' the other parts of the Bitlis principality (Bitlis etc.) remained within Aghtamar's jurisdiction. The Zakaria incident of 1461, much discussed in this thesis, in which the Aghtamar patriarch went to the help of his flock in the Bitlis principality (Clph.XV.II.221, pp.174-5 (S.1462.3, pp.272-3)), might be taken to show that he cannot have lost the congregations within that principality. However Zakaria was

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at that time *katholikos* of all the Armenians.

3. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 47, 48, 52-5. The colophon's date is 1318, and no explanation is given that the event took place three years earlier. However the patriarch went to the Khan, stayed a year, and the Khan died in the autumn. This must be Uljaytu, who died in autumn 1316. So the date of the patriarch's visit was 1315. See Clph.XIV.178, p.138 (S.1318.1, pp.60-61).

4. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 61. The text of the colophon reads, "he freed the priests from the *hark* [tax] of oppression". It is not absolutely clear that this is a literal rather than a figurative reference to taxes. On the assumption that it is literal, the phrase "the *hark* of oppression" is a way of saying "oppressive taxes".

5. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 67-8. Hewsen, "House of Sefedinian" 125, says 'Izz al-Din Shir of Hakkari was responsible, but the story involves a local *amīr* who was in the hamam at the time of the accusations.

6. The account does not specify that the house was on land, but the story requires it. The house was no doubt at the landing-stage, in just the same place where Lynch visited the patriarch in the late 19th century (Lynch II.126-8).

7. Again the account does not say what trick was suspected. Perhaps a plant: the mullah could afterwards "discover" that the patriarch had stolen his satchel.

8. Clph.XV.II.785 a, p.630 (S.1400.2, p.119) says the patriarch was stoned to death.

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9. (a) Clph.XV.I.471, p.433 (S.1433.1, p.181); 567b, p.505 (S.1440.2, pp.192-3); 639, p.567 (S.1444.3, p.204). Piri Beg ("P'iri Bēk") was grandson of 'Izz al-Din: no. 567b. Date: nos. 567, 639. (b) Clph.XV.I.472b, pp.434-5 (S.1433.2, p.181): crucifixes and gospels. (c) Clph.I.506, p.463 (S.1436.2, pp.184-5): refuge in Uranc' for two years. (d) Akinean, *Aghtamar* 74-5.

10. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 111 states that he occupied both sees, but nothing seems to bear him out and many colophons mention other patriarchs at Echmiadzin in the next few years.

11. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 111. On the family relationship, *ibid.* 109, 111.

12. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 113, advances the view that Smbat held no real political power. For the colophons, Akinean 113, 115-19.

13. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 112, also perceives a negotiation with Jahan Shah behind Smbat's appointment. His account of the precise motives, though, is different from mine. See n.14.

14. Akinean, *Aghtamar* 112-13, views Smbat's appointment as a way of engaging the sympathy and loyalty of the patriarch's subjects. My explanation agrees with his in two respects: the idea that Jahan Shah was behind the scheme (see p.513 and n.13), and his hint that the creation of a titular monarchy betokens a new role for the patriarch on the political scene.

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15. (a) 1498. Clph.XV.III.348 (pp.257-8). The text says only "Kurds" rather than specifying Bitlis. But 370.a ((b)(ii) below) makes it clear that Bitlis was the attacker in 1498.

(b) 1499. (i) Clph.XV.III.373, p.279. The attacker was Zahid, son of 'Izz al-Dīn Shīr. It is not clear if Zahid was Hakkari prince by this time. See Ch.III, sects.II.5.(v), (vi).

(ii) Clph.XV.III.370.a, p.276. Hakkari burnt Bitlis in revenge for raid on Aghtamar.

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(N.B. Only those referred to in abbreviated form are included in this list.)

AS = *Anatolian Studies*

BTDD = *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*

GJ = *Geographical Journal*

HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*

JA = *Journal Asiatique*

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JSAS = *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*

NumChron = *Numismatic Chronicle*

REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes*

SanTarYıl = *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*

StudIran = *Studia Iranica*

TNDB = *Türk Nümismatik Derneği Bülteni*

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischeⁿ Gesellschaft*

Other serials

CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*

HSSH Hrat. = Haykakan SSH Hratarakč'ut'yun

Isl. Unters. = Islamkundliche Untersuchungen (Klaus Schwarz)

TAVO = Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients

TTKY = Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları

YKB = Yapı ve Kredi Bankası A.Ş. Nümismatik Yayınları

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NAMES AND TERMS NOT SPELT IN STRICT TRANSLITERATION

This is a list only of names and terms of which a form represented by means of diacritical marks would under some circumstances have been recommended by scholarly practice. It does not include names which occur in this thesis only in their fully transliterated form. It is not a complete list of names, an index or a glossary. Note that some names, beside being given in a simplified, Anglicised form, sometimes occur in the text in their strictly transliterated form. Place names in Turkey are generally spelt in modern Turkish form anyway, so this list only deals with place names not coming under that rule for some reason.

Personal names and titles

Abagha [personal name only] (Abāghā, Abāqā)	‘Izz al-Din (‘Izz al-Dīn)
Abdal (Abdāl)	‘Izz al-Din Shir (‘Izz al-Dīn Shīr)
‘Abdallah (‘Abdallāh)	Jahan Shah (Jihān Shāh, Jihānshāh)
Abu Bakr (Abū Bakr)	Jalal al-Din (Jalāl al-Dīn)
Abu Sa‘id (Abū Sa‘īd)	Jengiz Khan (Chingiz Khān)
(Al-)‘Adil (al-‘Ādil)	Kara Yusuf (Qarā Yūsuf)
Agha (Āghā)	Khalil (Khalīl)
Ahmad (Aḥmad)	Khan (Khān)
Ahmet, Ott. sultan (Ott. Aḥmed)	Khwarizmshah (Kh ^w ārizmshāh)
al-‘Adil (al-‘Ādil)	Kızıl Arslan (Qizil Arslan)
‘Ali (‘Alī)	Kuchak (Kūchak)
Al-‘Umarī (al-‘Umarī)	Mahmud (Maḥmūd)
Anushiravan (Anūshīrāvān)	Mahmut, Ott. sultan (Maḥmūd)
Arak‘el (Aṛak‘el)	Majd al-Din (Majd al-Dīn)
Arghun (Arghūn)	Marwan (Marwān)
Arpa (Arpa)	Mir (Mīr)
Ayyub (Ayyūb)	Miran Shah (Mīranshāh)
Bayram Hoca, mod. Turk. (Pers. Bahram/Bayram Kh ^w āja)	Mirkhwand (Mirkh ^w ānd)
Beg (Pers. Bēg, Ott. Bēg)	Mirza (Mīrza)
Begtimur (Bēgtīmūr)	Muhammad (Muḥammad)
Buzurg (Buzūrg)	Murat, Ott. sultan (Murād)
Geikhatu (Gaykhātū)	Musa (Mūsa)
Haji (Ḥājī)	Mustafa (Muṣṭafā)
Hasan (Ḥasan)	Noyan (Noyān)
Hasan ‘Ali (Ḥasan ‘Alī)	Nur al-Din (Nur al-Dīn)
Hulagu (Hülegü)	Pir Budaq (Pīr Būdāq)
Husayn (Ḥusayn)	Piri Beg (Pīrī Bēg)
Ibn al-Athir (Ibn al-Athīr)	Rashid al-Din (Rashīd al-Dīn)
Ibrahim (Ibrāhīm)	Samarkandi (Samarqandī)
Iskender (Iskandar)	Salah al-Din (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn)
Ismail (Ismā‘īl)	Sati Beg (Sati Bēg)
	Sayyid (Sayyid)
	Shah (Shāh)
	Shah-i Arman (Shāh-i Arman)
	Shah Rukh (Shāh Rūkh)

Shams al-Din (Shams al-Dīn)
 Sharaf al-Din (Sharaf al-Dīn)
 Sufi (Şūfī)
 Sulayman (Arab., Pers. Sulaymān)
 Sultan (Sultān)
 Taghay (Taghāy)
 Tahmasp (Ṭahmāsb, Ṭahmāsp)
 Timur (Tīmūr, sometimes Teymūr)
 Uljaytu (Ulġāytū, sometimes
 Öljeitü)
 (al-)‘Umari (al-‘Umarī)
 Uzun Hasan (Uzūn Haşan)
 Ya‘qub (Ya‘qūb)
 Yaqut (Yāqūt)
 Yusuf (Yūsuf)
 Zahid (Zāhid)
 Zakaria (Armn. Zak‘aria, Pers. Zakarya)
 Zangi (Arab. Zankī)
 Zengi (Arab. Zankī)
 Zia al-Din (Arab. Dīā al-Dīn,
 Pers. Zīā al-Dīn)

Tribes, peoples, nations, dynasties

Ak Koyunlu (Āq Qōyunlū)
 Ayyubid (Ayyūbid)
 Bilbas (Bilbās)
 Bukhti (Bukhtī)
 Chaghatay (Chaghatāy)
 Dunbeli (Dunbelī)
 Hakkari (Ḥakkarī)
 Il-Khan (Il-Khān)
 Jaf (Jāf)
 Jalayrid (Jalā’irid, Jalāyirid)
 Kara Koyunlu (Qarā Qōyunlū)
 Koyunlu (Qōyunlū)
 Mahmudī (Maḥmudī)
 Mamluk (Mamlūk)
 Marwanid (Marwānid)
 Muradi (Murādī)
 Naqshbandi (Naqshbandī)
 Pinyanishi (Pinyānishī)
 Ruzagi (Rūzagī)
 Safavid (Safavid)
 ‘Uthmanid (‘Uthmānid)
 Yezidi (Yazīdī)

Places

Aghtamar: see Appendix 1
 Amadiya (‘Amādīya, ‘Imādīya)
 Avnik (Armn. Awnik, Pers. Avnīk,
 Arab. Awnīk)
 Azerbaijan (Arab. Adhārbāyġān,
 Pers. Azārbāyġān)
 Baghdad (Baghdād)
 Diyar Bakr (Diyār Bakr)
 Echmiadzin (Armn. Ēġmiacin)
 Gevar, mod. Turk. (Armn. Gawaṛ,
 Arab. Kawār, Pers. Gavār)
 Hisn Kayfa (Ḥişn Kayfā)
 Iraq (‘Irāq)
 ‘Irakeyn (Ott. ‘Irākeyn)
 Iran (Īrān)
 Jawanrud (Jawānrūd)
 Jazira (Jazīra)
 Jilu (Syr. Jīlū)
 Judi Dagħ (Arab. (Jabal) Jūdī, Ott. Cūdī
 Dağ, mod. Turk. Cudi Dağ)
 Kaputkogh (Armn. Kaputkoġ)
 Karabagh (Pers. Qarābāgh)
 Khabur (Khābūr)
 Khoy (Khōy)
 Khurasan (Khūrāsān)
 Kirmanshah (Kīrmānshāh)
 Mergavar [place only] (Pers. Mergavār,
 Margavār)
 Moks: see Appendix 1
 Mosul (Arab. Mawşil, Mawşul)
 Pasin (Pers. Pāsīn, fr. Armn.
 Basēn < Basean)
 Sasun (Pers. Şaşun)
 Serd-Rud (Pers. Sard-Rūd, Serd-Rūd)
 Shamsdinan Su (Pers. & Kurd.
 Shamsdīnān Şu)
 Sulaymaniya (Arab. Sulaymānīya)
 Tatvan (Pers., Ott. Tātvan)
 Tergavar [place only] (Pers. Tergavār)
 Tkhuma (Syr. Thūma)
 Tur ‘Abdīn (Syr. Ṭūr ‘Abdīn)
 Urmia (Pers. Urmiya)
 Vostan (Armn. (V)ostan, Arab. Wusṭān,
 Pers. & Ott. Vosṭān)

Terms

* = not italicised in text

= in modern Turkish form

agha* (Pers. āghā, āqā, mod. Turk. ağa)

akçe*, mod. Turk. (Ott. akçe)

amir* (Pers., Arab. amīr)

ashiret [applied to Nestorian tribes] (fr.

Arab. ‘ashīra, Pers. & Kurd.

‘ashīret)

beg* (Pers. bēg, Ott. bēg)

begzada (Pers., Kurd. bēgzāda)

Begzade* (ditto)

begzade (ditto)

bey*, (Pers. bēg, bey; Ott. bēg, bey; mod.

Turk. bey)

beylerbeyi# (Ott. bēglerbēgī)

cizye# (Arab. jizya)

eyalat (Pers. eyālat, Ott. èyālet)

ferman (Pers., Ott. fermān)

kaza*# (Arab. kaḏā, Pers. & Ott. kaḏā)

khan (Pers. khān)

mahalle (Arab. maḥalla, Pers. & Ott.

maḥalle, mod. Turk. mahalle)

malikane (Ott. malikāne)

mamluk (Arab. mamlūk)

mirza (Pers. mīrza)

müsellim*# (Ott. müsellim)

nahiye# (Arab. & Pers. nāḥiya,

Ott. nāḥiye)

nahiye, Ott. (ditto)

padishah* (Pers. pādishāh)

pasha* (Ott. paşa)

raya [applied to Nestorian tribes and

other groups] (Arab. ra‘īya)

salname (Ott. sālnāme)

sanjak* (Ott. sancak)

tahrir# (Ott. taḥrīr)

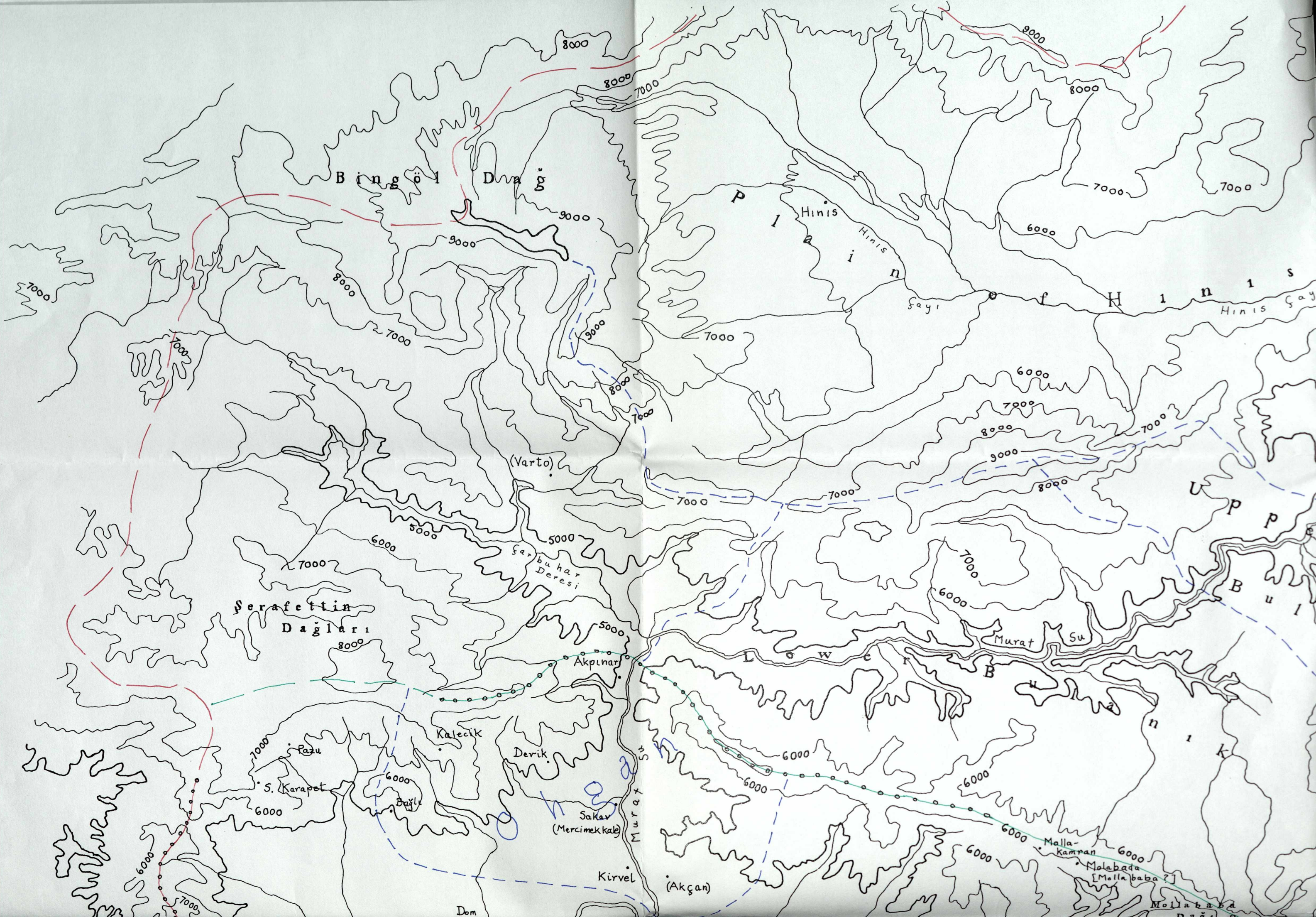
timar, Ott. (tīmār, tīmār)

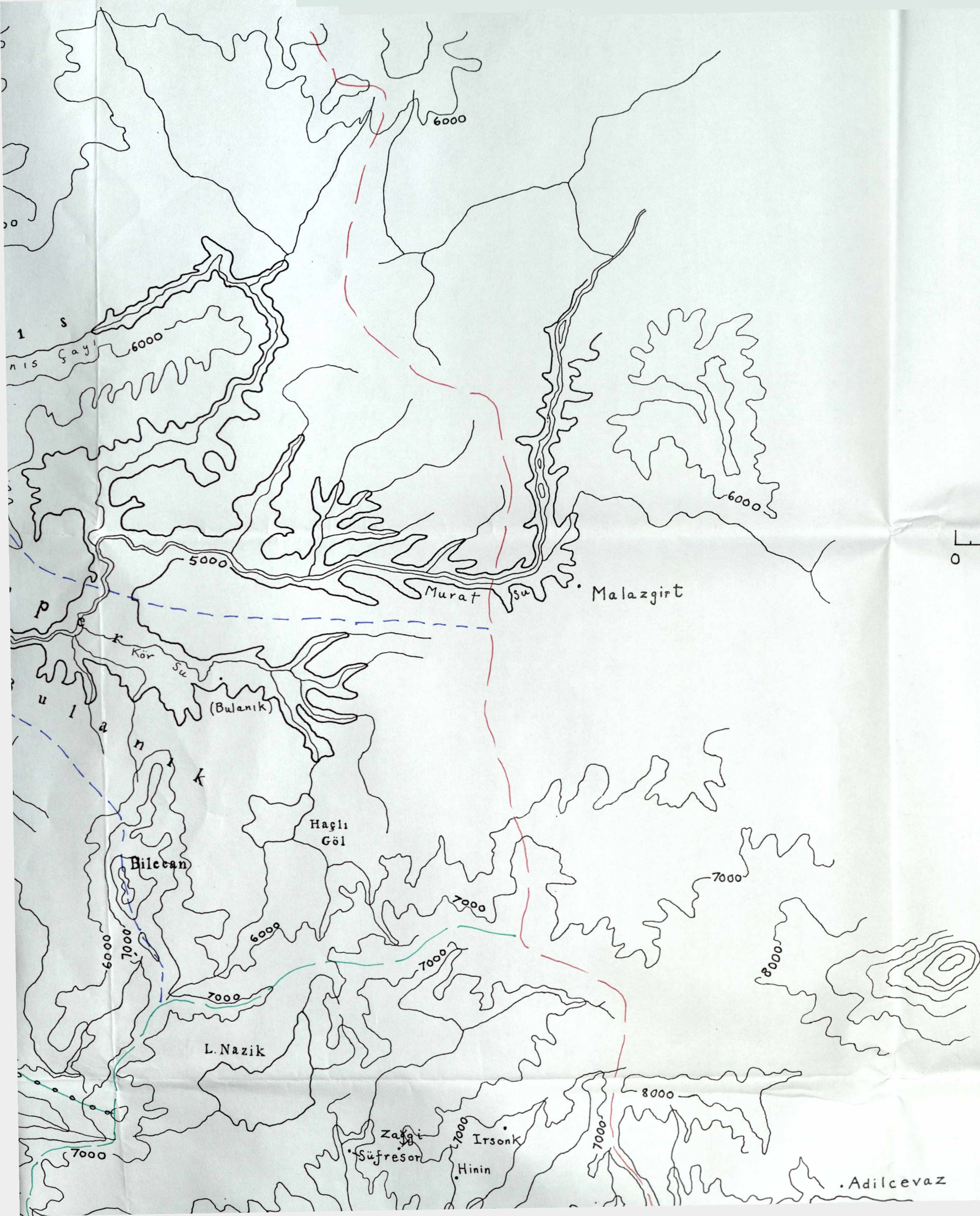
türbe*# (Pers. tūrba)

vali (Pers. vālī)

vezir# (Pers. vazīr, Arab. wazīr, Ott. vezīr)

ze‘amet, Ott. (ze‘āmet)

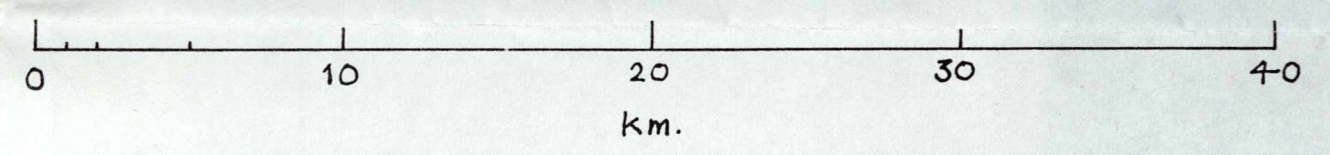


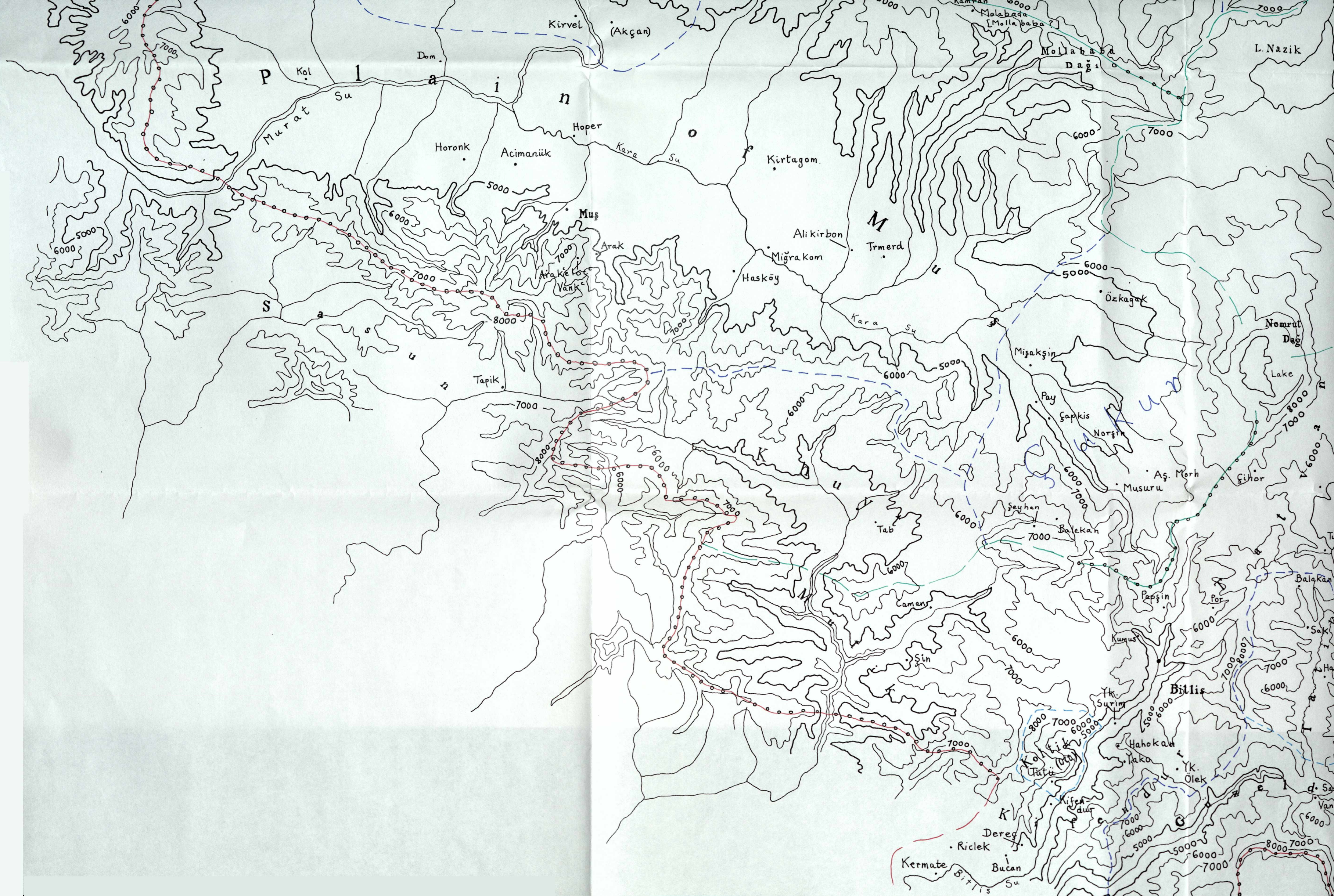


MAP II

BITLIS PRINCIPALITY

Scale 1:250,000

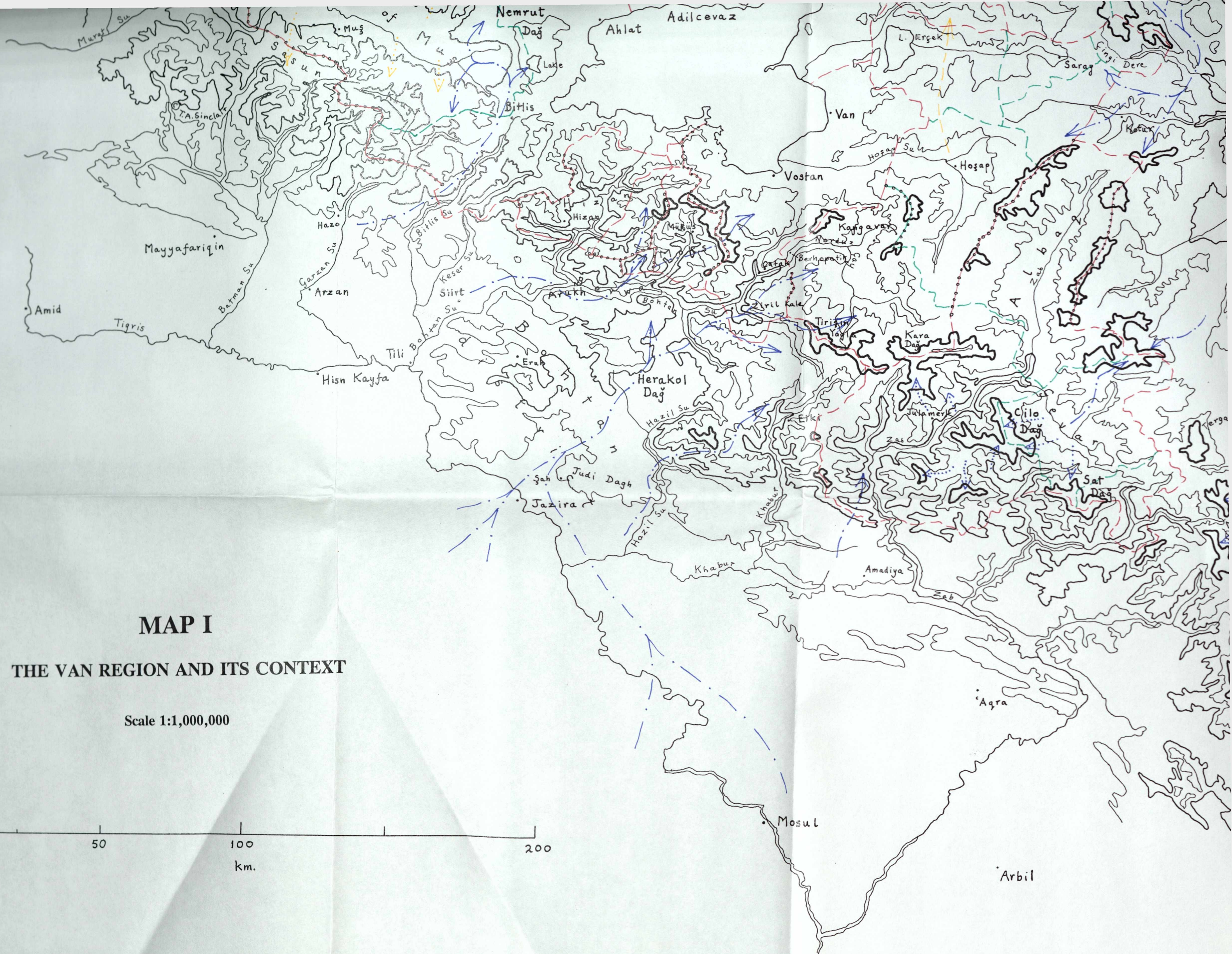








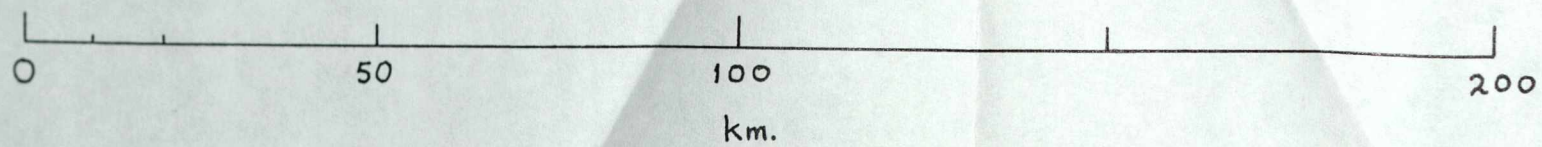




MAP I

THE VAN REGION AND ITS CONTEXT

Scale 1:1,000,000



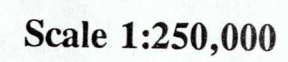








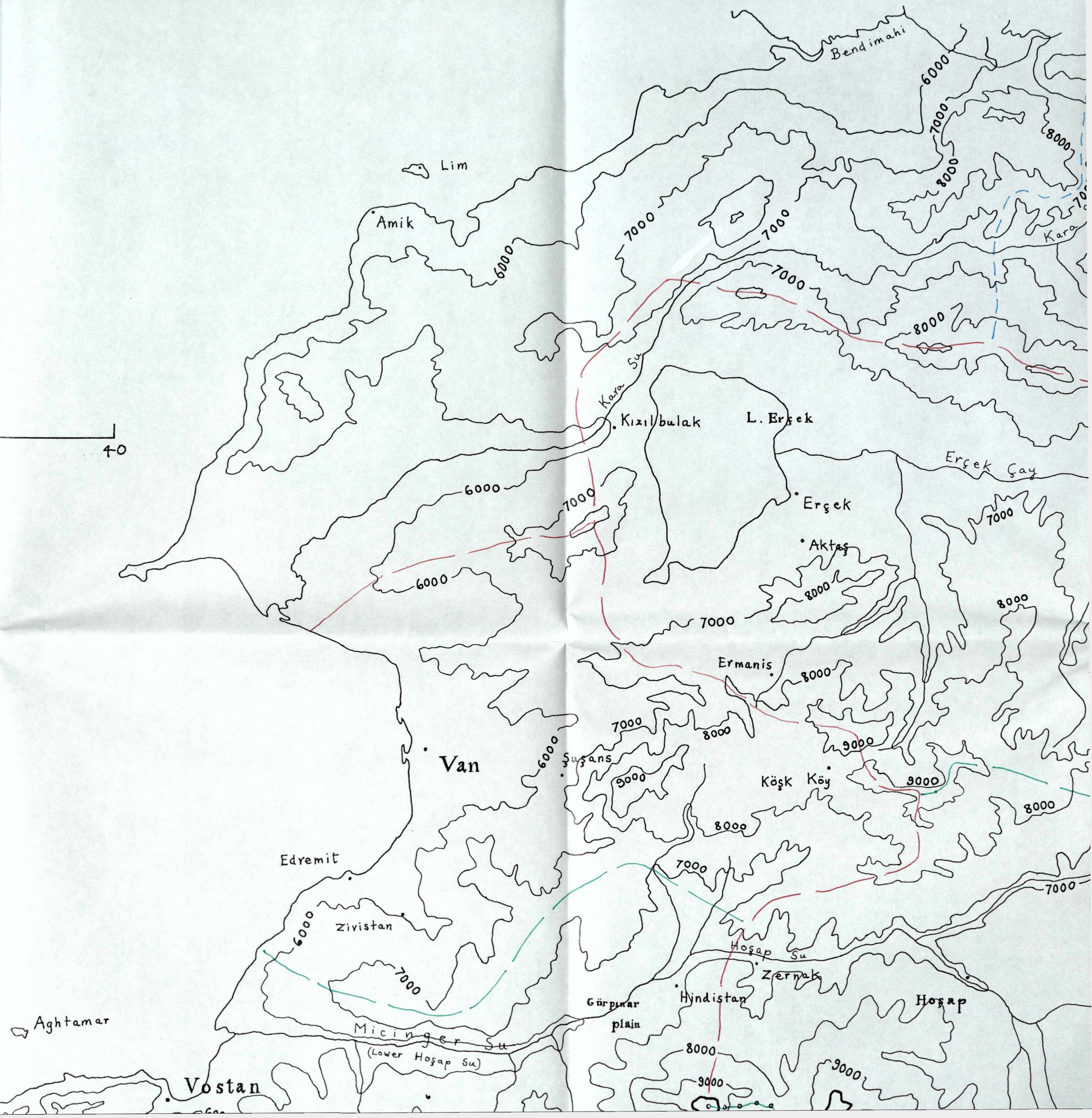
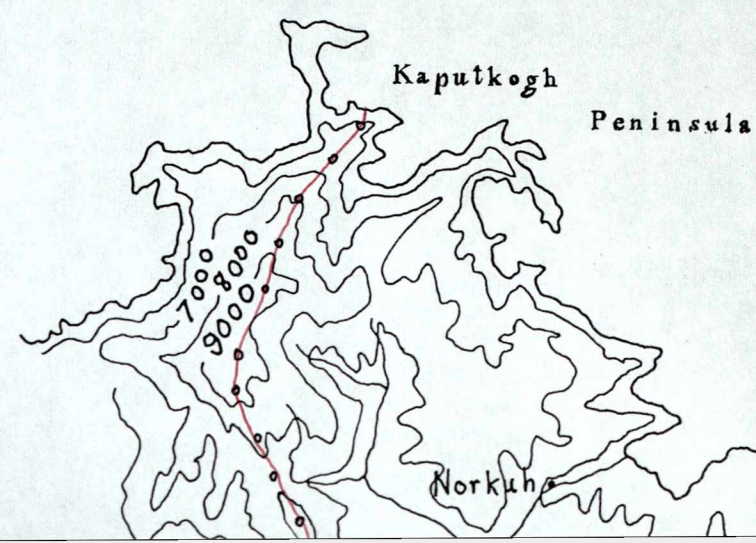
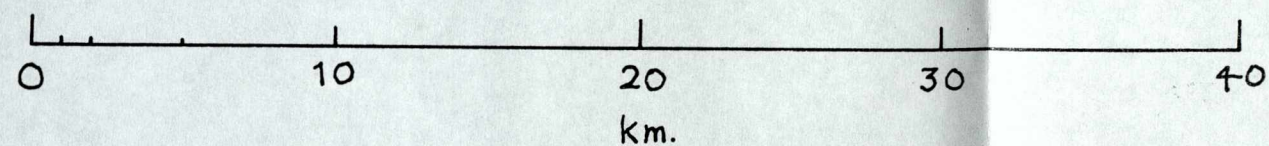
MAP III
HAKKARI PRINCIPALITY: INLAND DISTRICTS



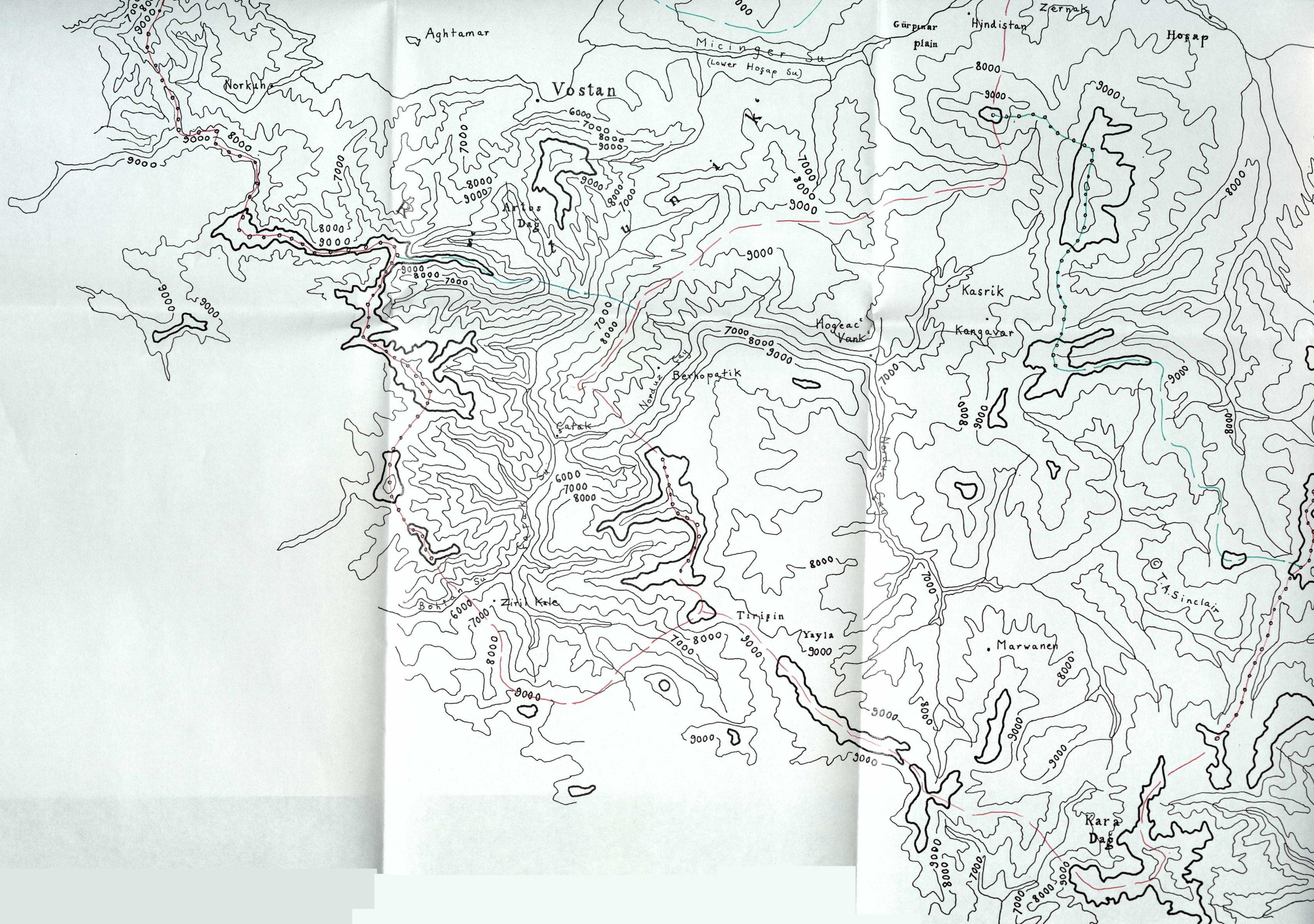
MAP IV

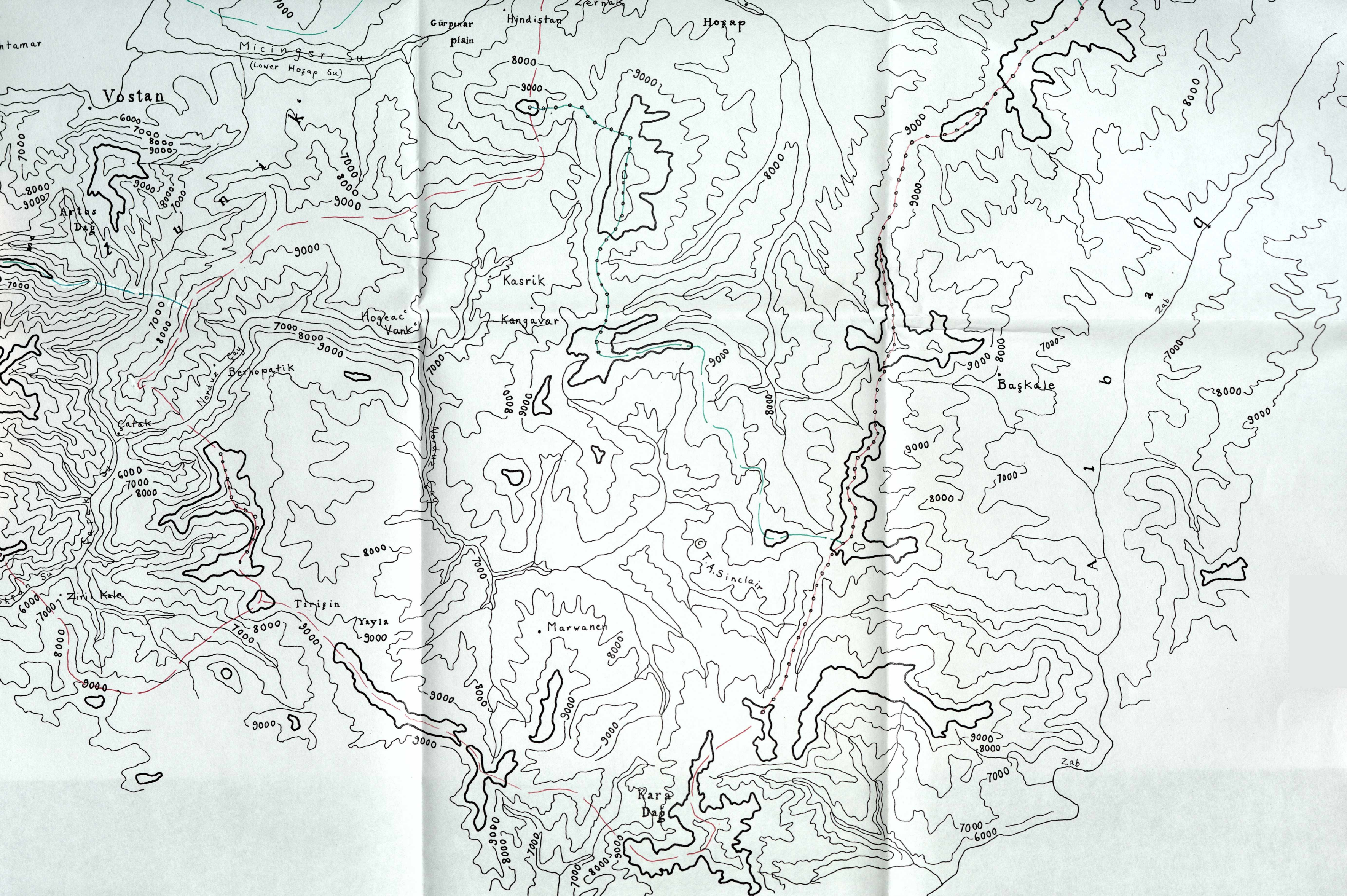
MAHMUDI PRINCIPALITY AND SHORE DISTRICTS OF HAKKARI PRINCIPALITY

Scale 1:250,000



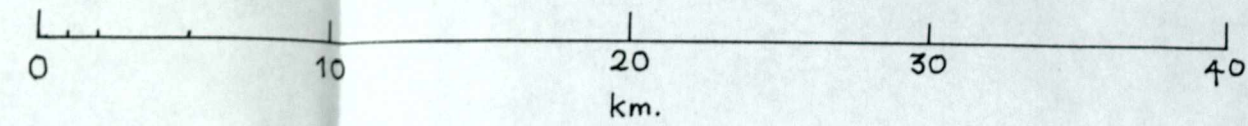






HIZAN AND MOKS

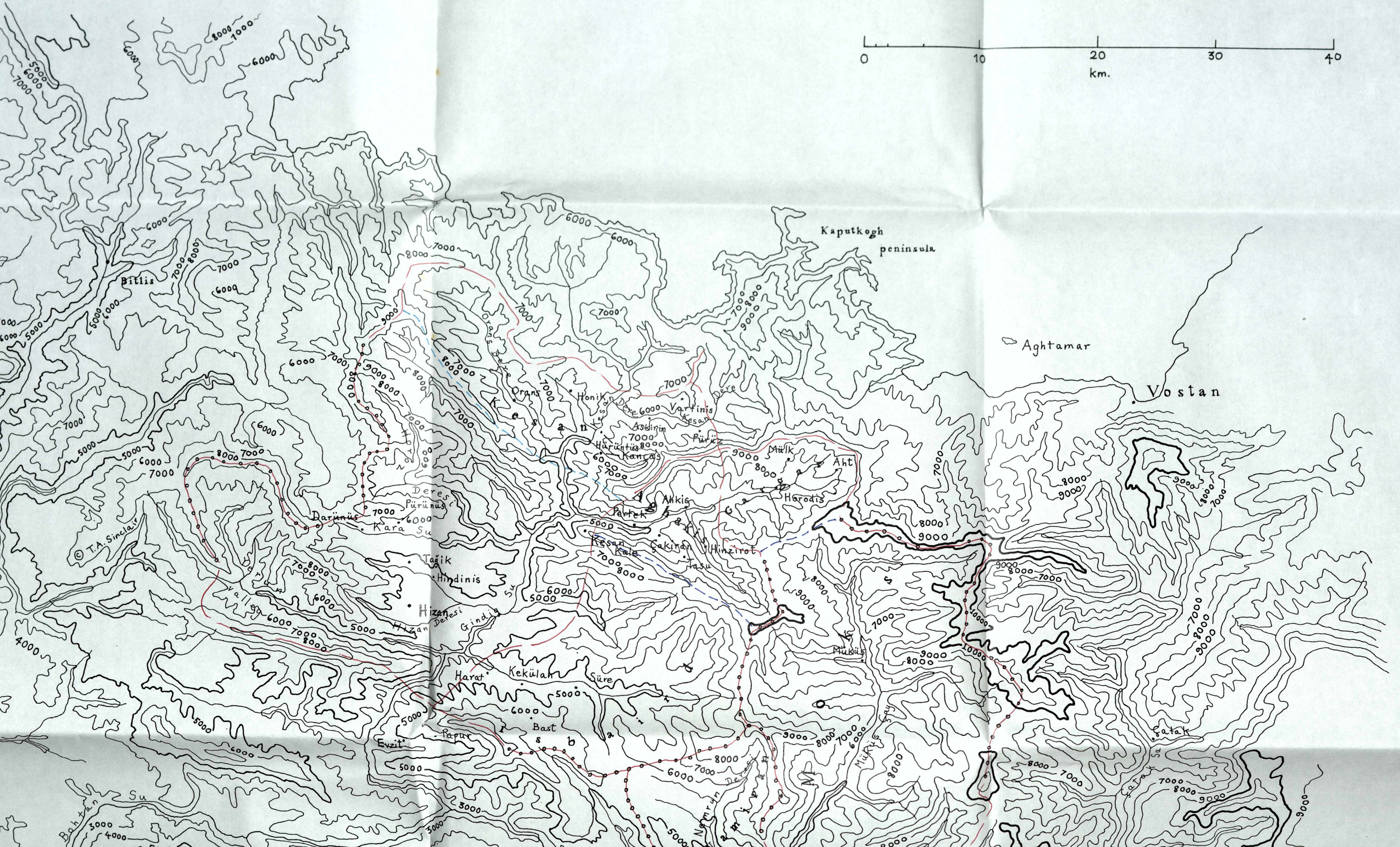
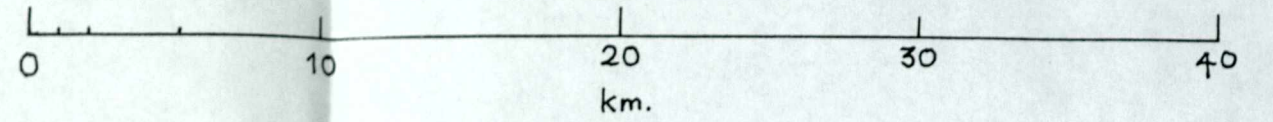
Scale 1:250,000



MAP V

HIZAN AND MOKS

Scale 1:250,000





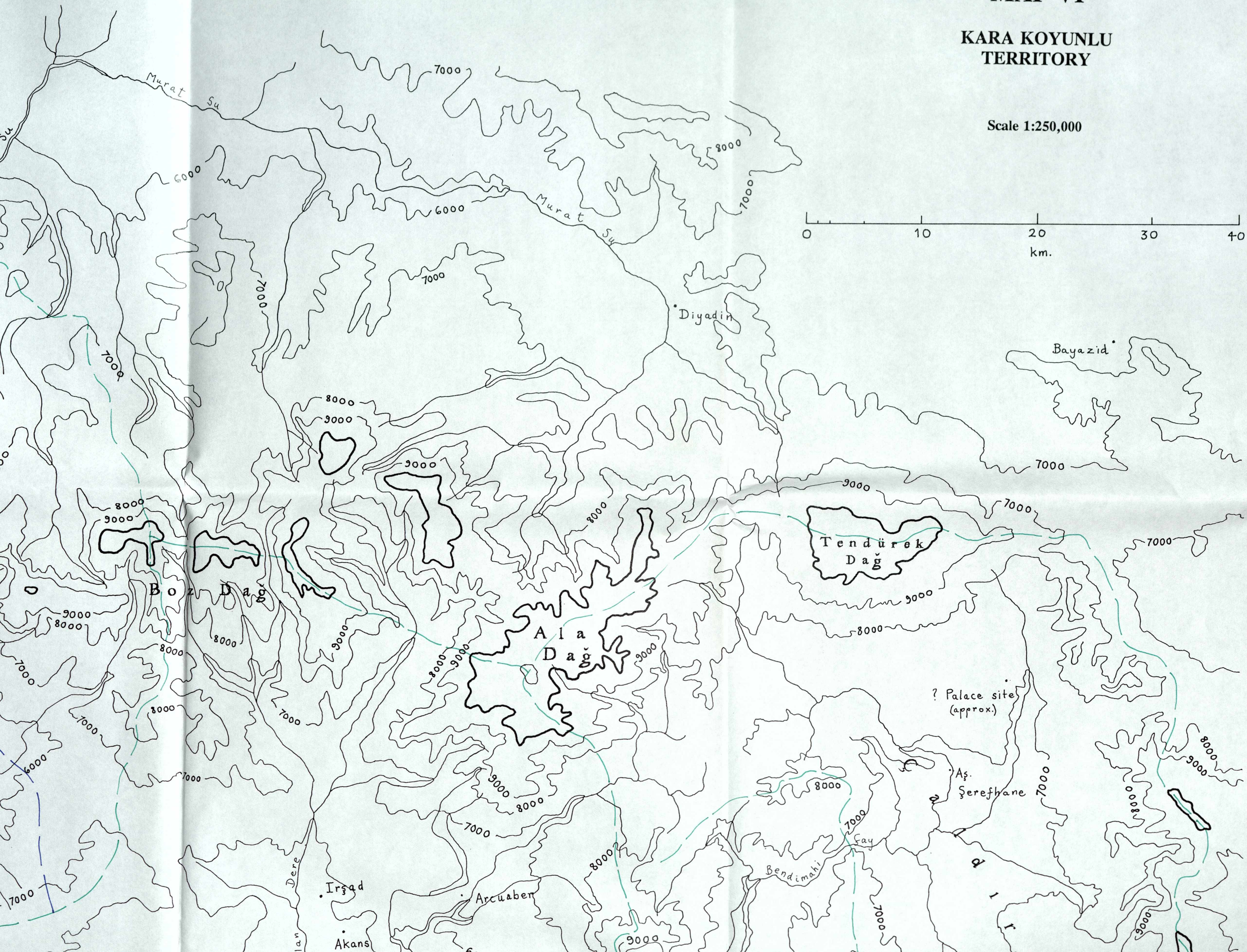


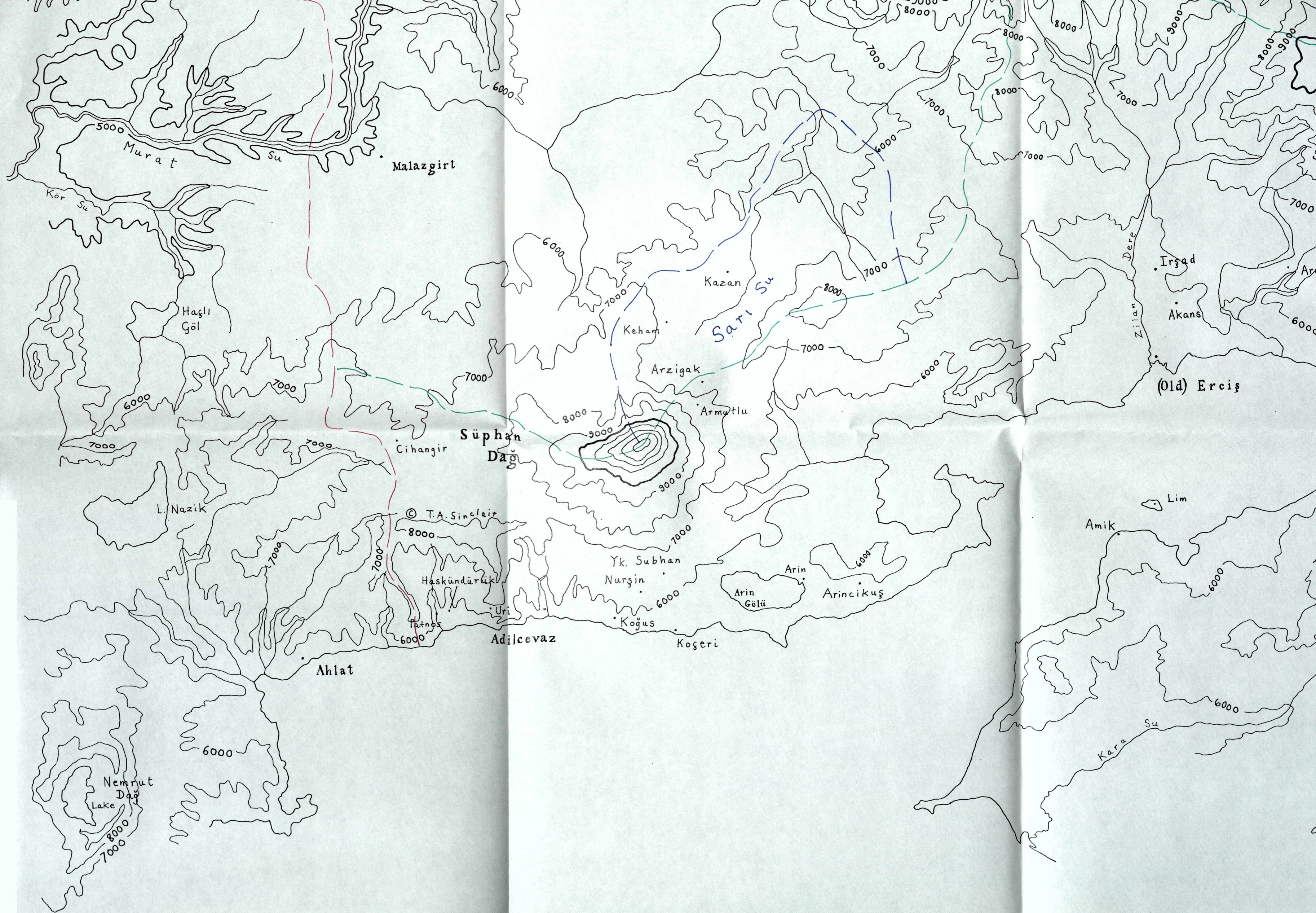


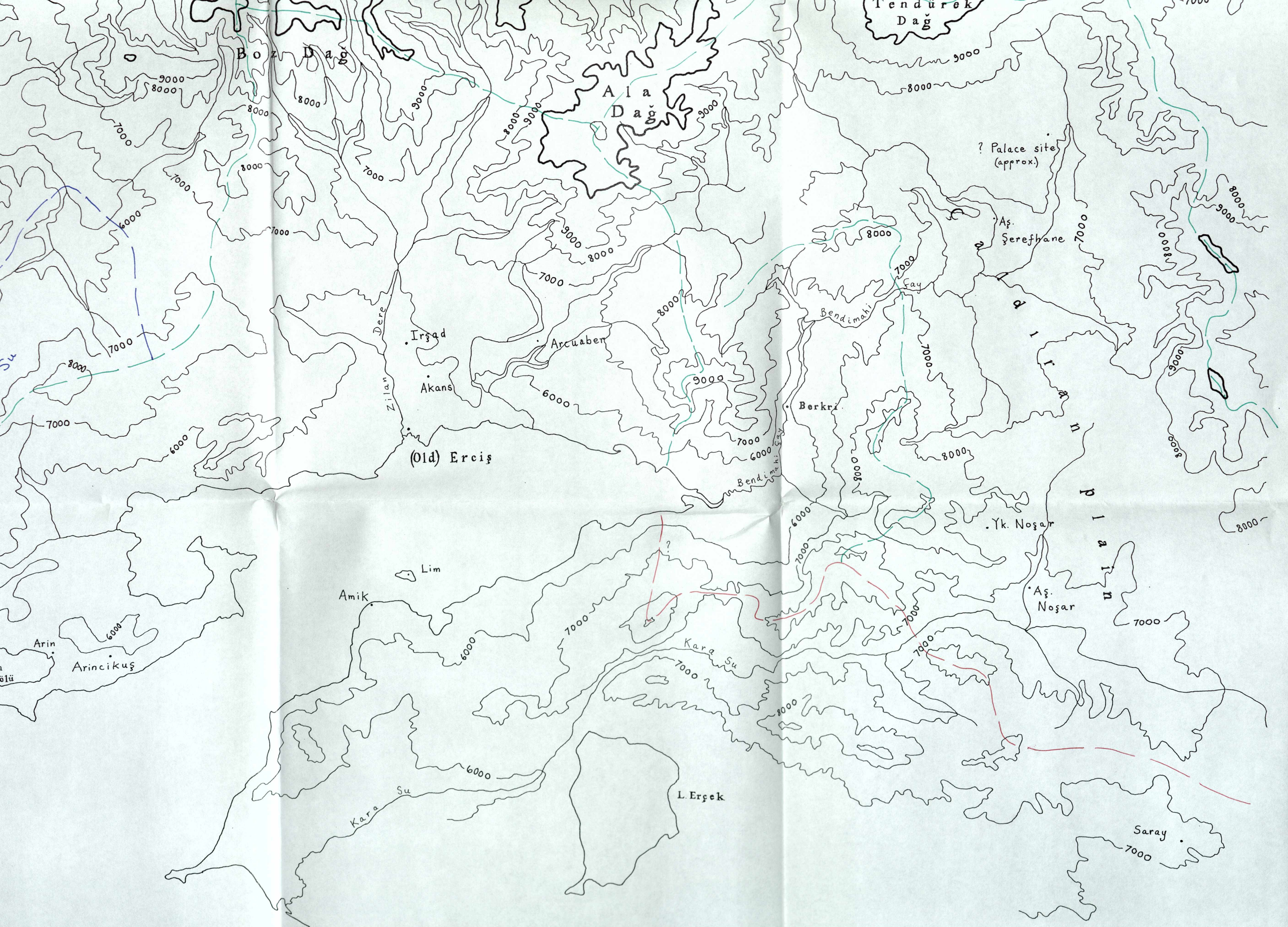
MAP VI

KARA KOYUNLU TERRITORY

Scale 1:250,000









MAP VII



MAP VII
THE EARLY MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN DISTRICTS

Scale 1:1,000,000

