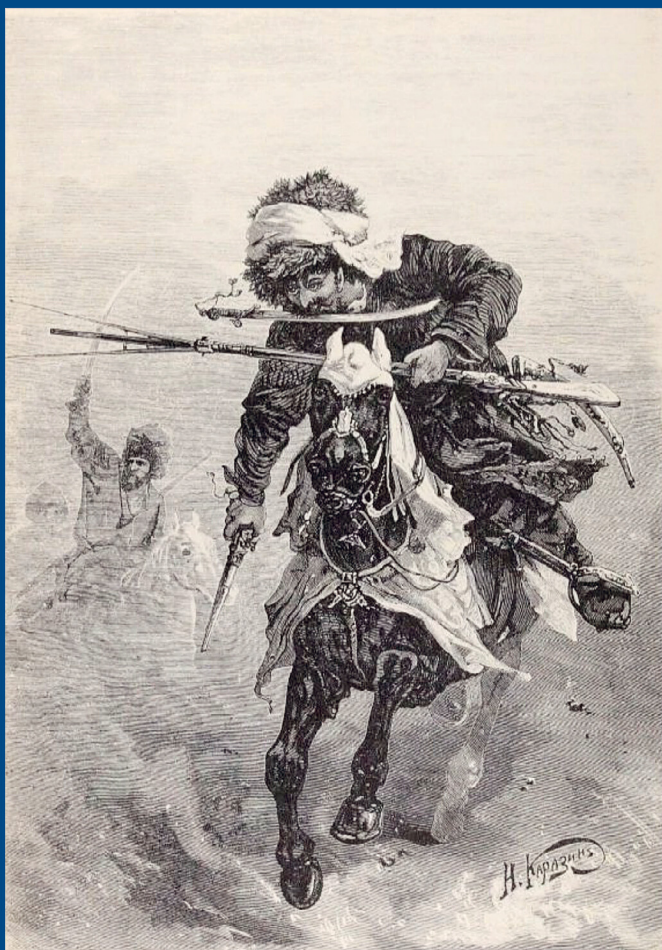


The Turkmen Wars: *Abdysetdar Kazy's Jangnama*



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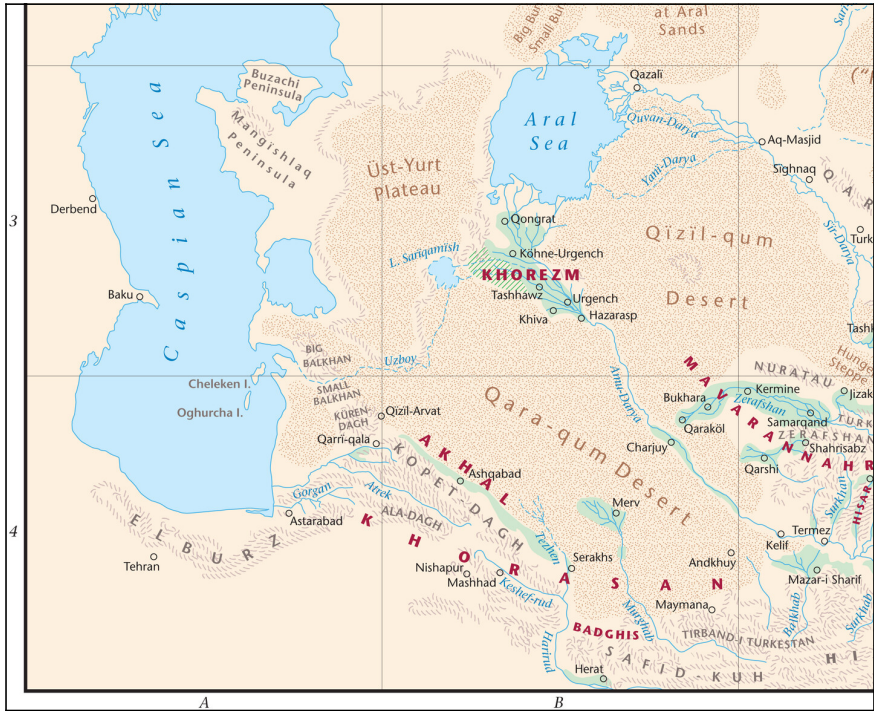
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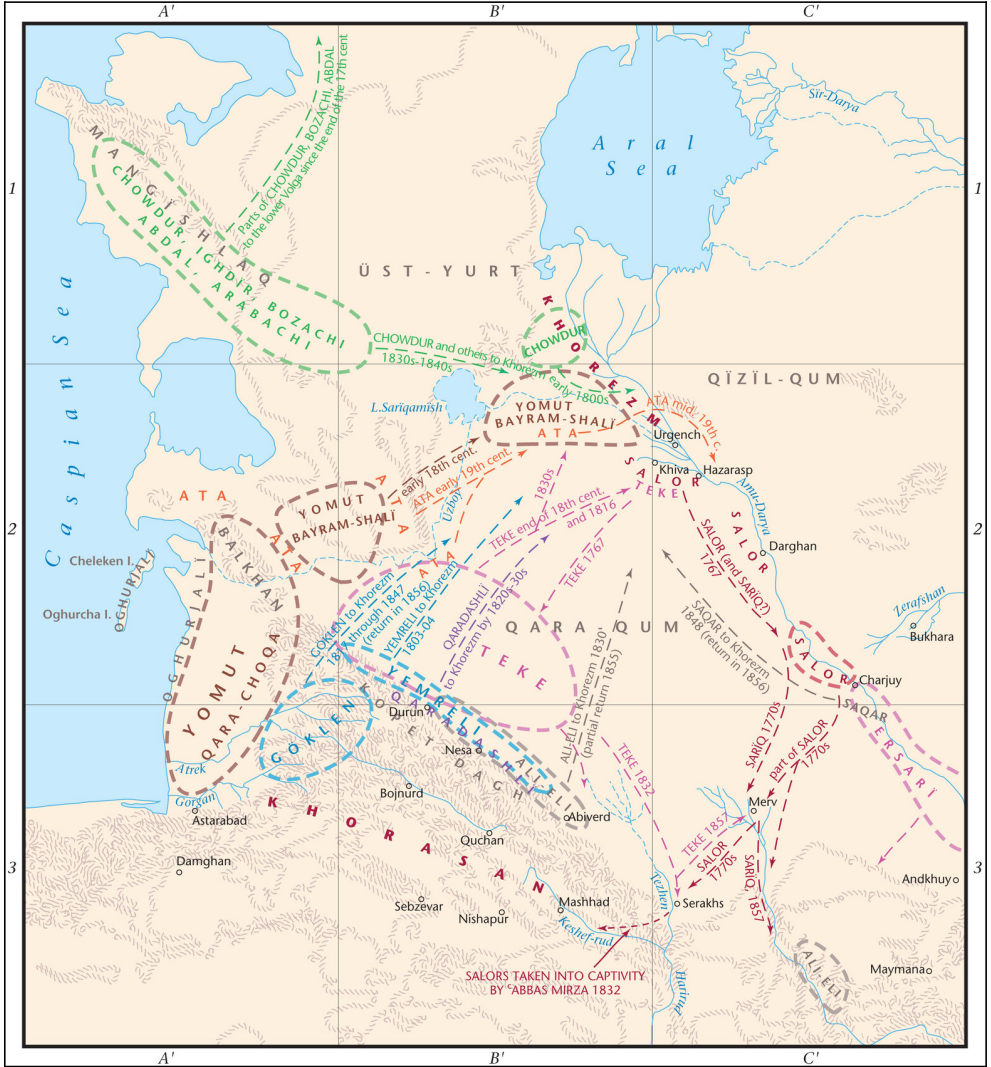
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MAP 1 Akhal and Environs
DETAIL FROM YURI BREGEL, *AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CENTRAL ASIA* (LEIDEN: BRILL, 2003), P. 3



MAP 2 The Turkmen tribes and their migrations (19th–20th centuries)
YURI BREGEL, *AN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CENTRAL ASIA* (LEIDEN: BRILL, 2003), P. 73

Introduction



Introduction

The 1862 *Jangnāma* by ‘Abd al-Sattār Qāzī (Abdysetdar Kazy in the modern Turkmen spelling) is brutal, funny, and lyrical all at once. Revered as a classic in Turkmenistan today, the poem, the name of which literally means “War-Book,” is a historical epic of 1,046 couplets about the Turkmen-Persian wars of 1858–1860.¹ It requires no knowledge of these events to enjoy and appreciate, however. Its goal is not to recount chronology but to celebrate Turkmen heroes, elevating their victories to the plane of myth. The Turkmen-Persian wars had many motives, but the poem recasts them as a simple, age-old struggle between holy warriors and heretics. This clean template frees the poet to deploy surprises which hit every note from high literature (lightning spreads the scent of hyacinth across the battlefield) to low comedy (brace yourself for a tipsy Shāh!).

The poem’s very existence may come as a surprise. While the pre-20th-century Turkmen have long been stereotyped as illiterate desert pirates, *The Turkmen Wars* is an example of Islamic Eurasia’s prototypical *belles-lettres* genre: it is a classical *masnavī*, a genre most closely associated with Rumi, featuring a consistent poetic meter and rhymed couplets.² That said, the Turkmen of the nineteenth century were proud of their fierce reputation as warriors on horseback, and the poem celebrates its sword-swinging heroes by splattering its high-art canvas with gore. The effect is somewhat like those grisly Renaissance paintings of the beheaded Holofernes.

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- 1 The Chaghatay text is preserved in an excellent edition by the great Orientalist Aleksandr Samoilovich, enriched by his superb linguistic analysis: Abdu-s-Sattār kazy [‘Abd al-Sattār Qāzī], *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev: Turkmenskaia istoricheskaia poema XIX veka*, edited by A.N. Samoilovich (St. Petersburg, 1914). ‘Abd al-Sattār’s poem has been published twice in more recent Turkmen editions (the most recent of which features an insightful introduction by M. Annamukammedov), but I have opted to translate the original Arabic-script edition published by Samoilovich. To get a sense of how different modern Turkmen is from Chaghatay, consider that a 1994 Turkmen edition of the poem included both the original Chaghatay transliterated into Cyrillic script and a modern Turkmen translation—along with a glossary nearly thirty pages long to make the Chaghatay text legible to modern Turkmen-speaking audiences! Nearly every other word of the Chaghatay original appears to have required an entry in the glossary. Abdysetdar Kazy, *Jengnama: tekelering urush kysa kitaby*, edited by M. Annamukammedov and A. Nūriagydyev (Ashgabat: Mirap, 1994).
 - 2 For a brilliant recent study of pre-Soviet Turkmen literary culture, see Allen J. Frank, “Turkmen Literacy and Turkmen Identity before the Soviets: The *Ravnaq al-Islām* in Its Literary and Social Context,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 63/3 (2020), 286–315.

The poem's plot is blessedly simple:

The Persians are fighting their longtime enemies, the Teke and Göklens Turkmens, in two places: the remote settlement of Qarrī Qal'a and the storied oasis of Merv. Part 1 of the poem recounts the Battle of Qarrī Qal'a; Part 2 recounts the Turkmen victory at Merv.

In **Part 1**, the buffoonish, hapless Shāh of Iran sends armies, led by his minion Ja'far Qulī Khān, to crush the Göklens at Qarrī Qal'a. The Göklens summon the Tekes to help them, and the great Teke leader Nūr Verdi Khān joins the battle along with some Yomut Turkmen allies. In a three-way Turkmen alliance, the Yomuts, Tekes, and Göklens trounce the Persians.

Meanwhile, in Merv, the Persians have allied with Sariq Turkmens against the Tekes. Nūr Verdi Khān attempts to bring peace between the Sariqs and the Tekes, but the Sariqs refuse to stop fighting, siding with the Persian "infidels."

The Sariq refusal to make peace with their fellow Turkmens sets up the action of **Part 2**, which begins with the Shāh appointing his arrogant lackey, Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā, to lead an army to Merv. Nūr Verdi Khān's Tekes join their Merv Teke counterparts, led by Qushut Khān, and they battle the Persians. A Persian ambush is foiled, a Teke holy man (Sufi master) enters the fray with his disciples, and the Persians are slaughtered. The poem concludes with a heartfelt homage to plundering.

These events are elaborated with odes to strutting heroes, versified prayers to God, comic dialogues satirizing the oafish Persian Shāh, and a breathtaking amount of slaughter and gore—but the plot is lucid, and one need not fear losing its threads amid the well-braided rhythms and images. For a 150-year-old warrior poem from the Central Asian deserts, written in a regional literary lingua franca (Chaghatay) that no longer exists, the poem is refreshingly accessible.

It is also, at least in some parts of Central Asia, regarded as a work of History with a capital H. In Turkmenistan today, 'Abd al-Sattār's description of the Battle of Qarrī Qal'a (1858) and the victory at Merv (1860) has become the official version of events. The Turkmen-language Wikipedia entry for the Battle of Qarrī Qal'a (Garrygala in modern Turkmen) is essentially a summary of the poem's first half.³ And there is indeed a great deal of history in the poem: real names, real places, real alliances between real Turkmen tribes, a conflict between real parties that really did take place, and outcomes (victory for the Tekes and their allies, devastating defeat for the Persians and theirs) which are anything but confabulated.

3 "Garrygala söweşi," https://tk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garrygala_s%C3%B6we%C5%9Fi (accessed May 14th, 2025).

And yet, as Turkmen scholars have always been quick to point out, the poem is also a fantasy. Soviet academics found its imaginative aspects downright agitating. Still more irritating were its “class” dynamics, from the perspective of Soviet-style Marxist academia. “These wars were just and popular (*narodnyi*),” Rosliakov wrote in his 1956 history of Turkmenistan. “However, the author of the *Dzhengname*’ portrays them perversely (*izvrashchenno*), as a ‘struggle for the faith.’ In every way, he praises the Teke khans and other feudal clan leaders as well as representatives of the Muslim clergy, carefully listing them by name, but leaving in the shadows the authentic heroes of these victories—the Turkmen workers. Characteristically, his main attention was fixed on the actions of feudal cavalry, and not on the more democratic infantry playing a strong role in these battles.”⁴

Modern readers, however, are likely to enjoy ‘Abd al-Sattār’s imagination and literary skill without stressing over his fidelity to the horseless proletariat. Fans of heroic epics and narrative war poems—ranging from the *Iliad* to Norse sagas to Africa’s *Sunjata* epic to Iran’s *Shāhnāma* to Inner Asia’s *Secret History of the Mongols*, *Manas*, and the Satuq Bughra Khān cycle⁵—will feel perfectly at home reading *The Turkmen Wars*. Those amenable to such epic literature and its logic will correctly recognize that the world ‘Abd al-Sattār builds for his heroes is both the world of 1858–1860 and the neverland of warrior mythology. They may also come to love the poem’s chorus- and verse-like repetitions, its punchy rhythms, its splashes of humor, and its rendering of gory battle as a choreographed dance.

‘Abd al-Sattār’s poem is, in short, an epic reimagining of the Turkmen-Persian wars, casting its heroes in legendary roles. It is a classic literary narration of holy war—a *ghazavātnāma*—with all the trappings of its genre. (See my section on “The Text, The Genre, and the Translation” for a bit more on

4 A.A. Rosliakov, *Kratkii ocherk istorii Turkmenistana (Do prisoedineniia k Rossii)* (Ashgabat: Turkmenskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1956), 155–156. The standard Soviet-era survey *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR* observes with a note of regret that the poem was “written in a feudal-clerical spirit” (*napisana v feodal'no-klerikal'nom dukhe*). *Tom 1: C drevneishikh vremen do Velikoi Oktiabrskoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii*, edited by A. Karyev, M.E. Masson, A.A. Rosliakov, and G.A. Charyev (Ashkhabad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk TSSR, 1955), 534n2.

5 For recent translations of these three masterworks from Central Asia, see *The Secret History of the Mongols*, translated by Christopher P. Atwood (New York: Penguin Classics, 2023); Saghimbay Orozbaq uulu, *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khān: A Kirghiz Epic Poem in the Manas Tradition*, translated by Daniel Prior (New York: Penguin Classics, 2022), and Jeff Eden, *Warrior Saints of the Silk Road: Legends of the Qarakhanids* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). From just beyond Central Asia in the Volga-Urals region, another epic masterpiece has recently been rendered beautifully in English: *Jangar: The Heroic Epic of the Kalmyk Nomads*, translated by Saglar Bougdaeva (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2023).

this topic.) While most such tales feature legendary heroes and saints, however, ‘Abd al-Sattār’s creative achievement is to bring *living* heroes and *recent* battles into the world of fable—following every convention of myth within a reality that some readers or listeners would have known firsthand. Combatants and their admirers must have thrilled to hear recent deeds taking on the patina of “once-upon-a-time.” Perhaps they even anticipated, admiring the poet’s skill, that ‘Abd al-Sattār was succeeding in making living legends out of them, literally writing them into the proud lineage of Turkmen heroes before their very eyes. If they dared to look ahead with such lofty expectations, they were right to do so: the Battle of Qarrī Qal‘a and the victory at Merv are today touchstones in Turkmen history, their details memorized by schoolchildren, their combatants (Nūr Verdi Khān, for example, and Qushut Khān) known by name.

‘Abd al-Sattār’s simplest literary achievement was to write memorably, with a rollicking rhythm, forceful rhymes, and vivid images. His tougher challenge was to finesse the messy, muddy, dusty swirl of combat described by historical eyewitnesses into a coherent narrative. The reality of the 1858 and 1860 battles, as we will see below, was brutal chaos, and the main actors’ motivations were multiple. The relationship between Tekes, Salors, Göklens, and Sarīqs involved complicated historical baggage. And unlike yours-truly, ‘Abd al-Sattār did not have the luxury of unlimited exposition and footnotes—let alone the benefit of historiography and direct access to Persian, Khīvan, British, and Russian sources—to make the story lucid. He had to clean up the chaos within the confines of a rhyme scheme, and he does so with a series of battlefield vignettes and dialogues.

So, like clearings in the dust—one of the poet’s favorite battlefield images—the swirl of soldiers attacking and retreating makes way for centerstage hand-to-hand combat. The noise of battle quiets to let us hear warriors’ names and admire their movements. The noise itself preoccupies ‘Abd al-Sattār—we have clattering swords, bubbling blood, groans, pleas, shouts of glory, entreaties to God—but he often mutes it to foreground the music of trumpets and lutes. At one point he even has a Persian trumpet (*shayfūr*) deliver a speech to the opposing army.

‘Abd al-Sattār also clears up the hazy chronology to craft a plotline. We know that nearly two years separate the Battle of Qarrī Qal‘a and the Teke victory at Merv, but in ‘Abd al-Sattār’s version these two conflicts happen one-after-another. Condensing the history is a simple task for the poet given his vision of the conflicts’ causes: in his poem, they are shorn of geopolitics or any concerns specific to their century. As in all warrior-saint hagiographies from Central Asia, the essential conflict here is the age-old war between Muslims and non-Muslims. Shi‘ites (called *Qizilbash*) are the “non-Muslims” here, according to

the typical logic of this time, place, and period. The fact that the Persian “Qizilbash” leader Ja‘far Qulī Khān and many of his fellow combatants were actually Kurdish Sunnis is no matter (nor is it mentioned). As the poet explains, those who take sides with the infidels become licit to fight, no better than infidels themselves.

The poet does not cast history this way because it was the *only* way to write history in Central Asia: the region has a hallowed tradition of chronicles, which are generally chronological, detail-oriented, and only mildly attentive to the supernatural. *The Turkmen Wars* is not a chronicle, and religious themes emerge as leitmotifs. Sunni Islam is the alpha and omega of ‘Abd al-Sattār’s vision. He begins with an invocation to God, ends with gratitude to God, and frames his narrative as an earthly comeuppance, doled out by Sunnis, for the iniquity of Shi‘ite heresy. None of this is subtle.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that a holy man (Sufi master) draws the battle to a close, literally taking the field with his disciples. Unlike the other combatants, he comes with a poetic entreaty to God (a *munājāt*) rather than a sword and spear, and this—the poet implies—is really the “weapon” that finishes off the adversary. Nevermind: the poem’s final sequence is an orgy of earthly plunder.

To what extent does the poem reflect the real values and worldview of its Turkmen audience? Or, to put it another way, did Turkmen warriors really see themselves as *ghāzīs* (holy warriors), who would be rewarded in the world-to-come? These are hard questions, especially in a milieu (the 19th-century southern Turkmen deserts) that has left only a modest literary record, and in which few interviews were conducted. Even if we could hear nineteenth-century Turkmen’s opinions on these questions, it would not solve the problem for us; after all, there is no effective barometer for religious beliefs, and motivations are always multiple. One man’s holy war is another man’s excuse to plunder, and surely both impulses can co-exist—and reinforce one another—in the same combatant. Certainly, however, we must respect the evidence we have without whitewashing its more violent aspects. Suffice it to say the educated, erudite ‘Abd al-Sattār knew his audience, and probably hoped to appeal to their tastes.

The best evidence of the poet’s success is the work’s enduring prominence in Turkmenistan. The details of the Qarrī Qal‘a battle, for which ‘Abd al-Sattār is essentially the *only* major source, was a question on Turkmenistan’s standardized national student exam as recently as 2022.⁶ The battle, as ‘Abd al-Sattār

6 “2022ý.—Türkmenistanyň umumybilim berýän orta mekdepleriniň ynsanperwerlik-durmuş

rendered it, is also mentioned as a hallmark of Turkmen glory in the *Ruhnama*, a tome by former Turkmen president Saparmurat Niyazov (“Turkmenbashi”) that was ubiquitous in the country until recent years.

Nevertheless, the poet concludes his masterpiece with a note of humility, observing that it is the warriors, including the casualties, who would find a reward in heaven. ‘Abd al-Sattār’s final words are a simple “if-only”: the poet wishes he’d been a warrior, like his heroes.

bilimleri ugurly gutardyş synplarynda Türkmenistanyň taryhy dersinden geçiriljek synagyň soragnamalary,” <https://turkmenportal.com/tm/catalog/21632> (accessed June 12th, 2024).

A Historian's View of 'Abd al-Sattār's Wars: The Teke Victories at Qarri Qal'a and Merv

While knowledge of the historical events that inspired *The Turkmen Wars* is not necessary to enjoy the poem and interpret many of its aspects, a dip into its deep context illuminates the text from new angles, and raises interesting questions about how the poet used history—or how he side-stepped, interpreted, remixed, and reimagined it. Here, I offer a detailed history of little-known events, based on Persian eyewitness reports and chronicles, Russian official documents, a French memoir, and archival sources by Afghan and British commentators. The primary audience for what follows is historians, students, and history buffs. More casual readers can be reassured that skipping this section and preceding directly to the poem will not render 'Abd al-Sattār's work inaccessible.

The main Turkmen tribes mentioned in the poem are the Tekes, the Salors, the Göklens, and the Sariqs—but above all, this is an epic about the Tekes. Like all Central Asian Turkmen groups, the Tekes were not tied to one specific stretch of land but had migrated throughout the region over the course of centuries. In the early 1700s, most of them moved from the Balkhān region and Mangyshlaq peninsula (which include parts of modern-day Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan) to the meadows north of the Kopet Dagh mountains, which run along today's Iran-Turkmenistan border.¹ Between that vast mountain range to the south and the imposing Qara Qum desert to the north, the Turkmens occupied a strip of fertile land, over 300 miles long, known to nineteenth-century authors as the "Akhal."² In today's Turkmenistan, Highway

1 According to Petrushevich, the rulers of Bujnūrd and Kuchan both recounted that the Tekes arrived in this region during the reign of Shāh Tahmasp II (1722–1732). TOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, "The Turcomans," 11–12. See also Yuri Bregel, "Uzbeks, Qazaqs, and Turkmens," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 235–236; K. Nūrmukhammedov, "Iz istorii formirovaniia Turkmenskogo naseleniia Akhala," *Izvestiia Akademii nauk Turkmenskoi SSR* 5 (1960), 79. On the Balkhān and Mangyshlaq regions, see "Balkhān," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 1, 623–624; Bregel, "Mangishlaq," *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2, 415–417.

2 In nineteenth-century sources, one often finds the same region (more or less) referred to as the "Atek" (skirt), "Atak," or "Akhal Atak." As Bartol'd and Bregel explain, in the second half of the century, "Atek" often referred to the eastern regions of the fertile "skirt" north of the

M37 runs nearly the length of this region, connecting its many historic villages from Gyzylarbat to Dushak.

The Tekes of the Akhal region—the “Akhal Tekes” for short—were mostly autonomous throughout the 1700s and deep into the 1800s. Aside from irregular payments of tribute to Khīva, the “khānate” (khān-ruled polity) to the north, they owed little allegiance to any neighboring authority.³ Among their neighbors, they were best known for their frequent and sometimes devastating raids to the south, into the Khurāsān region of northern Iran, where they captured villagers. These captives would either be ransomed by their loved ones or sold northward into Central Asia’s vast slave trade.⁴ The Tekes’ raids as well as their relative independence amid the rival powers of Khīva, Bukhārā, and Iran created tensions with all three. Iran’s Qājār dynasty deplored the Tekes’ raids, as well as their involvement in attacks on Persian territory from Bukhārā and Khīva. Meanwhile, Khīva and Bukhārā vied to expand their domains southward into Teke territory.

Ironically, efforts by neighboring powers to reduce Teke independence ended up increasing it. In 1855, after a decade of near-yearly missions to crush the Sariq Turkmen stronghold of Merv, 150 miles east of the Akhal, the Khīvan army was driven from that oasis by an alliance of Turkmen and Persian forces, with the Tekes foremost among them.⁵ Over the next five years, the Tekes drove both Sariqs and Persians from Merv, and settled there; they crushed a Persian invasion (1858); and they destroyed a massive Persian campaign to retake Merv (1860)—all events described vividly and imaginatively in *The Turkmen Wars*.

The Turkmen Wars recounts a series of victories that ultimately produced a tragic irony: defeating the Persians secured the Tekes’ position and protected them from Iran’s intrusions, but it also opened a path for the expanding Russian Empire to invade their lands with no objection from Iran. By defeating

Kopet-Dagh mountains, while “Akhal” referred to the Western regions (Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 554–555n181; Bartol’d, “Atek,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2, 735). In my experience, however, English-language sources from the nineteenth century tend to use Atak and Akhal interchangeably, with the latter mostly supplanting the former by the 1860s–1870s.

3 The specific form of tribute was called *zakāt*, which generally refers to a prominent form of charity in the Muslim world but in the Central Asian political context referred to a livestock and merchandise tax. See Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 552n145.

4 On this slave trade, see Jeff Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

5 These events are described in dramatic detail in, for example, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Khān’s Persian chronicle, *Nāsikh al-tavārikh: Materialy po istorii Turkmen i turkmenii*, T. 2, ed. V.V. Struve, et al, 249–264 (henceforth *MITT*). See also William A. Wood, “The Sariq Turkmens of Merv and the Khanate of Khiva in the Early Nineteenth Century” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1998), 253–254.

a weaker adversary, the Tekes prepared a stronger adversary's path. The wars with Russia in the 1870s and 1880s would be even more brutal than those of *The Turkmen Wars*—and this time, despite an impressive resistance that stunned the Russians, the Tekes would not prevail. While the Russian Imperial invasion put Turkmen history on a different course, the development of the Akhal and Merv regions continued under Russian rule and throughout the Soviet period.⁶ Today, these expanses of Turkmenistan form the country's core, with the capital city of Ashgabat (Ashkhabad) at the center.

1 The Tekes at Sarakhs and Merv: Prelude to the Wars of 1858–1860

The pivotal Persian-Turkmen battles between 1858–1860 were precipitated by a series of conflicts that found Turkmens bucking the authority of neighboring states and driving off those who would bring them to heel. The oasis towns of Sarakhs and Merv would take center stage in these dramas.

In 1850, according to the Persian chronicle *Nāsikh al-tavārīkh* (our most detailed guide to these events), the Persian Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn ordered his northern governor Sultan Murād Mīrzā to attack the Tekes in Sarakhs. These Tekes had been raiding Mashhad, the *de facto* capital of Khurāsān, and force was the Shāh's preferred deterrent. When the Sarakhs Tekes heard of the planned campaign, they deployed their go-to diplomatic maneuvers, which had often worked brilliantly: 1) forging short-lived opportunistic alliances, and 2) pitting regional rivals against one another. They asked the ruler of Khīva, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, to protect them from the Persians, promising a mutually beneficial alliance in return. The enterprising Khān played his part, driving off the Persians. He then wasted no time deploying Khīvan troops to join the Tekes for raids into Mashhad.⁷

When the Khān went back to Khīva, however, the Tekes, deprived of their Khīvan backup, promptly submitted to the Persian governor. Their submission was insincere, no more than a distraction, and they soon began raiding Mashhad once more, clashing with the Persian troops sent to suppress them. After one such clash in Autumn 1851, Persian troops brought home a grim souvenir:

6 On the Turkmens in the Soviet early era, see Adrienne Lynne Edgar's important study, one of the first books ever written in English about modern Turkmen history: *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). See also Victoria Clement's recent and compelling *Learning to Become Turkmen: Literacy, Language and Power, 1914–2014* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018).

7 Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Nāsikh al-tavārīkh: MITT T. 2*, 246.

severed Teke heads, which were unveiled at a royal festival and ceremonially tossed in the dust.⁸ Soon after this ghastly ceremony, the Sarakhs Tekes submitted once again.

Within a year (1852–1853), Muḥammad Amīn Khān of Khīva made a return trip to the region, but this time his 10,000-strong army was beaten away by a Persian-led force. Fighting off the Khān did not deter the Tekes, however, who began menacing caravans headed to Mashhad. Threatened with a violent reprisal, the Sarakhs Tekes submitted for a third time.⁹

Muḥammad Amīn Khān of Khīva too was not deterred for long: he returned to Sarakhs and Merv the very next year (1854–1855). Among the Khān's allies was a strong force of Yomut Turkmens, but a revolt broke out when the Khān reportedly “disciplined” a Yomut leader by having him thrown from the top of a tower.¹⁰ Soon after, the Khān himself was murdered under mysterious circumstances. Most sources report that he was killed by Turkmens during his failed attempt to seize Sarakhs and Merv from his former allies, who now had Persian backing.¹¹ The Khīvan Khān's successor (the murdered Khān's nephew,

8 Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Nāsikh al-tavārikh*: *MITT T. 2*, 248.

9 Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Nāsikh al-tavārikh*: *MITT T. 2*, 253.

10 James Talboys Wheeler, *Memorandum on Persian Affairs with a Supplementary Note on the Turkomans, Char Eimaks, and Seistan* (India: n.p., 1871), 136.

11 See, for example, Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Nāsikh al-tavārikh*: *MITT T. 2*, 263–264. Nikolai Petrusovich, a Russian officer and scientist who traveled throughout the Persian-Turkmen borderlands, recounts an intriguingly detailed and different version of these pivotal events. In his account, the core drama was not between Khīva and Iran (with the Tekes serving merely as Iran's agent). It was not a conflict between outraged Yomuts and the Khīvan Khān, either. Rather, Petrusovich claims, the Khān's assassination could only be understood as part of the ongoing crisis between Khīva and the Tekes, and the backstory matters. By the 1840s, the Akhal Teke population had reached their valley's limits, and some found themselves starved for adequate land and water. The immediate reason was a sudden influx of Tekes fleeing to the Akhal from their dwellings along the Tejen river; they had been attacked by the Persian governor of Khurāsān as a reprisal for their raids into his territory. The resources of the Akhal could not support these new arrivals. As a solution, a Teke delegation begged the Persian governor of Khurāsān to permit some Tekes to settle at Sarakhs, some 60 miles to the southeast. The governor agreed, and for a time the new Teke residents at Sarakhs rewarded him by directing their raids to every neighbor *but* Iran: they raided Bukhārā and Khīva as well as other Turkmen tribes (the Salors and the Sāriqs). These raids, Petrusovich implies, are actually what inspired Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the ill-fated Khīvan ruler, to invade Sarakhs. The Khān left a 500-strong guard corps and deputy to secure the town, but as soon as he returned to Khīva, the Sarakhs Tekes slaughtered the Khīvan troops and resumed their raids. Muḥammad Amīn Khān soon returned to Sarakhs with a proper army, and he encamped on a hill to watch his troops fight the Tekes. As the Tekes routed his army, they also attacked his hilltop “viewing party,” and his guards and comrades were massa-

'Abdullāh) was soon killed by Turkmens too (Yomuts, by all accounts), as was *his* successor Qūtlūgh Murād Khān—which makes for three successive Khāns all assassinated by Turkmens.

Meanwhile, Merv was now firmly under Persian control. In short, the Tekes had allied with the Khīvans to drive off the Persians, and soon after they allied with the Persians to drive off the Khīvans. In both instances, they succeeded, but a keen analyst of these events—Faṭeḥ Muḥammad (“Futteh Mahomed”), based at nearby Herat—mocked the Tekes for failing to apprehend the bigger picture: “the Turkoman fools discovered that they had shaken off a Sunnee ruler and obtained a Shiah tyrant instead.”¹² His words would be prescient.

As the emboldened Tekes resumed raids against their “ally” Iran—as well as Khīva, Bukhārā, and their Sariq neighbors in Merv—a new Persian governor of Khurāsān, Farīdūn Mirzā, resolved to march against them. His campaign to smash Teke forces at Merv was a success, but the raids continued soon after, often carried out by Tekes from Sarakhs. Persian troops assaulted the Sarakhs Tekes the very next year, in 1856. These Sarakhs Tekes fled to Merv, from which their Teke comrades had just been driven out a few months before.¹³ Iran placed a loyal Hazara Shi'ite governor in charge of Merv, but he struggled to keep the peace. The Turkmens targeted his Hazara people: Futteh Mahomed reports that

cred. He returned to Khīva without his head: his body buried back home, but the Tekes shipped his head to the Shāh of Iran as a grim gift (IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, “The Turcomans,” 11–12). The Persian *Nāsikh al-tavārikh*, meanwhile, offers an especially detailed and grisly account of the Khān's death. As his camp went into retreat, the Khān and his companions were overtaken by a Persian horseman, who cut the Khān viciously across the face. The ruler, identifying himself, begged to be taken before the Shāh so he could submit. According to the chronicle, however, his assailants replied that they had no reason to drag his heavy corpse all the way back with them; his head would be the lighter burden, and they would oblige the Khān by bringing it before the Shāh and tossing it down in the dusty road in front of him. Combatants from Merv, Sarakhs, and Khurāsān then allegedly fought so fiercely over the privilege of doing the beheading that a dozen were killed in the fray. Finally, the honor went to the son of the Teke leader Uraz Khān. Fourteen of the Khān's retinue suffered the same fate—so says the Persian chronicler. (Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Nāsikh al-tavārikh*: MITT T. 2, 263–264). The Khīvan chronicle *Jāmi' al-vāqī'āt-i sulṭānī*, unsurprisingly, does not admit any of these gory details, but otherwise its coverage is largely concordant with the Persian accounts, albeit notably flattering to the Khan: we find him refusing to retreat in his final moments, firing at his assailants side-by-side with a few companions as they closed in, until finally being brought down by a bullet (Muḥammad Riḍā Mirāb Āgahī, *Jāmi' al-vāqī'āt-i sulṭānī*, ed. Nouryaghdi Tashev [Tashkent: International Institute for Central Asian Studies, 2012]; MITT. T. 2, 545–546).

12 Wheeler, “Memorandum on Persian Affairs,” 138.

13 IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, “The Turcomans,” 12.

“men of Sarrakhs” (by which he likely means Tekes) “carried away a hundred and fifty” Hazara families.¹⁴

Meanwhile, the Tekes seemed determined the drive their Sariq Turkmen counterparts from the Merv oasis and make it exclusively Teke territory.¹⁵ In exchange, the Persian governor eagerly agreed to aid the Sariqs, hoping to oust the Tekes from Merv. According to Percy Sykes, the governor’s meddling started with a dirty trick: He “invited eighty Turkoman to a conference at Meshed, where they were treacherously seized and imprisoned.” This immediately preceded his assault: “Having by this act weakened the man-stealers, the Persian Governor-General marched on Merv.”¹⁶ Gathering eighteen infantry battalions and 7,000 or 8,000 cavalry, the governor’s campaign reached Merv in the fall of 1857. Disinclined to fight, the Tekes offered their submission and the governor accepted it—but soon after, his forces withdrew, and the Tekes redoubled their efforts to expel the Sariqs.¹⁷

The ongoing Teke-Sariq hostilities brought the Persian armies back, this time for a siege—though the besieging Persians soon found *themselves* besieged. Outflanked by the Tekes, the Persians’ supply routes to Mashhad were cut off, and “the besiegers were compelled to feed on the flesh of donkeys.”¹⁸ Worse still, the only way to bring reinforcements and supplies from Mashhad to this Persian army at Merv was in the care of “friendly” Tekes from Sarakhs; the Sarakhs Tekes offered an escort of 4,000 horsemen but—predictably—the “escort” turned on the column of Persian soldiers intended as reinforcements, pillaging their supplies and taking captives. These tricky Tekes then headed to Merv, joining their comrades against the starving Persians and taking many more captives as they routed those would-be besiegers.¹⁹

14 Wheeler, *Memorandum on Persian Affairs*, 139. The Herat agent goes on: “many particulars of the outrages” committed by Tekes “are recorded in the Cabul diaries.” These included plundering grain supplies on their way to Herat; kidnapping “an escort to the number of fifteen hundred men”; besieging and carrying off “the whole of the inhabitants” of Khaff; and taking another fifteen hundred men from the Hazaras who tried to come to the village’s aid (p. 139). Grodekoff is often cited to describe the events of this period, but his coverage strikes me as a touch confused on the chronology and less reliable than others on the specifics of cause and effect; for the 1850s in particular, compare his coverage with mine: Grodekoff, *The War in Turkumania*, 23–24. Grodekoff appears to rely on Petrushevich, but mangles some of the details in Petrushevich’s coverage.

15 Wheeler, *Memorandum on Persian Affairs*, 139; IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, “The Turcomans,” 13.

16 Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1915), 463.

17 IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, “The Turcomans,” 13.

18 Wheeler, *Memorandum on Persian Affairs*, 140.

19 Wheeler, *Memorandum on Persian Affairs*, 141.

The Russian officer V.I. Tugan-Mirza-Baranovskii recorded a memorable Teke narration about the Persian defeat. The story goes that, during the siege, the Persian governor Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā set up a large encampment for his soldiers outside Merv's walls and permitted no Merv residents to enter the encampment, with the sole exception of women bringing goods and food to trade with the soldiers. "The number of visitors increased every day," Tugan-Mirza-Baranovskii writes, and "the Persians got used to them and stopped paying them any attention." Suddenly, one night, a gunshot sounded and scores of the visitors whipped off their veils: they were Teke warriors, armed with daggers and sabers, and they cut down the bewildered Persian troops as two Teke detachments from Merv, which had crept up quietly in the dark, leapt upon the encampment. According to the Tekes, only Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā and a handful of cavalry managed to escape this sneak-attack.²⁰

These conflicts, drawing the Tekes and Persians into deepening hostilities, were the prelude to the historic battles at Qarrī Qal'a and Merv.

2 Ja'far Qulī Khān and the Battle of Qarrī Qal'a

Several months later, in 1858, the Tekes battled Persian armies yet again. During the previous drama in Merv, the Akhal Tekes had continued their customary raids into northern Iran, sometimes with the support of Göklen Turkmens who inhabited settlements in between the Teke and Persian territories. One of these settlements was Qarrī Qal'a, a fortified village 75 miles from the nearest inhabited spot and therefore a useful waystation for Tekes traveling westward from the Akhal. In 1856, soon after the assassination of the Khān of Khīva, some 4,000 tents of Göklen and Yomut Turkmens had left the Khīvan Khānate and settled in Qarrī Qal'a, promising to submit to Iran in exchange for the privilege of settling there. Ja'far Qulī Khān, then governor of nearby Astarābād, had no objection to this. After all, this Kurdish leader was once the Tekes' raiding partner.

Ja'far Qulī is one of the central figures in 'Abd al-Sattār's poem, where he appears (surprisingly) not as a Teke ally, but as a foolish and doomed Persian lackey who leads the "Qizilbash" attack on the Tekes. It is difficult to reconstruct Ja'far Qulī's career from primary sources—not because he is rarely mentioned but because he is mentioned briefly in so many different contexts, some of which appear at first glance to contradict one another. We find him fighting

²⁰ Tugan-Mirza-Baranovskii, *Russkie v Akhal Teke* (St. Petersburg, 1881), 69.

in a rebellion against Iran's Qājār dynasty in the 1840s, and then we find him promoted as the governor of Persian Astarābād soon after. We find him living in the Akhal and raiding Persian villages alongside the Tekes in the 1840s, and then we find him (in the poem and in other sources) leading Persian troops to crush the Akhal the very next decade. What is going on here?

Ja'far Qulī's career was filled with twists and turns. The son-in-law of the rebel prince Ḥasan Khān Salār, he took Salar's side in a power struggle against the Shāh—the "Salār Rebellion," which supported a rival for the throne.²¹ Turkmens and Kurds in northern Iran both supported the rebellion,²² and when it failed, Ja'far Qulī found a refuge in the Akhal where, according to Grodekov, he lived for three years, leading Turkmen raids into Persian territory. In 1848, when the Shāh (Muḥammad Shāh Qājār) died,²³ his successor—Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār—not only pardoned Ja'far Qulī Khān but installed him as a provincial governor in northern Iran. (Depending on one's view of the Qājār dynasty's governance, this mercy could represent either a tactful piece of statecraft, or a sample of Qājār weakness in the northern provinces forcing dependency on even the most untrustworthy local leaders.) In gratitude, Ja'far Qulī rode to Tehrān with 40 Teke horsemen, bearing gifts.²⁴

The Tekes were evidently glad for Ja'far Qulī's promotion, anticipating good treatment now that a nearby district was governed by the very comrade with whom they had once plundered that same district. Sixty Turkmens from Akhal came to salute him. They badly misunderstood the new arrangement: turning on his former partners, Ja'far Qulī took these Turkmens captive and then led a raid against a Turkmen village for good measure, forcibly resettling 500 families within his new domain.²⁵ The Tekes were free to settle in Qarri Qal'a as far as Ja'far Qulī was concerned, but he was a Persian governor now, not an Akhal raider, and the Tekes would need to respect the new balance of power.

They did not. Outraged by the betrayal, the Tekes joined with Göklens to resume raiding Iran from Qarri Qal'a, and the Shāh—Nāṣir al-Dīn—ordered

21 Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, *Tārīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nādirī*, *MITT*, 240–243.

22 See especially Gulī, *Tārīkh-i siyāsī va ijtimā'ī-i Turkamanhā*, 126–127. A Turkmen-Kurdish vantage point on these events would be a worthy project, yet to be written.

23 Not in 1860, as Grodekov claims! Grodekov's timeline is woefully confused here: *Voina v Turkmenii*, 68; trans.: Grodekoff, *War in Turkumania*, 41.

24 Grodekov, *Voina v Turkmenii*, 68; trans.: Grodekoff, *War in Turkumania*, 41.

25 Grodekov, *Voina v Turkmenii*, 68; trans.: Grodekoff, *War in Turkumania*, 41. The *Nasīḥ al-tavārīkh* offers a slightly different version of these events. According to the chronicle, Ja'far Qulī simply demanded that the Turkmen visitors turn over their Persian captives, 94 of which they promptly released (*MITT*, 267). Those Turkmens who refused, however, had their settlements attacked and plundered by Ja'far Qulī's forces (*MITT T. 2*, 273–274).

Ja'far Qulī to seize the settlement. Ja'far Qulī's first campaign against the Tekes in 1856 left five Turkmen villages plundered and destroyed, 170 dead, and 350 women and children captured. For his next campaign, the overconfident Ja'far Qulī brought only 600 armed men, and as they emerged from a narrow gorge, they found themselves surrounded by an unexpected host of perhaps 5,000 Tekes. Amazingly, Ja'far Qulī's troops managed to hold off the Teke army. After the battle, they sent Tekes' severed heads to Tehrān.²⁶

In nearby Astarābād, Russian officers and diplomats observed the Turkmen losses with intriguingly sympathetic concern. The district's Russian consul and the commander of its naval station both wrote to their superiors lamenting Turkmen defeats in the autumn of 1857, shortly before the Qarrī Qal'a campaign recounted in our poem. For the naval station commander, the residents of Qarrī Qal'a were "utterly obedient Turkmens" who had resettled there from Khīva under duress. Ja'far Qulī, in this Russian officer's telling, had tried to convince the Shāh to leave the Qarrī Qal'a Tekes alone, but the Shāh suspected that Ja'far Qulī himself, an erstwhile fellow-raider, could strike up a nefarious agreement with them if they stayed close at hand. Ja'far Qulī, the Russian officer writes, tried to convince the Tekes to leave Qarrī Qal'a on their own, but only 3,000 were willing to leave, while another 6,000 refused.²⁷

The Russian consul, G.G. Gusev, likewise sympathized unambiguously with the Turkmens, but his letter tells a more nuanced story. Among the Turkmens, he relates, was a "spiritual leader" named "Tagan-Kazy" who "zealously incites" his fellow Turkmens to raid villages in Khurāsān, which they had been doing "almost daily," plundering them and taking dozens of captives. Meanwhile, the residents of Astarābād were being stirred up by a "zealot" of their own: a local Persian official named Akhund Mullā Muḥammad Rizā, "known to the Imperial Commission for his intrigues and his tendency to interfere in matters other than his own," went every two or three days on tours of nearby villages, armed head to toe, joined by "various bastards on horseback" (*soprovozhdenii raznoi konnoi svolochi*), trying to incite locals to a "jihad" against the Turkmens.²⁸ It was, in short, a combustible situation.

26 M.N. Galkin, *Ėtnograficheskie i istoricheskie materialy po Srednei Azii i Orenburgskomu kraiu* (St. Petersburg: Ia.A. Isakov, 1868), 29–30. This may be the same conflict described in the *Nāsikh al-tavārikh* (*MITT T. 2, 274–275*), after which the Shāh rewarded Ja'far Qulī with a sword with a diamond-studded hilt.

27 "No. 328: Raport nachal'nika Astrabadskoï morskoi stantsii glavnokomanduiushchemu Kavkazskoi armiei o prichinakh otpravki karatel'noi ekspeditsii v raion Kara-Kala," in *Russko-turkmenskie otnosheniia vXVIII–XIX vv. (do prisoedineniia Turkmenii k Rossii)*, ed. Kh. Agaev and S.G. Agadzhanov (Ashgabat: AN TurkmSSR, 1963), 453.

28 "No. 327: Iz doneseniia rossiiskogo konsula v Astrabade V.V. Guseva upravliaiushchemu

And now, the Russian officers wrote, Ja'far Quli was headed straight into a disaster. A local Astarābād *sayyid* (a respected descendant of the Prophet) had come from Ja'far Quli's Persian army as it neared Qarri Qal'a to report that the troops had run out of food, and that the Yomuts who had accompanied them defected to join the Qarri Qal'a Tekes. The army was in "a very difficult situation."²⁹ While Ja'far Quli's men languished, surrounded by Turkmens and outnumbered, Astarābād was left mostly undefended—and the Yomuts began to plunder and burn its villages, taking Persians into captivity.³⁰

No contemporary eyewitness sources on the course of the Qarri Qal'a battle have come to light, meaning that our best source remains 'Abd al-Sattār's poem. The Russian diplomat N.V. Khanykov, however, arrived in Astarābād in time to see the fallout from the disaster still raging:³¹

By the time we arrived in Persia, the Astrabad [*sic*] province was in a state of total anarchy. Its governor, Jafar Quli Khan [of] Bujnurd, had just returned from an unsuccessful military campaign against the Turkmens, during which two cannons were lost and many people were killed. This situation encouraged the nomads, and they penetrated the dense forests surrounding Astrabad, from which they raided villages, robbed their residents, and burned their homes. Even the city walls were not a dependable shelter from the Turkmens. On April 15, when we were already in Astrabad, nomads attacked a caravan right at the city gates, killed 15 people, took many captives, and plundered the bazaar.

In short, the Tekes and their allies, while suffering plenty of tragic losses themselves, had managed to humiliate and destabilize their powerful Persian neighbor throughout the 1850s. Under influential leaders Nūr Verdi Khān (in the Akhal) and Qushut Khān (in Merv), the Tekes also achieved diplomatic reconciliations with other Turkmen groups: the Göklens, the Salors, and even the Sarīqs (their longtime adversaries). Seeing in this alliance the foundation of later Turkmen nationalism, the historian Mehmet Saray regards this diplomatic achievement as "probably the most significant event in the whole history of the

rossiiskoi missiei v Irane s predlozheniiami o vozmozhnosti okruzheniia turkmenami iranskikh voisk v raione Kara-Kala, o prekrashchenii s nimi sviazi i o polozhenii v samom Astrabade," in *Russko-turkmenskie otnosheniia v XVIII-XIX vv.*, 451–452.

29 "No. 328: Raport nachal'nika Astrabadskoi morskoi stantsii glavnokomanduiushchemu Kavkazskoi armiei o prichinakh otpravki karatel'noi ekspeditsii v raion Kara-Kala," 452.

30 "No. 327: Iz donesenii rossiiiskogo konsula v Astrabade V.V. Guseva," 452.

31 Khānykov, *Ekspeditsiia v Khorasan* (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), 75–76.

Turkmens.”³² The prospect of a united Turkmen confederation was, at the very least, a formidable threat to their expansionist neighbors on all sides.

3 The Persian Defeat at Merv

After the struggle at Qarrī Qal‘a, Teke raids plunged deeper and deeper into Iranian territory, on one occasion reaching as far south as Qā‘en district, some 250 miles south of the Akhal.³³ For their part, the Persians captured and jailed some 80 Turkmen leaders who had been invited to Mashhad on the pretext of negotiating peace.³⁴ In 1860, a governor from long-suffering Khurāsān, Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā, launched the most ambitious campaign yet in an effort to break the Tekes’ spirit and win their submission. The force he assembled was later estimated at anywhere from 23,000 to 50,000 soldiers, both cavalry and infantry.³⁵ Lewis Pelly, a British diplomat based in Herat, heard the higher estimate of 50,000 troops from a Persian commander (*sardār*) who was in direct contact with the expedition’s leaders, fresh from the battle.³⁶ More realistic tallies are offered by Persian participants in the campaign: the unknown author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* gives the total as 26,924 soldiers; Sayyid Muḥammad Lashkarnivīs, a military scribe, witnessed an inspection of the army which tallied around 21,000.³⁷

32 Mehmet Saray, *Turkmens in the Age of Imperialism: A Study of the Turkmen People and Their Incorporation into the Russian Empire* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1989), 58–59.

33 IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, “The Turcomans,” 24; Petrusovich, “Turkmeny mezhdū starym ruslom Amu-Dar’i (Uzboem) i severnymi okrainami Persii,” 29. Petrusovich writes of “Kain” district, 600 kilometers south of Mashhad, but he is probably mistaking Qaen, in Khurāsān, for Kayin in Kerman Province. It is unlikely that Teke raids ever reached as far south as Kayin.

34 Gulī, *Tārīkh-i siyāsī va ijtimā‘ī-i Turkamanhā*, 133–134. Gulī also emphasizes predatory taxation as a major incentive inspiring Turkmen resistance against local Persian government, though I have been unable so far to find sources with a detailed discussion of the tax regime.

35 Wheeler, *Memorandum on Persian Affairs*, 142; Petrusovich, “Turkmeny mezhdū starym ruslom Amu-Dar’i (Uzboem) i severnymi okrainami Persii,” 28.

36 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey overland from Persia to India through Afghanistan including Mashhad, Herat and Kabul,” 148.

37 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā: sharḥ-i lashkarkashī-i 1276 q. bah Merv*, edited by Muḥsin Raḥmatī (Tehrān: Nashr-i Tārīkh-i Īrān, 2008), 35; Muḥammad ‘Alī Ḥusaynī “Safarnama-yi Merv—nivishta-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Lashkarnivīs,” in *Sih safarnāma: Herāt, Merv, Mashhad*, edited by Qudratallāh Rawshānī (Tehrān: Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, 1968), 86.

The Tekes were evidently frightened by the massive army: to forestall the invasion, they offered up 1,000 of their own people as captives, 1,000 horsemen to serve in the Persian cavalry, and a generous payment of tribute in gold. The Persians were so confident of victory that they declined these unprecedented peace terms. According to the Russian officer N.G. Petrusevich, the influential trio of Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā, Sultān Murād Mīrzā, and an erudite court official named Mīrzā Maḥmūd Taqī Āshtiyānī had resolved to destroy the Tekes once and for all.³⁸ In retrospect, the immensity of their mistake is breathtaking.

Unlike the struggle for Qarrī Qal'a, the catastrophic Persian defeat at Merv was documented from multiple perspectives, in multiple languages, by multiple proximate and eyewitness observers. Its marginal place in recent history books on Iran—truly, it is a forgotten war—is disproportionate to its obvious impact at the time.³⁹ As Abbas Amanat has observed, the disaster undermined Iran's Qājār dynasty, damaging the Iranian ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's legitimacy at a time when he was already weakened.⁴⁰ The Teke victory, moreover, by driving Iran decisively from southern "Turkmenia," emboldened the Russian Empire to fill what they regarded as a power vacuum, therefore precipitating their invasion.

Fortunately for historians, the 1860 war—unlike the 1858 Battle of Qarrī Qal'a—also gave rise to a remarkable body of literature: along with 'Abd al-Sattār's monumental poem, the events inspired two major eyewitness Persian accounts, the *Safarnāma-yi Merv* and the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*; a quirky comic novella by Gobineau; a classic French captivity narrative by Bloqueville, who was seized by the Turkmens early in the war and held for 14 months; and the *Ibratnāma*, a masterpiece of the captivity narrative genre in Persian.⁴¹

38 IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, "The Turcomans," 24; Petrusevich, "Turkmeny mezhdu starym ruslom Amu-Dar'i (Uzboem) i severnymi ukrainami Persii," 30.

39 Amazingly, there is not a single reference to this massive battle (and the devastating Persian defeat) in the magisterial, seven-volume *Cambridge History of Iran*, which runs to several thousand pages. Major chronicles from the Qājār period either say precious little about the Merv war or omit it entirely: see, for example, the *Farsnāma-yi Nāṣirī* of Ḥasan-i Fasā'i (*History of Persia under Qājār Rule*, translated by Heribert Busse [New York: Columbia University Press, 1972]). Amīn Gūlī correctly observes that the Merv war was the most significant event in the history of the Turkmens during the Qājār period (Gūlī, *Tārīkh-i siyāsī va ijtimā'i-i Turkamanhā*, 133).

40 Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 185; 378; 387.

41 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*; Comte de Gobineau, "Le Guerre des Turcomans," in *Nouvelles Asiatiques* (Paris: Librairie Académique, 1922); M. Henri de Coulibœuf de Blocqueville, "Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans," *Le Tour du Monde* 13 (1866), 225–272; Mīrzā Maḥmūd Taqī Āshtiyānī, *Ibratnāma: khāṭirātī az dawrān-i pas az janghā-yi Herāt va*

The author of the *Ibratnāma* is none other than Mīrzā Mahmūd Taqī Āshtiyānī, one of the Persian officials who had rejected the Teke's offer of submission. His memoir is unambiguous about the goals of the campaign he helped orchestrate: no mere "punitive" mission or reprisal raid, the goal was to "subjugate" the territory of Merv, bringing it into the Shāh's fold within the country (*bilād*) of Iran.⁴² Meanwhile, the French photographer Henri de Blocqueville joined along to "follow an armed expedition," as he understood it, "to repress the brigandage, and incessant incursions of the Turcomans into Persian territory."⁴³ Both Mīrzā Maḥmūd and Blocqueville would soon pay for their reckless overconfidence.

Blocqueville has left us a valuable assessment of the Persian force and its recruiting tactics. Like Iran itself, the army was diverse: Blocqueville noticed an entire squadron of Kurds, and another of Bakhtiaris.⁴⁴ But the army was not, in Blocqueville's view, very formidable. Marching across northern Iran with its commanders, the French eyewitness noted their dismal efforts to recruit a fighting force on the way to Merv. At each locality, he reports, the leading officers first approached wealthy inhabitants, knowing that they would buy their freedom from conscription with "gifts." Less prosperous residents were then squeezed for similar "donations" or else for replacements "of whatever age" who could fight in their place. "Finally," Blocqueville writes, "we arrive at the class of the poor, from which, either willingly or by force, we take what we can." The result of these efforts was a fighting force in which, according to Blocqueville, children of twelve or fifteen marched alongside men of fifty or sixty at the same rank. Some new conscripts did not need to worry about a long deployment, at least: since commanders were in charge of distributing soldiers' salaries, they granted leave liberally—keeping the salaries of those they dismissed. The upshot of Blocqueville's cynical accounting is a compelling hypothesis about the real fighting force at Merv, and one that is not found in any other source: "We will therefore not be surprised," he writes, "if this army, whose effectiveness was to amount to thirty thousand men, actually numbered only twelve to fifteen thousand at the time it entered the campaign."⁴⁵

Merv [c. 1278–1288/1860–1870], edited by Ḥusayn 'Imādī Āshtiyānī (Tehrān: Nashr-i markaz, 2003); "Safarnama-yi Merv," 73–144.

42 Mīrzā Maḥmūd Taqī Āshtiyānī, *Ibratnāma*, 24.

43 M. Henri de Coulibœuf de Blocqueville, "Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans," 225.

44 Blocqueville, "Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans," 226.

45 Blocqueville, "Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans," 226, 238–239.

The Persian eyewitness accounts omit any mention of shady recruiting tactics, but Sayyid Muḥammad, author of the *Safarnāma-yi Merv*, was unsparing about the lack of military discipline. From the moment the army left Mashhad, he writes, officers and soldiers alike flouted orders without facing punishment; it was entirely unclear to him who was responsible for maintaining order during the campaign. For this combatant, the lack of discipline—rather than, for example, the Turkmens' fighting prowess or the Persians' lack of supplies—was the main reason for their disastrous defeat.⁴⁶ Their disorderliness contrasted starkly with their overconfidence: the Persian troops anticipated a quick and decisive victory over the Turkmens. Many believed the Turkmens would flee without a fight.⁴⁷

Blocqueville and our Persian sources are in emphatic agreement on another important point: the Persian soldiers were not just undisciplined, they were also very thirsty. Two routes to Merv were open to the Persian army: a more direct route through waterless desert, or a longer but more well-watered route via Herat. Officers disagreed on which route to take, but proponents of the dry, direct route prevailed.⁴⁸ To prepare for the march, a dam was constructed to divert river water toward this desert route—but the effort was too little, and it started a month too late. The feeble, hastily constructed dam collapsed.⁴⁹ The troops would have to make do with whatever meager, salty water they managed to find on their journey. They slaughtered sheep and goats and filled up their skins with it.⁵⁰ The skins soon rotted in the hot sun, and the water inside became so rancid that not even the animals would drink it.⁵¹ Roughly a thousand troops deserted at this early stage, fleeing back to Mashhad, taking some camels with them.⁵²

The Persian army trudged through burning deserts. They fell ill from bad water.⁵³ They steered horses across terrain filled with leg-snapping rodent- and snake-holes. They found no relief even in the shade of pistachio and tamarisk trees which seemed to trap the heat.⁵⁴ And they suffered an even more frightening peril: daily quick raids by Turkmens from all sides. Familiar with the terrain, and probably attuned to the Persian troops' exhaustion, the

46 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 76.

47 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 80; 82.

48 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 34; "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 88.

49 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 78; *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 35.

50 Mīrzā Maḥmūd Taqī Āshtiyāni, *Ibratnāma*, 24–25; *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 38.

51 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 92.

52 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 89.

53 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 87.

54 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 91.

Turkmens stalked the army.⁵⁵ Persian officers offered a reward for Turkmens caught dead or alive; the unknown author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* delivered two live captives and a severed Turkmen head, receiving ten tomans for each captive and five tomans for the head.⁵⁶

The march to Merv had to be halted for a massive effort to dig for water. Mīrzā Maḥmūd claims they dug over *three-thousand* well-holes before the army secured the water they and their animals needed.⁵⁷ Sayyid Muḥammad estimates they dug 1,500 wells, and the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* estimates over a thousand, recalling one as deep as 18 cubits (31.5 feet)! All three witnesses concur that they managed, with this enormous effort, to dredge up the water they needed to continue.⁵⁸ As they proceeded toward Merv, some soldiers foraged for dry stalks to feed the animals—only to be ambushed and dragged into captivity by small groups of Turkmens.⁵⁹ For the entire grueling journey, the Persian troops were in hostile territory: passing one village, the army was battered by Turkmen women wielding sticks and throwing sand.⁶⁰

It was during one short skirmish that Mīrzā Maḥmūd, author of the *Ibratnāma*, was taken captive by Turkmen horsemen. He recalls a pitched battle: an ambush by 2,000–3,000 Turkmens, killing some Persian soldiers, taking many others as captives (*asīrān*), but mostly plundering and dividing spoils. The campaign ended there for Mīrzā Maḥmūd. Transported from the vicinity of Merv to the village of Panjdeh and then to Bukhārā, he spent nearly ten years in slavery.⁶¹

When the expedition approached Merv—whose core was a walled expanse mostly empty of dwellings, where Turkmens lived in tents—the Persian army found it uninhabited. The Tekes had left, encamping some distance away. The Persians decided to settle in the area nevertheless, divided between the fortified areas of Merv and nearby Yoloten. Their entry into Merv was celebrated back in Iran as a “conquest” but in fact it was, Blocqueville observes, the army’s “first and most serious mistake.”⁶²

Blocqueville, Sayyid Muḥammad, and the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* all describe the weeks that followed as a tense and hungry time, spent

55 “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 80; *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 36.

56 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 37.

57 Mīrzā Maḥmūd Taqī Āshtiyānī, *Ibratnāma*, 24–25.

58 “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 93; *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 39–40.

59 Blocqueville, “Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans,” 240–242.

60 “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 100.

61 Mīrzā Maḥmūd Taqī Āshtiyānī, *Ibratnāma*, 25–26. I detail his ordeal in Chapter Three of my book, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia*.

62 Blocqueville, “Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans,” 242.

locked in brutal skirmishes with Turkmens, bickering over issues like who was to gather grass for the livestock, shooting into the distance at anything “in the shape of a Turcoman” and, finally, starving.⁶³ “Little by little,” Blocqueville writes, “as it had been only too easy to predict, we ran out of food.” Typhus followed, in a camp “cluttered with animal carcasses and all manner of rubbish.”⁶⁴ Some Persian officers hoped to abandon Merv and return to Mashhad; Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā was under orders from the Shāh to remain at Merv. The only positive development during these tense weeks was the arrival of some 200 Sārīqs to help the Persians fight—just as ‘Abd al-Sattār’s poem claims they did.⁶⁵

Nearby, in and around the fortified settlement of Yoloten, a community of Salor Turkmens posed both dangers and possibilities for the hungry Persians. If the Salors could be made allies, it would shore up the Persian fighting force; and if, alternatively, they could be plundered, it would shore up their scanty supplies. Ascertaining (correctly) that the Salors were Teke allies (in fact, they were even serving as informants for the Teke troops), the Persians attacked and looted them mercilessly.⁶⁶ A Salor-supported Teke attack on Yoloten, meanwhile, was driven off—a notable Persian victory, which they marked by retaining twenty captives and six severed heads.⁶⁷ The Salors of Yoloten submitted, agreeing to supply troops and provisions to support the Persian war effort.⁶⁸

The Tekes, recognizing their hard defeat, likewise attempted to submit. The Persians took their proposal seriously and evidently debated it, but ultimately decided to press on with the campaign, mounting a successful ambush on Teke troops and forcing a retreat.⁶⁹ These events, unsurprisingly, are omitted from ‘Abd al-Sattār’s poem. In fact, a Teke prisoner among the Turkmens who, in Sayyid Muḥammad’s account, led the negotiations for a Teke surrender is depicted in *The Turkmen Wars* breaking free from shackles and slaughtering the Persians!

With the Tekes suddenly on unsteady footing, and with many lying low in trenches, the Persians mounted their most ambitious assault, which unfolded over the course of several consecutive battles. It was a brutal engagement. In

63 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 42–47; “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 95–104.

64 “Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans,” 242.

65 “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 104–105.

66 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 47–49; “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 111–115. The author recalls that a young Salor girl, beloved by the community and famed for her beauty, was killed in the attack, traumatizing and enraging the Salors.

67 “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 116.

68 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 50.

69 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 51–53; “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 119–127.

the harshest of the encounters, lasting twelve uninterrupted hours, Persian artillerymen fired over 1,500 rounds, the Tekes fired some 300 rounds, and as many as 1,000 Persian soldiers were killed while many others were dragged into captivity. Both Sayyid Muḥammad and the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* expressed admiration for the accuracy of the Teke artilleryman in charge of the cannons, as well as for the Turkmens' brave counterstrikes and their resistance from within a newly-built fortification.⁷⁰ The Tekes attempted to negotiate for peace again during these battle-heavy days, but the Shāh of Iran himself had reportedly insisted that no peace terms be accepted.⁷¹

Soon, however, the Tekes' peace offer would grow more appealing to many Persian combatants. As the pitched fighting ground down their energies, one of the top Persian officers of the campaign—Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān—fell when his horse got stuck in a swamp, and he was promptly beheaded.⁷² Two hundred Persian troops, gathering reeds nearby, were slaughtered.⁷³ Sayyid Muḥammad and the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* both perceived the officer's loss as a terrible blow to the Persian camp's morale. Some leaders argued that a retreat would be the best option. Troops began refusing to fetch fodder, meanwhile, fearing Turkmen ambushes.⁷⁴ The Turkmens too had suffered heavy losses, but they were still fighting; the Persians found their own losses unsustainable. They decided to make a night retreat, slipping away in secret and muzzling their camels to quiet them.⁷⁵

70 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 60; "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 126.

71 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 58. At least one Persian commander was eager to continue fighting, even as others considered accepting the peace terms: according to the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, he boasted that he could crush the Tekes "like halva" (p. 57)!

72 The *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* offers detailed coverage of this sequence of battles: 49–66; see also "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 126–127. Blocqueville likewise reports on this battle and Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān's death: "Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans," 243. In one of the most disturbing passages of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, the author relates, through barely disguised euphemisms, that an elderly Turkmen woman, reportedly more than 100 years old, deaf and nearly blind, was found alone—abandoned since she could not flee—and gang-raped by Persian soldiers. More than one regiment had taken part in this atrocity, the author writes, and it became a source of great shame. Had the account been written by an enemy of the Persian army, it would be easy to dismiss as propaganda or exaggeration. Instead, the event is related by a Persian official whose every effort was to support to war, and therefore it reads more like a disturbing confession of his own army's vindictive and disorderly nature.

73 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 66.

74 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 126–128; *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 66; *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 68–69.

75 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 68.

That same night, the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* witnessed a bizarre and disturbing scene. The leading Persian officers, resigned to a terrible fate, had gathered in a tent and drunk themselves into a stupor. Even the most upright of the generals, a man who avoided such scenes as a rule, was dancing about wildly, evidently drunk. When he approached this general, the man put his arm around his neck, bid him farewell, burst into tears, and began saying parting words to everyone at the gathering, hugging each one. Amid the chaos, the chronicler searched to no avail for Ḥamza Mīrzā's second-in-command, Qavvām al-Dawla. Nor did he see Ḥamza Mīrzā himself.⁷⁶ Where had the top Persian leadership gone?

They had left, evidently retreating early, deserting the camp with their retinue and leaving behind a few soldiers who had dozed off. The author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* reflected that just two hundred Turkmens could have overtaken the entire camp that night if they had known about its disordered state.⁷⁷ As it turned out, the Turkmens would soon get their chance to deal their decisive blow.

Just as 'Abd al-Sattār relates in *The Turkmen Wars*, our chronicle claims that an informant tipped off the Tekes about the Persian retreat. They ambushed the Persian rearguard, savaging the bewildered troops for six or seven straight hours as they started their march.⁷⁸ Blocqueville witnessed the events, and he gave credit to the Tekes for their tactics, as they were "always remaining hidden and taking advantage of the unevenness of the terrain and the canals to attack the wings and prevent our advance." Blocqueville joined a group fleeing the scene around four o'clock in the morning, heading back toward fortified Merv. The Tekes had expected their every move: cleverly rerouting water channels, they had flooded the terrain separating the Persian troops from the road to Merv, forcing them to trudge through mud and marshy ground.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, Teke fighters leapt upon them from all sides, plundering animals and equipment, taking more Persian troops into captivity. Huddling with some soldiers under a small hill,⁸⁰ Blocqueville "could see the whole disaster: the wounded and the dead lying here and there, the ditches filled with pack animals trying to free themselves, the abandoned cannons, all of our baggage headed toward the

76 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 70.

77 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 71.

78 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 133.

79 Blocqueville, "Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans," 243–244; this detail is confirmed in the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 71.

80 This is likely the spot called Mazar Hill, which is mentioned in the "Safarnāma-yi Merv" (p. 134) as a site where soldiers gathered at this stage of the battle.

country of the Tekkes." Absurdly, a Persian officer rallied troops to pursue the stolen baggage, and many—Blocqueville included—followed the order. They were quickly bogged down in mud and water, scattered, and pursued by Tekes who remained on the scene for just such an ambush. Blocqueville fell from his horse into a canal, and as he struggled to wade through water up to his chest, the Tekes caught up to him. He would live as a captive in a Teke home for the next fourteen months.⁸¹

The author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* also found himself caught in the water, atop a layer of drowned men and horses, pressed on all sides by bewildered, trampling comrades. He dismounted in the water, stepped over horses and men, and managed to pull his horse from the mire and ride to safety. Only around six other men from his unit managed to escape, while the rest perished in the chaos or were captured by the Tekes.⁸²

This battle and the ragged early morning retreat, according to Sayyid Muḥammad, marked the decisive defeat of the Persian army. By the end of it, all the Persian soldiers' property, ammunition, transport carts, and guns were in the Tekes' hands. Most of the Persian survivors made it back to Merv, and from there they commenced a grueling escape through the desert toward Herat—the commanders Ḥamza Mīrzā and Qavvām al-Dawla so far out ahead of the rest, given their head-start, that the mass of soldiers could not catch up.⁸³ Starving, these soldiers ate horse and camel meat while 400–500 Teke horsemen harassed their lagging rear columns, taking four or five new captives each day for the first three days of the march. Some troops, wrongly believing that their leaders had headed toward Sarakhs, wandered off in that direction—tragically, through waterless desert.⁸⁴ On the third day, several hundred Sariq horsemen came to aid the desperate troops, and other Sariqs took the opportunity to sell the starving men food at extortionate prices.⁸⁵

After a few days, the rumor of a Turkmen assault caused a panic throughout the retreating columns and among their Sariq fellow-travelers; in their haste to flee, many left supplies and animals behind.⁸⁶ Ironically, according to the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, it was actually those same fleeing Sariqs from whom the Persians thought *they* were fleeing: having heard gunshots, a rumor spread that their Sariq allies had betrayed them and turned on

81 Blocqueville, "Quatorze mois de captivité chez les Turcomans," 243–244.

82 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 74.

83 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 137; *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 78.

84 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 82.

85 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 138.

86 "Safarnāma-yi Merv," 138.

them. The real cause of the commotion, it turned out, was the gunshots of a Turkmen at the market pursuing a soldier who took off with one of his melons. The ensuing brawl had caused such a sudden and fast-spreading panic that—the author of the *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā* relates—Qavvām al-Dawla, who was urinating at the time, rushed off on horseback without his trousers! Many Sariqs took advantage of the chaos to plunder the camp, becoming traitors to their Persian allies just as the Persians were confusedly fleeing from *imagined* Sariq traitors.⁸⁷

For the next 40 *farsakhs* (about 92 miles), the soldiers' suffering was multiplied: they ate wild boars and camel meat, and for lack of water they drank the blood of camels and horses. Some 200 died of starvation in the desert.⁸⁸

Soon after the final retreat began, Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā had sent a “rather hurried scrawl” to his superiors notifying them of his defeat. His troops were straggling toward Herat, and Lewis Pelly, a British official based in that city, was among the first to hear the news. Ḥamza Mīrzā’s “missive still vaunted the power of the Shah,” Pelly wrote in his diary, “and asked for aid. From all I can gather, guns commissariat infantry baggage and all are in the Turcoman Camp. The Turcomans will of course be at the heels of the Prince.”⁸⁹ Pelly, an influential point of contact for Afghan and Persian officials, immediately tried to make himself useful. He attempted to secure a relief convoy of 2,000 armed Persian troops with food and supplies, and contacted counterparts to see if he could “stop the Turcomans by remonstrance or arrangement and rescue if possible the hapless French Photographer who was with the Persian force.”⁹⁰

Pelly’s concern was not just for Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā’s hopeless army. He was in Herat on imperial business, and he immediately recognized the regionwide significance of the defeat. The Salors and Sariqs, deprived of any confidence in potential Persian backing, would now join the Tekes; Jamshidis who had insistently guarded their independence in northern Iran would also reassert their autonomy; and Muḥammad Afzal Khān, ruler of Afghan Turkistan, would seize the moment of Persian retreat to move on Maymana with his army of thousands and “have the whole North from Meshed to Balk in one continuous uproar.”⁹¹ (Pelly’s reports of the disaster, preserved in the British archives, may be the earliest accounts of it in existence.⁹²)

87 *Safarnāma-yi Ḥamza Mīrzā*, 84.

88 “Safarnāma-yi Merv,” 138–140.

89 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey,” 148^r.

90 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey,” 149–149^r.

91 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey,” 149.

92 IOR Mss Eur F126/33 “Letter No. 5 from Lewis Pelly, Herat to His Excellency Charles Alison,

Pelly's prediction about Sariqs and Salors joining the Tekes had come true almost immediately. "News in today of a second disaster sustained by the Persian Force," he wrote the very next day (October 3rd, 1860). He had caught wind of the Sariqs plundering their erstwhile Persian allies after panic sparked by a melon theft, though he did not have all the details. From what Pelly learned, the retreating Persians had ventured to a Sariq "stronghold," near Panjdeh, thinking they would find sympathy and shelter there with this tribe, which had long fought the Tekes. They "received the Prince with courtesy and fed his followers." Suddenly, the next morning, the Sariq hosts had "rushed on the Persians seized their baggage animals and supplies, made slaves of some 3 or 4 thousand disarmed many more while the Prince his second in command and some immediate followers mounted horse, and trusting themselves to the prudence of an Hazareh chief named Mollah Youssuf fled towards Herat followed by some 8 or 9 thousand stragglers on foot and who had either escaped in the confusion or who had been taken stripped and turned loose as valueless."⁹³

This final point, about the valuelessness of Persian captives, is worth emphasizing, as it has been repeated in nearly every source on the conflict as a way of expressing how devastating it was for the Persian army. In fact, it is usually one of the only details recorded about the war in later histories, a shorthand for the scale of the mortification. The specific problem for the captive-takers was that so many captives had been taken during the conflict that oversupply drove down their price. Thus Petrushevich observed that "The Tekes took so many captives that they did not know what to do with them, for although Khiva and Bokhara were still open marts for slaves, the price fell so low that a man sold for 25 *kran*s [7 rubles and 50 kopeks]."⁹⁴ Percy Sykes, in his *History of Persia*, writes that the "army fled in complete disorder, leaving its guns to the victorious Turkoman; and slaves in Central Asia became cheaper than they had been for a generation."⁹⁵ The eminent Orientalists Francis Skrine and E. Denison Ross, in their *Heart of Asia*, recount how "The cavalry alone, including the cowardly commander-in-chief, found safety in flight, and so great was the glut of prisoners that the price of a Persian slave in Khivan and Bokharan markets

British Minister at Tehran," 17–17^r; "On the defeat of the Persian Force at Merv: and on the present condition and prospects of the Persian Eastern and Herat Northern Frontiers," 21^r–25^r; "Summary of news relative to the defeat of the Persian expeditionary force at Merv," 25^r–26^r; "Letter No. 9 from Lewis Pelly, Herat to His Excellency Charles Alison," 27.

93 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 "A journal of Lewis Pelly's official journey," 152–153.

94 IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, "The Turcomans," 13; Petrushevich, "Turkmeny mezhdru starym ruslom Amu-Dar'i (Uzboem) i severnymi okrainami Persii," 30.

95 Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1915), 463.

fell to a sum equal to a pound sterling.”⁹⁶ The Khīvan chronicle *Gulshān-i davlat* by Munīs and Agāhī reports similarly: “As for the prisoners, they were driven in droves to be sold to neighboring states, so that all the bazaars of Muslim countries were overflowing with captives and slaves.”⁹⁷

Several days later, Pelly personally visited what remained of the devastated Persian convoy as it struggled toward Herat. He “found some 8000 unarmed men, many foot sore and half clothed, all lying about ... poor fellows they have been sacrificed to mismanagement but no man complained and only one begged of me.”⁹⁸ The next day—October 19th—he met with the campaign’s second-in-command, and could not keep himself, in his annoyance, from radiating imperial arrogance. Pelly berated the officer as if he himself was a Persian official; he “remonstrated with him upon his neglect of his men. All to no use ... I then went to the Prince but found him almost broken down with grief.”⁹⁹

Pelly ascertained that “what his highness [the Prince] wants is money,” and he returned to Herat to have the funds sent, along with counsel on how to proceed while avoiding the Turkmens and an invitation to leave his injured and deconditioned men behind, promising to “take care of them and send them on under escort.” Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā declined the advice on his tactical retreat, but he accepted Pelly’s offer to care for his men—and the money, of course.¹⁰⁰ The next day, a Persian minister from Herat gave Pelly “an amusing account of his visit to the Prince Governor [Ḥamza Mīrzā]’s Camp.” He related that “it is the intention of [the Prince’s second-in-command] to lay all the blame of the recent defeats upon Prince Humza Mirza—but I should think this falsehood would hardly hold—unless backed by enormous bribes at Teheran.”¹⁰¹

Whatever the personal fallout, the impact of the military loss—and especially of the retreat by unsupported troops—was felt across Iran. The humiliating loss wounded the flagging legitimacy of the Qājār monarchy. It also bolstered the Russian position, as the Tsar’s empire began to expand southward into lands where Persian influence had receded. The Turkmen victories over Iran strengthened their hand for the moment, but the elephant looming in the region was no longer the weakened dynasty to the south, but the northern invader whose momentum was daily increasing.

96 Francis Henry Skrine and E. Denison Ross, *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khānates from the Earliest Times* (Phila., Lippincott, 1899), p. 271.

97 Munīs and Agāhī, *Gulshān-i davlat*, *MITT T.* 2, 604.

98 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey,” 154.

99 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey,” 155.

100 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey,” 154–155.

101 IOR Mss Eur F126/31 “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey,” 162–162^r.

Meanwhile, as the Tekes resumed raiding around Mashhad from their seemingly secure base in Merv, they could still be surprised by successful Persian counterstrikes. The very next year, in 1861, such an assault killed many Tekes and captured 100 others, whose hideous fate in Tehrān reveals the depths to which the Teke-Persian relationship had fallen, infected as it was by dehumanizing acrimony on both sides:¹⁰²

There followed an order by the Shah to deliver the captives to Tehran, and so, in groups of several individuals, they were shackled by the hands and feet to a single iron rod and driven on foot to Tehran, which was over 1,000 versts from Mashhad. The Shah, wishing to reassure the populace, which was displeased with the shameful showing of the substantial army [which had been defeated at Merv], ordered that all the captives be executed in front of the gates of the city. His ministers decided, for the public's greater entertainment [*dlia bol'shego naslazhdeniia publiki*], to tie the captives to the city walls and begin shooting them at a distance of 300 paces. It should be clear enough that the regular infantry [*sarbazy*], never having been trained in arming and firing flintlocks, could not manage to hit the living targets which were laid out so far from them, such that the pleasure of shooting could last until evening, subjecting the unfortunate Turkmen to the torments of hell. Learning of these barbaric orders, all of the ambassadors immediately appealed for the abolition of such executions. But it was too late: the execution took place, though only when the infantry were summoned closer. Regardless, the shooting still continued until evening. Some of the bullets hit not the captives, but the ropes by which they were tied. Thus untied, they would come forward and sit before the infantrymen, in hopes that they would depart from this life more quickly if they were closer to the infantry, since they had no hope for mercy.

For these victims, the glory of the victory at Merv was short-lived.

102 Petrusovich, "Turkmeny mezhdū starym ruslom Amu-Daryi (Uzboem) i severnymi okraïnami Persii," 53–54; see also A. Rzhnevskii, "Ot tiflisa do Dengil'-tepe," *Voennyi sbornik* 8 (1884), 285; IOR L/PS/20 Memo 22, "The Turcomans," 21; Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia*, 15–16.

The Text, the Genre, and the Translation

The Turkmens of popular imagination are invariably nomads on horseback, their culture and literature passed on entirely through oral tradition. This image is wrong, however. The Turkmens of the Akhal and Merv regions (who take center-stage in ‘Abd al-Sattār’s poem) have blended farming with herding since they arrived in those lands over 200 years ago.¹ Their historic settlements consisted of permanent structures like earthen walls and turrets as well as felt tents (yurts), providing for mobility or protection as immediate needs required. In the Turkmen villages, bards often sang and recited poetry, but they also wrote their poems down. Classics of Turkmen verse by Makhdūm Qulī (Magtymguly), Seydī, Žalīlī, Azādī, and many others were preserved in manuscript form. ‘Abd al-Sattār’s *Jangnāma* is one of over 4,000 manuscripts held in the National Institute of Manuscripts in the Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan. These include masterpieces of Turkmen literature as well as Persian, Arabic, and Turkic classics from elsewhere that were valued in the Turkmen lands.²

Amid the abundance of Turkmen literature, ‘Abd al-Sattār’s *Jangnāma* was nearly lost. By 1904, when it reached the hands of Aleksandr Samoilovich, one of the greatest Orientalists of that or any age, there was only one manuscript copy in existence. It belonged to Nikolai (Karash) Khan Yomudskii, an Imperial

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- 1 Yuri Bregel, “The Peoples of Southern Turkmenistan and Khorasan in the 17th and 18th Centuries,” *Central Asian Review* 8/3 1960, 264–272. Here, Bregel responds to a longstanding debate which continued for decades to come; see, for example, M. Annanepesov: “O dvukh kontsepsiakh v izuchenii khoziaistva turkmen v xviii-pervoi polovine xix v.,” *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoi SSR* 1 (1968), 83–84. Consensus on all sides, however, supports the conclusion that the Turkmens of the Akhal region and Merv practiced agriculture as well as animal husbandry.
 - 2 See N.B. Khalimov, “Istoriko-kul’turnoe znachenie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoi SSR,” *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoi SSR* 6 (1985), 48–52. Samoilovich himself was a key figure in the early development of these collections. During his 1906–1907 expedition in the Turkmen lands, Samoilovich noted a demand for books as well as the presence of manuscripts, educated readers, and copyists. He purchased 34 manuscripts containing 61 distinct works by 38 different authors, of whom 25 were Turkmens. 44 of these works were in verse, seven were in a blend of verse and prose, and the remaining 10 were exclusively in prose (E.M. Ismailova, “Rukopisnaia kniga u Turkmen v xviii–xix vv.,” *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoi SSR* 6 [1989], 72–76). Beyond the archive, some learned Turkmens kept massive personal libraries: the scholar Molla Tore Akhun was reported to have a library of up to 7,000 books: G. Shirmamedova, “Bestsennye svidetel’stva istorii,” *Neitral’nyi Turkmenistan* 7 (2006).

Russian officer of Turkmen descent who was an accomplished ethnographer in his own right.³ Recognizing its value, Samoilovich personally copied the manuscript “as accurately as possible.”⁴ The original was written on thick, yellowed Russian paper, in a rough goatskin binding. The original copyist is unknown, and the manuscript is undated.⁵

According to Samoilovich, ‘Abd al-Sattār and his work were “completely unknown” to the descendants of the poem’s main hero, Nūr Verdi Khān. None of the Turkmens in the region, save for Khan Yomudskii and Samoilovich’s trusted collaborator Khwāja-Eli Mullā (a poet, who made a copy of the manuscript which Samoilovich consulted), had ever mentioned ‘Abd al-Sattār.⁶ Fortunately, four of the poet’s sons were living in Khīva, and Khwāja-Eli was able to piece together something of his life. Those details are scant but revealing. ‘Abd al-Sattār worked a judge in Khīva for seven years.⁷ He was remembered as an “educated, good” man, and as an *ishān*—a leader in matters of religion.⁸ He was born in the village of Kelete, in the vicinity of Gök Tepe, making him a native of the Akhal region. The poet hailed from the Makhtūm tribe, a holy lineage sometimes regarded as distinct in origin from the Turkmens themselves (albeit cohabiting with them).⁹ The date and place of his death were not documented. According to Khwāja Eli, he wrote the *Jangnāma* in 1861–1862, when the memory of the Tekes’ victory was still fresh.

As a work of art, Samoilovich considered the poem to be a little rough. ‘Abd al-Sattār, despite his evident erudition and command of Persian and Arabic, had “a poor command of verse,” Samoilovich wrote. His rhymes were “not particularly successful,” and the “errors” in the rhyme-scheme were even more

3 Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, xviii. A grandson of the famous Yomut leader Kiyat Khān, Yomudskii later founded a school for Turkmen children near Moscow. In the 1920s he was a contributor to the Soviet journal *Turkmenovedenie*, one of the most important early resources for the formal study of Turkmen culture and history.

4 Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, xvii.

5 Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 3.

6 Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 4–5. Later, the Turkmen archives would acquire 36 books from ‘Abd al-Sattār’s own library: G. Shirmamedova, “Bestsennye svidetel’sva istorii.”

7 Two groundbreaking books explore Islamic law in Khīva around ‘Abd al-Sattār’s lifetime: Paolo Sartori, *Visions of Justice: Sharī’a and Cultural Change in Russian Central Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Paolo Sartori and Ulfat Abdurasulov, *Seeking Justice at the Court of the Khans of Khiva (19th–Early 20th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

8 On the meaning and role of the *ishān* in Khīva, see Ulfat Abdurasulov, “Advice from a Holy Man: *Ishāns* in Nineteenth-Century Khwārazm,” in Ron Sela, Paolo Sartori and Devin DeWeese, eds., *Muslim Religious Authority in Central Eurasia* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 180–207.

9 Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 7–8.

frequent than the “violations” of the meter.¹⁰ Why, then, would the great scholar expend such a massive effort analyzing, editing, and publishing the poem? He had philological, historical, and folkloric motivations, all of which were well-reasoned: Samoilovich believed that the *Jangnāma* was of monumental importance as a linguistic sample, as a rare local history, and as an oddity in the (still understudied) corpus of Chaghatay literature.¹¹

Samoilovich, a keen collector of local history and folklore, was also able to place the poem in the context of other poetic records of the same sequence of battles: he had collected such samples by other local poets (Davan Shagyr and Allāh Verdi, for example).¹² Nevertheless, in his view, the *Jangnāma* was resolutely *not* intended “for the wide masses,” but rather “for a select readership.”¹³ The poem’s long *maṣnavī* format was a stark departure from the short poems sung by local musician-bards (*bakhshī* / *bagsy*) in the Akhal region. The poem’s contents were also different from practically any other Chaghatay work known to Samoilovich; the only really comparable work, in his view, was Mullā Bilāl’s *Kitāb-i ghazāt dar mulk-i chīn*, a war epic about the Muslim fight against China in the Xinjiang (East Turkistan) region.¹⁴

Here, however, Samoilovich reveals a surprising blind spot. In fact, the poem’s very title—*Jangnāma*—puts the work firmly in a well-established literary tradition. One can find many other poetic works calling themselves by that very name, especially from South Asia, as well as innumerable others in the closely related genre of *ghazavātnāma*, which was especially prominent in the Ottoman world.¹⁵ A panoply of premodern “war books” produced through-

10 Samoilovich, *Knīga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 58; 68. The meter, incidentally, is *hazaj*, for those hoping to test Samoilovich’s verdict.

11 While I will make the case below that the poem’s literary characteristics are not as strange as Samoilovich believed, his detailed philological assessment of the text demonstrates its place in the study of Turkic linguistics. One of its distinctions is that it is so resolutely “local”: while still far more “Persianate” than modern Turkmen, the *Jangnāma* is richer in local Turkmen vocabulary (or, as Samoilovich phrases it, it contains fewer “foreign” words: p. 43) than practically any other work in classical Chaghatay.

12 Samoilovich, *Knīga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 55. Other poetic works on the same historical theme were authored by Muḥammad Raḥīm, son of the famous poet Mullā Nepes (Mollanepes), and by Miskīn Kilīch (Misgingylyj). See S. Charyev, “Dovan Shakhryng ve Mukhammetrakhymyng tarykhy dessanlarynda khalk gakhrymanchylygy,” *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Turkmen SSR* 1 (1987), 61–67; Seyit Garryev, *Turkmen eposy, dessanlary ve gundogar khalklarynyng epiki doredijiligi* (Ashgabat: Ylym, 1982), 51.

13 Samoilovich *Knīga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 9.

14 Mullā Bilāl Ibn Mullā Yūsuf al-Nāzīm, *Voina musul’man protiv kitaitsev*, ed. N.N. Pantusov (Kazan, 1881); *Bilal Nazim: Āsārlār* (Almyta: Zhazushy, 1976).

15 For an important early study of the genre and its close literary relatives in Turkic (origi-

out Islamic Eurasia recount holy struggles against non-Muslims; ‘Abd al-Sattār was working firmly and reverently within this familiar genre.

Oftentimes, such “war books” focus on medieval Islamic saints: Harry S. Neale’s recent *Sufi Warrior Saints* offers a fine selection of classics from the hagiographical register of the genre, and John Renard’s *Friends of God* provides an ideal introduction to it.¹⁶ (I have translated two popular, battle-heavy hagiographies from Central Asia: the Satuq Bughra Khān narrative cycle and the sacred biography of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf.)¹⁷ The most prominent themes in the classical “war hagiography” are the real, imagined, and creatively elaborated battles fought by ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.¹⁸ While such tales of early Islamic “holy war” (called *ghazwa*, *ghazāt*, *ghazāvāt*, and *jang/ceng*, among other terms) set the template for the typical “war book,” in later centuries the genre branched out from hagiography to feature *sultāns*, military leaders, and conquerors like the Ottoman Suleymān I (“the Magnificent”). To date, over 250 distinct works in the *ghazavātnāma* genre have been identified in Ottoman and Turkish literature alone.¹⁹ In Central Asia, the most prominent stream in this tradition is the corpus of legendary biographies focusing on Amīr Tīmūr (Tamerlane), which has been brilliantly explored by Ron Sela.²⁰

nally published in 1924), see G. Rākhim and G. Gaziz, *Rukhi miras: ezlānūlār hām tabışlar. Tatar ādābiyati tarikhī. Boryngy dāver. xvii–xix gasyrlar*. Ed. L. Sh. Ğaripova, et al (Kazan: TĀhSI, 2022), 62–74. On “military epics” in Turkmen literature, see Garryev, *Turkmen eposy, dessanlary ve gundogar halklarynyng epiki dōredijiligi*, 49–50.

- 16 Harry S. Neale, *Sufi Warrior Saints: Stories of Sufi Jihad from Muslim Hagiography* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2022); John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
- 17 Eden, *Warrior Saints of the Silk Road: Legends of the Qarakhanids*; Eden, *The Life of Muhammad Sharif*.
- 18 I am grateful to Allen J. Frank for offering leads, sources, and insights on this subject. On the development of these tales in the Turkic world and their prominence in Central Asia, see Frank, “Companions of the Prophet as Anti-Colonial Fighters: The Political Evolution of ‘Alī Tales in Siberia and the Kazakh Steppe,” *Die Welt des Islams* 63 (2023), 107–125; Agabay Muhammedov and Bayram Baymiradov eds. *İmam Hasan ve İmam Husayn: halk dessanī*, (Dashhowuz: Hiyal, 1994). On tales about the battles of ‘Alī and his family in Ottoman and Turkish contexts, see İsmet Çetin, *Türk edebiyatında Hz. Alī Cenknâmeleri*, (Ankara: T.C. Türk Kültür Bakanlığı, 1997). As Frank observes, many of these tales themselves have narrative roots in pre-Islamic (especially Iranian) literary tradition. On the “Islamization” of such traditions in Central Asia, see the landmark study by Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).
- 19 Mustafa Erkan, “Gazavatnâme,” *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/gazavatname>, accessed May 22, 2025).
- 20 Ron Sela, *The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane: Islam and Heroic Apocrypha in Central*

The most distinctive feature of the classical “war book,” whether it goes by the name of *jangnāma* or some other, similar term, is the near-exclusive focus on warfare. As Sultan Çetinkaya Tahtacı observes, the primary distinguishing feature of the genre is that anything *unrelated* to the war at hand will typically be omitted.²¹ For those puzzled by the lack of geopolitical stage-setting in ‘Abd al-Sattār’s, this apt characterization of the genre as a whole offers a clue: if the poem diverted into politics, biography, or other distractions, it would not be a *jangnāma*. The genre offers an opportunity to celebrate and reflect on the battlefield achievements of the *ghāzian*—“holy warriors” whose victories reflected nothing less than God’s favor.

In the Soviet period, the poem’s intense religiosity likely hindered its progress toward canonical status. In post-Soviet times, its religious aspects (which permeate every page) are still de-emphasized by literary scholars, and instead the work is hailed as a monument to “the people’s resistance” against colonialism as well as a monument to Turkmen unity; R. Rejebov regards it as of the earliest documents reflecting Turkmen “national identity.”²² The combined effort of Turkmen groups to drive out the Persians is meant here, and indeed this is a prominent part of the victory as the poet depicts it. The common religious war against “infidel” enemies, however, is emphasized even more strongly; it is the poem’s central theme, and it is the guiding motif that connects it to a centuries-old literary tradition.

‘Abd al-Sattār’s poem is a fascinating point of entry into this tradition. While I hold the poet’s literary talents in higher regard than Samoilovich did and have attempted to remain faithful to his text, I have not held rigidly to a literal, word-for-word rendering of the poem. In many instances I found that clarity, rhythm, and faithfulness was improved by adding or subtracting a word or two (most of these additions are in brackets, though overall I have tried to keep “bracket clutter” to a minimum). These additions and subtractions are invariably small. My boldest departure from the original is structural: I found that imbuing the translation with something of the original’s percussive poetic rhythm (without staying too far from its meanings) meant abandoning its traditional *bayt* (two-hemistich line) structure. While the resulting translation is in

Asia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). In the Ottoman world (and likewise in Central Asia, albeit perhaps to a lesser extent), tales of Sayyid Battāl were particularly influential and widespread: see Rākhim and Gaziz, *Rukhi miras*, 74–92.

21 Sultan Çetinkaya Tahtacı, “Bir Edebi Tür Olarak Gazavatnameler ve Dönemsel İçerik Analizi,” *Avrasya İncelemeleri Dergisi* 13/1 (2024), 2.

22 Rejebov, *XVIII–XIX Asyrlar Turkmen ädebiyatynyng döredijlin stili* (Ashgabat: Ylym, 1995), 78; 99–101.

“free verse,” I can reassure readers who know some Chaghatay that it hews close enough to the original that it is easy to follow along using the facsimile provided; I have included line-numbers alongside the translation to aid this effort. Transliteration from Arabic and Persian generally follows the *IJMES* standard; for Turkmen-inflected Chaghatay there is no standard transliteration scheme, but I have tried to be as consistent as possible.

The facsimile includes some of Samoilovich’s original notes in Russian, but readers interested in the text’s linguistic aspects will find a goldmine of further commentary in Samoilovich’s full study of the text (easily available online), which is a masterpiece of linguistic analysis and also includes his literal prose translation of the poem into Russian. I am not a linguist, and I have not attempted to emulate or update Samoilovich’s linguistic commentary. Instead, along with the translation, I have tried to provide—both here in the Introduction and in some of the footnotes accompanying the translation—the kind of historical background and context that is missing from Samoilovich’s philology-focused study. Samoilovich recognized the *Jangnāma* as a treasure for linguists; I hope it might also be recognized as a treasure for historians and a delight for fans of epic literature.

Translation



Jangnāma: Translation

**The line numbers on the lefthand side offer an approximate concordance for the Chaghatay text; they are not intended to count the lines in the free verse translation, whose line-count differs from the original.*

The Poet's Preface: Praising God and Holy Ones, and Condemning Infidels and Heretics¹

**In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,
Make the task easy, not difficult!**

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful:

It is a benediction that I begin in the name of God.

You, divine as You are,

You who are the one true Deity,

You are worthy of absolute worship,

For You alone have no companion.

You are abundant, You lack nothing.

Your name is Allāh,

And Compassionate and Merciful

Are the names of your qualities.

5 *Your grace abounds*

For Your mercy's sake.

You give bread to the faithful and to the infidel.

You are the Compassionate,

And from your mercy,

On Judgment Day, the faithful's crimes

Are all at once forgiven.

You have no beginning or end,

For there is no end to Your description!

To instill Your existence in Your creation,

You sent forth the light of Your dear one, Muḥammad.

You made Your creation [for mankind],

With amazing and rare things in it.²

¹ Section headings are absent from the original text. I have added them for clarity throughout.

² This is a reference to the concept of the *nūr-i Muḥammad*: a divine light popularized by a

- 10 *You gave Muḥammad the crown of prophethood.
Drawing him near, you gave him the mi'rāj.³
Through Gabriel⁴ too you sent down your word,
And your greetings along with it.
And you named your prophet Muḥammad,
The Highly Praised One,
And You elevated him among the prophets.
To develop sharī'a, You made friends for him,
And You joined several to him.
They are the pure Four Companions, whom
You made as close friends for Your dear one.*
- 15 *You made him some other companions too,
But some people you made to be false toward him.
You said: "Whoever is faithful to My dear one,
It is as if he submits to Me."
The ṣaḥāba⁵ are all friends of the Prophet,
They are better than those who came after them.
If a person treats them with enmity,
They will have much to regret on Judgment Day.*

Enemies of the Prophet: Kharijites, Rafizites, Jews, and Christians

*After the Prophet's death,
Troublemakers multiplied.*

classic text in Turkic called the *Nūr-nāma* ("Book of Light"), translations of which continued to circulate in Turkmenistan as recently as the early 2000s. I am grateful to Allen Frank for this information. See Tj. de Boer, "Nur. 2. Philosophical Aspects," *EI2*, vol. 8, 122–123.

- 3 *Al-mi'rāj* ("the heavenly ascent") refers to a journey by which, according to many Muslims, the Prophet Muḥammad ascended (either literally or in a dream or vision) to the heavens, where he met past prophets such as Moses and Jesus. The foundation of this tradition is relatively indistinct in the Qur'ān, but has been elaborated over the centuries through the genre of Qur'ānic exegesis (interpretation and explanation) as well as through poetry and the arts.
- 4 In Muslim tradition, the angel Gabriel is known as Jibrīl, and he is believed to be the transmitter of God's revelation to the Prophet Muḥammad. This is what is meant by the poet when he writes, "Through Gabriel too you sent down Your word."
- 5 *Al-ṣaḥāba* ("the companions"), in this context, were the revered companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. While it is generally held that any Muslim who personally met Muḥammad can be termed a "companion," the companions the poet has in mind here are clearly those pre-eminent ones mentioned in the text: Abū Bakr, 'Uthman, 'Umar, and 'Alī (on each of whom see below).

20 *One stray group was the enemy of ‘Alī,⁶
 Who was the son-in-law of the Prophet.
 They called these stray ones “Kharijites,”⁷
 And they went astray (khārij) from the Prophet’s path.
 Another group opposed the three companions:
 Abū Bakr,⁸ ‘Umar,⁹ and after them ‘Uthmān,¹⁰
 Who were all bosom friends of ‘Alī.
 Know too [his sons] Ḥasan¹¹ and Ḥusayn!¹²
 Know too the nickname of the strays.¹³*

6 ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad and the fourth Caliph of the Muslim community after Muḥammad’s death. ‘Alī is revered by both Sunni and Shi‘ite Muslims, but among the Shi‘ites he is central, regarded as Muḥammad’s rightful successor and inheritor of his mystical knowledge. Of particular importance to the poem is the fact that Shi‘ite tradition regards the caliphs Abū Bakr, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Umar as usurpers of ‘Alī’s rightful succession. This rejection is described by the poet as an offense against these companions of the Prophet and, by extension, the Prophet himself and God’s plan.

7 These are al-Khawārij—“those who went out”: An early Islamic sect known for their violent rebellions and distinctive view of governance. Rejecting ‘Alī’s claim as successor to the position of caliph (leader of the early Muslim community) and *imām* (spiritual successor to Muḥammad), the Kharijites espoused the idea that any pious believer could be elected—by vote—to those posts, “even if he were a black slave.” This view of power is consistent with their central motto, that “judgment belongs to God alone.” Kharijites, emphasizing the importance of conduct alongside faith, judged alleged sinners to be non-believers, and often resorted to violence. A Kharijite known as Ibn Muljam assassinated ‘Alī in 661, and Kharijite rebellions erupted during the ensuing Umayyad period (circa 661–750) and deep into the Abbasid period too (circa 750–1261). Kharijite groups in Iran and Central Asia declined after the ninth century, and seem to have abandoned violence, but they remained present in northern Iran and eastern Afghanistan until at least the tenth century. See Levi Della Vida, “Khāridjites,” *EI2*; Clifford Bosworth, “Kharijites in Persia,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*.

8 A companion of the Prophet Muḥammad and father to his wife ‘Ā’isha, Abū Bakr became the first caliph of the Muslim community (r. 632–634).

9 ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the father-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, his close companion, and the second Caliph of the early Muslim community (r. 634–644).

10 ‘Uthmān Ibn Affān, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, his close companions, and the third Caliph of the early Muslim community (r. 644–656).

11 Ḥasan Ibn ‘Alī, son of ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, brother of Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Alī, and grandson of Muḥammad. He is regarded as the second *imām* in Shi‘ite Islam, succeeding ‘Alī, but in the context of poem he is mentioned in passing simply as an invocation of Muḥammad’s holy family.

12 Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Alī, son of ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, whose death at the Battle of Karbalā’ (on which see below) is a central moment in Shi‘ite tradition. In the poem he is mentioned in passing simply as an invocation of Muḥammad’s holy family.

13 *Ravāfiḍ*, plural of *rāfiḍ*. The word “Rafizites”—*al-rāfiḍa* (“rejectors” or “those who stray”)—

[*They call them*] “*Rafizites*”
*Know their thirst for the Prophet’s intercession!*¹⁴
I will recount their case well,
 25 *To prove their infidelity.*

Christians and Jews

There is a narration of the renowned heir ‘Alī,
*Told by an Imām, a guide to the Prophet’s path:*¹⁵
‘Alī recalled, “That Shāh of the two worlds [Muḥammad] said:
Among the followers of the Messiah, two perished.”
*One was the Jews, [who perished] for their slander:*¹⁶
They spoke idle words of Mary,
They said that Jesus was born
Of an unknown father,¹⁷
And that a son with no father is strange.
 30 *In their surfeit of enmity, these unlucky¹⁸ people*
Were heedless of God’s wrath.
When they denied God’s Prophet,
They were sent to the gulch of hell.¹⁹

is a derogatory term for Shi‘ite Muslims dating back to early Islamic history, where it can be found in Sunni polemics criticizing Shi‘ites for precisely what ‘Abd al-Sattār accuses them of here: rejecting caliphs Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān. While some Shi‘ites expropriated the term by giving it positive connotations (styling themselves “rejectors of evil”), it is clear that our poet has the older, pejorative meaning in mind. See E. Kohlberg, “al-Rāfiḍa,” *EI2*.

14 The word here is *shifā‘at*, an important Islamic term referring to the ability of the Prophet or saints to advocate for the faithful as intercessors between them and God (for example, by helping to convey their prayers to God).

15 The phrase for a path-guide here is *hādī subul*. A *hādī* is specifically a camel-driver.

16 *buhtān* (“slander”) more literally refers to false accusations.

17 *majhūlī* (“unknown”) could also carry the connotation of hidden or concealed, lending a mystical double meaning to the negative intimation that Jesus did not know his own father.

18 The word here is *bī-bāk*, which means “fearless” in Persian, but in this context it most likely means unlucky or miserable (Uzb. *bebakht*, Kaz., *be-baq*). I am grateful to Allen Frank for this reading.

19 In Islamic tradition, hell is sometimes envisioned as a “gulch” (*āghar*) or chasm traversed by a narrow bridge (called *sirāt*) by which the careful traveler can reach paradise.

The other was the Christian,²⁰
Scattering upon Jesus idle words of love,
And raving about their affection.
These people said, "Know this:
That Mary is his mother,
And that God is his father!"
Such an ignorant mob these people are!
In their mouth is a stone from the mountain of calamity.
Know, O friend, that God was not born and does not give birth!
 35 *Be aware that this is in the Qur'ān.*
The person who rejects these words
Will arise with the Christian on that Day of Judgment.²¹
Know what happened to Jesus in the end:
By God's arrangement he began to speak, and
He said, "I too am a slave of God,
I am the beloved mark of grief on Mary's heart,
And I am indeed a prophet of God.
I am most sincere in these words."
Some approved of him and became believers.
 40 *He made eternal paradise their refuge.*
God's Beloved, Muḥammad, said, "O 'Alī!
God made you the victor over your enemy,
But even in your glory, there are two wayfaring groups
Who have followed a path of delusion."

Kharijites

One is the Kharijites, the followers of Yazīd,²²
Who obey the stinging scorpion.²³

20 The author uses the term *nāsirī* for "Christian" here ("Nazarene").

21 The text refers simply to "that day," but it is clear that the author has in mind *qiyāmat kuni*: the Day of Judgment.

22 Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiya ruled the Umayyad Caliphate from 680–683. He is best known for presiding over the caliphate during the Battle of Karbalā' (on which see above). 'Abd al-Sattār describes the Kharijites as followers of Yazīd (whose has been nicknamed "the stinging scorpion"), but this is not true: in fact, the Kharijites ultimately supported one of Yazīd's rivals against him in the Second Fitna (civil war). The significant connection, for the poet, is that both Yazīd and the Kharijites opposed 'Alī: Yazīd's forces battled him, and a Kharijite later assassinated him.

23 *kazhdūm-i qazīd*: A nickname for Yazīd.

They say, “We love with our heart and soul
 Abū Bakr, ‘Umar the Discerning, and ‘Uthmān,
 45 But we see ‘Alī the Chosen One
 With extreme, ignorant enmity.”
 These ones are Amīr Ḥusayn’s killers,
 Ḥusayn who is the light of the Chosen One’s eye.
 Seeing the Prophet as the only eye of certainty,²⁴
 They commit sundry cruelties against his family.
 Yet they say, “Muḥammad is our guide,
 It is his path we follow.”
 And with these beliefs, O friend,
 They staged such a revolt on the Karbalā’²⁵ plain!
 50 They do not say that Muḥammad
 Is a forebear of Ḥusayn,
 That his mother is Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad.
 They are unashamed, shameless—no shame!
 Yet they count themselves in the ranks of the umma.²⁶
 God’s mercy does not reach this people.
 They taste not a grain of the prophet’s intercession.
 God, the Prophet, and his companions
 Are repulsed by the Kharijites—God curse them!
 The Rafizites are the other people,
 And they are a repugnant people!

24 The “eye” (or vision) of certainty (*‘ayn al-yaqīn*) here is a Sufi concept: it refers to a stage achieved by a master mystic or saint on the path toward perfect understanding. The author’s idea is that mystical knowledge can be gained through devotion to the Prophet’s holy family too, but that the “wrongheaded” ones in question neglect this path.

25 Karbalā’, in southern Iraq, is where the army of ‘Alī fought the larger forces of Yazīd in a struggle for royal succession in 680. ‘Alī’s son Ḥusayn was killed during the conflict along with two of Ḥusayn’s own sons and many other family members and companions. Ḥusayn is regarded as a martyr by Shi’ite and Sunni Muslims alike, but it is among Shi’ites that his death is commemorated most passionately. A central event in the development of Shi’ite identity, Ḥusayn’s death at Karbalā’ is memorialized each year on the Day of ‘Āshūrā’ (the tenth day of the month of Muḥarram) with reflective mourning, processions, and performances. The poem is slightly misleading, however, in claiming that Kharijites killed Ḥusayn at Karbalā’. There is no evidence that Ḥusayn’s killer was a Kharijite.

26 While frequently translated as “nation,” that confusing modern word is unnecessarily complicated when it comes to rendering the clear, simple meaning for “umma” intended by the poet here: he plainly means to suggest the *community of Muslims*—excluding, notably, the Shi’ites. More specifically, the term *umma/ummat* can refer to the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad or of another specific prophet in the Muslim tradition.

- The ancestors²⁷ named them Shi'ite people.²⁸*
 55 *"We are friends of 'Alī!"—they say idly, bewildered,
 Yet they hold 'Alī's friends as enemies.
 If a person befriends another person,
 And that person agrees with his friends,
 Then theirs will be true friendship—know this, O friend!
 Otherwise, your friend will become your enemy.
 'Alī's friends are the three companions of Muḥammad,
 Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān the Sufferer.
 Rafizites are an enemy branch,
 And they are several farsakhs²⁹ from 'Alī too.*

Abū Bakr

- 60 *Abū Bakr's friends are the Prophet and God,
 And besides the Prophet, he is higher than all others.
 It was Muḥammad who said clearly:
 "In all things I have a companion:
 It is Abū Bakr the Truthful.
 Abū Bakr is my intimate one,
 Inside that cave³⁰ he was my confidant.
 Abū Bakr is my deputy, my successor,³¹
 He is my imam at the time of prayer."*

27 The word for ancestors here (*salafīn*) carries the connotation of those who developed the early Islamic community, not merely people who lived long ago.

28 The author uses the phrase "*ahli shī'a*" here and elsewhere.

29 A Persian unit of distance-measurement with ancient origins. In modern Iran, one farsakh is equal to six kilometers (3.7 miles). Historically the measurement varied a bit, but it is safe to use six kilometers as a rule of thumb (W. Hinz, "Farsakh," *EI2*).

30 This is the cave of Thawr, where Muḥammad is said to have taken refuge from enemies during his migration with followers from Mecca to Medina in 622. This line in the poem refers to Qur'ān 9:40, which describes Muḥammad comforting Abū Bakr inside the cave, urging him to have no fear because Allah was with them. In Muslim lore, a spider spun a web across the cave's opening to help hide the Prophet.

31 *Manāb*: this is an important theological claim in the context of the poem, clarifying that Abū Bakr rather than 'Alī (as the Shi'ites believe) was the Prophet's rightful successor to lead the Muslim community.

‘Umar

And the Prophet of God also said
 Of ‘Umar, the lead-rope of all the world’s creatures:
 65 “‘Umar is my religion’s path of fulfillment,
 ‘Umar is the lamp of the two worlds,
 ‘Umar is the second of the First Companions,
 He was the rival of my rivals.
 With the sword of punishment, one by one,
 He smashed infidel people.³²
 It is ‘Umar who lit up tyranny’s darkness
 With the light of justice.”
 And the prophet of God said,
 “If there’s to be a successor prophet,
 It would be ‘Umar”—so he said.

‘Uthmān

70 And that king of the king-of-kings also said:
 “My third companion is ‘Uthmān—know this!”
 For love of him, the Prophet made him his son-in-law.
 ‘Uthmān pleased the Prophet with his second born,
 And said “If there should have been a third,
 I would have married her to you.”
 Then he presented the Prophet gifts of gold and cloth,
 And he received Muḥammad’s blessing.
 And ‘Uthmān is a mine of humility and knowledge,
 And he is the compiler of the sab‘ al-mathānī.³³

‘Alī

75 And his fourth companion is ‘Alī,
 He is the head of all saints.³⁴
 Know that he’s Muḥammad’s uncle’s son,

32 Here and throughout the poem the author uses the phrase *kuffār ahli*.

33 A nickname for *al-fātiḥa* (the opening *sura* of the Qur’ān).

34 The term for saints here is *awliyālar* (sometimes translated as “friends of God”).

Know that he's marked by courage
As the lion of God.
It is 'Alī who destroyed the gate of Khaybar,³⁵
It is 'Alī who slayed 'Amr and 'Anṭar.³⁶
It is 'Alī who is a mine of knowledge and courage.
It is 'Alī who is the husband of Fāṭima,
The Lady of the Last Judgment.
If I flatter these ones till Judgment Day,
It still won't end—know that, O wise ones!
 80 *Those who do not know the ways of the Four Companions*
Are like unto the Kharijites and Rafizites!

The Qizilbash³⁷

The army of the heretics is a damned devil!
They curse three companions of the Prophet!
In the heretic custom, to curse these three

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- 35 Khaybar was an Arabian oasis town which had a sizeable Jewish population when it was conquered by Muḥammad and his followers in 628. Muslim tradition holds that 'Alī performed a miraculous act during the battle: he single-handedly removed the enormous door from the town castle, which was so heavy that many men together could not lift it. He used the broken door as a shield and then, according to some narrations, it was used as a bridge by Muslim combatants entering the castle.
- 36 The non-Muslim 'Amr Ibn 'Abd al-Wudd famously challenged Muslim armies to send out a man to duel during the Battle of the Trench in 627. 'Alī agreed to fight this much stronger man and prevailed in hand-to-hand combat against him. Similarly, at the Battle of Khaybar the next year, a renowned non-Muslim warrior named 'Antar Abū Ablit sought a duel and was defeated by 'Alī—one of multiple strong adversaries he is said to have bested during the battle.
- 37 This term refers to Persian Shi'ites in the poem. Literally meaning "Red Head," *Qizilbash* originally referred to the red central column rising from the trademark turbans of Turkmen tribes following the spiritual leader Shaykh Ḥaydar in fifteenth century Iran. Ḥaydar's mystical community was called the Ṣafaviya (Safavids), which later became the name of the great Iranian dynasty (1501–1736) that emerged from the movement. The *Qizilbash* formed the early military core of this dynasty, but over the centuries the term "Qizilbash" came to have broader meanings, especially in regions to the north and east of Iran: by the nineteenth century, the term was sometimes used in Afghanistan to refer to Persian-speaking Turkmens, while to the north of Iran—as seen in our poem—"Qizilbash" was practically synonymous with "Shi'ite." In that context, *Qizilbash* also took on the pejorative sense we find throughout the poem: a *Qizilbash* was, in short, a Persian Shi'ite, and therefore an infidel or heretic according to 'Abd al-Sattār.

Is better than to praise the Chosen One!
There is also ʿĀisha, the prophet’s wife.
She is above the prophet’s other wives.
Due to some slander, O friend, they became enemies
To her too, and thus to God and the Prophet!
 85 *In short, the heretics have their own rites.*
“To hide the truth is to confront untruth.”
Their manners and conduct are unseemly.³⁸
On Judgement Day sundry tortures await them.
This is a group without piety,³⁹
They betray the sharīʿa.
They are pupils of the cursed devil!
Their dwelling-place is the far side
Of the fiery furnace.⁴⁰
The one who kills them is a ghāzī.⁴¹
In paradise, a charming head will turn toward him.
And whosoever is killed by them,
 90 *Is the most blessed martyr among martyrs!*
These heretics are blatherers. They call them Qizilbash.
In their mouths are earth and stones.
They are the ones who will perish in hell.
Save us, God, from such a people!

38 The Russian translation has “it is the manner of gypsies,” but I see no reference to Gypsies in the text.

39 The word here (*bī-dīyānat*) could be taken to suggest that they are not merely insufficiently pious, but lack any religion of their own.

40 Specifically, the author says they will dwell in *jahūm*: a level of hell believed by some Muslims to be the dwelling-place of unbelievers.

41 A *ghāzī* is a “holy warrior”—one who fights in a war (*ghazāt* or *ghazavāt*) or raid (*ghazw*) against non-Muslims. Therefore, Yuri Bregel observes, “the troops fighting the Qizilbashes (who were considered infidels by the Central Asian Sunnites) were commonly referred to as *ghāzīs*” (Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 575n348). The introductory section of the poem offers an unusually elaborate articulation of the alleged non-Muslim status of the Shi’a combatants, justifying the characterization of the war as a *ghazāt* and each participant as a *ghāzī*. Notable too are the special rewards (as described here) that are specific to the *ghāzī*: “martyr” status in case of death in warfare, as well as the euphemized but unsubtle implication of amorous rewards in heaven—the proverbial “houris” (maidens) of paradise (See Allen J. Frank and Jahangir Mamatov, *Dictionary of Central Asian Islamic Terms* [Springfield, VA: Dunwoody Press, 2002], 40.).

The Poet Explains His Task

“Well now, poet, be concise in your words!
 Declare the goal of your verses!”
 Some have made this request of me, saying:
 “We desire some words from you.
 95 We are a neighbor to the heretics,
 And we are battling them.
 It was the Qizilbash Shāh who groaned,
 His eyes shining like a raging flame,⁴²
 As he gathered and sent his army, along with
 Whatever there was of his guard,
 His treasury, and his buried treasure.⁴³
 They assembled in all their strength,
 But with God’s help we destroyed that army.
 We crushed everything.
 Thronging and pushing, we left them all lifeless.”
 100 In short, [I thought,] “I will recount their story
 And their heartfelt grief,
 To put in verse a good war story⁴⁴
 So their experience may be written.
 Thus the listeners might be gladdened,
 And freed from the heart’s torments!”
 After that, I plunged deep in thought,
 Worried that I cannot manage it.
 I recalled eternal God,
 Muḥammad the Chosen One, and the four companions.
 105 Reciting my entreaty,⁴⁵ I said, “My God,
 Steady my tongue that I might speak.
 For the sake of the name of your beloved, Muḥammad,
 For the sake of his ascent⁴⁶ close to you,
 For the sake of the friend to his companions,

42 Samoilovich’s Russian translation has “his eyes filled with blood like a mad camel,” but there is neither blood nor a camel in the original Turkic.

43 The word for buried or hidden treasure here is *dafīna*.

44 Here the poet names the genre of his poem: *jangnāma*.

45 Specifically, the “entreaty” in question is a *munājāt*: a poetic, supplicatory prayer to God. The *munājāt* itself follows above.

46 Here again the poet refers to the *mī’rāj* (on which see above).

For the sake of their morning prayers,
 Out of respect to all the prophets,
 And the expanse of heaven's vault and throne,
 And every slave who turns his face to your court
 And enters upon your path.
 110 For the youths fighting jihad⁴⁷ in a holy war,
 For their shared struggle in the fray."
 By means of these ones,
 I set out on the path, putting my trust in God.
 I immersed myself in my work,
 And I began it with reflection.

The Shāh of Iran Mulls over His Prior Defeat at the Hands of the Tekes

The narrators have told the news,
 And the storytellers have recounted
 That there was a Shāh in Tehrān,
 And he was a refuge for the heretics.
 115 Onyxes, emeralds, pearls, corals,
 And flawless Badakhshāni rubies⁴⁸
 Were embedded in the crown on his head,
 Which let none of the world's grief enter his mind.
 And his throne! On it were countless
 Gildings, topazes, onyxes and pearls.
 It was crafted to measure,
 Lined top and bottom with rubies.
 Choice masters crafted it,
 Its golden ornaments fit for kings.
 120 That lowly Shāh ascended the throne
 Imagining himself to be Farīdūn!⁴⁹

47 The phrasing here is blunt and clear: *jihād etgan yigitlar* ("jihad-doing young men").

48 The rubies here serve as a Sufi double meaning: a "ruby of Badakhshān" (*lāl-i Badakhshān*) is a phrase for a Sufi master's writings. The idea seems to be that the ruler had some wisdom near at hand, although (as we shall see) he was not one to use it.

49 A mythical king of ancient Iran, Farīdūn is known as the killer of the evil Zahhak in the *Avesta* and, in the *Shāhnāma*, as a ruler whose reign lasted 500 years. At two points in the poem, 'Abd al-Sattār Qazi mocks the Persian Shāh for imagining himself to be this legendary warrior-king.

“Such a throne and such a court I have!” He said,
 “And such numberless soldiers!
 If I set out for any country,
 I will take the whole face of the earth, step by step!
 Such is my strength and power.
 So what feat shall I do to satisfy my will?
 I equipped an army from head to toe and dispatched it,
 With many *sarhangs*,⁵⁰ *sartibs*,⁵¹ and *yāvūrs*.⁵²
 125 Defeated by Tekes, scattering my secret plans,⁵³
 My shameless Qizilbash people came back.
 Wasting the gold I gave them,
 Begging mercy from the Tekes, they returned.”
 He consulted his high officials,
 Meeting with them: “Find the best course of action!”
 The Shāh had one vizier
 Whose wisdom was incomparable.
 He said, “O Shāh, I am your sacrifice!
 I will send out the messenger at your orders.
 130 There is a country⁵⁴ among the Tekes
 They call Akhal, and it is boundless.
 I chanced to hear tell of it, O Shāh.
 Listen as I describe it a bit.
 In ancient times, flourishing cities there
 Were ruled over by many Shāhs.
 And after Nādir Shāh,⁵⁵ the Teke people⁵⁶

50 In the Qājār military, the rank of *sarhang* was roughly equivalent to “colonel.”

51 Also spelled *sartip*, this was a high military rank in Qājār Iran, roughly equivalent to “general.”

52 “Adjutant,” in a military context. This term is clearly related to the Persian word *yāvar*, meaning “assistant” or “helper.”

53 The text has simply “secret”—I have added “plans” for clarity, though it is worth noting the vaguely mystical tone of the original (perhaps implying that the religiously enlightened Teke adversaries had some special insight to perceive that which is hidden.)

54 The word for “country” here, *vilāyat*, can also mean “province” or “district.”

55 Nādir Shāh Afshār, one of Iran’s most prominent rulers (r. 1736–1747). Himself of Turkmen descent, Nādir Shāh is best known in the Central Asian context for his conquest of Khīva and Bukhārā. After the Khīvan conquest, the Tekes of that realm had to proclaim their allegiance to him. ‘Abd al-Sattār—no fan of the Shāh—claims here that the Tekes invaded Nādir’s former territories soon after his death in their own campaign of conquest. This is somewhat of an oversimplification, but suffice to say hostilities between Persian and Turkmen forces increased after the Shāh’s death.

56 The word I translate as “people” is *el*; this remains its primary meaning in modern Turk-

Took those cities one by one.
 The people there they plundered,
 Took captive, conquered, crushed, and sold.
 135 And the rest of the villages, one by one,
 They oppressed on the way to Khurāsān.⁵⁷
 Clan by clan⁵⁸ they divided it up.
Recount it, O pure mind!
 They dwelled in that land, they took it,
 They made many hearts bleed.
 The farmers now raise crops,
 They make a good and prosperous living.
 They eat, and they make love
 To charming, cypress-like ones,⁵⁹
 Enjoying them in winter and in summer.
 140 The pious young men there
 Are guileless in speech and courageous in bearing.
 Mounted on their Duldul-like⁶⁰ horses,
 Wearing their chain mail,
 Donning their mirrored helmets,
 Taking up sword and spear, girding their loins,
 And fetching countless other weapons,

men. In medieval Turkic, the word meant something like “realm,” and it retained this meaning in nineteenth-century sources, where one often finds references to the *el va ulus* (“people and country”). See Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 547n82.

57 Originally an administrative division of the Persian Sassanian Empire, the spatial idea of Khurāsān has varied dramatically over the centuries, meaning everything from the entirety of northeastern Iran plus all of Turkmenistan and much of Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and beyond (“Greater Khurāsān”) to its restricted usage in modern Iran, referring only to a region in the country’s northeast consisting of three provinces (Razavi Khurāsān, South Khurāsān, and North Khurāsān). Historically, Mashhad, Bujnūrd, and Balkh have been major Khurāsāni cities, while its principle city has been Herāt (the “pearl” of Khurāsān). In the nineteenth-century context of the poem, references to Khurāsān mostly point to northeastern Iran south of the Kopet-Dagh mountains—the highlands south of and parallel to what is now Turkmenistan’s Highway M37, from Bereket to Dushak, extending east to Sarakhs and Herāt.

58 The phrase here is *tīra-tīra*. *Tīra* by itself means clan or, in the context of zoology or botany, family.

59 A common image from classical Persian and Central Asian poetry: the darling as a charming cypress (here the poet has *sarv-i nāzī*), suggesting a graceful figure.

60 This is the trusty white mule of the Prophet Muḥammad, which ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib rode into battle, but in Central Asia Duldul is always depicted as a horse. See R.S. Lipets, *Obrazy batyra i ego konia v tūrko-mongol’skom epose* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984).

They mounted and spurred their *arghamaq* horses⁶¹
 Toward us, their enemy.
 They waged jihad⁶² against the Qizilbash,
 In that way, they wrecked those people.
 145 Our heretics begged them for mercy,⁶³
 Crying out to the Teke people.
 So, send your army toward Akhal,
 To arrange a campaign.
 That place called Qarrī Qal‘a
 Seems to be the Akhal border.
 If they move to higher ground,⁶⁴
 They’ll conquer wherever they go!”

The Shāh Plans a Campaign to Fight the Tekes at Qarrī Qal‘a

When the vizier’s talk had reached this point,
 The Shāh agreed with his words.
 150 And the name of that Shāh was Nāṣir al-Dīn.⁶⁵

61 Also known as the Akhal Teke horse, this is the most celebrated breed of horse ever to emerge from the ancient equestrian milieu of Central Asia. Prized for its stamina, the Arghamaq could endure grueling desert journeys with minimal food and water—an ability Turkmens cultivated by putting their horses on a strict diet before a voyage to get them used to scarcity. While raiding and long-distance travel were the Arghamaq’s primary practical uses among Turkmens, they were also a high-value commodity in trade, and their mares were an important source of milk. On the less practical side, they were—and remain—a focus of adoration: with shining fur and famously good character, the Arghamaq / Akhal Teke horse is an iconic animal in Turkmenistan today. Some believe that the “Heavenly Horse” breed for which Chinese emperors proverbially went to war in 104–101 BCE was the Arghamaq.

62 Literally, they “did jihad”: *jihād aylap*.

63 Amusingly, the vizier describes *his own* people as “heretics” here!

64 The “high ground” here likely refers to the Kopet Dagh highlands just south of the Akhal, beyond which were the northernmost towns and settlements of Iran.

65 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (r. 1848–1896) was the ruler of Iran at the time of the wars recounted in the poem. Caricatured by ‘Abd al-Sattār as a buffoon, in reality the Tekes probably had little familiarity with Nāṣir al-Dīn and his character. The independence of Khurāsān’s local governors and tribal leaders was such that the Persian capital of Tehrān rarely intervened in their affairs during the period in question beyond periodic demands for action against the Turkmens. It is safe to assume, however, that the Tekes had a low opinion of the Qājār government and its ineffectual (but often hostile) local

Don't say Nāṣir, but better: Qāṣir al-Dīn!⁶⁶
 Don't say Qāṣir, alas! It should be "Bī-dīn"!⁶⁷
 So miserable is he.
 After this, the Shāh said to his vizier,
 "You are the best of my officials!
 I have an idea if you would like to know it, friend.
 I will gather an army and send it there,
 And until the Teke people have been killed,
 Until I reduce them to the black earth,
 Until I take my revenge on them,
 155 Know, O my guardian of order,
 That I will pursue these unfulfilled wishes."
 The vizier replied, "I will sacrifice my life for you,
 If you should order it!"
 The Shāh of the Qizilbash said,
 "Lay out before the army every tool it needs!
 Let this vizier lay out every tool the army needs!"
 That Shāh delighted in honey and sugar,
 And he said, "cupbearer, bring me my wine-cup,
 And cook me up a roast chicken!"
 160 The cupbearer prepared these,
 And the Shāh took them and tasted them, smacking his lips.
 Looking to his officials, the Shāh said:
 "Take heed, you people, listen here!
 Is there a hero in our midst,
 Courageous and heroic⁶⁸ enough
 To drink wine from this cup,

representatives—an opinion that could hardly have been burnished by their catastrophic attempts to invade Teke lands.

66 "Deficient in religion." *Qāṣir* typically means deficient or defective. In modern Uzbek, for example, someone dimwitted might be called *aqli qosir* ("deficient in intelligence").

67 "The Godless One" (literally, "without religion").

68 "*Sāhibqirānī*." Literally, a *ṣāhib-qirān* is someone born under the auspicious cosmic conjunction of Jupiter and Venus. The term is most closely associated with the great Central Asian conqueror Amīr Timūr (Tamerlane), but has been deployed to honor many other monarchs in the region. Given its usual patina of royal prestige, Yuri Bregel aptly translates the word as "imperial" (*Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 543n2). In the poem, it takes on a broader, less specifically regal meaning; the poet deploys it to praise warriors young and old, and uses an adjectival form (*ṣāhibqirānī*). "Heroic" therefore seems like a decent translation here.

To go impose tribute⁶⁹ on those Teke people?
 To besiege that country,
 To tear the vein⁷⁰ from their throats?
 To steal away their women,
 165 And put the ranks of men to slaughter?
 To expel them to a different country?
 And, having weakened the country, to conquer it?
 If so, I will appoint him *vālī*⁷¹ of Khurāsān,
 And I will give him rewards and largesse.”
 From amid the assembly, Ja‘far Qulī Khān⁷²
 Came forth with a respectful greeting.
 He said, “Shāh, if it suits your wishes,
 Let me, your slave, set off!”
 That ill-fated Shāh held out the cup
 170 And said, “You are welcome, thank God!”
 Ja‘far Qulī took the cup of wine,
 And he gulped it down to the dregs.
 He said, “Since I am in royal service,
 Know that if you bid me go right now,
 Wherever the enemy may be, O Shāh,
 I will turn everything upside down⁷³—know this!
 If there be one thousand souls, not one soul will escape.
 Even if Rustam⁷⁴ is there, he won’t easily escape!”

69 The word for “tribute” here is *ihtisābi*, which connotes something closer to a tax than a one-time “gift” or extraction. The intimation is that the Tekes are to be brought under a more permanent kind of subjection, paying regular tribute.

70 Samoilovich’s translation has “spirit” rather than vein, but *damar* is quite literally the jugular vein.

71 “Governor”—and, in the context of the poem, governor of Khurāsān. In the Qājār period, Iran consisted of four provinces: Khurāsān, Kirmān-Sīstān, Azerbaijan, and Fars. Each of these provinces (*ayalat*) had its own governor (*vālī*).

72 A Kurdish governor from Khurāsān who served as the Persian Qājār dynasty’s appointed ruler of Astarābād and of Bujnūrd. Ja‘far Qulī Khān plays a key role in the poem as commander of the military forces routed by the Teke Turkmens and their allies. See the Introduction to this volume for more information on Ja‘far Qulī’s strange career.

73 One of the poet’s favorite phrases, recurring throughout the poem: *ostīn-ustīn qilīrmāq* (“to turn topsy-turvy”).

74 The most popular hero of Iranian mythology, Rustam features in tales dating back at least to the Sāsānid period, though he is best known from the depiction of his heroic feats in the epic *Shāhnāma*. The poem evokes Rustam’s legendary physical strength to compliment Turkmen combatants. Like wrestlers and champions of hand-to-hand combat through

- 175 Rejoicing at these words, the Shāh said:
 “May God protect you from the evil eye!
 Go, then. I appoint you commander,
 I appoint you sardar of the army.”
 Saying these words, he bestowed many gifts
 And largesse on Ja‘far Qulī.
 He dressed him in a royal robe,
 And paid him various kindnesses.⁷⁵
 He said, “Ja‘far, you are a Khān of Khāns!
 In your heroism you are a second Sohrab!⁷⁶
 180 If you lift the Tekes from the Atak,⁷⁷
 Your head will rise through the celestial sphere!⁷⁸
 So saying, he sent out a rider to all countries with the order:
 “Let the governors of all countries come here,
 Gathering *sarbazes*,⁷⁹ *sartibs*, and *sarhangs*!”
 In short, the Shāh’s orders reached all quarters,
 Telling of the Shāh’s adventure.
 In a few days it was complete:
 The army gathered, and troops of all lands were ready.
 185 One rider from the Shāh
 Came to every country with the order:

the ages, ‘Abd al-Sattār’s heroes are frequently compared to Rustam either explicitly or implicitly by using one of his epithets: *tahamtan* (“strong in body”).

75 Samoilovich’s translation has “caressing him most graciously,” but the key word here, *altāf* (graces, dignities, kindnesses), is not so explicitly physical.

76 The legendary son of Rustam (on whom see above) in the epic *Shāhnāma*. Famous like his father for strength and bravery, Sohrab is tragically killed by Rustam in a wrestling match in which neither realized the other’s identity.

77 This term refers to the hills and fertile plains north of the Kopet Dagħ Mountains in modern-day Turkmenistan, near the border with Iran. These plains were settled by a large group of Teke Turkmens who came to be known as the Akhal Tekes.

78 *Ōtārāy bashing gardūn-falakdīn*. Samoilovich translates this line as, “I will save your head from the heavenly thunder,” but there is no mention of thunder here. He may have assumed *falak* here (orb, sphere) carried its less common meaning of “bastinado,” but this is unlikely. The sense of the verb *ōtmāq* (to pass, to go through, to surpass), meanwhile, is more probably intended to mirror the upward “lifting” motion of *kōtārmāq* (to lift, to raise) in the previous hemistich.

79 This is the generic term for the soldiery (specifically, infantry) formed in Qājār Iran. Created with the help of French military consultants, the *sarbāz* corps blended European and Iranian military customs right down to their uniforms, which matched Western jackets with distinctly Persian sheepskin hats (see Vanessa Martin, *The Qajar Pact: Bargaining, Protest, and the State in Nineteenth-Century Persia* [London: Bloomsbury, 2018], 133–150).

“The Shāh decrees—know it!—that you should
 Come to the Māzandarān woods.⁸⁰ Don’t delay!”
 Following the Shāh’s decree,
 They all set off for those woods.
 The battalions went regiment by regiment,
 Saying: “We will destroy the Tekes!”

The Shāh’s Armies Reach the Māzandarān Woods

Finally they reached the woods,
 Reported for duty and sent a rider [to the Shāh].
 190 When this rider came before the Shāh,
 He greeted him and straightaway handed off his report.
 The Shāh read it and understood its meaning:
 He learned that the army had assembled.
 The Shāh said, “Vizier, how is your work going?
 Have you got everything ready?”
 The vizier said, “O world-conquering Shāh,
 It is ready! Everything is all set!
 I filled trunks with much gold and silver,
 And turned them over to the *sarkār*.⁸¹
 195 Likewise robes of elegant silk brocade,
 And layer upon layer of goods.
 I was busy, and now it’s all set,
 The work is done from top to bottom.
 And there are several canons and guns,
 And crossbows and mortars
 Pointing their muzzles toward the enemy.
 I had them cleaned and loaded them up.
 And everything else necessary

80 The reference to “woods” may be surprising in the context of the arid region in question; this undoubtedly refers to the lush region ecologists call the Caspian Hyrcanian mixed forests, which still cover over twenty-thousand square miles south of the Caspian Sea, extending from Eshaqi, Iran, in the east to southern Azerbaijan in the west. Nearly all of the province of Māzandarān lies within this wooded zone.

81 A generic term (rather than a formal military rank) meaning “commander” or “intendant” in nineteenth-century Qājār and Central Asian contexts. In Persian, the word means simply “boss.” In the Indian context, the word can mean a “district” (the English spelling in this context is often “circar”), or even “government,” e.g. “the British sarkar.”

Is likewise at the ready.”
 200 The Shāh said, “Vizier, hear this!
 Have the army set out toward the enemy.”
 Then the Shāh commanded Ja‘far Qulī,
 Giving him his orders.
 He said, “O Ja‘far Qulī Khān!
 Here is an order concerning Qarri Qal‘a.
 I heard that one group has come
 From the Göklen tribe of Turkmens—know this!
 Go and take tribute⁸² from them,
 And take strong precautions against them.
 205 Then go to the Tekes—
 You must tear the artery from these people!
 Until you subdue the Tekes,
 Don’t even think about taking their country!
 Fight them until your last breath!
 You have a good protector.
 May God be your companion,
 And may [the saint] Ḥasan Kāshī⁸³ be your helper.
 Go, then, to the Māzandarān woods,
 And when you’ve passed through, keep going.”
 210 Ja‘far Qulī received the Shāh’s blessing
 And prayed in his own manner.
 Bowing his head, he said, “*Salam alayk!*”
 Reassuring the Shāh, he set out.
 Ja‘far Qulī then went and said “You, vizier!
 In our time, alas, you have no equal!
 Come now, send me on my way,
 Know this, that it is the Shāh’s orders!”
 Striking up the kettle drums and *karnay*,⁸⁴
 Hoisting the flags and banners,
 215 The vizier put in action the cannons

82 Here, a different phrase is used for “tribute” than the one used earlier: *bāj-kharājj*. “*Bāj*” is a generic Persian term for tax, while the Arabic *kharājj* historically refers to a land tax imposed by Muslim rulers on non-Muslim subjects.

83 A Shi‘ite saint of the 14th century, Ḥasan Kāshī is famed for his poetry, which is credited with helping to develop and disseminate Shi‘ism in Iran. His mausoleum to the south of Sultaniya, Iran, remains a site of devotion today.

84 A loud, long metal trumpet used in military bands (as in the poem) as well as for celebratory occasions such as weddings.

And other foundations of power,
 Making heaven's seven layers tremble.
 Ja'far splendidly sent off the *sipahsalār*⁸⁵
 As the sardar of the army.
 "The shadow of the Companion⁸⁶ is upon his head!" He said,
 "The tools of kingship were made for him!"⁸⁷
 So, when the leading officers⁸⁸
 Had marched nearly two *farsangs*,⁸⁹
 The news came to those woods:
 The awaited army has drawn near!
 220 In no time they heard the voice
 Of the karnay—know this!—sounding nonstop.
 Know now what Ja'far Qulī Khān did then:
 He arrived at the woods, O friend!
 Officers gathered in their ranks,
 They all came and bowed their heads in order.
 After that they all conferred,
 Deciding to continue at dawn.
 Marching for several days, they reached Gurgān.
 They came to a meadow and settled in its midst.
 225 They pitched capacious tents and canopies,
 They filled up the entire plain.
 They said, "We shall gather here,"
 And then and there they added: "Let's have a fine time!"

85 The title of the "commander-in-chief" of the Qājār Iranian military, and its highest attainable rank. The term goes all the way back to the Sassanian period, where it could denote the military governor of a province.

86 Samoilovich has a "cloud" (*saḥāb*) here but the text has a "companion (of the Prophet)" (*ṣaḥābī*). The pun is certainly intentional on the poet's part.

87 Samoilovich translates the key word as "armor," but the text reads *asbāb* (tools, instruments, articles).

88 Literally, the *sartibs* and *sarhangs*. I have translated these oft-mentioned grouping as "officers" for the remainder of the poem.

89 Equivalent to—and generally interchangeable with—the *farsakh*. A measure of distance equal to around six kilometers. Tradition holds that the *farsang* ("parasang") was originally a measure of the distance one can march in a single hour across a given terrain. See A.D.H. Bivar, "Weights and Measures i. Pre-Islamic Period," *Encyclopedia Iranica*.

The Göklen Turkmens at Qarrī Qal‘a Learn of the Enemy’s Approach

- Well now, poet, leave them here
 So that they might rest a few days.
 [At that time according to the *hijra*
 It was 1277 (1860),⁹⁰ remember!]
 Tell of news from elsewhere,
 Of the events at Qarrī Qal‘a!
- 230 They say a messenger arrived from Gurgān,
 From the Gurgān Göklen [to the Göklen at Qarrī Qal‘a].
 The messenger said “Oh you heedless people,
 Countless Qizilbash have come against you!
 Be attentive to the infidels,
 Strengthen the fort, get to work!
 And be united,⁹¹
 Or else they will turn everything topsy-turvy.”
 So all the Göklen people,
 Conferring, agreed.
- 235 They said, “Strengthen the fort,
 And prepare for war!
 If we kill the infidels,
 Then on Judgment Day we will be *ghāzīs*,
 And if we die,
 We will join the ranks of the martyrs,
 And the friends of the four Companions.”
 At last, they readied their fort,
 Taking every precaution.
 They sent scouts toward the enemy,
 Following the infidels’ path.
- 240 They drew up a letter for the Tekes and Yomuts,
 Telling them in a few words to rise up.
 It was brought by messengers to every land,
 Saying, “Come here without delay!”
 It also said: “We are brothers,⁹²

90 Samoilovich notes that this was added to the text at a later date and was presumably not in ‘Abd al-Sattār’s original poem. The real year of the Qarrī Qal‘a battle was 1858.

91 Alternatively, one might translate this as “be of one mind” or “be in agreement” (*bir fikrī*).

92 The word here is *qardash*, a common shortened form of *qarīndāsh*: brothers, siblings.

As Muslims⁹³ we share our faith!
 The infidels are coming, and they are sure to attack.
 Theirs is an enemy religion,⁹⁴
 Against God and the Prophet.”
 So these people sent out their letter of intent,
 And they raised their call to war.
 245 Then they made their entreaties to God,
 Comforting one another.

Meanwhile, the Persians Fight the Tekes and Sariqs at Merv

Well then, poet, let these ones wait here,
 And let the pen start speaking of other lands!
 They say that in Merv “the Shāh of the world”⁹⁵
 There lived several great warriors—know this!
 (In ancient times, the flourishing cities
 Were all led by great warriors.)
 A river flows there,⁹⁶ from up high to down low—know this!
 Its waters are sweeter than honey and sugar—know this!
 250 It is an endless land, gifted in grain,
 One year’s sowing is ten years’ eating, in ease.
 Know, finally, that through heaven’s conduct,⁹⁷
 It became home to Tekes and Sariqs.
 Within this dwelling-place both these ones
 Have clashed with one another terribly.
 Fomenting enmity, causing unrest,
 They’ve made the earth run red with blood.
 For some time, they battled equally,
 And their enmity surpassed all bounds.
 255 But they say that in ancient times,
 Both groups had been brothers,⁹⁸

93 Or, more literally, “in Muslimness”: *musulmānliqda*

94 This is a literal translation from the Turkic: *dushmanī dīn*.

95 Merv’s better-known epithet is “the queen of the world,” but the poet prefers this (likewise common) epithet.

96 The river in question is the Murghāb.

97 “Fate” would be the more intuitive translation in this context, but the key word is *raftār*, which more specifically means “conduct” or “behavior.”

98 The “*emish*” grammatical form in the Turkic, used to construct evidential statements

And had grown to be close friends.⁹⁹
 One day, the Sariqs sent two messengers—know this!—
 To the Shāh of the heretics.
 These two arrived and pleaded for help,
 Bemoaning their [oppression by] the Tekes.
 They said, “O world-conquering Shāh,
 Solve our problem for us!”
 After this, the Shāh of the heretics,
 Gathering several hosts of armies,
 260 Sent them to Merv—know this!
 Several officers were among them—know this!
 Passing several settlements,¹⁰⁰
 They continued to Merv and reached it.
 And these Sariqs, unashamed, went to them,
 And said: “We are your servants!”
 In the end, the Sariqs and the Shi‘ites
 Met with the Tekes foe-against-foe.
 They warred for some time,
 Locked in battle from morning to night.
 265 In the end, the Shāh’s troops
 Could not find refuge.
 One evening they thought to flee
 By trickery and deceit, leaving the Sariqs
 [To fend for themselves.]
 And they rushed off and by next evening
 They came to Sarakhs, the bloodsuckers!
 There they rested a few days,
 Catching their breath, they were at ease.

(“hearsay”), gives this sentence the sense of reportage from “bygone days”: *qardāsh emish-lar* (“they were reportedly brothers”).

99 More literally, they had become confidants or (still more literally) those who share secrets with one another: *sīrdāsh*.

100 Samoilovich’s translation has “stops and crossings.” The text has *manzil*, which literally means “habitation” or “settlement,” but in the context of travel though the Turkmen regions this was actually *a measure of distance* (essentially a shorthand for the common phrase *manzil be manzil*, “from one *manzil* to the next”). Masson writes that a *manzil* among the Turkmens was generally considered to be the equivalent of about 21–23 kilometers in the nineteenth century, though Bregel observes that the distances varied whether one was referring to inhabited areas or desert travel (Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 614n661; 638n909).

They built a good fortress¹⁰¹ there,
 Indeed, not a fortress, but maybe a terror!¹⁰²
 270 Appointing some soldiers there,
 They got up and departed,
 Disappearing from that place.¹⁰³
 When the news reached the Shāh in Tehrān
 Of what had become of his army,
 He groaned many times in distress.
 With constant sighs, he moaned to no end.
 “The reason why I made Ja‘far Qulī commander,
 And sent the army there,
 Is so they should do my bidding,
 And finish off the Tekes!
 275 And now Ja‘far Qulī Khān,
 Coming to Gurgān, has settled there.
 He’s lying there like a whale,
 But *inshā’allāh* we will lay [the Tekes] low!”

The Tekes Gather Heroes to Fight the Persians at Qarri Qal‘a

What did the Tekes and Sariqs do in the end? Know this:
 They started in with their old custom¹⁰⁴ [of war].
 The Sariqs befriended the Qājārs,¹⁰⁵
 And for the Tekes this was a good pretext [for war].
 They said, “The Sariqs have grown delusional,
 So their property and blood is licit¹⁰⁶

101 In this context, among Turkmens, a “fortress” most likely meant sturdy walls within which they would set up their tents. In keeping with their hybrid nomadic and sedentary ways of life, Turkmen architecture tended to be a hybrid of fixed and moveable forms: thick walls, sometimes with guard posts or guard towers, ringing an open interior space for moveable tents (yurts).

102 Samoilovich’s translation has “a thunderstorm” here, but the text has *āshob*: terror, dread, confusion, or chaos.

103 Samoilovich’s translation has “the game was lost!” But the verb in the text appears to be *gum bolmak*: to disappear, here following *u yerdin* (from that place).

104 The phrasing in Turkic suggests an ancient cultural norm, not just a pesky habit: *qadimghi ‘adati*.

105 The Qājār dynasty was the ruling dynasty of Iran from 1789–1925.

106 The word for “licit” here (*ḥalāla*) is unambiguously religious in character, a basic term in Islamic law.

- 280 Since the Qājārs are a criminal people:¹⁰⁷
 Those who collaborate with them
 Surrender control over their souls!"¹⁰⁸
 Thus they spoke, know this!
 Unanimously, the Teke people said:
 "There is no way to overtake the Sariqs!
 Wherever there may be help
 From kin, family, or peers, gather it!
 Then things will go differently,
 We'll tear the vein from their throats!
- 285 Find a strong, fine man,
 Very experienced and a master of battle,
 Send him to Akhal,
 Let him gather a numberless army!"
 They said: "There is one, great in body,¹⁰⁹
 A smart one named Qulten,¹¹⁰
 His heroism is extraordinary,
 He is mighty, a falcon's child.
 In eloquence he is a parrot,¹¹¹
 If he speaks, stone turns to wax!
- 290 His mind is utterly perfect.
 He is guileless, no blatherer.
 He is fit for any task,
 He is zealous in his passion."¹¹²
 And so, having spoken these words,

107 "A criminal people": *ahli jināyat*.

108 The phrasing here is ambiguous: the poet writes that they surrender the *ḥukm* of their souls, which could refer to authority or control but could also mean judgment (that is, they put themselves at the mercy of divine judgment).

109 One of the poet's favorite descriptive words appears for the first time here: *tahmtan*, famously an epithet of Rustam. Henceforth many of the Teke heroes are implicitly likened to Rustam through this idiosyncratic choice of vocabulary.

110 According to Samoilovich's interviews, he was actually called Qul Tök Bay. He hailed from the Bakhshi sub-branch of the Ötämish Tekes.

111 While slightly jarring in English for the uninitiated, the parrot is proverbially an eloquent bird in Persian and Central Asian literary tradition. No mere gossip or copycat as he is in English lore, the "Persianate" parrot is a charmer and a raconteur, oftentimes featured as the narrator of clever tales. Here, the poet describes his eloquence as capable of "melting" stone (this is what is meant by stone turning to wax).

112 Samoilovich's translation has "he is dandy and quite courageous," but the text has *ghayūrī dur ke ghayratliḡh erur*. The translation above is not literal, but it is closer to the mark.

They sent this man off promptly,
 With a message, to Akhal, and
 He set off without hesitation.
 After this, some leaders of the council said:
 “There are still some things we need!”
 295 In the vicinity of Tejen there is a great warrior
 His name is so-and-so son of so-and-so,¹¹³
 And they call him Bay Tursun.¹¹⁴
 So upright his character is!
 He is a companion to the stranger, the hungry,
 The careworn, the orphan, and the widow.
 He is a benefactor to the poor,
 A consolation to the pained captive.
 He is the remedy for the pains of the needy,
 He is the companion to the oppressed slave.
 300 He has blocked the evildoers’ path,
 And has forgiven the evildoers’ evildoing.
 He is a comfort for the people of the *ulus*,¹¹⁵
 He is the adornment of the garden of justice,
 He gives the people fruit from the flowerbed of justice,
 And receives the people’s prayers.¹¹⁶
 He is content with the sword of justice
 When taking revenge on oppressors.

113 This phrasing appears awkward in English (perhaps inappropriately casual), but it accurately renders the text’s Perso-Arabic *fulān ibn fulānī*.

114 According to Samoilovich’s interviews, he was actually known as Tursun Bay, and hailed from the Yagir-Bash *sub*-sub-branch of the Aman Shāh sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamīsh. Samoilovich was able to locate his grandchildren in Tejen (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 129).

115 An ancient word found throughout the Mongol- and Turkic-speaking worlds, *ulus* usually means “the people subject to a certain ruler.” In the context of the Mongol Empire, this could mean the entire territory governed by the Mongols (in which case “state” or “empire” might be an appropriate translation), or it could refer more specifically to the Mongols themselves (in which case “people” is a better translation) or their ruling household (“dynasty”). In the context of the poem, in which the word recurs four times, it appears to refer to the Teke Turkmen people specifically, though it is unclear if allied Turkmen groups might also be included in its scope. (On the history of the word, see Reuven Amitai, “Ulus,” *ET2*).

116 Here, as elsewhere, Samoilovich’s translation has “good wishes” for *du‘ā* (prayer), which may be a better translation in this context. I stick with its usual meaning, however, in order to indicate the religious connotations.

- Jewels and pearls from the treasury of justice
 He scatters on the people's heads.
- 305 His justice has no equal,
 Even in Anūshīrvān the Just.¹¹⁷
 He is a partridge¹¹⁸ in the wave of generosity.
 He is the hazel grouse¹¹⁹ the ulus needs.¹²⁰
 His gift reaches every noble and commoner,
 And all the people of the world.
 In his lot there seems to be every quality,
 And in his kingship¹²¹ every coat of arms.¹²²
 At dawn the praise of God is on his tongue,
 And he has no other refuge but God.
- 310 He is thankful for the grace of God's protection,
 And hopes for God's mercy.
 He is not saddened by the world's sorrows,
 But grieves for the world's end.¹²³
 He seems satisfied with whatever fate has in store.
 He entrusts all things to God.
 Resigning himself to God's will in all things—
 The saints also lived this way.
 People with such praiseworthy qualities
 Should find repose in heaven.
- 315 And his intellect is perfect, it is fully mature.
 The mature ones are immature next to him!

117 Anūshīrvān is the common epithet for Khosrow I, the Sāsānid emperor (r. 531–579) who was famous for his virtuous character. The Sāsānid Empire reached its greatest extent under Anūshīrvān's reign, which is generally depicted as a golden age for ancient Iran.

118 I am unsure about the special significance of the partridge (*darāj*) here.

119 I am likewise unsure about the significance of the hazel grouse (*alghi*).

120 Samoilovich's translation struggles with these lines, catching the hazel grouse (*riabchik*) but missing the partridge and the syntax.

121 The setup for a pun completed in the following line: *khānī* is a pool, but also carries the connotation of "kingly."

122 This line completes the pun: *Iram* is the name of a famous garden said to have been built by Shaddād b. 'Ād, fulfilling the "pool" imagery, while *ārm* is a coat of arms, evoking the "kingship" imagery. Samoilovich's translation does not appear to attempt these challenging, poetically masterful lines. In general, his generally excellent translation appears to slacken its diligence throughout this long section of epithets and praise.

123 Samoilovich's translation has "sighs for the world to come," which is less literal than my translation but may be more faithful to the intended meaning.

His every work is well done,¹²⁴
 His insights lead the council.¹²⁵
 Finally, they said “O people!
 Bring this suitable man to us!
 When he has arrived here, let this Bay Tursun
 Give counsel to us and stay here!
 Agree with his every pronouncement,
 By the looks of it, he knows many things!”
 320 They sent many riders to him,
 Telling the great man they would bring him.
 Coming back, they transported this man
 In comfort, as well as in honor.
 Great and small alike assembled—know this!
 They said, “Welcome! Greetings to you!”
 As a counsel they prepared the necessities
 Of war from first to last.
 Let them mind their own work,
 And listen to the events in another place!

Tekes Gear up for Two Battles: The Tekes of Qarrī Qal‘a Learn of the Persian Army’s Approach Just as a Teke Envoy Asks Them for Help against Sarīqs and Persians at Merv

325 The narrator says the following things—know this!
 Qulten the Hero was sent off—know this!
 They sent him past dwellings and settlements,
 Giving precedence to the ulus’ cause.
 He arrived at Akhal, and they said:
 “What’s the news, whoever you are?”
 He said: “Have you heard about the Teke-Sarīq war?
 How it goes on day and night with no rest?
 They sent me to help,
 For the sake of their kinship and unity.”

124 Samoilovich renders this line as “his every matter is debated,” but the text reads *khosh ravīshdur* (“it is in a good condition”).

125 Although I have opted to hew closer to the literal translation, Samoilovich’s rendering is delightfully playful and captures the poet’s tone well: “He is insightful, and oh what a man of advice he is!”

- 330 The [Akhāl people] said, “Welcome, from the bottom of our hearts!
Give the news to our Khān, [Nūr Verdi Khān¹²⁶]!”
The hero set off,
And arrived at the Khān’s citadel.
He entered the Khān’s court with greetings.
Sitting down in the Khān’s dwellings,
He took out a letter, and handed it over,
Having Nūr Verdi Khān read it.
He had him read the letter
So that he would be aware—
And suddenly another messenger arrived.
With greetings, he likewise honored the Khān,
335 And sat down together with Qulten, that falcon.
He took out his letter and handed it over.
Reading from beginning to end,
Nur Verdi learned that Ja’far Qulī had come
With an army to Gurgān.¹²⁷
He also learned that he was rumored

126 The most prominent Teke leader of the nineteenth century, Nūr Verdi Khān is also the foremost Turkmen in ‘Abd al-Sattār’s narrative. He was born in 1826 in the village of Megin, northwest of Gök Tepe, a member of the Qara-Yurmek *sub*-sub-branch of the Vekil sub-branch of the Toqtamīsh Tekes. While best known as a military leader, whose achievements on that front continued for years after the victory over the Persians memorialized by ‘Abd al-Sattār, one of his key talents seems to have been his diplomatic skills. For example, after aiding Qushut Khān (on whom see below) against the Sarīqs in Marv, he managed to forge a relationship of peace and cooperation between the Tekes, Salors, and Sarīqs—an achievement which the historian Mehmet Saray, perhaps thinking of it as a prelude to later Turkmen nationalism, describes as “probably the most significant event in the whole history of the Turkmen” (Saray, *Turkmens in the Age of Imperialism*, 58–59). After the victory narrated in our poem, he became the uncontested leading figure among the Akhāl Tekes, while Qushut Khān led the Tekes at Merv. During Nūr Verdi’s absences from the Akhāl, his eldest son Verdi Murād Khān governed in his place. Upon the death of Qushut Khān, Nūr Verdi was elected Khān of the Merv Tekes too. After his death in 1880, another son, Makhtūm Qulī Khān, was elected as his successor. (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 117–124; Grodekov, *Voina v Turkmenii*, 41–43; S.Dzh. Atdaev “Nur-Berdy-khan—pravitel’ Akhala i Merva. Chast’,” *Vestnik RGGU* 2024 [4], 23–40; “Nur-Berdy-khan—pravitel’ Akhala i Merva. Chast’ 2,” *Vestnik RGGU* 2025 [1], 40–60.)

127 Here and elsewhere, Samoilovich’s translation has “the banks of the Gurgān” for *sūy-i Gurgān*, perhaps mistaking the text’s Persian *sūy* (direction) / *sūy-i* (in the direction of) for something to do with the Turkic *su* (water), and probably reading it as a poetic inversion of “*Gurgān suyī*” (“the Gurgān water/river”). Most likely it is not the Gurgān river meant here, but the region of Gurgān (formerly Astarābād).

To be setting out in this direction,
 Determined to seize the Tekes and Göklens.
 He said to Qulten, "O champion!
 Be patient for a few days, have a rest.
 340 Know that the enemy of religion has come,
 Gathering up his army.
 The first duty is to be pure before God,
 And after that, go to Merv."
 Then Nūr Verdi Khān
 Said to his herald,
 "Send out the cry, O dear one!"
 The herald cried out his cry in every land,
 Spreading the news as he arrived in each.
 And so several units of the army
 Arrived at the ready before the Khān.
 345 They said, "Hey, O ruler!
 Many riders have come here.
 Whatever the orders, there's no delay:
 There is no good way but war.
 We will battle the infidels,
 We will tear the vein from their throats."
 Taking up his royal armaments,
 This second Sohrab set off.
 All the experienced ones, council leaders,
 Who had seen so much,
 350 Were all armor-clad,
 Strapped with sharp swords, holding spears.
 Mounting their keen-nosed horses,
 Such jockeys they were! Such Arghamaqs they had!
 They fixed scarlet banners atop their spears.
 Several *yasavūls*¹²⁸ got ready too.
 Majestically, these ones
 Drew near to the adventure at Qarrī Qal'a.
 When the Göklen people saw, in plumes of dust,
 One thousand riders approaching,

128 In the Central Asian context, Yuri Bregel writes, "The *yasavul* was an official performing various special errands, especially passing the orders of the Khān and high dignitaries to lower standing officials." They could also be found rounding up troops in preparation for military campaigns (Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 612n640).

- 355 They knew that it was Nūr Verdi Khān,
 That courageous and heroic one.
 Coming out before him, they greeted him,
 Great and small, with all honors.
 They helped him dismount with due respect,
 And did the same for the entire army.
 They said, “O Nūr Verdi Khān,
 You have brought happiness to these people!”
 Great and small assembled,
 Saying, “Welcome, ruler!”
- 360 May everything in the world be yours!
 May God and his Prophet be your companions!”
 Then, while they were talking like this,
 One came up running, saying something.
 That *qarāvūl*¹²⁹ said, “O people,
 The infidels have come
 In their detachments and battalions,
 Wasting no time, arriving quickly,
 Turning the face of the earth to smoke with their cannons,
 The noise of the cannon, karnay, and surnay¹³⁰
 Is like the devil’s hallucination.
- 365 They’ve come and settled among the hills,
 Fixing their tent-ropes to bits of stone.”
 The messenger rushed off to alert troops.
 Now the infidels’ business took a different turn:
 Ten thousand Teke riders came,
 And Nūr Verdi Khān was at their head!
 All of them decked out in iron,
 All of them drunk with vigor,
 Each one battle-tested, at the ready,
 A master of his craft.

129 Derived from the Mongolian word *qaraʻul*, meaning “vanguard” or “scout,” the *qarāvūl* in Central and South Asia could refer to anything from the chief huntsman of the court (in the Mughal context) to a sentinel or patrol guard. The most appropriate translation for the present context, however, is clearly “scout.” See Thomas Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 83; Hendrik Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 238.

130 Also known as a *zurna*, this is a double-reed woodwind instrument which may have originated in Central Asia. It remains popular today in folk music traditions throughout Eurasia, though it is perhaps most closely associated with Anatolian and Balkan folk music.

**The Tekes and Their Allies Confront Ja‘far Quli Khān’s Persian
Army near Qarri Qal‘a**

- 370 The Persians also learned: “From the Yomut people,
Coming from their day camp,
An army had gathered and was coming without pause
To swallow the Persian army in one breath like dragons.
Won’t this disaster, with its terrors and its sorrows,
Bring us a hundred thousand troubles?”
Ja‘far Qulī grew anxious at the messenger’s words.¹³¹
What presence of mind remained to him, what intelligence, what heart?
That night he lay there without closing his eyelashes,
His eyelids never coming together.
- 375 Finally dawn alit from the sun’s rays,
And the sky took the crown from its head.
At that time a picture was revealed:
A river of troops, moving to and fro,¹³²
Filled the face of the earth.
It was Nūr Verdi Khān who had emerged,
His army came out to the battlefield.
Out of despair, Ja‘far Quli Khān laid down,
And they said to him: “Get up, O dear one,
Your friend has come and stands ready, look!
The army has filled the world from top to bottom.”
- 380 Perceiving this, he got up and said,
“I had a dream, and it struck me deeply.”
He said, “The saint Ḥasan Kāshī came,
Grabbed me, and polluted me!¹³³
Oh so-and-so, interpret my dream!”
So-and-so said, “Get up, quickly!
Perform the ablutions and tell no one this dream, O Khān.
A superior enemy is pressing upon you.”
While they were engaged in this talk, know this:
Coming from the direction of Islam

131 Samoilovich’s translation has “thoughtful,” but the text has *vahmmak* (frightened, anxious).

132 Lit.: attacking and retreating; *karr u farr*

133 The Turkic text leaves no doubt that this is sexual “pollution” (*jaban*)!

385 There was a man strong in body, a mighty figure
 Demanding single combat—know this, oh creature!
 [We have never had a lion like him!
 His famous name is ‘Avazli Tentek.]¹³⁴
 Loudly he said, “O Qizilbash,
 Send out a combatant like me!
 I’ll battle him one on one,
 And I’ll tear the vein from his throat!”
 After some time, he made his demand again:
 “[Send] a man—or have the Qizilbash grown cowardly?”
 390 He said, “O heretics,
 If you’re afraid to send one champion,
 Then send out two brave ones!
 And otherwise, spit out combatants,¹³⁵
 Line up several of your soldiers!
 We’ll have a war never to be repeated.
 Let those who hear of it say, ‘Hail them!’”
 In the end, for fear of this man,
 No one emerged from the Qizilbash ranks.
 Crying out again, this champion said:
 “O heretics, you have mulled it over!
 395 I’ve not even stretched out my hand with a spear,
 You’ve tasted not a drop of poison from my sword,
 But you’ve already grown frightened, reflective,
 Sunk in thought!
 And Ja’far Quli Khān has fallen ill,
 He lies about in a bewildered state.
 And what’s this about a dream in which
 Ḥasan Kāshī pressed up on him and defiled him?”
 Hearing this champion’s words,
 Ja’far Quli struck himself in the face and said,
 400 “How did the hero know about my dream?

134 Samoilovich notes that this line was written in a different hand, evidently by Khwāja Eli Mullā. ‘Avazli Tentek was of the Vekil sub-branch of the Toqtamīsh branch of the Tekes, and hailed from Qizil Arvat—but he may, in fact, have been the same person as Fali Mergen (who is also mentioned in the poem). “Tentek” and “Mergen” were likely nicknames: *tentek* means “fool” or, perhaps better here, “crazy”; *mergen* means “sharpshooter” (I am grateful to Devin DeWeese for these readings). Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tek-intsev*, 124.

135 The Turkic deploys a nice onomatopoeia for the “spitting” here: *mubāriz tuf tuf aylap*.

He is standing there telling my dream!"
 His companion¹³⁶ said, "O elder brother Khān,
 Put aside your dream and look at the mayhem!
 An enemy has come before us,
 With no beginning or end to be seen."
 Ja'far Qulī Khān came to his senses,
 And summoned the crier, saying:
 "Sound the cry, O dear one!"
 The crier sounded the cry among the army, saying:
 "Gather on the battlefield, get in formation!"
 405 So the armies came face to face,
 And they filled the battlefield from end to end.
 Ja'far Qulī sent a combatant to the arena.
 The fighter came riding out,
 And he said: "O champion!
 Come out, stand here, and compete!
 You, who were running your mouth to no end
 About how you didn't find a rival that very minute."
 He turned his horse in his rival's direction,
 And both riders drew near one another.
 410 Each tested his mettle against the other,
 They strained themselves in the fray.
 [And his name was Fali Mergen,¹³⁷ know this!
 He is from the country of Qizil Arvat.]¹³⁸
 Finally, that Sunni champion,
 Going before him face to face,
 Hit him on the top of the head with his sword,
 Cutting him in two down to the saddle!
 Ja'far Qulī said, "What time is it?"
 His fortune-teller¹³⁹ said, "This hour is ill-omened."
 415 He turned his army back to their tents,
 And everyone went back to his place and settled.

136 The word here is a generic term for an intimate confidant, sometimes used to refer to a spouse: *mahram*.

137 According to Samoilovich, he was of the Vekil sub-branch of the Toqtamish branch of the Tekes, and hailed from Qizil Arvat—but he may, in fact, have been the same person as 'Avazli Tentek (mentioned above). Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 124.

138 Samoilovich notes that this line too was written in a different handwriting from the rest of the text, presumably added later.

139 The word for fortune-teller here is one I have come across relatively rarely: *qur'aji*.

Rejoicing, the army of Islam
 Returned happily from that place.
 For several days they did not fight—know this!

Introducing the Teke Champions

Then a messenger arrived.
 That soul gave the Muslims the news:
 “Ja‘far Qulī Khān will come to you tomorrow.”
 Conferring, all the officers [said]:
 “Having readied the cannons and cleaned their muzzles,
 420 We traveled several farsangs
 And sat here to no practical end.
 Let’s battle with [our fellow] Sunnis!
 We’ll take it or we’ll give it, as they say!
 There is a hill over there—
 If we should show our strength¹⁴⁰ and take it now,
 And drag our cannons atop it, then know this:
 We will take the fortress straight away!”
 Having heard this news, the believers
 Held a council, spoke of this and that,
 425 And sent several riflemen to that hill.
 Their preparations were done, all those experienced ones.
 At last they were ready for the coming battle,¹⁴¹
 United in their composure.
 They entrusted themselves to God,
 May the Creator of all things aid them!
 After that came the night, and then the dawn:
 The sky thrust forward a spear—
 That is, the sun came out, and it was day.
 The face of the earth was dyed with color.¹⁴²

140 Samoilovich’s translation has “insolence” but the text has *zor* (strength, might).

141 Here the text has *bulut* (cloud), but *bolup* is certainly intended.

142 The poetic image in the original is beautiful and difficult to translate: *rangrēz boldi*. A *rangrēz* in Persian is a dyer of fabric, but here the word has taken on a looser and more literal etymology: literally, the word means “color-pourer,” and the sense in the poem is that the world, illuminated by daylight, has been filled with color as if it was dyed. The Russian translation has “the face of the world was filled with bright light,” which is serviceable.

- 430 The infidel people sounded the war drums,
 And sundry sounds rang out.
 The artillerymen moved their cannons,
 The officers collected their ranks,
 Their cavalry and infantry,
 And led them out to the battlefield.
 And from the other side, all the people of faith,¹⁴³
 At the ready, came out to the battlefield.
 In front of them stood a hero, [Durdi Khān]¹⁴⁴—
 In his glory he was like Nūr Verdi Khān.
- 435 Standard-bearers with standards atop their lances¹⁴⁵
 Rode before him,
 Along with several detachments marching,
 Group by group, at an easy pace.
 Both rivers of troops were ready,
 In their ranks, standing face-to-face.
 A cloud poured across the battlefield—know this!
 Lightning spread the scent of hyacinth.
 When the wind swept across,
 It was pure, like the heart of a saint.
- 440 The face of the battlefield was clean and ready,
 It was tidied for warfare.
 After this, Nūr Verdi Khān said:
 “Let the combatants gather on the battlefield!”
 Durdi Khān spurred his horse and it rode out,
 Prancing and galloping.
 He was a champion with heart,
 And could throw down an enemy,
 Even one strong in body.
 He had seen many battles,¹⁴⁶
 And he’d launched quite a few barbs at his enemies.
- 445 He went to the battlefield, at the ready:

143 The phrase here is *ahli imān*, contrasting with the *ahli kuffār* (the heretic people).

144 A Göklen Turkmen leader, mentioned together with Yakhshi Mergen (also mentioned in the poem) in at least one other Turkmen historical source from the same period (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 123).

145 Samoilovich’s translation has “banners reaching to the end of their horses’ bits,” but I do not see this content in the Turkic text.

146 Literally, “many battles had passed over his head.”

He was determined to fight.
 Another young hero spurred his own horse,
 He was a strong figure, a champion.
 They called him Jari Bahādur,¹⁴⁷
 And such a hero is very rare!
 Another champion¹⁴⁸ was from the Sīchmaz Tekes,
 From the main settlement of the Bürmā clan.
 He too was a man with which none could compare,
 He was chief among the combatants.
 450 This superior one knew his way around a weapon,
 And he joined the [ranks of other] elites.¹⁴⁹
 There was also another champion,
 Who was necessary for the task at hand:
 He was from the Yazīr Khān¹⁵⁰ Tekes,
 And did not fear his enemies.
 He too went out on the battlefield—know this!
 He joined the mine of champions.

The Yomuts Arrive to Help the Tekes

From the direction of the sunset, dust appeared,
 And amid the dust there was a clearing.
 455 A boundless army came into sight.
 At its head, the ruler of the age approached.
 On his head he had the crown of the Prophet.¹⁵¹
 He was the leader of the world's people.
 He was clothed in green, with a green staff.¹⁵²

147 I have not found any further information on this figure.

148 The text reads *bādūrī* (?) but *bahādūrī* is probably meant.

149 Samoilovich's translation has "among the combatants he was a leader," but the text has *bayvast* (Persian: *payvast*), which means "joined to / with" rather than "leader of."

150 With apologies to the reader for the inadequacy of English for translating the many subdivisions of Turkmen social organization, "Yazīr Khān people" most likely refers to the Yazi *sub-sub-sub-branch* of the Ak-Vekil *sub-sub-branch* of the Vekil *sub-branch* of the Toqtamīsh *branch* of the Teke Turkmens. (Saray, p. 11)

151 The word for "prophet" here is *payghambar*, a common way of referring to Muḥammad.

152 Green is considered a sacred color in Muslim tradition, representing paradise (whose denizens are thought to be dressed in green, as per Qurʾān 76:21). Rulers and *sayyids* (descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad) have often sported green clothing to evoke this

In his heart was the memory of God, and in his mouth a prayer.
 Before him were eight standard-bearers,
 Representing eight thousand troops.
 They call that man Maḥmūd Ishān,¹⁵³
 And he was the head of the Yomut people.
 460 He personally arrived at that moment,
 And put his troops in order on the battlefield.
 They came and joined the believers,
 And sorrow reached the infidels.
 They too were in their ranks to one side as,
 Spurring their horses, the champions emerged.

A Great Battle Begins: Tekes, Yomuts, and Göklens against the Persians

Finally, these champions leapt from the ranks
 Of the Tekes, Yomuts, and Göklens.
 Spurring one another in their zeal,
 They rode into battle all at once.
 465 These men held out their spears,
 And spurred their horses,
 Saying: "Come here, heretics!"
 Hearing these champions' words,

association. The staff here is also a religious symbol: holy figures like prophets and saints typically carried staffs, supposedly in imitation of Muḥammad. In Central Asia, a typical hagiographical motif features a saint planting his staff in the ground to make the desert bloom, usually as a way of establishing a sacred site around which a new settlement would develop.

153 Memorialized by a shrine complex and cemetery near Ashkhabad (Ashgabat) named in his honor, Maḥmūd Ishān (ca. 1790–1880) was a renowned leader among the Yomut Turkmen. Honored with the title of *sardār* (military commander), he was also a religious teacher who graduated from a *madrasa* (Islamic college) in Khīva. He hailed from Bederkend (now called Görogly, and formerly Tahta) in the Khānate of Khīva. According to the poem, he joined the fight against the Persians and led a wing of the Turkmen armies to victory at Qarrī Qal'a, where (Samoilovich writes) he settled for several years after the war. According to lore, he wore a distinctive green turban and went on hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca) no fewer than seven times. Some 500 meters from his hillside grave, at the entrance to the cemetery named in his honor, there is a major mosque, completed in 1998, which is lined with fine marble and designed to accommodate 1,500 people (R.G. Muradov, <https://islamology.ru/content/махмуд-ишан-%E2%80%8E/>, accessed May 17, 2025).

The infidels aimed their cannons,
 And fired several shots in their direction—
 That is, toward the army of Islam.
 Those brave ones, unafraid of the cannons,
 Rushed into the vanguard of the soldiers.
 Their spears tore through the latter's chests,
 And emerged, glistening, from their backs.
 470 With several soldiers in ruins,
 The Qizilbash were begging for mercy.
 Ja'far Qulī said, "Woe to my army!
 They devoured my army like a dragon!
 A cavalry group from the Turkmen people
 Is tearing the artery from the army's throat.
 Hey, officers!
 Let's steady ourselves for battle, eyes open!"
 Saying these words, he appointed inspectors¹⁵⁴
 To the right and left flanks of his army—know this!
 475 He moved the cannons, had them fire,
 And the world was filled with smoke.
 The sound reached the heavens,¹⁵⁵
 Such that earth trembled
 Right down to the fish [that supports the world].¹⁵⁶
 Forming ranks, he shifted his army,
 Setting straight their movements.
 With undiminished strength, the infidel people
 Swallowed up the champions.¹⁵⁷
 The brave ones fought as they retreated,
 And they reached Nūr Verdi Khān.
 480 They said, "O Khān of Seyilkhān!¹⁵⁸

154 A surprising use of the word *muḥaṣṣil*, which typically means tax collector (Persian, Arabic), cashier (Arabic), or train/streetcar conductor (Arabic).

155 This line contains a word I have been unable to interpret; Samoilovich's translation suggests that he also struggled with it: *kūmīrās*.

156 This is the fish (*samak*) called Bahamūt. According to medieval Islamic cosmology, the earth rests on the shoulders of an Atlas-like angel standing on a slice of precious stone which is balanced on the back of a giant bull who is himself balancing on this giant fish.

157 Samoilovich's translation has "began to push back," but the verb in the text is *awbār qildilar* ("they swallowed").

158 Seyilkhān (usually transcribed as one word) is a mythical ancestor of the Turkmen people. The epithet here appears to be a shortened form of: "Khān of the *people of Seyilkhān*." See Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 133.

The infidels gathered and pressed us back!
 Suddenly they were upon us,
 Firing cannons and shooting their guns.”
 The army of Islam regrouped bit by bit,
 And then the infidels too went into a frenzy.
 Emerging from the hillocks, they moved their cannons
 To the top of the hill,
 Drawing them near and opening fire,
 Filling the world with smoke.
 485 The Muslim people
 Were bewildered and dazed.
 The people of the Qarri Qal’a fort wept mightily,
 Cried out to God, and sobbed in pain.
 They said, “O God, creator of everything!
 Receive the captives’ prayers!”

The Tekes, Yomuts, and Göklens Regroup

Finally, Yakhshi Mergen¹⁵⁹
 (He was a wise man, and very perspicacious)
 Said: “O *kadkhudās*¹⁶⁰ and Khāns and princes!”¹⁶¹

159 The Khān of the Göklen Tekes, Yakhshi Mergen is mentioned by name in at least two other sources from the period (one Turkmen, one Russian). See Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 123.

160 *Kadkhudā* is an ancient Persian word meaning “master of the house,” and while the etymology suggests a family elder, its functional meaning in more recent centuries was that of a community representative, interfacing between a village or tribe and the Iranian government. “Village elder” or “tribal elder” can be a serviceable translation, but the position could be temporary. (The word had a slightly different meaning in the Ottoman context, where it referred to a deputy official.) Of the *kadkhudās* of the Tekes, the British Lieutenant-Colonel C.E. Stewart, who traveled in Khurāsān disguised as an Armenian horse-dealer (!), wrote: “Each clan is divided into many families, and these families have each a person called a khetkhoda who acts for the family in matters of policy, but he can only act according to the wishes of the clan. I do not know the exact number of khetkhodas in the Merv country. I believe there are 24, but there may be more.” He went on: “In times of danger the khetkhodas elect some person, who by family influence and determination of will obtains paramount power for a time, but Turkomans are too independent and free to allow him to retain it when the danger is past.” See C.E. Stewart, “The Country of the Tekke Turkomans and the Tejend and Murghab Rivers,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*. Vol. 3, No. 9 (Sept. 1881), 542; Cengiz Orhonlu and G. Baer, “Kethudā,” *EI2*.

161 The word here is *beg*, which is difficult to translate in this context; among Tekes of the

The infidel dogs have come!
 490 Remembering the eternal God,
 Let's set off on our horses,
 And renew the fight with the infidel people!
 My God will please us with victory,
 And he will give many troubles to the infidels!"
 All at once they said, "Agreed!
 We are hungry for the fray, we demand it!"
 Spurring one another with zeal,
 They armed themselves and got ready.
 They set off on horseback and returned to battle,
 Crying out, "*Allāhu akbar!*"
 495 Those dashing ones tightened the reins,
 And the world was covered with their dust.
 Without looking right or left,
 They drew near to the infidel people.
 The infidels knocked down their own fire temple,¹⁶²
 As the faithful people raised up our Lord.
 The voices of cannons chortled,¹⁶³
 And swords and lances clattered along.
 Both armies were in a pitched melee,
 And for some time, it was an all-out fray.
 500 Muslims' swords struck the infidels' heads,
 Falling on the devils' heads like stars!
 They say that Nūr Verdi Khān
 Began roaring¹⁶⁴ like an angry lion.
 Striking out with his sword, he galloped,
 He raced right and left, slicing infidels asunder.¹⁶⁵
 Sometimes he wielded a sword and sometimes a spear.

Merv region, it appears to have referred to clan-representatives who sat on a local council. See A.R. Ikhsanov, "Turkmeny-tekinty v XVII–nachale XVIII v.," *Türkologicheskii sbornik* (2011–2012), 158.

162 Samoilovich's translation has "brought down the temple fire," but the text has: *yiqip kuffār eli ātashkadāsin* [sic]. The sense of the action here may be that the infidels, in their haste and fear, knocked over their own temple.

163 The poet uses a nice onomatopoeia for the rattle and crackle of the cannons: *fiqirlāp*.

164 Another nice onomatopoeia, here for the roar of a lion: *ghurrish*.

165 Samoilovich's translation has "he chopped left and right, (as if) he had sharpened a feather," but I see no feather in the text, which has the verb *qalamlab*—a rarity which may mean "to cut in two" (see the Persian *qalam kardan*). The translator was perhaps thinking of the *qalam* here as a feather quill?

He flipped some officers upside down!¹⁶⁶
 He took them under his right hand like a shepherd,
 He devoured them like a dragon!
 505 Biting his lip, he wielded his spear and struck,
 And some, flipping over, dove for cover.
 With a sword-strike he made some babble
 And bury their chins in the ground.¹⁶⁷
 Now two men, strong in body, are drawing near:
 One is Durđi Khān, and one is Qulten.
 They are slaughtering the infidels,
 Leveling them to the ground,
 Turning many of the living into the lifeless.
 Putting their swords to work,
 They fix their gaze on the infidels' banners.
 510 Then four lions leap out from one side!
 Roaring lions are approaching, striking with their swords!
 One is Jari, along with a kinsman,
 The other is Ashraf, along with a comrade.
 The swords shone in their hands!
 They gathered up soldiers and beat them.
 Another young hero of great quality,
 Known as Batır Bek,¹⁶⁸
 This man too drove his fleet horse—
 Regard this man's deeds!
 515 He struck out into battle, attacking,
 Striking honorably with sword and spear,
 Slashing, he cut several into pieces,
 And sent them to hell.
 He was malevolent to the infidels,
 He drew cries from those heretics!
 These men caused much wailing,
 They caused such rivers of blood to flow!
 Several other avid ones, these from the Yomuts,
 Joined the fray, making a massacre.

166 I am indebted to Samoilovich for the translation of the rare verb *ommolmak* (?) (“to flip upside down”), which I have not seen elsewhere.

167 The idea here seems to be that they hit the ground face-first, kicking up the dirt cartoonishly with their chins.

168 I have not found further information about this figure.

520 They slaughtered the infidels' left wing,
 And spilled much of the infidels' blood.
 And so all the faithful people
 Cut infidel heads with a slicing sword.

The Enemy Flees and the Heroes Rest

At that moment Nūr Verdi Khān said,
 "Brave ones, break through to the banner!"
 Everyone looked toward the banner,
 And turned everything topsy-turvy with slaughter.
 And then Ja'far Qulī Khān said,
 "The Sunni people are advancing and defeating us,
 525 We have lost the battle here.
 Fleeing is better than staying here!"
 So they gathered everything,
 And turned their faces to the path of escape.
 Learning of their escape, the people of Islam
 [Sent] combatants who cut down their banner.
 In the end they defeated the infidel people,
 Who left by the same road that brought them.
 The people of faith pursued them, attacking.
 They left the Qizilbash bewildered.
 530 Since the champions had tired from battle,
 It was time to give the cowards a chance!
 Hills of dead bodies grew,
 And the victors sat
 With hands upraised in prayer.
 Ja'far Qulī was in a dazed state.
 Jettisoning his cannons, ruining his army,
 He hit the road fleeing,
 His soul could leap out from grief.
 The hail and rain that had fallen from the sky
 Pooled, and he let it freeze
 The troops that remained on the battlefield.
 535 With grief,¹⁶⁹ in deep regret, he cried out "Alas!"
 And he set off from there to Gurgān.

169 The text has *hasrab*, but clearly *hasrat* is meant here.

The people of faith were victorious and triumphant,
 And they came back from the battlefield happily.
 When they returned to the Göklen country,
 To the fort of Qarrī Qal‘a,
 The people [there] said, “Hey, O Khān and princes!
 Rest and recover for a while!”¹⁷⁰
 They rested for a few days and relaxed,
 They took a breath in repose.
 540 The Tekes and Yomuts said to the Göklen people,
 “We’ll go back home if it’s alright with you.
 Live here in good health!
 We give you our respects.
 May God give you all the good things
 Of that world to come, and this one!”
 Finally, they said farewell to one another,
 And each went back to his own dwelling-place.
 Nūr Verdi too headed back,
 Along with his army.
 545 He arrived victorious at his dwelling-place,
 And his army dispersed, each to his own land.
 Then Nūr Verdi Khān said,
 “Well then, Qulten, be on your way!
 Tell those people [in Merv] about this business
 That happened with the Qizilbash!”
 Nūr Verdi Khān gave him a letter, know this!
 And Qulten headed to Merv.

Nūr Verdi’s Mission of Peace to the Sariqs and Tekes at Merv

Qulten traveled for several days,
 And then he reached Merv.
 550 He gave the news to the people of Merv, O friend!
 And those people were very happy.
 He also said, “Nūr Verdi Khān will come
 And gather an army, hero that he is.”

170 An idiom; literally, something like: “Don’t be tired since a few days [ago]!” (*Nechä kündin beri kim harmanglar*).

Hearing this, the people rejoiced.
 They began to live as they had before:
 They made war day and night,
 So that the earth was stained with blood!
 One day¹⁷¹ the Sarīqs and Tekes, [still warring,]
 Were in their ranks on the battlefield,
 555 When dust appeared
 From the direction of sunset,
 And from the midst of the dust
 A standard-bearer emerged.
 One brave man was striding before him,
 He was like that Nūr Verdi Khān—
 [And indeed, it was he!]
 He had gathered a numberless army,
 And arrived at the scene.
 There, that man stopped at the edge of the battlefield
 And sent a messenger to all sides:
 “Let the Teke and Sarīq chiefs¹⁷² assemble here!”
 So, when many great ones came from each side,
 560 That is, the chiefs and notables,
 They saw one another, greeted one another, and conversed,
 Saying, “Welcome! You must be tired and hungry!”
 They said, “O ruler, what is the news?
 Explain: what is your aim here?”
 The perspicacious ruler said,
 “We heard that you were warring without end.
 So we came to reconcile you,
 To bring you two brothers¹⁷³ together.
 565 Ease up! Spill the enmity from your heart!
 There is a *ḥadīth* from our Path-Guide,
 That is to say, from the Prophet of us all:
 ‘Whosoever has enmity has no religion’¹⁷⁴—know this!”

171 This line begins in the traditional manner of a folktale or hagiographical anecdote: *Kün-lärdä bir kün*, which has the sense of “Once upon a time ...”

172 Here and below I translate *ketkhudā* as “chief” to conserve syllables.

173 As above, the word here is *qardash* (brother, sibling).

174 The author may have in mind one of several *ḥadīth* traditions here, e.g. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* Book 1, *Ḥadīth* 142: “The love of the *anṣār* [Muḥammad’s helpers] is the sign of faith and hatred against them is the sign of dissemblance”; *Ḥadīth Qudsī* 25: “Whosoever shows

The chief of the Sariqs said [to Nūr Verdi],
 “[We] will go to [our] people,
 And gather the nobles and commoners.
 We will confer, and then tell you our answer.
 If you agree, we will go to our people now!”
 They immediately received permission to go,
 So they went and gathered the nobles and commoners.
 570 These ones said, “a good knight has come,
 And he has gathered an army, that knight Nūr Verdi.¹⁷⁵
 He came to us with an appeal, saying: ‘Make peace!
 Let us build the unity of the Sunni people!’¹⁷⁶

The Sariqs Reject Peace with the Tekes

Finally, after some talk, the Sariq people
 Chose for themselves the way of conflict.
 They got ready for war,
 And at once entered the fray.
 They fought for several days, growing tired and hungry.
 The poor Sariqs fell into disarray.
 575 Finally, they begged for mercy, [saying] “*al-amān*!”¹⁷⁷

enmity to someone devoted to Me, I shall be at war with him.” This line is also evocative of some Qur’anic passages, e.g. Qur’ān 47:9: “That is because they [the disbelievers] have enmity for what Allah has revealed, so He has rendered their deeds void.”

175 In ‘Abd al-Sattār’s text, they seem not to recognize Nūr Verdi here, describing the visitor only as one *resembling* Nūr Verdi—a detail I have omitted to reduce confusion and tighten up the syntax. The idea seems to be that if they *had* realized it was Nūr Verdi, they might have taken a different path from the one they take below.

176 Samoilovich’s translation has “peace,” but the text has *birlık* (unity)—an important distinction in this context.

177 Literally meaning “safety” or “protection,” *amān* has a deeper meaning in the context of historical “holy wars.” In medieval tradition, a non-Muslim enemy combatant (sometimes called a *ḥarbi*), by receiving *amān* from their Muslim adversaries, could be provided with formal legal protections for themselves and their property, similar to that which was frequently offered to pilgrims, traders, and other welcome foreigners. According to J. Schacht, the pioneering German scholar of Islamic legal history, the specific legal status received under a system of *amān* was comparable to that enjoyed by *dhimma* (non-Muslim subjects) in the same domain. More simply and immediately, however, the combatants in the poem are clearly using the phrase as a kind of white flag of surrender. In modern Central Asia, *amanat* refers to the branch of law concerning safekeeping and pledges, as well as to

They shouted, “Islam!”¹⁷⁸
 The Teke people said, “O kinfolk!
 There will be peace
 If you gather yourselves¹⁷⁹ and leave!”
 The Sariq people agreed to these words,
 And they left, parting from their homeland.
 Finally, Merv “the Shāh of the World”—know this!—
 At last became the dwelling-place of the Teke people alone.¹⁸⁰
 There is a saying: It is a mistake to race against a horse
 And to fight against a strong man!
 The simple¹⁸¹ Sariqs forgot this saying,
 580 And they were parted from their homeland.
 They dispersed.

The Persian Shāh Learns of His Army’s Defeat at Qarrī Qal’a¹⁸²

Well, poet, this story is over!
 Now then, get to the remaining stories.
 Ja’far Qulī, acting like an ass,¹⁸³
 Like a standard-bearer fleeing the field,¹⁸⁴
 Rushed to the borders of Gurgān,

securities in general. (J. Schacht, “Amān,” *EI2*; Frank and Mamatov, *Dictionary of Central Asian Islamic Terms*, 10.)

178 Literally, “Muslimness!” (*musulmānliq*).

179 Literally, “if you take your heads” and leave (I am not aware of this phrase as a typical idiom for departure, so it could be a snarky reference to the severed heads littering the proverbial battlefield).

180 While the chronology here (and throughout the poem) departs from what is known about the period, the expulsion of the Sariqs from Merv at the hands of the Tekes is well-attested in historical sources (see the Introduction to this volume).

181 “Simpleminded” would be a sensible translation given the context, but the word for simple here (*sāda*) is less evocative of foolishness than of rustic or childlike naivness. In general, the poet seems to pity the Sariqs here, depicting their predicament as a tragic mistake on their part rather than the result of evil or heresy.

182 Here, there is a strange and incongruous section heading in the original Turkic text: “The events concerning Ja’far Qulī, who was miserably defeated and killed in Astarābād, and of the fugitives from the army he sent to Tehrān.” I have removed it, since it does not describe the events that follow, and replaced it with a more descriptive heading.

183 Literally, “like a donkey”: *kharr*.

184 Samoilovich’s translation has “like a horse running away from a kite,” but the text has a *tughdār* (standard-bearer) fleeing the *otlag* (meadow).

- That is, to the frontiers of Astarābād.
 He made a promise to the Shāh of Tehrān:
 “I will crush the Tekes!”
- 585 The Shāh said, “If you fulfill your promise,
 O Khān, I will make you the boss¹⁸⁵ of Khurāsān!”
 [But] he ate misery and died,
 And Mālik made him boss of hell.¹⁸⁶
 And the narrators also recount
 That several people arrived [in Tehrān]
 And said: “O world-guardian Shāh!
 We can’t tell you what happened.”
 Seeing in their words a sign
 That many calamities had struck his army,
- 590 The Shāh did not believe what they said.
 His face turned crimson,
 And he gave an order to his executioner,¹⁸⁷
 Who cut off their ears and noses on his block.¹⁸⁸
 Suddenly, arriving in their ranks,
 Were several generals, along with other officers.
 They said, “All this is true, O Shāh!
 That is, the death of your army—be aware!”
 [The Shāh] lost his senses, collapsed flat on his back,
 And broke wind several times.¹⁸⁹
- 595 Since there were several princes in his midst,
 As well as several servants and freedmen,

185 “Governor” is closer to the literal translation here (the Turkic text has *vālt*), but “boss” is closer to the blunt spirit of the joke.

186 Samoilovich’s translation has “an angel” giving him this fiery promotion, but the text has Mālik—who was the warden of hell. According to Samoilovich, local Turkmen lore reported that Ja’far Qulī Khān had attempted to poison himself after his defeat—this may be what the poet means by “eating misery.” Mentioned in the Qur’ān as a chief angel of hell, Mālik is featured in a striking passage describing the suffering of hell’s residents: “Indeed, the wicked will be in the torment of Hell forever. It will never be lightened for them, and there they will be overwhelmed with despair. We did not wrong them, but it was they who were the wrongdoers. They will cry, ‘O Mālik! Let your Lord finish us off.’ He will answer, ‘You are definitely here to stay.’ We certainly brought the truth to you, but most of you were resentful of the truth.” (Qur’ān 43: 74–78). This is the warden of hell to which our poet refers.

187 This is no mere killer, but literally the official “court” executioner: *jallād*.

188 This is a veritable butcher’s block: *dor*.

189 Literally, “several winds came out from behind him”!

The princes kissed him,
 And said to the servants, “Get him up immediately!”
 The servants lifted him, propping him up,
 Or rather they sat him atop his throne.
 They said, “This hour our Shāh
 Has been struck by a blow from the devils and fairies!”¹⁹⁰
 After some time, the Shāh came to his senses,
 And life flowed through all his limbs.
 600 He got himself together and,
 Opening his mouth, yawned once or twice.¹⁹¹
 His cupbearer brought him a cup of wine.
 He drank the wine to the last drop,
 And he got drunk from that cup of wine,
 And boasted about his kingdom.
 He said, “My decrees reach to Iṣfahān,
 Which they call the Center of the World.¹⁹²
 And I also rule Shīrāz and Kāshān, O friend!
 And Qazvīn, along with Tehrān!
 605 And Azerbaijan and Dāmghān,
 And Hamadān and Māzandarān!
 And Shāhrūd, Baṣṭām, and Astarābād,
 Whose oppressed ones turn to me for help!
 And on this side, Khaf, Tūn, Ṭabas,
 And Sīstān are mine, as far as Herāt.
 In short, all the climes of Iran
 Greet me, bowing their heads!
 Once a person has such power,
 Can he countenance [such] foreigners?
 610 I know of one group, the Tekes,
 They came like a whirlwind descending on a lake!”¹⁹³
 Such was the anger of that lowly Shāh [for the Tekes].

190 The devils and fairies here are the *devs* and *parīs* of Muslim lore.

191 The verb here, *iskamak*, typically means “to sniff,” so it is tempting to read this line as the Shāh sniffing the air and opening his mouth in distaste, realizing how he had “perfumed” the area during his convalescence. More likely, however, is that the word means “to yawn” here.

192 The epithet is a pun: “center of the world” is *niṣf-i-jahān*.

193 Samoilovich’s translation has “whirlwind” for *jūlak*, but I am unable to find this word elsewhere. The closest alternative—*jōlak*, meaning “sheep tick” in modern Uzbek—does not seem auspicious, so Samoilovich is most likely correct.

From his arrogance,
 He held himself to be Farīdūn.
 He sent inspectors¹⁹⁴ to every country,
 Saying: “Gather an army and send it to one place:
 Let it go to Mashhad,
 And let the leaders of each district gather there,
 Setting up their tents, canopies, and pavilions.”

The Shāh Appoints Prince Ḥamza Mirzā to Lead the War against the Tekes

615 Having finished with his pretensions,¹⁹⁵
 [The Shāh] then took a cup of wine,
 Saying, “Is there a hero here—
 But let him be strong and powerful!—
 Who might lay the Tekes low?
 If he does not take vengeance on them,
 May the wine I offer be *ḥarām*¹⁹⁶ to him!”
 There was one in his midst, a braggart,
 Who forgot himself boasting of his valor.¹⁹⁷
 He stood up respectfully and said “O Shāh,
 I am your sacrifice! I will go if you order it!
 620 I swear an oath to fulfill this task,
 I will do battle with the enemy!
 I will take all their families captive,¹⁹⁸
 I will pillage whatever there is to pillage!”

194 The word here is *muhassil*; in the Ottoman context this was a tax collector, and indeed the role here involves troop levies, but “tax collector” would sound awkward above.

195 The word here is *iddi’ā’* (claim, complaint, arrogant pretension).

196 The Shāh is trying to communicate that one who fails to carry out the task at hand would be forbidden from enjoying his wine, no less than if it was religiously proscribed. Of course, most Muslim jurists would consider wine to be *ḥarām* on *any* occasion—a note of comedy which was probably intentional in the poem, given its depiction of the Shāh as a bit of a drunk!

197 These philologically interesting lines are almost impossible to translate literally from the Turkic: *yānında man-manlık aytgan bahādurman [sic!] teyup özin unutghan*. Roughly: “In his midst was one who forgot himself, saying ‘me-me-etc., I’m a champion!”

198 The word for captive here is *asīr*, suggesting something more like a prisoner than a slave (*qul* or *ghulām*).

It was Ḥamza Mīrzā¹⁹⁹ who spoke,
 Blathering so many words.
 So the Shāh accepted him,
 And he sent him off—know this!
 [But first] he gave him the cup of wine in his hand,
 And the man drank it down to the dregs.
 625 The Shāh said, “O you hero!
 You are the champion of the world!²⁰⁰
 Go then, and I appoint you commander of the army,
 That is to say, *sardār* of the troops.”
 He gave him countless gifts and largesse,
 And entrusted him with the army’s equipment.²⁰¹
 He said: “Take what you need for the journey too,
 And prepare all you require.
 After that, go to the tomb
 For *ziyārat*²⁰² at the grave of the Imām.²⁰³
 630 Then head onwards from there to Merv,
 And do battle with the Tekes!
 Trample them into the ground,
 Hurt them and drive them off!

199 A Persian prince and governor in Khurāsān who led the disastrous campaign to Merv in 1860, which is the focus of the second half of the *Jangnāma*. Sometimes called by his honorific title *Khishmat al-dawla* in Persian sources, prince Ḥamza Mīrzā is one of only three direct participants of the 1858–1860 battles from the Persian side whom ‘Abd al-Sattār mentions by name (the others being Ja’far Qulī Khān and Qara Sartīb).

200 Samoilovich’s translation has “the owner of the happiest destiny,” which is a good reading but perhaps overdone; the text has *ṣāhibqirānī*, which—while literally meaning “lord of the auspicious conjunction (of planets)” —is deployed formulaically and routinely throughout the epic to mean simply “champion” or “great warrior.”

201 Literally, the army’s accountancy (*ihtisāb*). Yuri Bregel writes that the full armament of a Turkmen at war consisted of a rifle with a bayonet, one or two pistols, a dagger, a Persian-style saber, and a hooked spear: Bregel, “Sochinenie Baiani ‘Shadzhara-yi khorezmshakhi’ kak istochnik po istorii Turkmen,” *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii* 44 (1961), 78–79.

202 Pilgrimage—in this context, specifically pilgrimage to the grave of a saint.

203 Imām Rīzā is probably meant here, whose shrine—one of the holiest sites in the region—is at Mashhad. In fact, the word for “tomb” in this line is *mashhad*, but without being completely certain that the Imām Rīzā shrine is meant here I opted not to translate it as “Mashhad” (the city). In Central Asian hagiography, it is common to find warriors or rulers visiting a shrine before heading off to war; see, for example, Eden, *The Life of Muhammad Sharif*, 48–49.

If you don't carry out these orders,
 Disappear and don't come back—know this!"
 So saying, the Shāh gave him a blessing,
 Saying, "May Allāh be your companion."
 And after that, taking his leave, Prince Ḥamza
 Trembled in every limb.
 635 He regretted his business—
 The trouble of warring with the Tekes.
 And then the Shāh said, "O vizier!
 Supply this soldier with peerless gear!
 Give over the war provisions,²⁰⁴ don't skimp!
 And get the armory in good order.
 Send him on his given way,
 And don't delay his journey."
 The viziers left the Shāh's midst.
 They got the armory in good order,
 640 Fetched donkey-loads²⁰⁵ of gold,
 And arranged [their donkeys] in rows.²⁰⁶
 They got broadcloths too, and various fabrics,
 And many carpets, which they loaded on camels.
 Then all the officers
 Summoned the music of the *shayfūr*²⁰⁷ and *jang*,²⁰⁸
 And had sixty-six cannons dragged forth
 And arranged in their rows.

204 Literally, the tax or tribute (*khirājāt*); "requisitions" would be a good alternative translation here.

205 The word here, *kharvār*, can refer to the donkeys themselves or (as is most likely here) the load of goods carried by a donkey.

206 Samoilovich's translation has "loaded them onto the horses, of which there were several rows," but I see no reference to horses in the text (donkeys are mentioned, however!). It is likely that he reasonably saw the reference to donkeys as non-literal, referring only to animal-loads, and concluded that the animals in question were most likely horses.

207 More commonly spelled *shaypūr*, this is an ancient trumpet similar to the *karnay*. It is noted by the great Persian poet Firdowsi, author of the epic *Shāhnāma*, as one of the military instruments of ancient Iran. (H.G. Farmer, "Būḡ," *ETI2*)

208 Usually spelled *chang*, this word typically refers to a type of vertical harp. Rarely played nowadays, it was once a prominent stringed instrument in Iran, attested from ancient times in imagery and literature. It is possible, however, that the author has the *Uzbek* *chang* in mind, which is a type of hammered dulcimer similar to a *qanūn*.

Prince Ḥamza laid out his silk robe,²⁰⁹
 And they put together his regal outfit.
 645 Mounting Arghamaq horses unhurriedly,
 The lead officers set off group by group.
 Suddenly the cannons fired,
 Covering the world in smoke and dust.
 Prince Ḥamza set off majestically!²¹⁰
 The viziers saw him off and then went back.

Prince Ḥamza Travels to Merv

Passing several settlements,
 Prince Ḥamza arrived at Mashhad.
 For several days he drilled his troops,
 Gathering an army from the first man to the last.
 650 He counted the size of the army,
 He arranged the people in their camp.
 He determined that the troops in the camp
 Numbered seventy thousand—know this!
 They filled the outskirts of the city of Mashhad.
 The Khāns and all the officers came.
 They said, “O Shāh, let’s set off!”
 And so, leaving that place,
 They set off for Merv, “the Shāh of the World.”
 After passing several settlements,
 They drew near to Merv.
 655 A messenger arrived among the Tekes,
 His face yellowed with dust,
 And he said, “The infidel people have come!
 They’re approaching, firing their guns.
 The officers are lined up in their ranks.
 Don’t hesitate! Get ready and follow your duties,
 Get everything straight and in order!”

209 The text has *kūfī lāsīn*. *Lās* is silk, but *kūf* (or *kūfī*?) in this context has been elusive for me.

210 Samoilovich’s translation has “solemnly,” but the text has *shukūh ıla*, which is close to the opposite (with festivity, greatness).

Qushut²¹¹ was the Khān of this people—
 But don't say Khān, say he was their soul!—
 And he said: "Let some brave ones gather here,
 And let them stand face to face with the enemy!
 660 And have the rest, without delay, head to the fort,
 Taking their families and belongings."
 The criers put out the call,
 And the news spread everywhere among the people.
 The riders who heard it mounted their horses,
 Setting off together with their Arghamaqs.
 Many youths gathered there—
 All heroes who had seen many battles.
 They sported their battle attire.²¹²
 Biting their lips, they armed themselves.
 665 Each one was ready for battle.

Qushut Khān's Merv Tekes Confront Prince Ḥamza's Persians

Smoke and dust arose
 From the direction of the mountains.
 Seeing this, the Tekes said,
 "Lie in ambush in the lowlands,
 Then set your horses toward the enemy!"
 The infidels came, causing a commotion,
 Covering the earth's face with smoke and sand.

211 One of the most prominent leaders in Turkmen history, Qushut Khān (also spelled Kou-shit, Kousheed, etc.) was a chief of the Tekes in the mid-late nineteenth century. A Turkmen from the Gökche sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamish Tekes, Qushut rose to prominence among the Tekes when many of them were based at Sarakhs. He participated in the successful fight against the Khivans in 1855 and then led the Tekes from Sarakhs to Merv, where he joined forces with Nūr Verdi Khān to drive the Sariqs from the area. The high point of his resume, however, is the victory over the Persians described in our poem. Another poem, by Davat Shair, is named in his honor: "The Victory of Qushut Khān over the Armies of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh." Qushut's death years later, in 1878, has been attributed in local lore to poisoning at the hands of the English, but this seems extremely unlikely. (Samoilovich, *Knīga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 55: 124–125.)

212 I follow Dzhikiev here in translating *āyna sowut* as "battle attire": A. Dzhikiev, *Ocherk etnicheskoi istorii formirovaniia naseleniia iuzhnogo Turkmenistana (Po etnograficheskim dannym)* (Alma Ata, 1977), 136–137.

The Tekes sent marauders²¹³ to every side,
 And they posted scouts in all four directions.
 They leapt from their hiding-places and spurred on their horses,
 They turned the world upside down!
 670 They came out from one side, wielding their spears,
 Made a slaughter and fought for some time.
 They left many lifeless.
 Taking blows from all four sides,
 They gathered together in one place,
 Standing in formation with swords drawn.
 The infidels too gathered
 Their scattered and exhausted troops,
 And pitched their canopies and tents,
 Filling an expanse of two farsangs.²¹⁴
 675 After some days, they left there—know this!
 And moved toward Niyazmat Qal'a.
 They fired the cannons, blasting out a cannonade,
 But restrained the ranks of officers.
 They went to that fort and entered it,
 And settled themselves there.

The Second Phase of the Battle

They stayed there for some days, whispering,²¹⁵
 Gathering their great ones and conferring.
 There were several among the Sarīq people
 Who gave their advice at any given moment.
 680 At last, their meeting's decision was this:
 To vex the Tekes with a tight siege!
 They started beating the drums with each breath,
 The sound reaching the nine vaults of heaven.
 They struck up the shayfurs and jangs,
 And right away they headed out on the march.

213 The word is *chāpāvūl*, here spelled "*jafāvīl*"—providing an interesting and rare window, perhaps, on nineteenth-century Turkmen pronunciation and phonology.

214 That is, six or seven miles.

215 I must defer to Samoilovich for his translation on this unfamiliar (to me) verb: *kurfash aylamak*.

All the officers readied their falcons,²¹⁶
 Arranging them in their ranks.
 The soldiers marched, swaying,
 Their legs in unison, rising and falling.
 685 Their movements were lumbering,²¹⁷ like the gypsies'.
 They moved as one together.
 They moved in rows like the Russians,
 Their beards and mustaches were plucked like the English.²¹⁸
 They are a mindless people!²¹⁹
 They wear a look of bewilderment.²²⁰
 Finally, rattling the cannons along,
 They approached the Tekes with a clamor.
 They came up to the Tekes' right side and stopped.
 The Tekes recognized their guests.²²¹
 690 They heard that they were Qājārs,
 And unveiled, for those guests, regal honor.
 Because the heretics came
 And sat before them, they became guests.
 Look at those guests with their hosts!
 What kind of bread do the hosts have for their guests?²²²
 At the tip of sword and spear
 They gave them bread—and they fled from it!²²³
 What did he do, that Khān Qushut,
 That consciousness of the Tekes, Qushut?

216 *Bāz*, though the soldiers are meant here of course (not literal falcons!).

217 Samoilovich's translation has "as one," but the text has *mazang* (lumbering, ungainly). The reference to gypsies is surprising; there were historical communities of Roma (*lūlti*) in Central Asia, but I have never come across another reference like this, which seems to hint at a stereotype about their deportment.

218 The text has *andlīs*, but—as Samoilovich notes—*inglīs* is certainly meant here.

219 Literally, an "undiscerning" (*bēbasīrat*) people.

220 An unusual phrasing: *šīrat taḡhayyur qīlip*. The poet probably means *taḡhayyur* (perplexity, bewilderment) by *taḡhayyur*.

221 There is a hint of irony here; the word for "guest" is unambiguous: *mehmān*.

222 A customary, respectful offering for guests in Central Asia was bread and salt (served together).

223 An interesting near-pun: the text has *yughurlan* (clearly meant to be *yughurlab*), blurring the verbs *yugurmak* (to run away) and *yughrilmak* (to be nourished). Samoilovich's translation has them "cower," but this does not seem correct. On the contrary, the verb here has the sense of rushing about rather than huddling in place. It's clearly meant to be a humorous image: the "guests" are fleeing from the Tekes' "hospitality" rather than settling into it.

- 695 He gathered the Khāns of his people,
 And the elders and the sardars,
 And, conferring with them, he said:
 “Shall we send a spy
 On the pretext of sending an envoy?”
 Everyone approved and agreed,
 And the champions were hidden from the light.²²⁴
 They sent one youth
 Who was mature—know this one!
 He was an eloquent speechifier,
 He gave his addresses like a Khān.
- 700 He was called Raḥmān Qulī Khān.²²⁵
 Entrusting him with a few words,
 They sent him off.
 He approached the infidel people,
 And suddenly stopped at an apt distance.
 The infidels realized that he was an envoy,
 And they sent out Qara Sartib.²²⁶
 They spoke a few words to one another,
 Exchanging greetings from a distance.
 However, their talk and their chat
 Concluded in war.
- 705 Qushut Khān said, “O great ones,
 And all you chiefs and wise men,
 Let’s do something beyond compare,
 Such that those who hear of it say, ‘Marvelous!’
 Move the cannons up the hill,

224 That is, they were kept in reserve for the time being.

225 Qushut Khān’s envoy in the poem was a Toqtamīsh Teke of the Aman Shāh *sub-sub-branch* of the Bek sub-branch of the Toqtamīsh Turkmens. Samoilovich interviewed his son, Allāh Qulī Khān, who served for many years as deputy assistant (*pomoshchnik*) of the Yolatan police chief (*pristav*). This participant’s son played an important historiographical role: faced with two divergent versions of the events of the war, one by our poet and another by Davan Shair, he confirmed for Samoilovich that ‘Abd al-Sattār’s version corresponded well to his personal knowledge of the events (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tek-intsev*, 128).

226 The Turkmen name for one of only three direct participants of the war from the Persian side whom ‘Abd al-Sattār mentions by name (the other being Ja‘far Qulī Khān and Prince Ḥamza Mīrzā). He served as a deputy governor of Khurāsān. His honorary title in that capacity was *Qavām al-dawla*, but his real name was Mīrzā Muḥammad.

And I'll be alongside to work them [with you].
 Let there be a few people around me,
 Counsellors, advisors, wise ones,
 On foot and on horseback, all on hand,
 That they should track the enemy wherever they go!²²⁷
 710 Remember God and the Prophet!
 Resign yourselves to the path of God's will!²²⁸
 And to the four Companions, the bygone prophets
 And the saints—
 Have recourse to their spirits,
 For the Creator of all things
 Will grant you the joy of victories!
 Pursue this course for several days,
 Not breaking from it—then fight the infidel people!"

The Persians Plan an Ambush

After this, the infidels
 Dug themselves into a trench,
 715 And both sides were ready for battle,
 Having both collected their strength.
 But they did not fight for several days.
 The Tekes only captured
 Gatherers of water and firewood.²²⁹
 At their council, the Qizilbash said,
 "The Tekes won't let us stick out our heads!
 Let's send out one thousand riders with four cannons,
 And we'll hide somewhere unbeknownst to them,
 And let's lie in ambush till late morning,

227 Samoilovich's translation has them surrounding the enemy from all sides, but this is not really the sense of the text, which continues the theme of a sneak attack. Moreover, the advisors and counsellors could assess tactics on sight or by learning of troop movements, but could hardly be expected to besiege an army!

228 Samoilovich's translation has "the path of hope," which is reasonable, but *tavakkul* is a bit more complicated than hope—it is more like acceptance of God's will regardless of the outcome.

229 I am unsure of this translation for *suvji va odinji*. Notably, the idea that people caught alone gathering firewood and water were taken captive during the conflict is likewise mentioned in historical sources.

And after that let's join them in battle!"
 720 At midnight a thousand riders,
 With cannons, set out.
 They rode and then dismounted
 At an irrigation ditch,²³⁰
 And remained hidden there.
 The believers were aware of their doings.
 They conferred, saying this and that.
 Several brave youths gathered,
 Each one a hero, battle-tested,
 And they set off toward the enemy,
 That is, to the infidels' hiding-place.
 725 Guiding their horses as if unaware,
 As if just passing by on their way,
 They were furtively calling out to one another,
 Keeping an eye out for the Qizilbash ambush.
 Two brave ones perceived the ambush,²³¹
 And they rushed to join the Teke group.
 The artillerymen readied their cannons,
 And [the others], sharpening swords and spears,
 Approached as if they knew nothing.
 They sent their horses on ahead,
 As if charging the infidels—
 But they didn't go themselves!
 730 Remembering Eternal God,
 And the prophets and saints,
 All those ready for battle
 Said the exaltation, "*Allāhu akbar!*"
 They set their horses toward the enemy,
 And rushed at the infidel people.
 The Qizilbash realized what was happening,
 Equipped themselves, and prepared to fight.
 Both armies stood face to face,
 And they battled for some time.

230 I have followed Samoilovich's lead for the word *navkhāna*, which is unknown to me.

231 Samoilovich's translation has the two young men *starting* the ambush, suggesting that they were Persian, but this misses the verb *fahmlamak* ("to perceive") in the text which shows them to be among the Tekes (hence also their positive epithet); they were evidently Teke scouts.

The Deeds of Teke Heroes

- 735 There were several brave falcons there,
 All battle-hardened sardars!
 One of them is Khalī Bahādur,²³² the Rustam-like,
 Who was unique in his strength of body.
 Striking with his sword at the Qizilbash,
 Left and right he slayed them.
 He spilled the infidel people's blood
 And relentlessly took their lives.
 He struck mightily with spear and sword,
 He battled with many strangers.
- 740 Devouring enemies like a dragon,
 He turned the infidels topsy-turvy!²³³
 He raced up from behind
 And tore their lives from their female asses!²³⁴
 Then several royal falcons flew in from one side,
 And landed on the infidels' heads.
 These ones were Shāh Murād,²³⁵ 'Avaz Khān,²³⁶
 Qīlich Ghafan²³⁷ and Muḥammad Amān,²³⁸
 Pīrī Kajjat²³⁹ and Pīruy Bahādur.²⁴⁰

232 I have not found any further information on this figure.

233 Samoilovich's translation has "he caused complete destruction to the infidels," but the text has the phrase *zēr u zabar qūlmāq* (to turn s.t./s.o. upside down).

234 Samoilovich did not attempt to translate this vulgarity, and my best guess may be a stretch. The text has *chiqārib jānni kūsi zanidin* (or, to smooth the poetic inversion into more ordinary syntax: *jānni kūsi zanidin chiqārib*) with *kūs* usually meaning "kettledrum" and *zan* meaning woman. Persian-style kettledrums are usually two round drums attached together at the middle, perhaps resembling buttocks (forgive me, reader!). Since the warrior in this sentence is rushing up on his victims *from behind* ... I need not go on.

235 He reportedly hailed from the Gökche sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamish Tekes (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128).

236 He was from the Kauku-Zereng sub-sub-branch of the Amān Shāh sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamish. (Note: Saray and others regard the Kauku and Zereng as two separate groups in the Amān Shāh line.) See Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128.

237 He was from the Yağır-Bash sub-sub-branch of the Amān Shāh sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamish (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128).

238 I have not found any further information on this figure.

239 I have not found any further information on this figure.

240 Also called Payra Batır Bek, he was from the Kauku-Zereng sub-sub-branch of the Amān

- Each one of them is like a dragon!
 745 With a spear and a sword they made magic,
 And from the heretics' blood they made the Jayhūn River.²⁴¹
 Striking with a sword, they cut the enemy
 From head to toe.
 The earth was scarlet like a tulip
 From infidels' blood.
 They thrust their spears through the infidels' sides,
 And the spearheads passed through their ribs!
 They toppled infidels with a clatter,
 They spilled their blood with a bubbling sound!
 Then from one side, several lions arrived,
 Crying out and shedding blood.
 750 These ones are Verdi Niyāz,²⁴² son of Uraz Khān,²⁴³
 At the head of the Otamīsh²⁴⁴ champions.
 Crushing, trampling, they squashed each to the ground,
 They made many hearts bleed out.
 They struck all the infidels' heads with their swords,
 And sword-tips reached their pommels!²⁴⁵
 Thus they massacred, they slaughtered relentlessly,
 They devoured infidels with a dragon's breath,
 And finally the infidel people fled
 Together, all at once.
 755 They dragged their cannons with a clatter,
 And the combatants came up behind their necks,
 Struck with their swords, pointed spears to their backs,
 And, full of vengeful feelings,

Shāh sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamīsh (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128).

- 241 The Jayhūn is the Amu Darya river, known in older English sources as the Oxus, following its Latin name.
- 242 I have not found any further information on this figure.
- 243 A well-known Teke leader who is mentioned in at least two other Turkmen sources from the period (Davan Shair and Garra Oghlan). Uraz preceded Qushut Khān as the ruler of the Tekes who ended up in Marv, and it was he who had led them to Sarakhs before their move from there to Marv. At the place from which he led the Tekes, a fortress was named in his honor: Uraz Qal'a.
- 244 One of the two main branches of the Tekes, the other being the Toqtamīsh. This branch was itself divided into two sub-branches: Sichmaz and Bakhshi.
- 245 *egar qashi*: the gruesome idea seems to be that the heroes split their enemies asunder from their heads down to their horses' pommels. This is a common image in the genre.

Pierced all the way through their chests.
 There was one champion in particular,
 A one-of-a-kind hero—
 Spear leveled, he leapt at a gunner from behind,
 Struck him in the back with his spear,
 Knocked him down, seized his two cannons,
 And, jumping on top, made off with them.
 760 They say his name was Nefes,
 And he was eager for the fray.
 Finally, the infidel troops
 Threw themselves toward their trenches.

The Enemy Regroups

Lead scouts set off,
 And arrived before the Shāh,
 Saying, “O royal Shāh!²⁴⁶
 Your army has been destroyed, be aware of this!”
 The lowly Shāh heard this news,
 And his sadness and despair increased.
 765 Hostility arose in him,
 And a dark night replaced the day.
 The Shāh gathered his khāns and princes,
 And they conferred till dawn.
 In the end, the meeting’s outcome was this:
 “We will fight, and either win or lose!”
 Then they sounded the war drums,
 Raising a cry of sundry noises.
 They played shayfurs and jangs,
 And fortified their ranks.
 770 They moved their cannons with a clamor,
 And set off at a steady pace.
 They arrived on the battlefield,
 The troops standing in their ranks.
 Qara Sartib²⁴⁷ was their leader,

246 The text has “O prince of the Shāh,” which is clearly an unintended slip (this scene features the Shāh himself, not Prince Ḥamza).

247 I have not found any further information on this figure.

He was courageous and very steadfast.
 And from this side, all the Iranian people
 Got in formation and arrived at the battlefield.
 These ones too, dutiful in their ranks,
 Gathered up their strength.
 775 Both armies stood face-to-face,
 And readied themselves from head to toe.
 The morning wind swept in,
 And a cloud poured rain,
 Watering the battlefield.
 The face of the battlefield shone resplendently.
 The hearts of the people of faith lit up.
 After this, Qara Sartib—know this!—
 Holding back his horse,²⁴⁸
 Shouted out “O so-and-so!
 Come and serve our Shāh!
 Be elevated by his graces!
 780 Do not disrespect our Shāh.
 Discourtesy is not proper.”
 From the other side, Raḥmān Qulī Khān spoke,
 Saying with a loud voice, “O friend!
 You don’t know what’s going on,
 Because your Shāh doesn’t know the Turkmens!”²⁴⁹
 Qara Sartib ordered the artillerymen,
 Venomously, speaking with rage:
 “Fire nonstop from the cannons!
 Devour those people with the breath of a dragon!”
 785 The artillerymen fired the cannons nonstop,
 So that smoke and wind filled the world.
 On this side Qushut Khān too was standing,
 Overseeing the cannons.

248 Samoilovich’s translation has him holding back his spear, but the text has *at* (horse).

249 A challenging line to translate: *ke bilmas shāhīngi turkmanjilik dur*. Samoilovich’s translation has “because your Shāh doesn’t recognize the Turkmens,” which is a good hypothesis. The use of *turkmenjilik* (“Turkmen-ness” or the “Turkmen way”), however, inclines me to believe the issue is the Turkmens’ customs and behavior rather than their existence or subjecthood.

More Teke Heroes and Their Battlefield Feats

Many youths from the first battle
 Who fought and shed much blood—
 I have already recounted their names.
 I said that it was so-and-so
 On the battlefield, fighting,
 Thinking the fray their duty.
 790 But there was one man
 Among the faithful people,
 A brave one, master of war,
 Who attacked the heretics from a young age,
 An excellent one among the champions,
 The chief of the chief of combatants,
 A stone of disaster²⁵⁰ for the heretics,
 Who in the dark nights was a guide,
 An example for the *ghāzīs*,
 A man—know this!—
 Named Amān Saʿīd,²⁵¹ the hero.
 795 Donning a mountain of armor,
 He was a mountain of a man!²⁵²
 Steering his fleet horse to all sides at once,
 He rushed at the enemy.
 The brave ones around him, O friend,
 Rushed off together to the battlefield.
 Several brave ones leapt from their ranks

250 “Stone of disaster”: *āfat tashi*.

251 According to Samoilovich, Amān Saʿīd’s real name was Amān Sakhat (alternately spelled “Sagat”), and he was from the Ūtāmish branch of the Tekes. A close associate of the Merv Teke leader Qushut Khān, he helped Qushut repel the Khīvan army in 1855, a conflict which famously culminated in the Khīvan Khān’s killing. Qushut and Amān Sakhat had been based at Sarakhs at that time, but moved to Merv in 1857, where Amān Sakhat latter commanded the cavalry in the ensuing conflicts with Iran. Samoilovich notes that Amān Sakhat goes unmentioned in a folkloric account of those conflicts written by Davan Shair, but the itinerant Turkmen poet Kor Mullā praises him alongside Qushut Khān in one of his poems. Samoilovich was able to reconstruct his entire family tree, from his great-great-grandparents down to his grandchildren (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 115; 126–127; 134).

252 Samoilovich and I both struggled with this curious line. His best guess was “assuming an imposing appearance like a mountain,” but this omits the word *langar* (anchor or pole in Persian, counterweight or ballast in modern Turkmen) which appears in the text.

- And joined those other brave ones.
 800 In short, several war-drunk youths
 Went together to that battlefield.
 They vigorously spurred one another on,
 Rousing each other to fight.
 They went to attack the enemy,
 Who all fell back together.
 Amān Sa'īd said, "O Qizilbash!
 Come bow your head in remorse
 Before our Khān!
 Accept our religion,
 Take up our devotions and customs."²⁵³
 805 Otherwise, we will cut off Qara Sartib's head,
 And throw his corpse to the dogs.
 We will bring black days upon your heads,
 Flies will make their camps on your corpses."²⁵⁴
 After this, recalling God, the Prophet,
 And several jurists,²⁵⁵
 Shouting "*Allāhu akbar*," and spurring their horses,
 They went out with their spears upraised.
 They struck the troops' ranks,
 And approached Qara Sartib's cannon.
 810 Then all the people of faith,
 On foot and on horseback—O friend!—
 Spurred their horses [*sic*] all at once,
 Shouting the exaltation, "*Allāhu akbar!*"
 They fought together for some time,
 Striking the infidels' heads with swords.
 With a shout Verdi Niyāz,²⁵⁶ son of Uraz Khān,
 Drew his sharp sword.
 His war equipment clattered.
 And the sound of that clatter reached the nine vaults of heaven!
 815 He grabbed some infidels by the belt,
 And threw them up toward heaven.

253 "Devotions and customs": *ikhlaṣ ıla āyīn*.

254 This line sounds no less brutal in the Turkic: *chibinlar qōsh tutar kim lāshingizga*.

255 The phrase here is *ṣāhib uṣūl*, suggesting masters of the subject rather than (say) literal appointed judges.

256 The son of the well-known Teke leader Uraz Khān.

They returned to earth topsy turvy,
 Their bones scattering all around.
 He head-butted several infidels,
 Causing their brains to spill from their skulls.
 That man slaughtered them like Rustam!
 The infidels begged for mercy.
 At that time, two [more] brave ones
 Tore the heads off the Qizilbash
 And slaughtered them.
 820 They were a fire in the reed-bed—
 What a figure they cut in battle!
 Their saddle-axe handiwork²⁵⁷ brought havoc,
 They turned the infidels upside down.
 They led two thousand people,
 And put them all in order.
 Know their names!
 They were called Aqali and Taji Mirab.²⁵⁸
 A certain lion leapt out from one side,
 Courageous and so very keen.
 825 He struck with his sword, spilled Qizilbash blood,
 And the earth's face was dyed like crimson basil.²⁵⁹
 He slaughtered, giving quite a shout,
 He beheaded infidels with a battle cry.
 The infidels' army
 Was swatted away, O friend!²⁶⁰
 And the people of faith went into a frenzy.²⁶¹
 That man's personal name is Muqim,
 How forthright²⁶² he was in the fray!

257 This phrase ("saddle-axe handiwork"), delightfully, can be expressed in one concise word in Chaghatay: *tabarzinlik*.

258 By some accounts, Aqali was from the Gökche *sub*-sub-branch of the Bek sub-branch of the Toqtamish; others held that he was from the Yag'ir-Bash *sub*-sub-branch of the Amān Shāh sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamish (See Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128).

259 The word for basil here is *rayhān*, which is generic for the plant, but some basil varieties have bloody coloration; the variant called "crimson basil" tends to be more purplish, but approximates the image better than "basil" alone.

260 Samoilovich's translation has "dried up," but the verb in the text is *qōrilmāq* (to swat or shoo away), which has the sense of swatting or shooing away insects.

261 Literally, they found themselves massed or teeming (together): *ghuliv tapip*.

262 The word for "forthright" here is a pun on the warrior's name: *mustaqim*. Like his name,

In short, a river of blood flowed,
 And many cries were wrested from the infidel people.
 830 In the end, the people of Islam staged a massacre,
 And made a hill from the corpses.
 They broke the ranks of the troops.
 Punishing them, they filled gaps in their ranks.²⁶³

A Sufi Master Enters the Fray with His Disciples

There was a guardian of *sharīʿa*, however,
 Ascetic in both *ṭarīqat*²⁶⁴ and *ḥaqīqāt*,²⁶⁵
 And that man was a model for the ulus,
 And people followed him.
 Know that man and be aware of him—
 They called him Shaykh ‘Abdallāh.²⁶⁶
 835 He too came out to the fray, O friend!
 He led his countless followers.
 He arrived amid the battle,
 And he stood in formation together with his disciples.
 He held up his hands in prayer, weeping,

the description also has a religious connotation, evoking the “straight path” (*sīrāt al-mus-taqīm*) mentioned in the opening section of the Qurʿān (*al-fāṭiha*).

263 The idea here is that they invaded the ranks of the enemy and, behind their lines, stood where the vanquished had been.

264 Literally meaning “path,” a *ṭarīqat* also has a more technical meaning in Sufism: it refers to the spiritual path of the Sufi. The term is also sometimes contrasted with *sharīʿat*, which also carries the literal meaning of “path”—with *ṭarīqat* suggesting an esoteric path of spiritual development and right conduct, while *sharīʿat* connotes an exoteric ordering of conduct and society through, for example, the legal system and its application.

265 In Sufism, *ḥaqīqāt* refers to esoteric, mystical knowledge or understanding, of the sort that comes from following the Sufi path to communion with the divine (on which see *ṭarīqat* below). In short, ‘Abd al-Sattār wishes to impress upon the reader that the leader in question, Shaykh ‘Abdallāh, had mastered both exoteric and esoteric knowledge.

266 A famous figure among the Tekes, also called ‘Abdallāh Ishān and nicknamed “the Great Ishān.” Hailing from the Gökche sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamīsh, this Sufi master founded a *madrasa* (Islamic college) in a village near Marv which still existed at the time of Samoilovich’s research in the early twentieth century. Rumor among the Tekes held that he was poisoned by Englishmen, though I found no evidence to support this hypothesis and it is unclear what motive any English agent might have had for such a thing. (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 127–128; Saray, *Turkmen in the Age of Imperialism*, 11.)

And recited an entreaty, sobbing mightily.²⁶⁷
 He said, "O Creator of time and space!
 You are a grace to your slaves.
 Give defeat to the infidel people,
 Have mercy, give strength to Islam!
 840 For the sake of Your pure being's greatness,
 For the sake of your facets, O Creator!
 For the sake of your beloved Muḥammad,
 Whom you made leader among the prophets,
 For the sake of Adam the Father,
 For the sake of Mother Eve's cries,
 For the sake of Noah, Shaykh of the Prophets,
 Who saw such cruelty from the infidels,
 For the sake of your Abraham, whom you distressed,
 And turned the fire of Nimrod into a rosebush.²⁶⁸
 845 For the sake of Jacob and the fire of separation,
 As he cried out 'My Joseph!' in parting.²⁶⁹
 For the sake of Job, the patient sufferer,
 Who bore worms and ulcers, winter and summer.
 For the sake of Jonah the pious one—O friend!—
 Who said within the whale, 'You are the Praised One!'
 For the sake of blessed Zachariah and John the Baptist,
 Famously resigned to God's will.
 For the sake of the family of Muḥammad's Companions,
 For the sake of all those who follow Muḥammad,
 850 For the sake of Khadija, wife of the Praised One,
 For the sake of Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad,
 For the sake of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn,
 Both of whom were the light of the Chosen One's eyes!"
 That man finished his prayer,
 Raised his hands to his face, and said "amen."
 Thus he fired the arrow of his prayer,
 And it was received.

267 The word for "entreaty" here is *munājāt*, and what follows (each line starting with "For the sake of ...") is the *munājāt* in question.

268 An allusion to Abraham being thrown into the fire by the king Nimrod; according to the story, the fire turned into a rose-garden.

269 In the Biblical and Qur'anic story, Joseph was Jacob's favorite son, and Jacob's jealous brothers sell him into slavery among the Egyptians.

The Tekes Are Victorious

Everyone, together with the disciples,
 Spurred their horses and set off, whooping.
 855 All the infidels turned to flee,
 And the Muslims, striking with their swords,
 Rushed to the cannon of Qara Sartib,
 That is, to the front ranks of the infidels.
 At that moment a man appeared,
 While the Qizilbash were scattering about,
 And he went up, grabbed the cannon,
 And pulled it from the infidels' hands.
 Finally the people of Islam
 Lunged forward together,²⁷⁰
 Quickened their sword-tips,
 860 And they struck the infidels
 Through the back with their blades,
 And chased them to their trench.
 [The dust from the infidel army settled,
 It curled up like a hedgehog,²⁷¹
 And they fell silent.]²⁷²
 The infidels were in disarray.
 They entered the trenches and hid there.
 When Prince Ḥamza saw this,
 His senses left his head, and he trembled.
 Then all the people of Islam
 Went back, rejoicing and exulting.
 865 You too, poet, from happiness,
 Arrange here a pentastich!²⁷³



270 Samoilovich's translation has "got excited," but the verb in the text is *khēz etishmak*—to lunge or lurch forward together.

271 In this charming image the text has *kirfi*, which must be a classical Turkmen spelling for *kipri* (hedgehog).

272 Samoilovich notes that this line was written in a different handwriting than the rest of the text.

273 *Mukhammas*: This is a "strophic" poem, containing in each stanza five hemistiches.

(1)

Thank God, the people of faith found victory on this day!
 They bashed the infidels' heads with swords on this day!
 They spilled the infidels' tulip-crimson blood on this day!
 The enemy people were leveled to the ground on this day!

870 Hard work was made fine and easy on this day!

(2)

Anguish came to the heretics, they were turned topsy turvy!
 They ate sorrow, their misery bountiful from the fire of despair.
 Those proud ones, against religion,²⁷⁴ were overthrown,
 Finding no hiding place, a black day descended on their heads.

875 Suffering and sadness left us—fortune came on this day!

(3)

O heaven! Make me happy like this again and again!
 Making the day of sadness pass, and free me from its sorrow!
 Remember [to touch] me with the hand of good fortune!
 Repulsing your evil [*sic*], guide me to your goodness!

880 You have fulfilled all, leaving no regrets on this day!

(4)

The heretics have all come, attacking,
 Sarbazes and sarhangs, sartibs and nobles, in their ranks,
 And royal princes in all their honor.
 They moved their fire temples,²⁷⁵ consumed with worry.
 Not one had a cure for their ailment that day!



274 An interesting linguistic construct in Turkic: *ghayrdīnlar* (“the against-religion ones”).

275 Here again, we have the intimation that the Shi'ite Iranians are actually Zoroastrians (or similar), worshiping at “fire temples”: *āteshkādā*. It is unlikely that the author actually believed this to be the case; more probably, the pejorative idea here is that their religion was a mere “veneer” of Islam grafted on to pre-Islamic “pagan” practices—an idea that helps to justify, perhaps, their treatment as non-Muslims despite the Shi'ite's own Muslim identity.

The Enemy Tries to Flee

Finally, the heretics—know this, O friend!—
 Were besieged, hiding in their trench.
 All the state officials gathered,
 And said, “O Shāh, our time has passed!
 For everyone has their own good time,
 And now our time has come and gone.”
 The Shāh said, “O officers,
 We can’t put up a fight right now.
 890 Let’s move from this place,
 And go to Niyazmat Qal’a.
 After this we’ll do things differently,
 If the heavens grant us strength.²⁷⁶
 We should stay here a few days, though,
 Taking care and waiting for now,
 So this rabble does not think about us
 And say, ‘The Qīzīlbash have fled.’
 Stay in hiding for a few days,
 And wait for the right time to flee.”
 895 But there was one official,
 He said, “O Shāh, my predicament is this:
 I heard some unfortunate news, O Shāh!
 I will tell the news, be aware of it!
 It seems someone will come from Akhal—know this!
 Gathering an army—it’s Nūr Verdi Khān!
 And the moment of his arrival is soon,
 Today or tomorrow—now you know!
 Right now the Tekes of Merv, [that country of] sycamores,²⁷⁷
 Have deprived our people of the choice to flee.
 900 If more riders come from Akhal,
 And if both armies gather together,
 How will our case be then?
 When will our fortune return?

276 Samoilovich’s translation has “time,” but the text has *madārī* (strength, vigor).

277 This is the *chinār*: the Oriental plane tree (*platanus orientalis*), a popular image in Central Asian poetry. In fact, the wetland-loving plane tree is not especially abundant in the Turkmen lands or northern Iran (Turkey, Greece, and southern Tajikistan are where they thrive in abundance). This is part of the point: plane trees hint at a river or an oasis.

So escape from this place of no avail,
 Hope for fortune in another place.
 Don't stay here for one moment!
 Wherever you're headed, be off!"
 That lowly Shāh heard this news,
 And his sadness and sorrow increased.
 905 After holding counsel, in the middle of the night,
 The blood-sucker decided to get underway.
 That prince ordered his army,
 [His words] an ignorant wine of sorrow:²⁷⁸
 "Do not light the fires till dawn,
 Do not strike tinder and make sparks!
 But be ready. We will leave here at dawn.
 Emerging quietly from the trenches,
 We will move through the lowlands."
 910 He gave his orders to the experienced ones.
 He understood the enemy all too well.

That stupid, simple, confused, nasty slave!
 The Tekes understood him too—know this!
 There were, around the Qizilbash,
 Several mighty, preeminent Teke spies.
 They ascertained the Qizilbash's designs,
 And their plan to escape by cunning.
 They sent back a messenger, saying,
 "We Teke people should not wait a minute!
 915 On foot and on horseback, without standing still—
 And if they are standing, don't let them sit!—
 Let them arm themselves, hurrying together,
 Get ready, then swoop upon the infidels' heads!
 Striking their heads with swords and spears,
 Unleash your aggression upon them!"
 After some time, all the Muslim people,
 On foot and on horseback, O friend,
 Surrounded the infidel people,
 Gathering all around.
 920 However, they said to one another:

278 An interesting composite in "Turko-Persian": *ghambāda*.

“Everyone stay in your place!
 When the heretics leave their trench,
 Only then go follow them,
 And do battle! We will fight,
 And tear out the heretics’ throats!”
 The infidel people, however,
 Were heedless to the question:
 “When will the Sunnis come and surround us?”

The Enemy Is Caught Fleeing

At the time of dawn’s crescent,
 When the cannons’ call rose in several places—
 925 This was their call to action,
 Like the commotion of the Day of Judgment!²⁷⁹
 The troops emerged gradually,
 Squadron by squadron,
 And slowly headed out on the road.
 Finally, the rearguard emerged,
 And the morning light spread through the world.
 But there was one captive there,
 They called him Safirak Khān²⁸⁰—
 For years, he was chained in a dungeon,
 But he had been a great hero
 Among his own people.²⁸¹
 930 The Persians used to bring him along
 As an informant²⁸² on raids against Tekes.
 At that time, he was chained to a camel,

279 Samoilovich’s translation has “a commotion arose, as if at a light show,” but the text has *chun shōrīshī rūzī qyāmat* (like the trouble/calamity of the Day of Judgment).

280 According to local memory, Safirak had been captured by Persians while the Tekes were still living in Sarakhs, before their move westward in 1857. He was from the Khar *sub-sub-branch* of the Bek *sub-branch* of the Toqtamīsh Tekes (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128).

281 Samoilovich’s translation has “an outstanding rich man,” but I see no reference to his wealth in the text.

282 The word here, *damsāz*, more literally means a “confidant,” and usually suggests friendship, but in this context it is clear that the man in question was no friend to the Persians. The implication, however, is that they mistakenly held him in their confidence.

And made to ride with the army.
 He emerged from the trench,
 Leaving a trail of laments in his misery.
 Tears came to his eyes—rolling pearls!
 Like pearls threaded on a necklace!
 He was sunk in prayer, from the bottom of his heart,
 And from his throat came the scent of hyacinth!
 935 He said, “O Master, Almighty God!
 Change my separation to union!²⁸³
 Give defeat to the infidel people!
 With grace, give strength to Islam!
 Grant being to those who recognize you,
 And non-being to those alien to you!²⁸⁴
 Before my life departs from me,
 Save me from the hand of the infidels!”
 This man’s prayer was accepted,
 And at dawn his wish was fulfilled.
 940 Dawn is the time of the Merciful One’s warmth,
 And from that warmth his heart found strength.
 Exerting his strength,
 He tore away his ropes and chains,
 Freeing his arms and legs from their shackles.
 That strong man arose,
 Rushed upon the [closest] heretic,
 Struck him in the back with his fist,
 And, snatching his dagger, stabbed him in the back,
 Spilling that Qizilbash’s blood.
 The blood flowed, as red as crimson basil.
 945 Then he ruined the infidels’ existence,
 He thinned their close ranks!
 Though he was a little injured,
 Though he was depressed from captivity,
 Such a sluggish worker as he
 Tore the throats from the heretics!
 Little by little he made his way to the army of Islam,
 Tired and hungry, he stood among them.

283 A common concept in Sufism and in Islamic mystical poetry: the goal of spiritual progress is to achieve union with the divine, overcoming the pain of separation.

284 The pair here is *būd* (being) and *nābūd* (non-being).

Finally the people of Islam
 Joined together in their effort,
 Sharpened their weapons,
 950 And rushed toward the enemy.
 Just admire their work!

Celebrating More Teke Heroes

There was one warrior, though,
 A courageous, excellent sardar,
 He recruited several men as comrades,
 So brave, such masters of the fray!
 He rushed out before the infidel people,
 And saw in one place a lowland.
 He went there and hid,
 He sat there hunting his enemy.
 955 His name was Ghiyās Sardār,²⁸⁵
 And they called him “the Brave One.”
 At that time, the people of faith
 Approached the infidels in their ranks.
 Ghiyās Sardār leapt from his place of ambush,
 Spurring his horse after those soldiers.
 When the infidel people saw this,
 They put fire to their cannons,
 The sound of those cannons thundered,
 And their smoke reached the heavens.
 960 From the flight of one cannonball,
 Ghiyās Sardār fell from his horse.
 His horse fled to one side,
 And the [kicked up] earth reached his ribs.
 This man jumped up from the ground,
 Having no fear of the infidels,
 And the brave one rushed toward them, grabbing his sword.
 He came right up to the gunners,
 Striking with his sword, causing havoc.

285 An Akhal Teke of the Toqtamış branch, from the village of Kipchak (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 127).

He filled the mouths of some with sand,²⁸⁶
 965 And some others he skewered.
 He crushed the lives of the infidels
 Without standing still!
 Finally, he slaughtered the artillerymen,
 And lunged at the cannons.
 He seized several cannons,
 Knocking down the enemy—
 Even if it be Bahman!²⁸⁷

Then the faithful ones arrived together,
 Crying out from their souls,
 Passing by the cannons,
 And chasing the heretics.
 970 A pitched battle ensued.
 They were all united in honor,
 And the Qājārs too drew swords and daggers,
 And, stopping their retreat, fought together.
 The Muslims fought with swords and spears,
 And they slaughtered rancorously.
 This was a mass battle, beyond all limits!
 The angels and heavens looked on!
 The weapons fell like stars!²⁸⁸
 It was as if devils were driven off.
 975 Around that time two lions
 Slaughtered the Qizilbash, making blood flow.
 One was Sultān Bahādur,²⁸⁹ that mountain-peak,
 And another was Fāzil Bek,²⁹⁰ like a mountain!
 They made war with such a clamor,

286 The image here is adversaries “biting the dust” when they fall to the ground—for example, hitting or sliding in the dirt with mouths agape.

287 This Bahman is most likely Bahman Jādūya, a Sassanian general who in 634 led Persian troops to their only significant victory against Arab armies in the first decades of the Islamic period, at the Battle of the Bridge on the banks of the Euphrates.

288 I defer to Samoilovich for the translation of this line.

289 I have not found any further information about this figure.

290 He hailed from the Perreng *sub*-sub-branch of the Sichmaz sub-branch of the Ötämish Turkmens (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 129).

They struck the infidel people with a whoop,
 They cut their bodies in two,
 Their souls leaving soundlessly.
 They sent off their souls, O friend!
 The ones who went to hell became guests there.
 980 The one who welcomed them there
 Is the ruler of hell, O people!
 He gave them some clothes made of fire!
 He burned them up like coal!
 They drink blood and bile,
 They boil inside and out!
 In the end, the war
 Became a bazaar,
 And the bazaar became a rose-garden!²⁹¹

At that time a dragon appeared,
 He was crazed, drunk, “in heat”!²⁹²
 985 It seems it was Muḥammad Shaykh Oghlī,²⁹³ know this!
 He rained sword-blows on the infidels’ heads,
 Now striking with a sword, now with a spear,
 He turned the infidels topsy turvy!
 He brought havoc to the heretics,
 He struck them dumbstruck with his sword.
 Taking vengeance without stopping,
 He subjected the Qizilbash to a general slaughter.
 He knocked some on their front-sides,
 And others on their backsides!²⁹⁴

291 The idea here seems to be that plundering the enemy was like shopping at the market, and that the battle was as pleasant and easy for them as strolling around a rose-garden (the typical Central Asian and Iranian poetic image for a place of ease and beauty).

292 Samoilovich’s translation has “maddened” for *shaydā*, but this word is closer to “passionate” (it is used in romantic contexts, i.e. for the lovelorn). “Fanatical” is a good alternate translation for those averse to thinking about a randy dragon.

293 According to Teke interviewees, this combatant was called by the honorific *sarkarda*, meaning “senior chieftain.” He hailed from the “Medzheur” tribe, by which Samoilovich may be referring to the Medjek *sub*-sub-branch of the Gökche sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamish Tekes. Others interviewed by Samoilovich said he was from the Yagir-Bash *sub*-sub-branch of the Amān Shāh sub-branch of the Bek branch of the Toqtamish. (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 127).

294 I defer to Samoilovich for this translation.

990 Slaughtering with sword and spear,
 He turned the Qājār's heads red,²⁹⁵
 He spilled the infidels' blood, [scarlet] like a tulip,
 He leveled the infidels to the ground!

At this time one man leapt out,
 And he turned the infidels upside down!
 He was the chief of the combatants.
 They called him Bay Qul Aḥmad.²⁹⁶
 To the eye he was like Jam,²⁹⁷
 And in battle he was such a Rustam!
 995 He struck many in front and behind,
 And infidels fell from his loud voice.
 That man fought like Rustam,
 He made the infidels beg for mercy!

Several dragons leapt out from one side,
 Striking with their swords,
 And cutting off heretics' heads!
 These ones are Taji Gök²⁹⁸ and Sufi Mergen,²⁹⁹
 Both battle-tested and experienced.
 They struck their enemy with swords,
 Looking neither right nor left.
 1000 Exacting vengeance on the Qizilbash,
 They carried out a general massacre.
 And three brave ones were at their side,

295 A visual pun on *Qizilbash* ("red head"). Samoilovich's translation misses the image, unfortunately.

296 Samoilovich mentions only that he was, according to interviewees, the son of Bay Tursun, who is also mentioned in the poem (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128).

297 This is Jamshīd, a mythical Iranian ruler whose glorious reign is described in the *Shāh-nāma*. Ruling for three hundred years, according to the legendary epic, Jamshid ushered in an age of unprecedented prosperity and innovation. In addition to his secular achievements, Jamshid is described as having mystical powers too, ruling over demons and angels alike.

298 Two other Turkmen sources from the period mention this Teke elite from the Sichmaz sub-branch of the Otamish Turkmens. According to one (Davan Shair), it was he—rather than Raḥmān Qulī Khān, as our poet writes—who served as Qushut Khān's diplomat during the wars recounted here. (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 128).

299 He hailed from the Sychmaz sub-branch of the Otamish Turkmens. (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 129).

Leveling infidels to the ground:

Two were Muḥammad Riḏā³⁰⁰ and Verdi Bahādur,³⁰¹

How hungry they were for war!

And one was Khwāja Nafas³⁰² from the Burqaz³⁰³ people.

They are among the first

To join in for a massacre.

Striking heretics through the stomach with swords,

Their swords pierce through their backs!

1005 They fought like Bahrām Gūr,³⁰⁴

They killed like the ill-fated Sohrab!

In this crowd several more war-drunk ones fought,

Constantly spilling blood.

One, from the Makhtūm³⁰⁵ people, is Naẓar,

How careful he was in the fray!

There were [also] Qarr Bay³⁰⁶ and Aqa Jān,³⁰⁷

Each of them a hero.

One [other] is Bābā Jān,³⁰⁸ who is forthright,

He brings no chicanery to the business of battle.

300 I have not found any further information about this figure.

301 I have not found any further information about this figure.

302 A Teke combatant from the Sichmaz sub-branch of the Otamīsh Turkmens (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 129).

303 A Turkmen clan. Specifically, the Burqaz (Borkhoz) are a sub-branch of the Otamīsh branch of the Tekes. Not to be confused with the identically named sub-branch of the Nūr ‘Alī branch of the Yomuts! (See Marvin, *Merv, Queen of the World*, 83; Saray, *Turkmens in the Age of Imperialism*, 11; Napier, *Collection of Journals and Reports Received from Capt. G.C. Napier, on Special Duty in Persia, 1874*, 334.)

304 Meaning “Bahrām the Wild Ass,” this is the respectful epithet of the great Sāsānid king Bahrām V (r. 420–438). Remembered as a popular ruler who oversaw a period of stability and prosperity, his fame was cemented in Persian history by his prominent place in great medieval literary monuments like the *Shāhnāma* and the *Haft Peykar* (which is also known as the *Bahrām-nāma*: “The Book of Bahram”).

305 The poet himself, ‘Abd al-Sattār Qazi, was from the Makhtūm group of Tekes. These are not to be confused with the sacred Khwāja tribe known by the same name. Samoilovich identifies the Makhtūms as a sub-sub-branch of the Vekil sub-branch of the Toqtamīsh branch of the Tekes, based around Kelete, 35 kilometers northwest of Gök-Tepe (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, p. 7).

306 I have not found any further information about this figure.

307 I have not found any further information about this figure.

308 An Akhal Teke of the Yazīr Khān branch (Samoilovich, *Kniga rasskazov o bitvakh tekintsev*, 127).

1010 There was [also] that man from the Yazir Khān people,
 His homeland was Közsiz.
 These ones, in their time, are all one of a kind.
 They are elite combatants.

The Enemy Tries to Submit to the Victorious Heroes

In short, all the believers
 Massacred the heretics.
 The infidels turned to flee.
 Swords and daggers fell from their hands.
 [The believers] pulled together against the [infidel] prince,
 And rushed toward him, “goblet of sorrow” that he was.
 1015 When the prince saw this,
 He said, “Alas! Our fortune is gone!”
 Perplexed by their confusion,
 He said again to his state officials,
 “Dig a trench, don’t wait!
 It will be a happy refuge for our people!”
 They leaned into digging their ditch,
 And the Muslims struck with their swords and caused havoc.
 They rushed up to this group,
 And drew screams from the heretics.
 1020 In the end, their ditch was not finished,
 And the Tekes consigned them to a mass massacre.
 In that state, the prince
 Looked around—know this now!
 He said to his shayfur player, “O so-and-so!
 Cry for mercy in the language of the shayfur!”
 At that moment the sound emerged,
 And that *shayfurchi* blew into his sunay,
 As if into ʾIsrāfil’s³⁰⁹ trumpet.
 There were sundry sounds—know this!
 1025 He said, in the shayfur’s language,

309 ʾIsrāfil is one of the four archangels in Muslim tradition (along with Gabriel, Azrael, and Michael). It is said that he will blow his trumpet as a herald of the Day of Judgment—hence the reference to his trumpeting in the poem, as the horn-players signal the battle to come.

“Teke people!
 Grant us mercy and safe passage!
 We will leave!
 We have no business here.
 We are in no condition at all
 To battle with you.
 You may take gold and money, however much.
 With mercy, let us pass through the dangerous crossing.
 Give us mercy then,
 We have come for mercy!
 The final moment has come for us!
 Give us mercy!
 We have sincerely repented.³¹⁰
 Have mercy, grace us with mercy!”

1030 Aman Saʿīd replied, “O Shiʿite people!
 Like devils, you have fallen into confusion!
 You put a necklace of curses around your necks.³¹¹
 In this condition, your repentance
 Cannot be accepted.”
 The Shāh said, “O Khāns and beks,
 Officers and wise ones,
 It is too cold to stay here now!
 We are like crowing roosters whose time is up!
 Should the rooster crow when its time is up,
 The people will beat it to death anyway!
 1035 Heaven finally deprived us of life.
 Smashed to the black earth, we were leveled!
 All our royal equipment—abandoned,
 As well as our tents and pavilions and dwellings.
 And my sixty-six cannons,
 And the ranks of my officers—so many!
 They have all been destroyed or seized.
 And if we stay here, the same will become of us.”
 He spoke these words,

310 The phrase in Turkic is explicitly religious: *tawba qıldıq chun nasūhi*.

311 In Central Asian Turkic literature, a common image of submission in battle is to place “the rope (of submission) upon one’s neck.” The imagery here seems to play on that trope, casting the veritable “white flag” as a mark of their sinfulness and their unfortunate fate.

And spun his horse like a wheel [in his frenzy].
 1040 During this commotion, several fled
 Along with this veritable “house in mourning,”³¹²
 That wretched Shāh set off along the riverbank,
 And disappeared from people’s sight.
 So the shepherd left,
 And the sheep were left to rule themselves.

The Spoils of Victory

The Muslims clashed with them until their retreat.
 And seventy thousand soldiers
 And several excellent Khāns and officials
 Were taken captive, and the Muslims
 Put chains upon their necks.
 1045 They were sent to Khīva and Bukhārā
 And sold, all together.
 The price for them was one donkey,
 Or even cheaper than that.³¹³
 And there were several camels,³¹⁴ with loads of gold,
 On whom the bird of fortune’s vessel once alit,
 And they made a show of taking these,
 Such that the loads of seventy-thousand camels,
 Packed with priceless wares,
 1050 Were divided among the Muslim people,
 And they rejoiced and delighted in this!
 The number of weapons exceeded one-hundred thousand.
 They gathered them together, making a spectacle.
 Several thousand sharp, jeweled swords,³¹⁵
 Several thousand spears and double-edged daggers,
 Several thousand knives with ivory handles,

312 The phrased I have translated as “house in mourning” is *mātam-sarā*.

313 On the fluctuating exchange value of slaves in Central Asia in the nineteenth century, see Jeff Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia*, 29.

314 Samoilovich’s translation has “horses,” but *qaṭr* is the counting word for camels in Chaghatai.

315 Samoilovich’s translation has “made of Damascus steel,” but *jawharī* suggests simply “bejeweled” (there is no mention of Damascus).

With gold-embossed handles, with gilded sheaths,
 Several thousand flintlock guns,
 Double-barreled pistols and *perangi*³¹⁶ guns,
 Several thousand gold-repoussé shields,
 Chain mail, and mirrored helmets,
 1055 Several thousand more *shamkhāls*,³¹⁷
 Several cannons and mortars—
 These were parceled out
 To the people of Islam,
 Who divided them up, rejoicing.
 Several thousand pieces of gold-brocade clothing,
 Robes stitched with jewels both top and bottom,
 Several kinds of cloth and good fabrics,
 Several silk brocade carpets,
 1060 Several thousand pieces
 Of Frankish broadcloth clothing,
 Every one of which seemed to be of several colors,
 Several thousand precious tents,
 Crafted with silk.
 There were still more Qurans, beautifully written,
 Gilded, festooned with gold,
 And several books of tales, in good bindings,
 With no end of pictures.
 In the end, when they took the property and spoils,
 The poor became the people of means,
 1065 And the people of means became elites!
 The Khāns and officials became worthy
 To be called Shāhs!
 But some lucky ones—know this!—
 Drank the cup of martyrdom's nectar.

316 The related term *firangi* in Central Asia generally refers to an Indian straight sword based on European models, but in the poem the word refers to a firearm. *Firangi* (sometimes spelled *feringee*) was a blanket term for foreigners—especially Europeans—in Central and South Asia. A *perangi* pistol, therefore, is probably a design recognized as distinctly European. This must have been a high-value item, since, as Yuri Bregel observes, pistols were rare in the region until the late nineteenth century (Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 586n383).

317 The *shamkhāl* in Central Asia was evidently a firearm with a long barrel and a two-pronged rest (see Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 585n383). More generally, the term can refer to a barrel-loaded rifle, such as a harquebus.

Having heard this news, I say—know this, O people!—
“Truly, to Him we will return.”

This book is completed with the help of the Lord, the Giver.
And God knows best what is meritorious!

“On the tower of Jamshid’s throne, an owl constantly cries.
At the top of Bahram’s castle, a spider makes its home.
The sun’s reflection shining on the goblet is tranquility’s divine light.
A voice came from the cup: look at His reflection in the wine!”

God! Make this poet, in this condition as your slave,
A partaker of the meritorious deeds of the *ghāzīs*!

It is over. The End.

Four Documents on the Turkmen-Persian Conflicts, 1858–1860

The following four documents are among the earliest sources on the 1858 Battle of Qarrī Qal‘a and the 1860 Persian defeat at Merv—the two subjects of ‘Abd al-Sattār’s poem. Written from multiple vantage points (a Persian newspaper, two Russian officials, a British diplomat), they are also among the only extant sources produced while these conflicts were underway or immediately afterwards.

Document 1

One of the only extant sources on the Battle of Qarrī Qal‘a written while it was in progress, this report from a Russian diplomat in northern Iran offers valuable context on Persian-Turkmen relations immediately preceding the battle.

“From the report of the Russian consul in Astarabad, V.V. Gusev, sent to the Russian mission in Iran with proposals on the possibility of Iranian troops’ encirclement by Turkmen in the Kara Kala region, on the cessation of communications with them, and on the situation in Astarabad itself.”

January 12th, 1858

In Astarabad there are the most contradictory rumors regarding the fate of the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli Khan] and his companions, but in reality it has already been more than a month since there was any positive information here about his actions against those Turkmen who had come from Khiva and have been inhabiting Kara Kala, because for all that time no one whatsoever came here [with news] from those places, and the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] himself did not write anything to anyone. Five days ago, I found an occasion to send him a letter via one of the Yomut Turkmen, but down to the present time I have not received any answer at all. All that is known here, most likely, is that the Ikhani [Jafar Quli] left the Goklan Turkmen nomads about a month ago, and should now be in the Sutliar steppes, around about 8 farsakhs from Kara Kala on this side. They say that the elders of the people [i.e. Turkmen tribes] who

came from Khiva went to him with a request to give them a reprieve until next spring so they could migrate to other places, but that the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] did not agree to their request, and therefore it is entirely natural that he should at present be surrounded by enemies from all over. Although he has up to 15,000 cavalry and infantry, according to local denizens, his enemy is nevertheless, in any event, much stronger in number, since besides the Kara Kala inhabitants their neighbors, the Tekes, have also armed themselves against [Jafar Quli] ... Beyond this, the Yomut Turkmens neighboring the city of Astarabad, most of whom are from the Jafarbay tribe upon whom the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] delt a sudden defeat on September 5th of the previous year [1857] ... cannot in any way forget this blow, during which they were nearly [all] deprived of their wives and children, who were taken into captivity and conducted to the city of Astarabad, where they are to the present moment kept under guard with the goal of ransoming them for those Persians who were taken into slavery (*v novoliu*) during the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli]'s eight-month absence in the first months of the previous year [1857].

Jafar Quli Khan and those with him, Mir Panj Abdulla Khan Saremud-Dawla and Riza Quli Khan Afshar, notwithstanding all their bravery and their shared readiness to fulfill the orders received from the Persian government on the removal of the Turkmen force from Kara Kala, were hardly able to overcome their many adversaries, due to their lack of military resources, such as experienced sarbazes, field artillery, etc. Therefore only that happiness which always accompanied the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli, on previous occasions,] gave local denizens some hope for a happy conclusion to this campaign.

The spiritual leader of the Jafarbay Turkmens, Tagan-Kazy, known to the imperial mission from the reports of the commanders of the Astarabad [naval] station, zealously incites his fellow tribesmen to robberies and attacks on local provincial villagers. As they moved away from [Astarabad], the Jafarbays began to plunder villages almost every day, to take captives, and to kill their inhabitants and steal their cattle. To the present date, as far as is known, they have taken into slavery (*v nevoliu*) up to 40 people, among whom there is even Prince Ibrahim Mirza and eight of the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli]'s own servants who had [previously] been released by him near Sengir, a place lying on the border between Astarabad province and the [lands of] the Goklan nomads. These servants of the governor were captured by the nomads in the Dukabran steppe, one farsakh's distance from Ketul and around five from Astarabad. As far as I know, the commander of the Astarabad [naval] station, Lieutenant-Captain Likharev, has already advanced all the instructions in his power to ensure that the aforesaid prince and Ilkhani [Jafar Quli]'s eight servants will be rescued from captivity without fail and presented to him. According to the Astarabad

mayor, the aforementioned Tagan Kazy invites the Jafarbay and Atabay Turkmens to go to the aid of the Kara-Kala inhabitants; however, the said Yomuts, whose wives and children are presently held in Astarabad, do not agree to set off on this campaign until they are convinced that the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] will fail to get the best of their adversary. Nevertheless, there are other rumors that they actually sent subsidies to Kara Kala [to aid its defense]. Aside from the unrest being carried out at the present time by Turkmens, no lesser unrest is also being aggravated by the Astarabad jurist Akhund Mullah Muhammad Riza, known to the Imperial Commission for his intrigues and his tendency to interfere in matters other than his own, who, to the obvious displeasure of Mirza Muhammad, the temporary governor of Astarabad province, and to all sensible people, has been going out of the city every two or three days, armed head to toe, in the company of various bastards on horseback, and, heading out to the surrounding villages, inciting their inhabitants to “jihad”—a general uprising against the Turkmens. Such actions by Mulla Riza, of course, cannot remain secret from the Turkmens, who are well within their rights to consider themselves, after this, offended by the Persians, and therefore to strengthen their plundering. Under such circumstances, in the opinion of Mirza Muhammad and other inhabitants of Astarabad, even the very city itself is in danger, having no means of defense due to its lack of any force whatsoever. Mirza Muhammad must also be thanked for that fact that, by way of astute instructions, he manages to keep the townspeople from hostile clashes with the Turkmens; otherwise the latter, being pushed beyond their patience, would perhaps decide in the end on a unanimous and desperate invasion of [Astarabad]. No more than five days ago, a large gang of armed Turkmen horsemen rushed under the very city walls, but, fortunately, from here they dispersed to neighboring villages to plunder ...

Around evening time on the same date, from the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli]’s camp, being located now within cannon-shot of Kara Kala, one of the respected resident holy men came to Astarabad: Sayyid Nizam al-Din. According to him, to the present moment, the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] was not able to do anything decisive against the Turkmens, and is in a very difficult situation due to the current shortage of provisions for the troops. Besides this, the Yomut Turkmens who accompanied him betrayed him and went over to the side of the Kara Kala inhabitants, with the exception of their elders, to whom the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] gave permission to return to their auls, not seeing any need for them any longer. Moreover, Sayyid Nizam al-Din said the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] has the good intention of sending his brother Shir Muhammad Khan along with 200 Bujnurd Kurds to Astarabad to secure the city. Be that as it may, however, in my extreme understanding, it would not hurt for His Majesty the Shah’s government to pay serious attention both to the difficult situation in which the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli]

finds himself, and to the extreme danger to which this local region is exposed due to the lack of any military means and forces.

Document 2

Written five days after the previous document, this report is similarly sympathetic to the Turkmens and likewise anticipates the Persian defeat. It includes rare information on Ja'far Qulī Khān's role in the conflict and his communications with the Turkmens on the eve of the battle.

“Report from the head of the Astarabad Naval Station to the Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus Army on the reasons why a punitive mission was sent to Kara-Kala district.”

January 17th, 1858

I consider it my duty to inform your excellency about the events taking place in the local region. Last year, on November 21st 1857, the local Astarabad governor Jafar Quli Khan Ilkhani set out on a campaign at the behest of His Majesty the Shah against utterly obedient Turkmens who had migrated from Khiva in 1856 and had settled, with the consent of the Persian government and the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli], on the same fertile plains from which they had departed for Khiva approximately 50 years prior, and where they had been dwelling on that side of the Sumbar river that flows to the right of the Atrek. There was a fort on this plain, the nearly ruined fort of Kara Kala, which the Turkmens have now strengthened a bit, and they do not want to leave that place, where they have managed to get settled and provide for themselves. The Persian government, not only perennially suspicious of foreigners but not even trusting its own governors, became suspicious of Jafar Quli Khan Ilkhani—who had already taken part in a rebellion against the Shah on one occasion—with regard to his intentions in settling Turkmen migrants so close to the Persian borders, and ordered him to resettle them from Kara Kala to another place. No matter how hard the Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] tried to convince his government not to drive off those Turkmens who had resettled there, and who were ready to pay tribute from that place, he did not succeed in this; and thus, without resorting to force, he began to persuade the migrants from Khiva to move away from the fort of Kara Kala, in which and around which they had been roaming. But only around 3,000 families listened to him and migrated to the other side of the Sumbar, to the Chandyr Valley, watered on two sides by the Sumbar and Atrek rivers and closed

off on a third side by a branch of mountains running northwest from Bujnurd; the remaining 6,000 families stayed in the places they previously occupied and did not want to leave there. The Ilkhani [Jafar Quli] headed out against them with an army consisting of 10,000 on foot and on horseback, with three cannons. These troops were poorly armed, little supplied with provisions, and, according to many who saw them, they should not achieve success in the event that the Turkmens take a notion to resist, because the governor will have to deal not solely with the migrants from Khiva but also with their nearest neighbors, the Teke Turkmens, a brave people and one always hostile to the Persians. Now a lot of time has passed, and there is no positive news whatsoever concerning the governor and his actions; it is known only that he is surrounded on all sides by Turkmens and that their numerical force exceeds his force. Local Yomut Turkmens of the Jafarbay and Atabay tribes, whom the Ilkhani perfidiously plundered when he was here on September 5th 1857, taking their families into captivity and holding them hostage in the city of Astarabad, have now rebelled and have begun pillaging the whole country around Astarabad, which was left without an army. They are taking the majority of Persian captives into slavery (*mnozhestvo plennykh persian uvodiatsia v nevoliu*), they are burning villages, and all because of the injustice and perfidy of the governor [Jafar Quli]. The calamities resulting from this will be incalculable. Pertaining to our detachment, the coastal Turkmens express their complete submission (*pokornost'*) and goodwill; I will not fail to inform Your Excellency of all details concerning further incidents in the country.

Document 3

Lewis Pelly, a British diplomat in Herat, wrote the earliest extant reports about the disastrous Persian defeat at Merv in 1860. His journals provide an even more forthcoming perspective on the catastrophe, including the details of his personal visit to the defeated army's convoy.

Excerpts from “A journal of Lewis Pelly’s official journey overland from Persia to India through Afghanistan including Mashhad, Herat and Kabul”

**India Office Records: Mss Eur F126/31
October, 1860**

I commenced a letter to Sir Henry Rawlinson, and was in the middle of it, when the Minister came in hurriedly with a message from the Sirdar to say the Per-

sian Army of some 50,000 men had been utterly beaten and destroyed by the Tekkie Turcomans at Merv and that the Shahzadeh / commanding [*sic*] in chief with a wreck of some few thousand men was in swift retreat upon Herat. In a short time the Comm. in Chief brought me the Ameer's letters announcing his victory, and an autograph letter or rather hurried scrawl from the Prince Humza Meerza announcing his defeat. The latter missive still vaunted the power of the Shah and asked for aid. From all I can gather, guns commissariat infantry baggage and all are in the Turcoman Camp. The Turcomans will of course be at the heels of the Prince. The Saloor and Sarrokh Turcomans must even if they like not join the Tekkies. The Jumsheedees still unconquered at Moor-Achak will take fresh heart. And it only wants Mahomed Afzul Khan to make his threatened appearance at Memaneh to have the whole North from Meshed to Balk in one continuous uproar. Some two thousand Persians of all arms who chance to be here in route to Merv can at once be pushed on to the Prince's Camp with provisions—shall move on to Roussau myself directly confidence is vested here and then see if I can aid the Prince stop the Turcomans by remonstrance or arrangement and rescue if possible the hapless French Photographer who was with the Persian force. Employed till late in the evening in writing reports relative to this disaster. [...] In the afternoon the Sirdar himself called. Both he and his minister are desirous that I should not leave Herat until things settle down.

[Saturday, October 3rd]—News in today of a second disaster sustained by the Persian Force at the hands of the Saloor and Sarookh Turcomans of Pundeh. It appears that the force turned off its directive of flight and moved east to the Sarookh stronghold. These tribes were in enmity with the Tekkies and had secretly aided and provisioned the Persian Army. They now received the Prince with courtesy and fed his followers. Suddenly the following morning they rushed on the Persians seized their baggage animals and supplies, made slaves of some 3 or 4 thousand disarmed many more while the Prince his second in command and some immediate followers mounted horse, and trusting themselves to the prudence of an Hazareh chief named Mollah Youssuf fled towards Herat followed by some 8 or 9 thousand stragglers on foot and who had either escaped in the confusion or who had been taken stripped and turned loose as valueless.

[Tuesday, October 6th]—Was just mounting to ride out to the Persian camp beyond the river when the courier arrived from Teheran 14 days en route ... Reached the camp and sent to ask to see the Prince, but he postponed the visit till the following morning. Found some 8000 unarmed men, many foot sore and half clothed, all lying about ... poor fellows they have been sacrificed to mismanagement but no man complained and only one begged of me.

[Wednesday, October 19th]—Saw the Khisham-ool-dowlah and remonstrated with him upon his neglect of his men. All to no use ... Followed me out of his hut and mounting his horse rode towards Meshed, some cavalry following him. I then went to the Prince but found him almost broken down with grief. Straight after ascertaining that what his Highness wants was money. After learning also that the French gentleman who went to photograph the Turcomans was dead. And after urging his Highness not to go by the frontier road but by that of Khaff. I rode back to Herat and consulting with Sultan Ahmed Khan sent out money for the Prince and wrote to him a latter also, pointing out that his best plan would be to leave his footsore and damaged men behind when I would take care of them and send them on under escort. That he himself with his efficient should move t once, as every day is of importance, the winder setting in and the Turcomans being on the alert. Finally that he should move his infantry by the Khaff road, have a cavalry flanking party along the frontier road and so be in a position to find shelter ...

[Sunday, October 21st]—The Minister gave me an amusing account of his visit to the Prince Governor's Camp from which he has today returned. He says it is the intention of the Khan-ool-dowlah to lay all the blame of the recent defeats upon Prince Humza Mirza—but I should think this falsehood would hardly hold—unless backed by enormous bribes at Teheran. Meanwhile the Prince has got his two thousand sovars [?] from this place, has left a few of his footsore men, but has I believe taken the Frontier Road. If so I feel pretty sure he will yet have another mishap ere he reach Meshed. It appears that one of the Persian surbaz who visited the city yesterday was found this morning at the Candahar gate with his head cut off.

Document 4

Weeks after the Persian defeat at Merv, news of the catastrophe was finally reported in a Tehran newspaper. That article was translated and reprinted soon afterwards in Kavkaz ("Caucasus"), a Russian journal known for its in-depth coverage of Iran. An insightful analysis of the defeat's context and significance accompanies Kavkaz's translation of the Persian document.

"Persia. Private Correspondence," in *Kavkaz* No. 91 (Tiflis, November 20, 1860):

Tehran, October 29th.

We did not want to fatigue your attentions by reporting on the unpleasant rumors which have constantly been spreading about the misfortunes experienced by the Persian troops sent this spring on an expedition against the Turkmens inhabiting the vast steppe north of Khurasan. Finally, however, the government itself, seeing that it was impossible to hide its detachment's disaster, in the last issue of the *Tehran Gazette*, from the 9th of *Rabi' al-akhir* (October 13th) ... describes the final defeat and flight of the detachment. Here is the translation of the text, which we give in order to avert the thought of any biased opinions:

"We noted before that after the Shah's troops took the Merv fortress, the Teke Turkmens, crossing the river, began to reinforce themselves in the *aul*¹ of Alisha, erecting earthen fortifications. The Prince Khishmet al-Dowla (Hamza Mirza) and Qavvam al-Dowla (his vizier), busy with punishing the Salor tribe and securing food supplies, from the 26th of *Dhu al-Hijjah*, that is, from the time of the occupation of Merv, until the 27th of *Safar*, did not conduct any military actions whatsoever, while the adversary was carrying out serf duties [*sic*]. The Turkmens even crossed the bridge that was in their hands and built ramparts and a bastion on that side of the river, at which they placed a lookout point. On the 27th of *Safar*, Khishmet ud-Dowla [Hamza Mirza] and Qavvam ud-Dowla, leaving part of the detachment with guns and supply wagons in Merv, set off themselves with the other regiments against the enemy and, arriving at the Samanduk fortress, located three farsakhs from Merv, stayed there for two days. On the 1st of *Rabi' al-awwal*, they headed farther on and stopped with their troops 2,000 steps from the Turkmen fort. On the 2nd of *Rabi' al-awwal* (September 6th), the Persian troops occupied a very unfavorable position: high reeds and deep streams made it difficult to make use of the cannons and to make the correct movements. Nevertheless, a pitched battle ensued, continuing for nine hours; the *sartip* of the Ferakhan regiment, Muhammad Hasan Khan, was killed in this engagement. Despite the inconvenient location, the Persian troops fought very courageously and fulfilled their duty. Since that time, as seen in the news received now, no military actions have taken place whatsoever, and the *sarbazes* were engaged in the building of ramparts and digging trenches to the river and to the Turkmen fortifications. On the 16th of the same month (September 20th), the Turkmens, both men and women, gathering in a great mass, set out from their fortification, and the Persian troops moved against them. The battle continued from morning until sunset, eleven hours in all; the inconvenient location once again impeded the working of the

1 The common term for a Turkmen settlement or village.

artillery. Although the Persian troops did not gain victory that day, they nevertheless returned in due order to their camp at sunset. They say that around 4,000 people were killed that day, but the losses on our side were much more considerable than those on the Turkmen side. On the night of the 17th, Khishmet al-Dowla and Qavvam al-Dowla, seeing the undaunted courage, numbers, and readiness of the Turkmen, and, at the same time, discussing the inconvenience of the positions taken up by the Persian troops, who could not operate their artillery, arrived at the conclusion that the expedition would stretch on a very long time for these reasons. Moreover, they were threatened by the inadequacy of the food supplies. If they resolved to send out a part of the detachment to get supplies, it still would not make it back soon enough, and besides this, their detachment would need to be considerably reduced. They were menaced by the most powerful adversary—hunger. So they decided to head off with the detachment toward Panjdeh, in hopes of finding food supplies there, but they did not take stock of the fact that setting off with the troops not long after a pitched eleven-hour battle meant giving cause to the enemy to act with still greater courage and obduracy. Deciding in the end [nevertheless] to carry out their plan, they set out with the troops.

“The Turkmen, who had endured much in battle, learning of this movement, sent at night their cavalry and infantry, who settled along the streambanks and in the reeds in order to block the detachment’s path, while those who were able to carry weapons set off in pursuit of it. On the 17th (September 21st), striking from afar at the vanguard, rearguard, and flanks, the Turkmen seized everything they could from the convoy, taking captive or killing on the spot whomever they could. Arriving in Panjdeh, the army did not find any provisions. Due to the insufficiency of provisions and water, it was decided that the detachment, dividing into two parts, would take different roads. Pasha Khan, the *Shuja al-Mulk*, had headed for Turbet Shaykh Jam and had already arrived there, but the Khishmet al-Dowla and Qavvam al-Dowla had not yet arrived at that place (Mashhad).

“Since, after returning in this condition the former obviously could not be left as the ruler and the latter as vizier of Khurasan, his Kingly Greatness saw fit to appoint as governor of this province *Muid al-Dowla* Takhmas-Mirza, known for his great comportment, humanity, and abilities; and, as vizier and sardar of the local troops, Muhammad Nasir Khan, the *Eshik agasi bashi* (master of ceremonies), an experienced and skilled official. From fear of the disorder that could ensue after such unrest and failure on the borders of Khurasan, he was ordered to go by courier. Muhammad Nasir Khan was granted the title *Zahir al-Dowla* (assistant of the state) ... and showered with gold adornments. It falls to him to care for the welfare of the Shah’s subjects until Prince Takhmas-Mirza

arrives in Mashhad—and he will soon head there with troops, artillery, and shells, and with God’s help, making the necessary preparations, not like what befell others in previous times, he will fulfill wonderfully and easily the order entrusted to him and set this matter right.”

Here [above] is an accurate translation of the official bulletin, which leaves no doubt that the expedition which cost, judging by the income of Persia, an incalculable sum, concluded in an exceedingly unfortunate manner. The best half of the Shah’s troops took part in it and, as everyone here is positively convinced, hardly a tenth of them will return from the campaign. The artillery, consisting of almost thirty cannons, went to the Turkmens. In addition, the sad news was received that Mir-Panj (commander of five regiments) Jafar Quli Khan, son of Iskandar Khan Khoiskii, was killed; Mustafa Khan, the brother of the *sipahsalar* (minister of war), was taken into captivity; and Abdul Ali Khan, artillery *sartip*, an old veteran, known for his bravery, who had been in almost all the major campaigns since the last war with Russia, was severely wounded and is unlikely to recover. Of course, His Majesty, who has enjoyed constant success in ventures against his Asian enemy-neighbors, was exceedingly upset by such an unhappy conclusion to the expedition. The court, clergy, and populace sympathize with His Majesty in this general disaster. We must observe that Takhmas-Mirza’s order to go to Khurasan was recently cancelled; he has been appointed as governor of Shiraz, and Sultan Murad Mirza has been appointed governor of Khurasan in place of Hamza Mirza. This prince is known for his management abilities. He took the Mashhad fortress by storm, in which troops had long been holding out, having rebelled under the command of Salar in 1849. In the last war, Herat surrendered to him after a long siege. They say that Nasir al-Din Shah swore to take revenge on the Turkmens at all costs and punish them for their boundless insolence. Orders have already been given for the troops of Azerbaijan to prepare for a new campaign, but now it will hardly be possible to assemble more than six regiments there. The *sarbazes*, who were already formerly on campaign against the Turkmens in Astarabad and Khurasan, will not readily go against them again. Thus, two regiments returning from Astarabad refused to go to Khurasan and fled to the refuge (*best*) of the Shahzada Abdul Azim mosque, from which they do not want to leave until they are given their several-years-unpaid salary and permitted to discuss the matter, and to be subjected to no punishment for their disobedience. Hopes for the army are generally bad. They say that part of the detachment left by Hamza Mirza in Merv, having learned about the commander-in-chief’s escape, left the fortress, and 700 people from the Simnan regiment surrendered to the Salors, who took them captive. From the ruler of Herat too there is nothing to hope for; even before the campaign, while he was based in Tehran, he had promised to give

the Persians a considerable amount of provisions; but Hamza Mirza, who sent the Damavand regiment to Herat for them, was not able to wait for provisions from Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan.

Muhammad Nasir Khan has already headed off to Mashhad; Hamza Mirza and his vizier, they say, have arrived there with a small retinue. We make no predictions about whether the Persian government will actually resolve to undertake a new expedition against the Turkmens, or whether it will limit itself to the defense of its borders against these tribes, whose courage will increase from their recent successes. Let us await the events to come.

The garrison of the new fort built on the site of what was formerly Sarakhs—named “Nasiriyya” after the Shah—also left its post, having learned that Prince Hamza Mirza had retreated from Alisha, but they say it has returned there from the road. We know, so far, only the main events of the unfortunate campaign, but its extremely interesting details can only be learned from those who were themselves participants in it, because, of course, no one will dare to write about them for fear that the letter would fall into the hands of the authorities. However, based on rumors from Mashhad, everyone here thinks that, from the expeditionary force, which consisted of the best cavalry and infantry, very few people survived. The blame for the failure will, of course, be placed on the unfortunate Hamza Mirza; but, as we have long predicted, it must be attributed to the slowness with which the Persians went on their campaign, which was such that the Turkmens managed to make off with their bread [i.e. grain], after which it was easy for them to withdraw into the depths of the steppe. The Mashhad authorities also contributed to the failure inasmuch as they did not prepare the necessary provisions, which, however, was not easy for them to accomplish: the harvest in 1858 was poor in Khurasan, and the delivery of grain from distant provinces was fraught with unbelievable challenges. This is to say nothing of the mistakes of the Prince and his vizier, who led their troops into reeds and swampland well-known only to the Turkmens, and then, not giving the *sarbazes* a rest after a long battle—[troops which], as the Tehran newspaper itself hints, had suffered huge losses the day before—led them to the very places where it was easy for the enemy to take them into captivity or kill them like sheep. Above all, Khishmat al-Dawla and his vizier made an unforgivable blunder in believing the oaths of the Salor tribal elders, who promised after the capture of Merv to serve the Qajar dynasty against the Tekes and other tribes hostile to it. As soon as the detachment Hamza Mirza left in Merv, having heard about his defeat, departed the fort and started their retreat, the Salors attacked it ferociously and inflicted on it a terrible pummeling.

The governor of Astarabad and Mazandaran, the *Mulk-ara*, having set upon the Yamuts with 5,000 or 6,000 people, returned to Astarabad, having lost

about 100 of his troops, and was not able to do anything to give luster to his name and frighten the audacious Turkmens, who are now even still more daringly robbing the Persian villages close to their auls. The *Mulk-ara* is asking once again for troops to be sent from the capital, but at the present time all the attention of the Shah's government is focused on the matter of Khurasan, and he can hardly expect such an outlay. We heard from a person deserving of full confidence that the Astarabad governor intends to head off to Fendereski and make an assault upon the Yamut tribes or the Goklans migrating along the borders of the district, but it would not be advisable to take any action right now against the Turkmens, animated as they are by the success of the Tekes and the general misfortune of the Persians. They also say that the residents, aggrieved by their constant enemies in the steppe and oppressed by the continuous extortions of the local government, are very unsatisfied with the *Mulk-ara's* governance. Most of the clergy, who still have a strong influence over the spirit of the people in that district and govern their actions, are likewise not on the greedy governor's side. For these reasons, the *Mulk-ara* cannot hope for the assistance of the *Iljari* (militia), which plays an important role in campaigns against the Turkmens, and who are agitated by him to the extreme: recently, without any special reason, he captured and executed Eltezor Khan, one of the most influential Yamut elders, who, trusting the Persians, had come to Astarabad. Actions of this kind on the part of the government, which, being unable to deal with the enemy, bring about through their own cruelty unnecessary disasters upon the heads of the defenseless populace, will by no means lead to success.

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Jangnāma: Facsimile

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- 1060 نچہ منک جامہ¹ ماویت فرنکی کورونوب هر بیری کیم نچہ رنکی
نچہ منک جادری قیمت بهالبع که اطلس برلا شلادین بنالبع
تقی چندین کلام اللہ² خوش خوان³ که طلا زر حلی طلا زرفشان
نچہ قصه کتابی خوش مجلد چکیب⁴ تصویر⁵ صورت اندا یعد
بیل آخر چون آلب مالی غنیمت که درویش اهلی بولدی اهلی دولت
غنی لار بولدی منازی خلایق بولوب چون خان⁶ بیگ شهلیقغه لایق f. 49b. 1065
ولی نچہ سعادتلیغ⁷ بیل آتی شهادت شربتدین⁸ اچتی جامی⁹
ایشیب بول خبرنی بیل ابا کس دیدیم انا الیه راجعون بس 1067

تمت الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب¹⁰ والله اعلم بالصواب

- * جمشید تختی¹¹ سورجی ده بای قوش اوزار هر دم ندا *
- * بهرام قصری اوجی ده اورکنجی ایلاب دور وطن¹² *
- * اشرفت من عکس شمس الکس انوار الهدا *
- * یار عکسین میده کور تیب جامدن جقدی صدا *

آلهی ناظمی قلنی بو حالت¹³ ثوابی غازی لارغه¹⁴ قیل شراکت 1068
تنت تمام

1—2) Дамма = изафету. 3) Рук. حان. 4) Рук. چلیب.
5—6) Встав. و. 7) Рук. سعادتلیغ. 8) Рук. شربتدین. 9) Рифма!
10) Рук. الوهاب. 11) Рук. تختی. 12) Это двустишие, вѣроятно, цитата.
Слѣдующее двустишие — цитата изъ Невая. 13) Рук. حالت. 14) Рук.
غازларغه.

توتوب دریا کنارین اول شهی بوم که مردم چشمی دین^۱ چون بولدیلار کرم
 جوفان کتی قویون فالدی باشیغه مسلمانلار توقشتی * قش غشیغه^۲
 f. 48b. که پتمیش منک دغی سربازلارنی نچه خان بیگ ممتازلارنی
 اسیر ایلاب مسلمانلار آئی چند که سالدیلار آلارنیک بوونیغه^۳ بند
 1045 یساردیلار آئی خیسوق بخارا ساتیش برلا که قیلدیلار آوارا
 بهاسی بولدی آنلار بیر خری چون که اندین هم بولوبان کمتری چون
 یسه نچه قطرلار بار برلان که بوکلانگان زری خروار برلان
 کیما دولت قوشی قوندی بیگبار اوزلارنی، الیبان قیلدی ادخار^۴
 که پتمیش منک تیوه اماللارینی اورولغان بی بها امواللارینی
 1050 قیلیب قسمت آئی اهلی مسلمان بولوبان چون نچه شادان^۵ خندان
 که بوز منک دین آشیب سانی براغلار نوشوردیلار قیلیب کیم ختراغلار
 نچه منک تیغی دم کیر * جوهری دار^۶ نچه منک نیزه دوروره^۷ خنچار
 نچه منک بیجا قی دندان صافلیغ محلل دستلیغ طلا غلانی لیغ
 f. 49a. نچه منک جاق ماقی جشنی^۸ توفانکی قوشانی لیک طپانچه^۹ پرنکی
 نچه منک قالغان^{۱۰} زر قوبه لیقنی سویت سابا * چهار آینه^{۱۱} جبه لیقنی
 1055 نچه کیم منک دغی شامخاللارنی^{۱۲} نچه سوئی زمسی رک^{۱۳} بارلارنی
 بولارنی اولجه ایلاب اهلی اسلام قیلیب قسمت بولوبان شاد^{۱۴} خرام
 نچه منک جامه^{۱۵} طلا مطلل^{۱۶} چکیب چون دوریکا شیرازه ارطل
 نچه نوعی^{۱۷} متاعی^{۱۸} خوش قماشلار نچه اطلس^{۱۹} زریفت دین فراشلار

1) Рук. چشم دین. 2) См. стихъ 263. 3) Чит. въ 3 слога, см. стихъ 1031. 4) Чит. ?اوزارلارنی? 5) Чит. ?ادخار? 6) Встав. у. 7) у. только для стиха. 8) Рук. >дурорیه. 9) ? 10) Дамма = изафету. 11) Чит. чър-аіна. 12—13) См. стихъ 197. 14) Встав. у. 15) Дамма = изафету. 16) Вм. مطلی. 17) Рук. >نوئی. 18) у. вм. 19) Встав. у.

- بیل آخر خنداقی بتمای تماما
 1020 اوشال حالت کیم اول شاه زاده سی چون
 قراب اطرافغه کیم بیلکیل اکنون
 f. 47b. چافر شیغور تیل ابله الامانی
 چلیب¹ شیغورجی سی صورنای نای
 صدایی کونه کونه اندران بیل
 اوراردی شیغورین صوری اسرافیل³
 1025 تیدی شیغور تیل ابله نکه ایللی
 امان برلا بیزا بیرکیل سبیلی
 کتالی بیز بو بردین ایشیز بوق
 سزینک برلا اوروش رویشیز³ بوق
 که هر نه السانک آل طلا زردین
 امان بر ابدی کلدوک الامانه
 امان بر توبه قیلدوق چون نصوحی
 امان سعید تیدی ای اهلی شیعه⁴
 1030 که آلدینک بووننکا⁵ چون طوقی لعنت
 قبول اولیاس سنینک توبنک بو حالت
 ف. 48b. بینه سرتیب⁷ سرهنک بیلکولیک لار
 بینه سرتیب⁷ سرهنک بیلکولیک لار
 محل سز صبحه قیلغان چون توبق⁹ دور
 اورولار ایل آئی اولتورکالی بس
 خروس قیلسه محل سز صبحه نی بس
 فلک آخر بیزی بی جان قیلدی
 1035 قرا برکا اوروب یکسان قیلدی
 سبیل قویدی همه اسباب شاهی
 دغی خرکا¹⁰ جادر بارکاهی
 بینه کیم التیش آلتی توفلارینی
 نچه سرباز¹¹ سرتیب صف لارینی
 شکست ایلاب آلاغه بولدی مالک
 اکر تورساق قیلور بیزی کذالک
 بو سوزلارنی تیدی قیلدی تحرک
 دولاندردی آتین مانند فرک¹²
 1040 فرار ایلاب اوشول کیم ماجرا چون
 نچه تن برلا اول ماتم سرا چون

1) Чит. چالیب. 2) Рук. срафил. 3) Рук. роиши миз. 4) Рук. شیغه.

5) Чит. боінуца. 6—7) Встав. в; въ перв. полуст. недостаетъ 2 слоговъ, напр. айа предъ ай. 8—9) См. стихъ 141 и др. 10) Вм. و خرکا.

11) Встав. و. 12) Чит. پَرَک?

1000 قزىل باشدين اليب كيم انتقامين
 بولاغه يانديشيبان¹ اوج زبردست
 آلاز محمد² رضا بيردى بهادر
 بيرى خواجه³ نفس برقاز ايلدين
 اوروب تغين روافض قرنى دين بس
 1005 سواش ايلاب بولار بهرام⁴ كور تك
 بولار هنگاميدا كيم نچه سرمست
 بيرى مخدوم ايلدين كيم نظر دور
 بيرى كيم قرباي⁵ آقا جاندر
 بيريدور بابا جان⁶ سادهوش دور
 1010 f. 47a. ايدى اول تن يازر خانى ايلدين
 بولار كيم دهر ارا بكتا ابرور بس⁷
 كه القصه تمامى مؤمنينى⁸
 قچارغه يوز قويوشتى اهلى كفار
 بغيريليب⁹ توفلائيىب شاهزاده سيغه
 1015 كوروب بو حالتى شاهزادهسى چون
 سراسيمه بولوب حيرانليغيدين
 جافنكلار خندق تورماي كيم آنى
 فازورغه خنداقين كيم قيلديلار زور
 يتوشتى لار قريب چون اول گروهنى
 قيلورديلار آلارنينك قتملى عامين
 قليب كفار ايلين كيم ير بيله پست
 اوروشورغه زهى خوش اشتهدار
 قتال ايلاب بولار كيم اوليدين¹⁰
 چقاريب تيغ لارين بغيريندين¹¹ بس
 قران ايلارديلار سهراب¹² شور تك
 سواش ايلاب توكوب قانلار به بيوست
 اوروشوردا زهى كيم الحذر دور
 بولار هر قيسىسى صاحب قراندور
 كه بوقدور حيلهسى ايشى سواشدور
 مكان اصلى آنكا كوزسزيدين¹³
 مبارزلار ارا ممتاز ابرور بس
 ساليب چون رافضى غه فرغينينى¹⁴
 كه توشتى اللاريدين تيغ¹⁵ خنچار
 يتوشتى لار كيم اول غباده سيغه
 دريغا كتى دولت بيزدين اكنون
 تيدى ارکان دولتغه بنكى دين
 كه شاد بولغاي ييز ايلكا بير پناهى¹⁶
 مسلمانلار اوروب تيغ¹⁷ قليب شور
 چقارديلار روافضدين غريبونى

1) Ср. стихи 507 и 954. 2) Чит. Māmād. 3) Рук. خواچه; ср. 690.
 4) Чит. آؤليدين. 5) Рук. يغيريندين. 6—7) Встав. و. 8) قزى جاى съ
 характернымъ гркмиск. удвоеннымъ р. 9) Дамма вм. او (اول)? 10) ى для
 стиха, ср. 629. 11) Рук.: بسى بسى. 12) См. стихъ 27 и др.; конечное ى для
 стиха. 13) Рук. قيرغينينى. 14) Встав. و. 15) См. стихъ 482.
 16) Рифма! 17) Встав. و.

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- روان ابلاب آلا ر جانینی^۱ ای جان
 آلا رکا میزبانلیغ ابلاکان کس
 برورلار جامهٔ اوندین جنانی
 ابجورولار آلا رغه خون زرداب
 بیل آخ کیم اوروش بازار بولدی
 او هنگام اژدری جون بولدی پیدا
 امیش محمد^۲ شیخ اوغلی بیلکیل آئی
 کھی تیغ کھی نیزه اوروب چون
 قیلیب چون رافضی غه شور^۳ شین لار
 که قوبعی کیم آلوردی انتقامین
 نچه لارنی یتوروب توکته^۴ ابلاب
 قیلج نیزه برلا قرغین ابلاب
 توکاردی کفر ایلی دین لاله تک فان
 اوشال هنگام ارا چقدی بیر ایر چون
 مبارزلار ارا کیم ابردی سرمد
 کورار کوزکا اوزی کیم جملیک ابردی
 نچه لارنی اوروب بیش فسیدین
 سواشیب کیم اول ایر چون رستمانه
 که چقدی بیر طرفدین نچه اژدر
 آلا ر دور ناجی کوک صوفی مرکان
 اوروب تغین آلا ر کیم دشمانیغه
- جهنم ساری باریب بولدی مهمان
 ایرور چون مالکی دوزخ ایا کس
 بقارلار^۲ کیم کومور تک قیلیب آئی
 کویار ابجی ناشی هم برلا قایناب
 قزقیب^۳ بازری کلزار^۴ بولدی
 پنه سرخوش^۵ سرمست ابردی شیدا
 قیلیب کفار باشیغه تیغ رانی
 قیلیب کفار ایلین کیم استین اوستون
 اوروب تغین قیلیب کیم سرنکونلار
 قزیل باش نینک قیلیب چون قتلی عامین
 نچه لارنی زهی کیم چکه^۶ ابلاب
 قاجارلار باشیغه سورغین ابلاب
 فیلوردی کفر ایلینی برکا یکسان
 قیلیب کفار ایلین زیر زیر چون
 تیمورلاردی آنکا بابی^{۱۰} قل احمد
 اوروشورغه زهی رستم لیک ابردی
 یقلیب کفر ایلی کیم ینک ساسیدین^{۱۱}
 کتوروب کفر ایلینی الامانه^{۱۲}
 اوروب تغین روافضدین الیب سر
 همه جنک دیده^{۱۳} کیم ایش بتورکان
 که باقماین دغی ساغدین سولیفه

1) Рук. безъ. 2) Чит. بقارلار. 3) Рук. قذقیب. 4) Рук.
 5) Встав. о. 6) Чит. Мѣмѣд. 7) Встав. о.
 8) = توکا. 9) = چکه. 10) Ср. стихъ 296. 11) Отъ سسی.
 12) Дат. отъ арабск. الامان. 13) Ср. стихъ 614.

فترلاب چقدى توفلارنىڭ سداسى بتوشتى كىم فللكا كۆمى راسى¹
 960 كە بىرتونىنىڭ اوقىنىڭ سرعتىدىن غىياث سردار بىلدى ھىم آتىدىن
 آتى ھىم كىتى سوي پەلوسىغە بتوشتى ير آنىنىڭ قاپورغاسىغە
 بىرىدىن توردى اول ابرجست² جالاک كە كفار ايلىدىن بولماي³ ۋەھناك
 روان بولدى اليب نغىن زىردست بارىب چۈن توغى لارغە بولدى بىوست
 اوروب نغىن قىلىب شورى⁴ طلاطم نچەلار اغزىغە چۈن قافتورىب قم
 965 نچەلاركا اورىب سىخى روائى جاقاردى جانى كفار تورماي آتى
 f. 45a. يىل آخىر توغى لارنى قىر ائىب چۈن چقىب توفغە روائى خىز انىب چۈن
 كە الدى نچە توفىنى اول تھمتن يقىب چۈن دشمانى كر اولسە بھمن
 اوشال ھىكام ارا چۈن مؤمنان⁵ كىم بتوشتى لار فغان تارتىب جنان كىم
 اوتىب چۈن توفلارى نىڭ اوستىدىن بس بىتب كىم رافىلى لار پستىدىن بس
 970 بولوب چۈن شورى⁶ ھىكامە جنك بولوب بكتن ھە ھىماموس نىڭ
 قاجارلار ھىم چكىب چۈن تىغ⁷ خنجر قىتسماين⁸ سواشوردى سراسر
 مسلمانلار اوروب چۈن تىغ⁹ نىزە قىران ايلە قىلوردىلار ستىزە
 بولوب *مغلوبە جنك¹⁰ حدىن¹¹ آشاھ¹² فللك برلا ملك قىلدى تامشاھ¹³
 سونوب آلاتى حربە كالنجومى كە بولغاندىك شىطىن نىڭ رجومى
 975 اوشال ھىكام ارا چۈن ايكى ارسلان قىران ايلاب قزىل باشدىن توكوبقان
 بىرى سلطان بەادر باشكوى بىرى فاضل يىك¹⁴ مانند كوى
 f. 45b. اوروش ايلاب جنان ھىكام برلان اوروب كفار ايلىن قىمام¹⁵ برلان
 اوروب چۈن نىمە دنك جسەسىنى¹⁶ چقىب جانى جقارماين ساسىنى¹⁷

1) См. стихъ 476. 2) Встав. ۋ. 3) Рук. بولما. 4) Ви. شور و.
 5) Sic! Ср. стихъ 27. 6) Чит. شورش و. 7) Встав. ۋ. 8) Чит. кајытмајыя.
 9) Встав. ۋ. 10) См. стихъ 499. 11) Чит. حددين. 12—13) Sic!
 14) Дамма = изафету. 15) См. стихъ 826. 16) جسە
 виѣсто жѣте; чит. въ 3 слога. 17) Отъ سسى.

- که چغماسدین بورون تاکیم حیاتم قبول اولدی اول ابرنینک چون دعاسی اوشال وقتى سحر جون فیض رحمن قبلیب قوت اوزیب زنجیر طنائین توریب جُستک بربدین اول زبردست اوروب مشتی آنینک چون یلکاسیدین چکیب خنجر قزیل باشدین توکوب قان بوزیب کفار ایلی نینک هستینی بس ولی اندک جراحت ناک ابدی بس که مونچه سست لیغ⁵ مردکاری يتوشتی لشکری اسلامه کم کم بیل آخر اهلی اسلام بی لاشیب چون بوریش بولدی که دشمن ساریغه چون ولی چون مرد جنکی بار ابدی بس قبلیب اوزیکا همراه نچه مردی یتیب کفار ایلیکا ایلکاری چون باریب چون اول برا کیم بولدی پنهان غیاث سردار ابدی کیم آتی آنینک اوشال هنگام ارا کیم اهلی ایمان غیاث سردار چقیب چون بوسقی سیدین کوروب کفار ایلی حالاتارینی⁹
- که کفار الکیدین¹ برکیل نجاتم بتلدى چون سحر دا مدعاسی که تافتی اول فیضیدین² قوتی جان⁹⁴⁰ بوشانی بندیدین کیم ال ایاقین یتیب جون رافضی کا بولدی بیوست الیمان خنجرین اوردی پسیدین آقزیب قاننی چون مثل رحمان f. 44a. بیرالاب³ صف لارینک بیوستینی⁴ بس⁹⁴⁵ اسپرلیکدین ولی غناک ابدی بس روافضدین چقاریب چون دمارى *هاریب آشیب⁶ او یرده نوردی ام تفاق ایله براغلار تیزلاشیب چون تاشا قیل آلاز کرداریغه چون⁹⁵⁰ شجاعت لیغ زهی سردار ابدی بس زبردست لیک زهی صاحب نوردی که کوردی بیر بری پستک بری چون اولتوردی دشمانینی آنکدشیمان شجاعت لیغ ابدی بر آتی آنینک f. 44b. 955 یقین لاپ باردیلار دنکالانبیان⁸ که آت قوبدی کیم اول سر باز پسیدین بتوردی نوفلاریغه اوتلارینی

1) Лікідін. 2) Рук. فیضیدین. 3) Образование отъ жіер.

4) Рук. жіюстینی. 5) Встав. 6) См. стихъ 561. 7) Рук. безъ жі.

8) Образование отъ دنک, см. стихъ 945. 9) Рук. حالاتарینی.

يتوشسونلار براغلانيب بولوب ساز
 اوروب كفار باشيغه تيغ¹ نيزه
 زماندين سونك مه اهلي مسلمان
 اليب كفار ايلي نينك تكراسيني
 وليكن تيديلار چون بير بيرىكا
 920 كه چقسون رافضى لار خنداقيدين
 سواش ايلاب قيلورمىز كارزارى
 f.43a. وليكن غافل ايردى اهلي كفار
 اوشالوقت بولدى دنك نينك مغغراسى
 925 اول ايردى كيم كوچاركا بير علامت
 چقيب سربازلارى كيم دسته دسته
 بيل آخر چقدى لشكر انتھاسى
 ولى بار ايردى اندا بير اسيرك
 نچه يل بند زندان ايردى اول تن
 930 آليب گلدى آتى دمساز اوچون بس
 اوشالوقت كيم اول ايرنى بند اتبيان
 كه خنداقدىن چقيب بولدى روانى
 f.43b. كوزى نينك ياشى⁴ بولدى درغلطان
 دعاغا بولدى مشغول از تھى دل
 935 تيدى اى حضرتى واجب تعالى
 كه بيركيل كفر ايلي كا سين هزمت
 اوزينك آشنالارينى بود قيلغيل

1) Встав. 2) Чит. данк нинк. 3) Рук. درد. 4) Рук. ياش.
 5) Рук.: لا. وصالا.

- کلور ایرمیش اخالدین چون بیل انی
 یقین دور کلماکی نینگ وعدهسی چون
 که حالا نکئی مرو چناری¹
 اکر گلسه اخالدین کوب سواری
 نه بولغای بیزلارینک احوالز چون
 که ترک ایلا بو یرینک سودینی بس
 توقف قیلما مونده بیر زمانی
 ایشیتب بول خبری اول شهی دون
 کنکاش برلا کیم اول چون یاریم افشام
 بو یوروب لشکرا شاه زادهسی چون
 که تا وقتی سحر اوت یاقماسونلار
 ولی طیار بولونک وقتی سحر دین
 چقیب چون خندا قیدین آسته کینه
 بو یوردی بوخته لیکدین⁶ بیلکانینی⁷
 عقلسز⁹ ساده جاشغان بدرکی قل
 بار ایردی کیم قزیل باش نکرا سیدا
 فهملاب¹¹ کیم قزیل باش جنبشینی⁷
 یساردیلار خبرجینی روانی
 سوارا پیاده تورماین بس
 بغیب لشکر کیم اول نور بیردی خانی
 بو کوندور یا صبا دور بیلکیل اکنون
 الیب دور کیم بیز* ایلدین اختیاری³
 قوشولسه ایکی سی هم هر نه باری
 * قیتغان وقتدا³ اقبالیز چون
 که استا اورکا یر بهودینی بس
 روان بول قیدا برسانک⁴ سین روانی
 غم ایله غصهسی چون بولدی افزون
 کوچار بولدی بولوبان چون خون اشام⁹⁰⁵
 قیلورنی بیلماکان غمبادهسی چون
 یلائی لانیب که چاقماق چاقماسونلار
 قیلورمیز انتقالی بیز بو یردین
 روان بولساق که یرینک پستکینه⁵
 مشدد⁸ آنکلاب کیم دشمانینی⁷
 که آنکلاب نکه ایلی فکرینی⁷ بیل
 نهمتن لیک نه سرد¹⁰ رسیده
 که حبله برلا موندین سوشمشینی⁷
 که نورمای نکه ایلی بیر زمانی
 اکر تورغان ایسه اولتورماین بس⁹¹⁵

1) Слово подскоблено и исправлено другими чернилами; равѣе какъ-
 будто стояло جهانی. 2) Рук. اختیارى, ср. 1017. 3) Чит. казыткан
 вактыда. 4) Чит. барсанк. 5) Рук. پوسته کينه. 6) Рук. بوخته.
 7) Рук. безъ. 8) Рук. مشددت. 9) Чит. акысыз. 10) Рук. سرمет, ср. стихъ 993.
 11) Рукопись: فهملاب согласно народному
 произношенію пѣмѣп.

— ۴۶ —

- * بهرورليغ قىلغان النكدین دغى ياد ايت منى *
 * دفع ايتب شرينكنى كيم خيرنكا ارشاد ايت منى *
 * ايلادينك كامم ثام چون قويمای ارمانلار بو كون * 880

(۴)

- * كلدى لار چون رافضى لار كَرَّ فر برلا تمام *
 * صف توتوب سرباز^۲ سرهنك برلا سرتيب خاص^۳ عام *
 * هم شهي شاهزاده لار چون نچه حالى باكرام *
 * يورنيب^۴ آتشكاداسين آنچه ابلاب اهتمام *
 * بوللادی هيچ فيسىسى درديغه درمانلار بو كون * 885

بيل آخر رافضى لار بيلكيل^۵ اى جان قسالىب خنداقيدا بولدى پنهان
 بغيلدبيلار تمام ارکان دولت تيديلار اى شها كيم اوتى نوبت
 كه هر كيم نينك كهى بير نوبتى بار اوتيب چون نوبتى ميز قىلدى اوبار
 كه قالدوق ابدى بيزلار قىلغالى چنك f. 41b.
 890 قىلالى بيز بو يردين انتقالى برالينك^۷ چون نياز مت قلعه سارى^۸
 كه اندين سونك بولالى اوزكاكارى فلك برسه اكر بيزكا مدارى
 وليكن احتياط برلا نچه كون توقف ايلالكالى موند اكنون
 ديماسون بيزلارا اهلى اوباش^۹ خواطردين قجيب كنى قزىل باش
 نچه ايام توريب سر سقلاغالى كه يغداى^{۱۰} برلا كتماك چاقلاغالى
 895 ولى بار ايردى بر ارکان دولت تيدى كيم اى شها چون من بو حالت
 ايشتديم بير خبر ناخوش ايا شاه من ايتاى اول خبرنى بولغىل آگاه

1—3) Встав. 4) Чит. Ыоритийиб. 5) Это полустишие подкрѣ-
 пляеть нашу догадку о выражении آخر 189. 6) Встав. 7) Чит. بارالينك.
 8) Рифма! Ср. 367, 767. 9) Не хватает одного слога!
 10) Произносится jaŋdaı; слово употребляется туркменами и хивинцами.

— ۴۵ —

بولوب كفار ايلي حالي پریشان كيريب چون خندا قيدا بولدى پنهان
 كوريب بو حالى شاهزاده حمزه كتيب هوشى باشيدين توتى¹ لرزه
 كه اندين سونك تمامي اهلي اسلام قيتنى لار² بولوبان شاد³ خرام
 سين هم از روى شادى ناظمى بس مرتب⁴ قيل بو يرده بر خمس⁵ 865

(۱)

* شكر لله تافتى نصرت اهلي ايمانلار بو كون⁵ *
 * چكتى لار كفار باشيغه نيغ برانلار بو كون *
 * آقديب كفار ايليدين لاله نك فانلار بو كون *
 * قيلديلار دشمان ايلين كيم يرکا يكسان لار بو كون *
 * مشكل ايش لار حل⁶ بولوب كيم بولدى آسانلار بو كون * 870

(۲)

* يتى كلغت رافضى كا بولدى حالى واژكون *
 * غم بيوب حسرت اوتيدين غصسى بولدى فزون *
 * باش كوناركان غيردين لار بولديلار چون سرنكون * f. 41a.
 * هيچ پناهى ناپماین نوشتى باشيغه قرا كون *
 * كنى بيزدين كلغتى غم كلدي دورانلار بو كون * 875

(۳)

* اى فلک چون کلهی کلهی انجین شاد ایت منی *
 * اونکاریب غم لیغ کونین کیم غم دین آزاد ایت منی *

1) = توتدی. 2) Чит. въ 4 слога. 3) Встав. о. 4) Рук. مرتیب.
 5) Размѣръ: ٠٠٠|٠٠٠|٠٠٠|٠٠٠|٠٠٠|٠٠٠. 6) Это слово вставлено
 другой рукой вполне к стати и для смысла, и для размѣра.

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بحقی کیم حبیبنک چون محمد که قیلدنک انبیالار ایچره سرمد
 بحقی حضرتی آدم انا چون بحقی نالئه حووا انا چون
 بحقی نوح شینحی انبیالار که کوردی کفر ایلیدین کوب جفالار
 بحقی کیم حلیلنک زار قیلدینک که نمرود اوتینی کلزار¹ قیلدینک
 845 بحقی یعقوب² هجران³ اوتیدین که کویدی یوسغم تیب فرقتیدین
 بحقی ابوب⁴ صابر بلاکش چکیب چون زغم کرماک باز ایله قیش
 بحقی بونسی ذاکر ایا جان نیدی بالق اجیده انت سبحان
 f. 40a. بحقی ذکر با یحیاء مرحوم رضائی حق ایله اونکاردی موسوم
 بحقی آل اصحابی محمد بحقی هر نه اتباعی محمد
 850 بحقی اول حدیجه جفت احمد بحقی فاطمه بنتی محمد
 بحقی چون حسن برلا حسین کیم ایکی سی مصطفی غه نور عین کیم
 اول ابر قیلدی دعاسیننک غامین قولین التیب یوزیکا نیدی آمین
 دعاسیننک اوقین آتی او حالت که یعنی بولدی مقرونی اجابت
 مریدلار برلا بیردین هولاشیب بس که آت قویدی تمامی کورلاشیب بس
 855 فرار ایلاب تمامی اهلی کفار مسلمانلار اوریب تعین بیچار
 بتیب باردی قرا سرتیب توفیغه که یعنی کفر ایلی نینک اونک صغیغه
 اوشالوقت بولدی پیداکیم برابر⁵ چون قزیلباشلار بولوبان دربر چون
 بنه باریب توتوب توف دسته سیدین چقاردی کفر ایلی نینک رسته سیدین⁶
 f. 40b. بیل آخر اهلی اسلام خیز آتی شیب قیلج اوجین دغی کیم نیز آتی شیب
 860 اوروب تعین که کفار بلکاسیدین که سالدی خندا قیغه پس پسیدین
 [او کفار لشکریننک کرد یاندی که کرفی⁷ دک دورولدی ساسی⁷ یاندی]

1) Рук. کلذار, ср. клездар. 2) Рук. هجران, ср. стихъ 690. 3) Дамма = иза-
 фету. 4) Рук. ابوب. 5) Чит. راسته سیدین. 6) = کرفی. 7) = سسی; весь
 зотъ стихъ вписанъ послѣ другой рукой (Ходжаи-Моллой?).

- نیستان ایچره نوشکان اوت ایدیلار اوروشوردا زهی هیآت¹ ایدیلار⁸²⁰
 طبرزبن لیک قیلیب چون شور² شرلار قیلیب کفار ایلین زیر زبرلار
 آلا باش ایردی ابکی منک کشیکا نظام ایلاب آلا نینک رویشیکا³
 اسامی دور آلا رغه بیلکیل آئی آقالی ناجلی میراب دبرلار آئی
 که چقدی بیر طرفدین نر شیری شجاعت لیغ زهی روشن ضمیری
 سالیب تغین قزیل باشدین نوکوبقان بوبالدی بر یوزی چون مثل رحمان⁸²⁵
 قنال ایلاب زهی هنکام برلا کسب کفار باشین *قَم قام⁴ برلا f. 39a.
 قوریلیب⁵ لشکری کفار ای جان قلو⁶ ناقیب که اندین اهلی ایبان
 اول ابرنینک اسم ذاتی چون مقیم دور قنالیده زهی کیم مستقیم دور
 که القصه آقیب دریای قانلار چقاریب کفر ایلی دین کوب فغانلار⁷
 بیل آخر اهلی اسلام کشته ایلاب که کشته دین دغی کیم پشته ایلاب⁸³⁰
 بوزوب سر باز لاری نینک صف لارینی قوریب⁸ تولدریب اجوف لارینی
 ولیکن بار ایدی صاحب شریعت سلوک اینکان طریقت هم حقیقت
 اول ایر ایردی اولوس نینک مقتداسی ایدی آنکا هم ایل نینک اقتداسی
 علم دور کیم اول ایرکا بولغبل آگاه نیدیلار کیم آنکا شیخ⁹ عبد الله
 اوروشورغه اول ایر هم چقدی ای جان که بیعد مخلصه باش بولوبان⁸³⁵
 اوروش هنکامیدا کلدی یتیم بس مریدلار برلا توردی صف نونوب بس
 دعاغه ال کوناردی زار یغلاب مناجات ایلادی افکار یغلاب f. 39b.
 نیدی ای خالقی کوون مکانی ایرورسین بنده لار نینک مهربانی
 که برکیل کفر ایلیکا سین هزیمت نرحم ایلا بر اسلامه قوت
 بحقی ذات پاکینک نینک¹⁰ کباری بحقی هم صفاتینک کردکاری⁸⁴⁰

1) Рук. هیآت. 2) Встав. 3) Рук. رویشیکا. 4) = араб. غمغم.

5) Чит. قاوریلیб. 6) = арабск. غلو; ср. стихи 482 и 826. 7) Рук. فغانلار.

8) Чит. قاوریб. 9) Рук. شیخ. 10) Рук. پاک-кынк-нынк; ср. стихъ 302.

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تفاق ایله یتیب میدان ساریغه
 بساویدین چقیب نچه زبردست
 800 که القصه نچه سرمست جوانلار
 بیریمب چون بیربیرکا غیرتی تیز
 باریب دشمان ساریغه حمله برلان
 امان سعید تیدی کیم ای قزیل باش
 f. 38a. قبول ایلانک ینه کیم دین میزنی
 805 وکرنه قرا سرتیب باشینی چون
 سالورمیز قراکونلار باشنکرکا
 که اندین سونک خدا برلا رسولنی
 نیوب الله² اکبر ات قویوبان
 باریب چون اوردیلار سرباز صغیغه
 810 که اندین سونک تمامی اهلی ایمان
 بولار هم آت قویوب بیردین بیکبار
 قیران ایله توقشتی لار زمانی
 خروش ایله چکیب چون تیغ بران
 اوروب آلانی حربه⁴ طرقة طرقة⁵
 815 f. 38b. نچه لارنینک کیریدین نوتوبان
 معلق برلا قایتیب بر یوزیکا
 اوروب کله بکله نچه لاری
 قتال ایلاب اول ایر کیم رستمانه
 اوشال هنکام ارا ایکی دلاور
 اوروشغالی کیم اول دشمان ساریغه
 که بولدیلار زبردست لارکا بیوست
 باریشدیلار اوشال میدان سراسر
 اوروشورغه قیلیب چون نچه انکیز
 قفاغه قایتی شیب چون جمله برلان
 کلب کیم خانمیزغه اکدرینک باش
 نوتونک اخلاص ایله آیین میزنی
 کسب ایت لارکا ناشلاب لاشینی چون
 جین لار قوش توتار کیم لاشنکرکا
 که یاد ایلاب نچه صاحب اصولنی
 که باردیلار سونوب نیزه یتیمان
 یقین باریب قرا سرتیب توفیغه
 پیسدا سوارا برلا ای جان
 تیدیلار تکبری الله اکبر
 قیلیب کفار باشیغه تیغ رانی
 کیم اول بیردی نیاز اینی اوراض³ خان
 یتیب طرقة صداسی نه رواقا
 آتیب سوی سا منکالاتیمان⁶
 بولوبان اوستخوانی ریزا ریزا⁷
 آقوزوب کله سیدین مغز سرفی
 یقین دور کفر ایلی کلکای امانه
 قیران ایلاب قزیل باشدین آلیب سر

1) Рук. лашни. 2) Чит. Аллаһу. 3) Чит. اورаз изъ перс. روز.

4) Рук. :خرجه. 5) Чит. тырка-тырка. 6) Ср. манкдормт, манкдама. 7) Ршона!

- بولوب میدان بوزی روشن نمایان
 که اندین سونک قرا سرتیب بیل آئی
 کلینک کیم شاهبیزغه خدمت ایلانک
 که قیلمانک شاهبیزغه بی ادب لیک
 بویاندین هم کیم اول رحمن قلی خان
 که بیلمای سن موئی کیم نی جلیک دور
 بویوردی توفجی لارکا زهری³ برلا
 انانک⁴ کیم توفلاری تورمای دمام
 توف آئی توفجی لار تورمای زمانی
 بویاندین هم کیم اول چون خان قوشت
 اولغی⁷ کیم اوروشدا کوب جوانلار
 آلارنینک آئی نی ایلاب بیانی
 آلار میدان آرا کیم عازم⁸ ایلاب
 ولیکن اهلی ایمان ایچره مردی
 کیچک لیکدین روافض ناز ایدی بس
 مبارزلار باشی نینک باشی ایردی
 قرنکفو کیجه لاردا رهنمالیغ
 علم دور کیم اول ایرکا بیلکیل آئی
 کیوب آلانی حربه باشکوهی
 نکاورنی قیلیب زبر زبر ننگ
 دلاورلار آنینک دوریدا⁹ ای جان
- منورلیغ که کونکلی اهلی ایمان
 چاقردی آت توتوبان ای فلائی
 آنینک الطافی¹ برلا رفعت ایلانک
 دکیل دوربی ادب لیک بخش کب لیک⁷⁸⁰
 بلند آواز² ایله کیم تیدی ای جان
 که بیلماش شاهنکی ترکمان جلیک دور f. 37a.
 تیدی کیم قرا سرتیب قهر برلا
 چکینک لار کیم اول ایلمی اژدهام
 که دود ایله یلیس⁵ تونی جهانی⁷⁸⁵
 توفین آئی رغالی بولدی⁶
 سواش ایلاب توکوب چون نچه قانلار
 تیوب ایردیم فلائی کیم فلائی
 سواشنی اوزلاریکا لازم ایلاب
 شجاعت لیغ زهی صاحب نوردی⁷⁹⁰
 بهادرلار ارا ممتاز ایدی بس
 روافض نینک که آفت ناشی ایردی
 قیلوردی غازی لارغه مقتدالیغ f. 37b.
 امان سعید ایدی صاحب قرانی
 توکوب چون لنگرین مانند کوهی⁷⁹⁵
 که دشمن ساریغه چون قیلدی آهنگ
 بورشدیلار قیلیب چون عزم میدان

1) Рук. الطاف. 2) Рук. آوز. 3) ۱) для обозначения бога чѣмъ
 долгаго слога, ср. въ слѣдующемъ полустишии قهر, а не قهری. 4) Ср.
 стихъ 127. 5) = بالین. 6) Рук. неясно: معيّد? Чит. مؤيّد?
 7) Чит. اولغی. 8) Ср. стихъ 445; вм. ожидаемаго. 9) Рук.: دورید.
 3*

— ۴۰ —

بهادر لیغدا خود تنها ابدی بس
 اوروب نیزه که توفعی آرقم سیدین
 که نوفلار اوستیکا چقدی روانی
 اوروشورغه زهی کیم بول هوسدور¹
 قاچیب باردی کیم اول خندا قساری چون
 یتیب باردی شهیغه انتھاسی
 بوق اولدی لشکرینک چون بولغیل آکله
 غم ایله غصه سی کیم بولدی افزون
 قلیب² کوند بزکا³ کیم اوزین اوبار
 کنکاش ایله آتوردی کیم او دنکنی⁴
 اوروش ایلاب آلالی یا برالی⁵
 فغان تارتیب صدای رنگ برنگنی
 قلیب کیم صف لارینک چون اختیاطین
 یوریب چون آسته آسته کلم برلان
 توریب سر یازلاری کیم صف تونوب بس⁶
 شجاعت لیغ زهی باکرده⁷ ایردی
 بساو ایلاب که بتی سوی میدان
 تونوب بغدی دغی بیش فسینی
 سرانجامین توزانیب کیم سراسر
 بولوت بغدی کیم اول سقالیغ ایلاب
 خصوصاً بیر بهادر بار ابدی بس
 سونوب نیزه یتیب توفعی پسیدین
 توشوروب الدی ایکی توفین آتی
 نیولار کیم آنینک آتی نفس دور
 760 f. 36a. بیل آخر کفر ایلی نینک لشکری چون
 یاریب قاچقونچی سی نینک انتداسی
 نیدیلار کیم ایا شاه زاده شاه
 ایشتیب بول خیرنی اول شهی دون
 765 غرض آخر بولوب چون کیم شبی نار
 بغیب چون اول شهی کیم خان⁴ بیکنی
 بیل آخر کنکاشیننک انتھاسی
 صداغه کیرکوزیب کیم طبل جنکنی
 چلیب⁷ شیفور ایله جنک رباطین
 770 یوروتی⁸ نوفلارین هنگام برلان
 775 f. 36b. اوروش میدانیغه کلدی یتیب بس
 قرا سر نیب انکا سر کرده ایردی
 بو یان دین¹¹ هم تمامی اهلی ایمان
 بولار¹² هم صف لارینک اندازه سینی
 775 برابر بولدیلار چون ایکی لشکر
 کیم اول بادی صبا فراش لیغ ایلاب

1) Рук. هولехосдор. 2) Въ рук. это слово стоятъ на поляхъ съ особ.
 знакомъ. 3) Чит. въ 4 слога. 4) Встав. о. 5) = دانکنی. 6) Речма l
 7) = چالیب. 8) Рук.: یورتی. 9) На поляхъ этого folium'a написано чернымъ
 карандашомъ (рукой Ходжали-Моллы?) مرزه بارغان (sic) مروغه همزه
 10) Чит. پاکرده. 11) Рук. یانیدین. 12) Рук.: بولور; ср. стихъ 462.

- اوروب نغین فزیل باشغه روانی
 نوکوب کفار ایلی نینگ فانتی بس
 اوروب نیزه قیلچ کیم زور برلا
 دمیکا نارنیبان کیم اژدری چون
 جافردی¹ چون یتیب چون یلکسیدین
 که چقدی بیر طرفدین نچه شهباز
 آلاز دور شاه مراد کیم عوض خان
 بیری³ کجات ایله بیروی⁴ بهادر
 قیلچ نیزه برلا افسون ایلاب
 اوروب تیغ جاپاردیلار سراسر
 سونوب نیزه فزیل باش پهلوسیدین
 یقیب کفار ایلینی هر قیر⁵ ایتیب
 ینه بیر یانیدین کیم نچه ارسلان⁷
 آلاز بیردی نیاز ابنی اوراز خان
 باسیب پنجیب همه یکسان اتارلار
 اوروب نغین همه کفار باشیغه
 قران ایلاب فرادیلار دمام
 فرار ایلاب بیل آخر اهلی کفار
 یوریتیب نوفلارینی فولدرانیب
 اوروب نغین سونوب نیزه پسیدین
- جب راستدین قلیلاب کیم جنانی
 f. 35a. توقفسز آکوردی جاننی بس
 سواشوردی بسی اغیار برلا
 740 قیلیب کفار ایلا زیر چون
 چقاریب جاننی کوسی زنییدین
 قونوب کفار باشیغه برلا پرواز
 قیلچ غغان ایله کیم محمد² امان
 بولار هر قیسی سی چون ازدها دور
 745 روافض فانیدین کیم یحون ایلاب
 بولوب کفر فانیدین لاله نک بر
 چقیب نیزه اوچی قاپورغاسیدین
 نوکوب فانلارینی کیم برکر⁶ ایتیب
 f. 35b. یتوشتی لار فغان ایله نوکوب فان
 750 اوتامیش بادریغه باش بولوبان⁸
 نچه لار بغرینی کیم فان اتارلار⁹
 یتیب تیغ یوزی آکار¹⁰ قاشیغه
 چکیب کفار ایلین کیم ازدهام
 دولاندیلار همه بیردین بیکبار
 755 مبارزلار قغادین باردی یتیب
 چقاریب سینة¹¹ پر کینه سیدین

1) چاпарدی =

2) Произносится: Мамъд.

3) Чит.: پیبری.

4) Чит.: پیرو.

5-6) Звукоподражанія; ср. ст. 688.

7) Ср. стихъ 510.

8) Рук.: بولون.

9) ایتارلار =

10) ایکار = , произносится äjâr.

11) Вм. سینة.

715 بولوب امادهٔ جنك ابكى سى هم
 الف. 84a. نچه كون قبلابن كيم اوروشيني
 كنگاش ايله نيدى اهلى قزىل باش
 چقارساق نورت نوى ايله منك سواری
 كه تورساق بوقى¹ بردا وقتى جاشا²
 720 كچه نينك يارميدا³ منك سواری
 بارىب نوخانهغه كيم نوشدىلار چون
 بولوب آكاه بو ايشدين مؤمنين لارا⁴
 يغىلدىلار نچه شهباز جوانلار
 روان بولدى بولار دشمان ساريغه
 725 سورويان آنلارين چون بيخبر تك
 ولى از روى پنهان چغرشيبان
 f. 84b فهملاب بوسقى نى ابكى زبردست
 توفانك جى لار توفانكين ساز اتىب بس
 يقين لاپ باردىلار بيلياسكا اوخشاش
 780 كه ياد ايلاب خدای لايزالى
 بولوبان همه سى طياره⁵ جرّار
 بيكبار آت قويوب دشمان ساريغه
 قزىل باش لاردغى آنكلاب بو ايشنى
 برابر بولدىلار چون ابكى لشكر
 735 كه آندا نچه شهباز بار ايدىلار
 بىرى خالى بهادر رستمانه
 يغىب چون ابكى سى بيش فسى هم
 اليب چون سوچى اودىنجى سيني
 كه قويماس تگه لار چقارغالى باش
 بوقالى بىر يرا بيلدرماى آنى
 كه اندين سونك توقيشالى سواشا
 نوى ايله هم چقىب كنى روانى
 بولوب پنهان او بردا دوردىلار چون
 كنگاش ايلاب تيوب چون جنين لار
 همه جنك ديد⁶ صاحبقرانلار
 كه يعنى كفر ايلي نينك بوسقى سيفه
 هميشه دستورنچه رهكذر تك
 قزىل باش بوسقى سيني آنكدىشيبان
 بنوشوب كيم كويى كا بولدى بيوست
 قياچ نيزه اوچين كيم تيز اتىب بس
 آلاركا آت قويوب بارماسكا اوخشاش
 ينه كيم انبىاء اوليبانى
 تيدىلار تكبرى الله اكبر
 بنوشوب باردىلار كيم كفر ايليك
 براغلانيب كه جاقلانيب سواشنى
 اوروشدىلار زمانى كيم سراسر
 همه حرب ديد⁷ سردار ايدىلار
 نهمتن ليكده ايردى كيم يگانه

1) Чит. چوقو. 2) Южно-турской дательный отъ чаш изъ перс. چاشت.

3) Рук. ياريمدا. 4) См. стихъ 27. 5) Вм. و. ديد. 6) Встав. و. 7) Вм. و. ديد.

- f. 93a. نكا ايلي نينك اول آكاهي قوشت نه ايش فيلدى كيم اول چون خان قوشت
 695 ينه آق سقال سردارلاريني كه بغدى ايللارى نينك خانلاريني
 بهانه ايلچي تيب سيجي ييارسك كنگاش برلا آنكا ايلچي ييارسك
 بهادرلارنى نوردين ساخلاديلار همه خوشلاب بو سوزنى جاقلاديلار
 بلاغت ليغ ايدى كيم بيلكيل آنى يبارور بولديلار كيم بير جوانى
 مخاطب خانى¹ چه كيم سويلار ايردى فصاحت ليغ تكلم ايلار ايردى
 700 يبارديلار نچه سوز تاپشوروبان تيورلاردى آنكا رحمن قلى خان
 مناسب بير برا اولتوردى اكنون يقين لاب باردى كفار ايلكا چون
 يبارديلار قرا سرتيبنى هم فهلاب ايلچيك ليكنى² كفر ايلي هم
 نوروشديلار اوردين خوشلاشيب چون ايكي سى نچه سوزلار سوزلاشيب چون
 اوروش بولدى آلار نينك انتھاسى وليكن سوزلارى نينك انتھاسى
 f. 93b. 705 تمامى كدخدأ بيلكوليك لار نيدى كيم خان قوشت اى اولوغلار
 ايشتكانلار ديسونلار افرين لار قيلالى بير ايشى غيرى مكر
 بولاي من يانيدا آنى ريب آنى چقارينك نوفلارى طلكا روانى
 كنگش ليغ مصاحت ليغ خورددان³ بس حضورمدا ينه بولسون نچه كس
 كه دشبان دوريده كيم بورسه بيوست * پيادأ سوارا⁴ برلا همدست
 710 توكل ليك بولين بنياد اتينك لار خدا برلا رسولنى ياد اتينك لار
 كه اونكان انبياً اوليانى ينه كيم چهارى⁵ بارى باصفانى
 كه شاد بركلى ظفرلار خالقي كل آلار ارواحينى ابلاب نوسل
 قيلينك لار كفر ايلي برلا سواشنى كه بوزماي نچه كونلار بو رويشنى
 قازيب اطرافغه كيم خنداى چون كه اندين سونك دضى كفار ايلي چون

1) Рук. حانى.

2) Sicl Cp. стихъ 448.

3) خورددان.

4) پياده و سواره.

5) Чит. пѣюст; замѣну п чрезъ в я оговариваю

только мѣстами.

6) Чит. чър-і; ى для стиха.

675 نچه كونلار يتيب¹ اندين بيل اني كوجش قىلدى كه*نيازمت قلعه² سارى
 توف آتى ريب قىليب چون توف رانليغ نوتيب سرتيب³ سرهنگ صف رانليغ
 باريب كىردى او قلعه چون رواني نوزاتيب قلعهنى ينكى دين اني
 نچه كونلار ياتيب چون* كرفش⁴ ايلاب اولوغ لارنى بغيب چون كنگاش ايلاب
 بار ايردى اهلى سارىق دين نچه تن بروردى كنگاشين آنا فآنا⁵
 680 بيل آخر كنگاشيننك انتماسى آنى قىساب تنك ايتماك دغاغاسى⁶
 كيركوزيب⁷ طبلىنى هر دم صداغا يتوردى كيم صدا سين نه رواغا⁸
 نواغه كيركوزيب شيفور ايله جنك بوروشغه قىلدلار بكارا آهنگ
 f. 82b. همه سرتيب⁹ سرهنگ بازوسيني نوزاتيب صف لارينك اندازه سيني
 بوريب سربازلارى كيم سلايب¹⁰ چون اياقين دنك قوبوب دنك كوناريب چون
 685 بوريشلارى همه لولى¹¹ مزك دور بورورد ا بير بيرىكا دنك به دنك دور
 بورورلار كيم نظام ايلاب اوروس نك سقال بورتين بولوب چون اندليس¹² تنك
 كرومى دور بولار كيم بى بصيرت قىليب چون اوزلارين تغير صورت
 بيل آخر توفلاريني* كورفاراتيب¹³ يتيب باردى اول ايلكا شلقاراتيب¹⁴
 باريب نوشتى تكا اونك يانيدين بس خبر تافتى¹⁵ تكا مهمانيدين بس¹⁶
 690 ايشتيب نكه ايلي كيم قاچارلار¹⁷ قىليب مهمانه عزت خان اجارلار¹⁸
 جهت بولدور روافض لار كليبان نوشيب چون اونكيدين كيم بولدى مهمان
 كورينك مهمان ايله كيم ميزبانين نچوك بير ميزبان مهمانه نانين
 قىلچ نيزه اوچى نينك سوي برلان برورلار نان آنكا اندين بوغورلان

1) Чит. *ياتيب*. 2) Стихъ требуетъ читать это названіе въ 4 слога, но см. стихъ 890; не лишнее-ли *ке*? 3) Встав. *о*. 4) Ср. стихи 688 и 748. 5) *Рнома*. 6) Чит. *дѣдѣ*. 7) Рук.: *кирѣзѣ*; ср. слѣд. стихъ. 8) Ср. стихъ 814: *не رواقا*. 9) Встав. *о*. 10) Чит. *салланѣ*. 11) Рук. *лѣ*. 12) *اندليس* — *истамич*; не читать-ли *тапѣ*. 13—14) звукоподраж. глаголы; ср. стихъ 748. 15) Чит. *тапѣ*. 16) Рук. *механдийн*. 17—18) Чит. *Ачарлар* и *Қаچارлар*, ср. ст. 456, 374 и др.

- خبرجی باردی یوزین جنک سرتیب¹ تیدی کفار ایلی کیم گلدی یتب⁶⁵⁵
 کلور قالدرد اتیب کیم نوفلارینی توزاب سرتیب سرهنک صف لارینی
 بولونک تورمانک توزاتنک ایش نکزنی³ قیلیب سراس⁴ ینه رویش نکزنی³
 تیدی قوشت اول ایل نینک خانی⁴ ابردی دیبا خانی بل اولکیم جانی ابردی
 بغیلسون بول یرا نچه دلاور که بولسون دشمان ایله کیم برابر
 که قالغانلار که نورمای قلعه⁵ ساری آلیب اهلی عبالین هر نه باری⁶⁶⁰
 قیلیب کیم جرجی لار جرجی جراجر خبر یتکوردی کیم ایلاک سراس^{f. 31b.}
 ایشتکانلار منیب جابکسوارین یتوشدیلار دب ایلاب ارغی ماغین
 یغیلدیلار او یردا کوب جوانلار همه جنک کورکان⁶ صاحب قرانلار
 سویت⁷ سابا کیوب چون خشلاشیبان⁷ براغلانیب همه لب نیش لاشیبان
 بولوب چون هر بیرى آماده⁸ جنک چقیب کوه ساریدین کیم دود ایله جنک⁶⁶⁵
 کورویان تیدیلار پستک یریکا بوقیب چون آت قوبونک دشمان ساریغه
 که گلدی کفر ایلی ایلاب طلاطم قیلیبان یر یوزینی دود ایله قم
 یباردی هر طرفغه جفاوبلنی⁸ قوبوب چون تورت طرفغه قراولنی⁹
 چقیب کیم بوسقیدین¹⁰ آت قویدیلار چون جهانی قیلدیلار چون استین استون
 یتوشیب بیر طرفدین نیزه لاشیب قران ایلاب زمانی کیم سواشیب⁶⁷⁰
 نچه لاری ینه بیجان قیلیب چون آنینک تورت یانیدین کیم اوریلیب چون
 یغیلیب بیر یرا کیم جمعی برلان بساو ایلاب توروشوب تیغی برلان^{f. 32a.}
 که کفار ایلی هم پرکنده سینی یغیب چون لشکر ینک بیس فسنی
 اوروب خرکله¹⁰ خیمه جادرینی نولا توتی ایکی پارسنک یرینی

1) صارتیب = 2) См. стихи 637 и 639. 3) Вм. روش نکزنی: см. ст. 313, 547. 4) Рук. خان. 5) Рук. قلغه. 6) См. стихъ 141. 7) Чит. خوشлаشیبان. 8-9) = قراولنی; چاپاولنی = 10) = بوسقودین. др., ст. 141, 362, 370.

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635 پشیمان بولدی اینگان ایشیدین¹ کیم
 که اندین سونک تیدی شه ای وزیرلار
 برینک خرجی^۲ خراجات بی کم کاس^۳
 اوزاننک کیم آتی برغان^۴ بولمغه
 وزیرلار کیم چقیب شه یانیدین بس f. 80b.
 640 چغاردیلار زری خروار برلان
 ینه ماویت^۵ انواعی^۶ قباشلار
 که القصه عام سرتیب سرهنک
 یوروتیب^۷ آلتیش التی توفینی چون
 توزاب شاهزاده حمزه کوفی لاسین^۸
 645 منیبان ارغی ماغی آسته آسته
 که یکبار توفلارینی آتی ریب بس
 شکوه ایله چقیب بولدی روانی
 نچه منزل مراحل قطعنی ابنتب
 نچه کونلار توزاب کر فرینی
 650 سانغلاب^۹ لشکریننک ساننی بس f. 81a.
 قوشین سانی که بیل یتیش منک اولدی
 کلیب خانلار همه سرتیب سرهنک
 بیل آخر کیم او یردین انتقالی
 یوریب نچه منازل طای اتیبان

1) 2) Рук. تشوبشیدین و ایشیدین.
 3) Выѣсто. 4) Изъ
 съ отпаденіе т по народному произношенію. 5) Изъ
 ср. стихъ 639 и 657. Слова саррас я слышалъ въ Хивѣ. 6) Чит. Барған.
 7) Встав. зо. Маут ср. стихи 141, 362. 8) Рук. انواعی. 9) Рук.: یورتیب.
 10) Рук.: صف نی. 11) Образование отъ коуп? Ср. 727. 12) Здѣсь
 чит. въ два слога, ср. 568. 13) См. стихъ 51. 14) Рифма!

- که اندین سونک الیب جامی شرابی
 615 تیدی بارمو بو یرده پهلوانی
 ولی بولسون نهمتن لیک زبردست
 که قیلسه تکه ایلنی بریله فست¹
- f. 29b. حرام اولسون آنکا برکان شرابم
 یانندا بار ایدی من من لیک ایکنان
 بهادرمن نیوب اوزین اونوتغان
 تیدی کیم من برای³ کر اولسه فرمان
- 620 قیلورمن دشان ایله کارزارلیغ
 قیلیم ناراج کتورای هر نه بارین
 اسیر ایلاب همه اهلی عیالین
 نیورلاردی آنکا کیم حمزه⁴ مرزه⁴
 که القصه قبول ایلاب آتی شاه
 دانی شیب موچه سوزنی هرزه هرزه
 بیارور بولدی آتی کیم بول آگاه
 الیب ایجدی آتی لاجرعه آتی
- 625 ابرورسین کیم جهان صاحب قرانی
 تیدی شه کیم ایا ای پهلوانی
 بار ایدی من سنی سالار لشکر
 بریب انعام⁷ احسان بی حسابی
 که یعنی قیلیمشام⁶ سردار لشکر
 آنکا ناپشوردی لشکر احتسابی
- f. 30a. مهیا قیل همه درکارینکی بس
 سین هم توتغیل سفر اسبابنکی بس
 که اندین سونک روان بول مشهدیغه⁸
 زیارت قیل امامنک تربتیغه
- 630 که قیلغیل تکه ایله کارزاری
 آجرغاتبیب آتی افکار قیلغیل
 یوق اولغیل کلماکیل بو ساری یعنی
 بریب تیدی که الله یارینک اولسون
 تمام اعضاسی¹² برلا قیلدی لرزه
 بو سوزلاری نیوب شه فاتحه سین
 که اندین سونک چقیب شاهزاده حمزه
 بو سوزلاری نیولانی مرو ساری
 قباب قمساب⁹ اول ایلنی خوار¹⁰ قیلغیل
 *اگر قیلمانک¹¹ بو سوزلاری بیل انی

1) پست. 2) Чит. جاری. 3) Рук. همزه. 4) میرزا = 4) туркмены
 говорятъ мурзѣ. 5) Аққидәкі. 6) Рук. قیلیمشام. 7) Встав. و.
 8) Sic! 9) قباب قاپساب. 10) Рук. حوار. 11) Оборотъ!
 12) Рук. اعضاسی.

بولوب بی هوش یقلدی جالغاسیدین 595 f. 28b. یاننده بار ایدی شاهزاده لار چون
 نچه محرم دغی آزاده لار چون تبسم ایلابان شاهزاده لار چون
 نیدی محرم لارا تورغوزغیل اکنون سویاب محرم لاری کیم تورغوزیب بس
 که یعنی تخت¹ اوزا اولتورغوزیب بس تیدیلار شاهبیزغه² کیم بو ساعت
 که بتی دیو بریدین نچه آفت که القصه زماندین سونک آیلدی
 تمام اعضالاریغه جان یاپلیدی 600 توزاتیب کیم اوزینی راستلدی چون
 آجیب اغزین³ بیرکی⁴ اسکادی چون کتوردی ساتی سی کیم جام ایله می
 ایجیب اندین شرابی کیم پیایی بولوب مستی ایجیب جامی شرابی
 حکوماندین اوروب چون نچه لافی تیدی حکم روان تا اصفهانی
 نیورلار کیم آئی نصفی جهانی ینه شیراز⁵ کلثان⁶ برلا ای جان
 سوزارمن قزوبن طهران برلان 605 ینه حاضر بیجان⁷ دامغان چون
 همدان برلا کیم مازندران چون f. 29a. کیم اول شهرود⁸ بسطام⁹ استرآباد
 آنینک مظلوملاری ایلار منکا داد بویانی خاب¹⁰ ایله¹¹ کیم* تم تبس¹² دور
 سیستان تا هری کیم منکا بس دور که القصه تمام اقلیم ایران
 سلام ایلار منکا باش اکدریبان کیشیکا بولسه مونچه حکم رانلیغ
 کورارمو اوزکا ایلدین کیم فکارلیغ 610 بیلورمن تکه ایلی بیر بولاکدور
 کلب کیم کول ارا نوشکان جولاکدور بولوب کیم در غضب چون اول شهی دون
 تکبردین تنوتوب اوزین فریدون محصل لار یباردی هر دیارا
 یغیب لشکر یبارینک بیر کنارا که مشهد ساریغه بولسون روانی
 یغیلسون هر ولایت حکم رانی اوروب خیمه¹³ خرگاه بارگاه سین¹⁴
 تمام ایلاب او بردا ادعاسین

1) Рук. تخت. 2) Рук. شاهمیژغه. 3) Рук. اغزین. 4) = بیر ایکی.
 5) Ветав. 6) Рук. کاسان. 7) Sic! = انگریجان. 8-9) Ветав. و.
 تون و طمس ویفته. 10) Рук. آیلده. 11) Рук. خاف. 12) Рук. شهروز.
 13) Рук. خیمه. ср. стихи 97 и др. 14) Лучше было-бы Баркасин, ср. 684.

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نچه کونلار اوروشيب* هاريب آشيب¹ ساريق بيچاره نينك اعالي جاشيب
 575 f. 27b. بيل آخ الامان تيب داد اينارلار مسلمانليق تيوب فرياد اينارلار²
 تيديلار نكه اهلي اي قرين داش امان باردور اكركتسانك اليب باش
 قبول ايلاب بو سوزي اهلي ساريق كوچوب كتي و طندين بولدي فارق³
 بيل آخريم مروشاهي جهان بيل نكه ايليكا آخ بولدي منزل
 نخلدور⁴ بوريك ايله آت جافشخان خطادور كوچ ليك ايله هم كورشان
 580 اونوتي نو نقلني ساده ساريق و طندين ايريليپ بولدي قطاريق⁵

1) См. стихъ 561.

2) Рук. атарлар, см. 508.

3) Рук. فاریق.

4) Произносится накыл дыр.

5) Произн. пытарык: ср. кирг. пѣтрамѣч

(Будаговъ, I, 318), пытра (v) — (Радловъ, Словарь, IV, 1316).

- ساریق برلا تکه کونلارده بر کون
بولوب چون کرد پیدا کون بتاردین
توتوشیب صفلارین میدان ارا چون
علمدار چقدی کردنیک آراسیدین⁵⁵⁵
که یعنی ابردی کیم نور بپردی خانی
یتیب هنگام ارا گلدی روانی
یباردی هر بیریکا بیر سوارا¹
کلیش سونلار بو یرکا انتھاسی
که یعنی کدخدأ² بیلکولیک لار⁵⁶⁰
تیدیلار خوش کلیب سز*هاریب آشیب³
تیدیلار شهریارا نی خبر دور
بیان ایلا کلیشدین نی غرض دور
ایشتیورمیز اوروشورسز بغایت
ایکی قرداشلاری باریشورورغه^{f. 27a.}
بولوبتور بیر سوزی هادی سبلدین⁵⁶⁵
کیشیکا⁴ بولسه کینه دینی یوق بیل
باریب ایلکا یغیب چون عام⁵ خاصی
که رخصت⁶ بولسه ایلکا قیتالی⁷ بس
باریب یغیلدیلار چون خاص ایله عام
یغیب چون لشکرین نور بپردی آتلیغ⁵⁷⁰
قیلالی اغزی⁸ بیرلیک اهل سنا⁹
یغی لیتی اوزیکا بیلدی اسلیب¹⁰
اوروشغه قیلدیلار یکباره آهنگ¹¹
ساریق برلا تکه کونلارده بر کون
بولوب چون کرد پیدا کون بتاردین
توتوشیب صفلارین میدان ارا چون
علمدار چقدی کردنیک آراسیدین⁵⁵⁵
که یعنی ابردی کیم نور بپردی خانی
یتیب هنگام ارا گلدی روانی
یباردی هر بیریکا بیر سوارا¹
کلیش سونلار بو یرکا انتھاسی
که یعنی کدخدأ² بیلکولیک لار⁵⁶⁰
تیدیلار خوش کلیب سز*هاریب آشیب³
تیدیلار شهریارا نی خبر دور
بیان ایلا کلیشدین نی غرض دور
ایشتیورمیز اوروشورسز بغایت
ایکی قرداشلاری باریشورورغه^{f. 27a.}
بولوبتور بیر سوزی هادی سبلدین⁵⁶⁵
کیشیکا⁴ بولسه کینه دینی یوق بیل
باریب ایلکا یغیب چون عام⁵ خاصی
که رخصت⁶ بولسه ایلکا قیتالی⁷ بس
باریب یغیلدیلار چون خاص ایله عام
یغیب چون لشکرین نور بپردی آتلیغ⁵⁷⁰
قیلالی اغزی⁸ بیرلیک اهل سنا⁹
یغی لیتی اوزیکا بیلدی اسلیب¹⁰
اوروشغه قیلدیلار یکباره آهنگ¹¹
که اندین سونک بولوب آماده جنک

1) سواره. 2) Рук.: کدخدأ. 3) Ср. стихъ 574 и 948.

4) Ср. стихъ 19. 5) Рук.: کیشیکا. 6) Встав. о. 7) Ср. стихъ 27

и др. 8) Туркмены произносятъ РУСХУТ. 9) Здесь основа кагит одно-

сложна, ср. слѣдующій стихъ и ст. 416, 647. 10) Рук. اغزی, ср. стихъ 457.

11) = ستہ. 12) = ар. اسلوب.

سعادین بوز¹ یغور یغدریب بس که فالغان لشکرینی دونکدریب بس
 535 تیوب حسرب ابله آه کیم پس ارمان یتیب کندی او یردین سوی کورکان
 بولوب منصور مظفر اهلی ایمان رجوع ایلاب اورشکادین² بخندان
 کلیم چون توشدیلاز کولانک ایلیکا اوشال فری قلا سر منزلیکا
 تیدیلار کیم ایا ای خان³ بیگ لار نچه کوندین بری کیم هارمانکلار
 نچه کون یانی لار ایلاب فراغت دمین راستلاب تاقیب⁴ چون استراحت
 540 تکه موت تیدی کولانک ایلیکا اجازت بولسه کتساک منزلیکا⁵
 بو بردا باتسانکز کیم جان برلان قیلورمز عزتی اکرام برلان
 خدا برسون سزا خیر الجزائی او دنیا⁶ بو دنیا ما فیهانی
 f. 26a بیل آخر خوشلاشیب کیم بیر بیریکا قیتسی لار⁷ همه برلیک یریکا
 که اندین سونک رجوع ایلاب روانی جریکی برلا کیم نور بیردی خانی
 545 بولوب منصور که گلدی منزلیکا قوشین کتی همه برلیک یریکا
 که اندین سونک تیدی نور بیردی خان چون بس ایدی قل تبا بولغیل روان چون
 سونچی لا اول ایلاک⁸ سین بو ایشینی قزیل باش برلا بولغان کیم روشنی

بیریب نامه اوزاتی کیم بیل آنی اول ایر کتی مرو ساری روانی
 نچه کونلار اول ایر کیم بول بوریب بس که باردی مرو ساریغه یتیب بس
 550 خبر بردی مرو خلقی غه ای جان که قیلدی کیم اول ایلنی اسر⁹ خندان
 ینه ایدی¹⁰ کلور نور بیردی خان چون یغیب لشکر کیم اول صاحبقران چون
 ایشتیب بول خبرنی خوشلادیلار قدیمغی دستورینی باشلادیلار
 اوروشدیلاز ینه کیم کیجه کوندیز قیلیب چون بر یوزین قان ایله رنکریز

1) Встав. о. 2) Словообразование! Ср. стихъ 584. 3) Встав. о.
 4) تاقیب = 5) Sic! 6) См. ст. 97. 7) Чит. въ 4 слога;
 ср. стихъ 416. 8) Пук. айніка. 9) = اسرو. 10) = آیدی.

- بینه بېر نو جوانی جوش صفاتلیغ
 اول ایرهم سوردی* اسپ تازیسنی¹
 که جاقانئیب سواشغه² قیلدی آهنگ
 نچه لارنی اورویان پارا ایلاب
 سالیب کفارابلیکا شور³ شرنی
 اول ایرلار کیم قیلیب اسر⁴ فغانلار⁵
 بینه یسوت ایلیدین نچه سرمست
 قوریب⁷ کافرینک جب یاننی بس
 که القصه تمامی اهلی ایبان
 اوشال هنگام تیدی نور بېردی خانی
 همه یوزلاندیلار توغ ساریغه چون
 اوشال وقت کیم تیدی جعفر قلی خان
 بویردا قالدوق اییدی کیم اوروشدین
 که اندین سونک بغیب بیس فسینی
 بیلیبان اهلی اسلام قاجاغینی
 بیل آخر کفر ایلی قیلدی هزیمت
 هجوم ایله یوروب چون اهلی ایبان
 بهادرلار اوروشدین هاردیلار چون
 که القصه اولوکدین پشته توردی
 بولوب جعفر قلی حالی¹⁰ پریشان
 فرار ایله توشوب یولغه روانی
- مسی سی آنینک بادر بیک آتلیغ
 تماشا قیل اول ایر هنگامه سینی
 قیلاج نیزه اوروب با ناموس ننگ⁵¹⁵
 جهنم ساریغه آدارا³ ایلاب
 روافضدین چقارور غریونی⁵
 اقزیدیلار بسی دربی قانلار
 قیران ایلاب کلورلار کیم به بیوست^{f. 25a.}
 توکوب کفار ایلی نینگ قاننی بس⁵²⁰
 اوروب کفار باشیغه تیغ بران
 دلورلار یتنک توغغه روانی
 قیران ایله قیلیب چون استین استون
 کلادور اهلی سنی باستورویان
 قاجان⁸ خوبتور بو یرلاردا تورشدین⁵²⁵
 دولاندوردی قاجار بولغه یوزینی
 مبارزلار یتیب جافتی توغینی
 کلان یولین توتوب ایلاب عزیمت
 قزیل باش حالینی ایلاب پریشان
 بریب قورققلاره نوبتی اکنون⁵³⁰
 ینه قول کوتاریب اما⁹ اوتوردی
 توفین ناشلاب جریکین بایدروبان^{f. 25b.}
 بقین دور قیغو برلا چقسه جانی

1) Рук. тарсіні. 2) Рук. сوشغه. 3) = اداره.

4) Встав. о. Ср. стихъ 821. 5) Недостаетъ 1 слога, ср. 1019. 6) Рук.

فعانلار. 7) = قوریب, ср. стихъ 512. 8) Вм. джагат. قاجقان; см.

ст. 582. 9) Произносится УММО; ср. стихи 503 и 505. 10) Рук.: خالی.

495 نكاورلار جلاوبين دنك توتوب بس جهانى دود ايله كيم جنك¹ توتوب بس
 كه باقباين دغى ساغدين سوليغه يقين لاپ بارديلار چون كفر ايلیغه
 يقیب كفار ايلي آنشكدراسين چقاردى مؤمن اهلى ريناسين
 كه يعنى توف ساسى² بولدى فقرلاب³ بتیب باردى قیلج نیزه شاقرلاب⁴
 f. 24a. قیلیب * مغلوبه جنك⁵ ایکی لشکر اوروش بولدى زمانى كيم سراسر
 500 اوروب تغین كيم اول كفار باشیغه كه بولدوز نك سونار شیطان باشیغه
 تيورلار كيم اوشال نور بیردى خانى كریب غرشیغه⁶ شیرى ژبانى
 قیلج سلتاب نكاورنى قیلیب دب جب راستدین چافاردى كيم قلیلاب
 كهى تیغ كهى نیزه سوناردى نچه سرتیب⁷ سرباز امالاردى⁸
 كلیب آنینك ساغیدین كيم جوفان⁹ کر¹⁰ دمیکا تارتار ایردى مثل ازر
 505 لبین¹¹ تیشلاب سونوب نیزه اوراردى نچه لار امى لبیان¹² جومالاردى¹³
 نچهنى تیغ برلا شاق لاتوردى¹⁴ انكاكین بر بوزیکا قافلانوردى¹⁵
 ینه * یان تشیبان¹⁶ ایکی نهمن بیری دور دردى خان بیری قل تن
 قریب كفار ایلین یکسان اتارلار¹⁷ نچه جانلیغ لاری بیجان اتارلار¹⁷
 عمل کا کیرکوزوب كيم تیغ لارینى نظر آکیب او كفار توغلارینى
 510 f. 24b. كه چقدى بیر طرفدین تورت ارسلان¹⁸ کلورلار تیغ اوروب كيم شیرى غران
 بیری چاری ایرور قرداش برلان بیری اشرف ایرور بولداش برلان
 آلار الکیده¹⁹ كيم تیغ لار یلاى لاف سوروب²⁰ سربازی هر یانه توفلاب

1) چانك. 2) = ساسى, ср. стихъ 364. 3) Чит. пыкырлап
 4) Ср. осм. и кирг. шақардамқ. 5) См. стихъ 973. 6) = перс. غرشی و غرش.
 7) Встав. о. 8) Читается: уммолорды; см. умалъ въ Словарѣ ак. Радлова.
 9) Чит. чюпан. 10) = مثل въ значеніи аکر. 11) Рук. لبین.
 12) = اومالیباب. 13) Этотъ глаголь объясняется туркменами чрезъ
 тоѳолон (v) (ср. телеутск. тоѳолон); ц — казакъ-киргизское, см. цумала (v)
 въ Словарѣ ак. Радлова. 14) Отъ شابلامق. 15) Отъ قابلامق.
 16) = یاندیشیبان, ср. стихъ 1001. 17) = ایتارلار. 18) Чит. арыслан.
 19) Чит. алкідә, ср. стихъ 257. 20) Чит. сауوروب.

— ۲۴ —

باشیدا کیم آنینک تاجی¹ پیغمبر^۲ ایدی عالم ایلی کا کیم او سرور
 هم ایردی سبزه پوش باشیل عصالیغ کونکلدا یادی حق اغزی^۳ ۸ ثنالیغ
 آنینک فاشیده کیم سکز علمدار سکز منک لشکرا اول ایردی آثار
 تیورلار کیم اول ایرکا محمود ایشان بیوت ایلیکا اول کیم باش بولوبان
 460 پیوردی اوزینی هنکام ارا چون بساو قیلدی اوشال میدان ارا چون
 کلیب قوشولدیلار کیم مؤمنین کا⁴ ۹ يتوشتی غصه لار کیم کافرین کا^۵
 بولور^۶ هم بیر طرفدین صف توتوبان بهادرلار چقیب آت اویناتیبان
 بیل آخر تکه بیوت کوکلانکیدین^۷ بهادرلار چقیب چون بساودین
 بیرببان بیر بیریکا غیرتی نیز اوروشورغه قیلیب یکباره انکیز
 465 سونوب نیزه آت اویناتیب اول ایرلار نیوردیلار کلینکلار رافضی لار
 ایشتیب اول بهادرلار سوزینی قرارتیب اهلی کفار توف بوزینی f. 22b.
 بوشاتی نچه توف بولبان ساریغه که یعنی لشکری اسلام ساریغه
 دلاورلار که بیم ایتمای توفیدین یتیب باردی که سرباز اونک صفیدین
 اوروب نیزه آلا رنینک سینه سیدین یلائی لاقی چقدی نیزه ارقه سیدین
 470 نچه سربازلاری برباد اتیبان قزیل باش لار آلا ردین داد اتیبان
 دیدی جعفر قلی ای وای لشکر که بیوتی لسکریمینی مثل ازر
 که ترکمان ایلیدین بولاک سواری چقارور کیم بو لشکر دین دماری
 الا یا ایها السرتیب^۸ سرهنک قیلالی کوز کورار نک آهنکی جنک
 بو سوزلارنی دیبان قوبدی محصل جب راست لشکریکا آتی بیلکیل
 475 یوریتنی توفلارینی آتی ربیان^۹ جهانی دود ایله کیم تونی ربیان^{۱۰}

1) Чит. т. 1. 2) Ср. стихъ 19. 3) Рук. اغزی, ср. стихъ 419.

4—5) Sicl. См. стихъ 27 и др. 6) Вм. под влиянием, может быть, туркменского произношения булор; ср. стихъ 774. 7) ى для стиха.

8) Sicl. Встав. 9—10) Ср. стихи 302, 282, 143, 328, 329.

- غرض کیم بو ایکی دریای لشکر بساو ایلاب توروشدیلار برابر
 او میدان ایچره سوستی^۱ بولوت بیل که قیلدی یلدرم چون بوی سنبل
 سپوردی کیم آئی بادی هوا چون بولوب روشن که کونکلی اولیا چون
 غرض میدان یوزی آراسته بولدی اوروش ماقفه جنان پیراسته بولدی 440
 که اندین سونگ تیدی خانی سیلخان^۲ مبارزلار بغیلسون سوی میدان
 نکاور قتلایغه^۳ دب اتیبان که چقدی دُردی خان آت اویناتیبان
 زهی دلیک^۴ بهادر ایردی اول تن یقار چون دشمنی کر اولسه تهمن^۵
 اونورکان باشیدین کیم کوب اوروشلار^۶ که اورغان دشمانیغه نچه نیشلار
 445 اوروش ماقفه اوزینی جازم ایلاب 445 f.21b. بینه میدان ساریغه عازم ایلاب
 اتینی قجلاب بیر نو جوانی قوی هیکل ایدی صاحبقرانی
 نیورلار کیم آنکا جاری بهادر ایرور انداق بهادر اسر^۷ نادر
 بینه بیر بادری سجماس ایلیدین ایدی کیم بورمه^۸ سر منزلیدین
 اول هم بیر ابر ایدی غیری مکر مبارزلار ایچنده ایردی سرور
 بیلوردی حربه کارین اول زبردست بول هم بولدی زبردست لارکا بیوست^۹ 450
 بینه بیر بادری کیم بار ایدی بس که مونداغ ایش لارا درکار ایدی بس
 اوزی ایردی یازر خانی ایلیدین حذر قیلماس ایدی کیم دشمانیدین
 بول هم باردی اوروش میدنیغه بیل قوشولدی کیم بهادر کانیغه بیل
- که بولدی کون بتاردین کرد پیده اوشال کرد اراسی بولدی هویدا
 کوروندی لشکری کیم بیکران چون کلادور اونکیدا صاحب زمان چون 455 f.22a.

1) Чит. Сосотди. 2) Рук. Силян, какъ и въ другихъ стихахъ, но см. стихъ 480. 3) Чит. قیتالیغه? 4) 1 5) Здѣсь для стиха надо читать: тѣмтѣн, въ два слога, но въ другихъ случаяхъ — въ три, напр. стихи 912, 929, 967. 6) Рук. اورشلار. 7) Чит. اسرو. 8) Произносится Бѣурма, у Абульгази — بورمه ترک — سجره ترک, стр. ۲۲۱ изд. Демезона. 9) Чит. بیوست.

بولوبيان لشكري اسلام شادان
 اوروش قيلمای نچه كونلار بيل آنى
 خبر بىردى مسلمانلارغه اول جان
 كنگاش برلا همه سرهنك³ سرتيب
 420 گليب ميزنچه پارسنك⁵ بول يوروب بس
 قيلالى سنى برلا كارزارى
 كه بار دور كيم او بردا بيرتلى چون
 f. 20b. توفى انكا چقاريب كيم بيل آنى
 ابشتيب بو خىرنى مؤمنين لار⁶
 425 چقاريب اول تفهكا نچه مركان
 غرض آخر بولوت اماده جنك
 خدای بارى غه ايلاب توكل
 كه اندين سونك بولوب كيجه تانك آنى
 كه يعنى كون چقيب كونديز بولدى
 430 اوروب كفار ايلي كيم طبل جنكنى
 يوروتى⁷ توفى لار كيم توفى لارينى
 سوارالار⁹ پياداسين¹⁰ اونكيكا
 بو ياندين هم تمامى اهلى ايمان
 f. 21a. توشوب اونكلار يكا صاحب قرانى
 435 علمدارلار علم نيزه باشيغه
 يساو برلا نچه كيم دسته دسته

تيمتى لار¹ او بردين اسر² خندان
 يتيب كلدى خبرجى كيم روانى
 كلور ايرتانك سزه جعفر قلى خان
 كه نوفلارين قرارتيب اغزين⁴ ارتيب
 كه ايش بتماس بو بردا اوتوروب بس
 تيبورلار كيم آلالى با برالى
 آنى زور ايلابان كيم الساق اكون
 آلورمىز قلعهنى تورماي زمانى
 كنگاش ايلاب تيوب چون جنين لار
 همه كوب كوركان كيم ايش بتركان
 همه بكتن بولوب هم ناموس ننگ
 آلازغه بارى برسون خالقى كل
 چقاريب كيم فلگ نيزه اوزاتى
 زهى عالم بوزى رنكيز بولدى
 صدا ايلاب صدای رنكيزكنى
 نوزاب سرتيب⁸ سرهنك صف لارينى
 كه كلديلار اوروش ميدان ساريكا
 بولوب عازم يوروب كيم سوى ميدان
 شكوه ايل كيم اول نور بىردى خانى
 ناقيبان يورديلار آنينك فاشيغه
 بارورديلار يوروب چون آسته آسته

1) Чит. въ 4 слоги, ср. стихъ 478 и др. 2) Чит. اسرو. 3) Встав. о.

4) Рук.: اغزين. 5) Вм. فرسنك. 6) Sic! ср. стихи 27, 81 и др.

7) Рук.: يورتنى. 8) Встав. о. 9) См. стихъ 181. 10) Вм. پياداسين.

- هنوز کیم نیزه سونوب ال اوزاتمای
 باتورسین قورقبان اندیشه ایلاب
 ویا بيسار اولوب جعفر قلی خان
 ویا کیم توشیده کیم باسیب آئی
 ابشیتب بول بهادرینک سوزینی
 بو توشومنی نچوک بیلدی بهادر
 نیدی کیم محرمی ای خان آقا
 کلب دور دشمنی کیم اوستومیزکا
 که هوشیغه کلب جعفر قلی خان
 قلیب جارچی جارین لشکر ارا چون
 که القصة ایکی لشکر برابر
 بباردی بیر مبارز سوی میدان
 نیدی کیم اول مبارز ای بهادر
 اوروب لافی^۴ کذافی سین بغایت
 اول هم آتین دب ایلابان بو ساری
 ایکی سی هم قلیب روی بدل چون
 [که اسی فالی مرکاندور ایروور بیل
 بیل آخر کیم اوشال ستی بهادر
 سالیب تغین آنینک فرقی سربغه
 دیدی جعفر قلی بو قیسی ساعت
 قیوردی لشکرین جادر ساریغه
- 895 که تغیم زهردین بیر ذره نامای
 تفکرنی اوزینکا بیشه^۱ ایلاب
 یاتوبدور کیم بولوب حالی پریشان
 حسن کلتی قلیب دور جنب آئی
 دیدی جعفر قلی اوریب یوزینی
 f. 19b. 400 منینک توشومنی ایتوبان^۲ تورادور
 کوران توشونک قویوب باق غمراغا
 قرانمای کیم یوقاری پستمیزکا
 بووردی جارچی سیغه جرقیل ای جان
 یغیلینک صف توتوب میدان ارا چون
 405 کلب تولدی اوشال میدان سراسر
 که گلدی اول مبارز رو توتوبان
 کلاتورغیل که سین ایلاب تبادر
 که تاہای سین حریفکنی بو ساعت
 یاناشدیلار بولوب ایکی سواری
 اوروشکا قیلدی لار جهدی^۳ جدل چون
 410 قزل آرباد دیاریندین ایروور اول^۵]
 f. 20a. باریبان الدیغه بولدی برابر
 ایکی بولوب یئتوشتی اکاریغه^۶
 دیدی قرعجی سی^۷ خمس دور بوساعت
 415 باریب توشتی همه برلیک یریغه

1) بیشه. 2) Чит. آیتوبان. 3) Вм. و. لاف. 4) Чит. و. جهد.

5) Весь стихъ составленъ и вписавъ Ходжали-Моллой, стальнымъ перомъ. 6) Чит. ایکاریغه. 7) Рук. قرعاجی سی.

376 بیل اخر آتی دنك¹ نوری قویاشدین
 اوشال وقت بولدی آناری کُر فر
 f.18b. که یعنی کیم اوشال خانی سیلخان²
 که فیغو برلا کیم جعفر قلی خان
 کلب دوستونک توروبدور کیم بول آگاه
 380 که توردی کیم یریدین ساسکانبان³
 دیدی گلدی حسن کشتی کلب بس
 دیدی یورغیل توشمنی ای فلانی
 که غسل ایله دما بو سوزنی ای خان
 بولار بو سوزده ایردی کیم بیل آنی
 385 قوی هیکل زبردست بیر نهمن
 [بوق ایردی زمندا شیری مز انتک
 صدا برلا تیدی کیم ای قزیل باش
 قیلالی بکایک کیم کارزاری
 f.19a. زمان دین سونک ینه ایلاب طلب مرد
 390 نیدی ای رافضی لار بیر بهادر
 ویا یبار مبارز توف توف ایلاب
 قیلالی بیر اوروش غیری مکرر
 که القصه قزیل باش طوفیدین⁴ کیم
 ینا فریاد اتیبان اول بهادر

1) Чит. данк, данк. 2) Рук. Силхан, ср. стихи 368, 342.

3) = Сизканибан, Сиссканибан (Будаговъ, I, 655); ср. стихи 364 и 228.

4) Чит. Аیدی. 5) Рук. неясна. 6) = اسرو. 7) Весь стихъ
 вписанъ рукой Ходжели-Моллы; вм. заманда чит. заманда.

8—9) Рук. خوفیدین و طوفیدین.

نوشوردیلار آنى عزت بیلان چون همه لشکرلارین حرمت بیلان چون
 تیدیلار کیم ایا خانى سیلخان¹ که قیلدینک کیم بو ایلى اسر² خندان
 بغیلیب کیم * کبار ایله³ صغاری تیدیلار خوش کلیب سین شهریارى
 جهان بارینچه کیم بس بارینک اولسون خدا برلا رسول هم یارینک اولسون³⁶⁰
 که القصه بولار بو سوز ارا چون قجیبان⁴ گلدیلار کیم دیدیبان⁵ چون
 تیدیلار قراویلار⁶ ای خلائق که گلدی کفر ایلى فوجا فرایق
 زمان اوتماى که گلدی زود اتیبان توف ایله یر یوزینی دود اتیبان
 توف⁷ کرناى سورناى ساسی⁸ برلان بولوب شیطان کیسی وسواسی⁹ برلان
 کلیب توشتی بایرلار¹⁰ اراسیغه ناقیب جادر ایفن¹⁰ سنک پارسیغه¹¹
 قاجیب باردی خبرجی اول فریقه بولوبدور کیم ایشی اورکا طریقه¹¹
 کلیب دور تکه دین اون منک سوارى دغى باش بولوبان نور بېردى خانى¹²
 همه بولوب فولاد پوش¹³ 18 تمر پوش بکت لیک¹³ نوجه سیدین همه سرخوش
 همه جنک دیدة¹⁴ طیار ایکاندور دغى دستى زبر* دست کار¹⁵ ایکاندور
 بینه بیلدی کیم اول بیت¹⁶ ایلى دین کلور کیم کون بتار¹⁷ سرمنزلیدین³⁷⁰
 بغیب لشکر کلورلار کیم دمامد چکارلار لشکرینى ازدها دم
 بو قیغو غصه برلا اول فلاکت بتورموکان بتوب کیم بوز منک آفت
 خبرجی سوزى دین بولدی وهنناک نه هوش قالدی نه عقل نه اوراک¹⁸
 که یانى بول کیجه کریبک جلسهای¹⁹ قباغى بیر بیریکا هیچ الشهای

1) Рук. سیلخان, ср. стихъ 342. 2) Чит. ;асро = каз.-кирг. асрө.

3) Рук. کبارى ایله. 4) Чит. قاجیبان. 5) دیدهبان или دیدهبان = دیدهبان.

6) = قراولлар, ср. стихи 141 и 197. 7) Встав. у. 8) = ساسى, ср. сноску 10

къ стиху 228: баш вм. بیش. 9) Рук. وسواس. 10) = اییبین.

11) Рук. پارسىغه. 12) Рифма! Ср. ст. 767. 13) Встав. у. 14) Чит.

15) = دستکار. 16) = یموت, см. стихъ 240; ср.

стихи 362, 141. 17) Чит. بتатар. 18) Согласно народному произноше-

нію вм. دیورك. 19) Чит. چالشهای.

۱ اوقوتیب کیم آنینک بیش فسینی^۱ چقاریب بیردی اول هم نامه سینی
 کلب دور لشکر ایله سوی کورکان که بیلدی کیم اوشال جعفر قلی خان
 تکه کولانک آلورکا جازم ایرمیش ینه بیلدیکیم بولیان عازم ایرمیش
 که صبر ایت نچه کون قیلما تبادر ولی قلتن غه تیدی ای بهادر
 ۳۴۰ بیلورسین کیم کلب دور دشمنی دین که اول بول فریضه صانی بولسون
 که اندین سونک مروساری بارولسون که اندین سونک کیم اول خانی سیلخان^۲
 قیلیب جارچی جرینی^۳ هر دیارا ۳۴۵ که القصه نچه افواجی لشکر f. 17a.
 جنایی خانغه گلدی کیم سراسر تیدیلار کیم ایا ای شهر یاری
 یغلیب گل دیلار کیم کوب سواری نه فرمان بولسه ایدی کیم توروش^۴ بوق
 اوروشدین اوزکا بیر بخشش رویش بوق قیلیب کفار ایله کیم کارزاری
 چقارغای میز دماغیدین دماری که اندین سونک تونوب اسباب خانی
 یوروش قیلدی کیم اول سهراب ثانی هه کوب کورکان صاحب کنکاشلار
 که اونکارکان باشیدین کوب سواشلار ۳۵۰ بولوبان کیم هه آهن* فلاد فوش^۵
 حمایل تیغ بران نیزه آغوش منیبان آتلاری کیم خوش دماغی
 زهی جابک سواری ارضی ماغی^۶ ناقیب نیزه باشیغه آل بلولار
 توتوبان کیم دغی نچه یساولار شکوه ایله اوشال قری قلاغه
 یقین لاب باردیلار اول ماجراغه کوروب کولانک ایلی کردی^۷ غباری
 کلادور آرقه دین اون منک سواری شجاعت لیغ بسی صاحب قراندور ۳۵۵ f. 17b.
 اولوغ کچک هه اعزاز ایلاب چقیبان آلدیغه بیشواز^۸ ایلاب

1) Виѣсто и псѣни. 2) Рук. Силхан или даже Силхан.

3) Рук. جرین, что нарушаетъ размѣръ стиха. 4) Рук. توروش.

5) = ڤولاد پوش. 6) См. стихъ 143. 7) Чит. و کرد. 8) Чит. بیشواز.

295 طزن حدیده کیم صاحب قرانی
 که یعنی¹ بای² تورسون آئی آنینک
 غریبی³ بی نوالار غمکساری
 ایرور بیچاره لارغه چاره ساز اول
 فقیرلار دردی نینک درمانیدور⁵ اول
 300 f. 15a. یانلار نینک سدی راهینی توتقان
 اولوس ایل نینک بسی آسایشی اول
 عدالت کلشینینک⁷ فاکه هاسین⁸
 عدالت تیغی برلا کامکار اول
 عدالت مخزنی نینک درلارینی
 305 زهی عادل آنکا یوقدور تعابیل
 سخا امواجی نینک دراجی اولدور
 عطاسیدین آنینک هر خاص⁹ عامه
 نوالیدین آنینک هر بیر رمیده
 سحرلار کیم تلیده حق شناسی
 310 پنا شاکر ایرور حق نعمتیدین
 غمی یوقدور آنینک عالم غمی دین f. 15b.
 ایش رضی قضائی لا یزالغه
 توکل لیک ایرور کیم هر بیر ایشدا
 کیشیکا¹³ مونجه اوصافی حمیده
 نیورلار کیم فلان ابن فلانی
 زهی عفت پذیر دور ذاتی آنینک
 یتیمی⁴ بیوه لار نینک خواستکاری
 اسیری مبتلاغه دلنواز اول
 جفاخوار بنده لار نینک جانی دور اول
 یمانلار کیم یمانلیغنی اونوتقان
 عدالت باغی نینک آرابشی⁶ اول
 بریب ایلکا آلور ایل نینک دعاسین
 جفاکارلاردین آلیب انتقام اول
 ساجار ایل باشیکا لؤلؤلارینی
 اکر هم بولسه اول شروان عادل
 اولوس الغی شینک محتاجی اولدور
 یتار کیم اهلی عالم نینک تاما
 آنینک خانی دین ایرمیش آرمیده
 که حق دین اوزکا یوقدور هیچ پناسی¹⁰
 امید ایلار خدانینک رحمتیدین
 ایرور اندوهی¹¹ آنینک اخرویدین
 قلیب تقویض¹² *هه ایشین¹² کیم خداغه
 ارنلار هم اوتیب دور بو رویشدا
 بولور کیم جنت ایچره آرامیده¹⁴

1) Рук. یتیمی. 2) Чит. въ два слога, см. стихи 318 и 993. Ср. еще стихъ 416. 3) Вм. غریب و. 4) Вм. یتیم و. 5) Рук. درماندور. 6) Рук. آراشی.
 7) Рук. کلشن نی نینک vic! 8) Рук. فاکه هاسین vic! 9) Рук. خاص; чит. و. خاص.
 10) پنا = یناه, народное произношеніе. 11) Рук. اندوه. 12) Произнос.: hām'īshin. 13) Рук. کیشیکا, ср. стихъ 56. 14) Рук. آرامیده, ср. стихъ 301.

- بیاردی بول ساری کلم ایلاسون نیب
 که حالا کیم اوشال جعفر قلی خان
 کلیمان کیم توشوبدور سوی کورکان²⁷⁵
 قیلورمیز انشا الله² کیم آئی دون
 قدیبعی عادتینی باشلادیلار³
 نکاکا بولدی بیر یخشی بهانه f. 14a.
 که بولدی مال ایله قانی حلاله⁴
 کیشی کر قیلسه جانیه اعانت²⁸⁰
 بریب دورلار تیدیلار کیم بیل آئی
 که یوقدور کیم ساریق⁷ ساری سبیلی
 قرین داش اوروق همزاد بولسه
 جقارغای میز دماغیدین دماری
 بسی کوب کورکان صاحب نوردی²⁸⁵
 یغیب کلسون چریکی بیکرانی
 اوزی صاحب فراست آدی قلتن
 قوی هیکل زهی شهباز ایرور بس
 نکلم ایلاسه تاشنی قیلور موم f. 14b.
 اوزی یکرنگ ایرور بوق قیل⁹ قالی²⁹⁰
 غیوری¹⁰ دور که غیرت لیغ ایرور بس
 نچه سوزلار تیوب هنکامه برلا
 اول ایر کتی تأمل قیلمای آئی
 ینه لازم بیزا کیم نچه ایشلار¹¹

1) جانتسون = 2) انشا الله. 3) Чит. для стиха: nāmūlāiilār. 4) Sic! ср. ст. 54. 5) Вм. ایچچون. 6) = اتقاق. 7) Sic! см. следующее слово. 8) Вм. عقل و. 9) Встав. و. 10) В персидск. или для обозначения богаъе чъмъ долгаго слога, ср. стихъ 18 и др. 11) Пропущено сказуемое!

یغی کرلیک قیلیب طغبان قیلورلار اوروشدین¹ یر یوزینی قان قیلورلار
 نچه کونلار ایکی سی دنک تالاشدی یغی کرلیک بسی کوب حدین آشتی
 255 قدیمآ ایکی سی قرداش اییش لار تنکامک اوسکان سرداش اییش لار
 ۱۳۰۸ بیل آخر کیم ساریق ایکی سواری یباردیلار روافض شاه² ساری
 یتوشتی اول ایکو کیم داد اتیبان که * نکا الکیدین³ فریاد اتیبان
 تیدیلار کیم ایا شاه جهمان کیر بیزینک بو حالیزغه ایله تدبیر
 که اندین سونک روافض شاه ای جان نچه افواج لشکرلار یغیبان
 260 یباردی مرو ساریغه روان بیل نچه سرهنک سرتیب اندران⁴ بیل
 نچه منزل مراحل قطع اتیبان که باردی مرو ساریغه یتیبان
 کیم اول ساریق اوبالمای آنکا باردی ابرورمیز نیب سنکا چا کر دیر ابردی
 بیل آخر اهلی ساریق اهلی شیعه تکه برلا توقشتی * غش غشیغه⁵
 نچه مدت اوروش هنکام برلان اوتردیلار کون اقسام برلان
 265 که آخر نئی اول شاه نینک سپاهی تاپا المای اوزیکا بیر پناهی
 بر اقسام نچه مکر حیلله برلا فرار ایلاب ساریقدین کیله برله
 ۱۳۰۹ شتاب ایله یوروب چون ارته اقسام سرخس بتی بولوب چون خون آشام
 نچه کونلار او یرده استراحت دمین راستلاب که بولدیلار فراغت
 بنا قیلدی او یرده قلعه خوب ایماس قلعه ابرور بلکی بیر آشوب
 270 قوبوب اول قلعه ایچره نچه سرباز توروب کتی او یردین کُم بولوب باز
 خیر باردی که طهران شاهغه⁶ چون بولوبدور لشکری چون جنان چون
 نچه کیم حسرت ایله آه تارتیب نچه آه ایله وای بیجای تارتیب
 سبب بو دور که اول جعفر قلی بی آتی سردار اتیب کیم لشکرینی

1) Рук.: اوروشیدین, чего не допускает стихъ.

2) Рук. شاه.

3) Чит. tākā ālkīdān, ср. стихъ 512.

4) اندر آن =

5) См. стихъ 1042.

6) Чит. شاهيغه.

- ويا ایلانك كه بیر فکری دیگر چون
 که الفصه تمامی اهلی کوکلانك
 کنکاش برلا بولوب چون همه یکرنگ
 آنینک برلا اوروش آموخته ایلانك
 اکر اولتورساك اول کفارلاردین
 بولورمیز تانکلا محشر غازی لاردین²
 اکر اولساك شهیدلارنینک قطاری
 بولورمیز چهار یارلار دوستداری
 دغی قیلیب آنینک کوب احتیاطین
 اوشال کفار کلکان بول ساریغه
 نچه سوزلار تیوب هنگامه ایلاب
 یوروسین لار توقفسز بو ساری
 مسلمانلیقدا هم سرداش ایورومیز
 خدا برلا رسول هم دشمنی دین
 توزاتی لار اوروش هنگامه سیننی
 بریب بیر بیریکا دلدارلیغ لار
 کلور کفار هجوم* ایلاب تعیین³
 غرض اول ایل بیاریب نامه سیننی
 قیلوردیلار خداغه زارلیغ لار

- کیل ای ناظم بولار بول برده تورسون
 نیورلار کیم مرو شاهی جهان بیل
 قدیما شهرهای آبادانلار
 آقار دریاسی بالادین قوی بیل
 قلملار اوزکا یارلاردین کب اورسون
 اوتیب دور کیم نچه صاحبقران بیل
 سوراب اوتکان نچه صاحبقران لار
 شرین دور شهد⁴ شکر دین سوی بیل
 بیر یل⁵ اککان بیور اون یل فراغت
 نکه برلا سارقغه بولدی منزل
 توقوشوب بیر بیریکا انتهایسی
 بیری یعد ایورور قابل زراعت
 بیل آخر کیم فلک رفتار دین⁶ بیل
 بو منزل ایچره کیم بو ایکی لاسی

1) Чит. و زبر. زبر و زبر.
 2) Рук.: کفارلاردین по аналогіи съ غازلاردین. Ср. стихъ 56.
 3) Рук.: ایلا بتعیین.
 4) Встав. и; ср. ст. 168.
 5) Рук.: ایل.
 6) Рук. رفتار دین.

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روان بولدی سپاه سالار جعفر
 باشیده سایه دور ظلّی صحابی¹
 که الفصه یوریب سرتیب سرهنک
 خبر باردی اوشال کیم بیشه ساری
 220 زمان اوشال یینه آواز کرنای
 بیل آخر ناتی اول جعفر قلی خان
 یغیلیب صف توتوب سرهنک سرتیب
 f. 11b. که اندین سونک همه کنکاش بیرلان
 نچه کون یوروبان کورکان یتوشتی
 225 اوروب خرگاه⁵ خیسه جادرینی
 دیدیلار کیم او یرده کنکاش ایلاب
 شکوه ایله بسی سردار لشکر
 بسابدرلار آنکا اسباب شاهی
 یقین لاب باردیلار چون ایکی پارسنک²
 یقین کلدی او لشکر انتظاری
 ایشتی لار که بیلکیل کیم بیایی
 کلیب توشتی او بیشه ساری ای جان
 همه کلیب باش اکدی لار بترتیب
 روان بولدی که ایرتانیگ جاش³ بیرلان
 کلیب بیر مرغزار⁴ میدان غه توشتی
 تولا توتی اوشال میدان سارینی
 بولالی بول یرا وقتی خوش ایلاب

227 کیل ایمدی ناطمی⁶ بول مونده یتسون⁷
 [اوشال وقتده بتاریخی⁹ محمد
 که سوزلا اورکا یر اخباریدین بس
 230 تیورلار کیم اوشال کورکان ساری دین
 دیدی قاصد ایبا ای قوم بی باش
 که کفار ایلیدین اندیشه ایلانک
 نچه کونلار یتب⁸ دمین توزات سین
 کم برمنک ایکی یوز یتیش یدی یاد¹⁰
 اوشال قری قلا¹¹ آثاریدین¹² بس
 که قاصد¹³ یتی کورکان کولانکیدین¹⁴
 یتیب کلدی سزا ییحد قزیل باش
 قیلینک محکم قلائی¹¹ بیشه¹⁵ ایلانک

1) Sic. Чит. ?سحابی. 2) Среднеазиатское произношение слова *فرسنک*; ср. стихъ 59. 3) *چاشت*. 4) *مرغزار*. 5) Чит. *خرگاه*. 6) Чит. *назім-ай*. 7) *یاتسون*. 8) Чит. *یاتیب*, ср. стихъ 172. 9) Рук. *بتاریخی*. 10) Весь стихъ *вписанъ стальн. перомъ и друг. рукой. Ходжали-Молла, которому принадлежить эта, какъ и другія, вставка, сообщилъ мнѣ письмомъ поправку къ этой датѣ: вм. یدی чит. باشد — башта. — Написание باش вм. یشи встрѣчается въ туркменскихъ рукописяхъ. 11) *قلعه*. 12) Рук.: *آثاریدین*. 13) Рук. и К.: *قاسد*. 14) Рук. *کولانکیدین*. 15) Рук. *پیشه*.*

- بینه خلعت¹ اوچون اطلاس زربفت
 كلا⁸ بند ابلابان قیلدیم برابر
 بینه نچه طوفی⁴ شخالارنی⁵
 که دشمان ساریغه اغزین قرارتیب
 دغی هر نچه کیم درکار ایرور بس
 دیدی شه کیم وزیرا بیل مونی سین
 طلب قیلدی که جعفر خاننی بس
 دیدی شه کیم ایا جعفر قلی خان
 ایشتورمن کلیب دور بیر بولاک ایل
 باریب الغیل آنینک⁸ باج⁸ خراجین
 که اندین سونک کیم اونکیل تکه ساری
 که تا اول تکهنی رام ایتمسانک بس
 آلا ر ایله اوروش نا کیم حیانتینک
 که اندین سونک دیدی بولسون خدا یار
 بار اهدی بییشه مازندران بس
 الیب جعفر قلی شه فاتحه سین
 سلام علیک دیدی باش ایندروبان
 باریب جعفر قلی ایدی¹⁰ وزیر سین
 کیل اهدی قیل منی یولغه روانی
 وزیر هم کوس¹² کرنای قاقدر بیان
 تونی¹³ ایله هم اساسی سلطنتنی
- 195 که انواعی² متاعی نچه قت قت
 مهیا دور بو ایش لار کیم سراسر
 زمی رک⁶ قومسیرک⁷ بنا رلارنی
 که فوی میش من یینه بوغزینی آرتیب
 مهیا دور دغی طیار ایرور بس
 که لشکر اهدی دشمان ساری بارسین
 بیان ایستی آنکا فرماننی بس
 که قری قلعه ساری بولدی فرمان
 که کوکلانک ایلدین کیم مونی بیلکیل
 دغی کیم پوخته قیلغیل احتیاطین
 چقارغای سین اول ایل لاردین دمارنی
 بو یانلارنی که اصلا قیلما هوس
 یوق ایرسه خوب ایرور سنکا حمانتک
 حسن کاشی سنکا بولسون مددکار
 که اندین سونک اوتیب بولغیل روان بس
 یینه اوز طور یغه قیلغان دعاسین
 جقیب کندی او شهنی تین دوربان⁹
 که دهر ایچره زهی کیم بی نظیر سین
 که شه فرمانیدور¹¹ کیم بیلکیل آتی
 نوغ ایلله هم یگولار ناقدر بیان
 یورتی¹⁴ تتراتیب کیم یدی قتنی²¹⁵

1) Рук. и К.: خلعت. 2) Рук. и К.: انواعی. 3) Рук. К.: 4) Чит. و. طوپ.
 5) = شخالارنی. 6) = زمبرک. 7) Чит. قمبرک; по-туркменски гумрак —
 мортра. 8) Встав. о. 9) Чит. тиндурбан. 10) Чит. аیدی.
 11) Рук. فرمانдор. 12) Встав. о. 13) Чит. топ. 14) Чит. буротди.

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175 سرور ایلاب اوشال شاه کیم بوسوزدین خدایم ساخلا سین آفتلی کوزدین
 بار ایدی من سنی سالار قیلدیم که یعنی لشکرا سردار قیلدیم
 بو سوزلاری دیبان انعام¹ احسان قیلیب جعفر قلی غه کیم پراوان²
 ینه شاهانه خلعت پریش ایلاب نچه الطای ابله آتی خوش ایلاب
 f. 9b. دیدی کیم جعفر سین خانی خانی³ بهادر لیغده سین سهراب ثانی
 180 کوتارسانک تکه ایلنی سین ایتا کدین اونارای باشنکی کردون فلکدین
 بو سوزلاری دیبان کیم هر دیارا رقم ایلاب یباردی بیر سوارا⁴
 یتوشسون هر دیارینک حاکمی چون بغیب سرباز سرتیب سرهنکی چون
 که القصه یتوشتی نامه شاه که بار دور بیلدیلار هنگامه شاه
 نچه کونلار قیلیب انجام لشکر توالدی هر یرینک هنگام لشکر
 185 اوشال شاه دین ینه بیر کیم سوارا رقم ایلا یتوشتی هر دیارا
 که شاه فرماندور⁵ قیلمای تأمل⁶ یتوشسون بیسه مازندران بیل
 قیلیب فرمان شاهکا پیرو بلیغ قیلیب اول بیسه ساری ره رو بلیغ
 یوروب افواج لشکر دسته دسته سالورمیز⁷ تیب تکانی هم شکسته
 * بیل اخر⁸ یتی لار اول بیسه ساری رقم ایلاب یباردی لار سواری
 190 f. 10a. یتوشتی اول سوار شه ساریغه چون سلام ایلاب رقم سوندی بیل اکتون
 اوقوب مضمون نامه انکلادی شاه جریک جمع اولغانیدین بولدی آگاه
 دیدی شه کیم وزیرا سین نه ایشته که بردینک مو بو ایشکا سین سرشته
 وزیر ایدی⁹ ایا شاهی جهان کیر مهیا دور همه قیلدیم بتدبیر
 که سالدیم صندوق ایچره کوب زر سیم انی قیلدیم همه سرکارکا تسلیم

1) Встав. 2) Вм. فراوان. 3) Рук.: خانی خانی; К.:
 خانی خانی. 4) = سواره. 5) Рук. فرماندور. 6) Рук. تاثل.
 7) Рук. и К.: سولورمیز. 8) Часто употребляемое написание это есть,
 несомнѣнно, искаженіе арабскаго بِالْأَخْر. (р. стихи 37, 238 и особенно 251
 и 886. 9) Чит. آیدی.

- که تا اول ایلنی بی جان ایتسام من
بولاردین المسام تا انتقامم
وزیر ابدی¹ بولای من سنکا قربان
دیدى اولدم اوشال شاهى قزىل باش
توزات سین کیم وزیر اسباب لشکر
دیدى ساقى کتور جامى شرابم
کتوردى ساقى طیار اتیبان
بقیب³ ارکان دولتغه دیدى شاه
که بارمو بو ارادا پهلوانى
آلیب ایچسه بو جام ایله شرابى
محاصر ایلابان کیم اول دیارى
قیلیب ناراج بنه اهلی عبالین
ویا اخراج اتیب اوزکا دیارا
قیلورمن کیم آنی والی خراسان
اوشال مجلس ارا جعفر قلی خان
دیدى شاها اکر مقبول طبعنک
اوزاتی جامینی اول شاه کمره
لیب جعفر قلی جامی شرابى
دیدى شاهانه فولوقدور منکا چون
نه برده بولسه دشان کیم ایا شاه
آلارمنک جانیدین بیرجان قوتلیاس
- قرا بر برله یکسان ایتسام من
پس ارماندور بیل ای صاحب نظامم¹⁵⁵
قیلورمن جانیم² کر اولسه فرمان
توزاتکیل لشکر اسبابین پشاپش
اوشال شاه نوش ایتب چون شهد⁵ شکر
ینه بریان ایتب مرغی کبابم
آلیب تاتی دوداغین تیراتیان¹⁶⁰
الا یا ایها الناس بولونک آکا
شجاعت لیغ بسی صاحبقرانى
باریب قیلسه اول ایلکا احتسابی
دماغیدین جقارسه کیم دمارى
که مردملارنى قیلسه قتل عامین¹⁶⁵
آنی عاجز قیلیب قیلسه ادارا⁴
برورمن کیم بنه انعام⁵ احسان
تورا گلدى کیم اول تعظیم اتیبان
موافق بولسه کر بارسین بو قلبنک
دیدى مقبول ابرورسین بارک الله¹⁷⁰
که چکدی باشیغه لا جرعه⁷ آنی
بوپورسانک کیم براین⁸ بیلکیل اکنون
قیلورمن استین اوستون کیم بول آکا
اکر رستم ایسه آسان قوتلیاس

1) Чит. آیدی. 2) Стихъ? 3) = باقیب. 4) Чит. اداره.

5) Встав. 6) Произносится: бѣрѣк'аллѣ, ср. каз.-кирг. берік'алді. 7) Рук.

8) Въ. стихъ 624. 8) Въ. жарайн, ср. стихи 227, 161 и др.

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135 f. 7b. که باقی قریه‌لارنى بارابارا خراسان ساری کیم قیلدی آوارا¹
 قیلیب قسمت آتی کیم تیره تیره بیان ایلای سنی² روشن ضمیره
 توتوب مسکن آتی املاک اتیب دور نچه‌لار بغرینی کیم قان اتیب دور
 قیلیب دهقانلاری³ کشت زراعت اوتیریب روزکارین خوش فراغت⁴
 بیورلار هم سویارلار سرو نازی⁵ معیشت دور آلاغه قیش یازی⁶
 140 بکیت‌لار بار دور آنده با دیانت سوزی یکرنگ اوزی صاحب شجاعت
 منیب دلدل کیسی کیم آنلارینی قیلیب پوشش ینه سوتلارینی⁷
 کیوب باشغه چهار⁸ آینه الدهه الیک آلیب تیغ ایله نیزه بیلده بیلک
 کوتاریب هم ینه یعدد یراغی منیب دشمان ساری هم ارغی‌ماغی⁹
 جهاد ایلاب قزیل باش اهلنی هم یقین دور کیم اول ایلنی قبلسه برهم
 145 روافض ایلی اندین داد ایثارلار که نکه ایلی دین فریاد ایثارلار
 f. 8a. اخال ساری یبارسنگ لشکرینکنی توزاب خیلا¹⁰ دغی کتر فرینکنی
 که یعنی کیم اوشال قرّی فلاسی اخال ایلنینک ایکان اول منتهاسی
 کیم اندین سونگ بوروب جون یوقاریغه بارور چون تابع ایلاب هر یریفه
 وزیرینک سوزی جون بول یرکا بتی آنینک سوزین شهی کیم معقول ابتی
 150 که اول شه‌نینک آتی دور ناصرالدین دیما ناصر بل اولکیم قاصرالدین
 دیما قاصر زهی بی‌دین ابرور اول شقاوت‌لیغ دغی هم شین¹¹ ابرور اول
 که اندین سونگ تیدی شه‌کیم وزیرسین همه ارکانلاری نینک زیرکی سین
 خیالیدور منینک کربلسانک ای جان بیارورمن یغیب لشکر هم اول یان

1) Рук. *Авар*. 2) Читать сан-дй. 3) Произнос. таіхан. 4) Рук.
Зраعت, ср. *Зраعت*. 5) Ср. стихъ 89. 6) Чит. *Фішр* и *Язы*; ср. стихъ 97, 124,
 130 и др.; каждого случая мы не отмѣчаемъ. 7) Чит. *Саутларини*, ср. стихъ
 362, 1033; написаніе отражаетъ произношеніе: *сауйт*; й — звукъ средній
 между *у* и *ы*. 8) Произнос.: чѣр. 9) Чит. *Арғимағи*, ср. стихъ 351.
 10) = *Хиילה*, *Хиیلی*. 11) Стихъ требуетъ произношенія *шін*, *шайн*, но
 здѣсь ишѣется въ виду, очевидно, арабск. *شین*.

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- بار ابردی کیم که طهران ایچره شاهی
 که یاقوت زمرّد لؤلؤ مرجان
 نوزولکان ابردی باشی افسریغه
 بنه تختی¹ روان طلا زبرجد
 اوتورتیب ایردیلار اندازه ایلاب
 یسساب ابردی آئی اوستاد فایق
 چقیب اول تخت² اوزه کیم اول شهی دون
 که مونچه تخت³ بخت بارکاهی
 خروج ایتسام اکر هر بیر دیارا
 که بار دور مونچه قدرت اقتداریم
 یغیب⁴ لشکر یباردیم کیم سراسر
 نکادین باسلیب ایلاب سریم باش
 که برکان زراریمنی بوق اتیبان
 قیلیب ارکانیغه کیم مشورتنی
 بار ابردی کیم اوشال شاه نینگ وزیری
 دبدی کیم ای شها من سنکا قربان
 که بار دور تکه ایچره بیر ولایت
 ایشتمیش من ایننگ تعریفین ای شاه
 قدیمّا شهرهای آبادانلار
 که نادر⁵ سونکیدین کیم اهلی تکه
 آیینک ایلینی کیم تاراج اتیبان
- اول ابردی کیم روافض لار پناهی
 دغی الماس ایله لعلی بدخشان⁶
 کتورماسدی غمی عالم سربغه
 که یاقوت برله لؤلؤ آندا ییحد
 که لعل⁷ ایلا دغی شیرازه ایلاب
 زری زیور بیله شهلایغه لایق
 خیال ایله توتوب اوزین فریدون⁸
 ابرور منکا بنه ییحد سپاهی
 الورمن بر یوزیننی بار ابارا
 نه ایش ایتسام که ینکای اختیاریم
 نچه سرتیب سرهنک برلا یاور⁹
 کلورلار بیجا اهلی قزیل باش¹⁰
 کلورلار تکه دین کیم داد اتیبان
 ناپانکلاره کنکاش ایلاب مصاحتنی
 خردمندلیغ⁷ ایدی کیم بی نظیری
 قیلای من بیرسوزی کر اولسه فرمان
 اخال دیرلار آنکانی حد غایت⁸
 ایشتمندین نچه وصفین بول آگاه
 سوراب اوتکان آئی کوب شهریارلار
 کیم اول شهرلارنی¹⁰ آلیب بکه بکه
 اسیر ایلاب باسیب پنجیب ساتیبان

1) Рук. تختی. 2) Рук. لعلی. 3) Рук. تخت. 4) Рук. تخت.

5) Рук. یغیب. 6) Ср. стихъ 285, и см. также стихъ 784. 7) Форма!

8) Чит. и غایت. 9) К. ناور sic! 10) Судя по стиху, читается: шайрні.

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تیدیلار چون نچه کیم ملتس لار
 95 ابرورمیز کیم روافض کا جواری
 قیلورمیز نچه کب سزدین هوسلار
 قیلورمیز انلار ایله کارزاری
 آدهچی نر کبی کوزین آلا رتیب
 یغیب لشکر یبارور کیم جر یکین
 خزیننه¹ دینه بار² یوقین
 یتیب کلدی توزاب کر فرینی
 خدا امدادی برلا لشکرینی
 یقیب ینجیب همه بی جان قیلدوق
 شکست ایلاب همه یکسان قیلدوق
 100 که القصة بولار نینک قصه سیدین
 بیان ایلاب بولار دل غصه سیدین
 که نظم ایچره زهی جنک نامه خوب
 بولار احوالیدین کیم بولسه مکتوب
 f. 6a. ایشکانلار دغی کیم شاد بولسه
 کونکل اندوهیدین آزاد بولسه
 که اندین سونک تفکر پیشه قیلدیم
 قیلا الماس³ من دیبان اندیشه قیلدیم
 که یاد ابتدیم خدایی لا یزالی
 محمد مصطفیٰ چهار یاری
 105 مناجات ایلابان تیدیم خدایم
 نلیمنی سوزلاما کا ایلا قایم
 قریبنک کا بولان معراجی حقی
 آنینک اصحاب لاری نینک یاری حقی
 سحرلارده قیلشغان⁵ زاری حقی
 تمامی انبیا لار حرمتیدین
 ینه هر بنده کیم درکهنک کا
 یوزین توتوب کریب دور کیم رهنک کا
 110 جهاد ابتکان یکیت لار غزوسیدین
 قتال ایلاب ابتشان حمله سیدین
 بولارنی تنکر یغه قیلدیم وسیله
 توکل لیک بیله کردیم سبیله
 112 اوزیمنی بو ایشما رام قیلدیم
 ملاحظه بیله اقدام قیلدیم

f. 6b. دیدی کیم راولار اخبار جنانی
 قیلیب چون ناقلان انداغ بیانی

1) Рук. خزیننه¹; знаки 1 в рукописи употребляются для передачи союза **و** послѣ словъ на о, см. стихи 614, 998. 2) Встав. **و**. 3) Стихъ требуетъ чтенія кы'алмас. 4) Стихъ неполонъ. Не читать ли: **нинک**? **حبیبینک** **نینک**? 5) Рук. **قیلشغان**. 6) Чит. **عرش** **و** **کرسی**. 7) Чит. **عرشی** для стиха.

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- 75¹ تمامى اوليبالار سرورى دور¹ يىنه نورتونجى يارى جون عليدور
شجاعت ليغ دغى شيرى خدا بيل نغى كيم ابن عى مصطفى بيل
عليدور قاطعى چون باب خيبر² عليدور قاتلى چون عمر³ عنطر
على دور جفتى خانونى⁴ قيامت علم شجاعت
- ادا بولاس بيل اى صاحب بصارت بولارنيناك مدجين ايتسام نا قيامت
f. 5a. 80⁵ خوارچ روافض تك بيل آنى كيشى بيلماس بترتيب چهار يارى
بو اوج يارى رسولغه لاعنين⁶ دور روافض لشكرى شيطان لعين دور
دورودى مصطفى دين يكراك اى تن روافض ديب⁷ بو اوج كا تيباك لعن
هم ازواجى نبى نيناك افضل دور يىنه كيم عايشه جفتى نبى دور
خدا برلا رسولغه بولدى دشمان آنكا هم نچه بهتان برلا اى جان
85⁸ حقى كتمان اتيب ناحق چهارى كه القصة روافضغه شعارى⁷
قيامت دا عذابى رنكبرنكدور بولار رفتارى كردارى مزنكدور
قبيلورلار كيم شريعتغه⁸ خيانت بولار دور كيم گروهى بى ديانت
بولار نلسبىز شيطان رجيم دور بولار نلسبىز شيطان رجيم دور
بهاشت ايجره سرى⁹ نازى ابرور بس بولارنيناك قاتلى غازى ابرور بس
90¹⁰ سعادتليغ شهيدلارنيناك شهيدى كيشى بولسه بولارنيناك كيم قتيلى
f. 5b. بولارنيناك اغزيغه نوفراغ ايله تاش بولار دور هرزه كوى آتى قزىل تاش
نعوذ بالله من قومى¹⁰ كزالك بولار دور كيم جهنم ايجره هالك
- 93¹¹ غرض نى دور بو نظمكدين خبر قيل كيل ايمدى ناظما سوز مختصر¹¹ قيل

1) Стихи объ Али на поляхъ. 2) Конць слова стерся. 3) Чит. و عمرو.
4) Рук. и К. خونونى. 5) Вм. لاعنون. 6) Вм. دآب. 7) Рук. и К. شعارى; написаніе
отражаетъ народное произношеніе е въ срединѣ слова передъ гласнымъ, какъ въ.
8) Рук. شريعتغه. 9) Вм. سرورى, ср. стихъ 139. 10) Sic! 11) Рук. и К. مختصر.

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55 f. 4a. علی دوستی نى کیم دشمان تونارلار
 کیشی کیم کر کیشیکا¹ دوست بولسه
 آئینک دوستی بیله همدست بولسه
 وکرنه دوستنک اولغای سنکا دشمان
 ابو بکرُ عمر عثمان با درد
 علی دین هم یراقدور نچه فرساخ³
 60 نی دین اوزکالارنینک افضلی دور
 هر ایشده یار اولان بوبکر صدیق
 اوشال غار ایچره دمساز اولان بس
 که احیاننا نماز ایچره امامم
 همه عالم وجودی نینک طفیلی
 65 عمر دور ایکی عالم نینک سراچی
 4b. f. 4b. عمر دور ثانی⁵ اول بولان یار
 سیاست تیغی برله آسته آسته
 عمر دور کیم عدالت نوری برلان
 رسول الله تیدی لو کان بعدی
 70 ینه ایدی⁶ اوشال شاهى شهین شاه⁷
 که سوبکاندین آنى داماد قیلدی
 ینا ایدی که ثالث بولسه عندی
 8 ینه زر برله اقماش امتعاسبین⁸
 که عثمان دور حیا علم کلی
 علی دوستی نى کیم دشمان تونارلار
 آئینک دوستی بیله همدست بولسه
 وکرنه دوستنک اولغای سنکا دشمان
 ابو بکرُ عمر عثمان با درد
 علی دین هم یراقدور نچه فرساخ³
 60 نی دین اوزکالارنینک افضلی دور
 هر ایشده یار اولان بوبکر صدیق
 اوشال غار ایچره دمساز اولان بس
 که احیاننا نماز ایچره امامم
 همه عالم وجودی نینک طفیلی
 65 عمر دور ایکی عالم نینک سراچی
 4b. f. 4b. عمر دور ثانی⁵ اول بولان یار
 سیاست تیغی برله آسته آسته
 عمر دور کیم عدالت نوری برلان
 رسول الله تیدی لو کان بعدی
 70 ینه ایدی⁶ اوشال شاهى شهین شاه⁷
 که سوبکاندین آنى داماد قیلدی
 ینا ایدی که ثالث بولسه عندی
 8 ینه زر برله اقماش امتعاسبین⁸
 که عثمان دور حیا علم کلی

1) Рук. кішка, т. с. не обозначено въ письмѣ, принадлежащее корню.

Ср. стихи 286 и 314. 2) ? 3) فرسنک, فرسخ. 4) Чит. آیدی.

5) Чит. ثانئ. 6) Чит. آیدی. 7) Sic! Чит. شهنشاه. 8) Вм. امتعاسبین.

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- f. 3a. اناسی دور آنکا بیلکیل خدا هم
 آلاز اغزیغه آفت کوهیدین ناش
 بولونک آگاه بو دور مضمون قرآن³⁵
 که قویغای² کیم نصاری برله تانکلا
 خدا صنعی بیله اول تیلکا کلدی
 که مریم نینک دغی دلبندی دورمن
 اینانینک بو سوزه صدق ایرورمن
 بهشتی جاودان نی قیلدی مأمن⁴⁰
 خدا قیلدی سنی دشمانغه غالب
 قیلورلار کیم ضلالتنی طریق اول
 اطاعت قیلغوسی کزدم کزیدکا
 ابو بکر³¹ عمر فاروق عثمان
 جهالتدین بغایت دشمان آنی⁴⁵
 حسین کیم مصطفی غه نور عین دور
 قیلورلار خانه دانغه کوب جفانی
 آنینک شرعی غه دور کیم اقتدامیز
 که دشتی کربلادا آنچه طغیان
 اناسی فاطمه دور کیم بنت احمد⁵⁰
 اوزین امت قطاریدین ساناقلار⁴
 شفاعاتی نبی دین ذرّه ناماس
 خوارج لعنة الله علیهم
 سلفلار آت قویبودور اهلی شیعه
- تیدی اول قوم انا دور آنکا مریم
 که مونداغ قوم بی ادراک¹ اوباش
 خدا توغماس توغورماس بیلکیل ای جان
 کیشی انکار اینار بو سورکا آنکلا
 بیل آخر³ کیم آنکا حالت نه بولدی
 تیدی من هم خداغه بنده دورمن
 یینه بیغمری بر حق ایرورمن
 قلب تصدیق نچه لار بولدی مؤمن
 حبیب الله تیدی ای ابن طالب
 سینک شانینکدا هم ایکی فریق اول
 خوارج دور بیرری تابع پزیدکا
 تیورلار کیم سوپارمیز با دل جان
 تونارلار کیم علی المرتضانی
 آلاز کیم قاتلی امیر حسین دور
 کوروب عین البقین اول مصطفی
 تیورلار کیم محمد رهنامیز
 قیلورلار بو عقیده برله ای جان
 دیاسلار کیم حسین جدی محمد
 اوبالاس ببحیاء شرم بوقلار
 خدانینک رحمتی بول قومغه⁵ یتباس
 خدا بی زار رسول اصحاب لاری هم
 روافض دور بیرری قومی شنیعه⁶

1) Встав. во; см. стихъ 7 и др. 2) Рук. قویغای. 3) Изъ. بالآخر. 4) Отъ глагола санакламъ, ср. санаклаб. стиха 650. 5) Рук. قومغه. 6) Sic! ср. 279.

— ۲ —

که یعنی چهار یاری با صفائی
 15 ینه نچه آلا رغه یار قیلدینک
 حبیبینکا کیسی¹ قیلسه صداقت
 صحابه لار همه دوستی نبی دور
 آلا رنینک سونکراغی² نینک افضلی دور
 قیامت کون چکارلار کوب ندامت
 پیغمبرنینک³ وفاتی نینک سونکی سی
 کوبالدی نچه مردم غوغاویسی⁴
 20 فریقی دشان اولدی کیم علی غه
 کیم اول داماد پیغمبر ولی غه
 تیدیلار اول فریقا کیم خوارچ
 طریقسی مصطفی دین بولدی خارج
 ابوبکر⁵ عمر کیم سونکرا عثمان
 کروهی بولدی اوج یاریغه دشان
 حسن برلا حسین نی هم بیل آنی
 علی غه کیم بولورلار دوست جانی
 شفاعتی نبی دین تشنه لب بیل
 روافض دور بو ایلا کیم لقب بیل
 بول لارنینک کفرکا⁶ قیلسون دلالت
 25 قبلائی من نقل خوبی من بو حالت
 امامی احمد هادی سبلدین
 بولوب نقلی علی آتلیغ ولیدین
 علی ابدی⁷ دیدی اول شاه کونین
 مسیحی دا هلاک اولدی فریقین⁸
 یهودی دور بیرى بهتان یوزیدین
 دیدیلار عیسی مجهولی نسب دور
 اتاسز بولاق اوغلان بولعجب دور
 30 عداوت فرطدین⁹ اول قوم بی باک
 خدانینک قهر دین¹⁰ بولمای المناک
 نبی الله غه انکار ایتدیلار چون
 جهنم ساری آخر کتدیلار چون
 نصاری دور بیرى لافی محبت
 اوروب عیسی کا کذافی مؤدت

1) Персидск. *ی*, часто употребляемое въ поэмѣ. 2) Рук. *سونکراغی*.

3) Чит. *پیغمبر نینک*; написаніе основано на туркм. произношеніи: *païğammar*.

4) Sic! 5) Чит. *کفریکا*; пропускъ въ письмѣ мѣстоименнаго аффикса *ی* безъ особой нужды впредь оговариваться не будетъ. 6) Чит. *آیدی* =

آیتدی. 7) Sic! *вм.* *فریقان*; см. стихи 81, 424, 461, 722, 968. 8) *Вм.* *هرزه*.

9—10) Чит. *قهریدین* и *فرطیدین*.

f. 1b.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
رَبِّ يَسْرٍ وَلَا تُعَسِّرْ¹

- بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ثَنَا² که قیلدیم ابتدا³ بِاسْمِ خدایا
 خداییکه سن⁴ سن معبود برحق سزاواری پرستش سنکا مطلق
 که بیر سن کیم سنکا یوقدور شراکت غنی سن سنکا یوق هیچ نارسه حاجت
 ابرور الله سنینک چون اسم ذاتنک که رحمن رحیم اسم صفاتنک
 آتینک رحمن اوچون لطفنک پراوان⁵ بیوروسن مؤمن کافرلارا نان⁵
 رحیم سن رحمتکندین روز محشر اونارسن جرم مؤمنلارنی یکسر
 سنکا یوقدور بدایت هم نهایت که یوقدور وصفنکا چون حد غایت⁶
 وجودینک خلقنکا ییلدرکالی هم حبیبینک نورینی قیلدینک مقدم
 طغیبلی دین یراتنک ما سوانی بدایع عجایب ما فیهمانی
 نبوتدین آنکا کیم ناج بردینک یقین ایلاب آنکا معراج بردینک¹⁰
 ییاردینک جبرائلدین هم کلامنک یباریب هم کلام ایله سلامنک^{f. 2a.}
 که آت قویدینک آنکا احمد محمد که ایلاب انبیالار ایچره سرمد
 رواجی شرعی⁷ اوچون دوست قیلدینک نچهلارنی آنکا پیوست قیلدینک

1) K. добавлено: (sic) و تمم بالجیر. 2) Рукоп. и K. سنا. 3) Рук.
 4) K. sic خدایی که که. 5) Чит. فراوان; ср. стихи 177, 197, 215,
 323, 393. 6) Чит. حد و غایت. 7) Чит. رواج شرع. Впредь обозначение
 изафета чрезъ ى послѣ согласныхъ оговариваться не будетъ. Въ словѣ
 شرعی — употреблено для обозначения болѣе чѣмъ долгаго слога; см. стихи
 108 и др.

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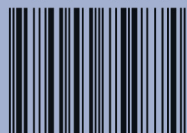


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Saints of the Silk Road* (Brill, 2018).

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