

The Daylamites in the History of Aristakes Lastivertc'i

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Translated from the Russian by Robert Bedrosian

A MAJOR SOURCE for the history of 11th century Armenia is the *History of Vardapet Aristakes Lastivertc'i Regarding the Sufferings Occasioned by Foreign Peoples Living Around Us*. Descriptions of the Seljuk invasions of Armenia make up the basic contents of this work. Written by a contemporary, and often eye-witness, to the Seljuk raids, these chapters substantially supplement our information drawn from Arabo-Persian, Byzantine as well as from later Armenian sources.

Aristakes Lastivertc'i's composition was published first by the Mekhitarists in 1844. That composite text was based on four manuscripts of the 18th century.¹ Subsequent publications—those of Venice (1901) and Tiflis (1912)—were reprints of the first. A French translation of the *History* appeared in 1864 in the *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies*, later printed as a separate book.² A modern Armenian translation also exists. During 1956-1958 I prepared the critical text of this composition for publication, based on 9 manuscripts housed at the State Matenadaran (Yerevan) and on 1 ms. located at the Institute for the Study of the Peoples of Asia, of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.³ Utilization of a comparatively large quantity of manuscripts has permitted the introduction of a number of corrections into the text. This essay is devoted to one of these new readings, whose study is in itself of interest.

In chapter 16 of the *History*, the Seljuk invasion of 1054 on Armenia is described.⁴ At the time of this expedition, the Seljuks, under the leadership of

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Tughril-beg reached Manzikert (Manazkert) and besieged the city, but they were unable to take it. Tughril-beg turned back, pillaging enroute the town of Arcxe. During the siege of Manazkert, Aristakes Lastivertc'i relates, the Turks pulled up a colossal catapult and began striking at the city walls with volleys of enormous rocks. "Now on the next day, Ortimizez, who was prince of the army, brought his troops, and came to fight with our [people]." (*isk i gal erkrord awurn Ortimizez or zorun ishxann er, areal zzors iwr ekeal mart edeal kruer nd mersn*). He attempted to penetrate the city but was captured and killed, and his detachments retreated.⁵ According to the testimony of Matthew of Edessa, this commander was the father-in-law of the sultan, named *Oskecam* (Golden-haired)—*kalan ew zanern sultanin oroy anun Oskecam esim*.⁶ Skylitzes-Cedrenus, finally, calls him the Khwarizmian khan.⁷

Commenting on this passage, the French translator of the *History* noted that under the name "Ortilmez" was concealed *Skylytzes-Cedrenus' Koutloumous*, and Matthew of Edessa's *Kethelmousch*,⁸ i.e., Tughril-beg's cousin and one of his generals, Kutlumush. Even assuming that the published text faithfully reproduced the original, it is impossible to accept such an identification as correct since Kutlumush did not participate in the campaign against Manazkert, for at that time internecine strife between Tughril-beg and Kutlumush had started.⁹ The correct reading of this passage has been restored with the aid of additional manuscripts: *isk i gal erkrord awurn or Delmic' zorun ishxann er areal zzors iwr ekeal mart edeal kruer dnd mersn*.¹⁰ *Delmic'*—genitive of *Delmk'*—is the Armenian designation for the Daylamites, a people of Iranian nationality who lived southwest of the Caspian Sea.¹¹ Manuscripts of the geographical treatise [the *Ashxarh-ac'oyc'*] attributed to Movses Xorenac'i (Khorenatsi) or to Anania Shirakac'i (7th century) preserve the name Daylam in the forms *Dlmunk'*, *zDilumn*.¹² The 10th century writer T'ovma Arcruni (Thomas Ardzruni) also speaks about the invasion of the "*Delmik's*" (*delmkac'n*, from *delmikk'*).¹³ Matthew of Edessa recalls the "*Delumk'* king" (*i'agaworn Delumac'*).¹⁴ Similarly, other forms are known: *Delmastani*¹⁵ (gen. of *Delmastan*), *delemenkk'*,¹⁶ etc.

While the author of the *Ashxarhac'oyc'* and Matthew of Edessa give the designation Daylam in a form reminiscent of the Persian,¹⁷ Aristakes Lastivertc'i has Armenized it, thus *Delmk'* "land of the Daylamites" is naturally connected with *delmik*, "Daylamite", just as, for example, *Paršk'* (Persia) is related to *parsik* (Persian). Consequently, the passage of interest to us translates: "Now on the next day, the one who was the prince of the Delmk' army brought his troops and came to fight with our [people]". The absence of a demonstrative pronoun before the relative or ["which", "who"] serving as the subject should not trouble us. In classical Armenian this is a widespread phenomenon. In fact, a similar construction is met with in Aristakes Lastivertc'i himself several lines below: *isk or i veray parsin ein ... kalan zna*—"Now those who were located on the wall...seized him", etc.

Thus a philological analysis convinces us that the passage cited from the *History* deals with a military commander of Daylamites participating in the expedition of 1054 against Armenia. It was stated above, however, that when speaking about this individual, Skylitzes-Cedrenus styled him the Khwarizmian khan, while the same person figures into the account of Matthew of Edessa as the sultan's father-in-law. Subta ibn-al-Jahuzi has preserved an allusion to the death of one of Tughril-beg's sons wherein he states that the sultan's wife was by origin from Khwarizm.¹⁸ It is

difficult to judge whether the Khwarezmian khan with Daylamite troops was in command, or whether Skylitzes-Cedrenus confused the Daylamites with the Khwarizmians. Possibly, further painstaking scrutiny of the Arabo-Persian sources relating to the history of the Seljuks may resolve this problem. In any case, it is clear that there are no grounds for doubting the veracity of Aristakes' information regarding the participation of Daylamites in the campaign of 1054.

The account cited above is by no means the sole reference in the Armenian sources to Daylamite invasions of Armenia.¹⁹ The continuator of T'ovma Arcruni records a raid by the Daylamites.²⁰ He relates that the Daylamites seized the city of Hadamakert in the Aghbak district and departed with booty, leading young men and women into captivity. However, Armenian troops caught up with the invaders in the Anjewac'ik' district, killed 2,000 of them, retrieved the booty and returned the captives. A detailed account of this raid, however, found in Ibn-al-Athir, reduces the magnitude of the defeat inflicted by Armenian detachments on the Daylamites. According to Ibn al-Athir, this invasion of the Daylamites occurred in 326 of the *hijra* (= 8 November 937—29 September 938) and was commanded by Lashkari ibn Mardi.²¹

The author of the *History of [Caucasian] Albania* preserves a reference to an invasion of Armenia by the Daylamites.²² "When these times had passed (earlier the text was describing the events of 914/15—K.Y.) and the Tajik (Arab) people were exhausted, another people appeared called Daylamites to whom a certain chieftain named Salar/Saghar belonged; widely extending his authority, he came to rule over the Albanians, Persians, and Armenians, and arriving at Partaw, he straightway made it his".²³ In Partaw (the designation given by Armenian sources to Berda'a, the capital of Caucasian Albania) a clash took place with the Ruzik' who had appeared there, that is, with Russian troops. Since the seizure of Berda'a by the Rus occurred in 332 of the *hijra* (*i. e.*, between 4 September 943 and 25 August 944²⁴) the Daylamite raid on Armenia may be dated approximately to that period.²⁵ The full name of the leader of the Daylamites was Salar Marzuban ibn Muhammad ibn Musafir.²⁶

The Armenian sources preserve information about the invasion of another Salarid. In the 80's of the 10th century, continuous internecine wars were taking place between Mushegh, ruler of Kars, and king Smbat II. Attempting to overcome his adversary, Mushegh decided to ally himself with a Muslim emir. We cite the relevant passage from Asoghik. Mushegh, "called upon Ablhadj Delmestan, grandson of Salar, the Persian emir. Although he did not arrive with them, coming later, he set fire to the monastery of Hořomos and with nooses he pulled down the life-giving Cross on the cupola of the blessed Shoghakat' ". This occurred in 431 of the Armenian Era, *i. e.*, 982/3 A.D. The passage deals with one of the last Salarids, the emir of Dvin, Abu'l Haidja, grandson of Marzuban ibn Muhammad. Asoghik states that Abu'l Haidja waged war with the emir of Goght'n, Abu Dulap', but fell into captivity and was obliged to cede to him Dvin and "all of his cities". After this, Abu'l Haidja wandered through Armenia and Iberia, visited the Byzantine emperor Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer, returned to the Caucasus and was strangled by his own slaves in the city of Uxt'ik'.²⁷ S. Shaldjyan has equated this Abu'l Haidja with the Ablhadj of Matthew of Edessa who, around 875 captured Derenik, ruler of Vaspurakan.²⁸ According to Asoghik, in 987 the Atrpatakani (Azerbaijanian) emir

Ablhadj, son of Rovd, at the head of 100,000 Persian troops fell on the afore-mentioned Abu Dulap' and took the "city of Salar" from him. He reached Dvin, seized it and demanded from the Armenians the payment of taxes for past years. King Smbat was forced to satisfy his demand, after which the emir departed. The next year, 988, he again raided Vaspurakan.²⁹ Consequently Asoghik has in mind the emir of Azerbaijan, Abu-l-Haidja ibn al-Ravvadit.³⁰ S. Shaldjyan suggested that Ablhadj was also a Daylamite since in the first place he came from Atrpatakan and secondly, seizing the lands of Salar it was as if he were declaring his right to family property.³¹ But V. F. Minorsky asserted that there were no grounds for equating the Arabo-Kurdish dynasty of the Ravvadits with the Musafirid-Salarids of Daylamite origin, although both families might have been connected by marriage ties.³² S. Shaldjyan, insisting on the Daylamite descent of the Ravvadit Abu'l Haidja, cited the curious passage in book III chapter 41 of Asoghik's *Universal History*.

Now in 998 the Atrpatakani (*i.e.*, Azerbaijani) emir Mamlan, son of the above-mentioned Abu'l Haidja,³³ came out against the ruler of the Armeno-Iberian district of Tao-Klardjetia, the curopalate David. The multitudinous army of Mamlan passed through Vaspurakan and consolidated itself in the Apahunik' district. It was there in Apahunik' that the battle between the united Armeno-Iberian detachments and Mamlan's troops occurred, concluding with the latter's defeat. Describing in detail the sudden changes of the battle, Asoghik states that at dawn the Persians "*Čakat patrastēin bazmakrkin yōrinuacov. řazm yōrinēin ənd erness ləyn dashtin delmastanean vahanap'akovn*"³⁴ N. O. Emin translated this passage as follows: "Marshalling themselves on a broad field in a multitude of detachments, (the army of Persians, protected) by Daylamites bearing shields" advanced to the American and Iberian camp.³⁵ In the Mekhitarists' dictionary, *Nor Bařgirk' Haykazean Lezvi* (where, incidentally among examples of phraseology, one also finds the passage of interest to us), the word *vahanap'ak* is translated: "a place or group covered with shields, a wall surrounded by shields". In the A. Xudobashev dictionary *vahanap'ak* is translated "protected or defended with the shield". Thus N. O. Emin somewhat oversimplified the translation, rendering *delmastanean vahanap'ak* as "Daylamite shield-bearers". The concept "soldier shield-bearer" is ordinarily expressed with the words *vahanawor*, *vahanakir*. Guided, obviously, by a similar understanding, S. Shaldjyan proposed that the passage, placed in context, contained an allusion to a special tactic characteristic of the Daylamites and employed in the battle of 998, a military method whose precise nature unfortunately we do not understand.³⁶ Nonetheless, it is indisputable that Daylamite detachments did participate in Mamlan's expedition.

As was mentioned before, the Daylamites are also recalled by the 12th century Armenian writer Matthew of Edessa. Speaking about the events of 971-972 he wrote: "The Delumk' king gathered an army and unexpectedly appeared in the Armenian district of Nig, close to the stronghold of Bđjni".³⁷ It was pointed out already by M. Chamchean³⁸ that an account of this raid is preserved in the *Universal History* of Vardan the Great (13th century) where Vardan correctly dated it to 470 A.E. (= A.D. 1021/22): "In the year 470, there appeared Tughril-bek whom Liparit met in Naxdžawan with 5,000 horsemen, but [Liparit] fled from the

great multitude [of the enemy]. When the Turks came to Dvin and commenced their raids, the valiant Vasak went to meet the enemy and, displaying great bravery, he returned to Serkweli".³⁹ Diverse points of view have been expressed about this information. H. A. Manandian thought that Daylamites had participated in this raid (but not Seljuks, as a number of scholars insisted). Academician Manandian, drawing on a number of other sources, suggested that Turkish horsemen had also taken part in the expedition.⁴⁰ In J. Markwart's opinion, "the Delmuk' king should be taken to refer to the Daylamite emir of Azerbaijan, as-Salar Ibrahim ibn al-Marzuban, or to Vahsudan ibn Mamlan".⁴¹ The modern Persian historian Kasravi made an interesting conjecture. He thought that the reference to Tughril-beg was either a simple mistake, or that the leader of the attackers was a Tughril to which name Vardan added the title "bek". In 1021 the Ghuzz (Oghuz), independent of Seljuk Turkish tribes, also attacked. Shortly before these events, a significant group of Ghuzz had found refuge with the Ravvadit emir Vahsudan in Azerbaijan.⁴² This view is even more convincing since in an inscription from Marmashen (1029) the invasion of 1021 is said to have been made by a "Turkish army".⁴³

We see that despite their brevity, the Armenian sources on the Daylamites can be of use in reconstructing an ethnographic picture of medieval Iran.

FOOTNOTES TO YUZBASHYAN

(1) *Patmut'yun Aristakeay vardapeti Lastivertc'woy* (Venice, 1844).

(2) *Histoire d'Arménie comprenant la fin du royaume d'Ani et le commencement de l'invasion des seldjoukides*, par Arisdagues de Lasdiverd, traduite pour la première fois de l'arménien sur l'édition des R.R.P.P. Mekhitaristes de Saint-Lazare et accompagnée de notes par M. Évariste Prud'homme (Paris, 1864).

(3) Translator's note: Since the publication of this article, both Yuzbashyan's critical edition and several translations of it have appeared. *Patmut'yun Aristakisi Lastivertc'woy*, K. N. Yuzbashyan, ed. (Yerevan, 1963), to which is appended a full bibliography by H. A. Anasyan, pp. 149-153; the Russian translation was made by Yuzbashyan himself, *Povestvovanie Vardapeta Aristakesa Lastiverttsi* (Moscow, 1968); Eastern Armenian translation: V. A. Gevorgyan, *Aristakes Lastivertc'i Patmut'yun* (Yerevan, 1971); French translation with additional bibliography by M. Canard and H. Berberian, *Récit des Malheurs de la Nation Arménienne* (Bruxelles, 1973). — R.B.

(4) Basic sources: *Ibn-al-Athiri Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. I. Tornberg, vol. IX (Lugduni Batavorum, 1863) pp. fl.-fl (Hereafter, *Ibn-al-Athir*); Russian translation: *Materialy po istorii Azerbaidzhana iz Tarikh al Kamil . . . Ibn-al-Asira* (Baku, 1940), p. 117; Matt'eos Ufhaec'i, *Patmut'yun* (Vagharshapat, 1898) pp. 118-122 (*grabar* text); Hereafter, Matthew of Edessa; French translation: *Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse continuée par Grégoire le Prêtre*. Bibliothèque historique arménienne . . . par Édouard Dulaurier (Paris, 1858) pp. 98-112; *Cedreni Historiarum compendium*, II (Bonnae, 1839) pp. 590-593 (Hereafter *Cedreni*); C. Cahen, "Première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure," *Byzantion*, XVII, 1946-1948, pp. 16-17; H. A. Manandian, *Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People*, vol. III (Yerevan, 1952) pp. 47-49 (in Arm.); B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952) pp. 128-129.

- (5) Ar. Lastivertc'i (Tiflis, 1912) pp. 103-104; French trans., p. 99.
- (6) Matthew of Edessa, p. 119; French trans., p. 100.
- (7) Cedreni, p. 591.
- (8) *Histoire d'Arménie* . . . traduite . . . par E. Prud'homme p. 99 n.1.
- (9) Cedreni, p. 606.
- (10) State Matenadaran, Armenian Manuscript Archives #2864 p. 281b; #1482 p. 102; #4584 p. 67b; #1895 p. 42. Similarly in manuscript readings used for the publications of the *History*. In four manuscripts the relative *or* preceeding *delmic* has fallen out, see: #3160 p. 254b; #3502 p. 404b, #3070 p. 198, #6457 p. 87. #2796 p. 39b has *or delmez zōrun ishxann ēr*. The ms. of the Institute for the Study of the Peoples of Asia B-66 is a copy of #3070 and has no independent value. It should be noted that the relative pronoun *or* of the printed text, followed by *Oitilmez*, is not encountered in the manuscripts used.
- (11) See V. Minorsky, *La domination des dailamites* (Paris, 1932) Publication de la société des études iraniennes et de l'art persan, #3.
- (12) I. Markwart, *Eranshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (Berlin, 1901) p. 10.
- (13) T'ovma Arcruni, *History of the Arcrunid House* (Tiflis, 1917) p. 492 (*grabar* text) (Hereafter, T'ovma Arcruni).
- (14) Matthew of Edessa, p. 11; French trans., p. 9.
- (15) *Universal History of Step'annos Taronec'i Asoghik*, S. Malxasyanc', ed. (St. Petersburg, 1885) p. 188 (*grabar* text). Hereafter, Asoghik; Russian trans., *Vseobshchaia istoriia Stepanosa Taronского, Asokhika po prozvaniiu, pisatel'ia XI stolet'ia*, Translated from the Armenian and with notes by N. Emin (Moscow, 1864) p. 131.
- (16) *Movsisi Kaghankatuac'woy Patmut'ivn Aghuanic' Ashxarhi* (Tiflis, 1913) p. 385 (*grabar* text). Hereafter Movses Kaghankatuac'i. The Russian trans., K. Patkan'yan, *Istoriia Agvan Moiseia Kagankatvatsi* (St. Petersburg, 1861) was based on a copy preserving the corrupt reading *gelemēkk'*; See the Archives of Manuscripts of the Institute for the Study of the Peoples of Asia of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Armenian Collection, #B 56 p. 283b (Russian trans., p. 275).
- (17) V. F. Minorsky suggested that "Daylam" which is merely the Arabic transcription of the name, in reality should have been pronounced probably Delam or even Delim (see V. Minorsky, *La domination des dailamites*, p. 1 note).
- (18) C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 17 n.1.
- (19) S. Shaldjyan's article, "Deilemity i ikh habegi na Armeniiu" (*Izvestiia Armianskogo Filiala AN SSSR*, #5-6 (10-11), 1941) contains detailed information from Armenian sources on Daylam and the Daylamites. The author, not having at his disposal the critical text of Aristakes Lastivertc'i, naturally was unable to utilize the information provided by it on the question concerning us here. In his article, Shaldjyan proposed that the tribe known as the Dmluk or Zaza which occupied the districts between Xnus and Balu and between Mush and Diarbekir until 1915 might be descendants of the Daylamites (see pp. 114-115).
- (20) T'ovma Arcruni, p. 492.
- (21) Ibn-al-Athir, vol. VIII, pp. 261-263; Russian trans., pp. 92-93. See Cl. Huart, "Une razzia en Arménie au X siècle", *Revue des études arméniennes*, I, fasc.4, 1921. The author of the article did not suspect that information about this raid was preserved in an Armenian source, namely in T'ovma Arcruni's continuator. See also Ios. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen*

und arabischen Geographen (Wien, 1930) pp. 387-389. As Canard observed, *REA*, 1966 p. 467, important information on Lashkari ibn Mardi is also to be found in Miskawayh (cf. M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des Hamdanides*, I, 456-7 and 470-1).

(22) On this work and the author's floruit see K. V. Trever, *Ocherki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoi Albanii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959) pp. 11-16, and the bibliography cited there.

(23) Movses Kaghankatuac'i, *grabar* text, p. 385; Russian trans., K. Patkan'yan, pp. 275-276; [Translator's note: An English translation now exists, C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Mouses Dasxuranc'i* (London, 1961). See pp. 223-224.]

(24) A. Iakubovskii, "Ibn-Miskaveikh o pokhode rusov v Berdaa v 332 g. = 943/4g.", *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, v. XXIV, 1926, pp. 71-72; V. V. Bartol'd, "Arabskie izvestiia o rusakh", *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, v. I, 1940, pp. 31-34.

(25) S. Shaldjyan, *op. cit.*, p. 113, proposed that the Daylamite raid occurred in 914. — The dating is uncertain. See Canard, *REA*, 1966 p. 467. — R. B.

(26) See V. Minorsky, "Caucasica, IV," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1953, XV/3, pp. 514-515, and the bibliography cited there.

(27) Asoghik, pp. 188-189; Russian trans., pp. 131-132; V. Minorsky, "Musafiri", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, v. III, 1936, pp. 795-796.

(28) Matthew of Edessa, pp. 30-33; French trans., pp. 26-27; S. Shaldjyan, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

(29) Asoghik, p. 199; Russian trans., pp. 140-141.

(30) V. Minorsky, "Musafiri", p. 796.

(31) S. Shaldjyan, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

(32) V. Minorsky, "Musafiri".

(33) Mamlan was not the son but the grandson of Abu'l Haidja. See Canard, *REA*, 1966, p. 468, citing V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), p. 47 and 168. — R. B.

(34) Asoghik, p. 271; Russian trans., p. 195.

(35) Yuzbashyan does not quote other translations of this passage, such as those of Gelzer or Grousset. Canard, *REA*, 1966 p. 468. — R. B.

(36) Shaldjyan's suggestion was correct. The Daylamites were noted for their use of shields in combat. See Canard, *REA*, 1966, p. 468 citing Tabari and Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, p. 20. — R. B.

(37) Matthew of Edessa, p. 11; French trans., p. 9.

(38) M. Chamchean, *The History of Armenia*, v. II (Venice, 1785) p. 904 (in Arm.).

(39) *The Universal History of the Great Vardan Barjberdc'i*, M. Emin, ed., (Moscow, 1861) (*grabar* text); Russian trans. (not entirely accurate): *Vseobshchaia istoriia Vardana Velikogo*, with introduction and notes by N. Emin (Moscow, 1861) p. 122.

(40) H. A. Manandyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

(41) Ios. Marqwart, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

(42) See: S. A. Kasrawi, *The Forgotten Rulers (Rawwadits)*, (Teheran, 1929) pp. 40-41 (in Persian).

(43) K. Kostanyan, *Vimakan Taregirk'* (St. Petersburg, 1913) p. 16; H. A. Manandyan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.