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Miss Jacqueline M. Brown

The Khozhenie za tri morya of Afanasy Nikitin

The subject of this thesis is the Khozhenie za tri morya, an account of a journey to India by a 15th century Russian merchant, Afanasy Nikitin, of his sojourn there and of his return thence.

After a brief introduction the author examines the history of this document both with regard to early copies of the text and to more recent attitudes towards the work. The second section consists of a translation into English of the fullest version of the text which has been obtained by taking the fullest extant copy and adding to it various words, phrases and passages which only occur in other versions.

The third section of the work consists of commentary notes on the translation with particular emphasis on the vocabulary used by Nikitin and on points of general interest.

In the fourth section, "Notes on the Historical and Geographical Background to the Khozhenie", the author examines the history of the various regions through which Nikitin passed, thereby building up a picture of the conditions which he encountered. There are notes on the location and character of the various towns through which he passed.

The next section, "Russian Awareness of India before Nikitin", examines the question of how much was known of India in medieval Russia. The author makes the point that it was not an entirely unknown land and that certain connections had existed between the two countries prior to Nikitin's visit.

In the sixth section, "Nikitin - a Traveller among Travellers", Nikitin's work is contrasted with the works of other travellers to the East who had preceded him. It is pointed out that, whilst his account is perhaps less important than some Russian commentators maintain, it is worthy of more consideration than it has generally been granted in the West.

A reference section, bibliography and glossary complete the original work in this thesis. Copies of several versions of the text are included in the appendices, as is a map showing Nikitin's route.

THE KHOZHENIE ZA TRI MORYA OF AFANASY NIKITIN

A CRITICAL EDITION

Jacqueline Margaret Brown, BA., JP., DL.,

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts

University of Durham, Department of Russian

April 1984

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22 NOV 1984

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and encouragement I might well have lost heart before the end.

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## INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the ancient Russian document known as the Khozhenie za tri morya (A Journey Across Three Seas) written by Afanasy Nikitin. The document dates from 1466-1472 and gives an account of a journey made by Nikitin, who was a merchant, from his home city of Tver, down the Volga to the Caspian Sea, through Persia to India; of his three year sojourn there and of his return journey through Persia and Asia Minor. Nikitin died near Smolensk, which then lay within the borders of Lithuania.

It was the custom in medieval Russia for the Princes to require written reports from those who had journeyed abroad, especially merchants, and this document (called hereafter the Khozhenie) undoubtedly falls into this category for, although Nikitin died before reaching home, his note-books were taken to the court of the Grand Prince of Muscovy, probably by the merchants with whom he was travelling. The account contained in them, though it shows signs of having been reworked, was not in a finished form.

The original books in which this account was written have not survived, nor has the original copy which was probably made of them, but there are various early copies of the work still extant, the earliest, of which only fragments survive, dating from 1491-1492.

The history of the Khozhenie and the various texts will form the next section of this work. Suffice it to say at this point that there are seven surviving early copies of the text, varying in length from a few lines to versions which are

almost complete. The earliest is the Museum copy of 1491-1492, mentioned above. Next is the Troitsky copy of the late 15th century, then the Etterov copy of the mid-16th century, the Archive copy of the same period, the Voskresensky copy of the second half of the 16th century (of which again only a few words survive), the Undolsky copy of the 17th century and finally the Sukhanov copy of the 17th century.

Traces of a further early copy can be detected in the Puteshestviya Afanasiya Nikitina v Indiyu, a version of the Khozhenie included by I.P. Sakharov in his Skazaniya russkogo naroda, published in 1849, though he mainly used the Troitsky and Archive versions. This other text has not survived.

Translations of the Khozhenie into English have been made at various times but none is a complete version of the text.

The first section of this work considers the history of the texts and of the work itself. Each of the surviving copies is dealt with in some detail and the later history of the Khozhenie has also been considered especially with regard to the change in attitude towards it.

One of the aims of this thesis is to suggest what Afanasy Nikitin himself might have written in the original Khozhenie. Whilst several versions of the text, as noted above, are more or less complete, various items are missing from any given text. Although many of the smaller variations are undoubtedly due to such factors as mistakes by the copyists and changes in spelling dependent on the date of the copy and the area in which it was made, other variations are more significant. It seems probable that, whilst omissions

may occur in copying for various reasons (slips, editing, political pressure) additions are far less likely to be made. This seems particularly likely when a section, which is omitted from one or more copies, is not of a contentious nature. Occasionally additions of a word or two may have been made to make the sense of a passage clearer, but these are of a relatively minor nature. Reconstructing what might have been the original Russian text is not possible, but by taking the Troitsky version, which is the fullest single copy extant, as the basis, and adding to it those words, phrases and passages in other copies which do not seem to be mere editorial additions by later copyists, we have produced, in translation, a composite version which we believe gives a faithful reproduction of the content of Nikitin's original text. In the translation of the text, passages or phrases which were omitted in the Troitsky text are indicated by underlining. Passages where a text other than the Troitsky has been used as a basis for the translation are also indicated by underlining. Photocopies of some of the original texts are included in the appendices.

One part of the texts which gives cause for concern are those passages which are written in what I have called (following the example of S.A. Zenkovsky<sup>1</sup>) "basic Islamic"; a mixture of Arabic, Persian and some of the Turkic tongues with a sprinkling of words from other languages such as Hindi. This language seems to have been the "lingua franca" of merchants of the period and as such would have been widely understood. Nikitin used it for various reasons of which one would appear to have been the desire to draw a veil over his

meaning when that might not have been suitable for general readership. As far as I can tell these passages have received relatively little attention, though certain Eastern words used by Nikitin in isolation in the text have been thoroughly discussed. It has therefore been necessary to rely heavily on the translations into modern Russian contained in the Academy edition of 1958 and the 1980 edition with foreword by N.I. Prokofev. S.A. Zenkovsky has given a translation into English of large parts of these sections in Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales, but R.H. Major's translation in A History of India in the Fifteenth Century left them in the original.

The translation of the composite text is fully annotated: notes are included on textual points, points of general information and on the historical and geographical background of the Khozhenie. The latter generally refer the reader forward to the fourth section of this work, the "Notes on the Historical and Geographical Background to the Khozhenie". In that section Nikitin's journey has been divided into various stages and each part has been considered separately. After a brief outline of the history of each area a list of towns is given, in the order in which they are mentioned in the text, with notes on each.

Following the translation, notes and historical background, the last two sections are of a rather wider nature. The first of these, "Russian Awareness of India before Nikitin", seeks to discover how much was actually known about India in Nikitin's homeland, where tales of that fabulous land seem to have been traditional.

The second, "Nikitin - a Traveller Amongst Travellers", seeks to compare Nikitin with other travellers and writers of ancient times. In the West, Nikitin's writings are hardly known and in Russia he seems at times to have been regarded as their equivalent of Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Marco Polo rolled into one. I have sought to show that, whilst his achievement should not be exaggerated, Afanasy Nikitin is worthy of consideration among the world's notable travellers, that his account of his travels is at least as valuable as those left by some of his near contemporaries and that it might have been much more widely known had it not been written in medieval Russian.

At the end of this work, together with the normal references and bibliography, I have included a glossary as many words defy translation (such as the names of units of currency or weight) and it would seem too ponderous to number them as notes each time they occurred.

Several technical points must be considered at this stage. The first of these is the system of transliteration employed in this work. The Khözhenie is, as mentioned above, written in 15th century Russian, but it also refers to many people and places outside the borders of that country and it has been necessary to formulate some rules for the spelling of these proper nouns and for the transliteration of individual Russian words where necessary. For the Russian transliteration the standard system has been employed with the vowels being rendered as follows :

e = e (including initially)  
 ѣ = e  
 и = i  
 ѝ = i  
 ѣ = y  
 ѣ = yu  
 я = ya

The hard sign Ѣ and soft sign ѣ have only been rendered as ' where they occur in transliteration of a part of the text i.e. in the commentary notes or in the short quotations, but have been omitted where they might have occurred as part of the English text i.e. Tver' is rendered Tver in the translation of the text. Proper names ending in иѣ or ѣѣ have been standardised to -y i.e. Gennady, Vasily, Petrushevsky. In the transliteration of older Russian documents the character ѣ has been rendered e.

Many of the places and people named, however, were or are not Russian i.e. Bidar, Uzun Hasan, and these pose a special problem since there are, even today, various alternative spellings for these proper nouns and to try to adopt various systems for the various regions through which Nikitin passed would be extremely unwieldy. Since, however, in Nikitin's time Persian was the language of the ruling class in many of these lands and since it also formed a considerable part of the "lingua franca" of the Middle East, it has been decided to adopt a standard Persian system of transliteration for the names of places beyond the boundaries of Muscovy and the Russian principalities as they then existed. In this system

the vowels have the following values :

long ā	(as in father)
short a	(something between a in hat and u in hut)
long ū	(as u in peruse or oo in root)
short o	(as u in put rather than o in hot).
long i	(as in routine or ee in feet)
short e	(as i in bid, rather than e in bed)
aw	(as ow in know)
ay	(as ay in day)
āy	(as in white)

The only exceptions to this system are certain words, such as sultan, which are well known in English and are therefore spelled in the English fashion (rather than as soltān). One place name poses a slight problem: Astrakhan is well known in English under that name but in the system referred to above is written Ashtarkhān. For the sake of consistency it will be referred to in the latter way throughout the work.

In all sections of this thesis, except the translation of the composite text, numbers in the text refer to the reference section. In the translation section the numbers in the text refer to the notes in the section which follows immediately after it.

1. NIKITIN'S "KHOZHENIE ZA TRI MORYA" -  
THE HISTORY OF THE TEXTS.

i) The Early Period

In this section it is our intention to trace the history of the various texts of the Khozhenie as far as possible and also to give an outline of what has happened to the work in more modern times.

Much of the material used for this section has been drawn from the "Archaeographical Review" by Ya. S. Luria (Lur'e), which appears in the 1958 Academy edition of the Khozhenie <sup>1</sup> and in the article "Novye spiski Khozheniya Afanasiya Nikitina" by A.A. Zimin <sup>2</sup> and constant reference will be made to these works.

There are seven extant ancient copies of the whole or part of the Khozhenie za tri morya by Afanasy Nikitin. They are all preserved in libraries or museums in the Soviet Union and are known as

1. The Museum copy which consists of just 4 short fragments and occurs in a late 15th century codex preserved in the Lenin Library (Muz. No. 3271. 4<sup>0</sup>). This is the oldest copy of the work and was published by A.A. Zimin <sup>1</sup>;

2. The Troitsky copy, so called because it was preserved in the Troitse-Sergiev Monastery where it was numbered No. 17. It is now in the Lenin Library (M. 8665, 4<sup>0</sup>) in a collection of manuscripts. The first part of this collection contains

the Ermolinsky chronicle, the second and third parts are a series of separate items and the fourth part contains the copy of the Khozhenie. This copy has a series of notes glued into the cover. It was dated by A.A. Shakhmatov to the end of the 15th century though the editors of PSRL<sup>\*</sup> Vol. 23 consigned it to the early 16th century;

3. The Etterov copy which occurs in the Etterov copy of the Lvovsky chronicle (pp 442-458). This is a mid 16th century manuscript held in the Saltykov-Schedrin Library (F IV, 144 1<sup>o</sup>). This was published in PSRL Vol. 20.

4. The Archive copy which is part of the Archive copy of the Sofiisky II chronicle in which the Khozhenie is found on pp 193-220. This copy, which dates from the mid 16th century, was published, together with the entire Sofiisky chronicle, in the "Sofiisky vremennik" (part II, Moscow, 1921, pp 145-164). It is now to be found in the Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (f. 181. No. 371/821; 4<sup>o</sup>).

5. The Voskresensky copy found in a manuscript of the second half of the 16th century of the Voskresensky copy of the Sofiisky II chronicle. Almost the entire text of the Khozhenie has been torn out of this document leaving only the introductory notes of the chronicler and a few closing words (pp 1192-1193). This document is kept with the Voskresensky papers in the State Historical Museum (No. 1546; 1<sup>o</sup>).

6. The Undolsky copy, kept in the Lenin Library (No. 754; 1<sup>o</sup>)

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\* Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei

and called after the collection of mss in which it occurs. The codex containing the Khozhenie dates from the 17th century and the Khozhenie occurs on pp 300 - 319 (a more recent pagination occurs above). This copy also contains marginal notes in 18th century hand-writing which refer the reader to textological footnotes. This version together with the Troitsky copy was published as an appendix to the Sofiisky II chronicle in PSRL Vol. VI (appendices G, Sd.) and in the first Academy edition of the Khozhenie in 1948.

7. A 17th century copy, to which I shall refer as the Sukhanov copy. This is now kept in the Saltykov-Schedrin Library (F XVII. 17 (from the Tolstoy collection 1. No. 198); 1<sup>0</sup>). This Khozhenie is found in the body of the chronicle on pp 402-412). A.S. Orlov has noted <sup>3</sup> that this copy probably belonged to Arseny Sukhanov, the famous 17th century churchman.

In addition to these surviving copies there was at least one other which survived until the mid-19th century. This belonged to the well known 19th century archivist, I.P. Sakharov and was used by him in the production of his text of the Khozhenie "Puteshestvie Afanasiya Nikitina v Indiyu". <sup>4</sup> What is not clear from what Sakharov actually says about this copy is whether it was a more or less complete copy or whether it was just a small extract. In fact he drew most of his text from the Karamzin text (Troitsky copy) of which more later, and from the Archive copy.

According to A.A. Zimin <sup>5</sup>, when he published the fragments of the Museum copy, these were gathered together and published by a group of people surrounding Archbishop Gennady of Novgorod. Gennady's name is connected with the suppression of the Heresy of the Judaizers, which threatened to undermine the Orthodox Church. He seems to have become aware of the existence of the Heresy as early as the late 1470s when he was still Archimandrite of the Chudov monastery but he only took action in 1487 and this led to the deposing of the Metropolitan Zosima in 1494. In 1503 Gennady was dismissed from his see. Zimin further points out that all the fragments are concerned with religious beliefs in India.- a subject of interest in such a highly ecclesiastical milieu. As will be seen later these theories are open to argument. Zimin also points out that the Museum copy had been known for some time and had been described in detail by A.D. Sedelnikov. Sedelnikov gave the collection the date 1491, however Ya S. Luria <sup>6</sup> subsequently assigned it to 1492. The 1948 Academy edition of the Khozhenie made no real comment on the Museum fragments though their existence was quite well known by that time.

The origins of the Museum copy were more deeply probed by V.A. Kuchkin <sup>7</sup> and his conclusions as to the source of this document vary from those of Zimin. The fragments were found in a codex which linked three entirely separate manuscripts. Until recently these were believed to be Novgorodian in origin as Zimin and Sedelnikov averred, however in 1962 I.M. Kudryavtsev <sup>8</sup>, after careful research published his conclusions which were that the second part of this codex was

in fact the oldest surviving copy of the Vologdo-Permsky chronicle and that the codex was actually compiled in Vologda. It could still be argued that the manuscripts thus united came from differing sources such as Moscow, Novgorod and Rostov, but there is evidence to show that at least the first part, which contains the fragments of the Khozhenie, was written in Vologda. These indications are the inclusion in this section of a short chronicle ending with the account of a fire in Vologda on May 10th 1486, an article which is a quotation from the Vologdo-Permsky chronicle and the inclusion of some specifically Vologdian facts in the writing.

With regard to the date, Kuchkin points out that the three sorts of paper used in the first part of the codex can be dated to the late 1470s or early 1480s but appear to be older than the text. Other factors point to the early 1490s as the probable date of the manuscript with 1492 as the probable year. The remarkable fact is that, within twenty years of Nikitin's death, his work was obviously known over a large part of Russia - Vologda was a town far removed from the centres of Russian writing and culture.

Kuchkin is of the opinion that these fragments were not copied directly from Nikitin's own notebooks but were drawn from an early (possibly the first) copy of them, a copy which was also used in the compilation of the Troitsky copy. It may well be that, in its original condition, the Museum copy had been a more accurate copy than the Troitsky version: this may be glimpsed when comparing three versions of one of the tiny fragments:

Museum: O, blagovernii russti khristiane

Troitsky: O blagovernnyi khristiyane!

Etterov: O blagovernii Russtii krestyane!

Kuchkin goes on to suggest that this original copy was brought to Vologda from the Troitse-Sergiev monastery after the death there of Vasily Mamyrev. There was a definite link between that monastery and the bishopric of Perm and this is illustrated by the detailed account of the death and burial of Vasily Mamyrev which is contained in the Vologdo-Permsky chronicle.

Kuchkin also turns his attention to the nature of the Museum fragments and he puts forward the ingenious suggestion that their defects and the wrong order in which they occur (wrong that is in comparison to full versions of the text) might well be accounted for if they were made from a scorched copy of the original. The mere 20 years which had elapsed between the arrival in Russia of Nikitin's notebooks and the making of the Museum copy of the fragments from another copy of the work would not have led to the natural dilapidation of the text to such an extent and, furthermore, another document in the same codex shows similar signs of being copied from a scorched original (the "Khozhenie" of Ignatius of Smolensk). Kuchkin felt that this document was also once in the possession of Vasily Mamyrev and that both reached him from Smolensk - Ignatius having lived there and Nikitin having died near there.

In view of Kuchkin's well argued theories, it seems unlikely that the Museum fragments and the codex in which they are contained were written in Novgorod in the circle surrounding Archbishop Gennady, as A.A. Zimin contends as we

have seen above, but rather that it was compiled in Vologda in the very early 1490s, from a copy of the original notebooks brought thither from the Troitse-Sergiev monastery.

The second oldest text and one which has been very widely used as a basis for the published versions of the Khozhenie, is the copy which is generally referred to as the Troitsky copy. It now resides in the Lenin Library in Moscow (No. 8665; 4<sup>0</sup>) <sup>having been</sup> "rediscovered" in the library of the Troitse-Sergiev monastery, probably by Karamzin in his researches into Russian history. It forms part of a collection of manuscripts. It is described in the textological review by Ya. S. Luria in the 1958 Academy edition of the Khozhenie as having four sections: first the Ermolinsky chronicle (printed in PSRL vol. 23); secondly a collection of separate items (date c. 1530); thirdly a collection of ecclesiastical works together with a manuscript of "Pchela"; finally a fourth section (pp 369 - 392) containing the Khozhenie za tri morya. Kuchkin <sup>9</sup>, however, does not agree with this description, pointing out that the first section (that containing the Ermolinsky chronicle) contained clean pages and that it was only in the 17th century that the series of items, referred to by Luria as section two, was written on these pages. On the final page of the manuscript (which was glued onto the binding at the last restoration) there is a series of separate notes, for example "Gospodi, pomozhi rabu svoemu". This note, wrongly transcribed as "Gir pomozhi rabu svoemu", was incorrectly included in the text of the Khozhenie in the 1948 Academy edition of the text. A.A. Shakhmatov <sup>10</sup> dated the fourth part of the manuscript (the copy of the Khozhenie) to the end of the 15th

century; the editors of PSRL (vol. 23) assigned it to the beginning of the 16th century. According to Luria <sup>11</sup> the water marks in the fourth part (a tiara and an ox's head) are the same as those of the other parts and belong to the late 15th - early 16th century.

Here again Kuchkin disagrees with Luria. He says that the manuscript was definitely written at the end of the 15th century quoting A.A. Shakhmatov <sup>12</sup> in support of this. He points out, moreover, that the watermarks of the three parts of the codex are not alike, as Luria leads one to think, but that the first two parts bear the water mark of the papal tiara, which dates from the 1480s, and the third part, which contains the Khozhenie, is written on paper with two different marks, variations of the ox's head. That on pp 387-390 dates from 1481 and that on pp 385-386 and pp 391-392 to 1497. It follows that the Troitsky copy of the Khozhenie was written about 1497 after Mamyrev was already dead. Marginal notes in late 18th - early 19th century writing are reproduced in the 1958 Academy edition as textological footnotes. As had already been mentioned this copy belonged to the Troitse-Sergiev monastery (and was preserved in the Treasury as No. 17). The existence of these notes indicates that it was "rediscovered" and used fairly early and indeed it is quoted by N.M. Karamzin in his Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiiskogo <sup>13</sup>. In 1823 the Troitsky edition of the Khozhenie was printed as an appendix to the Sofiisky II chronicle (PSRL, vol. VI, Appendix G, av) although the Sofiisky II chronicle actually contains a different text of the Khozhenie which was only given as footnotes to the Troitsky text. The Troitsky text was the basic version used for the 1948 and 1958 Academy editions.

With regard to the first connection between this monastery and the Khozhenie, Kuchkin <sup>14</sup> makes some interesting observations. He points out that Vasily Mamyrev, to whom, as we know from the introduction to the Etterov copy, Nikitin's notebooks were first taken, died on 5th June 1490 and was buried on 7th June in the Cathedral Church of the Troitse-Sergiev monastery. A copy of the Manuscript of the 16 Prophets which had belonged to Mamyrev was long preserved in the monastery collection and it seems possible that the entire contents of Mamyrev's library were lodged at the monastery, including, in all probability, Nikitin's original notebooks. This monastery is of great importance in the history of the text because a second version was found there in a chronicle codex <sup>15</sup> compiled no earlier than 1623. This text according to Kuchkin was similar but not identical to the Troitsky text and must therefore be the Undolsky version which is the only one of the correct date and form. The compilation of this chronicle codex was linked to the Troitse-Sergiev monastery. According to both Kuchkin and Luria however, it is improbable that the Troitsky manuscript was a first-hand copy of Nikitin's own notebooks, as a series of distortions, omissions and mistakes (to be seen in comparing this copy with the Chronicle versions) point to the fact that this copy was the result of an evolution of the text. In fact, as Kuchkin points out, <sup>16</sup> the Khozhenie had probably been quite extensively copied and rewritten in the period between its arrival in Moscow in about 1473 and 1497 when the Troitsky copy was probably produced.

The Troitsky copy is undoubtedly the most complete version of the work in that it contains none of the large gaps

which occur in the 'Chronicle' copies and has not been mutilated to the extent of the Undolsky version. On the other hand it omits a number of the colourful details of the 'Chronicle' versions such as the details of the Tatar attack on the Russian merchants and there are some interesting variations in the text. Ya. S. Luria alludes to these at length and attempts to explain them by pointing out that these probably occurred as a result of a rewriting of the original by a Muscovite scribe at a time when the independence of the principality of Tver was coming to an end and that some of these could be regarded as of an almost political nature. Thus on page 442 of the Etterov copy the Grand Prince of Tver is referred to thus:

"ot gosudarya svoego ot velikogo knyazya Mikhaila Borisovicha Tverskago" whilst in the Troitsky ms he is not referred to as "gosudarya" or of Tver. In the Troitsky copy no mention is made of Boris Zakharich who was among those who sent Nikitin on his way according to the Etterov copy. Again no mention is made in the Troitsky version of the charter which according to the Etterov text Nikitin took to Prince Alexander in Kostroma on his way. There are also stylistic alterations to the Troitsky text to give it a more 'literary' appearance; names of festivals are official rather than colloquial: "Fominoi nedelei" (T) for "Radonitsa" (E), \* "Uspen'em bogoroditsy" (T) for "Ospozhin den'" (E); polite forms replace the colloquial and possibly rather vulgar; "muzhi i zheny" (T) for "muzhiki i zhonky"; "grudi goly" (T) for "sostsi goly" and "na bedrakh" for "na guzne".

I.I. Sreznevsky<sup>18</sup> suggests that two versions of

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\* T = Troitsky text. E = Etterov text.

Nikitin's own notebooks may have reached Russia, pointing out that Nikitin certainly reworked parts of the text himself. Ya. S. Luria however believes that these differences occurred through repeated copying of the text of a single original together with alterations made to suit the political situation of the time and the literary leanings of the copyists and this certainly seems a more likely explanation.

The third copy of the Khozhenie is the Etterov version. This is now kept in the Saltykov-Schedrin Library in Leningrad (where it bears the number F IV 144.1<sup>0</sup>). It dates from the mid-16th century and is found on pp 442-458 of the Etterov copy of the Lvovsky Chronicle. It was published with the rest of the chronicle in PSRL Vol. XX, part I, pp 303-313. According to A.S. Likhachev <sup>19</sup> the Lvovsky Chronicle was called after N.A. Lvov who first published it in 1792. The Etterov copy of this chronicle however was only brought to light by A.E. Presnyakov in 1903. It had once belonged to a certain Carl Etter, hence its name, and is identical to the version published in 1792. This chronicle was compiled at the Spaso-Evfimiev monastery and its account goes up to 1560. Amongst its sources were the Moscow Codex of Foty and the Sofiisky II chronicle and the latter, of course, contained a copy of the Khozhenie.

Textually this copy bears a very close resemblance to the other so-called "Chronicle" versions (the Archive and Voskresensky copies) and together with them was probably based on an early copy of Nikitin's notebooks different from that on which the Troitsky copy was based.

Very similar to the Etterov copy and quite probably

based on the same sources was the Archive copy. This, as already pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, is to be found in the Archive copy of the Sofiisky II Chronicle which was one of the sources of the Lvovsky Chronicle. Between them, the Etterov and Archive copies are the main sources of the Chronicle version of the text of the Khozhenie. A further member of this "family" is the Voskresensky copy of the text which actually forms part of the Voskresensky copy of the Sofiisky II Chronicle, but little remains of this copy as it appears to have been torn out of its manuscript.

These five copies were almost certainly produced within one hundred years of Nikitin's return from his travels and may therefore be regarded as being of the greatest interest even though two of them are really little more than interesting fragments.

Two 17th century copies of the Khozhenie survive - the Undolsky copy and the F XVII.17 (Sukhanov) copy. These are both clearly largely based on the Troitsky version, but this is a point to which we will return later. Both copies survived within collections of manuscripts and chronicles compiled in the 18th century. The Undolsky copy takes its name from the collection in which it was located. Its source appears to have been the Nikonovksy chronicle. The Sukhanov copy, under the heading "O indiiskom khozhenii" is to be found in a collection of documents from the F.A. Tolstoi collection now housed in the Saltykov-Schedrin Library. This collection was described in istoricheskie i poeticheskie povesti ob Azove. A large part of this collection appears to be devoted to a chronicle largely based on the "Stepennaya kniga" but it also

includes other accounts of travels by Maxim Grek, Trifon Korobeinikov and of visitors to and from other lands. In fact it is clear that this whole collection is very strongly slanted towards accounts of foreign lands and peoples. Various notes were added to the text by Arseny Sukhanov who visited Jerusalem in 1651-52 and these were added to the chronicle in 1661, which therefore appears to be the latest date for the compilation of this collection. Sukhanov was a well known traveller and pilgrim of the 17th century and, according to Orlov, these documents were in his possession. Sukhanov seems to have spent most of his life in Moscow, but he spent three years in the Troitse-Sergiev Monastery, from 1661-1664. He died in 1668. Some of Arseny Sukhanov's writings are contained in Sakharov's Skazaniya russkogo naroda. Ya. S. Luria links this copy with the original Troitsky copy and the circumstances of Sukhanov's life make this appear very possible. This is, however, the one early version of the Khozhenie which I have been unable to obtain and so have had no opportunity to study it at first hand. As far as I can ascertain this copy has never been printed or published.

As we have already noted, these two versions (the Undolsky and F. XVII.17) are clearly closely connected to the Troitsky version. In his article in the 1958 Academy edition of the Khozhenie Ya. S. Luria considers their provenance very closely. He points out that both have been very thoroughly reworked and this is indeed easy to see in the Undolsky copy as printed in PSRL. In particular he points out that every trace of Nikitin's liberal attitude towards other religions has been expunged from these texts - a process

which, he points out, affected at least one other contemporary document. He also shows that in a few places spellings and phrases in these two texts resemble those of the Etterov and Archive texts but he concludes that these resemblances are so few and far between and so minor in character that they are unlikely to indicate that the copyist had access to these latter works and that the resemblances arose purely by chance. To support this theory he points out that the F.XVII.17 version was included in the chronicle under the year 1461, rather than 1475, the year assigned it in the Chronicle versions. Evidence of one further ancient copy which survived until the mid-19th century is to be found in Skazaniya russkogo naroda by I.P. Sakharov <sup>21</sup>. This fascinating work is a collection of old Russian texts, many of them accounts of travels and pilgrimages made in early times and it includes, under the title of "Puteshestviya Afanasiya Nikitina v Indiyu", a copy of the Khozhenie. This copy is preceded by a preface <sup>22</sup> in which Sakharov states that N.M. Karamzin was the first to uncover a copy of Nikitin's work in a manuscript belonging to the Troitse-Sergiev Monastery, which was then mentioned by him in his Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiiskogo and extracts from it were included in the appendices. Sakharov himself, for his published version of the text, relied mainly on the copy contained in the Sofiisky Vremennik published by P.M. Stroev in 1820-21 (the Archive text), using the Troitsky copy published by Karamzin for the beginning of the work and for filling in two gaps from an incomplete copy then in his possession. These two passages both occur in the account of Nikitin's homeward journey. As Sakharov himself stated there

were gaps in all the copies and he was unable to find a complete copy. Sakharov also included a list of place-names with variants drawn, according to him, from copies which he had not got to hand <sup>23</sup>. What became of this copy is not known; suffice it to say that it is no longer extant.

ii) The Dawn of a New Interest

It is generally agreed that Karamzin's "rediscovery" of the Khozhenie and publication of parts of it in the Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiiskogo (History of the Russian State) marks the dawn of a new interest in the work which has never since entirely waned. Since that time the Khozhenie has been the subject of much study and has been used to underline several political points in the last 50 or so years and it is the general outline of the treatment of Nikitin's work which we shall attempt to describe in this section.

Whilst Karamzin's interest in the work certainly marks a crucial change in the fortunes of the Khozhenie it would, apparently, not be fair to think of its being entirely lost to view prior to his attention. The Undolsky copy dates only from the 17th century and contains a series of notes in 18th century handwriting and was therefore a subject of interest at that date. The F.XVII.17 copy was in its owner's collection up to the middle of the 17th century and the Troitsky copy contains notes made in the late 18th or early 19th century.

Karamzin, however, was to have a profound effect on the history of the text. No longer was it to be known only to a handful of scholars, large parts of it actually appeared in

print in one of the appendices of his enormously popular History of the Russian State.

The early part of the 19th century saw a renewed interest in all things Russian and a flowering of Russian literature. After a long period when French and German influences had been paramount, the intellectuals were seeking truly Russian roots and, as D.S. Mirsky puts it <sup>24</sup>, Karamzin "became imbued with patriotism and State-worship". The result of this, of course, was the publication of his monumental history and in Volume 6, one of eight volumes to be published in 1818, he published extracts from the Troitsky copy. Presumably they are included to illustrate the spread of Russian interest and influence in the early days of the Russian State. The author himself says little about them except that the greater part was drawn from a chronicle which he found in the Troitse-Sergiev monastery. However he also alludes to the fragment contained in the Voskresensky chronicle which was supplied to him by P.M. Stroev. Thus we know that a second copy was also under examination at that time.

Only three years later, in 1821, Stroev himself published the Archive copy of the Khozhenie, together with the Sofiisky II chronicle in which it was contained, in the Sofiisky Vremennik (part 2, Moscow, 1821 pp 145 - 164). Whilst Stroev made some comments on the text, these were of minor importance.

The first version of the Khozhenie in a foreign language was a paraphrase of the version published by Stroev, namely the Archive text, translated into German as "Reise

nach Indien unternommen von einem Russischen Kaufmann im 15 Jahrhundert" by D.L. Yazykov and published in the Dorpatser Jahrbücher für Literatur, (Vol. IV, Leipzig, 1835, XLVIII, pp 481-502). Whilst clearly intended for use in the German University on Russian soil, this must have made the text accessible to a much wider readership.

I.P. Sakharov, as we have already seen, published a version in 1849 and the interest generated by the document is clearly seen from a note in his introduction

M.P. Pogodin has informed me of a note from the papers of the late K.F. Kalaidovich, in which certain of the incomprehensible words in the 'puteshestviya Afanasiya Tveritina' were explained by our famous Academician Fren. We have extracted from this whole the words accessible for general publication; others, of immodest expression, as shown in Mr. Fren's translation, we have not been able to include.

Here we see that three other people apart from Sakharov himself were interested in the Khozhenie at that time. Apart from that, what is particularly interesting is that this seems to be the first modern example of the "bowdlerisation" of Nikitin, though as we have seen, this is a process which probably began with the copyists of the Troitsky version. Certainly it has continued through to modern times.

The next and very important milestone in the history of the text was the publication in 1856 by I.I. Sreznevsky of "Khozhenie za tri morya Afanasiya Nikitina v 1466-1472" which appeared in Uchenye zapiski vtorogo otdeleniya AN. This appears to be the first learned article on Nikitin's work and examines the whole of the text very closely. He appears to have been one of the first people to establish the actual dates of Nikitin's journey.

« Летописецъ Софійскій, въ свои записки Никитина въ свою повесть временныхъ лѣтъ подъ 1475 годомъ, въ особенномъ замечаніи указалъ о книгѣ и нѣсколько литературныхъ данныхъ. Вотъ оно слово въ слово: «Того же году обретохъ написаніе Сфонаса Феритина купца, что былъ въ Индеи четыре года, а ходилъ сказываютъ - съ Васильемъ съ Папинымъ. Азъ же опытахъ, коли Василей ходилъ съ кречати посломъ отъ великаго князя, и сказаха ми за годъ до Казанскаго похода пришелъ изъ орды, коли князь Юрій подъ Казанью былъ, тогда его подъ Казанью застрелили . . . . »

49. Подъ 1470-мъ годомъ въ томъ же Софійскомъ временникѣ (II. стр. 342) читаемъ: Въ лето 6978 месяца сентября въ 2 день князь Юрій Васильевичъ со всею силою Московскою приде подъ Казань. Сравни. Полн. собр. лѣт. V, стр. 273. Никон. лѣт. VII, 13. ». 26

Elsewhere in the work, Sreznevsky states quite plainly the dates 1466 - 1472 as the dates of Nikitin's journey.

He also examined the route which Nikitin followed and he compared his account with other more or less contemporary accounts such as those of Varthema, Barbosa and Nicolo de' Conti. This work goes into great detail and, whilst certain of his opinions have been subject to later argument and correction, it is certainly one of the main sources of all modern commentaries on the Khozhenie.

In 1857 the first translation of the work into English was published in India in the Fifteenth Century being a collection of Narratives of voyages to India, edited by Richard H. Major and printed for the Hakluyt Society in London. According to Major the translation was procured for the Society

by its President and undertaken by Count Wielhorsky, Secretary of the Russian Legation in London. Major himself gives this account of the manuscripts used:

"A register of this description, the work of a successive number of chroniclers, was kept in the College of the Cathedral Church of St. Sophia at Novgorod. It first attracted the attention of M.P. Stroew, a gentleman formerly attached to the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Moscow, and was published in 1821 under the title of Sofiyski Premennik, or Sophian Chronicle, in two volumes, 4to.

It is in the second volume of this work, pp 145-164, that Nikitin's journey to India was originally laid before the public in extenso.

A few years before, the Russian historiographer, Karamzin, discovered another codex of that curious manuscript, and acquainted the world with its existence in the following words (end of Chapter vii, vol vi):-

"Hitherto, geographers have ignored the fact that the honour of one of the oldest voyages to India, undertaken and described by a European, belongs to the age and country of Ivan III. Athanasius Nikitin, a citizen of Tver, visited, about the year 1470, the kingdoms of the Deccan and of Golconda, for purposes of commerce. We possess his diary, which, although it does not evince any remarkable power of observation, or any great amount of knowledge, still must be considered a curiosity, the more so as the state of India at that time is but imperfectly known."

The manuscript alluded to by Karamzin, and of which he gives an abstract (notes to vol iv, p 629) was found in the archives of the monastery of Troitsk-Sergivsk, and has been used for the present translation. Although never printed, it is less defective than the one published by Stroew; in which several leaves are missing. An authenticated copy of the former was obtained from the Archaeological Commission at Moscow for the Hakluyt Society in London, at the request of Mr. R.H. Major, and through his Excellency Baron Brunnow, Russian Ambassador at the British Court. The original bears all the marks of a manuscript written at the close of the 15th and contains some additions made in the 16th Century." 27

Major himself appears to share what he believes

to be Karamzin's opinion of the work

... "There is, besides, throughout the memorial a want of coherence, and a most painful absence of that minuteness of description which, in placing before the reader the objects depicted, can alone be considered as a source of interest or instruction." 28

Again, the author has wielded a kind of censorship over the text, explained thus in note 32.

"This, like the other untranslated passages in this narrative, are in Turkish, as they stand in the original, but are so corrupt as to be scarcely intelligible. Even when the meaning can be guessed at, it has sometimes, as in the present instance, been thought undesirable to supply it in English." 29

Major attributes Nikitin's return to the year 1474.

"The date of Nikitin's journey may be inferred from a note of the chronicler given in Stroew's work. It states that the author accompanied Wessili Papin, "who was sent to the Shah of Shirvan with a present of falcons from the Grand Duke Ivan III, one year before the war with Kazan." It therefore appears that our traveller set out in 1468. He must have returned to Russia in 1474, for according to his own words, he spent "six great days" or Easter days, during his wandering through Persia, India and part of Asia Minor." 30

Minaev's work has been the basis for much subsequent work on the Khozhenie. Thus the geographical and historical commentary written by I.P. Petrushevsky for the 1948 Academy edition and slightly revised for the 1958 Academy edition is in places almost a paraphrase of the Minaev text and the booklet Stranstviya Afanasiya Nikitina by M.N. Vitashevskaya<sup>32</sup> also clearly owes a great deal to Minaev.

From Minaev's time up to the present day a great deal

has been written about the "Khozhenie za tri morya" and its author. Some of this work has examined the Khozhenie in general terms but a great deal of the research has concentrated upon specific details such as the exact location of the places mentioned by Nikitin, the meaning of some of the "foreign" words which he used and indeed on his use of language in general. Whilst these articles may be very interesting in themselves it is fascinating to see how some of them reflect the mood and opinions of their times.

In the early 1940s no fewer than four major articles appeared (list in footnote) - quite a notable surge in interest in Nikitin. This was the time when the USSR was standing, almost alone, against the German armies and when any and every weapon had to be pressed into service against the enemy. One method employed was to arouse the national spirit by reviving the memories of past Russian heroes and Nikitin, as almost the only Russian traveller beyond the national boundaries of great note, was clearly a candidate for this treatment. The jingoistic tone of the time can be seen in the introduction to the article "Puteshestvie Afanasiya Nikitina" by V.V. Bogdanov.

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Footnote:

- V.V. Bogdanov, Nakanune 475-letiya puteshestviya Afanasiya Nikitina v Persiyu i Indiyu, Zemlevedenie sbornik Moskovskogo obshchestva ispitately prirody, vol. 1. (No. 41) 1940.
- R. Teregulova, Khozhenie Afanasiya Nikitina kak pamyatnik russkogo literaturnogo yazyka XV veka. Ucheniyé zapiski Tambovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta, issue 1, Tambov, 1941.
- A. Mikhaelov, Pervyi russkii puteshestvennik v Indiyu, Literaturnaya gazeta, 1943, No. 7, 7 Feb.
- V.V. Bogdanov, Puteshestvie Afanasiya Nikitina, Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva, vol. 74, part 6, 1944.

« В 1941 году исполнилось 475 лет с того дня, когда в 1466 г. Афанасий Никитин отправился в свое замечательное путешествие из Твери по Волге и Каспийскому морю в Персию и Индию. Эту дату предполагалось достойным образом отметить. Имеются сведения, что на родине Афанасия Никитина, в Калининне, поднимался вопрос об увековечении его заслуг тем или другим способом и, между прочим, постановкой памятника в Калининне. Правда, эта задача несколько осложнялась, так как не сохранилось ни одного изображения этого замечательного путешественника. Но все же памятник ему должен быть поставлен. Это может быть художественно выполненный и внушительный монумент в виде колонны, обелиска и т.д., с барельефами, дающими сведения о подвиге путешественника. Прежде всего на барельефах следует изобразить маршруты путешествия: 1. от Твери до Дербента и Баку, 2. от Баку до границы Персии и оттуда до Ормуза, 3. весь маршрут от Ормуза до Индии и по Индии и обратно до Ормуза, 4. от Ормуза через Персию на Эрзерум и Трапезунд до Феодосии в Крыму и далее к Смоленску, не доходя до которого Афанасий Никитин умер ».

33

In a lecture given by N. Vodovozov and subsequently published by Vsesoyuzne Obsh. po rasprostraneniyu politicheskikh i nauchnykh znanii Nikitin is held up as an early example of friendly relations between Russia and India. The tone of the introduction to this article is clearly somewhat propagandist:

«Нашу великую Родину — Союз Советских Социалистических Республик — связывают с Индией прочные дружественные отношения, основанные на кровной заинтересованности обеих стран в упрочении мира и безопасности всех народов. Дружеские отношения между СССР и Индией основаны на незыблемых принципах взаимного уважения территориальной целостности и суверенитета, ненападения, невмешательства во внутренние дела друг друга, равенства и взаимной выгоды.

Культурные и экономические связи между Россией и Индией имеют многовековые традиции. Первым человеком, проложившим путь из Русской земли в далекую Индию, преодолевшим трудности этого, еще не изведенного тогда пути, был великий русский путешественник XV века Афанасий Никитин, с дружественной целью посетивший Индию в 1469 — 1472 годах.

На набережной древнего русского города Твери (ныне Калинин) над широкой гладью Волги стоит изваянная из бронзы фигура Афанасия Никитина. Высокий, мужественный, с волевым, умным лицом, он решительно и твердо смотрит вперед, думая о том великом и трудном пути, который ему предстояло пройти. На русском путешественнике — красивый кафтан с застёжками из крученых шнурков, поверх кафтана на плечи накинут плащ без рукавов, подбитый мехом. На ногах — мягкие сафьяновые сапоги с загнутыми носками. В левой руке Афанасий Никитин держит бумажный свиток, может быть, первую страницу его будущих бессмертных «Записок».

Именно так, вероятно, выглядел отважный путешественник, когда проходил здесь в 1466 году, чтобы сесть на свою ладью и отправиться вместе с другими тверскими купцами вниз по Волге в свое далекое странствование».

In M.N. Vitashevskaya's Stranstranstvie Afanasiya Nikitina these sentiments are echoed. E. Chelyshev, in his introduction, writes:

« И сегодня, когда с каждым годом все более плодотворно развивается экономическое и культурное сотрудничество между Советским Союзом и Индией, отвечающее жизненным интересам народов обеих стран, мы с благодарностью вспоминаем имя того, кто 500 лет назад заложи первый камень в фундамент дружбы между двумя великими народами. Имя Афанасия Никитина пользуется большой популярностью как в Советском Союзе, так и в Индии. Его «Хождение за три моря» неоднократно переиздавалось, об Афанасии Никитине и его путешествии существует большая литература. Советские и индийские кинематографисты создали о нем художественный фильм, индийские писатели написали книги, художники и скульпторы запечатлели его образ в своих произведениях.

Пятистолетний юбилей путешествия Афанасия Никитина в Индию отмечается как начало взаимоотношений между народами СССР и Индии, как событие, имеющее важное значение в установлении дружеских, добрососедских отношений между нашими странами ». 35

but Vitashevskaya like other Soviet writers also finds Communist interpretations for some of Nikitin's statements, and quotes Marx and Engels in her commentary.

«Надо сказать, что обилие драгоценностей на индийской женщине не всегда говорило о большом богатстве. Каждый житель Индии, обладающий хоть каким-нибудь достатком, на все свои средства старался купить драгоценностей своей жене и дочерям.

Маркс в своей работе «Британское владычество в Индии» отмечал: «С незапамятных времен Европа получала великолепные ткани — продукт индийского труда — и посылала взамен свои драгоценные металлы, снабжая, таким образом, материалом местного золотых дел мастера, этого необходимого члена индийского общества, любовь которого к украшениям так велика, что даже представители самого низшего класса, которые ходят почти наги, имеют обыкновенно пару золотых серег и какое-нибудь золотое украшение на шею. Всеобщее распространение имели также кольца, надевавшиеся на пальцы рук и ног. Женщины, так же как и дети, часто носили массивные ручные и ножные браслеты из золота или серебра, а золотые или серебряные статуэтки богов встречались среди домашнего скарба».

36

and later she uses Marx to underline Nikitin's political hints with regard to the discrepancies between the Moslem rulers and the Hindu inhabitants:

«Никитин был единственным путешественником своего времени, который отметил изнанку пышности и сказочного великолепия жизни султанов и их вельмож.

Весь этот блеск и великолепие «великих пышных бояр» и «княжатиц» хорасанцев, сказочная жизнь султана с его женами, плясавицам; музыкантами, прихлебателями или за счет грабежа соседних народов и главным образом своего сельского населения, доведенного до крайней нищеты.

В своей работе «Британское владичество в Индии» К. Маркс указывает, что «В Азии с незапамятных времен, как правило, существовало лишь три отрасли управления: финансовое ведомство, или ведомство по ограблению своего собственного народа, военное ведомство, или ведомство по ограблению других народов, и, наконец, ведомство общественных работ».

В Индии важнейшую часть государственного дохода всегда составлял поземельный налог. Правда, иногда казна пополнялась военной добычей благодаря трудам ведомства по ограблению соседних народов, но и в мирное время, и в военное одинаково плохо шло «голому» трудовому народу».

37

Probably the most significant event however in the modern history of the Khözhenie was the publication of the two Academy editions of the text in 1948 and 1958. With the 1948 edition the whole of the original text was available for the first time. The text was given in two versions, the Troitsky and the Undolsky, prepared by K.H. Serbina and there was also a translation by N.S. Chaev and for the first time the "Turkic" passages were published in modern Russian. The edition also included articles by B.A. Romanov and V.P. Adrianova-Peretts, a series of notes on the text by I.P. Petrushevsky and a review of the text. In fact its publication was a notable event but the edition was far from perfect and some of its shortcomings are pointed out in the review written by A.A. Zimin - the lack of an article on India in the

fifteenth century to throw light on Nikitin's account, the fact that only two of the copies are used, (not giving an opportunity for comparison with the Archive and Etterov texts) and a whole series of textological mistakes and misinterpretations. Whether as a result of these and similar criticisms or for other reasons, a second Academy edition appeared in 1958 which met many of the criteria set by Zimin. Three versions of the text were given - the Troitsky, Etterov and Undolsky - with a list of variations and notes on the text compiled by Ya. S. Luria, and a translation of the whole into modern Russian by N.S. Chaev. An article on "India in the 15th Century" by M.K. Kudryavtsev was included together with articles by V.P. Adrianova-Peretts ("Afanasy Nikitin - Traveller and Writer"), Ya. S. Luria ("Afanasy Nikitin and certain questions of Russian Social Conditions in the 15th Century") and "An Archaeographical Review" by Ya. S. Luria and again notes by I.P. Petrushevsky. Up to the present this is the definitive published Russian version of the Khozhenie. One should however also note a rather curious version which appeared in 1950 - the translation into "rhythmic speech" by N. Vodovozov published by GOSLITIZDAT. Whilst it may seem strange to turn Nikitin into verse the introduction and commentaries to this edition are extensive and interesting.

A new edition of the Khozhenie appeared in 1980. In this the original Etterov text is given in full together with a translation of this version into modern Russian. There is an interesting introduction written by N.I. Prokofev, who also prepared the commentary (which is closely modelled on that of the 1958 Academy edition), together with the text

according to the Troitsky version and a short bibliography. The book is delightfully illustrated by A.C. Bakulevsky.

Also to appear in 1980 was Puteshestvie Afanasiya Nikitina by L.S. Semenov, who reverts to the pre-Sreznevsky view that Nikitin began his journey in 1468 and claims that, in India, Nikitin witnessed events that took place in 1472. His hypothesis that Nikitin's journey should be dated 1468-1474 is accepted in the edition of the Khozhenie included in Pamyatniki literatury drevnei Rusi: vtoraya polovina XV veka (Moscow, 1982) for which Semenov and Ya. S. Luria wrote the commentary. This dating is not universally accepted, however, (see M.K. Kudryavtsev's review in Voprosy Istorii, 1982, No. 6. pp 140-142) and we adhere to the opinion that Nikitin left Tver in 1466.

Finally one must consider how the Khozhenie has fared outside the USSR in more recent times. We have already discussed the first translation into German by Yazykov and the translation into English by Major. A second German translation appeared in 1920 "Die Fahrt des Athanasius Nikitin über die drei Meere" by Karl L. Meyer. A Czech translation by V. Lešný appeared in 1951 and a Polish edition by H. Wilman-Grabowska in 1952. In 1974 a new translation of parts of the Khozhenie into English appeared in Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales by Serge A. Zenkovsky (New York 1974). This version is based on the 1948 Academy edition and whilst the translator seems to adhere closely to the text there are large sections omitted (for this is after all an anthology), and, as so often in the past, most of the "basic Islamic" sections have not been translated.

Very little has ever been published in English about the Khozhenie za tri morya, except an article by Walther Kirchner<sup>39</sup> and a few short notes in histories of Russian Literature. Kirchner's account expresses his regret that the Khozhenie is not better known in the West and gives an interesting outline of Nikitin's work. It suffers however from the fact that it was prepared from the 1912 German Translation (Stählin Series, Quellen und Aufsätze zur russischen Geschichte, II Leipzig, 1915. Edit. Karl L. Meyer) and it appears that there are a few misunderstandings owing to this double translation.

English language histories of geographical knowledge and exploration have also largely ignored Nikitin. Clearly his account was not readily accessible to Western readers but one might have thought that the same was applicable to the Arab geographers and yet their work has been well circulated in the West.

In conclusion one can only admire the enduring quality of Nikitin's work. Despite the fact that it was only brought back to Moscow in the form of notes and incomplete passages it immediately achieved what must have been in those days "best-seller" status. Since then, despite something of an eclipse in the 18th century, it has been referred to regularly by travellers, historians and geographers - at least in its native country. As we have pointed out, it has also been used to illustrate political points. It seems to have received far less attention than it deserved outside the Russian speaking area, clearly because it has been rather inaccessible in its 15th century Russian text.

2. THE KHOZHENIE ZA TRI MORYA OF AFANASY NIKITIN  
TRANSLATION OF THE COMPOSITE TEXT

Note:

Apart from the first introductory paragraph, which is taken from the Etterov copy, this translation is based on the Troitsky text but additional words and phrases from other copies have been inserted where it seems reasonable to assume that they would have been part of Nikitin's own text. These additions are underlined. All of them are to be found in the Etterov copy with a few exceptions which are mentioned in the footnotes.

<sup>1</sup> In that year I found the writings of a merchant of Tver <sup>2</sup>, Afanasy, who was in India four years. He went, so they say, with Vasily Papin <sup>3</sup>. I have tried to find out when Vasily set off, with some falcons, as an envoy from the Grand Prince <sup>4</sup> and they told me that he returned from the Ordu<sup>5</sup> one year before the Kazan <sup>6</sup> campaign when he (Vasily Papin) was shot at Kazan while Prince Yury <sup>7</sup> was encamped near Kazan. I have found no note of which year he set off or of which year he returned from India and died. They say that he died before reaching Smolensk. The notes are written in his own hand and the notebooks which he wrote were taken by merchants to Moscow to Vasily Mamyrev <sup>8</sup>, the Grand Prince's *dyak*.<sup>9</sup>

\*Through the prayers of our holy fathers, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, Thy sinful servant, Afanasy, the son of Nikita.\*<sup>10</sup>

I have written about my sinful journey beyond the three

seas; the first is the Sea of Derbent, the Daryā Khvalisskaya <sup>11</sup>; the second is the Indian Sea, the Daryā of Hendustān; the third is the Black Sea, the Daryā of Stamboul <sup>12</sup>.

I set off from the golden-domed Cathedral of the Holy Saviour <sup>13</sup> and with the blessing of my ruler <sup>14</sup> the Grand Prince Mikhail Borisovich <sup>15</sup> of Tver and of Bishop Gennady of Tver <sup>16</sup> and of Boris Zakharich <sup>17</sup>.

I set off down the Volga and came to the Kalyazinsky <sup>16</sup> Monastery of the Holy Life-giving Trinity and of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb. I received there the blessing of the Abbot Makarius <sup>19</sup> and of the holy brothers. And from Kalyazin <sup>20</sup> I went to Uglich <sup>21</sup> and they let me go on from Uglich without hindrance. And I journeyed thence from Uglich and I came to Kostroma <sup>22</sup>, to Prince Alexander, with another permit from the Grand Prince <sup>23</sup>. And the Grand Prince (they) sent me forth without hindrance. And I came without hindrance to Ples <sup>24</sup> and I went to Nizhni Novgorod <sup>25</sup> to Mikhaïl Kiselev, "the Vice-Regent" <sup>26</sup> and to Ivan Saraev <sup>27</sup>, the tax-gatherer, and they let me go forward without hindrance.

And Vasily Papin had passed through the town two weeks before and I waited two weeks in Novgorod for Hasan Beg <sup>28</sup> the envoy of the Tatar Shirvañ-Shāh. He travelled with falcons from the Grand Prince, Ivan, and he had ninety falcons. And I travelled with them down the Volga <sup>29</sup>. And we passed without hindrance through Kazan, and we saw no-one, and we passed the Ordu, and Uslan <sup>30</sup>, and we passed Sarāi <sup>31</sup> and Berekezany <sup>32</sup>.

And we entered the river Buzan <sup>33</sup>.

And there three rascally Tatars met us and gave us false tidings that Sultan Qāsem<sup>34</sup> was on the look-out for merchants in Buzan and that there were 3,000 Tatars with him. The ambassador of the Shirvān Shāh, Hasan Beg, gave each of them a caftan<sup>35</sup> and a piece of linen that they might lead us around Ashtarkhān<sup>36</sup> but they, the rascally Tatars, each took a caftan and bore tidings about us to the tsar<sup>37</sup> in Ashtarkhān. And I abandoned my boat and crept into the ambassador's boat with my companions. We passed by Ashtarkhān under sail, at night, but the moon shone and the tsar saw us and the Tatars shouted at us, "Don't run<sup>38</sup>, don't run", but we paid no attention. The tsar sent his whole *ordu* after us and, for our sins, he overtook us at Begun<sup>39</sup> and began to shoot at us. They shot one of our men but we shot two of the Tatars and our smaller boat got entangled in a fish-trap<sup>40</sup> and they seized it and plundered it immediately and my furs were all in the smaller boat. We reached the sea in the larger boat but it got stuck on a shoal at the mouth of the Volga and there they caught us. We dragged our craft back upstream to the fishtrap where they had plundered our smaller craft. There they took our larger craft and they took four Russians prisoner but they let us go, bare-headed, beyond the sea, nor would they let us return upstream with our tidings, so we went to Darband<sup>41</sup> in two craft, bewailing our fate.

In one boat was Hasan Beg, the Ambassador, with some Tājiks<sup>42</sup> and ten head of our Russaks and in the other were six Muscovites and six men from Tver with the cattle and our food supplies. Then a storm<sup>43</sup> arose on the sea and the smaller boat was smashed against the shore, this was at the

small town of Tarkhi <sup>44</sup> and the people came out onto the shore and the Qaytāqs <sup>45</sup> arrived and took everyone prisoner. We arrived in Darband and Vasily had arrived there in good shape but we had been robbed. We humbly begged Vasily Papin and Hasan Beg, the Ambassador of the Shirvān Shāh, who had travelled with us, that they should take pity on the people who had been taken by the Qaytāqs near Tarkhi. And Hasan Beg took pity on us and went to the mountain, to Pulād Beg <sup>46</sup> and Pulād Beg sent a messenger on foot <sup>47</sup> to the Shirvān Shāh (saying) "Sir, a Russian boat has been wrecked near Tarkhi and the Qaytāqs have come and taken the crew captive and pillaged their belongings."

The Shirvān Shāh immediately sent an envoy to his brother-in-law Khalil Beg <sup>48</sup>, the prince of the Qaytāqs, saying: "One of my boats has been wrecked near Tarkhi and your people came and took the people prisoner and stole their goods. Therefore, for my sake, send them to me and gather up their goods, for these people were sent to me. If you should have a request of me and you send unto me, I being your brother, for this reason, will not refuse it - but send these people for the sake of my name. You should send them to me freely, for my sake." And Khalil Beg thereupon sent all the people to Darband freely, and from Darband they were sent to the Shirvān Shāh in his *ordu* or *koitul* <sup>49</sup>.

We went to the Shirvān Shāh in his *koitul* and humbly begged him to graciously give us the wherewithal to return to Russia but he gave us nothing, for we were many, and we wept and dispersed whithersoever we might. Those who had something left in Russia went back to Russia but those who had debts

went where-ever their eyes led them. Some remained in Shamākhi<sup>50</sup> and some went to Bāku<sup>51</sup> to work.

I went to Darband and from Darband to Bāku where the inextinguishable fire burns and from Bāku I crossed the sea to Chebokar,<sup>52</sup> and I spent six months in Chebokar and one month in Sāri<sup>53</sup> in the land of Māzandarān<sup>54</sup>. Thence I went to Āmol<sup>55</sup> and spent one month there and thence I went to Demāvand<sup>56</sup> and from Demāvand to Rayy<sup>57</sup> where they killed the children of Shāh Hosayn Ali<sup>58</sup>, the grandchildren of Mohammad and he cursed them and for this seventy cities were destroyed<sup>59</sup>.

And from Rayy I went to Kāshān<sup>60</sup> and spent one month there and from Kāshān to Na'in<sup>61</sup> to Yazd<sup>62</sup> and there I lived one month.

From Yazd I went to Sirjān<sup>63</sup> and from Sirjān to Tārom<sup>64</sup> and there they feed the cattle on dates at 4 *altyn*<sup>65</sup> per *batman*<sup>66</sup>. And from Tārom to Lār<sup>67</sup> and from Lār to Bandar<sup>68</sup> and there lies the harbour of Hormoz<sup>69</sup> and there is the Indian Sea or, in the Fārsi<sup>70</sup> tongue, the Sea of Hendustān and thence by sea to Hormoz it is 4 miles<sup>71</sup>.

Hormoz lies upon an island and the sea washes it twice every day and here I spent one Easter<sup>72</sup>, having arrived in Hormoz four weeks before the Easter. (I have not mentioned all the towns for there were many great towns.) In Hormoz the sun is burning, hot enough to scorch a man. I stayed one month in Hormoz and I left Hormoz after Easter in *Radonitsa*<sup>73</sup> and sailed across the Indian Sea in a *tava*<sup>74</sup> with some horses. We sailed for 10 days to reach Masqat<sup>75</sup> and 4 days from Masqat to Dega<sup>76</sup>. And from Dega to Gojarāt<sup>77</sup> and from Gojarāt

to Cambay <sup>78</sup> and there grows indigo and *lac* <sup>79</sup>. From Cambay to Chaul <sup>80</sup> and we left Chaul in a *tava* <sup>81</sup> in the seventh week after Easter and it had taken us 6 weeks by sea to Chaul.

There lies the Indian land and the people all go naked and (the women) <sup>82</sup> go about with their heads uncovered, their breasts bare and their hair plaited into a single braid and they are all pregnant, and they bear children every year and they have many children. Both the men and the women <sup>83</sup> go about naked and they are quite black. Wherever I go, a great number of people follow after me and wonder at a white man.

Their prince wears a *dhoti* <sup>84</sup> on his head and another round his bottom <sup>85</sup> and their nobles <sup>86</sup> go around with a *dhoti* round their shoulders and another round their bottoms. The princesses wear a *dhoti* knotted about their shoulders and another round their bottoms. The servants of the princes and the nobles wear a *dhoti* knotted round their bottoms, and in their hands they have a shield and a sword and some have spears, or knives or sabres or bow and arrows. They are all naked and barefooted and black <sup>87</sup> and they do not cut their hair. The women go about bareheaded and with their nipples <sup>88</sup> uncovered. And the small boys and girls, up to the age of seven, go around naked and their shame is not covered.

From Chaul we journeyed 8 days by land to Pali <sup>89</sup>, both being Indian towns <sup>90</sup>, and from Pali it is 10 days journey to Umra <sup>91</sup>, where there is an Indian town, and from Umra to Jonnar <sup>92</sup> is 7 days <sup>93</sup> and there lives Khān Asad <sup>94</sup> of Indian Jonnar and he is a vassal of the Malek ot-Tojjār <sup>95</sup> and they say he holds <sup>96</sup> 7 *tumāns* from Malek ot-Tojjār. Malek ot-Tojjār rules over

20 *tumāns* and he has been fighting the Kāfers <sup>97</sup> for 20 years, and on occasion they beat him but oft times he beats them. The Khān is carried by men though he has many fine elephants and horses. Many of his men are Khorāsānians <sup>98</sup> and they bring them from the land of Khorāsān <sup>99</sup>, from Arabia <sup>100</sup> and Torkestān <sup>101</sup> and from the Chaghatai <sup>102</sup> lands. They are all brought by sea <sup>103</sup> in *tavas*, ships of the Indian land.

I, sinner that I am, brought a stallion into India, and I came to Jonnar, God having granted us all good health, but it cost me 100 roubles. Their winter started on the feast of Trinity <sup>104</sup> and we spent the winter in Jonnar and lived there 2 months and there is water and mud everywhere, day and night, for four months. At that time of year they plough and sow wheat and rice <sup>105</sup> and pulses <sup>106</sup> and all other edible plants. They prepare wine in large nuts of the coconut palm <sup>107</sup> and they brew a drink from *tatna* <sup>108</sup>. They feed the horses on pulses and they cook *kedgeree* <sup>109</sup> for them with sugar, and they feed the horses with butter and in the morning they give them rice cakes <sup>110</sup>. They do not breed horses in that land of India but they do breed oxen and buffaloes and use them for riding and for carrying various goods, indeed for everything.

The city of Jonnar stands upon a rocky island, not made by man but created by God. It takes a whole day to walk up the hill, one man at a time, for the road is narrow and does not admit two people.

In the land of India merchants stay at inns and their victuals are prepared for them by the womenfolk and the womenfolk make the beds for the merchants and sleep with them. If you want to have relations with one or another of them you pay two

*shitels* <sup>111</sup>, if not, you pay only one *shitel* to the inn <sup>112</sup>, but if the woman knows you, you can have relations with her without charge, for they like white men.

In winter the people wear a *dhoti* round their bottoms, another about their shoulders and a third on their heads and at that time the princes and nobles <sup>113</sup> wear trousers, or a shirt and caftan <sup>114</sup> with one *dhoti* about the shoulders, another belted round their waists and a third wound round their heads.

O God, God the Great, God the Truth, God the Generous, God the Merciful. <sup>115</sup>

And there in Jonnar the Khān took my stallion from me and he satisfied himself that I was not a Moslem but a Russian and he said to me "I will give you back your stallion and a thousand pieces of gold, if you will accept our belief in Mohammad's faith <sup>116</sup> but if you will not accept our belief in Mohammad's faith, then I shall take your stallion and one thousand pieces as a price on your head." And he set a limit of four days, until Our Saviour's Day <sup>117</sup> during the feast of Our Lady <sup>118</sup>. And the Lord God was merciful on His holy festival and He kept not His mercy from me, a miserable sinner, and suffered me not to perish at Jonnar, among the infidels; but on the eve of Our Saviour's Day there arrived a Khorāsānian, Hajji Mohammad <sup>119</sup>. I humbly entreated him to intercede for me and he went to the Khān in the town and obtained permission for me not to be converted and took my stallion back from him. Such was the Lord's miracle on Our Saviour's Day.

So, my Christian Russian brothers, whichever of you wishes to go to the Indian land, leave your faith in Russia

and when you have proclaimed Mohammad, then go to the land of Hendustān. Those Moslem dogs lied to me for they said there was plenty of all our goods but there is nothing for our land. All the duty free goods such as pepper and dyes are cheap but are for the Moslem countries only. Some transport their goods by sea, others pay no duties on them but it is not permitted for us to carry goods free of duty and the duties are many and at sea there are many pirates. The robbers <sup>120</sup> are Kāfers, neither Christians nor Moslems, and they worship stone idols and they know neither Christ nor Mohammad <sup>121</sup>.

On the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady <sup>122</sup> we left Jonnar for Bidar <sup>123</sup> the largest of their towns and we travelled one month to Bidar. And from Bidar to Kulungir <sup>124</sup> is 5 days travel and from Kulungir to Golbargā <sup>125</sup> is 5 days travel. Between these large towns there are many smaller towns <sup>126</sup>; on some days journey there are three small towns and on others four; there are as many towns as there are *kos* <sup>127</sup>. From Chaul to Jonnar is 20 *kos* and from Jonnar to Bidar is 40 *kos* and from Bidar to Kulungir is 9 *kos* (and from Bidar to Golbargā is 9 *kos* <sup>128</sup>). In Bidar they trade in horses, goods, *kamkha* <sup>129</sup>, silk and all sorts of other goods; and black men may be bought there but there are no other articles. Their goods are all Hendustāni and the eatables are all kinds of fruit but there are no goods for the land of Russia. The people are all black and all scoundrels and the women too are all harlots; there is sorcery, thieving, lying and poison and they kill their masters with poison. In the Indian land the Khorāsānians rule all and the nobles are all Khorāsānians. The Hendustāni people all travel on foot but the Khorāsānians go before on

horseback and others move fast on foot and they are all naked and *barefoot* with a shield in one hand and in the other a sword and other servants carry huge straight bows and arrows<sup>130</sup>. Their battle is all a matter of elephants; the footsoldiers are thrown in first, then the Khorāsānians on horses and in armour, both the horses and themselves. To each elephant they bind to its trunk and to its tusks great hammered swords, each weighing a *qentār*<sup>131</sup> and they cover them with armour of damask steel and on each is set a turret<sup>132</sup> and in the turrets are bands of twelve men in armour, all with guns<sup>133</sup> and arrows.

They have one place - the tomb of Shaykh Alā od-Din<sup>134</sup>, in Alland<sup>135</sup>, where once a year there is a bazaar; the whole land of India gathers there to trade and they trade there 10 days. It is 12 *kos* from Bidar. They bring horses to sell there, up to 20,000 head and they gather in all kinds of goods; this is the best fair in the whole of Hendustān and they buy and sell all kinds of goods in the memory of Shaykh Alā od-Din on the Russian Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Mother of God<sup>136</sup>.

There is in this place, Alland, a bird the *Gūkuk*<sup>137</sup>, which flies by night and cries "Kuk,Kuk"; and whenever it settles on a housetop someone will die there and whoever wants to kill it, it will spit fire at them out of its mouth.

Wild cats<sup>138</sup> prowl by night and they catch the fowls and live in the mountains or among the rocks.

As for monkeys, they live in the woods, and they have a monkey prince<sup>139</sup> and he is attended by a host of followers; and if someone should harm one of them, they complain of it to their king and he despatches his host and on reaching the

town, they destroy the houses and kill the people. And it is said that their hosts are very numerous and that they have their own language and that they bear many young; when the young do not resemble either the father or the mother they are cast out by the roadsides and these the Hindus catch and teach them every kind of craft, and others they sell by night so they know not how to run home and others they teach to perform tricks <sup>140</sup>.

Spring started there with the Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Mother of God <sup>141</sup> and they honour Shaykh Alā od-Din in the spring, two weeks after the Feast of the Intercession and they celebrate for eight days. Spring lasts three months and summer three months and winter three months and autumn three months. The town of Bidar is the capital of Moslem Hendustān <sup>142</sup> and the town is very large and the people very numerous. The Sultan is not more than 20 years old <sup>143</sup> and the nobles rule the land and it is the Khorāsānians who rule and all the Khorāsānians fight. There is a Khorāsānian nobleman, Malek ot-Tojjār, who keeps an army of 200,000 men, and Malek Khān has 100,000 men and Farhād Khān has 20,000 <sup>144</sup>. Many of the khāns have armies of 10,000 men and the Sultan goes out with 300,000 of his own men. The country is very populous and the country folk are very poor and the nobles are very mighty and live in great luxury. They are all carried on silver beds and before them go some twenty horses caparisoned in gold and after them follow 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot and 10 trumpeters, 10 drummers and 10 men playing pipes.

The Sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his wife and with them <sup>some</sup> 10,000 men on horseback and 50,000 on

foot and they lead 200 elephants arrayed in golden armour and before them go 100 trumpeters, 100 dancers and about 300 ordinary horses in golden trimmings and after him come 100 monkeys and 100 concubines, all *huris* <sup>145</sup>.

The Sultan's palace has seven gates and at each gate are set 100 guards and 100 *kāfer* scribes; whosoever arrives is noted down and whosoever departs is noted down and foreigners <sup>146</sup> are barred from entering the town <sup>147</sup>. And his palace is very marvellous; everything is carved and gilded; to the last stone it is carved and ornamented with gold very marvellously; and in his palace are several courts of justice <sup>148</sup>. The city of Bidar is guarded at night by 1000 of the *Kotwāl's* <sup>149</sup> men and they patrol on horseback in armour and each has a torch.

And I sold my stallion in Bidar and I had spent 68 *fanams* <sup>150</sup> on him and fed him for a year.

In Bidar snakes roam the streets and their length is 2 *sagenes* <sup>151</sup>.

I travelled to Bidar from Kulungir during the Fast of Philip the Apostle <sup>152</sup> and I sold my stallion at Christmas and I remained in Bidar until Lent. I became acquainted with many *Hendus* and I explained my faith to them, that I was not a Moslem but of the *Isādin* <sup>153</sup>, that is to say a Christian, and that my name was *Afanasy* and in the Moslem tongue my name was *Hājji Yūsof* the *Khorāsānian* <sup>154</sup>. And they kept nothing hidden from me, neither their eating, nor their trading nor their prayers <sup>155</sup> nor any other thing, nor did they keep their wives veiled; and I asked them all about their religion and they said "We believe in Adam" and the *Buts* <sup>156</sup> it seems are indeed Adam and all his kin. Altogether in India there are

84 creeds and all believe in *But*; and those of one creed will not drink, eat or marry with those of another creed; and some will eat lamb or fowls or fish or eggs but no creed will eat beef.

I spent four months in Bidar and agreed with some Hindus to go to Parvata <sup>157</sup>, which is their Jerusalem <sup>158</sup>, or as Mecca <sup>159</sup> is to the Moslems, and there is their *Butkhāna*. Thither I journeyed with the Indians to the *Butkhāna* one month and there is a five day feast at the *Butkhāna*. And the *Butkhāna* is very large, about half as big as Tver, built of stone and carved on it are the deeds of the *Buts* and around it all are 12 carved wreaths <sup>160</sup> showing how *But* performed miracles and how he appeared in many forms. He appeared first in the form of a man and another time as a man with the nose of an elephant and thirdly as a man with the face of a monkey and fourthly as a man in the form of a wild beast and they are all shown with a tail carved on the stone and the tail stretches across it one *sagene*. All the people of the Indian land come to the *Butkhāna* to the wonders of *But*; and at the *Butkhāna* only the women both young and old and the young girls do not shave themselves <sup>161</sup> but all others who come to the *Butkhāna* shave all the hair on their bodies, their beards and heads and tails. A tribute of 2 *sheshkani* <sup>162</sup> for the *But* is levied per head and 4 *fanams* per horse. And <sup>163</sup> 1000 *lākhs* of people of all kinds assemble at the *Butkhāna* and at times there were 100,000 *lakhs*. In the *Butkhāna* there is a *But* carved from a black stone of enormous size, his tail going across him and his right hand raised high and extended like the Emperor <sup>164</sup> Justinian <sup>165</sup> at Constantinople <sup>166</sup>. In

his left hand he holds a spear and he wears nothing but a narrow cloth bound round his bottom <sup>167</sup> and his face is that of a monkey. And there are other naked *buts* with nothing on and bare bottoms and the wives of the *Buts* are carved naked and with their shame and with children. Before the *But* there stands a very great bull, carved out of black stone and gilded all over, and they kiss him on the hoof and they strew him with flowers and they strew flowers on the *But*.

The Indians eat no meat at all, neither beef nor mutton, nor chicken, nor fish, nor pork <sup>168</sup> though they have very many pigs and they eat twice a day and they do not eat at night and they drink neither wine nor strong drink <sup>169</sup> and they do not eat or drink with Moslems. Their food is bad and they do not drink or eat with one another or with their wives and they eat rice <sup>170</sup> and *kedgeree* <sup>171</sup> with butter and they eat various herbs and they cook with butter or with milk. They eat everything with the right hand and they take nothing with the left hand. They do not use knives and spoons are unknown and when they travel each prepares his own food <sup>172</sup> and carries his own pot for it. They hide it from the Moslems so that they may not look either into the pot or at the food and if the Moslems so much as look at it then they will not eat that food and some cover themselves with a cloth when eating that no-one may see them.

They pray facing East in the Russian manner and they raise both their hands high and lay them on the top of their heads and prostrate themselves on the ground and they stretch out on the ground and thus they pray. And they sit down to eat and they wash their hands and feet and they wash out their

mouths. Their *Butkhānas* have no doors and face the East and the *Buts* also face the East. And when someone dies they burn him and scatter the dust on the water. When a woman gives birth to a child the husband receives it and the father names a son and the mother, a daughter <sup>173</sup>. But there is no goodness in them and they know no shame. On arrival or departure they swear in the fashion of a monk and touch the ground with both hands, saying nothing.

They go to Parvata to their *But* at the great festival <sup>174</sup> and that is their Jerusalem; as Mecca is to the Moslems and Jerusalem is to the Russians <sup>175</sup> so is Parvata for the Indian; they arrive all naked with just a cloth round their bottoms <sup>167</sup> and the women are all naked except for a *dhoti* round their bottoms <sup>167</sup> and others wear *dhoties* and round their necks pearls and many sapphires <sup>176</sup> and on their hands are gold bracelets and rings - this is God's truth <sup>177</sup>. They ride into the *Butkhāna* on oxen and each ox has its horns covered in copper and on its neck are 300 little bells and its hooves are shod with copper and they call these bulls "fathers" <sup>178</sup>. The Indians call the bull "father" and the cow "mother"; and they bake bread and cook their food with their dung and with the ashes they smear their faces and their foreheads and their whole bodies as a sign. On Sundays and on Mondays they eat once <sup>179</sup> in the day.

In <sup>180</sup> India they consider women of little standing and cheap; if you wish acquaintance with a woman it is 2 *shitels*; If you want to throw your money away give them 6 *shitels*. This is the custom with them. Slaves <sup>181</sup>, male and female <sup>182</sup>, are cheap: 4 *fanams* for a good one, 5 *fanams* for one who is

both good and black.

From Parvata I came to Bidar, 15 days before the Moslem Ulugh Bayrām<sup>183</sup> and I knew not the Great Day of the Resurrection of Christ<sup>184</sup>, but by various signs I guess that the Great Christian Day falls 9 or 10 days before the Moslem Bayrām. And I have nothing with me, no books at all; we brought books with us from Russia but when I was robbed, they seized them too. And I have forgotten the Christian faith and all the Christian festivals and I know not Easter nor Christmas, nor do I know Wednesdays or Fridays<sup>185</sup>. As I am amongst other faiths I pray to God<sup>186</sup> that he may protect me<sup>187</sup>: "O Lord God,<sup>188</sup> O True God, O God Thou art a merciful God. God the Creator, Thou art the Lord. There is One God, King of Glory, Creator of Heaven and Earth."

I shall return to Russia with the thought that my faith is dead for I have kept the Moslem fast. The month of March has passed and I started to fast with the Moslems on a Sunday and I fasted for a month and I ate no meat, no fat, nor any Moslem food and I ate twice a day, nothing but bread and water and I had no intercourse with women. And I prayed to

God  
Almighty, who created heaven and earth and I confessed no other name: God our Creator, Merciful God, God, Thou are God the most Great.

And it takes 10 days to go by sea from Hormoz to Kalhāt<sup>189</sup> and 6 days from Kalhāt to Dega and 6 days from Dega to Masqāt and 10 days from Masqāt to Gojarāt and 4 days from Gojarāt to Cambay and 12 days from Cambay to Chaul and 6 days from Chaul to Dābol.

Dābol<sup>190</sup> is a harbour in Hendustān, the last of the Moslem harbours. And from Dābol to Calicut<sup>191</sup> it takes 25 days and

from Calicut to Ceylon <sup>192</sup> it takes 15 days and from Ceylon to Shabait <sup>193</sup> it takes a month to get there and from Shabait to Pegu <sup>194</sup> 20 days and from Pegu to Chin and to Māchin <sup>195</sup> is a month's journey: all these journeys are by sea and from Chin to Khitāi <sup>196</sup> is six months journey by dry land and 4 days by sea. Made by God for my use.

Hormoz is a great harbour. People from all lands visit it and there are all kinds of good things there; whatever is produced in any country is to be had in Hormoz. The duties <sup>197</sup>, however, are high and they take one tenth from everything.

Cambay is a port for the whole Indian Sea and there is trade there; everyone makes *alacha* <sup>198</sup>, taffeta <sup>199</sup>, rough cloth, *kandak* <sup>200</sup>, and they make the dye, indigo, and there is to be found also *lac* <sup>201</sup>, cornelian <sup>202</sup> and cloves <sup>203</sup>.

Dābol is a very large harbour and they import horses from Egypt <sup>204</sup>, Arabia, Khorāsān, Torkestān and the land round Hormoz <sup>205</sup>, it is a month's journey overland to Bidar and Golbargā.

And Calicut is a harbour for the whole Indian Sea and God forbid that any ship <sup>206</sup> should pass it by; he who does not see it will not pass the sea unharmed. And there there grows pepper, ginger <sup>207</sup>, mace <sup>208</sup>, cinnamon <sup>209</sup>, cloves <sup>210</sup>, spices <sup>211</sup>, *adryak* <sup>212</sup>; and all kinds of spices grow there in quantity and all is cheap and the male and female slaves <sup>213</sup> are very good and very black.

Ceylon is a not inconsiderable harbour in the Indian Sea and there Father Adam lay on a high mountain. And near there are found precious stones, rubies <sup>214</sup>, rock crystal <sup>215</sup>, white agates <sup>216</sup>, garnets <sup>217</sup>, beryl and corundum powder <sup>218</sup>.

Ivory is to be found there and is sold by the cubit and they sell ostriches by weight <sup>219</sup>.

Shabait is a very great harbour of the Indian Sea and the Khorāsānians get a salary <sup>220</sup> of one *tenka* <sup>221</sup> a day, be they great or small. And if a Khorāsānian gets married there, to him the Prince of Shabait gives 1000 *tenka* for the sacrifice and also gives him 50 *tenka* <sup>222</sup> per month as salary and for food and in Shabait is found silk and sandalwood <sup>223</sup> and pearls and all is cheap.

In Pegu also there is a considerable harbour and it is mostly Indian dervishes <sup>224</sup> who live there and precious stones stones are found there: rubies <sup>225</sup>, sapphires and carbuncles <sup>226</sup>, and the dervishes sell the precious stones <sup>227</sup>.

The harbours of Chin and Māchin are very great and there they make porcelain and sell this porcelain by weight and cheaply. Their women sleep with their husbands by day and at night they go to bed with foreigners <sup>228</sup>, and they sleep with the foreigners, and they give them money and they take with them sweetmeats and sweet wine and feed them and give drink to them, that they may love them, for they love strangers and white men, for their own men are very black. When a woman conceives a child by a stranger the husband pays him money; if the child is born white the duty to the stranger is 300 *tenka* <sup>229</sup> but if it is born black he gets nothing but can eat and drink according to the law <sup>230</sup>.

Shabait is 3 months from Bidar and from Dābol to Shabait is 2 months by sea. It is four months by sea from Bidar to Māchin and Chin and there they make porcelain and everything is cheap. To go to Ceylon takes 2 months by sea

and to Calicut one month. In Shabait they produce silk, fine pearls<sup>231</sup>, pearls and sandalwood and they sell ivory by the cubit.

In Ceylon are found wild cats<sup>232</sup>, rubies, rock crystal, crystal and white agates. In Calicut pepper, nutmeg, cloves, areca nuts<sup>233</sup> and dyes are to be found. There is indigo and shellac to be found in Gojarāt and cornelians are to be found in Cambay.

In Raichur<sup>234</sup> they produce diamonds from the old and new mines<sup>235</sup>; they sell one *pochka*<sup>236</sup> for 5 roubles and very good ones for 10 roubles; one *pochka* of new diamonds is sold for 5 *kani*<sup>237</sup>, one of a blackish colour<sup>238</sup> for from 4 to 6 *kani*<sup>239</sup> and a white diamond<sup>240</sup> for one *tenka*. The diamonds are mined in a rocky mountain and they lease that rocky mountain for 2000 gold pounds by the cubit if they are *new* diamonds and for 10,000 gold pounds per cubit if they are from the old mine. And that land belongs to Malek Khān<sup>241</sup>, a vassal of the Sultan, and it is 30 *kos* from Bidar.

And indeed the Jews call Shabait their own and Jewish, but that is a lie. The people of Shabait are not Jews or Moslems or Christians; they hold to another faith, the Indian faith and they do not eat or drink with Jews<sup>242</sup> or Moslems and they eat no meat. And all is cheap in Shabait and silk and sugar are grown and are very cheap. And in their woods roam wild cats and monkeys which attack people on the road, so that because of what the wild cats and monkeys do, no-one dares to go out at night. And from Shabait it is 10 months journey by land, and by sea it takes 4 months in a junk<sup>243</sup>. And they cut the navels from fattened deer and in these navels they find musk<sup>244</sup>, but the wild deer shed the navels themselves

in the fields or in the woods and the scent comes from them but it is not so fragrant as the fresh sort.

On the first day of May I kept Easter <sup>245</sup> in Moslem Bidar in Hendustān; the Moslems hold their Bayrām on a Wednesday in the month of May and I began my fast on the first day of the month of April.

O faithful Russian Christians, he who travels much to many lands <sup>246</sup> may fall into many sins and deprive himself of his Christian faith and I, Afanasy, a servant of *God* have pined for my Christian faith. Already Lent <sup>247</sup> and Easter have passed four times and I, sinner that I am, know not which is Easter, nor Lent, nor Christmas nor do I know any of the other festivals nor Wednesday nor Friday and I have no books <sup>248</sup> for when they robbed me they took my books. From many misfortunes I came to India for I had nothing to take to Russia nor had I any merchandise left. The first Easter found me in Kain <sup>250</sup>, the next Easter I was in Chebokar in the land of Māzandarān, the third Easter I was in Hormoz, and the fourth Easter found me in India with the Moslems in Bidar. And I wept bitterly for the Christian faith.

A Moslem called Malek <sup>251</sup> put much pressure on me to become a Moslem and I said unto him: "Sir, you perform your prayers and I do likewise; you recite five prayers and I recite three. I am a foreigner but you are of this land." He spake to me: "Truly thou seemest not to be a Mohammadan, but neither dost thou know the Christian faith."

I fell to pondering many things and I said to myself: "Woe unto me, cursed as I am, for I have strayed from the way of truth and I know not which path to take.

Lord God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth!

Turn not Thy face from Thy servant <sup>252</sup> who is nigh  
unto despair.

O Lord support me and have mercy upon me for Thou  
hast created me.

Lead me not away, O Lord, from the path of truth.  
and set me, O my God, in the way of righteousness.

For, in that predicament, I have done no good works  
for Thy sake, O Lord, my God,

and have lived all my days in evil, O my God.

O God, the Provider <sup>253</sup>, O Thou, the Most Highest,  
Merciful God, God the Most Highest,  
Merciful God, praise be to God."

Four Easter Sundays have I spent already in the land  
of the Moslems but I have not given up the Christian faith;  
God knows what the future will bring.

O Lord, my God, in Thee I trust.

Save me, O Lord, my God.

In Moslem India, in the great city of Bidar, I watched  
the heavens on Easter night; on Easter Day the Seven Sisters  
and the Hunter set at dawn and the head of the Great Bear <sup>254</sup> stood  
to the East.

During the Moslem Bayrām the Sultan went out in  
procession <sup>255</sup> and with him went 20 grand viziers <sup>256</sup>, and 300  
elephants arrayed in damask steel armour <sup>257</sup> and with turrets  
and the turrets were also bound with metal and in each turret  
were six men in armour, with heavy cannon and light cannon <sup>258</sup>.  
There are twelve men on the large elephants. Each elephant

bears two great standards and to its tusks are fixed two great swords, each weighing a *qentār* and from its trunk hang heavy iron weights and a man in armour sits between its ears with a great iron hook in his hand to drive it.

There are 1000 ordinary horses in golden trappings <sup>259</sup>, 100 camels with kettle drums and 300 trumpeters, 300 dancers and 300 *huris*.

And the Sultan wore a caftan all set with sapphires and a head-dress like a helmet <sup>260</sup> with a huge diamond and his *sagadak* <sup>261</sup> was gold set with sapphires and had three swords with golden mountings. His saddle was golden and his harness was golden and all was golden. Before him capers a *Kāfer* juggling with a sunshade and behind him are many men on foot and also a trained elephant all arrayed in damask and it strikes at people. It has a great iron chain in its mouth and it strikes at men and at horses so that no-one can approach near the Sultan.

And the brother of the Sultan sits on a golden litter and above him is a velvet baldaquin <sup>262</sup> and a velvet canopy set with sapphires and he is borne by 20 men. And the *Makhdum* <sup>263</sup> sits on a golden litter and above him is a silken baldaquin <sup>264</sup> with a golden canopy and he is drawn by four horses in golden trappings <sup>259</sup>. Around him is a very great multitude of people and before him go singers and many dancers and all have bare swords or sabres, shields, spears, lances and bows which are long and straight and the horses are all in armour and bear *sagadaks*. And some of the people are completely naked with a cloth about their bottoms to hide their shame.

In Bidar the full moon lasts three days. In Bidar there

are no sweet vegetables. In Hendustān there is no great heat; the heat is great in Hormoz, in Qatif-e Bahrayn <sup>265</sup>, where the pearls come from, and in Jedda <sup>266</sup>, and Bāku and Egypt and in Arabia <sup>267</sup> and in Lār. And in the land of Khorāsān it is hot but not so hot, but in Chaghatāi it is extremely hot and in Shirāz <sup>268</sup>, Yazd and Kāshān it is extremely hot, but there is a wind at times. In Gilān <sup>269</sup> it is very sultry and terribly steamy and in Shamākhi it is sweltering too. It is hot in Baghdād <sup>270</sup> and it is hot in Homs <sup>271</sup> and Damascus <sup>272</sup> but in Aleppo <sup>273</sup> it is not so hot. In Sivās <sup>274</sup>, however, and in the land of Georgia <sup>275</sup> there is an abundance of all good things and in the Turkish land <sup>276</sup> there is a great abundance and in the land of Walachia <sup>277</sup> there is abundance and all food-stuffs are cheap and the land of Podolia <sup>278</sup> is abundant in everything.

And may God protect the land of Russia,

O God protect it! O Lord protect it.

In this world there is no land like it, though the boyars of the Russian land are unrighteous.

May the land of Russia be well ordered and may righteousness be found there,

O God, God, God, God, God! <sup>279</sup>

I know not my way nor whither I may go from the land of Hendustān. I may go to Hormoz but from Hormoz to Khorāsān there is no way, nor is there a way to Chaghatāi; nor to Bodata <sup>280</sup> nor is there a way to Bahrayn, nor to Yazd, nor to Arabia, but there is conflict everywhere <sup>281</sup>, and the princes are all being thrown out. Uzun Hasan Beg has slain Mirzā Jahānshāh and poisoned Sultan Abu Sa'id <sup>282</sup>. Uzun Hasan Beg rules in Shirāz, but he is not firmly established there, and Mohammad

Haydar has not gone over to him but waits and watches. There is absolutely no other way.

If you go to Mecca you must accept the Moslem faith. Christians, therefore, do not go to Mecca because of their faith, that they may keep to their faith <sup>283</sup>.

I have spent all my wealth <sup>284</sup> to live in Hendustān for everything is very expensive there. I am a single man but I spent  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *altyns* per day to live and I drank neither wine nor mead.

Malek ot-Tojjār seized two Indian towns which were committing acts of piracy along the Indian Sea and he captured seven of their princes and he seized their treasures; a pack load of sapphires, a pack-load of diamonds and one of carbuncles and 100 pack-loads of valuable goods and his army seized an innumerable number of other goods. And he besieged the town for two years with his army of 200,000 men, 100 elephants and 300 camels. Malek ot-Tojjār arrived in Bidar with his army on the Qorbān Bayrām <sup>285</sup>, that is to say on St. Peter's Day <sup>286</sup> in Russia. And the Sultan sent ten viziers to meet him at a distance of 10 *kos* and there are about ten *verssts* to one *kos*, and each vizier took about ten thousand men of his own army and about 10 elephants in armour.

And 500 men sit at table <sup>287</sup> every day in the court of Malek ot-Tojjār, and at his table three viziers sit down with him and with each vizier are 50 men and his 100 noblemen who have sworn allegiance to him.

In his stables Malek ot-Tojjār has 2000 horses and 1000 of them stand saddled and ready, day and night, and there are 100 elephants in the stables. And all night long 100 men in

armour guard his gates with 20 trumpeters and 10 drummers and 10 great drums which are beaten by two men at a time.

Nezām ol-Molk <sup>288</sup>, Malek Khān <sup>289</sup> and Farhād Khān <sup>290</sup> captured three cities with their own army of 100,000 men and 50 elephants and they siezed innumerable sapphires and a great quantity of all kinds of precious stones and all these jewels, sapphires and diamonds, were bought for Malek ot-Tojjār and he commanded the craftsmen not to sell them to foreign merchants. They arrived in the city of Bidar on the Day of the Assumption.

The Sultan goes out hunting on Tuesdays and on Thursdays and is accompanied by three viziers. The Sultan's brother goes out on Mondays with his mother and sister and about 2000 women ride out on horses and on golden litters, and before them go 100 ordinary horses with golden trappings and a very great number of foot soldiers and two viziers and ten viziers and 50 elephants with cloth trappings, with four men sitting on each elephant, naked except for a cloth around their bottoms, and there are bare-footed women, bearing water for drinking and for washing (one man will not drink with another from one vessel).

Malek ot-Tojjār set out, with his own army, from the city of Bidar to fight the Indians on the feast day of Shaykh Alā od-Din, which is the Day of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin <sup>291</sup> in Russia, and the army which went with him numbered 50,000. The Sultan sent his army of 50,000, and with them went 3 viziers with 30,000, and 100 elephants went with them with turrets on their backs and arrayed in armour and 4 men rode on each elephant bearing light cannon. Malek ot-Tojjār went to wage war against the great Indian kingdom of Vijayanagar <sup>292</sup>.

The ruler of Vijayanagar had 300 elephants and an army

of 100,000 men and 50,000 horses. The Sultan left the city of Bidar in the eighth month after Easter, and 26 viziers went with him and 20 of the viziers were Moslems and 6 were Hindus. From the Sultan's household there went out 100,000 mounted men and 200,000 foot soldiers 300 elephants with turrets and armour and 100 wild beasts, each on two chains, and the Sultan's brother took 100,000 mounted men of his household and 100,000 foot soldiers and 100 elephants and 100 elephants arrayed in armour. And with Mal Khān <sup>293</sup> were 20,000 horsemen of his household and 60,000 foot soldiers and 20 caparisoned elephants. Badr Khān <sup>294</sup> led out 30,000 horsemen and, together with his brother, 100,000 foot soldiers and 25 elephants equipped with turrets. And with Salm Khān <sup>295</sup> went 10,000 horsemen of his household and 20,000 foot soldiers and 10 elephants equipped with turrets and a certain vizier <sup>296</sup> led out 15,000 horsemen and 30,000 foot soldiers and 15 caparisoned elephants. With the Kotwāl Khān <sup>297</sup> went 15,000 horsemen of his household, 40,000 foot soldiers and 100 elephants, and each vizier took with him 10,000 and sometimes even 15,000 horsemen and 20,000 foot soldiers.

And the Indian Autocrat <sup>298</sup> led out his host of 40,000 horsemen and 100,000 foot soldiers and 40 elephants in full armour, each carrying four men with small cannon.

26 viziers rode out with the Sultan and each vizier had 10,000 (horsemen) of his host and 20,000 foot soldiers, and certain of the viziers had 15,000 horsemen and 30,000 foot soldiers. The four great Indian viziers brought with them their force of 40,000 horsemen and 100,000 foot soldiers; and the Sultan was angry with the Indians for bringing so few with

them and he added a further 20,000 foot soldiers, 2,000 horsemen <sup>299</sup> and 20 elephants.

Such is the strength of the Mohammadan Sultan of India, and the Moslem faith suits him. And God knows the true faith, God alone knows the true faith <sup>300</sup>, the true faith is to acknowledge one God and to call upon His name in purity in every place.

On the fifth Easter Sunday I made up my mind to go back to Russia. I left the town of Bidar one month before the Moslem Ulugh Bayrām, according to the faith of Mohammad <sup>301</sup>, the prophet of God, and I knew not the great Christian Day, the Resurrection of Christ, and I fasted with the Moslems at their fasts and I broke my fast with them. And I kept Easter at Golbargā, 20 kos from Bidar.

The Sultan reached Malek ot-Tojjār with his army on the 15th day after Ulugh Bayrām in Golbargā, but the campaign was not a success for him for they only took one Indian town and many men were killed and many treasures lost. The Indian Sultan Kadamba <sup>302</sup> is very powerful and his army is very great and he abides on a mountain top in Vijayanagar. His city is very large and it is surrounded by three ditches and through it runs a river; on the one side is an impenetrable jungle <sup>303</sup> and on the other side is a valley, a very marvellous place and very good in every way. But on that side there is no way to approach. The road runs through the city but there is no way to take it for a great mountain stands right up to it and there is thorny scrub <sup>304</sup>. The army besieged the city for a month and the people perished of thirst; many men died of hunger and thirst; the water could be seen but there was no way to reach it. Hājji Malek ot-Tojjār took this Indian city

and he took it by force. Day and night for 20 days he struggled for the city, and his army neither drank nor ate but besieged the city with cannon. His army lost 5,000 good men but they took the city. And they cut down 20,000 head of the population, men and women, and they took 20,000 captives, adults and children, and sold them as slaves at 10 *tenka* per head and others at 5 *tenka* and the children for 2 *tenka* but there was no treasure there but they did not take the great citadel.

And from Golbargā I went to Kurnool <sup>305</sup> and in Kurnool they find cornelians and they sort them there and thence they send them out all over the world; and in Kurnool there are 300 diamond merchants cutting the stones <sup>306</sup>. There I spent 5 months, and I went thence to Golconda <sup>307</sup> where there is a very large bazaar. From there I went to Golbargā and from Golbargā I went to Shaykh Alā od-Din; and from Shaykh Alā od-Din I went to Amindria <sup>308</sup> and from Amindria to Kynarias <sup>309</sup> and from Kynarias to Surat <sup>310</sup>; and from Surat I went to Dābol, a harbour on the great Indian Sea.

Dābol is a very large town and they gather there from all over the coast of India and Ethiopia and there I, Afanasy, the accursed servant of Almighty God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, pondered on the Christian faith and on Christian baptism, on the fasts ordained by the Holy Fathers and on the Commandments of the Apostles and my mind was set on returning to Russia.

I embarked in a *tava* and after discussing the fare <sup>311</sup>, I paid two pieces of gold to be carried to Hormoz. I boarded the vessel from the town of Dābol three months before

Easter Day - the Moslem Fast; and I was one month at sea in the *tava* but I saw nothing and the next month I sighted the mountains of Ethiopia. And all the men cried out "Allāh Parvardagār, Allāh Konkār, bizim bashi mudna nasip bolmyshti,"<sup>312</sup> which in the Russian language means "O Lord God, O God, God the Most High, Heavenly King, Thou has ordained that we must die here." And we were in the land of Ethiopia 5 days and, by God's mercy, no evil befell us and we distributed much rice, pepper and bread to the Ethiopians and they did not rob our ship. And thence I journeyed 12 days to Masqat and I kept my sixth Easter in Masqat and I journeyed to Hormoz in nine days and spent 20 days in Hormoz. From Hormoz I went to Lār and spent 3 days in Lār.

From Lār I journeyed 12 days to Shirāz and I spent 7 days in Shirāz. From Shirāz I journeyed 15 days to Abarguh<sup>313</sup> and spent 10 days in Abarguh. From Abarguh I travelled 9 days to Yazd and spent 8 days in Yazd and from Yazd I travelled<sup>314</sup> 5 days to Esfahān<sup>315</sup> and spent 6 days in Esfahān. And from Esfahān I went to Kāshān and spent 5 days in Kāshān. And from Kāshān I travelled to Qom<sup>316</sup>. And from Qom I went to Sāva<sup>317</sup>. And from Sāva I travelled to Soltāniya<sup>318</sup>. And from Soltāniya I went to Tabriz<sup>319</sup> and from Tabriz I went to the *ordu* of Hasan Beg<sup>320</sup>, and I spent 10 days in the *ordu* because there was no way open from there. And he sent his own army of 40,000 men against the Turk<sup>321</sup> and they took the town of Sivās and they took Tokat<sup>322</sup> and burned it and they took Amasiya<sup>323</sup> and ravaged many villages and they marched, fighting against Karaman<sup>324</sup>.

And from the *ordu* I went to Erzincan<sup>325</sup> and from Erzincan to Trebizond<sup>326</sup>. And I arrived in Trebizond on the

Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Mother of God, the Virgin Mary,<sup>327</sup> and I spent 5 days in Trebizond. And I took ship and, having discussed the fare I paid one gold piece to go to Kaffa<sup>328</sup> with a toll<sup>329</sup> of one gold piece to be paid in Kaffa.

In Trebizond the Subashi<sup>330</sup> and the Pasha<sup>331</sup> did me much harm<sup>332</sup>; they took all my things to their town on the top of the hill<sup>333</sup> and searched through them all. They stole all the fine things I had and they were looking for documents, for I had come from the *ordu* of Hasan Beg.

By the Grace of God I had reached the third sea, the Black Sea<sup>334</sup>, called in the Persian tongue, the Daryā Stambolskaya. And we sailed 5 days<sup>335</sup> before the wind and reached Vonada<sup>336</sup> but there we encountered a strong northerly wind which blew us back to Trebizond. And we remained 15 days in Platana<sup>337</sup> for the wind was strong and adverse and from Platana we twice put to sea but met with head winds which would not permit us to cross the sea.

O the true God, God the Protector. I know no other God but Him.

And we crossed the sea to Balaclava<sup>338</sup> and thence to Gurzuf<sup>339</sup> and spent 5 days there. By the mercy of God I reached Kaffa 9 days before the Feast of St. Philip.

God the Creator!

By the Grace of God I crossed three seas.

For the rest, God knows,

God the All-Powerful and the Protector. Amen.

In the name of God, the Merciful and the Gracious <sup>340</sup>  
God is Great! God is Kind! <sup>341</sup> The Lord is Kind!  
Jesus is the Spirit of God <sup>342</sup>.

Peace be unto Thee.

God is Great! There is no God but Allah the Creator.  
Sing praises to God, Praise God!

In the name of God, the Merciful and the Gracious!  
He is God, like unto Whom there is no other,  
Who knows all things visible and invisible;  
He is Merciful and Gracious;  
He is the God, like unto whom there is none other.  
He is the King, the Light, the World, the Saviour, the  
Guardian.

He is Glorious, Powerful, Great, the Creator, the  
Founder, the Maker;

He is the Pardoner of sins and the Chastiser;  
He is the Giver, the Provider, the One who puts an  
end to all tribulations.

He is Wise; He accepts our souls;  
He encompasseth the Heaven and the Earth and all  
Creation.

He is the most High, the Ennobling One, the Overthrower,  
The All-hearing and All-seeing.

He is the Just and Blessed Judge.

3. COMMENTARY NOTES ON THE TEXT

In this section the following abbreviations are used for the various texts :

T	-	Troitsky
A	-	Archive
E	-	Etterov
U	-	Undolsky
S	-	Sakharov.

1. This introductory paragraph is only found in the Archive and Etterov copies of the text and it is found in those chronicles under the entries for the year 1475.
2. Tveritina: = of Tver (for general background see "Nikitin in Russia - historical and geographical background" pp 117-123. For further information on the city see notes p. 132).
3. Vasilii Papin - Vasily Papin was an envoy from Ivan III to the court of the Shirvān Shāh, Farrokh-Yasār, in Shamākhi. He was killed near Kazan between 1466-1470.
4. Velikii knyaz' - Ivan III Vasil'evich who ruled from 1462-1505. At this time the ruler of the Principality of Muscovy was not yet referred to as Tsar. Mikhail Borisovich was still Grand Prince of Tver at this time.
5. Ordu - from T-Mong. 'ordu' originally meaning the mobile camp of the nomadic Tatar khāns and princes and their followers. The word has passed into English as horde, cf the Golden Horde. As the word horde has come to mean something rather different in English, the word ordu will be used in this text, both in its original meaning of a mobile camp, and, as on this occasion, in its wider meaning of all the territory and people under a certain khān.
6. Kazan' - see "Nikitin in the Khānates" p 141.
7. Knyaz' Yurii - Prince Georgy Vasil'evich (1441-1473),

younger son of Grand Prince Vasily Vasil'evich Temny, who took part in the campaigns against Kazan and Novgorod in 1473-147

8. Vasilii Mamyrev : was appointed dyak (see note 9 below) to Ivan III and was one of the most learned men of his time in Russia. He was born in 1430 and died in 1490 and was buried at the Troitse-Sergiev Monastery near Zagorsk, where at least one copy of the Khozhenie was preserved (see section on "History of the texts"). He was apparently appointed dyak a few years before the merchants brought him Nikitin's notebooks and he was one of the men who managed the Grand Prince's Treasury. He had begun his court service at about the age of 23, when he had copied out church writings for Grand Prince Vasily Vasil'evich Temny. These bear witness to the fact that he was conversant with both the Greek language and Byzantine script and also with the Permian alphabet. Furthermore these documents were also delicately illustrated by him with headpieces and margins decorated with little fishes. His knowledge of Greek has led to speculation that he had spent some time in Athens in his youth and N.I. Prokofev<sup>1</sup> goes so far as to suggest that he had visited the Near East. The presence of the copy of the Khozhenie in the monastery where he died is surely no coincidence.

9. Dyak - the dyak directed the external affairs of the Grand Principality of Moscow. Merchants played an important role in these affairs and they participated in most visits by envoys, either to or from Russia<sup>2</sup>.

10. The passage between asterisks is not included in the Chronicle texts. It is in fact similar to the form of words used at the beginning of some Orthodox services. Such forms of words were sometimes introduced into secular literature.

11. More Derben'skoe, doriya Khvalit'skaa : both terms refer to the Caspian Sea on which Darband is situated. Doriya - from the Persian term daryā, meaning sea. This is the first of many Persian terms used by Nikitin.

Khvalit'skaa - this should read Khvalisskoe, from the Greek form Khvalisy, the name of an Orthodox bishopric. The whereabouts of Khvalisy are not certain but according to the Byzantine specialists Yu. A. Kulakovsky and A.A. Vasilev, it was probably Khvaly at the mouth of the Volga. V.V. Bartold however suggested that the term means of Khorezm from the Arabic form Khvārezm and according to I.P. Petrushevsky<sup>3</sup> this is now the accepted derivation.

12. More Chernoe, doriya Stem'bol'skaa - the Black Sea. The Sea was known under many names, the majority of which referred to Istanbul under one of its various guises. The variation Istanbul and Stamboul are Turkish forms of the earlier Greek name "Eistimpolis".

13. Svyatago spasa zlatoverkhago - the Cathedral of Tver, dedicated to the Holy Saviour. Hence the Princes of Tver were known as the House of the Holy Saviour.

14. Gosudarya svoego - the omission of this phrase in the Troitsky version and its allied versions is considered very important as it demonstrates the theory that they were copied and produced in a part of the country intent on pleasing the Muscovites and unwilling, therefore, to mention that Tver was at that time an independent principality.

15. Mikhaila Borisovich Tverskago - Grand Prince of Tver from 1461 - 1485. See also the background notes pages 120-122.

16. Ot Vladyky Genadiya - Gennady was the Bishop of Tver.

17. Boris Zakharich - Boris Zakharich Borozdin was a military leader (voevod) in Tver and in 1447 he was sent with his brother to the aid of Vasily Vasil'evich of Moscow and earned the epithet of "the strong and mighty". He was a powerful political figure and the omission of his name in the Troitsky and related texts is another pointer to the Muscovite leanings of the scribe of those texts.

Boris Zakharich had three sons who were by descent boyars

in both Tver and Moscow and were among the first members of the nobility of Tver to take service with Moscow where they became quite powerful <sup>4</sup>.

At the time of Nikitin's departure he was obviously an important personage in the city of Tver and he may even have entrusted some goods to Nikitin.

18. Monastyr' Kalyazin - The Monastery dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb at Kalyazin. It was founded in 1459 by Makarius on the bank of the Volga opposite the city and is called the Makarevsky Monastery after its founder. A church stands there dedicated to Boris and Gleb, the sons of Vladimir Syvatoslavich, who were killed by their brother Svyatopolk in 1015 after the death of their father. They were counted among the saints as early as the 11th century and were very popular.

19. U igumena ... u Makariya - of the Abbot Makarius i.e. the founder of the Monastery.

20. Kolyazin - Kalyazin - see p. 134.

21. Uglech' - Uglich - see p. 134.

22. Kostroma - see p. 134.

23. Ko knyazyu Aleksandru, s' ynoyu gramotoyu. I knyaz' veliki otpustil' mya vseya Rusi - Troitsky version.  
Ko knyazyu Oleksandru s' inoyu gramotoyu knyazya velikago i otpustil' mya. - Chronicle versions.

Prince Aleksander appears to have been the local "vice-regent" of the Grand Prince of Muscovy in Kostroma. The interpretation of the rest of the passage is far from agreed. The crux of the matter is whether the "further Permit" was issued by the Grand Prince of Tver or the Grand Prince of Muscovy. This would be significant as it would indicate that the Grand Prince of Tver still retained sufficient political independence to issue permits which would be valid even outside his own domains.

Ya S. Luria <sup>5</sup> points to this as a further instance of

the omission of references to Tver and its Grand Prince, which has been noted above. He takes the view that the Chronicle texts best reflect Nikitin's notes and that this is certainly a reference to Mikhail Borisovich of Tver and not to Ivan III Vasil'evich and that the phrase "of all the Russias" was added by the copyist of the Troitsky version.

If one accepts that the earlier references to Tver and its leaders in the Chronicle texts are authentic, then it seems reasonable to accept the Chronicle versions here also. One feels that some modern commentators are over enthusiastic in their acceptance of the Troitsky version because of a desire to depict Nikitin as a Russian patriot. A.I. Pashkova<sup>6</sup> states that Nikitin felt himself to be a representative of the whole of Russia and other commentators make similar remarks. There can be no doubt, on reading the Khozhenie that Nikitin loved Russia but one cannot really doubt either that he felt great loyalty also to his home town of Tver.

24. Pleso: - Ples: see p. 135.

25. V' Nov'gorod' Nizhnei - Nizhni Novgorod: see pp 135-136.

26. K Mikhailu k Kiselevu k namestniku - According to Prokof'ev<sup>7</sup> Mikhail Kiselev was the local ruler of Nizhni Novgorod under Ivan II Vasil'evich of Muscovy. The Russian term namestnik is translated as deputy or vice-regent and in this case there is no doubt that allegiance was owed to Muscovy. It is interesting to note however that the words k namestniku do not occur in the Etterov copy which may point to the reverse of the tendency referred to in the notes above.

27. Ivan Saraev - nothing more is known of him.

28. Hasan Beg was the envoy sent by Farrokh-Yasār to the court of Ivan III prior to 1466. Vasily Papin was sent to the court of the Shirvān - Shāh in answer to this embassy. A few years later, in 1475, the Venetian envoy to the court of Uzun Hasan of the Aq Qoyunlu (see background notes p. 157), Contarini mentioned another envoy from Ivan III, Marco Rosso,

who had been sent to the courts of Uzun Hasan and the Shirvān - Shāh, Farrokh-Yasār.

It is clear that Nikitin and other merchants intended to travel with the envoys, presumably seeking safety in numbers. Tver had had links with Central Asia for some years for, in 1445, Shāh-Rokh, the Timurid ruler of Khorāsān had sent an ambassador to the court of Grand Prince Boris Aleksandrovich of Tver.

29. The Troitsky text simply gives "and we passed through Kazan", the Orda, Uslan, Sarāi and Berekezany without hindrance". The Chronicle text is more ornate and it seems probable that the original version was not very clear here and that both versions reflect elements of the original. The present translation brings both versions together.

30. Uslan' - Uslan: see p. 142.

31. Sarai - Sarāi: see pp 142-143.

32. Berekezany: see p. 143.

33. Buzan'reka - the River Buzan: see p. 143.

34. Kaisym' soltan' - Sultan Qāsem, grandson of Khān Kuchuk Mohammad (1423-1460) of the Golden Horde. Qāsem became the first Khān of Ashtarkhān in about 1466.

35. Odnoryadka - a man's long, loose outer garment with wide sleeves and no collar rather like a caftan.

36. Az'tarkhan, Khaz'torokhan' - Russian - Astrakhan; Persian - Ashtarkhān: see p. 143. Throughout the text of the Khozhenie and the historical background notes the town will be referred to by its Persian name as the area was not at that time under Russian control.

37. Tsar' - According to J. Fennell the term 'tsar' was only used at this period for the Tatar king to whom Muscovy

paid tribute.

38. Kach'ma, ne begaite - Kach'ma - a Turkic word meaning Don't run. This is the first of many such foreign words used in the text.

39. Bugun - Begun: see p. 144.

40. Yez, yaz: a fish-trap consisting of bundles of brushwood covered in earth. Many similar traps are in use today.

41. Derben't - Darband: see p. 148.

42. Teziky - Taziki or Tājiki. The term was apparently used in Persian sources not only for the Central Asian Tājik, i.e. non-Turkish people, but also for Iranian people in general. In Russia and the Volga lands it was used to describe merchants from Central Asia or Iran.

43. Furstovina - a storm at sea from Italian fortuna (storm) from Latin fortuna = fate. The word occurs with this meaning in Modern Greek and furtovina = storm in Ukrainian. This word, together with other Italian, Old French and Greek words, was part of a Mediterranean "Lingua Franca" which developed during the period of the Crusades and spread as far as India. This no doubt spread to the Black Sea trading ports of the Venetians and Genoese and it may have been there that Nikitin became familiar with it on previous trading expeditions.

44. Tarkhi: see p. 149.

45. Kaitaki = inhabitants of the province and principality of Qaytāq in W. Dāghestān, North West of Darband (see also background notes p. 147).

46. Bulat-Beg. We had no information about his identity but he may well have been a local Amir. The title may well have been Pulād Beg (P. pulād = steel).

47. Versions T & U have skoro da i.e. swiftly here. Versions A & E have skorokhoda i.e. a foot messenger which seems probable.
48. Alil'beg kaitacheskii knyaz' - Khalil Beg, prince of the Qaytāqs: see p. 147.
49. Here Nikitin uses two synonymous words for the "camps" of a local ruler or amir. The word orda is from the Turko-Mongolian ordu while koitul comes from the Turkic. The term koitul occurs in the writings of Abd or Razzāq and other authors. The term orda was of course familiar to Russians in the 15th century as it was used for the moveable camps of the Tatar Khāns from which usage is derived the English term horde as in the Golden Horde.  
(For more information on the Shirvān - Shāh and his orda see background notes pp 146 & 150).
50. Shamakheya - Shamākhi: see p. 149.
51. Baku - see p. 149.
52. Chebokar: see p. 158.
53. Sara - Sāri: see p. 159.
54. Mazandaran'skaya zemlya - the land of Māzandarān: see p. 159.
55. Amil' - Āmol: see p. 159.
56. Dimobant - Demovānd: see p. 160.
57. Rei, Drei - Rayy: see pp 160 - 162.
58. Tu ubili Shausenya Aleevykh detei - there they killed the children of Shāh Hosayn Ali: see pp 161 - 162.
59. At this point in the U version there has been added the

phrase "and thus the heathen act in their sorcery." This however seems unlikely to have appeared in the original and is much more in keeping with the "hard line approach" to religious matters - see section on "The history of the text" pp 23 - 24.

60. Kashen' - Kāshān: see pp 162 - 163.
61. Nain - Nā'in: see p. 163.
62. Ezdei - Yazd: see pp 163 - 164.
63. Syrchan - Sirjān: see p. 164.
64. Tarom, Torom - Tārom: see pp 164 - 165.
65. Altyn - this was an old Russian coin worth 3 copecks.
66. Batman - an old Iranian measure of weight, varying from place to place from 3 kilos upwards.
67. Lar - Lār: see p. 165.
68. Bender' - Bandar: see p. 166.
69. Pristanische Gurmyz'skoe, Gurmyz - Hormoz: see pp 165-168.
70. Par'seiskym yazykom - the Parsi or Farsi language, i.e. Persian. It is apparent from the phrases which Nikitin introduces that he had a reasonable command of this language.
71. Milya - this was a term from the Latin languages which had entered both the Arabian and Persian tongues as mil, meaning a long or nautical mile. Arab and Persian geographers took 1 farsang to equal 4 nautical miles or  $6\frac{1}{2}$  - 8 kilometres. One milya was therefore approximately  $1\frac{3}{4}$  km. This is a relatively rare use by Nikitin of an actual measurement of distance. Nikitin's estimate of the distance between the old port on the coast and New Hormoz on an island is at variance

with those of Odoric and Ebn Battuta.

72. Velik den - Easter. It is Nikitin's habit, in common with many of his contemporaries, to record the passing of time by the great church festivals. It should be noted that the Chronicle versions of the text call this the "First Great Day" - namely the first Easter en route, but this is not correct.

73. Radonitsa - this term is used for the week after Easter in the Chronicle versions of the text, whilst the Troitsky and Undolsky versions call it St. Thomas' week. This is a point in which the Chronicle versions probably follow Nikitin's own less formal usage whilst the Troitsky and Undolsky have been "tidied up" by monkish scribes.

74. Tava - According to Minaev a tava or dabba was a boat plying off the Mahrāthi coast but it is also possible that the term was much more widely used in the languages of Western Asia and the Mediterranean.

75. Moshkat - Masqat: see p. 168.

76. Dega: - see p. 187.

77. Kuzryat, Kuzhzryat, Kuch'ryat - Gojarāt: see p. 186.

78. Kanbat, Konbat - Cambay: see pp 187 - 188.

79. Tut sya rodit'kraska dalek. This phrase has given rise to much discussion as to its correct interpretation. Yu. N. Zavadovsky<sup>8</sup> seems to have produced the most satisfactory solution, which was adopted by Petrushevsky in his notes on the 1958 Academy edition. He suggests that Lek is lac, the product of the Coccus lacca. This material was mentioned by Nicoló de'Conti as available in Calicut. It corresponds to the modern shellac used in the preparation of lacquers and polishes which is obtained from insects in the Coccidae or scale insect group which feed on trees of the Acacia family and produce a scaly covering of amber-like material which is

the basis of shellac.

One is therefore left with the problem of the term kraska which in Russian normally means simply dye or colour. However, on a later occasion Nikitin refers to kraska nil, nil being the Persian and Sanskrit word for indigo, and therefore the editors of the 1958 Academy edition have assumed that he either had indigo clearly in mind here or that the word nil was dropped from the original copy of the notebooks by mistake. Indigo was one of the main export products of India at that time.

80. Chivil', Chyuvil' - Chaul: see p. 188.

81. Here the Undolsky version gives with horses but this seems to be an erroneous echo of the first mention of the tava.

82. The text makes no mention of women, as such, but the subsequent details make it clear that Nikitin had women in mind.

83. Muzhiki i zhonki - this in the Chronicle texts while T & U give muzhi i zheni. The former probably reflects Nikitin's own vernacular and possibly expresses some of his attitude to the Indian natives.

84. Fota - Pers. Ar. futa, and futa or dhoti, a strip of material wound round the naked loins. Also a light material from which Moslem turbans were made. The word entered the Russian language with the meaning shawl or veil.

85. Guzno - thus in the Chronicle versions whilst the T & U versions use the term bedro. The former may be translated as arse or bottom etc. whilst the latter means thighs or hips. Here again the Chronicle version is probably closer to Nikitin's vernacular.

86. Boyare - Nikitin uses the Russian term for the nobles of the Indian court.

87. Bolkaty - this term has been the subject of much

discussion but the latest dictionary of Old Russian states firmly that at this period it meant dark-skinned.

88. Sostsi - Chronicle versions, T & U - grudi. A further example of literary adjustment.

89. Pali: see p. 189.

90. Chronicle versions here give to indeiskie gorody but T & U give do indeiskiia gory i.e. to the Indian mountains (which might mean the Western Ghats). Commentators are divided as to which is the correct phrase, but as the phrase to est'gorod Indeiskyi occurs in all versions after the next comment, it seems likely that towns rather than mountains are meant here.

91. Umri - Umra: see p. 189.

92. Chyuneir', Chyuner' - Jonnar: see pp 189 - 190.

93. T & U give 6 days.

94. Asat'khan Chyuner 'skyya indeiskyya - Khān Asad of Indian Jonnar: a local governor and actually a vassal of Mohammad Shāh III, the ruler of the Bahmani kingdom. Nikitin comes close to the truth when he calls him a "vassal of the Malek ot-Tojjār " (Mahmud Gāwān - see below) for the latter did indeed wield much of the real power in the state. (see pp 185-186).

95. Meliktuchar - Malek ot-Tojjār: this title means Prince of the Merchants and was bestowed on Hājji Mahmud Gāwān, a vizier and high ranking courtier at the Bahmani court. see pp 185 - 186.

96. Tma - from Mongol tumān; this word entered many Turkic languages with the meaning multitude, ten thousand, or thousand. As tumān it entered Persian and Arabic tongues, and after the Mongol conquest it had a variety of well-established meanings. 1) 10,000 (i.e. men, dinars), 2) a 10,000 strong unit of the army, 3) a military or

administrative district (or nomadic tribe) nominally able to supply 10,000 warriors, 4) a district of 100 villages (in Central Asia only). It is of course impossible to say which was Nikitin's meaning but it is clear that the Khān was a powerful ruler.

97. Kafary, Kofary - the term comes from the Arabic kāfer and originally meant ungrateful (i.e. to God for his revelation of the Qor'ān). Later it meant unbeliever and it is in this sense which it is used here for the independent Hindu states which had been fighting the Moslems for many years.

98. Khorazansti - Khorāsānians - in this context Moslems of the governing class, probably of Turkic - Persian stock, and not just from the region of Khorāsān.

99. Khorosan'skaya zemlya - Khorāsān: see pp 155 - 156.

100. Oraban'skaya, Orapskaya zemlya - Arabia: see p. 169.

101. Turkemenskaya, Turkmenskaya zemlya - Torkestān: see p.169.

102. Chegotan'skaya zemlya - Chaghatai: see p. 169.

103. A privozyat vse - whilst the translation they are all brought by sea tends to make this sound like a slave trade, this was probably not the case. Most of this group seems to have consisted of mercenaries, courtiers and professional men.

104. Zima - by winter Nikitin here means the monsoon period in India, which lasts from June to October and is accompanied by very heavy rainfall. According to Sreznevsky the Feast of the Trinity fell on 21st May.

105. Tuturgan - one of the words which give rise to much speculation. However, S.E. Malov<sup>9</sup> deals fully with the problem and Petrushevsky seems to accept his theory in his notes on the 1958 Academy edition. Malov points out that the word tuturkan meaning rice was used by Mahmud Kāshghari in the 11th century and occurs in the Codex Comanicus (of the

Polovtsian language) in the 13th and 14th centuries, whilst tuturgan and tutuga both mean rice in Mongolian languages.

106. Nogut - from Persian nokhod = peas.

107. Vino zhe u nikh' chinyat v' velikykh oresekh kozi gundustan'skaa. This phrase has given rise to some speculation. Minaev, the Academy edition of 1948 and R.H. Major all take it to mean that the wine is prepared in large wine skins (probably goat skins), basing this on the word in Gojarati meaning a fleecy skin. Yu. N. Zavadovsky<sup>10</sup> points out that a more logical explanation is that kozi gundustan'skaa comes from the Persian words Jowze hindi meaning Indian nuts and that the phrase therefore means "They prepare wine in the large nuts of the coco-palm". He further points out that there is nothing unusual about the use of these shells as vessels or crockery.

108. a bragu chinyat' v tatnu - braga in Russian is a home brewed beer, and in this context probably any alcoholic drink. The meaning of tatna is less certain, some authorities believing it refers to a vessel and others to an intoxicating beverage. The most likely derivation seems to be from tari or tadi, now usually known as toddy, a drink prepared from the bark of the palmyra palm.

109. Kichiris' - this is surely a variation of that old favourite kedgeree (from Indian Khechri), but in a less elaborate version of the dish than that which graced the tables of the British Raj. The main ingredients of kedgeree or kitcheri are rice, lentils, butter and spices. Both Marco Polo and 'Abd or-Razzaq say that in India it was customarily fed to horses.

110. Sheshni - cooked rice cakes.

111. Shitel - Turkic a silver coin.

112. The first passage in "basic Islamic" and one which has caused obvious embarrassment among the commentators on and translators of the Khozhenie, most of whom have preferred to

ignore it. The translation here is based on the Modern Russian translation in the 1958 Academy edition.

113. Boyare - Nikitin uses the familiar Russian word to describe the Indian upper or courtier class, though in fact these lords were not identical in role to the Russian Boyars.

114. Kaftan - a long coat similiar to that worn in many parts of the Middle East to this day.

115. Olo, olo, abr' olo ak, olo kerim, olo ragym - Arabic Allah, Allah akbar, Allah Hakk, Allah kerim, Allah rahim - O God, God the Most Great, God the Truth, God the Generous, God the Merciful. A typical Moslem prayer.

116. V Makhmet deni from Ar-T Mohammad-dini = the Mohammanan faith i.e. Islam. According to Islamic law, infidels of the possessors of scripture category (i.e. Christians) had freedom of worship and constant protection of the law only if they were subjects of a Moslem government and paid the poll tax levied on infidels. Mosta'mens, i.e. infidels from "Kāfer lands" living in Moslem lands, whether for trade or other reasons, were protected by law for one year, after which they either had to leave, accept Islam, or become a "Zimmi", otherwise they were liable to be made into slaves. It is possible that the Khān tried to secure Nikitin's conversion on this ground. However, in practice this law was often not observed.

117. Spasov den - The Feast of Our Saviour - R.H. Major gives it as 18th August. This was a particularly important festival in Nikitin's home town of Tver where the main Church was the "Spas Zlatoverk<sup>h</sup>ii".

118. B Gospozhino goveino - thus in the Chronicle versions Our Lady's Feast, a more colloquial version than T & U V Goveino Uspenii - the Feast of the Assumption.

119. Khozyaiochi Makhmet - The Academy edition of 1948 gives 2 possible derivations for Makhmet's (Mohammad's) title -

1) from the Arabic word for treasurer - khāzen (used also in Persian and Turkish). 2) from the Persian Khōja' or khwāja = elder, gentleman or high official, (according to Petrushevsky applied in the 15th century to an official, religious leader or an important merchant). The Russian word khozyain (boss) came from this root. This also seems the most likely derivation.

120. The identity of these pirates remains a mystery. The Academy edition identifies them as Hindus in which case they may have been descendants of the pirates of Gojarāt mentioned by Marco Polo, but presumably driven further south by this time to the coast of Vijayanagar. They might, however, have come from the African coast - Marco Polo mentions the importance of Socotra as a clearing house for stolen goods.

121. Ni Makhmetya ne znayut' - these words occur in versions A and E.

122. T/U Uspenie Prechistye - A/E/S Ospozhine den' - The Feast of the Assumption. Here again the Chronicle texts give the more colloquial version of the name of the Feast Day which is probably the original. The more literary form may well have been substituted by some monastic copyist. The date of the Feast is August 15th. By this time the worst of the monsoon weather would be over.

123. Beder' - Bidar: see pp 191 - 192.

124. Kulonker', Kulonger' - Kulungir: see p. 192.

125. Kel'berg, Kelyberg, Kel'berkh - Golbargā: see p. 192.

126. E. Promezhu tekh velikikh gradov mnogo gorodov - It seems possible that this distinction which occurs in the E/S texts between gradov and gorodov was Nikitin's original and made a distinction between large and small towns.

127. Kov = kos, a measurement of length in the Indian languages varying in different parts of India from 6.5 km to 15 km. For

Nikitin the average length seems to have been 10 versts.

128. This phrase occurs only in the T/U versions and it seems quite possible that it may be an erroneous repetition by some scribe.

129. Kamka from Persian kamkhā or kimkha - an embroidered golden silk brocade well known in Russia <sup>11</sup>.

130. Minaev <sup>12</sup> points out that these swift foot-soldiers were probably members of the brave Aryan race of the Mahrattas, as this region was on the border of the area occupied by the Dravidian race. He points out that it is still possible to discern the brave and swift step of this warlike tribe despite their present poverty.

131. Kentar - Ar. Qentār (from Latin centarium) - a measure of weight, differing from place to place from 50 kg. upwards, usually about 100 kg.

132. Gorodok - the Russian word used by Nikitin means literally citadel, fortress, turret and in this context describes, no doubt, the howdah.

133. Pushki - this is a fairly early reference to firearms in the Russian language (first referred to in 1376 at the siege of Bolghar). At this time there was a famous cannon foundry at Nikitin's home city of Tver.

134. Shikhb Aludin - Shaykh 'Alā od-Din: see pp 181 - 182.

135. Alyadinand, Alyand - Alland: see pp 192 - 193.

136. Prazdnik Pokrov Svyatyya Bogoroditsa - The Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Mother of God - October 15th.

137. Gukuk - This is probably the Indian Great Horned Owl or possibly the Brown Fish Owl. According to Salim Ali <sup>13</sup> the former (Bubo bubo) is called in Hindi Ghughu. It is described as mainly nocturnal and distributed throughout India. Its call

is a deep solemn, resounding "bu-bo" (with the second syllable much prolonged, not loud but with a curiously penetrating quality). The latter (*Ketupa Zeylonensis* - Hindi: Amrai-ka-ghughu) is said to have a deep, hollow, moaning call "boom-o-boom" with a peculiar eerie and ventriloquistic quality uttered at sundown, on leaving the daytime retreat and during the night and early morning.

Yu.N. Zavadovsky<sup>14</sup> identifies the Gukuk as the Eagle Owl, and points out that it is still regarded as a bird of ill-omen in India. Owls of course have been regarded thus in many countries, including Britain. S.A. Zenkovsky's comment<sup>16</sup> "This is one of the rare instances when Nikitin relates local fantastic stories" seems rather scathing - indeed in view of the impression made on Salim Ali, a modern ornithologist, by the cries of these birds it seems hardly surprising that they give rise to strange superstitions. Harder to understand is the legend of the bird spitting fire when attacked but it may have arisen from the bright glow given by a owl's eyes when caught in a light.

Whilst Nikitin's accounts of owls and monkey legends (see below) may seem like fantastic stories, they are really quite mild examples of the kind of superstition which was widespread and common in the Middle Ages and still exists today both in the Western world and in many of the less developed countries.

138. Mamon - Few passages in the Khozhenie cause such extreme disagreement between commentators as this. The word mamony is variously translated as wild cat, monkey and snake. The earliest authority at our disposal, R.H. Major in his translation of 1857, gives wild cats without further comment. Sreznevsky<sup>16</sup> interprets the word as monkeys quoting various Western names showing some similarity. However he also quotes Varthema who refers to gatti maimoni - which is to say Maimon cats. This immediately introduces an element of doubt and Sreznevsky expands on this. Minaev refers to this passage but points out that Nikitin himself draws a distinction between the mamon and the monkeys which he calls obez'yany. He believes the word to be derived from the Hindi mamun meaning a snake and suggests that these are the same snakes referred to by Nikitin later.

I.P. Petrushevsky in his note in the Academy edition of 1958 reviews the various suggestions and appears to lean towards the suggestion that it does mean a wild cat, descended from Mongolian manul and referring to Felis Manul, the steppe cat.

Probably the most thorough examination of the question is given by S.E. Malov <sup>17</sup> in his article "Tyurkizmy v starorussskom yazyke", referring to the 1948 Academy edition. In that edition the word was said to be either monkey (from the Arabic - maymūn) or snake (from the Hindi), with a reference to the translation wild cats in Major's English version, with the comment that this was an entirely baseless reading. Malov, however, thinks this is the correct translation. He says that the wild steppe cat of Middle and Central Asia is called Felis Manul. This was said to come from the Kazakh word mangyl meaning swift, an explanation not accepted by Malov.

Vitashevskaya appears to ignore the whole question and offers no explanation. Zenkovsky <sup>18</sup> in the 1974 edition of Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales gives the translation snakes without any explanation.

Whilst all these authorities argue about the meaning of this word it does seem worthwhile looking at this sentence from a naturalist's point of view and seeing which animal's behaviour is most likely to fit in with Nikitin's phrase. Monkeys are not particularly nocturnal in their habits nor is the catching of birds one of their usual traits. Snakes certainly are nocturnal and some do eat birds but the description does seem to fit the members of the cat family better than any other creature.

Another traveller to India also seems to have been somewhat bemused by the wild life. Marco Polo wrote :

"There are beasts of various sorts, notably monkeys, some of them of such distinct appearance that you might take them for men. There are also apes called "Paul Cats", so peculiar that they are a real marvel. Lions, leopards and lynxes abound." <sup>19</sup>

139. Most commentators on the Khozhenie have taken this account of the monkey kingdom to be nothing more than a "tall

tale" or at best to be based on some Indian myth cycle and indeed it clearly has elements of both in it. It is, however, interesting to note that these very fables are based on hundreds of years of close contact between the natives and the monkey tribes and of observations by the former of the latter. It is now recognised that many species of monkeys do live in large social groups with a leader, frequently an old dominant male which might well appear to be a king. Tribes of monkeys have also been known to turn savage and wreck property. It is also recognised that apes at least have a type of vocabulary of sounds and gestures by which they can communicate with each other and this may extend to monkeys. Nikitin's account of the abandoning of young which do not resemble their parents (i.e. probably malformed or albino) is entirely consistent with recognised behaviour patterns throughout the animal kingdom. He mentions that these young were often left by the roadside, which seems at first sight to be unlikely but one explanation would be that they were not abandoned anywhere in particular but only those left near the roadside were found.

Studies of various species of monkeys contained in Primate Behaviour - Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes<sup>20</sup> reveal some interesting facts about the behaviour of different Indian monkeys, especially the rhesus monkey and the macaque. These animals live in very close proximity to mankind, often actually in the towns and villages and very commonly along the roadsides, and the Indians would therefore be thoroughly familiar with their behaviour. In fact, it is clear that the story repeated by Nikitin is typical of the folk and fairy stories which are based on facts. I.P. Petrushevsky<sup>21</sup> considers that this story is based on the Hindu myth of Sugrif, Prince of the Monkeys, and Hanuman, who were linked to the legend of Prince Rama. This legend may well have been known to Nikitin. Vodovozov<sup>22</sup> points out that monkeys are held to be sacred in various parts of India including Benares, where there is a temple dedicated to them. The facts are, nevertheless, striking and probably also form part of the basis of this legend.

140. Bazy mikanet (T) Kazy mikkanet (E) bezymikanet (S) - The most thorough examination of this phrase was made by Yu N. Zavadovsky<sup>23</sup>. This article was published following the appearance of the 1948 Academy edition and, whilst he agreed that the phrase was derived from the Persian bāzi mikuned he disagreed with the suggestion that it meant simply to play a game. He pointed out that the Persian phrase meant a complete gymnastic performance like that of an acrobat or rope dancer and that it was the tricks of the gymnast and the juggler which monkeys were (and are) taught to imitate. Zavadovsky suggested that the Persian phrase was used as there was no Russian equivalent.

141. See Note 136 - Spring here obviously means the beginning of the dry season and the start of the second harvest.

142. In fact Bidar was the capital of the Bahmani kingdom and not of the whole of Moslem India - see background notes pp 182-184.

143. Saltan velik 20 let (T) a saltan' nevelik', 20 let' (E) - the Sultan referred to is Mohammad-Shāh III of the Bahmani dynasty - see notes on Indian background pp 184-185. In point of fact he was only 16 years old in 1471 and so Nikitin's estimate of his age is incorrect.

144. Melikkhana - Kharatkhan - Malek Khān, Kharat (sic) Khān: - war lords of Mohammad - Shāh III of the Bahmani dynasty, the latter name appears to derive from the Persian name Farhād. According to Minaev he was a tarafdār or district governor in the Deccan. Malek Khān may be a reference to Malek ot-Tojjār (q.v.).

144. da blyadei stō, a vse gauryky - (1) the S version bowdlerises the word blyadei to bl+--. It is certainly the version most concerned with propriety. (2) Minaev gives the origin of the word gauryky as Sanskrit gaurika = a young girl, or court favourite, from gauri = golden - white referring to the colour of the skin. Houri was also the Qor'ānic term for a nymph of the Moslem paradise and was by extension the name

for a beautiful and attractive woman. Minaev points out that the number of concubines in the train or harem of a Sultan was regarded as a status symbol. In Vijayanagar the ruler was said to have 700 concubines each with separate quarters.

146. Garib: from Arabic gharib = foreigner; someone from another country.

147. Ne puskayut' v' grad'- it is somewhat unclear whether this means barred from entering into the town or into the citadel. The modern Russian translations in the Academy editions both prefer into the town, while Major prefers into the palace. As the words clearly state into the town this has been used here. Logically, however, it seems probable that Nikitin meant into the citadel as he, a foreigner, was in the town.

148. Sudye roznye - The Academy edition translation and Zenkovsky give sundry vessels but Major gives several courts of justice are within the building. Minaev also considers that this refers to courts of law, and this seems entirely in keeping with Indian usage besides being a more probable reason for Nikitin's comment.

149. Cheloveki kutobalov - the armed slaves of the military governor of the city. The word comes from the Persian Kotwāl (commander or guard of a castle). According to Minaev it was his duty to observe the life of the city as well as to guard it and send out the nightly patrols.

150. Futun, futa, funa - according to Minaev the word comes from the Tamil panam or fanam - a south Indian coin of various values in different places made of either gold or silver.

151. Sazheni - the sagene is a unit of length of approximately 2.134 metres and so the snake measures approximately 14 feet.

152. Filipov zagovene - This fast, in the Orthodox Calendar, begins on 14th November (the Feast of the Apostle Philip) and

ends on 24th December and is therefore equivalent to Advent.

153. Isayadenieni - from the Arabo-Persian compound word Isā dīn meaning of the faith of Jesus and therefore Christian.

154. Khozya Isuf Khorasani = Hajji Yusof the Khorāsānian: Nikitin's adoption of the term Khorāsānian as his nisba (the name indicating his place of birth or permanent residence) indicates that there may have been quite close commercial links between him and other Khorāsānian merchants. A further indication of this is the intervention of "Hajji Mohammed the Khorāsānian" on his behalf in Jonnar. However it is clear that the term was used to mean a foreign Moslem and in this context may simply have indicated a foreign non-Hindu.

155. Manaz - from Persian namāz, the obligatory Moslem prayers called in Arabic ṣalāt. These prayers must be performed 5 times a day in Arabic in a prescribed form and if possible in a mosque. The namāz can be contrasted to the Arabic monājāt, i.e. voluntary prayers which may be performed at any time, in any place or language. Nikitin, however, uses the term to mean any prayer in general and thereby shows that his understanding of the customs he describes is not always complete.

156. But - this is a word used in Persia derived from the word Buddha, for Hindu deities and idols, not a statue of Buddha, as Buddhism had by then been forced out of India. In India at that time it meant a Hindu idol.

157. Pervoti, Pervati - Parvata: see p. 193.

158. Erusalim' - Jerusalem: see p. 169.

159. Myar'kat, Myak'ka - Mecca: see p. 169.

160. Venets - the word means a wreath <sup>or crown</sup> but in this context probably means a frieze.

161. There is a contradiction here between the texts - T & U

both stating that the women shave and the Chronicle texts stating that they do not. The shaving of hair was the beginning of one of the ritual Hindu cleansing ceremonies, though it was not considered necessary for rulers, their sons, or Brahmins; women were considered to be outside this rule and they only needed to bind up their hair and not shave it. It therefore seems likely that the Chronicle version is the correct one.

162. Sheshkeni - the sheshkani (Persian) was a small silver coin. According to Minaev it was equal to 6 kani and there were 64 kani in a tanka.

163. The phrase following is in Nikitin's "basic Islamic" and appears to cause its translators some problems as to the numbers involved. The term lek - (lakh) used by Nikitin means 100,000. Nikitin appears to mean an innumerable multitude.

164. Tsar - Nikitin uses the familiar term for a ruler but this was not yet the official title of the ruler of Russia. (see note 37).

165. The equestrian statue of Emperor Justinian I of the Byzantine Empire (527-565) must have been a very impressive sight. It was described in the works of two Russian pilgrims, Stephan of Novgorod (1350) and the monk Zosima (1420) and also by Clavijo (1404). Stephan of Novgorod mentions that "his right hand (is) extended violently towards the Saracen lands, towards Jerusalem", and it is this position of the hand which leads to the comparison with the statue at Parvata. By the time the Osmanli Turks took Constantinople in 1453, the statue had disappeared. Since nothing is known of Nikitin's age, it is just possible that he saw the statue for himself on a visit to the city. Otherwise it indicates that he was quite well read.

166. Tsargrad = Byzantium, later Constantinople and today Istanbul.

167. Guzno - here the Troitsky copyist has failed to amend

the text to the more discreet bedro as in other places.

168. This phrase varies from version to version - this is a translation of the Archive text but the Troitsky version reads "the banquets were of pork". In any case it seems to be in contradiction to the earlier statement "some will eat lamb or fowls or fish or eggs, but no creed will eat beef". These must have been jottings in Nikitin's original text which have been changed and possibly repeated in copying. Only certain Hindu sects were actually strictly vegetarian.

169. Syta - the name of any kind of intoxicating drink but usually mead.

170. Brynets - rice, from the Persian berenj. Minaev suggests that it might also have meant millet. He also states that berenj was a dish made of rice with sugar and spices and cooked either with or without milk.

171. Kichiri - see note 39 for the feeding of kedgeree to horses. According to various sources it seems to have been fed to elephants and horses as well as humans!

172. Kasha - the word in Russian means a kind of gruel or porridge and hence presumably a preparation of rice or pulses.

173. According to Minaev it was the father's duty to choose a lucky name for both sons and daughters. It was also the custom for the father to receive the newborn child, say a prayer for it and give it its first meal.

174. o velikom zagoveine - both Zenkovsky and Major translate this as Lent but Minaev suggests that it is actually the festival of Sivaratri which was held annually in March. This is, of course, also the approximate time for Lent.

175. Nikitin's comparison of Parvata to Mecca and Jerusalem is interesting. The pilgrimage to Mecca is a religious duty for all Moslems except paupers, cripples and women and, as such,

every devout Moslem tries to fulfil it. In Nikitin's day Jerusalem was a place of pilgrimage for the whole Christian world including Russian Orthodox Christians.

176. Yakhont - from Arabic yāqut cf. Gk hyacinth. According to the Academy edition note, this term was generally used in the Moslem East and in medieval Russia to indicate the sapphire (the blue yakhont) though it could also mean the ruby (or red yakhont). Nikitin displays a great interest in precious stones, and it has been suggested (by the Czech Indologist, V. Lesny, in particular) that the jewel trade was his field. However there seems no special reason to suppose that he was keener on jewels than on spices or perhaps rich fabrics.

177. Ollo ak - one of Nikitin's "basic Islamic" phrases meaning God's truth probably used to express believe me.

178. A te voly ach'che zovut - the term ach'che comes from one of the Dravidian languages. In the Malayalan Dravidian tongue achcha = mother while achchkan = father, while in the Kanara Dravidian language adzdza = father. In view of the following phrase Nikitin obviously means father here. The cult of bulls and cows as sacred and inviolable beasts is one of the oldest and most durable characteristics of Brahminism.

179. T- edinozhdy - A & E - odnova - another example of the tidying up of the Troitsky edition.

180. This passage from "they consider women" to "both good and black" is in Nikitin's "basic Islamic" presumably for the sake of delicacy. It would no doubt have been understandable to other merchants to whom this information would have been valuable. For presumably the same reason Major leaves it in the original, while Zenkovsky omits it completely.

181. Kul - Turkic qol = a slave.

182. Karavash - Turkic a female slave. There were vast

numbers of cheap slaves in Moslem India due to the large numbers of prisoners taken during campaigns against the non-Moslem areas of the country.

183. Ulubagr, Ulubagram - a distortion of the Turkic ulugh Bayram - the Great Festival. This was the Feast of the Sacrifice, namely of Abraham's intended sacrifice of his son Esma'il (Ishmael according to the Qor'an; Isaac according to the Old Testament), to God. This is one of the two principal Moslem holy days.

184. Velik Den' (Voskreseniya Khristova) - Easter according to the Christian calendar. Henceforth "the Great Day(s)" will be referred to as Easter.

185. Wednesdays and Fridays were fast days for devout Christians.

186. Tangrydan' - tangry = God in various Turkic languages.

187. This prayer is written in Nikitin's "basic Islamic".

188. Ollo khudo - Khodā = God in Persian and is synonymous with the Arabic Allāh. Nikitin's use of various terms for God and the style of his prayer indicates his tolerance of different religions and possibly even his belief that there is only one God for Christians and Moslems and other religions.

189. Golat, Kalat - Kalhāt: see p. 170.

190. In the following section Nikitin gives information about places which he did not actually visit - the information was presumably gleaned from other merchants and would be of use to later travellers. Notes concerning most of these places can be found in the background section. Dabylo - Dābol; see pp 193-194.

191. Kolekot, Kelekot, Lekot, Selekot - Calicut: see pp 194-195.

192. Silyan - Ceylon: see pp 195 - 196.

193. Shibait, Shabait, Shaibat, Shibat, Shabot, Sibat, Shabaitskoe pristanische - Shabait: it is unclear to which country exactly Nikitin was referring. One suggestion is that it is the island of Shabazpur in the delta of the Ganges. The two most probable suggestions however are that it was the island of Java (called Jāba or Jābat in Arabic) or that it was the land known as Champa to early European travellers, Sauf to the Arabs and Sana-fr-Tszi to the Chinese, which was situated in Indo-China, possibly in Annam.

194. Pevgu - Pegu: see p. 196.

195. Machim da Chim - Machin and Chin: see p. 197.

196. Kytai - Khitai: see p. 198.

197. Tamga = tamgha - a tax on industry and trade or a duty on goods. The word comes from the Mongol-Turkic languages and was used in the Near East from the 13th century.

198. Alacha - Petrushevsky explains this as a Persian fabric of twisted silk and cotton thread. Minaev quotes Sreznevsky and calls it Bokhārā cloth again made of a mixture of cotton and silk. The word may come from allāqa = braid or decoration.

199. Pestred' - according to Minaev a cloth of mixed coloured thread similar to taffeta.

200. Kan'dak or Kandyak - according to Petrushevsky the term was used in Russian for a printed cotton fabric. The word may derive from the Persian gundagi and Arabic kundakiya meaning a rough woollen cloth as suggested by Zavadovsky or from Tamil kindan a kind of cotton cloth as suggested by Minaev but the exact meaning cannot be resolved. Zenkovsky in his modern translation calls it coarse cloth and little more can be said about it.

201. Lek - see note 79. Lac was mentioned by both Nicoló de' Conti and Varthema as an export of Cambay.

202. Akhyk - cornelian from the Arabic aqiq. Red cornelian was exported in large quantities from Cambay.

203. Lon = this word has been the subject of considerable speculation. Petrushevsky (Academy edition p. 229) says that Sreznevsky suggests it comes from Lanha (coconut) and Minaev<sup>24</sup> that it is from the Sanskrit Lavana (salt). The exploitation and export of lake salt from Cambay was known from early times. Zavadovsky<sup>25</sup>, however, suggests that the word comes from the Urdu lung meaning cloves - the flower of Caryophyllus aromaticus - a spice long exported from India. In support of this contention he points out that Nikitin refers elsewhere to the coconut as kozi gundustan'sky and it seems more likely that he would be interested in an exotic spice than in common or garden salt. On the other hand cloves were already known as gvozniki in Russia at this period and indeed Nikitin uses this term elsewhere. Petrushevsky makes a further suggestion that the word derives from Arabic lawn, the singular of alwan (colour or dye) and would therefore mean dye. The problem will probably never be fully resolved but the meaning cloves has been preferred here.

204. Misyur (T), Myar (A) - from the Arabic Mesr' which means variously Egypt or its capital Cairo.

205. Negostan - The note to the Academy edition of 1948 suggested that this was either a distortion or an incorrect reading of Ispogan i.e. Esfahān but Zavadovsky<sup>26</sup> points out that it more probably refers to Mughestān, a Persian word used by Ebn Battutā for Hormoz, or, more properly, for Old Hormoz. The fact that this was a port famous for the export of horses makes it even more probable. Mughestān means literally Land of the Magians.

206. Kestyak (Kostyak) - possibly from the Persian kashti meaning a ship.

207. Zen 'zebil' - the word derives through Arabic zanjabil from the Latin zēnzebris and means ginger (*Zingiber officinalis*).

208. da tsvet, da moshkat - moshkat = nutmeg, the name being derived perhaps from the place name Masqat, through which it was imported. The complete phrase may however refer to mace, the aromatic outer husk of the nutmeg, which resembles a flower.
209. Kalafur - it is unclear which spice is meant here, but cinnamon is generally given.
210. Gvozniky - cloves: see note 203.
211. Pryanoë koren'e = spices.
212. Adryak - according to Academy edition note no. 183, from Persian Adrak - a kind of ginger. It may come from Pers teryāk which entered the English Language as theriac meaning literally an antidote but also used as a euphemism for opium.
213. Da kul, da karavash' nis'yar' khub' siya - An example of Nikitin's basic Islamic writing. Kul from the Turkic, means a male slave and karavash in Turkic means a female slave (see note 182). Pis'yar'khub is a distortion of the Persian besyār khob = very good. Siya is from Persian siyāh = black (the final h sound is almost silent). The whole phrase indicates that a trade in dark-skinned slaves, who were probably of Dravidian origin, was carried on in Calicut.
214. Cherv'tse - rubies or garnets, red precious stones.
215. Fatisy - Petrushevsky says these are precious stones mainly used for buttons. Zenkovsky<sup>26</sup> translates this as rock crystal.
216. Baboguri - from Persian bābāquri = white agate.
217. Binchai - the meaning is unclear. Sreznevsky and Minaev suggest it is the resin of the tree Styrax benzoin;

it may also be a distortion of the Persian banafsha meaning literally violet and hence a garnet. Zenkovsky <sup>27</sup> gives amber.

218. Sumbada, sumbala - from Persian sunbāda - ruby, corundum powder used for the polishing of diamonds. Several early travellers record this practice. Sreznevsky and Minaev state that emery powder, made of corundum with additions such as quartz was used for the same purpose.

219. Da slony rodyatsya, da prodayut 'v lokot', da devyakushi prodayut v ves' - This phrase has given rise to much speculation, however it seems probable that the explanation put forward by Yu. N. Zavadovsky <sup>28</sup> is the correct one. He suggests that the words elephants and ostriches are figures of speech and that Nikitin actually uses them to mean ivory and ostrich feathers. It then becomes quite logical that the ivory would be sold by units of length and the ostrich feathers by weight. Note 194 to the Academy edition does point out that Cosmos Indicopleustes mentions the habit of selling elephants by length in Ceylon but he was probably using the same figure of speech.

Zavadovsky points out that in this connection the word rodyatsya is presumably used in the sense of nakhodyatsya (are to be found).

The term devya-kushi is not entirely clear but appears to come from the Turkic devekush meaning an ostrich and most commentators agree with this. Minaev however suggests that as ostriches are not found in Ceylon this word may come from a Sanskrit word meaning cinnamon, a product of Ceylon. This however had not been accepted by other authorities and so one must assume that the ostrich feathers were brought by sea to the markets of Ceylon.

220. Alafa - from the Arabic alaf = fodder, hay etc. or allowance for food (paid to cavalry etc.) hence salary.

221. Tenka - from the Persian tanoka, tonoka = a piece of sheet metal, hence a silver coin of various weights and values



in various places but generally equalling 5 - 6 dinars.

The indication here must be that the Khorāsānians, Moslems from the lands well to the West, were employed in some capacity by the ruler of Shabait, possibly as advisors or mercenaries.

222. Po pyatidesyat' tenek (Archival version). The Troitsky version gives the sum of 10 tenka per month which seems somewhat miserly in comparison with the daily allowance mentioned earlier.

223. Sandal = sandalwood from Sanskrit chandan via Greek and Arabic. Sandalwood is the general name for several sweet smelling woods such as Syrium myrtifolium (according to Petrushevsky), and Santalum album (according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica) which are valued for their scented wood and for the hardness of their wood, and are exported from India to the lands of Western Asia and Europe either as wood powder or perfumed ointment. Merchants would distinguish between the red sandalwood and the more expensive golden.

224. Derbyshi ... Indeiskyya - According to the Academy edition note 201, these were Buddhist monks of the Hinayana sect, one of the two great sects of Buddhism and the one which was prevalent in Ceylon, Burmah and Thailand. The Darvishes themselves were Moslem ascetics and mystics, living in Asia Minor, Iran, India, Morocco etc. Nikitin seems to use this term for the Buddhist monks because of their outward resemblance to the Darvishes.

225. Manik - from the Hindi and Sanskrit Mani = ruby. Minaev<sup>29</sup> notes that this may also mean precious stones in general.

226. Kyrpuk - Petrushevsky states "a carbuncle, a precious stone or a ruby - Barbosa gives "carapuch"." A carbuncle is a garnet cut in a special way. Zenkovsky translates as rubies leaving manik in the original. It does seem possible

however, that if Nikitin uses three different terms, he means three different precious stones hence my version "Rubies, sapphires and carbuncles".

227. A prodayut zhe kamenie derbyshi - the text reads thus in all versions except the Undolsky, where we read a prodayut kamenie ne derbyshi. Whilst this version is not reliable, it does seem a little odd that Nikitin should emphasise that the monks should carry on this trade as it seems contrary to the usual Buddhist rule of poverty.

288. Nochi zheny ikh khodyat' spati k garipom - Petrushevsky notes that this is a survival of hospitable prostitution while Minaev hints that Varthema described a similar practice in India. In fact it is not clear whether Nikitin is speaking of the women of the Far East and thus relying on hearsay or whether he is speaking from experience of women in parts of India.

Garip - see note 146.

229. 300 tenek' - this is the Archive and Etterov version. The Troitsky version gives 18 tenek.

230. Khalyal' - from Arabic halāl meaning according to religious law.

231. Inchi - from Turkic indji - very high quality pearls.

232. Ammony - Once again this is a subject of dissent among scholars. Petrushevsky judges that by context it must be a precious stone and suggests that it means diamonds. Zenkovsky taking it to be a mis-spelling of mamony translates it as monkeys. That it is the same animal as mamon seems likely but I have preferred the version wild cats for the reasons set out in note 87. Nikitin refers below to the presence of these animals in Shabait and he may have been interested in the trade in their pelts.

233. Fufal, oufal - the fruit of the areca palm.

234. Rachyur - Raichur: see p. 197.
235. Amaz birkona da nov' konal Birkona - the old mine from Persian pir = old (man) and kān mine; this is contrasted with the new mine. The diamonds from the old mine were much more valuable than those from the new mines. These are the famous mines of the Kollar field and the main town of the region was Golconda.
236. Pochka - a Russian measure of weight for diamonds. Petrushevsky gives a weight of 2.13 gr. but N.I. Prokof'ev <sup>31</sup> gives 1 gr.
237. Penech' chekeni - from Persian panj kani = 5 kani. The kani was a small coin worth 1/64 of a tenka.
238. Siya - from Persian siyāh = black.
239. Charsheshkeni - from Persian = from 4 to 6 kani.
240. Sipityek tenka - from Persian = a white one is 1 tenka.
241. Melik Khan - Mālek Khan - see note 144.
242. Khudy - from Arabic Yahud = a Jew. Elsewhere the Jews are referred to as zhidove.
243. Aukik, aukuk - the meaning of this word is unclear but it may be derived from an Arabic term for a junk, which was the large vessel which plied between Cathay and India and was described by Ebn Battuta.
244. Muskūs - musk was a valuable product for export to the West. Nikitin states that it was obtained from the pup' which means literally the navel or umbilicus. Zenkovsky gives the translation horns whilst Major uses the term vesicles. In fact musk is obtained from the scent gland of the musk deer which is:

"a sac, about the size of an orange beneath the skin

of the abdomen, opening in front of the preputial aperture. It contains a dark brown substance of the consistency of "moist gingerbread". It is only present in the male." 32

The perfume can only be obtained by killing the deer and removing the entire gland. The substance is the base of many perfumes and is immensely powerful in its raw state. It is bitter to the taste. The best musk comes from the Tongking area of Indo-china and from Tibet, the next most valuable from Assam and Nepal and a less valuable sort from Kabardia and Siberia.

245. Velikii den' - the Great Day, namely Easter Day. Petrushevsky calls it a moveable feast falling between the spring equinox and the following new moon. It was of course the fact that it was a moveable feast that caused Nikitin's sadness over losing track of its date. See note 184.

246. There is a considerable gap at this point in the Archival text but not in the Etterov.

247. Goveino - this term, already encountered, refers to a time of fasting in preparation for confession and the sacrament and in this context means Lent.

248. Ni sredey ni pyatnitsi ne vedayu i knig u menya net - Wednesdays and Fridays were fast days in the Orthodox faith. The reference here to books is presumably to books of worship by means of which he could have defined the beginning of the Lenten Fast, Easter and the other Christian moveable feasts.

250. Kain - Petrushevsky points out (Academy edition note 240) the difficulties in determining the exact location of this place. There is a famous town of Qā'en in E. Iran but it lies in Khorāsān far from Nikitin's supposed route and he could not have reached it within the given timetable. It is possible to suggest that this is a mistake and should read 'Nā'in' through which Nikitin passed (next section, p. 163) However, he could hardly have reached this by the first Easter of his journey.

There are therefore two hypotheses respecting this place Kain: firstly that Nikitin actually spent his first Easter there and that it was therefore the name of some place in Shirvān or on the Caspian or that his memory played him false or a transposition occurred in copying and that he actually passed his second Easter in the town of Na'in, the first being spent at Chebokar. Another possibility is that Nikitin spent his first Easter sailing down the Volga, in which case Kain might be a corrupt abbreviation of Kalyazin.

251. Besermeninzhe Melik - Malek Asad Khān, probably governor of Jonnar under Mohammād Shāh III.

252. The Archive text resumes at this point.

253. Ollo pervodiger - The following prayer is in Nikitin's "basic Islamic". This term comes from the Persian Allāh Parvardagār meaning God the Provider. In Arabic this phrase is al-Razzaq - the daily bread giver.

254. Volosyny ... kola ... los: these are the old Russian names for the constellations of the Pleiades, Orion and Ursa Major. Colloquial names are used in the translation in the spirit of Nikitin's version.

255. Teferich' - from the Arabic word tafrih meaning recreation and especially outing or parade.

256. V'zyrev - from Persian vezir, the minister of a ruler or provincial governor.

257. Slonov naryazhenykh v bulatnykh dospesekh - There are a number of descriptions of elephants in armour being used in war these are similar to Nikitin's account.

258. Pushki = cannon, Pischal = light cannon. See note 84.

259. The Archive version here reads "horses in (i.e. pulling) golden sledges."

260. Shapke chichak - Shapka = (R) hat, head-dress. Chichak - according to Petrushevsky the word comes from T. shishak' = a helmet.
261. Sagadak - this Russian word was related to the Mongolian Sagadakh, Volga-Tatar sagak and meant the complete equipment for a cavalryman including saddle, bow, arrows and quiver. A symbolic sagadak was the badge of a Mongol commander of a troop.
262. Terem oksamiten' - the note in the Academy edition gives this as a velvet baldaquin without explanation of the derivation.
263. Makhut (T) Makhtum (A) - From Ar-P Makhdum meaning he who is served, lord or ruler; it refers, in this context, to the Bahmani Sultan, Mohammad Shāh III.
264. Terem shidyan - a silken baldaquin of note 262.
265. Katobagryaim (A) Katobagrya : Ar-P. Qatef-e-Bahrayn; T. Qatif o Bahrayn. See p. 170.
266. Zhida - Jedda, see p. 170.
267. Ostani (T), Orobstani (A) - Arabestan, i.e. Arabia.
268. Shiryaz - Shirāz: see pp 170 - 171.
269. Gilyan' - Gilān: see p. 171.
270. Vavilon - Baghdād: see pp 171 - 172.
271. Khūmit - Homs: see p. 172.
272. Sham - Damascus: see p. 172.
273. Lyap - Aleppo. see p. 173.
274. Sevasteya - Sivās: see p. 173.

275. Gruzyn'skaya zemlya - Georgia: see pp 150 - 151.
276. Tor'skaa zemlya - The Turkish land: see pp 156 - 157.
277. Voloskaya zemlya - Walachia: see p. 125.
278. Podol'skaya zemlya - Podolia: see p. 125.

279. Nikitin's beautiful prayer was written in the Turkic language with odd phrases in Persian and Arabic. It must inevitably lose in translation as Nikitin uses various names for God in the prayer to achieve the impressive effect. In the last line he says : Ollo, khudo, bog, bog' dan'gry - where ollo comes from Allāh the Arabic name for the deity, khudo comes from khodā, Persian for God, Bog' is Russian for God, while dan'gry comes from the Turkic dangiri or tangri, also meaning God.

The note in the Academy edition suggests that Nikitin writes this prayer in the Turkic tongue because of the condemnation of the Russian ruling classes contained in it.

280. Bodata - this word which occurs on the Chronicle texts is omitted in all translations either into Modern Russian or English without any explanation. It appears at least possible, from the context, that the city of Baghdad is meant even though Nikitin has referred to it earlier as Vavilon i.e. Babylon.

281. Bulgak - from the Turkic = conflict.

282. Nikitin here refers to three rulers :

- 1) Uzuasanbek - Uzun Hasan Beg, referred to in some Western sources simply as Hasan Beg, ruler of the Aq-Qoyunlu tribe. For further notes see p. 155.
- ii) Yaisha Murza (T), Yansha Murza (A) - the term yaisha or yansha comes from the vulgar pronunciation of the name Jahānshāh, while Mirzā simply means Prince. Mirzā Jāhanshāh was the last Qara Qoyunlu (Black Sheep) ruler in Western Iran (1438-1467)

and was defeated and killed by Uzun Hasan. He built the Blue Mosque in Tabriz.

- iii) Soltanmusait' - Sultan Abu Sa'id was a Timurid ruler of Eastern Iran (1451-1469) who was also defeated and killed by Uzun Hasan.

283. This sentence varies slightly in different versions and here the Troitsky reading has been used, though it is repetitive and may be defective. The Archive text reads "Therefore Christians do not go to Mecca because of their faith". It was indeed forbidden for non-Moslems to visit the holy places in Mecca.

284. Sobina = property, belongings.

285. Kurban Bagryam - Qorbān Bayrām (Turkish), Id-e-Qorbān (Persian), Id ot Adhā (Arabic); the Moslem Feast of Sacrifices.

286. Petrov den' - St. Peter's Day (29th June).

287. Sufeya - from Persian sofra meaning a table cloth or a meal spread on the floor.

288. Myzamyk - Nikitin's version of the Arabic title Nezam ol-Molk meaning Orderer of the Kingdom. This title was given to Malek Hasan, one of Mohammad Shāh III's lords. According to the Academy edition, Fereshta said that he was Tarafdār of the Telengana district and an Indian Moslem and enemy of Malek ot-Tojjār following reforms which robbed him of his land.

289. Mekkhan - Malek Khān, see note 95.

290. Faratkhan (T), Khafaratkhan (A) - Farhād Khān, see note 144. Both these men appear to have been warlords of Mohammad Shāh III. The latter name appears to derive from the Iranian name Farhād. Malek Khān may refer to Malek ot-Tojjār (see background notes p 184-185) though Minaev suggests<sup>33</sup> that he may have been a tarafdār or local governor. L.S. Semenov

believes that the three cities mentioned here are three fortresses which, according to Indian chronicles, were taken by the Nizam ol-Molk in 1471-1472<sup>34</sup>; see also Ya. S. Luria in Istoriya russkoi literatury v 4-kh tomakh<sup>35</sup>.

291. Pokrov bogoroditsy = The Day of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin.

292. Chyunedar (A), Binedar (T) - distorted forms of the name Vijayanagar - see pp 197 - 198.

293. Malkhan - it is not clear who is meant here but probably Malek Khān, i.e. Mahmud Gāwān, see note 95 and background notes p

294. Bederkhan - one of the Sultan's lords. Possibly someone called Badr Khān, as Badr is a common name meaning 'full moon'. Petrushevsky suggests the word comes from the governor of Bidār.

295. Sultanom' (T), Sulkhanom' (A) - it seems probable that since the Sultan's force has already been described this may be a reference to someone else, possibly called Salm Khān. Salm is a Persian name and figures as a hero in Ferdowsi's Shāhnāma.

296. Vozyrkhan - it is not clear who is meant, but probably just a certain vizier. Khān is a very vague title, often meaning no more than Mister.

297. Kutar-Khan (T), Kutoval-Khan (A) - The Kotwāl or commander of the garrison or police, who would be one of the chief men of the city of Bidār.

298. Avdonom - a word from the Greek, meaning autocrat or independent ruler, in this case presumably the ruler of Vijayanagar.

299. The Troitsky text gives 2,000 horsemen and the Archive

text gives 200,000 horsemen. Since both agree on 20,000 footsoldiers and since in each preceding case the number of infantry was always greater than cavalry, the Troitsky version seems more likely to reflect Nikitin's original.

300. In the various texts the first "God knows the true faith" is written in "basic Islamic" whilst the second is written in Russian.

301. Mamet'deni rosolyal - from the T-Ar. meaning of the faith of Mohammad, the Prophet of God.

302. Sultan Kadam - the precise meaning is somewhat unclear. Petrushevsky claims that Zavadovsky suggested that it came from Sultan Khādem meaning the servant of the Sultan. The word order however would be wrong in both Arabic and Persian though it could be Turkish. It is clear from the context however that it is the ruler himself to whom reference is made and not his vassal. The note in the Academy edition goes on to say that in the Czech and Polish translations kadam is taken as a short form of the name Kadamba - the name of a dynasty. This would suggest that the Sangam dynasty, then ruling Vijayanagar, was linked with the Kadamba dynasty.

303. Zhen'gel - from dzhangal' or dzhengel', a word used in Persian and many N. Indian languages meaning a forest, hence E. jungle.

304. Deber'zla tiken' Deber = a thicket. Tiken' - a word appearing in slightly varying forms in various Turkic languages for a variety of shrubs, including some thorny ones. This is the version preferred by S. Malov <sup>35</sup>.

305. Kurul', Kuryl' - Kurnool: see p.198.

306. A v Kuryli zhe almaznikov trista sulyakh mikunet - the final words of the phrase come from the Persian mikunand (to do) and sulyakhe (meaning a hole, gap or split), the phrase meaning "cutting them", i.e. diamonds.

307. Kalika - according to the Academy edition, probably Golconda: see pp 198 - 199.
308. Amindrie (Kamendreya) - Amindria: see p. 199.
309. Kynaryas (Naryas) - Kynarias: see p. 199.
310. Suri, Sura - Surat: see p. 199.
311. O nalone - payment for a fare on a ship, possibly from the Greek word for the fare for a boat trip. Cf Fr naulage, It. nolo, nuolo; Sp. nolito.
312. Ollo pervodiger - a rare instance of Nikitin providing his own translation for one of his "basic Islamic" phrases. This phrase actually means God the Provider - see note 253.
313. Verkhu, Vergu - Abarguh: see p. 173.
314. The words "5 days to Esfahān and spent 6 days in Esfahān. And from Esfahān I went" are omitted in the Archive text.
315. Spagan', Ispagan' - Esfahān: see pp 173 - 174.
316. Kum, Kom - Qom: see pp 174 - 175.
317. Sava - Sāva: see p. 175.
318. Sultaniya - see p. 175.
319. Ter'viz - Tabriz: see pp 175 - 176.
320. Asanbeg, Uzuasanbeg - Uzun Hasan (Hasan Beg): see p. 155.
321. A na Tur'skav i.e. against the Sultan of Turkey, Muhammad II (1451-1481) of the Osmanli dynasty.
322. Tokhan - Tokat: see pp 176 - 177.

323. Amasiya - see p. 177.
324. Karaman - see p. 177.
325. Artsitsin - Erzincan: see p. 178.
326. Trepizon - Trebizond (Trabzon): see pp 178 - 179.
327. Pokrov svyatyya Bogoroditsa i Prisodevyya Mariya - The Feast of the Intercession of the Holy Mother of God, the Virgin Mary.
328. Kafa - Kaffa: see p. 145.
329. Kharch' - from the Arabic word kharij meaning expenses, outgoings, and also tax, duty or toll. The latter meaning is preferred in note 352 of the Academy edition.
330. Shubash - from the Turkish subashi, originally meaning an army commander but by the 14th - 15th centuries meaning a minor garrison commander or police chief. He would have a certain amount of power but be inferior to the Sanjakbeyi and the Beylerbeyi.
261. Pasha - an Ottoman title granted for life as a high honour. The etymology of the word is uncertain but is generally thought to come from the Persian word Padshāh, a title given in Iran and Asia Minor to a small independent ruler. It is certain however that by Nikitin's time the term Pasha was the most respected title in the Ottoman lands. A Beylerbeyi was a commander in chief and a Sanjakbeyi was a provincial commander. Both might have been given the honorific title of Pasha.
332. Mnogo zla mi uchinisha - the suspicious and hostile attitude of the Turkish authorities in Trebizond towards Nikitin is explained by the fact that he had arrived from the lands of Hasan Beg, the Aq Qoyunlu ruler of Western Iran, with whom the Turks were at war (see background note p. 157). The Turkish authorities must have suspected him of spying, hence

the search for papers.

333. Khlan moi ves' ke sobe vzesli v gorod na gory - The town of Trebizond was divided into three distinct parts; the main town around the port, the middle town where stood the Church of the Virgin, later converted into a mosque by the Turks, and the upper town with a mountain-top citadel, known as the Acropolis under the Emperors of Trebizond and as the Yukary-hisar under the Turks. Nikitin is obviously referring to the upper town. (See also background notes pp 178 - 179).

334. Dorya Stimbojskaa - see note 12.

335. The Archive version gives "10 days".

336. Vonada - see p. 179.

337. Platana - see p. 179.

338. Balykaya - Balaclava: see p. 144.

339. T'k'r'zof - Gurzuf. see p. 145.

340. This closing prayer is written, for the most part, in Nikitin's "basic-Islamic". This translation is taken from the Archive version by way of the Modern Russian translation in Khozhenie za tri morya Afanasiya Nikitina, 1466-1472<sup>3</sup>. The Troitsky text, translated in Modern Russian in the 1958 Academy edition, is very similar but does not contain certain words and phrases.

341. The Voskresensky text resumes at this point.

342. Isa rukhollo - from the Arabic phrase Isā Ruhollāh, meaning Jesus the Spirit of God which is used in the Qor'ān. The whole prayer reveals that, by this stage, Nikitin believed that all men worshipped one God. In fact there is a basic difference between Christian and Moslem beliefs concerning Jesus.

For Christians, Jesus is the Son of God and indivisible from Him; for Moslems, however, Jesus is only one of the great prophets of Allāh, together with Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Mohammad.

4. NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND  
TO THE KHOZHENIE.

i) Introduction

In order to consider the historical and geographical background to the Khozhenie it is necessary to formulate some sort of plan for the consideration of the lands covered by Nikitin. Frontiers have changed dramatically since Nikitin's time and consequently conditions and ways of life have also changed.

When Nikitin set off on his journey the Grand Duchy of Muscovy was a rising power but one which had not yet succeeded in absorbing all the independent principalities of Russia - Nikitin's own city of Tver being a notable example. Lands which now are part of the heartlands such as the areas round Smolensk and Podolia were then dominated by other powers.

On the other hand, the lands once ruled by the Mongol Great Horde was being split up into separate Khānateš. The Caucasus was divided into various kingdoms whose rulers were at least partially independent.

At that time the lands of the near East were in a state of turmoil - a recurring condition it seems and one which is at least partially recognisable today. In particular the lands which are today parts of Irān and Irāq were the scene of struggles between the Aq-Qoyunlu and the Kara-Qoyunlu, two warlike tribes, whilst in Asia Minor the empire of the Osmanli Turks was expanding and Constantinople had fallen to them in 1453.

In India, which had also been invaded by the Mongols, the great sultanate of the Deccan was disintegrating and independent kingdoms, such as the Bahmani kingdom where Nikitin spent several years, were rising. Most of the sub-continent was under the domination of Moslem rulers of Persian origin whilst in the southernmost part there was still an independent kingdom, Vijayanagar.

In order to study these lands more closely, they will be divided into 4 sections; the lands which now lie within the boundaries of the European part of the Soviet Union; caucasia; the lands of the Middle East; and India. Where it

is necessary to study lands which fall outside these divisions, as for example the countries of the Far East which are mentioned by Nikitin, they will be included under the nearest section but in separate notes.

Specific towns mentioned by Nikitin are listed at the end of each section in the order in which they occur in the text and are accompanied, whenever possible, by short notes.

- ii) Nikitin in Russia
- a) General background

In the early part of the 13th century Russia was a collection of principalities whose rulers spent much of their time, resources and energies in internecine struggles with neighbouring city states. They were thus weakened and rendered less able to withstand the series of blows which were to rain down upon them from outside their own boundaries.

In 1154, 1,000 miles east of Moscow a son was born to Esugay-Bagatur, a petty chieftain of a Mongol clan, and named Temuchin. In a surprisingly short time he achieved the complete mastery of his tribe, changed his name to Chengiz-Khān (Jenghiz Khan as he is often referred to in English - the name means Ruler of the World), built up the best organised fighting machine the world had ever seen and, having invaded Northern China in 1213, he turned west and swept across Asia and reached the frontiers of Europe in about 1220. The Russians and Polovtsi faced the Tatar Horde at the Battle of the River Kalka in 1223 and were resoundingly beaten. Chengiz died in 1227 but his sons and grandson took over his vast empire and continued its ruthless advances. In particular Batu Khān, a grandson of Chengiz Khān and ruler of the Golden Horde launched a campaign against Russia and Europe in 1237. The campaign was ruthlessly successful and Batu moved west sacking one Russian city after another and finally extending his dominion far beyond the boundaries of Russia to the very gates of Vienna.

Had Batu been able to continue this onslaught the history of much of western Europe might have been very different but in 1242 the news reached him of the death of his uncle Ugedey, the Great Khān, in Karakoram, the Mongol capital, and

he had to hurry back east to attend the assembly of Khāns which was to elect a successor.

By the time he returned to the west the campaign had lost momentum and Batu withdrew his forces to the lands of the lower Volga where he established a base and called it merely Sarāi or Encampment.

Most princes of Russia were summoned to Sarāi to swear an oath of allegiance as vassals and, although the Mongols did not actually occupy all the territory of these Princes, they ruled it firmly, exacting heavy tributes and stamping out rebellions.

Many of Russia's other neighbours took advantage of her weakened position to encroach on her territories. The Swedes and Germans made inroads in the north whilst the Pope joined with the Holy Roman Emperor to encourage the Teutonic Knights to establish themselves in Livonia, in what could be regarded as something of a Holy War between Catholicism and the Russian form of Orthodoxy.

In this situation the Russians had no choice but to submit to the demands of the Tatars and to concentrate their efforts on repulsing the threat from the West. This arrangement did enable the Russians to combat the Teutonic crusade but they could not easily throw off the 'Mongol yoke' and were, in fact, to remain under their domination for more than two centuries.

During that period the Russians also had to face another threat from the West - the rising power of Lithuania. With the decline in fortune of Kiev, the Lithuanians extended their rule to the whole of the Dnepr basin and, under Prince Jagielo, in the latter part of the 14th century, to the Baltic and the Black Sea, even laying siege to Moscow itself. In 1408 the city of Smolensk was annexed to Lithuania and was still under its rule when Nikitin died near there in 1472 and it was finally seized back by Russia only in 1514.

One important result of this period of Mongol domination was the emergence of a new and growing power, the Grand Principality of Muscovy. It had first become a Grand Principality in the late 13th century under one of the sons of Alexander Nevsky, whose family continued to rule it for some 300 years.

From that time onward, partly because of its geographical position at the centre of Russia's river-borne trade routes and partly because of the wisdom of its rulers and because it suited its Tatar overlords to promote its interests at the expense of its neighbours, the territories of the new principality grew year by year in extent and importance. Certainly the fact that the Grand Princes of Moscow collected the tribute demanded by the Tatar Khāns from many of their Russian neighbours helped them to retain their power, though not without serious setbacks; Moscow was attacked and sacked by the Mongols at various times.

Whilst, however, a considerable amount of reorganisation and rebuilding was taking place in the Russian lands, which strengthened their powers to resist their enemies on both sides, it might have taken many more years before they were able to throw off the 'Mongol yoke' to the extent to which they had done so by Nikitin's time, had it not been for dramatic events within the heartland of the Mongol empire. It had been the custom for the Mongols to rule their vast empire through vassal Khāns but in the late 14th century with the rise to power of Timur, or Tamerlane, as Great Khān, a struggle for power between the Khāns themselves had broken out. The rise of Timur was of importance throughout the lands visited by Nikitin, but this will be considered later. Timur launched devastating campaigns against Tokhtamysh, Khān of the Golden Horde, destroying the great trading centres of Urgenj, Ashtarkhān, Sarāi and Azov and sapping the economic strength of the Golden Horde and, incidentally, disrupting many of the established trade routes between Europe and the Far East.

The effect on the Golden Horde, whose Khān had extended his sway over Russia, was disastrous and gradually the Khānate began to break up into smaller units.

According to Vernadsky it was only on the periphery of the Golden Horde - in the Bolghar region in the basin of the middle Volga River and in the Crimea - that city culture continued to flourish. But before long these two regions showed a tendency to emancipate themselves from the nomadic core of the Horde and eventually each of them served as a base for local Khānates, those of Kazan and of the Crimea.

In fact by the mid 15th century the formerly powerful Khānate of the Golden Horde, whose capital had been Sarāi, was being broken up for good. Independent Khānates had been set up at Kazan and Ashtarkhān on the Volga, and the Crimea had become a separate Khānate under the Nogai Tatars.

At last, therefore, the situation at Nikitin's departure becomes reasonably clear: his own home city of Tver is still the centre of an independent Principality which is, however, under threat from its powerful and growing neighbour the Principality of Moscow; in the lower stretches of the Volga there are two Khānates, those of Kazan and of the Golden Horde whilst further west the Crimean Tatars occupy the Crimea and the lands around the Sea of Azov. To the north and west the Grand Duchy of Lithuania occupies most of the area today forming the Ukraine and White Russia, including Smolensk and Podolia, which also had a semi-independent local ruler. Walachia, also mentioned by Nikitin, was a 'gospodarya' or semi-independent province whose throne was occupied by a Turkish puppet ruler since the Turks had driven out the notorious Vlad the Impaler in 1462. Having thus established the situation, one can look rather more closely at the component parts of this map.

In 1462 Ivan Vasil'evich, better known as Ivan II or Ivan the Great, had become Grand Prince of Moscow. His father, variously known as Vasily II or Vasily the Blind, had begun the process of expansion of the Grand Principality of Moscow.

"Tenacious, unscrupulous, and cruel, Vasili II seems to have lacked the qualities of a good ruler, yet had a definite purpose behind his policies; the unification of all the possessions of the Moscow branch of the Rurikids (House of Daniel) under a single rule." 2

By the end of his reign Moscow had been virtually emancipated from the authority of the Tatars.

His son Ivan was able, active and ambitious and by the end of his long reign (he was Grand Prince for 43 years) he had tripled the size of his dominions.

In 1463 the Grand Principality of Yaroslavl had been absorbed into the Grand Principality of Moscow and the next year Ivan forged a link with Ryazan by marrying his sister

to Vasily Ivanovich, Prince of Ryazan. It is clear that he soon formed designs on Pskov and Novgorod but he was forced to bide his time because of the ever present danger from the Khānates and his first move against Novgorod came in 1471 only a year before Nikitin's death. Pskov was only annexed in 1510.

There seems little doubt that already by the time of Nikitin's departure Ivan must have set his sights on neighbouring independent Tver. He was in fact married first to Princess Marya of Tver, who died in 1467 and was mother of his son Ivan.

Tver meanwhile was an important trading city situated on the banks of the Upper Volga and it had long had trading links both north through Novgorod and Pskov to the Baltic lands and south, down the Volga, to the area round the Caspian and Central Asia. Tver had benefited, like Moscow, from a shift of population away from the lands invaded by the Tatars, though, like Moscow, it had also suffered from Tatar raids. By the second half of the 15th century however it was a powerful city, even a rival to Moscow. It had a number of notable buildings including the golden-domed Cathedral of the Holy Saviour and it had a thriving literary tradition.

The Grand Prince of Tver during much of Nikitin's lifetime was Boris Aleksandrovich (ruled 1425-1461). His reign had not been easy: in 1427 he was forced to conclude a treaty of alliance with Vitovt of Lithuania but about 1450 concluded a pact of friendship with Vasily II; and Princess Marya, wife of Ivan III, was his daughter. In 1447 he sent troops to help Vasily II amongst whom was Boris Zakharich Borozdin, mentioned by Nikitin.

At the time when Nikitin actually set off from Tver the Grand Prince was Mikhail Borisovich (ruled 1461-85). He helped Ivan III in his struggles to free himself from the Tatar yoke and in his campaign against Novgorod. In recompense he expected to receive a share of the Novgorodian lands but did not get it. Instead, about 1483, he concluded an alliance with Casimir of Lithuania against Moscow. News of the pact reached Moscow and Ivan III sent a force against Tver in 1484. With no help forthcoming from Casimir, Mikhail sued for peace and recognised Ivan III "of All Russia" as his lord and elder brother.

Mikhail, however, continued to negotiate with Casimir and this came to the ears of Ivan, who led his army against the city in 1485 and forced it to capitulate. Mikhail fled to Lithuania and Ivan appointed his son Ivan Molodoy the new prince of Tver. Since the boy was a grandson of Boris Aleksandrovich, this was probably a very good tactical move.

What is extremely interesting with regard to these historical facts, is the way in which the Khozhenie has been used by later generations to their own ends. Mention has already been made in the notes to the translation, where omissions and additions have been made to copies preserved in strongly Muscovite areas to belittle the independence of Tver and magnify the power of the Grand Principality of Moscow. But it was not only near Nikitin's own time that liberties were taken; Soviet authors too have been at pains to depict Nikitin as a burning patriot of "All Russia". The preface by N. Vodovozov to an edition of the Khozhenie in 1950 makes the following statement (my translation:)

"But true Russian patriots, far-sighted people of progressive ideas, even in Tver itself, were against narrow provincial interests, understood their danger and strove for the creation of a single, strong Russian State. Afanasy Nikitin, author of the famous notes, was such a true Russian patriot who always felt himself to be the representative of a unified Russia during his amazing, almost fairy-tale journey." <sup>3</sup>

Nikitin may or may not have realised that Russia was about to become a centralised state but it is certain that it had not done so before his departure.

Part of this centralising process had resulted in the strengthening of the authority of the Grand Prince of Moscow. As the recognised agent of the Tatars, some years earlier the rulers had had a chance to increase their fortunes. Now they confiscated the apanage of the lesser princes who had to recognise the Grand Prince as their sovereign. Most of the Grand Prince's support came from the boyars and he ruled with the assistance of a boyar duma in both legislation and administration but the duma had almost no authority of its own. The Grand Princes had authority over taxation and army administration including conscription. The latter was not

used in Nikitin's time with the Grand Prince relying on a small, well-trained guard known as the dvor (palace or yard) and modelled to some extent on the Mongol ordu. Authority in the countryside was delegated to namestniki (lieutenants) and volosteli (agents in rural districts) who supported themselves by keeping a share of the taxes collected. It is interesting to note that Nikitin uses the term namestniki to denote the vassals of the Indian rulers.

In the social structure, the highest layer consisted of the owners of large estates who were generally known as boyars. A stratum of lesser gentry was in process of formation and were known in Eastern Russia as deti boyarskie or dvoriane.

The townspeople consisted of two main groups, the merchants and artisans. In some parts there were considerable numbers of both Germans and Jews in the urban population. Most of the merchants, like Nikitin, were native Russians. Their social position varied from area to area; in Novgorod and Pskov they enjoyed considerable prestige and merged upwards into the boyar class; in Moscow only a few of the richest merchants or gosti reached that position. One can assume, however, that Nikitin as a gost' in Tver was a highly regarded figure in the city.

As a result of the Mongol invasion the cities of Russia in the 15th century were less prosperous than they had been and approximately 95% of the total population lived in the country. Most people were peasants and whilst they were subject to various taxes and liabilities, they were, however, free men with the right to till their own plot and the right to leave that plot (by which they lost their rights to it).

Finally there were a number of slaves who belonged as chattels to their owners and were usually their private servants.

Such then was the background to the Grand Principalities of Tver and Muscovy through which Nikitin travelled on his outward journey. On his way home we know he travelled through parts of the Grand Principality of Lithuania for he died near Smolensk which in those days belonged to Lithuania.

Much of the historical background of Lithuania was similar to that of Eastern Russia. The area around Smolensk

had formed part of the early Russian land and had suffered at the hands of the Mongols. The Lithuanians in the course of their history had been significantly affected by the Germans through their struggles with the Teutonic Knights. The Grand Duchy really came to prominence under Prince Jagiello and his cousin Vitovt in the late 14th century. Jagiello became King of Poland on his marriage to Queen Hedvig of Poland and was converted to the Catholic Church as King Wladislaw. This was of great importance as Lithuania followed his lead and also became predominantly Catholic and this changed its traditions and culture to those of a rather more western orientated country. The Western Russian nobility in Lithuania however objected to efforts to convert them to Roman Catholicism and concessions were made and the existence of the Greek Orthodox Church was indirectly recognised. About 1457 Grigori was appointed Metropolitan "of Kiev and all Russia" by consent of the Pope and the King of Poland. He was not recognised by the Church in Eastern Russia and this was also a cause of differentiation between the two countries.

Wladislaw of Poland and Vitovt of Lithuania managed to free their countries from the Tatar yoke at the end of the 14th century, more than 50 years before Eastern Russia could be considered free. Thus cultural differences grew between the Russian lands under Lithuanian domination and those of the East. These changes coincided with changes in the languages of the various areas: the E. Slav tongue was then differentiated into three distinct languages, Great Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian, of which the first was the language of the Eastern, Russian-ruled area, and the latter two were spoken in the Lithuanian dominated part.

Constitutionally too the two areas differed:

"In contrast to the growth of the authoritarian and centralised regime in Muscovy, the government of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was based on the principles of federation and constitutional rights. After the first treaty of union between Poland and Lithuania (1385), the constitution of Lithuania was revised according to the Polish pattern. The grand duke was assisted by a council of dignitaries known as the pany-rada (lords in council), corresponding to the boyar duma of Muscovy but with much more authority. In Poland alongside this aristocratic body there

arose a representative assembly of the provincial gentry, the posolskaia izba (chamber of deputies). Together, the two bodies formed the seim (diet). The diet controlled Poland's budget, including expenditure for the army. Without the approval of the diet the king could make no important decisions in state affairs. Similar institutions gradually developed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as well.

The Grand duchy was not a centralized state but a loose federation of "lands" and principalities. Each land enjoyed far-reaching autonomy guaranteed by a privilei (special charter). In local as in federal affairs, the aristocracy occupied a predominant position." 4

The Grand Duchy was ruled, in Nikitin's time, by Casimir (King Kazimierz of Poland), a son of Jagiello.

It is interesting to note, however, that a concept of "Russian-ness" existed throughout the lands of the Eastern Slav people, despite its division into two major areas. From the time of Ivan I (1328-41) the rulers of Muscovy had called themselves "grand princes of Moscow and all Russia", while those of Lithuania were known as "the grand dukes of Lithuania and Russia". A "List of All Russian Cities, Distant and Near", possibly compiled in the late 14th century or early 15th century, includes cities throughout the lands of Western Russia as we now know it and even one in present day Rumania.

There remain two other areas in the West which should be mentioned, Podolia and Wallachia, both mentioned by Nikitin in comparison to Bidar.

Podolia is a region in the South Western Ukraine lying between the rivers Dniestr and Bug and in Nikitin's time it had its own local ruler who was a vassal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Wallachia is today part of Rumania and takes its name from its inhabitants the Wallachs or Vlachs whose language is basically of Latin origin though with a large number of Slavonic elements. It formed an independent principality in the late 13th century but fell to the Ottoman Turks a few years after Nikitin's death.

There is no mention in the text of Nikitin's having set foot in either of these two areas. He simply mentions them as examples of fruitfulness in comparison to Bidar. V.A. Kuchkin 5

puts forward the theory however that Nikitin passed through both these areas on his way from Kaffa to Smolensk.

Before moving on to other subjects, let us take a closer look at the Russian merchant of the 15th century of whom, one may suppose, Nikitin was not untypical.

We have already seen that, whilst their position varied from place to place, they were a privileged minority, set above the bulk of the townspeople, if not always merging into the boyar class.

Whilst the merchants did not form powerful guilds as did many of their contemporaries in Western Europe, they did often form loose associations which will be referred to below as guilds. These often dated back to the 13th century when the Tatars levelled a tax or tanga on the richest merchants as individuals, but those of medium wealth were organised into associations for assessment. In Nikitin's time merchants carried on their trade at their own risk but in many places guilds were formed to represent their interests and these certainly existed in Moscow, Novgorod and Tver. These guilds were sometimes based on common interests but often on a common city of origin. They were often based on a church, whose patron saint would be the patron saint of the guild. These churches not only catered for the spiritual care of the merchants but often provided warehouse capacity and a place of refuge in their stone buildings.

In some places merchants actually built churches dedicated to the patron saints of their home towns which then served as the centre for their activities in another city. This happened at Torzhok, an important transit point on the route between Moscow, Tver and Novgorod, where the merchants of Novgorod built the Church of the Transfiguration.

The role of the merchants' guild should not be over-estimated: distant journeys were usually undertaken independently and at their own risk. A certain merchant of Pereyaslavl undertook three trips to the distant Pechora region: he just managed to break even after the first trip, he returned from the second a rich man and he did not return at all from the third.<sup>6</sup> For all we know the story of Nikitin may have been very similar and the fate of both the little

known merchant of Pereyaslavl and the famous one of Tver show what a risky business travel was in those days. In 1489 120 Russian merchants were killed by the Crimean Tatars on the lower reaches of the Dnepr.

The merchants themselves were generally literate, for this was a necessity for the conduct of their business. Nikitin's account shows that reading was not, however, confined to business documents but in his case certainly extended to a number of religious books and whilst his writing made no pretensions to high literary style, it was clear and expressive.

In Muscovy, the merchant classes enjoyed certain privileges such as relief from taxation and levies and they were also held to be subject only to the justice of their own principality and were not therefore liable to be dealt with twice for any offence.

Merchants were subject to many dangers and were often attacked by marauding bands such as groups of Crimean Tatars. They often travelled in large caravans or with diplomatic missions to benefit from extra protection. An Austrian diplomat, Sigismund Herberstein, who visited Russia in the early 15th century, left an account of merchant life. He described a caravan of more than 1,000 members with the most important and influential merchants at the head followed by small groups of minor merchants linked by the area from which they came or by friendship. Trade reached quite large proportions: Ivan III complained to the Crimean Tatars that goods worth thousands of roubles had been stolen while there are records of other merchants each dealing in goods worth several hundred roubles, a large sum in those days.

Competition was fierce, too, between the merchants of different principalities. There were frequent clashes, along the Volga and in the Northern regions, between the merchants of Novgorod and of Moscow. This struggle continued to smoulder during the 14th and part of the 15th centuries and was very bad for trade. According to Afanasy Nikitin i ego vremya<sup>7</sup> the Russian merchant class actively supported the Grand Prince of Muscovy in the centralising of power and in 1478, when Ivan III led a campaign against Novgorod, the merchants of the North-Eastern and Southern Russian regions considered that their interests were linked with those of Moscow, and they rushed to

the aid of Pskov and then to the aid of Ivan.

Apart from the dangers of attack, travelling conditions were terrible. In summer, roads through the northern regions were often impassible for mud, whilst in the south there were long stretches of almost waterless steppe to be traversed. At that time of year it was preferable to use the waterways such as the Volga. Covered carts were used for crossing the steppe. Travel was actually easier in the winter when goods could be transported in covered one-horse sleighs over the frozen ground, though the risk of being overwhelmed by blizzards or frozen to death remained very real.

One of the main routes was the Volga despite the risk of attack by pirates. Russian ships arrived in Ashtarkhān each summer to buy salt and fish and to trade with the merchants from the East or from the Khānates. The ships varied greatly in size from a few tons to several hundred tons. The journey upstream was very slow but considerably faster downstream. Two voyages were made a year from Nizhny Novgorod to Ashtarkhān. The Don, the Oka and many of the northern rivers were also important trade routes.

By the 15th century there was a complicated and well developed system of trade routes through Russia, many of which dated back to prehistoric times. One of the main crossroads for these routes was the Volga-Oka basin, an area in which lay both Moscow and Tver. Routes led down the Volga to Sarāi and Ashtarkhān and thence to the Caucasus, Central Asia and Persia. To the south, routes followed the Oka or the Moscow River, or led across the steppes to the sea of Azov and the Crimea and thence to Constantinople, or via the towns on the Black Sea to Greece or Italy.

Other routes to the west lay overland to the Dnepr, through Kiev, (itself an important crossroads) and on to the Crimea or to Lithuania and other parts of Western Europe. To the north routes led, via Novgorod and Pskov, to the Baltic and again to Lithuania.

During the period of Mongol domination the Volga routes assumed a particular importance as so much of Russian trade at that time had to be conducted with the Mongols and the lands in which they held sway. By 1500, however, the overland route to the Crimea was well used and in that year 60

gosti accompanied a Muscovite embassy to the Crimea and of that number 13 came from Moscow, five from Tver and others came from Kolonna, Mozhaïsk, Yaroslavl and Novgorod. <sup>8</sup>

As Russia gradually emerged from the "Tatar Yoke", merchants from Western Europe also began to penetrate its fastnesses. Colonies of Greeks, Italians, Armenians and various Moslems were established in Moscow in the 14th-15th centuries. Armenia had long been important in Russian trade and it had been a centre for the exchange of goods between Russia, Persia, the Transcaucasus and the Golden Horde; the Venetians and Genoese reached Moscow from their Black Sea settlements. The Eastern merchants bought furs and saddlery in Moscow, whilst the Germans and Poles, who generally arrived in the winter, also bought furs. Trade was also carried on in livestock with herds of horses, sheep and cattle being bought for sale from the Mongol lands. It is known that rich fabrics were brought to Tver in the 14th century from far-away Herat. From the West, Russia imported arms and cloth of various kinds including Flemish broadcloth.

Kiev was, with Moscow, Tver and Novgorod, an important trading centre. Via her trade route to the Crimea were imported goods of Persian, Indian and Syrian origin. Herberstein notes that pepper, saffron and silken cloth were sold more cheaply in Moscow than in Germany.

The picture thus emerges of the Russian gost as a respected member of the society of the day. Helped by good fortune he could amass considerable wealth but he ran high risks in doing so and might well die in poverty in a foreign land. Nikitin's story illustrates this life very well. Whilst conditions in Russia might have been rather more dangerous for merchants than in some parts of Western Europe, it should not be forgotten that the life of a merchant in Europe in the 15th century was a very risky one and that many of Nikitin's contemporaries from England, Italy, Portugal, Spain and other countries of Western Europe also died far from their native lands.

Whilst frequent mention is made in many sources of the rare and valuable goods, such as jewels, spices and silks, which were imported into Russia, it is difficult to decide what goods Nikitin might have taken with him from Tver to sell in

Shirvān, his original destination.

Probably the most important export from the territories through which Nikitin passed and which today form part of the Soviet Union, were the herds of semi-wild horses which were driven through Persia and shipped thence to India. Barbaro, who visited the region in the mid-15th century, mentions this trade, together with the trade in camels to Persia and cattle to Germany and Italy. This area, however, was not ruled in Nikitin's day by the Russian princes and this trade was in the hands of the Moslem Khañs of the Tatar Horde.

Similarly it is known that considerable quantities of corn were exported across the Black Sea, especially from the port of Tana, but this again was a product rather of the steppes than of the edge of the forest zone where Tver was situated.

Furs are the commodity most frequently mentioned in connection with medieval Russian exports. The pelts of ermine, squirrel, sable, fox, wolf, bear, badger, mink, marmot, fitch, marten and musquash were highly prized, not only for the obvious practical reason that they were warm to wear, but also for their rarity in lands where they could not be easily obtained, which led to their being valued as status symbols. Contarini mentions the presence of German and Polish merchants in Moscow for the purpose of buying furs and Clavijo saw Russian furs and linens being bartered at Samarqand for silk, gems, musk and rhubarb from China. Nikitin almost certainly had furs with him, for when he spoke of the Tatar attack on the group of boats taking him and his companions down the Volga he said: "a moya rukhlyad' vsya v menshem' sudne". The term rukhlyad' which now means "junk, old furniture", once meant "furs" and it must clearly have had that meaning in this context.

D.M. Lebedev<sup>9</sup> points out that craft industries were thriving at that time and that a large part of the production of any town was surplus to local requirements and could be exported. Many fine linen goods fell into that category. Ironworking and blacksmithing were important and Russian steel was very highly regarded at that time. Locks were made in Tver in the 15th century and may have been exported. There was also a trade in silver and bronze goods. In the areas on the edge of the forest zone, woodworking was important and fine wooden articles were produced such as the wooden dishes made

at the Troitsky - Sergiev Monastery. Very fine leather articles, especially boots and saddlery were produced in cattle-raising areas (though they were probably not amongst Nikitin's wares as Tver lay far north of the cotton producing areas). Wax and honey were important commodities and trade in them centred on Pskov. A.I. Pashkova also mentions iron goods, salt and potash as items of trade <sup>10</sup>.

It should not be forgotten either that by the mid-15th century firearms were being manufactured in Eastern Russia in Moscow and Tver with some of the best guns being produced in Tver. It was said of the cannon founders of Tver that not even in Germany were there more skilful masters. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Nikitin was a medieval arms dealer, taking with him samples of the latest cannon and handguns which might be of interest to the ruler of Shirvān.

There was one semi-precious stone which was found in the land of Russia and further north around the Baltic Sea - amber. It was a highly prized commodity from very early times and may well have been exported to the south and east via Tver.

The most comprehensive list of goods exported from Russia is to be found in Giles Fletcher's Of the Russe Commonwealth of 1591 and includes furs, wax, honey, tallow (for which Tver was one of the best sources), leather, "train oil drawn out of the seal fish", caviar, flax and hemp, salt, mica, tar and walrus ivory. He was of course writing more than a century after Nikitin and of goods for the English market; Nikitin would hardly have been taking either caviar or salt to the lands around the Caspian. His cargo, however, was probably made up of a selection of the commodities of which furs were almost certainly the most important.

b) Places in Russia mentioned in the Khozhenie

Tver: is known today as Kalinin. It was renamed in 1933 in honour of M.I. Kalinin (1875-1946), a former President of the USSR. It is the capital of the Kalinin region of the RSFSR and stands at the confluence of the Volga and Tversta rivers and near their confluence with the R. Tmaka, 150 miles north-west of Moscow.

Tver appears to have been founded by Prince Vsevolod of Vladimir (1134-1181) to protect this part of his principality against Novgorod. The main part of the town then stood on the left bank of the Volga. In 1240 Yaroslav Vsevolodovich built a wooden kreml on the right bank of the river. In 1246 it became the capital of an independent principality under Yaroslav, the brother of Prince Alexander Nevsky. By 1327 its kreml was large and well fortified. A well organised uprising against the Tatars led to a punitive raid on the city by Ivan Kalita on behalf of the Khān Uzbek. (For further information on the history of the Principality see notes above).

During the 14th and 15th centuries Tver was famous for the high quality of its craftsmanship. The masons not only built churches in their own city but were sought after to build them in other cities also. Bells and armaments were made there and by the beginning of the 15th century the local artillery was the strongest in Russia. Tver had its own mint and was famous for jewellery and fine metal work.

The Spas Zlatoverkhý cathedral was built in stone at the end of the 12th century. The city was however ruined by the Poles during the Time of Troubles and later swept by fire (1763). The cathedral was pulled down in the 17th century and replaced by another of the same name. After its devastation the city was rebuilt as a planned town and very few old buildings still survive. The oldest of these is the White Trinity Church (ca. 1563-1564). There is a fine modern monument to Afanasy Nikitin, one of the city's most famous sons.

Kalinin today stands in the centre of the flax growing area and is an industrial centre and river port, the Volga still being an important communications route. It also stands on the Moscow-Leningrad railway and railway rolling stock is built

there. Other manufactures include textiles, clothing, plastics, leather goods and textile machinery. There is a large printing works.

The population in 1970 was 345,000.

Smolensk: a city known as the "key and gate of Russia" lies on both sides of the River Dniepr, 230 miles WSW of Moscow. The city which, in 1970 had a population of 211,000, is the capital of the Smolensk region of the RSFSR.

The city is very ancient, being first mentioned in 863 as the chief town of the Slav tribe of the Krivichi. It lies on the great commercial route between the Baltic and Constantinople. It was conquered by Prince Oleg in 882 and from 1054 it changed hands frequently belonging, at various times, to the Tatars, the Muscovites, the Lithuanians and the Poles. In the 11th and 12th centuries it was a semi-independent principality including Vitebsk, Moscow, Kaluga and parts of the Pskov region. It flourished under Prince Rostislav, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. In the 14th century it came under the influence of the Lithuanians and was annexed to Lithuania in 1408. In 1388 plague and cholera ravaged the city which was said to have had but 10 survivors. In 1449 the Moscow princes renounced their claims upon Smolensk. Nevertheless this important city, which then had a population of nearly 100,000, was a constant source of contention between Moscow and Lithuania. In 1514 it fell under Russian dominion; but during the disturbances of 1611 it was taken by Sigismund III of Poland, and it remained under Polish rule until 1654, when the Russians retook it. In the 18th century it played an important role as a basis for the military operations of Peter the Great during his wars with Sweden. Napoleon defeated the Russian armies there in 1812 and there was heavy fighting again in the 2nd World War. In each conflict the city was all but destroyed.

Within the city are the remains of the old kreml, built during the reign of Boris Godunov on the high crags on the left bank of the river. The Cathedral of the Assumption was built in 1679-1722 on the site of a building dating from 1101 and destroyed by the Poles in 1611. The oldest remaining building is the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul which dates from 1146.

The city today is an important railway junction and industrial centre. Linen, textile and other machinery, clothing, knitwear, footwear and furniture are among the chief manufactures. Flour-milling, brewing and sawmilling are also carried on, ceramics are made and also wooden ware. The city also has a University.

Nikitin died before reaching the city in 1472. At that period it was of course in the hands of the Lithuanians.

Kalyazin: a small town on the Volga, ENE of Tver (Kalinin). With regard to the Makarevsky Monastery, see note 16, p. 74.

Uglich: a small town (population in 1970 - 30,000) on the Volga, ENE of Tver (Kalinin) - at this point the Volga runs ENE from Tver before turning southwards towards the Caspian. The name of the town is believed to derive from R. ugol, meaning 'angle', and referring to this curve in the river.

According to legend the town was founded in 937 but records only date from 1149. In 1209 the town is recorded as having belonged to the principality of Rostov but in 1218 it became the centre of an autonomous principality. It was twice razed to the ground by Tatar attacks (in 1237 and 1284) but in 1375 Ivan Kalita purchased it from the Tatars and it became part of the Grand Principality of Muscovy. In Nikitin's time it belonged to Muscovy and was ruled by Prince Andrei Bolshoi, the brother of Ivan III, as part of his apanage.

There are many old buildings in the town but none pre-dating Nikitin's visit, though the Palace of the Princes was built in 1480 by Prince Andrei.

The principal industries of the town today are metal-working and machine-building. There is also a watch factory there. The town is the cheese-making centre for the surrounding dairy farming area. Near the city there is an important hydro-electric power plant. Paper milling is carried on locally.

Kostroma: lies 45 miles ENE of Yaroslavl, at the confluence of the Volga and the Kostroma River, which is also navigable. Because of its position it is quite an important river port. It is the capital of the Kostroma region of the RSFSR and in 1970 had a population of 223,000. It has been famous since the 16th century for linen, which was formerly exported to

Holland. Much of the Kostroma province is afforested and the timber industry has long been important. Today sawmilling, papermaking and the making of wooden ware are still important. Kostroma was also a centre of the textile industry, and cotton goods, clothing and footwear are still made. The town is also engaged in the metal industry and various metal goods are made there, and excavators are built there.

The town was founded in 1152. Its fort was often the refuge of the Princes of Moscow during time of war but it was plundered more than once by the Tatars. The Cathedral was first built in 1239 and rebuilt in 1773. It is a fine example of Russian architecture and stands within the kreml. On the opposite bank of the Volga stands the Ipatievsky Monastery, founded in 1330, with a cathedral built in 1586, both associated with the election of Tsar Michael in 1613. Today the glittering gilded cupolas of the city make it a conspicuous feature of the landscape as it climbs up the terraced river bank and it was, no doubt, an impressive sight when Nikitin sailed down the Volga.

Ples: a small town on the Volga, founded in 1410 by command of Grand Prince Vasily I of Moscow, son of Dmitry Donskoi, as a strong point for campaigns against Kostroma. It now lies in the Ivanovsk region of the RSFSR.

Nizhny Novgorod: the town lies at the confluence of the Oka and Volga Rivers, 260 miles ENE of Moscow and since 1932 it has been renamed Gorky in honour of the novelist and playwright Maxim Gorky. It has a major river port and airport and is capital of the Gorky region of the RSFSR.

Nizhny Novgorod was founded in 1221 by Yury, Prince of Suzdal-Vladimir, as a frontier fortress. It was sacked by the Tatars in 1377-1378 and was annexed to Moscow in 1417. By the second half of the 16th century it had become a powerful economic and cultural centre and in the 19th century its great fairs gained a European reputation.

Today the city (1970 population 1,170,000) is an important industrial centre manufacturing locomotives, cars, aircraft, machine tools, generators, radio sets, chemicals and

textiles. Other industries include oil refining, shipbuilding (including hydrofoils), sawmilling and woodworking.

The kreml and the city's two cathedrals date back to the 13th century and there are many old churches and monasteries. The upper part of the town was rebuilt on planned lines in the 18th century.

iii) Nikitin in the Khānatesa) General background

Whilst a very large part of what is now the European part of the USSR, including the northern principalities which have already been discussed, was greatly affected by the Mongol invasions, their impact in the southern steppe lands was of a different nature.

In much of the Mongol empire, the invaders exerted their influence by launching punitive raids against the local rulers and forcing them to pay tribute, and this was the case in a very large part of Russia. The Tatars, as they were known in Russia, subjugated most of the principalities situated on the edge of the forest areas, but few Tatars seem actually to have lived there, with the exception of the darughachis or baskaks who were posted to the courts of the various princes as political residents or collectors of taxes. The situation was very different in the southern steppe lands - lands favourable for the pasturage of the vast numbers of horses which were the strength of the Mongol armies and of the herds of cattle and sheep which they possessed. One can hardly speak of the Tatars settling in an area, as this was a conception contrary to their mainly nomadic way of life; but certainly these lands were occupied by the Tatars, who built in them the two cities of Old and New Sarāi and also made use of other cities such as Ashtarkhān and Kazan.

As already noted, the first Russian encounter with the Tatars occurred at the battle of the Kalka in 1223. A new Tatar campaign was launched in 1236 with the aim of defeating the Bulgars, whose lands surrounded the lower Volga, and other peoples on the eastern fringes of Russia as well as the Cumans and other tribes of the lower Volga and lower Don areas, thus safe-guarding communications between the Mongol heartlands and the armies in Russia. This campaign was led by two of Chengiz Khān's grandsons, Mōngke (Mangu in Persian) who attacked the Cumans, and Batu who attacked the Bulgars, and they achieved their objectives by 1237. They then captured the city of Ryazan on the middle Oka River and launched their campaign against Northern Russia.

From then onward, until the time of Nikitin's journey through the lands of the Khānates in 1466, the area up to a

line running approximately from Nizhny Novgorod to Lvov was continuously controlled and occupied by the Tatars.

By the beginning of the 15th century, following the struggle between Tokhtamysh and Timur, the Golden Horde began to break up. At Kazan in the west a cousin of Tokhtamysh, Ulugh Mehmed, became an independent khān in 1438 with the support of Lithuania. His rivals were Kepek and Devlet Berdi, sons of Tokhtamysh, and Barak, a grandson of Urus Khān, who invaded from Kazakhstan in 1422, temporarily driving Ulugh Mehmed to take refuge in Lithuania. Devlet Berdi seized the Crimea in 1425. Ulugh Mehmed temporarily regained control but was then forced to retreat to the upper Oka, where he was attacked by Grand Prince Vasily of Moscow. Ulugh Mehmed was murdered by his son Mahmudek, who was proclaimed khān at Kazan in 1445. Around Sarāi a separate khānate known as the "Great Horde" had been established by Kūchūk Mehmed in 1438. Another separate Tatar state came into being at Ashtarkhān somewhat later in 1466.

Meanwhile in the Crimea, Sa'id Ahmed had seized power in 1441 and been recognised as khān by Moscow, but his rather unwise support for a claimant to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania led to opposition by Casimir IV, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, who supported Hajji Girai. The latter reigned in the Crimea until his death in 1466 and established a dynasty which lasted until 1785.

It is not clear exactly which parts of the Golden Horde lands the various rivals held at this stage. All seem to have spent much of their energy attacking Moscow: Mahmudek in 1447, Sa'id Ahmed in 1449 and 1451, Prince Melim-Berdi, apparently a member of Kūchūk Mehmed's horde from the area around Sarāi, in 1450. None of these campaigns was more than temporarily successful. By this time there were four khānates which could threaten Moscow, those of Kazan, Sarāi, the Dniepr and of the Crimea. In order to counter the repeated attacks, Muscovy set up advance posts along the southern border of Russia on the edge of the Tatar controlled steppes. In 1452 or 1453 one of these, Gorodets-on-the-Oka, was made into a separate khānate, or tsardom in Russian terminology, under Tsarevich Kasim and became known as the Tsardom of Kasimov. The population consisted

of Tatars obedient to Moscow and of Meshcherians and Mordvinians, and the establishment of a Tatar state in the district presented no danger.

In 1466, the year of Nikitin's departure from Tver, Hajji Girai of the Crimea died and was succeeded by his ablest son, Mengli Girai. When Nikitin made his journey, most of southern Russia and the Ukrainian steppes, together with the middle and lower Volga regions, was under the control of the various Tatar khānates. Immense herds grazed the rich pasture of the chernoziom belt of southern Russia and prevented its use for other types of agriculture. In 1472, the year of Nikitin's return and death, Mengli Girai was still the khān of the Crimea, whilst the Great Horde, under Ahmed, had launched yet another attack on Moscow.

The lands over which the khāns held sway in Nikitin's time were quite diverse. Only a few Russian towns lay within the frontiers of the territory directly governed by the Tatars. The Tatars liked to occupy the steppe lands because most of them still pursued a semi-nomadic way of life and needed huge areas of pasture land for their flocks, whilst the majority of the Russian cities which had flourished before their coming were situated in the agricultural areas along the margins of the forest belt. Of Bolghār, the capital city of the Volga Bulgars destroyed by Batu in 1237, little is known. Along the shores of the Black Sea, however, the Tatars took over many towns which had been trading cities since the times of the ancient Greeks. Under Tatar rule the city of Ashtarkhān at the mouth of the Volga and the towns of Old and New Sarāi became important commercial centres.

Racially the Golden Horde was not predominantly Mongol, the bulk of the people being Turks. The Mongol element was descended from the original force led by Juchi. In part of the Golden Horde territory, west of the Volga, the Turks were mainly Kypchaks (Cumans) with some Khazars and Patzinaks, whilst in the middle Volga there were some remnants of the Bulgars and the Bashkirs. These Turkish elements of the population, who, together with the Mongols themselves, had accepted Islam, were fully integrated into the ruling hierarchy. On a lower political level stood the Russians, Alans, Circassians,

the Finno-Ugrian tribes of the lower Oka basin, and the Italians and Greeks of the Crimea and Azov areas.

Whilst the Mongol/Tatar military machine was formidably efficient, and their tax-collecting and judicial system was well organised, the Tatars were not able to set up a stable form of government. Time after time their dominance was undermined by internal struggles over the inheritance of power.

Commerce played a very important role in the economy of the Golden Horde and indeed of the whole Mongol Empire. Merchants, especially those dealing with foreign markets, were regarded with great respect by the khāns and grandees. They were often able to influence the direction of both internal and external affairs. Moslem merchants at that time formed a sort of international corporation controlling the markets of Central Asia, Iran and South Russia. For obvious reasons they favoured peace and stability in the countries with which they dealt, and since they could lend money to the khāns from the huge capital at their command, they could wield a great deal of influence.

It should be noted that the towns of the Tatar ruled areas in some ways differed fundamentally from those of the Russian heartlands. Many of the old towns of northern Russia were the permanent seats of local ruling dynasties and the administrative centres of their territories. They had generally been founded at the crossing points of ancient trade routes or in naturally defensible positions, and when they developed to a certain point, a social hierarchy led by the ruling family would usually emerge. This was not the case in the chief towns of the khānates, because the semi-nomadic Mongol rulers generally spent only a few months in the town and the rest of the year with their nomadic tribesmen. The Tatar towns, however, had highly developed crafts and industries and were important trading centres. A considerable proportion of the population stayed there permanently, and an urban class, consisting of various ethnic, social, and religious elements, came into being. The important towns had both mosques and churches. Since international commerce played a big part in the economic life of the Horde, these cities were also of great importance, but they were not fortified strongholds like the towns of the northern lands.

b) Places in the Khānates mentioned in the Khozhenie

Kazan: this city is only mentioned in the introduction to the Chronicle version of the Khozhenie. Nevertheless Nikitin probably passed through it as it lay on the main route down the Volga. It is today the capital of the Tatar ASSR (RSFSR) and stands near the confluence of the Kazanka River and the Volga. Its population in 1970 was 869,000 and its ethnic composition is very mixed.

The first city of Kazan was founded by Tudai-Mongke, Khān of the Golden Horde in the second half of the 13th century at a site some 30 miles to the north-east of the present city. The ruins of the city of Bolghār, capital of the Volga Bulgar state destroyed by the Mongols, lie some 60 miles to the south.

The city was moved to its present site in the mid 15th century and its kreml was built in 1437, just before the city was captured in 1438 by Ulugh Mehmed who made it the capital of a new khānate. Between 1445 and 1477 the forces of Kazan made frequent incursions into the Russian lands attacking Murom, Galich, Vladimir and other cities. A Muscovite campaign (mentioned in the introduction to the Khozhenie in the Chronicle versions), was led against Kazan in 1469-70 by Prince Yury Vasil'evich, a brother of Ivan III, but the city was not taken until 1552, when it fell to Ivan IV. In more modern times Kazan was laid waste during the Pugachev rebellion in 1774, and suffered severely during the 1917 revolution and again in the famine of 1921. In its heyday the city was known as the "Beauty of the East" and it contains a number of interesting old buildings. The remaining parts of the kreml date from after the time of Nikitin's visit but it is possible that parts of the Suyumbeka Tower were built in the early Tatar period.

Much of Kazan's importance has stemmed from its position as a river port and later as a centre for the rail network. Through the centuries the city has been famous for its leather industry, said to date back to the time of the Volga Bulgars, which produces many sorts of fine leather goods. More than a half of Russian furs are processed there. There are now copper-smelting, machinery, tallow, tobacco, felt boot, textile and brewing industries in the city, and its soap, glycerine and toilet articles factory was once famous. Amongst other

local products are photographic film, typewriters and synthetic rubber. The Kazan fair was formerly a great centre for trade between western Russia and Turkestan and was held on an island in the Volga opposite the town. It is the seat of the State University founded in 1804 and of a branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Uslan: a small town on the right bank of the Volga above the town of Kamyshin.

Sarāi: it has been established that there were two towns, capitals of the land of the Golden Horde, both called Sarāi. The first was founded by Batu, the grandson of Chengiz Khān, near the present day village of Selitrenny, on the Akhtuba, a distributary branch of the Volga, about 65 miles north of Ashtarkhān. It is generally referred to as Old Sarāi or Batu Sarāi. The second city was founded by Batu's brother and successor, Berke, and is known as New Sarāi or Berke Sarāi. It was situated near the present town of Leninsk (known before 1917 as Tsareev), about 40 miles east of Volgograd (Tsaritsyn). Nikitin evidently refers to New Sarāi which was the capital of the Golden Horde from the mid-14th century. In general it is difficult to differentiate between the two towns, as most sources simply refer to Sarāi, without making any distinction between them, though some Golden Horde coins minted c 1310 are inscribed New Sarāi.

Information about the two cities has been gleaned from archaeological research and from the accounts of chroniclers, geographers and travellers of the 13th-15th centuries. Ebn Battuta, who visited New Sarāi in the 14th century considered it to be one of the most beautiful towns of the east.

New Sarāi was built in the middle of a salt marsh and had no city walls. Part of the site was occupied by an artificial lake filled from the Volga. The khān's residence was a great palace surmounted by the golden crescent of Islam. There were at least 13 great mosques in the town. The houses which were built of wood or brick, were packed closely together and had no gardens. Different trades and nationalities had their own quarters of the city, and there were five great

bazaars. It seems to have been a very cosmopolitan place whose inhabitants included Mongols, Turks, Alans, Kipchaks, Cherkesses, Russians, Byzantines and Italians. Visiting merchants and other foreign visitors are known to have included some from Khwārazm, Central Asia, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. There were a number of Christians amongst the population, adherents of the Russian church and other churches; at one time the town was the seat of an Orthodox bishopric.

Excavations have revealed the remains of smithies, cutlery workshops, armories and factories for agricultural tools and for bronze and copper vessels. Tanning and weaving were also important. Most of the cloth produced was woollen but some was also woven from cotton imported from Central Asia. Fine pottery was produced, mainly in the Khwārazmian style which dominates in most of the remains which have been discovered, though some pieces showing Chinese, Byzantine and Mamluk influences have also been found.

New Sarāi was devastated by Timur in 1395 and captured by the Russians in a campaign in 1472. It was finally destroyed in 1480 by the combined forces of Ivan III and Mengli Girai, Khān of the Crimea.

Berekezany: was a small town on the delta of the Volga below Sārāi and north of Ashtarkhān.

River Buzan: is a small distributary branch of the Volga which leaves the main stream 30 miles above Ashtarkhān and rejoins it at Krasny Yar.

Ashtarkhān: (Russian: Astrakhan): the port in the Volga delta which was the capital of an independent khānate from 1466 until 1554 when it was conquered and annexed to Russia by Ivan IV. It stands some 60 miles from the present Caspian coast though probably much closer in Nikitin's time. Today it is the chief town of the Astrakhan Region of the RSFSR and an important Caspian port, even though it is ice-bound for 4 months of the year. Its importance has fluctuated, increasing with the exploitation of the Baku oil-field in the late 19th century and diminishing with the opening of the Volga-Don canal.

The city stands on the left bank of the main stream of the Volga on an island formed by the R. Bolda. The R. Kutum flows through the city itself and the two sides are linked by more than 30 bridges. Ashtarkhān stands 60 feet below sea level and is protected from the waters of the Volga and its branches by dykes. In the course of its history it had undergone many misfortunes: it was ravaged by Timur in 1395, captured by Ivan the Terrible in 1554, besieged by the Ottoman Turks in 1569, captured by Stenka Razin's rebels in 1670, plundered several times by Persians in the 18th century, badly damaged by fire on a number of occasions, and decimated by cholera in 1830 and famine in 1921.

The present city consists of the 16th-17th century Krem1 which includes a cathedral, the White Town (containing offices, shops, etc.,) and suburbs with houses built mainly of wood. There is a university. In 1970 the population was 411,000.

The port of Astrakhan dispatches timber, grain, and metals to other Caspian ports and oil, fruit (especially water melons), cotton and rice to upstream destinations. The fishing industry is particularly important and includes the catching, canning, and smoking of fish, and the preparation of caviare. Shipbuilding is also carried on. Other industries include saw-milling, the production of textiles and footwear, and food processing. Astrakhan also gave its name to the fur made from the skins of new born Persian lambs.

Begun: possibly the Begun promontory, a shoal in the delta of the Volga.

Balac1ava: a small town in the Crimea on the Black Sea coast lying about 10 miles from Sevastopol. The present population is about 7,000. In British history it is famous as the scene of the Charge of the Light Brigade in the Crimean War in 1854. The town is of very ancient origin, being mentioned by Strabo under the name of Palakion. In 1357 it was occupied by the Genoese, who built a fortified warehouse, the remains of which are still visible. It was taken by the Ottoman Turks in 1457 and was in their hands when Nikitin passed through. The main

industries of the town today are fisheries, limestone quarrying and vineyards.

Gurzuf: a village in the Crimea, 10 miles east of Yalta, on the Black Sea coast. The population is about 4,800. Remains of a Byzantine fortress of the 6th century can still be seen. Pushkin once lived there for a short time and the village has a park dedicated to his memory. It is best known today as a health resort with a warm climate like that of the Mediterranean and it has several sanatoria and rest homes.

Kaffa: (known today as Feodosiya), is a port and watering place on the south east coast of the Crimea. The town was known in ancient times as Theodosia and was a colony founded by the Greeks of Miletus. Archaic terracottas show it to have been inhabited from the 6th century B.C. It is first mentioned in history as resisting the attacks of Satyrus, ruler of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, in ca. 390 B.C. At that time and throughout most of its history it was important as the main port through which grain and other produce of the Crimea was exported. It is known to have been inhabited in the 3rd century A.D., but seems to have been deserted not long afterwards. The name Kaffa is first mentioned in the 9th century and shortly after 1266 the Genoese established a commercial station there with the permission of the Golden Horde authorities. The Genoese settlement flourished as the depot of a trade route reaching to China. It became the chief of the Genoese establishments in "Gazaria" (the land of the Khazars), the see of a bishop and the chief port on the northern shore of the Black Sea, surpassing the Venetian settlement at Tana. Kaffa fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1475 and was thus in their hands when Nikitin passed through. It was taken by the Russians in 1771 and annexed by them in 1783, when most of the Moslem population emigrated. Today the town has a population of 50,100 and is one of the chief ports on the Black Sea. The main industries are flour-milling, brewing and canning. It is also a health resort with many sanatoria and rest homes and its mineral waters and mud baths are said to be therapeutic. Although most of the old town was rebuilt in the 17th century, remnants of the fortress walls and towers date back to the 14th century.

- iv) Nikitin in Caucasia
- a) General background

The Caucasus, like Russia, suffered at the hands of the Mongols. In 1221 Mongol armies under Chengiz Khān's generals Subūdei and Jebe passed through the southern parts of the area and a number of the local rulers, in part very energetic personalities, were subdued by force and consequently lost their territories. Others saved themselves by skilful manoeuvring. The northern part of the area was subjugated by the Golden Horde and the Caucasus was the scene of several wars between the Golden Horde and the Il-Khāns (the Mongol dynasty founded by Hulūgu which ruled Irān). Towards the middle of the 14th century some areas managed to free themselves, notably Georgia. This period of relief was, however, short-lived and the whole of the Caucasus was subjugated in 1385-7 by the notorious Timur, who from his base at Samarqand, spread desolation everywhere he went.

Despite these invasions, local rulers had continued to hold office, though they generally had both to pay tribute and to supply troops to Mongol overlords. By Nikitin's time, however, some of these kingdoms had become independent.

Foremost of these, in the context of the Khozhenie, was Shirvān. The ruler of this area in Nikitin's time, and the Shirvān Shāh mentioned by him, was Farrokh-Yasār (1462-1500). The title dates back to the end of the 9th century. Farrokh-Yasār was the son of Khalilollāh (1417-1462) of the Darband dynasty who were the local rulers from 1382-1538. Under his rule the Shirvān territory stretched from the R. Kura in the south to the R. Samura in the north and included the towns of Shamākhi, Bāku and Darband. It was an independent state and enjoyed a period of economic and political prosperity, though this prosperity was not uniform throughout the area - the town of Darband was declining in importance whilst Bāku was growing.

There is strong evidence of links between Russia and Shirvān for some 35 years prior to Nikitin's departure. The writer of the "Skazanie o zheleznykh vratekh" visited this area between 1436-1447, and he may well have been an envoy to the Shirvān Shāh from the Grand Prince of Tver. Later a monk

of Tver, Foma, mentioned in his writings the visit to Tver of an embassy from Shāh Rokh, the son of Timur and of course we know from the Khozhenie that Nikitin was to travel with Hasan Beg, an envoy from Farrokh-Yasār to the court of Ivan III. It may well be that Shirvān was Nikitin's objective when he set off on his journey though he probably knew that the road to India lay beyond the Iron Gates of Darband for this was a fact mentioned by the author of the Skazanie o zheleznykh vratekh.

It is clear from the text of the Khozhenie that, whilst the Shirvān Shāh wielded much influence in this area, he did not directly control all the tribes. In particular Nikitin mentions the Qaytāqs, a tribe living in Daghestān, not far from Darband, which was governed by the brother-in-law of Farrokh-Yasār, Khalil Beg. It was they who took prisoner some of Nikitin's travelling companions and robbed them of their possessions. Whilst they released their prisoners at the request of Farrokh-Yasār, they did not return their goods thus forcing Nikitin to travel onwards to India.

The Qaytāqs inhabited the district and principality of Qaytāq in Western Dāghestān to the north-west of Darband. They are first mentioned by Timur's historian, Nizam od-Din Shami, in his account of Timur's campaign through Āzarbāyjān and Dāghestān against Tokhtamysh, the Khān of the Golden Horde, in 1395. At that time, according to him, the Qaytāqs were still "a people without faith", in other words pagans. According to the Venetian traveller, Barbaro, by the second half of the 15th century, there were, amongst the Qaytāqs, some "Greek" Christians (i.e. Georgian or Orthodox Christians) and some of the Armenian and Catholic faiths. The presence of the Catholics is explained by the activity of the Catholic missions sent to the Caucasus in the 14th and 15th centuries. However, at that time Islam was spreading amongst the Qaytāqs, and in Nikitin's time the ruling prince bore a Moslem name, Khalil Beg.

The Qaytāqs were more a geographical group than a single tribe. There were many Mongols amongst the inhabitants from the 13th century onwards. Today there are two main ethno-linguistic groups: One speaking the Daghinsky tongue (one of the Daghestān group of Ibero-Caucasian languages), the other

the Turkic Terek group, who may be the descendants of Turkicised Mongols and whose language is close to Āzarbāyjāni.

b) Places in the Caucasus mentioned in the Khozhenie

Darband: is a town and harbour on the west coast of the Caspian Sea. It is of very ancient origin, being known from the 6th century B.C. onwards. Great fortifications between the sea and a nearby spur of the Caucasian Range were built in the 6th century A.D., reputedly by a Sāsānid Iranian king for the defence of the Caspian Gate or Iron Gate against tribes from the north, such as the Huns. They were rebuilt at various later dates for protection against the Khazars. The name of the town in various languages refers to this position as a gateway. In Iranian tradition, Darband stood on the frontiers of Irān.

Up to the time of the Mongol invasion, Darband was the chief port of the Caspian and an important entrepot on the trade routes between Irān and Europe and especially Russia. In the 13th century, however, its place began to be taken by Bāku and by the 15th century it had declined considerably. The reasons for the decline are not clear, but were probably due to the continuing struggles between the Mongol rulers of Central Asia and Persia which affected trade badly and to the fact that the weak local rulers could not manage to maintain the fortifications and the port with the result that the merchants began to patronise the naturally and politically safer harbour of Bāku.

Judging by the accounts of other travellers and, in particular, the Venetian, Contarini, about one sixth of the town was lying in ruins at the time of Nikitin's visit. The inhabitants appear to have consisted of Turkic speaking elements together with people from the non-Turkic Northern Caucasian tribes and the tribes of Daghestān.

In Nikitin's time there was a regular trade route by sea between Darband and Ashtarkhān, rice and silken goods being carried north to be exchanged at Ashtarkhān by Russian and Tatar merchants for furs and other goods from northern lands. According to Contarini this voyage lasted 24 days and was

fraught with danger of attacks by pirates and the onslaughts of winter storms.

Darband passed to Russia in 1813 and now lies in the Dāghestān ASSR of the RSFSR. Its main industries are fishing and fish canning, the manufacture of textiles and wine, while glass is produced close by.

Tarkhi (or Tarkhu): a fortress on the Caspian coast of Dāghestān, usually identified as Makhach-Kala.

Shamākhī: is a town in Shirvān, now a district centre in the Āzarbāyjān SSR. Its existence was known from the 6th century BC. According to some of the descriptions left by 15th century travellers, it was a considerable town. In the Middle Ages it was notable for the export of silken goods whilst cotton was also manufactured. It was one of the residences of the Shirvān Shāh. According to Barbaro there were some 4000-5000 dwellings in Shamākhī in the 1470s, which would mean an estimated population of 18,000 - 22,500.

Bāku: Since 1806 Bāku has been a Russian possession and today it is the capital of the Āzarbāyjān SSR. It lies on the south coast of the Apsheron peninsula on the Caspian Sea and has a population of 1¼ million.

It is an important sea port and oil-producing centre with many oil related industries. The oil is pumped to the Black Sea port of Batumi by a double pipeline and is also shipped to Ashtarkhān.

Bāku was known to Arab geographers in the 10th century. From the earliest times its fame has been connected with its oil deposits and the fact that some of the oil wells burned spontaneously. The "inextinguishable fire" was mentioned by Nikitin and revered by the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers. In the Middle Ages the oil was used mainly as a weapon of war, to provide the "Greek Fire" hurled against the enemy by early artillery.

Up to the 13th century Bāku was a small place but, between the 13th and 15th centuries, it became the main port on the Caspian Sea. A 15th century description by a Mōslem geographer said that the town was built of stone and that the

sea came up to its towers and walls. There were two fortresses, one by the sea, so strongly built that even the Mongols were unable to take it, and a second in the hills. The land around the town was infertile and, as today, the fertile ground was on the north side of the Apsheron peninsula, some 30 km. from the town, where figs, grapes and pomegranates were grown. Quite large quantities of oil were extracted locally and exported from the town, and salt was exported from the salt lakes. There was also a trade in high quality silk.

The population of the town was exclusively Moslem (of the Sunni persuasion) but some 6 km. from the town there was a village of Armenian Christians.

The importance of Bāku increased considerably in the 15th century and it became one of the residences of the Shirvān Shāh, who built a large palace complex there, the remains of which are still to be seen.

#### The "Ordu" of the Shirvān Shāh

Nikitin describes his visit to the Shirvān Shāh as taking place in the latter's ordu or koitul. The meaning of these words has been discussed in the notes to the text - (note 32). The usual residences of the rulers of Shirvān in the 15th century were at Shamākhī, Bāku and the fortresses of Gyulistān and Bikurd. Both ordu and koitul, however, refer to a moveable camp, like the camps of the Tatar khāns and none of the above-named places fit that description. However an anonymous Persian author at the end of the 10th century mentioned the existence of a fortified camp belonging to the ruler of Shirvān and situated on a mountain named Fit Dāgh, some 6½ km. from Shamākhī, and this may have been the place to which Nikitin refers.

Georgia: is today one of the constituent republics of the USSR but for more than 2,000 years it was an independent Kingdom. It lies in the western part of Transcaucasia and is bounded by the Black Sea on the west, Turkey on the south-west, the Great Caucasus range to the north and the Lesser Caucasus range to the south.

Georgia was known to the Greeks and the Romans and was indeed conquered by one of Alexander's generals. From the

early years of the Christian era it was a semi-independent kingdom under the name of Iberia. Christianity was introduced in the 4th century A.D. and the majority of the people have clung to this faith ever since, despite Arab invasions in the 7th and 8th centuries and later Mongol, Ottoman, Turkish and Safavid Persian occupations. Byzantium exercised considerable influence on the Georgian Church but it remained a distinct national Church.

The kingdom reached the peak of its power in the 12th and 13th centuries which was its Golden Age of culture and influence. It was over-run by the Mongols in the early 13th century and laid waste by Timur in 1403. The country was freed from Mongol rule by King Alexander I (1413-1442) who subsequently divided it into three separate kingdoms, Imeretia, Kakhetia and Karthlia, under his three sons, and at the time of Nikitin it must have still been divided in that way.

Subsequently parts of Georgia were subject to Turkey and other parts to Persia. During the 17th and 18th centuries Georgian rulers occasionally appealed to the Russian tsars for help. The country officially became a Russian province in 1801 though some of the mountain tribes were not suppressed until 1829.

Nikitin did not visit Georgia, as far as we know, but he wrote that "in the land of Georgia there is an abundance of all good things" and he must have been thinking of the Black Sea lowlands. There the staple crop is maize which can be grown in the fertile alluvial soils. Orchard fruits, berries, peaches, apricots, vines, pomegranates, citrus fruit, tomatoes, cucumbers, beetroot, melons and other vegetables abound and bamboos and various narcotic and medicinal plants are grown. Tea and cotton are also important crops and so, today, is tobacco though it would have been unknown in Nikitin's time. Mulberries are grown for silkworm culture. In this case Nikitin could not be said to be exaggerating!

- v) Nikitin in Persia and the Middle East  
 a) General background

At the time when Nikitin passed through Persia and Asia Minor on his journey to and from India, the lands of the Middle East were in turmoil. They had all suffered from the depredations of the Mongols, but with the collapse of Mongol rule new forces had emerged and their conflicts made Nikitin explain:

"I know not my way nor whither I may go from the land of Hendustān. I may go to Hormoz, but from Hormoz to Khorāsān there is no way, nor is there a way to Chaghatai; nor to Bodata, nor is there a way to Bahrayn, nor to Yazd, nor to Arabia, but there is conflict everywhere."

(trans., p. 62 above).

These countries were a part of the heartland of Islam. Within 100 years of the Prophet's death, Islam had taken root in Persia. It was in Persia, too, that Islamic movements, such as the Esmā'ili and Twelver Shi'ite sects and the organised Sufi orders, had been most active. Not long afterwards, in 1501, Persia fell into the power of a Twelver Shi'ite dynasty, the Safavids.

In the early 13th century much of this area was under the rule of two great powers: the Khwarazmian Empire, centred on Khwarazm, Herāt, Merv and Balkh and the Caliphate of Baghdād, whose ruler may be said to have been the highest religious authority in Sunnite Islam. Besides these two powers there were numerous independent or semi-independent principalities whose frequent conflicts weakened them all and evidently blinded the rulers to the threat which was gathering beyond their borders.

In 1219 Chengiz Khān launched a campaign against the Khwarazmshāh who had put to death Mongol envoys. The cities of Bokhārā, Samārqānd, Balkh, Gorganj (then the capital of Khwarazm), Rayy and many others were taken and sacked. During the next 18 years Mongol armies swept through north-western Iran, northern Iraq, Armenia, Āzarbāyjān and Georgia. Most of these territories fell under Mongol rule. The minor dynasties of southern Persia were forced to pay tribute and supply troops,

and the Caliphate of Baghdād escaped for the moment.

The onslaught was renewed in 1255-58 by Hūlegū, a brother of Qubilāy Khān, and on this occasion Baghdād fell and the Caliph was executed. Some areas, however, remained unmolested, amongst them Herāt, the Caspian coast, Kermān, Fārs and Hormoz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Generally speaking, where the local rulers acknowledged Mongol authority and agreed to pay tribute, they were left in possession of their territories and only those who opposed the invasion were attacked. In the conquered lands which they directly ruled, the Mongols entrusted the civil administration to indigenous officials, often choosing Shi'ites and Jews.

Hūlegū's empire became firmly consolidated in the area between the Caucasus and the Euphrates, where ample pasture for his army of Mongol and Turkish nomads was available. He founded a new dynasty of Ilkhāns (viceroys) who gave nominal allegiance to the Great Khān, Qubilāy, who had moved his seat from Karakorum to Peking. The Mongol Golden Horde rulers in Russia, and the Chaghatāy rulers in Central Asia, refused allegiance to the Great Khān and frequently warred with the Ilkhāns of Persia.

The Mongols everywhere fell under the influence of the civilisations of the conquered peoples and in Persia, Russia and Central Asia gradually became assimilated with the Turkish elements in the local populations. In Persia a decisive phase was marked when the Ilkhān Ghāzān, on his accession in 1295, became a Sonnite Moslem.

The Ilkhān dynasty ruled and controlled the Persian plateau, Mesopotamia, Georgia and much of Asia Minor including the former Rum Saljuq territory and the Kingdom of Little Armenia. In the eighty years during which the dynasty survived, trading links with Europe were established, intellectual life was revived and the opposing powers of the Golden Horde, the Chaghatāys and the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and Syria were successfully resisted.

This relative prosperity was, to a large extent, lost in the 50 years following the collapse of the Ilkhānid regime in the mid 14th century. Persia and Iraq then fell apart under various warring local dynasties while Anatolia and Georgia broke away.

Disaster again befell these petty states from the direction of Central Asia. In 1369 Timur, an officer in the service of the Chaghatāyid Khān, shook off his allegiance to his master and made himself the ruler of Samārqānd. He spent the remaining 35 years of his life in destructive campaigns. He conquered the whole of Persia and Mesopotamia (from 1379 onward), Caucasia (1385-7), and Khwārazm. He also led campaigns into the territory of the Golden Horde (in 1391 and 1395), northern India (1398), Syria (1400), and Anatolia (1402), leaving behind everywhere a trail of massacre, pillage and desolation.

Timur's influence was universally destructive. His campaigns undermined Islamic civilisation. He did not create a stable government within his empire and thus deprived his subjects of any protection. Within two years of his death in 1405 his empire had fallen apart. The old dynasties returned in Anatolia, Iraq and northern India. Timur's descendants continued to rule for some years in Persia and Transoxania and tried to repair the damage caused by their ancestor, though his campaigns had destroyed much that was irreplaceable and killed many of the ablest inhabitants. It may be noted that almost all the lands through which Nikitin passed had been devastated by Timur and in some cases the results must have been still apparent.

After Timur's death in 1405, one of his sons, Shāh Rokh, gained power in Khorāsān in 1407 and later in Transoxiana. He proved to be a good and peaceful ruler and a protector of religion, scholars and poets. Under him Persia regained a measure of prosperity. His successors, however, fought among themselves and could not hold their territories together. This permitted the rise of new powers, whose struggle formed the immediate background to Nikitin's travels through these lands.

In Northern Mesopotamia the Torkman Black Sheep (Qara Qoyunlu) tribal confederacy ruled in Mowsef from about 1375 and survived Timur's onslaught. They seized Baghdād in 1410 and took Shūshtar in 1421. By 1412 Iraq and Āzarbāyjān were subject to this Torkman dynasty. They made Tabriz their capital and, despite struggles over the succession, held out against

the Timurids. Their last great ruler, Jāhān-Shāh Mirzā, had continuous struggles with the Timurid prince Abū Sa'id, which resulted in various parts of Persia changing hands several times. He also had to contend with revolts by his sons. In 1466 he died in battle with the Aq Qoyunlu (see below) and within two years the whole of his territory fell to them. The Qara Qoyunlu were Shi'ites but not of the Twelver Sect.

The Torkmans of the Aq Qoyunlu (White Sheep) confederacy were Sunnites and proved formidable enemies of the Timurids. Based in Eastern Anatolia, they had long been in conflict with the Qara Qoyunlu and had at one time almost been eliminated. From 1449 onwards under an able leader, Uzun Hasan, they expanded their sphere of influence and succeeded in wiping out the Qara Qoyunlu between 1466 and 1468. Uzun Hasan then moved against Abū Sa'id, defeated and executed him at Tabriz in 1469, and thus came to dominate western and southern Persia. He never attacked eastern Persia as he feared the rise of a new power, the Ottoman sultanate, which was then busy subduing and annexing the small Turkish states of Asia Minor. During his struggles with the Ottomans, he suffered several defeats but managed to hold on to most of his territory. After his death in 1478, his empire was rent by disputes amongst his sons and no longer posed a threat to either the Ottomans or the Timurids. Uzun Hasan was at war with the Ottomans when Nikitin travelled through eastern Asia Minor in 1471 and his account mentions the taking of the towns of Sivas, Tokat and Amasiya and an attack on Karaman.

In eastern Persia a Timurid prince, Hosayn Bāyqara, had to fight for several years from 1469 before he eliminated rivals and established himself as ruler of Khorāsān, with his capital at Herāt. During a long reign he made it a city of great cultural importance. No doubt his initial struggles were one of the reasons for Nikitin's comment that "there is conflict everywhere".

Khorāsān, which is frequently mentioned in the Khozhenie, then meant a much larger territory than the present Iranian province. The name was given to the whole region between the Salt Desert (Dasht-e Kavir) in the west, the Āmu Daryā and the Badakhshān mountains in the east, the Qara Qum desert in the

north, and the Hindu-Kosh mountains and the Sistān oasis in the south. Before the devastation caused by Chengiz Khān and Timur, Khorāsān had been a prosperous country. It lay across many of the great caravan routes, and its cities traded with China, India and the Volga lands; they were also important cultural centres. Under Shāh Rokh and Hosayn Bāyqara, prosperity revived to some extent. Its image was still such that, for Nikitin, it was synonymous with Persia. The Persians, who were an important element in the Moslem ruling classes of India, were then generally called Khorāsānians.

The last part of Nikitin's journey through the Middle East on his return from India took him through what is now eastern Turkey. Here again he encountered the problems of travel in an area where a struggle for power was going on. In the early centuries of the Christian era, most of mainland Turkey had formed part of the Roman and later the Byzantine Empire. The Turkish Saljuq tribes from Central Asia, who had conquered Persia and Iraq between 1040 and 1055, defeated the Byzantines in the decisive battle of Manzikert in 1071 and then settled in large numbers in Anatolia. The Saljuq Sultanate had reached its most prosperous and glorious period about 1220 when Chengiz Khān's Mongols invaded Persia, driving a wave of Torkman immigration into the Sultanate. In 1243 the Mongols swept into Anatolia and the Saljuq state collapsed. In the western frontier areas independent frontier princes or beys now ruled over territories won as a result of holy wars (Arabic - ghāza) against the Christians and these states were therefore known as ghāzi states. The greatest of these proved to be the Ottoman principality which in the next hundred years extended its sovereignty over the whole of Anatolia and the Balkans.

Bāyazid I (1389-1402) waged great campaigns in the Balkans and Anatolia, in the course of which he annexed Karaman and other principalities. He also encroached on the possessions of the Mamluks (who ruled Egypt, Syria and the upper valley of the Euphrates) and on Timur's sphere of influence in the area of Erzincan. Bāyazid turned this collection of vassal states into a centralised empire but was defeated and captured by Timur at the battle of Ankara in 1402.

Timur re-established the small Turkish principalities and divided the Ottoman domain into three parts under Ottoman princes who were to be his vassals. They were reunited by Mehmed I (1413-1421). Under Murad II (1421-51), Ottoman rule was reinforced in large parts of the Balkans which were under its sovereignty. He was succeeded by Mehmed II, known as "the Conqueror", whose aim was to revive the Byzantine Empire under Turkish rule. His first great success was the siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453. He then eliminated the remaining Greek states, namely those of the Comnenians in Trebizond and the two despots of the Palaeologus dynasty in the Morea, annexed Serbia and the whole Balkan peninsular south of the Danube, and finally occupied the ports of the southern Crimea (1475) and Otranto in southern Italy (1480).

While these wars were in progress a succession struggle in the Karaman principality in Anatolia brought Mehmed II into collision with the Aq Qoyunlu ruler, Uzun Hasan. After Mehmed's annexation of the territory of Karaman in 1468, Uzun Hasan, as we have already seen, continued to harass the eastern borders of Mehmed's empire and was only defeated in 1473 at the battle of Bashkent (Terjān). Uzun Hasan then made peace and thereafter refrained from incursions into Ottoman territory.

The position, therefore, in 1471 when Nikitin passed through Persia and Eastern Asia Minor, was that most of this region was under the rule of Uzun Hasan, although struggles were still continuing. Nikitin actually passed through the "front-line" area where Mehmed II and Uzun Hasan, together with the Karamanli forces, were waging a border war. He then traversed Ottoman territory and took ship for the Crimea from Trebizond, which had but recently fallen to the Ottomans, and reached Kaffa not long before it, too, was annexed to Mehmed II's empire.

Whilst all the countries of the Middle East through which Nikitin passed were in a more or less unsettled state, it should not be imagined that their social life was wholly dominated by wild, nomadic, warlike tribesmen. All had seen different civilisations come and go, all had noteworthy towns and fine examples of architecture and all had traditions of learning.

Literature and especially poetry had flourished in these lands, many specialised crafts were practised and trade was carried on with distant countries. Aspects of this civilisation are mentioned in the notes on towns which follow.

Although there is no evidence of visits by Russian merchants to Persia before the time of Nikitin, it seems at least possible that they were made. Nikitin was quite fluent in his "basic Islamic" and makes no reference to difficulties of understanding in his travels. The fact that he only left very scanty notes on his journey through Persia suggests that this part of his route was not "unknown territory" to Russian merchants of his day and his relatively detailed description of life in India suggests a desire to give them the benefit of his knowledge of an unknown land.

b) Places in Persia and the Middle East mentioned in the Khozhenie.

Chebokār: the identity of this place has given rise to discussion. In R.H. Major's English translation of 1837 it is given as Bokhara, but this seems most unlikely. In the 1948 and 1958 Academy editions it is given as Chapakur, a township in Māzandarān on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea to the west of Sāri. N.I. Vorob'ev, in an article published in 1938<sup>1</sup>, identifies it as the inland town of Bal'ferush (Persian Bārforush) situated to the west of Sāri and to the north of Āmol. V.V. Bogdanov<sup>2</sup> questions this identification on the ground that it would be more logical to look for Chebokār on the Caspian coast of Māzandarān and suggests an old sea port near the present Bandar-i Shāh on the Bay of Astarābād. This bay, he says, was linked in medieval times by trade routes to Turkmenia and Khorāsān and southward, via Sāri and Āmol, to the Persian Gulf. M.I. Vitashevskaya<sup>3</sup> suggests that Nikitin crossed the Caspian to Bārforush and then lived in Chebokār, which she identifies with the hamlet of Chapakur. This seems rather unlikely as Bārforush lies some 20 miles from the coast. Chebokār may perhaps be identified with the coastal village of Chāboksar in the extreme west of Māzandarān.

Nikitin's statement that he spent the second Easter of his travels at this place has caused some confusion (see Note to text 174). During the six months of his visit, if this statement is correct, he must have been trying to recoup his fortunes and to become familiar with the local conditions.

Sāri: the chief town of the Iranian province of Māzandarān. It lies today some 25 km. from the Caspian coast but this distance was probably less in Nikitin's day as the coastline has extended with the fall in the level of the Caspian. It was once the capital of a semi-independent state, Māzandarān. In the 10th century Sāri produced silken fabrics for which the Rus' sent their vessels. After the Mongol invasion, Sāri was left a medium sized town. Today fruit, rice and cotton are grown in the surrounding district.

Māzandarān: a province in northern Iran, lying to the east of Gilān and occupying a narrow strip of land between the Caspian Sea and the Alborz Mountains which separate it from the rest of Iran. The climate is subtropical with abundant rainfall, and the mountain slopes are heavily wooded with pasture lands above. The language, Māzandarāni, is an Iranian language, but considerably different from Persian. In the early Middle Ages the province was known as Tabaristān. In the mid-14th century the land was divided into 7 tumāns (see text note 55). The inhabitants were Shi'ite Moslems. The population was to some extent decimated by the Mongol invasion of 1220-30 and by Timur's campaign of 1392. The geographer Hamdollāh Mostawfi of Qazvin mentions the presence of Russian vessels in the ports of Māzandarān but this statement is probably based on 10th-11th century sources and refers to the Rus' and not to visitors in the 14th-15th centuries. It is known that, around 1472, Māzandarān paid tribute to the Aq Qoyunlu government in Tabriz to the tune of 120 mule-packs of raw silk per annum. It was at that time split up into no less than 12 feudal domains.

Āmol: a town in Māzandarān lying some 20 km. from the coast. In the 13th-15th centuries silken cloth, carpets and prayer mats were produced there. According to Hamdollāh Mostawfi, the local

gardens produced such an abundant harvest of every imaginable kind of fruit that the town would be able to withstand a siege without bringing in supplies.

Demāvand: is the name of a mountain massif, 18,934 ft high, the highest point of the Alborz chain. The summit is covered with snow at all times and is often shrouded in cloud. In the 10th-15th centuries the mountain was still an active volcano whose summit continually smoked. There are some 70 vents on the summit and the slopes, many of which still emit sulphurous fumes. The best sulphur in Iran is extracted there. It is known that in the 14th-15th centuries there was a lead mine on the lower slopes and a hamlet also named Demāvand (now a small town); this may be the place to which Nikitin refers.

The mountain is the setting of many legends. The epic heroes Jamshid and Rostam are said to have lived there and Feridun, the rightful king, took possession of the eternal flame there and locked up the usurping monster, Zahhāk, in a crater on the mountain (the smoke from the volcanic fissures being looked upon as the smoke from his nostrils). The story is strongly reminiscent of the Prometheus legend of Greek mythology. It was also said that some of the caves were filled with treasures guarded by snakes.

Rayy: one of the greatest cities of medieval Iran and indeed of the whole Middle East. Its ruins lie 8 km to the south-east of Tehrān. As Rhages, a town of ancient Media, it is mentioned in old Persian inscriptions at the end of the 6th century B.C.. The city was particularly flourishing between the 9th century A.D. and the first half of the 12th century. It was one of the great craft centres of Iran and was renowned for its manufacture of silken and other fabrics and for glazed and painted ceramics. Later it was weakened by civil and religious conflicts and in 1220 it was destroyed by the Mongols, who massacred or drove out its inhabitants, leaving it uninhabited and in ruins. Under the Ilkhān ruler, Ghāzān, an attempt was made to rebuild and repopulate Rayy but the site was abandoned some time later, probably because of earthquake damage. In the early 15th century, according to Clavijo, the Castilian

envoy to the court of Timur, who passed through Rayy in 1440, the city lay in ruins and was completely uninhabited. It was never rebuilt. The local governors lived up in the mountains or in the nearby small towns of Verāmin and Tirān (Tehrān). Rayy is often mentioned in documents of the 13th-15th centuries but these references are not to the city but to the military administrative district (tumān) which bore the same name. The chief centre of this district in the late 15th century was the town of Verāmin. It seems probable that Nikitin's reference to Rayy was to the district and not just to the city. In or about 1340 there were 360 hamlets and towns in the district of Rayy. The ruins of the city were excavated in the 1920s.

Nikitin says of Rayy that it was where:

"..... they killed the children of Shāh Hosayn 'Ali, the grandchildren of Mohammad, and for this seventy cities were destroyed ....."

He is referring here to Hosayn, the son of Ali and Fātema and grandson of Mohammad, who was killed at the battle of Karbalā in Iraq, in 680 A.D., in a fight with the troops of the "godless" Omayyad Caliph Yazīd. Hosayn is the third of the Emams venerated by the Shi'ite Moslems. Although he was not killed at Rayy, as stated by Nikitin, the rich city and province of Rayy were to be placed under the governorship of the Omayyad commander Omar b. Sa'd (son of the Arab general who conquered Iran) if the Omayyad force were successful. Thus the Shi'ites look upon Rayy as "blood money" and the reason for the death of the holy Emām. The sixth Emām, Ja'far os-Sādeq, is said to have declared that Rayy, Qazvin and Sāva were accursed towns and condemned to destruction. Rayy, as we have seen above, was laid waste by the Mongol invasion and its ruin was seen by the Shi'ites as divine punishment for the martyrdom of Hosayn. This is the legend to which Nikitin refers.

R.H. Major refers to the city and its legend in his notes to his translation of the Khozhenie as follows (all spellings in this passage are Major's):

"Orey or Rhey, a city now in ruins, at a short distance south from Teheran, is generally supposed to be identical

with the ancient Rhages, the capital of the Parthian kings, where Alexander halted for five days in his pursuit of Darius. The ruins cover a great extent of ground, having in their centre a modern village with a noble mosque and mausoleum, - an oasis in the middle of the surrounding desert ... With regard to the curse alluded to, we find in Olearius .. who visited that country in 1637, the following passage which thoroughly confirms Nikitin's statement. Speaking of the ruins of Rhey, he says :- The soil there is reddish and produces neither herb nor fruit. The Persians ascribe the cause of it to the curse which befell that land on account of Omar Saad, who was one of the first military chiefs in the time of Hossein (Shaussen), son of Haly, their great prophet. This Omar, who first had made professions of friendship towards Hossein, being of the blood of Mohammed, and in great renown for his sanctity, there was no general found in Medina who would take up arms against him, except Omar, who was persuaded to undertake the war, by the promise of receiving the city of Rhey and its territory, which he had been coveting for a long time. But the death of Hossein, who fell during the war, brought upon that land the curse, which, by the common belief, still appears in the tint and barrenness of the soil"" 4

Both V.P. Adrianova-Peretts<sup>5</sup> and M.N. Vitashevskaya<sup>6</sup> suggest that Nikitin may have become acquainted with this legend through seeing a Persian "passion-play" on the subject. According to Vodovozov<sup>7</sup> these plays are put on annually in the present town of Rayy in the month of Moharram and their performance stirs great excitement amongst the audience. The modern Rayy is indeed not only an industrial suburb of Tehrān but also a religious centre containing the shrine of 'Abd al 'Azim, a descendant of the Emām Hasan, which is visited by large numbers of pious Shi'ites. There is evidence, however, that performance of "passion-plays" (ta'ziya) commemorating the martyrdom of the Emām Hosayn only became customary in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. On the other hand the practice of rowza-khwāni, narration of stories about Hosayn's martyrdom by professional story tellers, is much older. It is not impossible that Nikitin attended or was told about a rowza-khwāni.

Kāshān: a town on the Iranian plateau to the south-east of Qom and 3 days journey north of Esfahān, lying 1100 m. above sea level. Near the town are large kaolin deposits and Kāshān

has long been an important centre for the production of ceramics in Iran including earthenware, glazed pottery and the glazed coloured tiles used for the decoration of buildings. The Kāshāni potters were particularly famous for their articles decorated in turquoise glaze and with overglaze enamel decoration. From the 12th century onward they were also famous for lustre ware in which the various colours were given an iridescent sheen. In the Safavid period Kāshān became renowned for its velvets, satins and carpets. Its carpet industry, revived in the late 19th century, still produces very fine carpets.

According to the Venetian traveller Barbaro, who visited Kāshān in 1474, silken stuffs and other fabrics were made there in such huge quantities that merchants wishing to buy 10,000 ducats' worth could complete the purchase in a single day. At that time the town was 4 miles in circumference and densely populated.

N.I. Vodovozov<sup>8</sup> describes Kāshān as possessing many wonderful buildings and renowned for the production of Persian shawls, silken goods, bronze, gold and silver articles and for trade in agricultural products. The Kāshān oasis produces wheat, melons and figs but is small. The summers are hot and the scorpions have long been notorious. The population in 1966 was 81,651. Nikitin revisited Kāshān on his homeward journey.

Nā'in: a town on the western edge of the Great Iran Salt Desert (Dasht-e Kavir), lying about halfway between Kāshān and Yazd at the junction with the road from Esfahān. In the late 15th century it was a fairly important place.

N.I. Vodovozov<sup>9</sup> points out that Nā'in is not on the most direct route south to Hormoz and thence to India, which would have taken Nikitin through Esfahān. He therefore suggests that Nikitin had not yet decided to go to India but was merely pursuing his trading interests in Persia. On the other hand it is possible that the inter-tribal warfare, such as he mentioned on his return journey, made the other route impracticable.

Yazd: a town on the Iranian plateau, lying 1300m. above sea

level, 170 miles ESE of Esfahān. It is a provincial capital and its population in 1966 was 150,531. The town lies near the foot of the Shirkuh mountains in an oasis which is irrigated by a series of canals and very long qanāts (tunnels, also called kārez). In the 14th-15th centuries the oasis produced cotton, silk, fruit (especially pomegranates) and wheat but could no longer supply enough grain for the city's needs.

Standing at the junction of caravan routes leading to NW Iran, Khorāsān, Kermān and thence to the port of Hormoz or overland to India, Yazd was an important commercial centre. A large proportion of the inhabitants was employed in the textile industry. In the 15th century Yazd was one of the main centres of silk weaving in the Middle East. According to one 14th century Persian authority, the technique of mulberry growing and silkworm culture and also the quality of the raw silk was higher at Yazd than anywhere else. Most of the raw silk, however, was brought from Gilān. In the early 15th century, silk fabrics from Yazd were exported to Turkey, Syria, Central Asia, India and China. According to Barbaro, two types of silken fabric were produced and 10,000 packs of each type were placed daily on the market.

In the 15th century Yazd was surrounded by ramparts which dated back to the 12th century. The houses were built of sun-dried brick with domed and vaulted roofs. In Nikitin's time the town had an Aq Qoyunlu governor.

Sirjān: a town in S.E. Iran in the province of Kermān. In the early Islamic period it was the chief town of the province but was replaced in the mid-10th century by Kermān. In the 13th-15th centuries the Sirjān oasis produced wheat, cotton and dates. Sirjān had a strong fortress, but was devastated by Timur's troops and replaced by a new town a short distance away. In the Qājār period this town was called Sa'idābād and in Rezā Shāh's reign it was renamed Sirjān.

Tārom: a town in the south east of Fārs on the caravan route from Kāshān and Esfahān to the port of Hormoz. The town is sometimes called Tārom of Fārs to distinguish it from the

district of Tārom in the mountains to the west of Gilān. Dates, as mentioned by Nikitin, were exported in great quantities. Tārom, which has disappeared, was probably near the present village of Gahkom, the centre of a plain where dates are grown.

Lār: the chief town of the district of Lārestān in the south east of Fārs and on the road from Shirāz to Hormoz. In the 13th-15th centuries it played a leading role in the traffic of merchandise to and from India. According to Hamdollāh Mostawfi, the majority of its population were merchants occupied with sea trade. Lārestān was ruled by a local dynasty who, in the second half of the 15th century, were vassals of the Aq Qoyunlu. The rulers of Lār had the right to mint their own coinage. Nikitin stopped in the town on both his outward and homeward journeys.

Hormoz: a very important port at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, had two sites in its long history. Nikitin refers to both of them: the first, Old Hormoz, which he calls simply the Bandar (i.e. port) was on the mainland, probably near the present Mināb; the second was on an island, 6 kilometres or 4 miles (as Nikitin correctly states) from the nearest point on the mainland.

Hormoz is known to have existed in the Hellenistic period but it only came to prominence in the 10th century A.D. when, according to Arabic sources, it was the port for the province of Kermān and the whole of south-east Iran. By the early 13th century it was already playing an important role in trade between India and Iran and later it became the main entrepot for the countries of the Middle East (and thence Europe), India and China. In the late 13th century the Genoese suggested to the Mongol ruler of Iran that all trade between India and Europe should be directed through Hormoz and that this should be achieved by Mongol warships intercepting vessels from India and preventing their use of the alternative route via the Red Sea and Egypt. Indigo and horses were the most important single items of the trade, the former being imported from India and the latter exported to India via Iran and Arabia.

From 1100 A.D. Hormoz was ruled by a local Arab dynasty whose representative bore the title of Malek and sometimes Sultan. The town suffered under the Mongol invasions and from 1262 the Malek of Hormuz was a vassal of the Mongol ruler of Iran; Mongol dominance at that time does not seem to have been particularly strong as the annual tribute, according to Hamdollah Mostawfi of Qazvin, was only 6 tumans - an insignificant amount in comparison to the port's turnover. In the early 14th century, probably about 1315, the Malek of Hormuz was driven to relocate the port on an island because of repeated raids by marauding nomads. The island on which New Hormoz was built was rocky, extremely hot and soilless (though doubtless offering better protection from raiders). From that time on the new town and port entirely superseded Old Hormoz. It was captured by the Portuguese in 1507 and remained prosperous under their control. In 1622 the Safavid Shāh 'Abbas I captured the island with the help of the English East India Company. The port was then moved back to the mainland and has ever since been called Bandar 'Abbas.

Old and New Hormoz were visited by many of the notable travellers of the Middle Ages. Marco Polo visited Old Hormoz twice in 1272 and 1293. Ebn Battuta visited New Hormoz in 1331 and 'Abd or-Razzāq of Samarqand in 1442 and all have left descriptions. Among the Europeans who described New Hormoz, apart from Nikitin, were Odoric of Pordenone (1321) and Barbaro (1474). Marco Polo mentioned the trade with India in spices, precious stones, pearls, silken goods, gold and ivory, and gave a graphic account of the trade in horses. 'Abd or-Razzāq stated that there was no other port comparable to Hormoz and that merchants and travellers from all known countries could be met there. Business was done both in cash and by barter. The inhabitants were very handsome in their colouring, tall stature and good bearing.

According to Ja'fari (the 15th century author of a history of Yazd), in the late 14th century and early 15th century the Malek of Hormoz received a large annual income from the trade with India and China and from the local pearl fishing industry and his ample resources enabled him to maintain mercenary forces and a fleet. From 1396 he paid an

annual tribute to Timur of 30 tumans in money, pearls and cloth. He was at that time the overlord of all the islands in the Persian Gulf and of the Arabian coast as far as 'Omān. Malek Mohammad Shāh was able to send a fleet of 300 ships against one of his unruly vassals. According to Ja'fari's account <sup>10</sup> "people came many times from the direction of China in many junks with Chinese cloth and much cloth. He (the Malek) sold them pearls and king pearls and took from them many goods made of gold, silver, cloth and Chinese wares and he filled his treasury." It is clear from this and other sources that the ruler himself took part in the trade and was, indeed, its principal organiser. According to Marco Polo he had one further source of income - seizure of the goods of merchants who died in the city and, since the climate was notorious, their numbers were probably substantial. 'Abd or-Razzāq found merchants at Hormoz from Egypt, Syria, Rum, Āzarbāyjān, Mesopotamia, various regions of Iran, Central Asia, the Golden Horde, China, Bengal, Malabar, Vijayanagar and other parts of India, Aden, Jedda and other parts of Arabia.

At the time of Nikitin's visit to Hormoz the local ruler paid tribute to Uzun Hasan of the Aq Qoyunlu.

All accounts attest that the inhabitants of Hormoz were fond of luxury and pleasure. There are records of their fondness for music and of the beauty and the agreeable nature of their women. Although the island was barren, all kinds of food were imported from the mainland, together with fine Persian wine. To combat the burning heat many of the streets were roofed over with carpets or zinc sheets and camels with drinking water were stationed at the crossroads. Many of the houses were very luxurious and were draped inside with rich fabrics which diminished the effect of the heat. Some were surrounded by pools and, it is said that at the onset of the simoon or hot desert wind the inhabitants would take refuge in the pools. Marco Polo describes how some of the houses were fitted with ventilators to catch the wind. These were set to face the quarter from which the wind blew and allowed it to blow into the houses. Nikitin refers more than once to the great heat of Hormoz.

Nikitin purchased a horse before sailing for India,

thus participating in one of the main local trading activities. During the 13th-15th centuries there was a mass export of riding horses from Arabia, Iraq, Iran and even Eastern Europe, where horses were cheap and plentiful, through Hormoz to India, where they were expensive and difficult to breed. According to Ebn Battuta, riding horses for travel and rapid journeys were bought in southern Arabia (the Yaman and 'Omān) and in Fārs, and war horses which could be covered in chain mail were bought in the steppes of the Golden Horde. The Tatar horses were purchased quite cheaply and then driven down the caravan routes to Hormoz in great herds numbering up to 600, with each merchant owning 100-200. From Hormoz they were shipped to India where a tax was levied on the merchants. This varied from 2.5% of the value for Moslems to 10% for non-Moslems. As horses could be bought in the steppes for 8-10 silver dinars and sold in India for 100 dinars, the profits were very good, though no doubt many horses failed to reach their destination. Nikitin probably staked much of his resources to buy a stallion and take it to India. The horse trade reached vast proportions. In the early 13th century, 10,000 horses from Fārs alone, with a total value of some 220 gold dinars, are said to have been exported annually to India. The Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar, in their struggle to prevent the import of war horses by the Moslem rulers of the Bahmanid state, had recourse to piracy, which is also mentioned by Nikitin. Marco Polo accounts for the numbers of horses exported by explaining that the majority survived less than a year in India because of ill usage and because of a lack of "veterinaries" to tend them. Furthermore, according to him, the merchants did not send out any veterinaries or allow any to go, thus protecting their own interests. <sup>11</sup>

It is notable that Nikitin mentions most of the points which struck all the medieval visitors to Hormoz: the variety of nationalities to be met there, the wide choice of goods available, the great heat and the trade in horses.

Masqat: the town of this name was a small port on the coast of what is now the independent Sultanate of Masqat and 'Omān. As early as the 9th-10th centuries it was known as a point of

departure for ships to India and as a ship-building centre. In Nikitin's day it was ruled by a local chief who was a vassal of the Malek of Hormoz. The climate of Masqat was disagreeably hot and was said to be most unhealthy. The population was a mixture of Arabs, Hindus and Africans. The coastal plain on which Masqat stands produces dates, limes and other fruits which are the main exports of the area.

Arabia: Nikitin probably refers to the southern provinces of the Arabian peninsula, the Yaman, the Hadramowt and 'Omān, which carried on a regular sea trade with India and East Africa at that time.

Torkestan: in the 14th century this name was synonymous with Mugholestān and meant eastern Torkestan or Kāshgaria together with what is now the eastern part of Soviet Kazakhstān. Kāshgaria, after being conquered by the Manchus and annexed to China in 1759, came to be known as Sinkiang (Chinese for New Province). (See note 216).

Chaghatai: in the 13th-15th centuries this was the usual name for Central Asia. The Chaghatai Khānate was made up of Māwara'n-Nahr (now Uzbekestān and Tajikestān), Transoxiana (the south-eastern part of present day Kazakhstān) and Eastern Torkestan; it came into being as a recognisable state after the Mongol conquest and the death of Chengiz Khān when the area was allotted to his second son Chaghatai. He and his descendants were known as the Chaghatai dynasty and the land over which they had ruled continued to be known as Chaghatai even after the Chaghataiyids had lost power in most areas to Timur and the Timurids.

Jerusalem: mentioned by Nikitin as the centre of the Christian world. It is also a holy city for both Jews and Moslems.

Mecca: Nikitin rightly refers to Mecca as the spiritual centre of Islam. It was the birthplace of Mohammad (ca. 569-632) but had been regarded as a holy place by the pagan Arabs long before that time. Every Moslem who has the means ought to make the pilgrimage to Mecca once in his or her lifetime, and

large numbers did so even in Nikitin's time. The only building of note is the Great Mosque, in the centre of which stands the Ka'ba, a small pre-Islamic temple which contains the sacred black stone which every pilgrim should kiss.

Kalhāt: a town lying to the south-east of Masqat, of which only ruins now remain though it was once a flourishing coastal town.

Egypt: is mentioned by Nikitin as Misyur (from the Arabic Mesr which refers both to the country and the city of Cairo). In Nikitin's time Egypt was ruled by the Mamluks.

Qatif-e Bahrayn: Al-Qatif is a town which still exists on the Persian Gulf coast of Arabia opposite Bahrayn Island. The name Bahrayn was formerly given to this part of the mainland as well as the islands. In the Middle Ages the rich pearl fisheries of this region were famous. The fishermen had to hand over a certain percentage of the haul to the ruler. In the 15th century this area was ruled by the Malek of Hormoz but in 1507 Bahrayn fell to the Portuguese.

Jedda: the port of Mecca, on the Red Sea coast of Arabia, was notorious for its hot and unhealthy climate. In the 15th century many merchant ships called there and paid port dues to the governors of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Today it is a very important harbour and airport for pilgrims.

Shirāz: the capital of the province of Fārs, stands at a height of 5000 ft. on a plain surrounded by mountains, 110 miles ENE of Bushire.

After the Arab conquest, Shirāz replaced Istakhr (near Persepolis) as capital of Fārs.

The valley of Shirāz is noted for its pleasant climate, abundant supply of water, beautiful gardens and vineyards. The local wine is the best in Persia and, as such, was particularly famous and was exported. The valley was irrigated by means of canals and kārez. Wheat, cotton, fruit and roses were also grown. Another valley, not far from Shirāz, was

very famous for its continuous plantation of orchards and was regarded by Arab geographers as one of the four "wonders" of the Moslem world.

The city and its surroundings suffered comparatively little from the Mongol invasions. It came under the rule of the Timurids in 1393 and that of the Aq Qoyunlu in 1452. In 1469 Uzun Hasan gave the province of Fārs with the city of Shirāz to one of his sons, the Sultan Khalil, as his share, and he was ruling there when Nikitin visited the city.

Shirāz lay on the caravan route linking Esfahān with the coast of the Persian Gulf. In the 13th-15th centuries Shirāz was one of the most powerful trading centres in Iran. It lay at a crossing point of caravan routes and most of the trade between Iran and Central Asia and India passed through Hormoz and Shirāz.

Shirāz was also a great cultural centre and the birthplace of two great Persian poets, Sa'di (1184? - 1292) and Hāfez (1320? - 1390). Barbaro, who visited the city in 1474, estimated that the town and its suburbs had a circumference of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles and a population of 900,000. He also recorded that there were wine vaults in the city where merchants could keep their goods under guard.

Today the population is 269,865 and the town is an administrative, educational and commercial centre. The Qashqā'i carpets of the province are famous.

Gilān: is the westernmost of the two Iranian provinces between the Caspian Sea and the mountains. The area is heavily wooded and is known for its hot and humid sub-tropical climate and heavy rainfall. A wide variety of produce comes from Gilān and the other coastal province of Māzandarān, including rice, mulberry trees for sericulture, citrus and other fruits. In Nikitin's time the local ruler paid tribute to the Aq Qoyunlu under Uzun Hasan.

Baghdād: Nikitin refers to Baghdād as Vavilon, i.e. Babylon, which was quite a common name for the city in Christian languages in the Middle Ages. He also mentions a mysterious place, Bodata, to which no reference is made in the Russian

editions of his work. It seems at least possible that Bodata is a corruption of Baghdād.

The city had been one of the most powerful in the East and the seat of the Caliphate until its sack by the Mongols in 1258. Thereafter it lost much of its power and importance. In modern times it has recovered somewhat and is the capital of modern Iraq. There is no evidence that Nikitin visited Baghdād.

Homs: a town in what is today Syria. It lies in a large plain watered by the Orontes and is on a canal about one mile from the river. The neighbourhood is exceptionally fertile and the climate good. The gardens and orchards of Homs have always been famous for their yield. Silk has long been an important industry.

The city lies on the ancient trade route between Egypt, Palestine, Damascus and the northern lands and its plain has been a battlefield throughout the ages. In classical times it was known as Emesa and was devoted to the worship of the sun-god.

Damascus: Nikitin uses the word Shām which meant both Syria and the city (short for Demashq osh-Shām) but he almost certainly refers to the city as he refers to other places in Syria in the same context. Damascus, the capital of the modern republic of Syria, lies at the eastern foot of the Anti-Lebanon range at a height of 2200 ft. and has a population of some 500,000. It claims to be the world's oldest continuously inhabited city, a claim also made for Jericho. It has long been famous for its silks, leather, gold and silver filigree work, brass and copper ware, The waters of the Barada River irrigate fine gardens of apricots, figs, almonds and other fruit.

Few buildings, other than the Great Mosque (formerly a Christian cathedral and a pagan temple) survive from ancient times. Damascus is mentioned in the Bible in the Book of Genesis and has belonged at various times to the Empires of the Assyrians, Alexander the Great and the Romans. It fell to the Arabs in 635 and was taken temporarily by the Mongols in

1260 and sacked by Timur in 1399. In Nikitin's time it belonged to the empire of the Mamluks.

Aleppo: is now the capital of a province in the Republic of Syria and is the country's second largest city. Cotton and silk goods, carpets, soap and cement are all made there and it is also the commercial centre of the north, trading in cereals, fruit, wool and livestock.

Aleppo has a very long history going back to its occupation by the Hittites ca. 2,000 B.C. In Greek and Roman times, when it was called Beroea, it was subordinate to Antioch. In Ottoman times it flourished as a centre of caravan trade between Europe and Asia though it gradually declined with the opening of the sea routes to the East. Since 1918 the severance of Syria from Turkey and the proximity of the Turkish frontier have weakened its economic position.

Sivās: was not visited by Nikitin but was mentioned by him. It is the capital of a Turkish province, situated in the valley of the Kizil Irmak at a height of 4,400 ft., some 220 miles east of Ankara. Today, as throughout its history, its main trade is in agricultural produce; it also manufactures carpets and textiles. In the 12th and 13th centuries it belonged to the Saljuq Sultans of Rum and fine buildings erected by them still exist today. The city was sacked by Timur in 1400 and many of its inhabitants were massacred. In Nikitin's time it was probably held by Mehmed II "the Conqueror", though it was close to the area disputed between him and Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu.

Nikitin's comment that there was "an abundance of all good things there" seems a little strange for, although the climate is said to be healthy, at such an altitude the winters are very severe.

Abarquh: a small town in the Iranian province of Fārs, was ruled in Nikitin's time by a local dynasty paying allegiance to the Aq Qoyunlu.

Esfahān: an important city of Iran and capital of the province of the same name, it was known in ancient times as Aspadana.

Standing on the Zāyanda River, 200 miles south of Tehrān, it is the country's second largest town and was once its capital. Esfahān is a city of great charm and beauty and has long been famous for its textiles, especially prints, inlay work and ornamental metal work. Today, as in the past, it is a big centre for the manufacture of textiles. It is also noted for its excellent melons of a special kind.

The city has been known since very early times and, from the 10th century A.D., it has been one of the great cities of the Near East despite many calamities. It was captured by the Mongols in 1237 and, although badly damaged, quickly recovered its prosperity. In the early 14th century it was noted for its huge production of high quality cotton yarns and fabrics and also for the fertility of its surrounding area. During the 13th and 14th centuries, however, it was the scene of civil strife between Sonni and Shi'ite factions. In 1387 it was captured by Timur who is said to have massacred 70,000 of its inhabitants and built towers of their skulls. Not surprisingly Esfahān declined in prosperity after that period despite the efforts of Timur's son, Shāh Rokh, to restore it. In 1452 the city was taken by the Qara Qoyunlu and again sacked and it did not recover until the end of the 16th century. In 1469 it fell to the Aq Qoyunlu and was ruled by them at the time of Nikitin's visit. Most of the beautiful buildings which adorn the city today date from the later Safavid period (17th and early 18th centuries) but parts of the Masjede Jum'a date from the Saljuq and Mongol periods.

Qom: the chief town of the province of the same name stands on the Iranian plateau at a height of 3,100 ft., some 75 miles SSW of Tehrān.

Qom is a centre of trade routes but it is most famous as a Holy City and place of pilgrimage to the tomb of Fātema, the sister of the Emām Rezā, one of the 12 Emāms revered by the Twelver Shi'ites; she is buried there in a golden domed shrine. The city is also the burial place of certain Safavid and Qājār rulers of Iran.

The city suffered badly at the hands of the Mongols and still showed traces of the devastation which they had wrought

when visited by Hamdollah Mostawfi of Qazvin who wrote in 1339-1340. In 1474 Contarini visited Qom and wrote that the market abounded in all kinds of local produce and small goods, indicating that trade was mainly in local goods. Today glass, pottery, shoes and excellent carpets are made there. In 1468 Qom fell to the Aq Qoyunlu rulers and was thus under their rule at the time of Nikitin's visit.

Sāva: a town to the SW of Tehrān on the Qara River, surrounded by fertile agricultural areas producing cotton, wheat and fruit, especially figs, apples, quinces, pears and pomegranates.

Like many Persian cities it suffered during the Mongol invasion of 1220, when its famous library with its astronomical instruments was burnt down. It came under the rule of the Aq Qoyunlu at about the same time as Qom.

Soltāniya: lies about 35 miles west of Zenjan close to the main road between Tehrān and Tabriz. Due to its altitude (approx. 5,000 ft.) it has a fairly cool climate and is surrounded by good pastureland. This and the abundant game were probably why the Mongol Ilkhān, Oljāitu, decided to move his capital there from Tabriz in 1305.

Soltāniya soon grew in importance because it was not far from the intersection of five great trade routes leading to Baghdād and thence to Mecca, to Rayy and thence to Central Asia, to Arbadil and thence to the Caspian, to Sivās, Konya and Asia Minor and to Qom, Esfahān and the Persian Gulf. For a time numerous foreign merchants were based in the town, particularly Italians and Genoese. There was even a Catholic Archbishopric founded there in the early 14th century. The city suffered at the hands of Timur in 1386. Clavijo passed through Soltāniya in 1404 and noted that much trade was done in spices, fabrics and pearls. In Timur's time it was still important. In 1452 it fell to the Qara Qoyunlu who seem to have destroyed its economic prosperity which it never regained. When Nikitin reached Soltāniya it was under Aq Qoyunlu rule. It is now only a village.

Tabriz: is the capital of the province of E. Azārbāyjān and

one of the largest cities in Iran. It lies 325 miles NW of Tehrān, at a height of 4,400 ft. just north of the volcanic Kuh-e Sahand. It has been devastated several times by earthquakes.

Tabriz grew in importance under the Mongols who did not destroy it and made it their capital (except for a short time under the Ilkhān Oljāitu). It was also the capital of the Qara Qoyunlu and later of the Aq Qoyunlu from 1467 to 1501.

Tabriz, with its large size and population, impressed several medieval writers, among them Clavijo who gives a (probably erroneous) estimate of 300,000 inhabitants. It was a major trading centre lying, as it did, near the great trade routes. In particular it was a warehousing or trans-shipment point for goods coming from Asia, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean region and Europe. There were Genoese and Venetian consuls in the city in the early 14th century. Clavijo, who was there in 1404, wrote that he found food on sale in the squares of the city "nicely served forth for present eating", whilst drinking water was available everywhere, cooled in summer with ice.

Trade was not Tabriz' only claim to fame. Its craftsmen were renowned for their skill in the manufacture of silk and cotton fabrics, leather goods, jewellery, iron and silver goods and arms and above all for the making of carpets. Today the city is the market for the surrounding agricultural area with dried fruit and almonds as important items of trade. The local peaches are renowned. Carpets, textiles, leather goods and soap are manufactured there.

The Blue Mosque, built by Iskandar and Jahānshāh of the Qara Qoyunlu dynasty in the early 15th century, was famous for its beauty; it was destroyed by successive earthquakes, the last and worst of which was in 1780.

Tokat: the chief town of a Turkish province, lying on the road from Sivās to Samsun, some 50 miles NNW of Sivās at a height of 2,280 ft. It is situated at the mouth of a rocky glen which opens out to the broad valley of the Tozanli Su, a tributary of the Yeshil Irmak. Its situation and its fortress on a steep cliff gave it strategic importance under the Byzantines

and the Saljuqs. It became part of the Ottoman empire in 1392. Nikitin states that Uzun Hasan's forces took the town and this is known to have occurred in 1471 which is an important factor in dating Nikitin's account.

Today the main industries are the manufacture of copper utensils and the working of yellow leather.

Amasiya: the chief town of a Turkish province, is beautifully situated on the Yeshil Irmak and has some importance as a trade centre on the Sivās-Samsun road. In the 12th century it belonged to the Saljuqs, one of whose sultans enriched it with fine buildings and restored the castle, which was able to withstand a seven-month siege by Timur. This castle is situated in a good defensive position on a rock on the left bank of the river. The town was much favoured by the early Osmanli sultans, one of whom, Selim I, was born there.

Amasiya was under Ottoman rule from the end of the 14th century but in 1471, when Nikitin was in the area, it had been sacked by the forces of Uzun Hasan.

Amasiya today is a well built town with good bazaars and old warehouses and a clock tower. There are extensive orchards in the district and the main local products are wheat and silk.

Karaman: in the 14th and 15th centuries was an independent state in the south of Asia Minor, named after Karaman, the son of an Armenian convert to Islam, who married the daughter of the Saljuq sultan of Rum and received the town of Laranda, later known as Karaman, as a fief and was made governor of Selefke from 1223-1245. The name Karaman appears to be of Turkic origin and to have been the name of a tribe who settled near Laranda into which the Armenian convert was adopted. On the collapse of the Saljuq empire, Karaman's grandson, Mahmud (1279-1319), founded a state which included Pamphylia, Lycaonia and large parts of Cilicia, Cappadocia and Phrygia. Its capital, Laranda, was superseded by Konya. This state was frequently at war with the kings of Lesser Armenia, the Lusignan princes of Cyprus and the Knights of Rhodes. It also sustained a long struggle for supremacy with the Ottoman Turks

which only ended in 1472 when it was definitely annexed by Mehmed II.

Internal struggles for the succession seem to have been the factor which finally weakened Karaman to the point where the Osmanlis could take over. During these struggles the warring factions made alliances with such varied powers as the German Emperor, Sigismund, the Venetians, the King of Cyprus, Uzun Hasan of the Aq Qoyunlu and the Ottoman Turks themselves. After the Ottoman conquest some Karamanli groups held out in the mountains for several years.

Erzincan: a provincial capital in Eastern Turkey, it stands high on the plateau beside the Euphrates, 95 miles WNW of Erzurum on the main road from Tabriz to Ankara and Istanbul. Textiles, clothing and copper goods are manufactured there. The town has suffered severely from earthquakes throughout its history.

Trebizond: (Trabzon) is the chief port on the eastern part of Turkey's Black Sea coast. Ever since its foundation as a Greek colony, it has been a considerable centre of trade thanks to its position where the trade routes over the Armenian plateau from Persia and Central Asia descend to the sea. It also lies in a strong defensive position, being almost surrounded by a barrier of rugged mountains. These mountains ensure that its climate is humid and temperate unlike the hinterland which suffers extremes of heat and cold.

The city is situated on a sloping table of ground (hence its name from the Greek trapezus - tableland) hemmed in by rocky precipices falling to two parallel river valleys, which are spanned by massive bridges.

In 1204 Trebizond became the capital of an independent Christian state or "empire" founded by Alexius Comnenus of the former East Roman imperial dynasty. His descendants of mixed Greek and Georgian extraction were noted for their beauty and the princesses of the dynasty were sought as brides by the Byzantine emperors of the Palaeologus dynasty, by Western nobles and by Mohammedan princes, many alliances being thus forged. Of special interest in the context of Nikitin's visit is the fact that Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu's grandmother, mother and his wife, Theodora, were all members of the Comnenia family. Uzun

Hasan's mother, Sārā Khātun, was a considerable diplomat and, when the last king of Trebizond, David, handed over the city to the Ottomans under Mohammad II, she was sent by Uzun Hasan to act as an intermediary. Despite her efforts the city fell to the Turks in 1471 and its prosperity declined thereafter.

Today Trabzon is a considerable port having been modernised since World War II. Tobacco, hazel nuts and flour are exported and food processing and cement manufacture are the main industries. Efforts to develop transit trade with Iran have been frustrated by the state of the road and also, it is said, by Turkish red tape.

The modern city consists of three main parts: the lower town (known in Turkish as Ashagi Hisar) which surrounds the port and which, in Nikitin's day, would have been the centre for the local trading population and the foreign merchants; the middle town (T. Orta Hisar), and the upper town which is perched on the mountain and surrounded by cliffs and ravines. There are a number of interesting monuments dating back to the Byzantine and Comnenian periods. The church of the Panaghia Chrysokephala, or the Virgin of the Golden Head, stands in the middle town and is described by the Encyclopaedia Britannica as "large and massive but excessively plain"; it is now, and was in Nikitin's time, the mosque of the Orta Hisar. A smaller but well proportioned structure is the church of St. Eugenius, the patron saint of Trebizond, which is now the Yeni Cuma or New Friday mosque. The citadel with the upper town must surely have been the "town on top of the hill" to which Nikitin refers. The Haghia Sophia church, which stands on a hill near the city, also pre-dates Nikitin's visit.

Vonada: was the name of a promontory on the south coast of the Black Sea to the west of Trebizond with the harbour of Vona nearby.

Platana: a small town and harbour on the south coast of the Black Sea to the west of Trebizond and mentioned by Clavijo as lying only 10 miles from Trebizond<sup>13</sup>. Vodovozov<sup>14</sup> identifies it as the ancient port of Hermonassa.

- vi) Nikitin in India
- a) General background

Although the India which Nikitin visited was manifestly different from all the other countries through which he passed, with different races and different religions and ways of life, there were, nevertheless, certain common features. In the first place the ruling class in the region in which he spent most time was largely Persian in origin, speaking a language in which he had already attained a fluency and practising the Islamic faith with which he was already acquainted. In the second place the political structure of India in his time had been largely determined by Timur's onslaught on Delhi in 1398.

Racially the sub-continent of India presents a very complicated picture. Little is known of the aboriginal inhabitants, who may have been the ancestors of certain surviving groups, such as the Gonds and Bhils. The sub-continent was invaded in prehistoric times by the Dravidian people, a dark-skinned race, who are thought to have been the people who achieved a very high standard of civilisation in the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus plain. It was probably early in the second millenium B.C. that waves of Aryan immigrants from Central Asia swept through the passes of the Hindu Kosh and dealt the last blow to the Indus civilisation, which seems already to have been in decay. Some of the Dravidians were driven to the south and are probably the ancestors of the south Indian peoples who speak the so-called Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu and Kandrese). Others were probably absorbed by the Aryans.

The originally nomadic Aryans brought with them their languages and their gods. Their beliefs became the basis of the Brahmanic or Hindu religion and, together with their social concepts, gave rise to the caste system, to which Nikitin refers. In the 6th century B.C. Buddhism and Jainism were introduced as reforming movements, but neither substantially replaced Hinduism in India.

In 327 B.C. the middle Indus valley was reached by Alexander the Great of Macedon. In the following century all India, except the extreme south, was unified under the great

Mauryan emperor Asoka, who was a Buddhist. After a period under the Kushans, invading nomads of probably Iranian stock from Central Asia, northern India was again united under the Gupta dynasty (A.D. 320-480), the "golden age of Hinduism".

The first contact between India and Islam came when an Arab force marched overland and conquered Sind in 712, only 80 years after the death of Mohammad. These first invaders were not numerous and had no choice but to practice religious tolerance. The establishment of this Moslem dominion facilitated the transmission of Indian learning and ideas which had an influence on Arabo-Persian mathematics and Islamic mysticism (Sufism).

The spread of Islam in Iran had another effect, in that it caused numbers of Zoroastrians to migrate to western India (Gojarāt) where they became the founders of the Pārsi community. At the same time Moslem merchants and seafarers began to settle in Indian ports.

In the early 11th century, the middle Indus valley (Panjāb) was invaded by the Turkish troops of Sultan Mahmud whose capital was Ghazni, in what is today Afghanistan. Lahore became the Indian headquarters of the Ghaznavids and their successors the Ghurids. In 1206 an independent Moslem sultanate was established at Delhi by Qotb al-Din Aybak, a Turkish general who had begun his career as a slave soldier and this sultanate gradually extended its rule to the greater part of the sub-continent and firmly established Moslem domination.

The Slave Sultans were succeeded in 1290 by the Khalji dynasty, who were Turks by origin but had become assimilated to the Afghans. The greatest sultan of this dynasty was 'Alā od-Dīn Mohammad Khalji, to whom fell the task of repulsing attacks by Mongols, apparently subjects of the Chaghatai state and ancestors of the present Hazāras of Afghanistan. To do this, and to make conquests, he built up an administrative organisation and tightened his grip on his own officers and the Hindu vassal rulers. Although some Mongols reached Delhi in 1303, they were driven back and great fortifications were constructed to prevent a repetition. 'Alā od-Dīn then invaded the Deccan and southern India. The Deccan fell under lasting Moslem rule but it was too far from Delhi to be controlled

easily. This sultan left a good name among the Indian Moslems. His tomb, which according to Nikitin was at a place called Alland, was visited by large numbers of people like the tomb of a saint. He died in 1316.

In 1320 a new dynasty was established in Delhi under Ghiyās od-Dīn Toghloq. After re-establishing order, which had broken down after the last Khalji rulers, he turned his attention to the Deccan and re-established the authority of the Delhi sultanate there, capturing, among other places, Bidar which Nikitin was to visit nearly 150 years later. He then annexed first East, and then West, Bengal. He was killed on his triumphant return to Delhi by the collapse of a pavilion prepared for a parade in his honour. His son and successor, Mohammad ben Toghloq, an intelligent but ruthless man, decided that the capital of the sultanate should be located further south and in 1327 moved it to Dawlatābād in the north west of the Deccan where he built a beautiful fortified city. At first people were persuaded to move there, but the Sultan's action proved most unpopular and compulsion had to be used. In the long term the Sultan's actions proved beneficial for Moslem influence in southern India when the sultanate of Delhi was in a weakened state and the rise of independent dynasties eroded its dominion. Dawlatābād, as a city, was later to be the base for the rise of the Bahmani kingdom, which, in turn, checked the growing power of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. After a few years, however, Mohammad ben Toghloq's experiment had to be abandoned and his capital was moved back to Delhi. Many rebellions followed, due mainly to financial mismanagement and over-taxation. The resultant economic crisis and famines in many areas weakened the Delhi sultanate, which in spite of Mohammad ben Toghloq's dreams of further conquests began to break up. East Bengal became independent in 1338 and in 1339 an officer rebelled and occupied Golbargā. This rebellion was suppressed, but it was followed by others in Oudh, Multān, the Panjāb and Gojarāt. While Mohammad ben Toghloq was trying to put down the rebellion in Gojarāt, another rebellion in the Deccan led, in 1347, to the establishment of a new sultanate under Abu'l-Mozaffar 'Alā al-Dīn Bahman Shāh. This was the Bahmani sultanate of the Deccan later visited by Nikitin.

Mohammad ben Toghloq died in 1351. His reign ended

in complete failure because though in the early days his ability and perseverance brought the Delhi sultanate to its peak, his harshness and ill advised measures had ultimately ruined it. This unsuccessful ruler was succeeded by his cousin Fērōz Shāh, who did much to restore the fortunes of the Delhi sultanate. Besides restoring the shattered administration and doing a great deal of building, he recovered some of the territories lost under his predecessor. After his death in 1388, however, prolonged succession struggles again caused disintegration. Then in 1398 Timur marched on Delhi and plundered the city and region. In 1413 Delhi fell into the hands of Khezr Khān, formerly Timur's governor of the Panjāb. His descendants were evicted from Delhi in 1451 by Bahlul Lōdi, who established an Afghan dynasty at Delhi.

From this time onwards the sultanate of Delhi was in decline and its influence over the Deccan ceased. The Bahmani state, which had already gained practical independence in 1347, embarked on campaigns of conquest which brought much of the Deccan under its control. The capital was established at Golbargā, where it remained until ca. 1424. The second sultan, Mohammad I (1358-75), introduced extensive administrative reforms, both civil and military, which placed the kingdom on a sound footing. Although the sultanate was internally peaceful, it was engaged in continual petty warfare with the Hindu state of Vijayanagar to the south, in which it held an advantage because it was already in possession of the secrets of gunpowder. It is interesting to note that Nikitin refers several times to the use of firearms by the sultan's forces almost one hundred years later. Since the first reference to their use in Russian sources occurs in 1376, it appears that this new weapon reached the Bahmani realm and Russia at approximately the same time.

"The fifth sultan, Muhammad II (1378/97), did for Bahmani culture what Muhammad I had done for its administration, attracting numerous Persian and Arab poets and theologians (even Hāfiz of Shirāz was invited), foreign, civil and military architects, tile-workers and calligraphers, and not neglecting certain elements of Hindu culture." <sup>1</sup>

This picture is confirmed by Nikitin's repeated comments about

the "Khorāsānians" amongst the ruling classes.

Mohammad II's grandson, Fērōz, employed many Brahmans and fostered good relations with his Hindu neighbours, taking wives from several Hindu ruling families, including that of Vijayanagar, despite continuing border disputes with them. He was succeeded by his brother Ahman I (1422-1436) who moved the capital to Bidar, Golbargā being too close to troublesome Vijayanagar. He also prepared to attack the Moslem states to the north, Mālwā, Gojarāt and Khāndēsh, which he claimed on the ground that they had been assigned to the Bahmani ruler by Timur in 1401. During the reign of Ahmad II (1436-1458), trouble arose between two groups, the Moslems of Indian extraction who were Sunnites and the "Khorāsānians" and other foreigners who were mainly Shi'ites.

The Bahmanid sultan whom Nikitin saw and described was Mohammad III (1463-1482). He had come to the throne at the age of 9 and was thus aged 15-18 during Nikitin's visit, not 20 as Nikitin says. The real power in the state lay in the hands of the minister, Mahmud Gāwān, who held the title of Malek ot-Tojjār (Prince of the Merchants) and is mentioned by Nikitin under that name.

During this period the sultanate was divided into four provinces, Dawlatābād, Golbargā, Berār and Bidar. Influence within the state was shared between the Moslem military leaders and the foreign immigrants who were mainly Turks, Afghans and Persians with some Arabs and Abyssinians. (These immigrants continued to arrive throughout the 15th century, sometimes in quite large tribal groups). The stubborn struggle between them and the indigenous Moslems was a grave source of weakness. The Bahmani kingdom waged a permanent war with the Hindu states of Vijayanagar, Telengāna and Orissa. According to I.P. Petrushevsky<sup>2</sup>, these wars, with their yield of plunder and slaves, enriched the ruling classes but laid a heavy burden on the peasantry, who were heavily taxed and suffered from loss of harvests and famine.

The minister, Mahmud Gāwān, is the most outstanding figure in the Bahmani sultanate's history. He was born ca. 1405 into an ancient noble family who held hereditary high office in Gilān in northern Persia. When his family for some reason fell

into disgrace, he became a merchant on the great caravan routes, but he was also a well educated man and always mixed with scholars and poets. He arrived in India at the port of Dābol in 1455 and travelled to Bidar, where he found favour with Ahmad II and was appointed to a position at court. Under Ahmad II's successor Humāyūn (1457-1461) and his son Nezām Shāh (1461-1463), Mahmud Gāwān was given various high posts and the title of Malek ot-Tojjār. I.P. Petrushevsky <sup>3</sup> thinks that this title is evidence of a close connection between the great wholesale merchants and the financial departments of the Bahmanid state. According to him the merchants often traded not only on their own account but also on behalf of the government.

During the short reign of Nezām Shāh, Mahmud Gāwān acted as a regent and undertook a campaign against Orissa. On the succession in 1463 of Nezām Shāh's brother Mohammad III (1463-1482), Mahmud Gāwān organised the murder of his fellow regent with the assistance of the queen mother and then forced her into seclusion, thus obtaining all the real power. Under his leadership Telengāna was brought under Bahmani rule, Konkan and the Malabar states on the west coast were invaded, the pirate fleets which ravaged the Moslem sea-borne trade between India and Iran, Arabia and Egypt were suppressed and Goa and Belgaun were seized from Vijayanagar.

With the aim of strengthening the central authority and limiting the powers of the military fief-holders, Mahmud Gāwān introduced administrative reforms. Instead of the division into four provinces under which the governors had possessed very wide military, administrative and fiscal powers, eight provinces were created and the province of Bidar came under the direct rule of Mahmud Gāwān. The powers of the governors (tarafdārs) were drastically restricted. To a great extent he relied on the influence of the 'foreign' Moslems because the indigenous Moslem élite opposed the reforms. The leader of this second group was Malek Hasan Bahri, holder of the tital Nezam ol-Molk (organiser of the state), who had reason to feel aggrieved after being stripped of much of his power. He and his supporters took advantage of Mohammad Shāh III's resentment of Mahmud Gāwān's dominance and by means of a spurious letter implicating him in

an act of treachery, persuaded the king to have him executed in 1481. Mohammad Shāh III was succeeded by Mahmūd (1482-1518), in whose reign the Bahmanid state fell apart. The sultan at Bidar became a puppet in the hands of his Sonnite Turkish minister Qāsem Barid, whose descendants ousted the last Bahmanid ruler in 1527. The governors of Ahmadnagar (the above mentioned Neẓām ol Molk), Berār, Golbargā, Bījāpur, and Golkondā (the chief town of Telengāna) all made themselves independent and formed their own dynasties.

At the time of Nikitin's visit the Bahmanid state was at its apogee and his account of it is particularly interesting for this reason.

Nikitin also visited the sultanate of Gojarāt on his way to Chaul. This state had been declared independent in 1391 under Mozaffar Khān, who had been its governor under the Delhi sultanate. Despite many vicissitudes he ruled until 1410, when he was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad Shāh, who ruled for 32 years during which time he consolidated and extended his kingdom and improved its administration. He built a capital at Ahmadābād and established Islam throughout his dominions.

The sultan at the time of Nikitin's visit was Mahmud I (1458-1511) who, at a later date, fought naval battles against the Portuguese, beating them with help from the Mamluks off Chaul in 1508 but suffering a severe defeat off Diu in 1509.

b) Places in the Indian sub-continent and beyond mentioned in the Khozhenie

Dega: the exact identity of the place called Dega by Nikitin has given rise to much speculation. Several modern authorities agree with Sreznevsky that it was probably the town of Diu, which is a small port situated on the Kathiawar peninsular in Gojarāt. Nikitin states, however, that (from Hormoz) "we sailed for 10 days to reach Masqat and 4 days from Masqat to Dega". (above p. 44) and on another occasion:

"And it takes 10 days to go by sea from Hormoz to Kalhāt and 6 days from Kalhāt to Dega and 6 days from Dega to Masqat and 10 days from Masqat to Gojarāt." (above p. 55).

Since Hormoz and Masqat are much nearer than Masqat and Diu and since Kalhāt is another port on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, the relative distances between these points and the time which Nikitin says was necessary for the journey do not seem to be reasonable. In addition to this, Minaev<sup>4</sup> refers to a 16th century traveller taking 25-26 days for the voyage from Hormoz to Diu. The only plausible alternative to Diu as the location of Dega is a place, which Barbosa mentioned, called Dexar or Dezat: it lay on the Persian Gulf and belonged to the ruler of Hormoz. On the other hand, since the distances quoted by Nikitin seem rather unlikely, it may well be that he did mean Diu.

Diu itself is a small town on an island just off the coast of the Kathiawar peninsular and separated from it by a passage only navigable by small craft. The protected anchorage, which has long ceased to be a major port, was used in Nikitin's time as a port of call by ships from Hormoz, Masqat and elsewhere. The Portuguese built a fort there in 1535, under the terms of a treaty with Bahādor Shāh of Gojarāt, and were besieged in it in 1538 and 1545, the second siege being a famous event in Indian history. Diu remained a Portuguese colony until 1961.

Cambay: (in Persian, Kanbāya) in Gojarāt on the Gulf of Cambay,

53 miles south of Ahmadābād, was in old times one of the main Indian ports, trading with the Middle East and probably with China. It is supposed to be the Camanes of Ptolemy. In Nikitin's time the trade was mainly in locally produced cotton and silk fabrics, indigo, salt, cornelians and grain. According to Varthema 40-50 ships visited the port every year to transport the cotton and silk stuffs to Persia, Tartary (sic), Turkey, Syria, Africa, Arabia, Ethiopia, other parts of India and many of the islands of the Indian Ocean. It was also said to be a very beautiful town.

Cambay lost importance through the silting up of its harbour and was eclipsed by Surat and later by Bombay. The stone houses and remnants of the town walls bear witness to its former prosperity. It remains famous for its manufacture of agate and cornelian ornaments, which still have a reputation in China. Today Cambay has a population of just over 60,000 and is a centre of grain and cotton trading and textile and match manufacture.

Chaul: is today a small coastal town, some 23 miles SE of Bombay, but at various times in the past it was an important port. It is mentioned by Ptolemy and Arrian and by various medieval Arab geographers and travellers. Nearby stood the ancient town of Champavati. It appears that Chaul not only exported goods abroad but also served as an entrepot for the transmission of goods from one part of India to another. The port was taken over by the Moslems at an early stage and much of its trade was in their hands. It was subsequently acquired by the Portuguese who set up a small factory.

The town's population before the arrival of the Portuguese was mainly Moslem and Hindu but there were also a few Indian Christians who belonged to the Nestorian and Monophysite sects (of whose existence Nikitin may well not have been aware), some Jews and some Zoroastrians, descended from immigrants from Iran.

At the time of Nikitin's visit Chaul belonged to the Bahmanid state and the knyaz to whom he refers was probably its local governor. When Nikitin says of Chaul "there lies the Indian land", he probably means that this was his final point

of disembarkation, his visits to previous ports of call having been quite fleeting. The old town had a very large number of temples and also many ponds.

Nikitin's statement that he travelled 6 weeks by sea to Chaul must refer to the complete journey from Hormoz and this, unlike the statements discussed above, seems quite reasonable.

Pali: according to Minaev <sup>5</sup> Pali is a town in the Tanna district some 39 miles SE of Bombay.

Umra: the identity of this place has given rise to some speculation. Major <sup>6</sup> says "perhaps Umrut (Omrita), a town in the province of Aurangabad, forty miles south by east from Surat." Minaev questions this theory on the grounds that if Nikitin was on his way to Jonnar he would hardly go as far north as Umrut. He suggests that it is more likely to be Oomra, a village to the north of Pali, but Petrushevsky <sup>7</sup> remarks that in that case it is hard to see why Nikitin took 10 days to travel from Pali to Oomra. In view of the time (distance) given, Major's theory may well be correct.

Jonnar: the present town lies east of Bombay and 48 miles north of Poona. The name means "old town" and the ruins of an older city lie to the south-east of the present city. The old town includes the remains of a citadel on a cliff with many rock-cut Buddhist temples around it. Nikitin's description of Jonnar as standing "on a rocky island, not made by man but created by God" suggests that he was referring to the old town. This citadel is probably identifiable with Shivanir, the birthplace of the famous Mahratta hero Shivaji Bhonsla. Nikitin calls the town a grad rather than a gorod, perhaps implying thereby that it had something of the status of a holy city and place of pilgrimage.

Jonnar is probably identifiable with a place called Tagara in Ptolemy's Geography and is frequently mentioned in ancient Indian writings. At the time of Nikitin's visit, the city lay within the borders of the Bahmanid state and Khān Asad, to whom Nikitin refers, was certainly the local governor under the Bahmani sultan Mohammad III, though the real power lay,

as Nikitin correctly stated, in the hands of Mahmud Gāwān, the Malek ot-Tojjār.

Nikitin spent two months in Jonnar. Many of his most interesting comments on the Indian way of life are based on this period, including, of course, his unfortunate experience when the Khān took his horse and tried to make him become a Moslem. In fact, under Islamic law, Nikitin, together with all Christians and Jews, would have fallen into the mustamin category of infidels, namely those who were free to worship as they pleased and were granted the protection of the law but had to pay a poll-tax. Non-Moslems were not allowed to ride horses, only donkeys, mules and camels. Indeed foreign Christians must have been extremely rare visitors to the Deccan in Nikitin's time, although there were certainly Christians and Christian missionaries in India in those days. They were mainly of the Nestorian and Monophysite sects and most of their colonies were in the coastal towns, particularly in Malabar.

It was through the intervention of Hājji Mohammad that Nikitin regained his freedom and his horse. He says surprisingly little about this "Khorāsānian". Since Nikitin was then at Jonnar, a provincial town, and had not yet reached Bidar, the capital, it seems unlikely that Hājji Mohammad belonged to the ruling class. One explanation could be that he was a recently arrived merchant from Persia or Central Asia with whom Nikitin was already acquainted; it may even be that they have travelled together from Hormoz.

Also in connection with his sojourn at Jonnar, Nikitin mentioned that merchants visiting India stayed at inns. According to Minaev <sup>8</sup>, he probably refers to the dkharma sala, or free lodging houses for travellers, which in those days were widespread in India and particularly numerous in the towns visited by pilgrims. The building of these inns was generally financed by rich men as a sign of their religious zeal. They were notable for their cleanliness and coolness. The tradition was of Hindu origin but similar hostels were provided in the Moslem areas as well. Rich Moslems sometimes built caravansarais as pious endowments (waqfs).

Jonnar later became the first capital of the Nezam-Shāhi sultanate (1491-1633) but was superseded by Ahmadnagar.

Bidar: is an ancient town in the Deccan 65 miles northwest of Hyderabad, at an altitude of about 2,500 ft. above sea level. It became the capital of the Bahmani state in the reign of Ahmad I (1422-1436) and was still its capital at the time of Nikitin's visit. It seems likely that Nikitin believed that the Bahmanids ruled the whole of Moslem India.

Bidar has now lost its former importance but has fine ruins from the Bahmanid period. It is surrounded by walls with a glacis and dry ditch and remains of bastions. The main citadel lay in the eastern part of the town and the ruins can still be seen of the palace, mosques and other buildings. The way into the citadel was through a passage closed by three gates, the outer one being domed and decorated with bright coloured paintings. The middle gate was covered with coloured tiles. Inside the citadel there are remains of various palace buildings, the most interesting of which, the Ran Mahal, was also covered with coloured tiles. In another, older, building there was an extremely deep well whose water fed a reservoir which in turn supplied cascades and fountains. The largest of the mosques was known as the Solah-Khamba Masjed or "Mosque of 60 columns". This citadel is undoubtedly the building described by Nikitin as the sultan's palace. A great Madrāsa (Moslem college) was built in Bidar by Mahmud Gāwān, but that, of course, was after Nikitin's time.

In the 15th century Bidar was an important trading centre. Nikitin mentions its trade in horses, fabrics and slaves but adds that it had "nothing there for the Russian land", and commentators have speculated on what exactly he meant by that. Minaev<sup>9</sup> notes that most of the items mentioned by Nikitin were imports into Bidar. The trade in imported horses has already been mentioned above. The silk fabric which Nikitin calls kamkha was probably kimkhab, silk woven with gold and silver thread, and this was regarded in Russia as an Indian product though in the Moghol emperor Akbar's reign it was, in fact, imported into India from Persia and Kābol. In the 19th century, however, it was made in India, chiefly at Benares and Ahmadābād and in Kashmir. Some of the black slaves mentioned by Nikitin were probably of local origin, being people of the Dravidian tribes of southern India captured in the campaigns

against Vijayanagar. Others may have come from Africa; the Abyssinian (or Habshi) slave soldiers were well known and founded sultanates at Jawnpur and Janjira. It seems probable that Nikitin's reference to a lack of goods means that no goods suitable for the Russian market were available at prices which would permit profitable export to Russia. Bidar was noted for the manufacture of metal goods such as bowls, candlesticks and pipes.

Bidar lies in the Marathi speaking part of the Deccan; further south Dravidian languages are spoken. The official language of the Bahmanid and later sultanates was Persian and their spoken language was an early form of Urdu.

Kulungir: a town in the Deccan, 55 miles from Golbargā.

Golbargā: a town in the Deccan, some 55 miles SW of Bidar. It now has a population of approximately 100,000 and is engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods, flour and oilseed milling and trade in cotton and cereals.

It was important from 1347 to 1397, when it was the first capital of the Bahmanid state (whose capital was later moved to Bidar). It lies at the northern edge of the Dravidian speaking area of the Deccan and is now part of the Mysore province.

Tombs of the Bahmani rulers are still to be seen in Golbargā but its most noteworthy building is the Jāme' mosque, which is said to be modelled on that in Cordoba in Spain.

Alland: the exact location of this town where, according to Nikitin, Shaykh 'Alā od-Din was buried, is unclear. Nikitin may have meant 'Alā od-Din Mohammad Khalji (1297-1316), the greatest of the Delhi sultans, but according to tradition he was buried at Maabar.

Most sources identify Alland as a town lying some 27 miles NW of Golbargā. In the Academy edition <sup>10</sup> it is stated that a fair was held there annually in connection with the feast day of Shaykh 'Alā od-Din. Minaev however <sup>11</sup> suggests that the fair may have been held in connection with some other holy man. The tomb of a Moslem saint named Banda-Nawāz stands

not far from Golbargā and his feast is known as the Cherāghān-e Banda Nawaz. It may be that Nikitin confused two traditions.

The town was apparently not on the direct route between Golbargā and Bidar and Nikitin must have visited it because of trading opportunities offered by the fair.

Parvata: (or Shriparvata), a popular Hindu holy city and place of pilgrimage, sacred to Shiva. The ruins of its temple complex are spread along the southern bank of the Kistna river some 110 miles south east of Hyderabad. The site lay outside the Moslem dominated part of India. Excavations of the ruins confirm Nikitin's account of its size and importance. Col. Colin MacKenzie, who wrote about Parvata in the late 18th century, described the temple complex as lying within a fence and being some 200 yards long and 160 yards wide. Within the fence were some temples and other buildings, a shady garden and a pond. The fence was built of large stone slabs decorated with carvings which may well be Nikitin's "wreaths".<sup>12</sup>

Amongst the images described by Nikitin, the "man with the trunk of an elephant" can be recognised as the god Ganesa and "the man with the face of a monkey" is the god Hanuman, whilst the great "But" may have been a statue of the god Shiva himself; the bull is certainly Nandi, the bull of Shiva on which he rides.

The feminine divinity personifying the "power" (Sakti) of Shiva is Parvati, who appears in Hindu legend in many forms, including the terrible goddess Kali. Gandesa is regarded by some as a descendant of Shiva and Parvati.

The festival to which Nikitin refers is no doubt that of Shiva-ratri, which is celebrated throughout India.

Dābol: is today a small port standing near the mouth of the R. Vashishtu some 85 miles south of Bombay. In the 15th century (some time after Nikitin's visit) it was described by Barbosa and Varthema as an important trading port with quite a large and well fortified town. In Nikitin's time it lay within the boundaries of the Bahmanid state but close to its borders with the independent Hindu kingdoms of the south. Pirates from

the south frequently attacked ships using Dābol. In 1479 a Bahmanid expedition resulted in the capture of further territory to the south and put an end to the pirate raids.

In 1508 Dābol was seized and sacked by the Portuguese but it later recovered to some extent. The English founded a factory there in the 16th century. Its final decline dates from the end of the 18th century.

It was from Dābol that Nikitin took ship on his homeward journey in February 1472.

Calicut: (now known as Kozhikode) is a seaport in Kerala, on the Malabar coast, 170 miles SW of Bangalore. In the Middle Ages it was one of the largest and busiest ports in the East. Ebn Battuta, who visited it in the 14th century, has left a good description of it and in particular of the Chinese junks which came from Canton and other ports in the Far East. He says that merchants visited Calicut from China, Ceylon, the Maldiv Islands, Java, the Yaman, Fārs and other countries. 'Abd or-Razzāq Samarqandi <sup>13</sup>, who was there ca. 1441, speaks of "an abundance of precious articles" brought from Abyssinia, Southern India and Zanzibar. He also notes that ships arrived there from the shores of God's House (i.e. Mecca and other parts of the Hejaz.) and adds that it was a secure and well run port in which merchants had confidence. It lay well to the south of the Moslem dominated part of India but according to 'Abd or-Razzaq there was a sizeable Moslem community and at least two mosques in the town.

In the 15th century most of the trade from Calicut seems to have been in the hands of the Moslem merchants and to have been with the ports of the Red Sea and Egypt. The exports included spices, ambergris, rhubarb, pearls, precious stones, cotton goods, Chinese porcelain and precious woods; the main imports were copper, cinnabar, silver, gold, rosewater, skins, Morocco leather and blades for weapons.

Today Calicut's main exports are copra, coconuts, coffee and tea. Coir rope and mats, soap and hosiery are manufactured but production of calico, the cotton fabric which received its name from the town, has almost ceased.

Nikitin mentions Calicut but did not go there. It was

still important in his time but later had a chequered history. Calicut was the Indian port which Vasco da Gama reached in 1498. Trading posts were established there by the Portuguese in 1511, the English in 1664, the French in 1698 and the Danes in 1752. In 1765 the town was captured by Hyder Ali, who expelled all the merchants and destroyed the coconut palm and pepper plantations in order to keep away the Europeans.

Ceylon : (Sri Lanka) has a mixed population. The majority speak Sinhalese, an Aryan language, and are mostly Buddhists. The north and east have long been inhabited by speakers of Tamil, a Dravidian language, who are mostly Hindus. There are also immigrant Tamils, who came from South India in the 19th and 20th centuries to work on plantations. The main commercial crops today are tea and coconuts: coffee which was important in the 18th century and early 19th century is no longer grown. Rice is the staple food. Precious and semi-precious stones are found and jewellery has long been an important industry.

The aborigines of Ceylon were conquered by Vijaya, an Aryan prince, in the 6th century B.C., and about three centuries later Buddhism was introduced. Cosmas Indicopleustes mentions it under the name Serendipa (probably a distortion of the Sanskrit Sinhaladvipa), and the early Arab geographers called it Sarandib. It was also known as Tabrubani. Rather later it was known to the Arab traveller Ebn Battuta and others as Siyalān, which is probably the origin of Nikitin's Silyan and of the English Ceylon.

In Nikitin's time, Buddhism was the state religion of Ceylon. According to legend, the footprint of Buddha is to be found on the summit of Adam's Peak (7,400 ft., the second highest mountain in the country), which was and is a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists and also for Moslems and Christian sects who held it to be the place where Adam's foot first touched the earth after the Fall from the Garden of Eden. Nestorian and Monophysite Christians from the west coast of India visited this holy place and so did Ebn Battuta. Substantial Moslem and Christian communities still exist in Ceylon.

In the 15th century most of the trade between Ceylon and the other Indian Ocean and Far Eastern ports was in the hands

of the Moslem merchants, mainly of Arab extraction. Precious stones (rubies, sapphires, amethysts and topaz), pearls, spices and sugar were the chief exports. Nikitin gives a list of the precious stones and adds ivory, no doubt correctly, as elephants are used as beasts of burden in Ceylon. More difficult to understand is his statement that ostrich feathers were sold there (see also Note to text 220); if so they must have been imported into Ceylon and then re-exported.

Shabait: the only information on this place is included in the commentary note.

Pegu: is an ancient town on the Pegu River in Burma, 45 miles NE of Rangoon. The name is also given to the surrounding district. The town is said to have been founded in 573 A.D. as the first capital of the Talaings. It was the capital of the Toungoo dynasty when it became known to the British in the 16th century. The outstanding building is the Shwe-Mawdaw pagoda, which stands 324 ft. high and is considerably larger and even holier than the Shwe-dagon pagoda in Rangoon; within it is a large recumbent figure of the Buddha. Traces of the old city walls are still to be seen. The Indian dervishes to whom Nikitin refers were presumably Buddhist monks attached to the pagoda. Burma has always been renowned for its precious stones which were, no doubt, exported through Pegu as Nikitin states. Nikitin is one of the first Europeans to mention a place in Burma.

Chin and Machin: were Moslem terms for China in the Middle Ages but the exact meaning varied. In some cases Chin referred to N. China and Machin to S. China, other writers called N. China *Khitāi* (q.v.) and South China Chin and Machin. Chin and Machin may also mean China and Japan or China and Indo-China. Nikitin also used the term *Khitāi* so one can only assume that he was referring to various parts of China and the Far East.

In Nikitin's time China, (apart from Manchuria and Mongolia), was under the Ming dynasty and Indo-China consisted of a number of independent or nominally vassal states. Arab traders visited the ports and much of the export trade was in their hands. It was no doubt because of his ability to

communicate with these traders from the Arab lands that Nikitin was able to include details of these remote countries in his account.

Khitāi: Northern China - see above. The name comes from the nomadic tribes of the area, the Kidans or Qara Khitāi who were of Tungus or Mongol origin. They ruled North China for about two centuries to the early 12th century. Northern China became known as Khitāi or Cathay to Europeans.

Raichur: a town in the present day province of Mysore (formerly in Hyderabad) and a centre of trade in cereals and cotton. In Nikitin's time it lay within the frontiers of the Bahmanid state, having been captured from the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar by the Bahmanid rulers earlier in the 15th century. Modern reference works make no mention of diamonds in connection with the town of Raichur. Most authorities agree that Nikitin must have meant the Raichur district and not just the town itself. The district formerly included the town of Kurnool where, according to Nikitin, there were "three hundred diamond merchants polishing the stones". Diamond cutting at Kurnool is also mentioned by the 17th century traveller, Taverne<sup>14</sup>.

Vijayanagar: was the capital of the independent Hindu state of the same name which lay to the south of the Bahmanid kingdom. Founded ca. 1336, on a site on the Tungabhadra River, it subsequently played an important political and economic role.

Accounts of the city by 'Abd or-Razzāq Samarqandi, de' Conti and Varthema<sup>15</sup> give a fuller picture of the place than that left by Nikitin, which is not surprising since he did not actually visit it. 'Abd or-Razzāq stayed a considerable time at Vijayanagar, taking part in the local life and apparently enjoying himself. He was in the country from 1442-1443 on a diplomatic mission from the Timurid Sultan Shāh Rokh. He praises the fruitfulness and prosperity of the kingdom which, he says, stretched from Ceylon to Golbargā and had some 300 harbours from which goods were exported. The city was surrounded by seven walls fronted by man-sized stones set in the earth, which made any approach to the walls impossible. The ruler's palace was within the seventh rampart. Between the first and

third walls were the merchants' and artisans' quarters including four large covered bazaars. A number of canals ran through the city. 'Abd or-Razzāq also describes the luxury of the ruler's palace, which is confirmed by the later account of Duarte Barbosa.

According to de' Conti, the city was situated on the edge of some rocky hills and measured 16 miles in circumference.

Varthema, who visited Vijayanagar in the early 16th century, also speaks of its strong walls and its situation on the slopes of a mountain.

The king of Vijayanagar was very powerful and commanded a huge army. Most of the sources speak of his jewelled crown and throne.

Whilst the Hindu state lasted, it seems that men of different religions, Moslems and Christians, were free to follow their faith and that there was a multitude of foreign merchants in the city. Precious stones were imported from Pegu and Ceylon, pearls from Hormoz, porcelain and silks from China and Egypt, pepper from the Malabar Coast, and rich fabrics, coral, brass goods, mercury, saffron, rosewater and perfumes from the Moslem lands.

Vijayanagar resisted the attacks and jehāds of the Bahmanid kingdom and in fact it outlived its northern neighbour. Among the causes of their frequent wars were disputes over border territories such as the diamond-rich area of Raichur (q.v.). The ruler at the time of Nikitin's visit was Virupakshah II (1462-1486).

The kingdom was finally destroyed in January 1565 when a united army of the sultans of Bidar, Golkondā, Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar overcame its last ruler, Rama-Rajah.

Kurnool: a town in Andhra Pradesh on the Tungabhadra River, some 110 miles SSW of Hyderabad, which is today an agricultural market town with manufactures of textiles, carpets and leather goods. According to Nikitin it was formerly a diamond cutting centre (see Raichur). Little else is known about Kurnool's history.

Golkonda: (Golkondā) is a ruined fortress and city 5 miles west of Hyderabad. It was annexed to the Bahmanid kingdom in 1363

and after the fall of that kingdom became the capital of one of the successor states, that of the Qotb-Shāhi dynasty. The fortress lies on a ridge and is surrounded by several ramparts. Above it stands the tombs of the Qotb-Shāhi sultans. Golconda has given its name, in English literature, to the diamonds which were found in the Qotb-Shāhi territory and elsewhere in the Deccan and were cut mainly at Golconda and Kurnool (q.v.).

Despite the renown of the diamond mines of the Deccan, information on their exact whereabouts is scarce; apparently most were on the eastern side of the Deccan plateau. Many of the large stones were probably found in the Kollar group of mines, where Tavernier found 60,000 workers in 1645. According to local tradition these mines had been discovered about 100 years before that date. Golconda was the main market for the diamond industry before and after the construction of a new capital, Hyderabad, (Haydarābād) by the fifth Qotb-Shāhi sultan in 1589. The dynasty lasted from 1512 to 1687.

Amindria: this place has not been identified.

Kynarias: this place has not been identified.

Sura: the Academy edition suggests that this may be Surat, a town in Gojarāt about 160 miles north of Bombay. This identification seems improbable since the next place mentioned by Nikitin is Dābol which, as mentioned above, lies to the south of Bombay. As Surat was a very old and still important seaport, it seems unlikely that Nikitin would have retraced his steps to sail from Dābol.

5. RUSSIAN AWARENESS OF INDIA BEFORE NIKITIN

Without doubt the Khozhenie of Afanasy Nikitin is a fascinating and valuable historical document for it gives an eye-witness account, by a European, of life in India at a very early date. The Khozhenie also occupies an important position in Russian literature and in its history of exploration.

The Khozhenie is the earliest surviving eye-witness account of India in Russian literature. Nikitin, however, was not necessarily the first Russian traveller to visit India or even, perhaps, the first to give an account of his travels, - but he was the first and the only early Russian traveller to India whose account of his journey has survived.

It should be noted that, geographically at least, India was in a very different situation from those lands whose discovery we generally hail: America (and Columbus) and Australia (and Captain Cook). Despite the remarks of some Soviet commentators who exaggerate Nikitin's achievements, there was no physical barrier between medieval Russia and Northern India of the magnitude of the Atlantic or the Pacific Oceans, though the routes thither were often beset by dangers. At times Russia and India were even part of the same Mongol Empire, an Empire renowned for its trading links and the way in which it guarded its trade routes. The comparison between explorers can be carried even further: whilst Columbus and Cook are popularly hailed as the discoverers of America and Australia, it is now generally recognised that there were links over several centuries between Iceland (possibly Ireland too) and Greenland and the coast of 'Vinland' whilst the Dutch explorer van Dieman almost certainly discovered Australia before Captain Cook. Claims to first discoveries, it seems, must be treated with caution and in this respect the Khozhenie is no exception. Nikitin himself laid no claim to being a discoverer but at times he seems to have been regarded as one. In fact the very attitude which Nikitin adopts towards India in his account leads one to suppose that its existence did not come as an enormous surprise to him; India was for him at least a familiar name.

In fact the name India occurs quite frequently in early Russian literature and a most interesting article on this

subject was written by M.N. Speransky <sup>1</sup> in which he points out that the earliest references in Russian literature to the Indiiskaya strana occur in the 11th century in the translations from the Greek chronicle of George Harmartolus. These references are fairly vague but they point to two distinct sources: the campaign of Alexander the Great, who reached northern India in the 5th century B.C., legends of whose exploits presumably persisted in Greece and Byzantium, and secondly from the eastward spread of early Christianity, for references occur to the presence in India of Christian visionaries. In Harmartolus, whose chronicle seems to have been translated directly from Greek to Russian without a South Slavonic intermediary, mention is made of the rakhmani or Brahmins. Further references to them occur in the Russian Primary Chronicle which was compiled in the late 11th century and copies of which are extant from the 14th century, some of which obviously draw upon the work of Harmartolus. Mention is made there of the Brahmins as people of piety and abstemiousness and other Indians are unfavourably compared to them.

References to India occur in various parts of the chronicle collections right up to the 15th century and in places these seem to refer to quite a familiar place, as when news is given of the first appearance in Russia of the Black Death, noted in the Novgorodian Chronicle <sup>2</sup> under the year 1352 and accompanied by the words

"tot mor poshel iz Indeiskikh stran ot Solntsa-grada".

References also occur in early Russian literature and as early as 1050 India was used as a basis for comparison by Metropolitan Hilarion of Kiev in his Sermon on Law and Grace:

"Khavlit' zhe pokhval'nymi glasy Rim'skaya strana Petra i Pavla, imizhe verovasha v' Isusa Khrista syna bozhia; Asia i Efes', i Patm' - Ioanna Bogoslava: Indiya - Fomu, Egipet' - Marka ...."

Later, in the Pokhvala of Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich of ca. 1389 Hilarion's words are echoed:

"pokhvalyaet ibo zemlya Rimskaya Petra i Pavla, Asiiskaya - Ioanna Bogoslava, Indeiskaya Fomu apostola, Ierusalimskaya Iakova ... tebe zhe, velikii knyazhe Dmitrii - vsa Russkaya zemlya."

Thomas the Apostle and the legend of his work in India was reasonably well known in Russia from the Deyaniya Fomy v Indii, a work translated from the Greek into South Slavonic and so imported into Russia.

One of the most interesting documents to give an account of India in early times was the Topografia of Cosmas Indicopleustes. Cosmas Indicopleustes was a merchant from Alexandria in Egypt who later became a monk and, as his name suggests, he made a voyage to India from which he returned in 549 A.D. His work is mainly concerned with Christian theology but also includes an account of India. The earliest copy of the Topografia dates from the 7th century and is preserved in the Vatican Library. The earliest copy in the Russian language is found in a chronicle collection dating from 1262 but there are a considerable number of ancient copies which bears witness to the fact that it was quite a popular document in medieval Russia.

Another work which referred to India and found its way to Russia from the West was the Skazanie ob Indiiskom tsarstve of which another version also existed called the Povest o Indeiskom tsarstve i o grecheskom o posolstve. This work probably reached Russia from Byzantium as early as the 13th century via the South Slavonic language, though the earliest surviving copy dates only from the late 15th century. This work was also very popular in Russia up to the 19th century. The account it gives is partly fact and partly fantasy. It concerns the Christian ruler of an Indian kingdom and bears a strong resemblance to the stories of Prester John. The kingdom is clearly described as lying far to the East, where the sun rises from the earth, but its exact whereabouts are a mystery. It is a land of strange sights: the natives are strange beings including giants and men whose eyes and mouths are in their breasts. The wild animals listed, which include crocodiles, elephants and dromedaries, seem more reminiscent of the real India but they also include fantastic monsters such as the phoenix. An account of the abundance of jewels reminds one of the early accounts of Golconda. This seems to be a land of peace and plenty but also of volcanoes and rivers of stone. In fact when the king says "a v nashei zemli vsyakogo obiliya mnogo" it is easy to contrast the statement with Nikitin's

plaint that there were no goods for Russia to be had in India and that Georgia, Wallachia and Podolia were lands of plenty.

The description of the king's palace is of particular interest: it is said to be of vast circumference with jewelled doors and silver pillars. This palace together with other features of the fabled Indian kingdom found their way into the Russian oral folk tradition and in particular into the bylina of Dyuk Stepanovich. Although the byliny were not written down until the early 17th century their origins were probably much older and in fact Speransky<sup>3</sup> believes this story to have originated in Galich, a principality which had close links with Byzantium, possibly as early as the 13th century.

Another Byzantine epic, the Aleksandriya, which gave an account of Alexander's Indian campaign and also gave a fantastic view of the people and sights of that country, was also well known in translation. Another ancient work referring to India was the Povest o Varlaame i Ioasafe Indiiskikh and a further description was contained in the early translation of the life of Theodor of Edessa.

In all these works, however, India appears as a fantastic and fabulous land and the first surviving account to give a more prosaic description is that of Nikitin.

The fact that Nikitin does not write about India with any great degree of surprise, however, makes it seem at least possible that he already knew something about the real country by way of direct contacts established some time earlier.

It seems on the whole unlikely that there were not trading links between India and Russia for approximately a century before Nikitin's journey. The mere existence of a trade route indicates that merchants traded along it and the existence is known of ancient trade routes from India and the East, via Persia and the Caspian, to Ashtarkhān, Tana and Sarāi. One of the best known of Arab travellers, Ebn Battuta, is known to have visited the Caspian and the Volga as well as India and the Far East. Medieval merchants from both Russia and the West must have possessed quite a considerable knowledge of India even if only through intermediaries. Eileen Power sums it up thus :

"Although all this (Alexander's campaign) had become a fairy story to the men of the Middle Ages, they were still in contact with the East in the sense that they

seasoned their dishes with spices from Ceylon and Java, set diamonds from Golconda in their rings and carpets from Persia on their thrones, went splendidly clad in silks from China and played their interminable games of chess with ebony chessmen from Siam." 4

The history of travel in the Middle Ages is considered in greater detail in section 6 of this work (Nikitin - a Traveller amongst Travellers) in which the changes in conditions are detailed. It is, however, important to realise that large parts of Russia, parts of India and almost all the intervening countries were, at one time or another, parts of the same Mongol Empire. The Mongols, including the Russian invaders the Tatars, were well disposed towards trade from which they derived much of their revenue by way of dues and taxes. In many parts of their Empire, they did much to promote the interests of the merchants of many lands, including the building of bazaars, caravanserais and the protection of travellers along the most important routes. It is unclear to what extent Russian merchants were able to travel in the Mongol Empire in the time of the "Tatar yoke" but it is certain that trade was going on around them.

The Tatars also brought craftsmen from many countries into their cities, especially Sarāi, and remains found during excavations bear witness to the skills of these foreign craftsmen. Archaeological evidence of trade links between Russia and India is sparse, but Indian coins have been found at the site of the excavation of the town of Bolghār on the Volga. It seems probable that Russian merchants and craftsmen must have met Indian merchants and craftsmen - if not in their homeland, then at least at some point in between such as Persia, Kwārazm or the lands of the Golden Horde.

Another point which might be taken into account in determining the likelihood of earlier contacts between India and Russia is the Russian tradition of travelling. Whilst Russia's international reputation for exploration in the Middle Ages is not as great as that of many Western countries, there were a number of noteworthy achievements. It must of course be remembered that the land of Russia, even at this early stage before its frontiers were extended, was very large and therefore to venture beyond its borders usually entailed a long internal

journey. A visit to the cities of Western Europe meant a journey as long as that from Portugal to West Africa (one of the areas being opened up at that time) and was by no means devoid of hazards. There are, nevertheless, accounts of Russians travelling quite extensively during the Middle Ages. The question of medieval Russian travellers is considered in Section 6 of this work but we must mention here that records exist of a variety of travels made by Russians in those early days. The majority of these were pilgrims and, until its fall to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, their most frequent destination was Byzantium, though some ventured further to Cyprus, Rhodes and the Holy Land. A few other merchants left accounts of their journeys and occasionally there is evidence of diplomatic missions, such as the visit by Simeon of Suzdal to Ferrara, Florence, Bologna and Venice, by the unknown author of the Skazanie o zheleznykh vratekh to Darband and, most strikingly, the presence of Marco Russo, as Muscovite ambassador in Darband as reported by Ambrosio Contarini in 1475.

The Skazanie o zheleznykh vratekh is a fascinating document which seems to establish ties between Tver (the home of Nikitin) and Central Asia some 20-25 years before Nikitin set out on his expedition. Two copies of this document are preserved in the Lenin Library (one in the Tikhonravov Collection, No. 537, and the other in the Kolobov Collection, No. 509). The document was the subject of two separate but equally interesting articles in 1965, one by V.A. Kuchkin<sup>5</sup> and the other by Yu. K. Begunov<sup>6</sup>. Both authors agree that the original document must have been older than the surviving 18th century copies and by careful consideration of the evidence Kuchkin concludes that it could only have been written between 1436-1447. The author of the Skazanie is unknown, as is the nature of his business in Darband, but a lack of interest in religious matters indicates that he was probably not a monk and similarly a lack of interest in trade indicates that he was probably not a merchant either. His interest appears to have been more military and political: the fortifications, position and population of Darband, the rulers of the surrounding areas and the crops grown are his preoccupations. Both authors point out that there is evidence of an embassy bringing gifts from Shah Rokh of Shirvan to Grand Prince Boris Aleksandrovich of Tver

in 1449 (this is contained in the Inoka Fomy slovo pokhvalnoe o blagovernom velikom knyaze Borise Aleksandroviche, St. P. 1908, pp 37-38). While the reasons for this embassy and its purpose are unknown, Kuchkin suggests that it was sent in answer to an embassy of which the author of the Skazanie was a member and which visited the Caucasus, especially Darband, between 1439-1447. If this hypothesis is correct then, as Kuchkin points out, the author of the Skazanie was probably a native of Tver, and a compatriot and older contemporary of Nikitin. It seems quite likely that they were acquainted with each other and that Nikitin was aware of his compatriot's journey.

Perhaps the most exciting thing about the Skazanie is the fact that its author knows that the route to Indiya bogataya (rich India) lies through the Iron Gates of Darband and the land of Khorāsān. The mysterious fairy-tale land of the early Middle Ages was turning into a real country attainable by travellers.

6. NIKITIN - A TRAVELLER AMONG TRAVELLERS

One problem which must be faced when considering Nikitin's Khozhenie is that of deciding how important he and his account are in comparison with those of other travellers of the Middle Ages. It seems clear, for instance, that in the Soviet Union his importance is over-stressed: he was, after all, the only significant Russian traveller known to have ventured into unfamiliar territory beyond the limits of what is now the Soviet Union. Other Russian explorers made a great contribution by opening up the unknown lands of Siberia and the other eastern parts of the Union but their achievements seem somehow to have less cachet than a journey to an exotic land such as India. On the other hand it seems equally clear that Nikitin is grossly under-valued in the West. This is no doubt partly due to his writing in a language which was in itself a barrier to understanding and also, perhaps, to the rather unfavourable comments made about the Khozhenie by both Karamzin (see above p. 25 ) and R.H. Major (see above p. 30 ).

Whilst it is easy today, in the age of fast and easy travel, to look back at the Middle Ages as a time when most people never moved far from their own birthplaces, the truth is that an astonishing amount of travel went on and a surprising number of accounts of it have survived. The only fundamental change seems to be the introduction of the idea of travel for the sake of pleasure. In the Middle Ages men travelled because of great racial movements, such as the explosion of the Mongols out of the East; for the purposes of war, as in the case of the huge numbers of Europeans who took part in the Crusades; for academic and professional motives as in the case of the Persian and Arabian geographers, historians, lawyers and poets; on diplomatic missions such as those of Clavijo and Zeno; for religious reasons which prompted John of Monte Corvino and Jordanus of Severac and countless pilgrims to travel to the Christian holy places and Mecca; and above all, like Nikitin himself, in order to trade.

The difficulties involved in these journeys seem to have varied greatly. In the ancient days of the Greek civilisation a fairly considerable amount of intercommunication between East

and West took place, mainly through Asia Minor and the Middle East, though the early Greeks also sailed the Black Sea and knew its shores. Alexander the Great established a Macedonian Empire stretching from Greece through Persia to the land around the Indus. The Roman Empire included Asia Minor and Egypt. For reasons which are not fully understood many now arid areas of North Africa and the Middle East appear to have been more productive of grain and other crops than they are today.

Travel beyond the Roman sphere was not unknown. In the 1st century A.D. Hippolus sailed direct from Cape Fartaq in South Arabia to the south-western corner of India, instead of hugging the shores of eastern Arabia and the Persian Gulf as previous sailors had done. In the time of the geographer Ptolemy, Greek and Roman navigators had reached the mouth of the Ganges whilst arrivals of Far Eastern visitors in Syria and Egypt were recorded. With the decline of the Roman Empire came a retrogression in knowledge, especially of the lands of the Far East. This is illustrated by the frequent misuse of the name "India" for the land of Ethiopia.

Nevertheless knowledge persisted and was indeed augmented during the greater days of the East Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire. This must be taken in account in an assessment of Nikitin because much of Russian knowledge was gained through connections with Byzantium and the Orthodox Church. The most notable Byzantine traveller of that era was Cosmas Indicopleustes who compiled A Christian Topography ca. A.D. 550. He visited Ethiopia and voyaged in the Persian Gulf and landed on the island of Socotra. He also spoke of a merchant called Sopatros who had visited Ceylon and knew of the existence of Christian churches on that island and on the west coast of India. He was the first to voice the opinion that the ocean lay beyond China. It is doubtful whether he himself ever visited India. Like Nikitin's references to the Far East, he probably passed on information culled from other merchants and travellers. His work was known within Russia and was probably one of the main sources of information about India available there. <sup>2</sup>

During the years of turmoil which followed the decline of the Roman Empire knowledge of the East among Europeans dwindled to little more than fairy tales. Nevertheless contact

was not entirely lost; spices, precious stones, rich fabrics and carpets still found their way to the West; but the merchants of the West only knew the trade at its termini in the Levantine ports. Chinese and Indian merchants had two routes to the West: by land across Central Asia to the Black Sea or to Baghdad and the Mediterranean; or the sea route across the Indian Ocean and then via Persia, Syria or Egypt. Despite the existence of this trade, a heavy curtain shut the East and the West from each other's sight - Westerners could not even travel as far as Baghdad. The reasons for this cessation of contact seem to lie with the rise of the power of Islam. To say that relations between the Christian lands and the emerging power which was filled with religious zeal were strained would be to understate the case. Presumably the Moslem merchants, who enjoyed something akin to a freemasonry as well as a lingua franca, did not object to trading with Christians near the boundaries of their domains but would not allow Christians to penetrate any further than necessary. In this respect Russia was probably no worse off than Western Europe. The first Russian principality, that of Kiev, was founded about the beginning of the 11th century on the trade route between Scandinavia and Byzantium and may well have been concerned with trade with the East. The early Russian principalities certainly had direct or indirect commercial contacts with Moslem states in Persia and Central Asia which were actively engaged in trade with India and China. Accounts of travellers from Russia in pre-Mongol times are rare but they do exist. They consist, however, of accounts of pilgrimages to Byzantium, Jerusalem and the Holy Land and a few places between. One such is the account by Abbot Daniel of Kiev of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1106-1107.

The relationship between the Far East and Europe and Russia at that time was epitomised by A.F. Meyendorff when he wrote :

"The common basis of travel and intercourse is the road or route; the mere existence of a route as a fairly constant link between distant parts of the inhabited globe is an important indication of a complex social, economic or political system, the expression of supra-tribal interests and of an extensive interdependence between groups scattered over large sections of the known world." <sup>3</sup>

In the early medieval period few inhabitants of either the East or the West penetrated the other's sphere; contact was maintained, but solely or almost solely through intermediaries.

A dramatic change in the situation took place in the early 13th century as a result of the Mongol conquests of China, Persia and Russia. Western merchants could pass unhampered on the caravan routes across Central Asia, Italian merchants visited the bazaars of the Far East and Italian friars said mass in the ports and cities of India and China. This breaking of long-established barriers was due to the Mongol conquest, an event which in most cases is regarded as an unmitigated disaster. The pagan Mongols were greatly dependent on commerce and were relatively tolerant to all creeds. By their overthrow of the Caliphate of Baghdad they began to appear to Christians as potential allies against the common enemy of Islam. Rumours of the conversion to Christianity of the Great Khān or of certain of the lesser khāns in Persia or Russia were current. Dreams of converting the Mongols to Christianity were cherished in the West and embassies were sent out to Sarāi, Tabriz and Cathay from the Pope, the King of England and the King of France with invitations to embrace Christianity and projects of alliance.

Several of the earliest eye-witness accounts of the East were set down by the men entrusted with these proselytising missions. Two Franciscan friars were among the first: John of Piano Carpini and Andrew of Longjumeau, both of whom were sent to the Great Khān as diplomatic envoys. John of Piano Carpini set off in 1245 on a journey which took him through Kiev and the Tatar Horde on the Volga and on, with a Polish companion, across Central Asia to Karakorum whence he returned to the west in 1247. The unsuccessful mission of Andrew of Longjumeau took place in about 1248-1249. In 1251 William of Rubruck, a native of Flanders, was sent by Louis (St. Louis) of France to the Great Khān in Karakorum. He travelled by sea to the Crimea, on to the Don and the Volga and thence across Central Asia to his destination. He met there embassies from many parts, Catholics, Nestorians, Armenians, Manicheans, Buddhists and Moslems, all trying to convert the Khān.

"of the Nestorians, like all Christian travellers to the East, he gives a very hostile account, on the

principle, not unfamiliar among some modern missionaries, that a heathen is greatly to be preferred to some rival Christian society." 4

William left a companion, Bartholomew of Cremona, to preach to the Tatars and returned in 1254 via the Volga, the Caucasus, Armenia and Cyprus.

The Mongols had thrown open the overland route to the Far East and the sea route by way of the Persian Gulf, where Hormoz Island was then the chief port. The other sea route, by way of Egypt and the Red Sea ports, continued to be controlled by Moslems and closed to Christians. European travellers reached the Golden Horde capital, Sarāi, through the Black Sea ports of Kaffa and Tana, controlled by Genoa and Venice respectively, and reached the Il-khānid capital, Tabriz, from the Greek ruled Black Sea port of Trebizond or the Armenian ruled Mediterranean port of Ayās (Lajazzo); from Tabriz they could proceed through Persia to Hormoz, there to take ship for India. An Italian merchant, Pietro Viglioni, who died in Tabriz in 1264, left a will disposing of his stock of cloth from Venice, Germany and Flanders, pearls, sugar and chessmen from the East and saddles, cups, candlesticks and drinking glasses.

From Kaffa and Tana the route led to Ashtarkhān or Sarāi, Urgenj on the lower Oxus, Khwārezm, Bokhārā, Samarqand and so to Cathay. These overland routes were very well protected by the Mongols who cherished the wealth which the tax on merchants could bring them. A certain Francesco Polducci Pegolotti, writing in 1340 a merchants' handbook on the trade of the Levant and the East, had this to say about the route:

"The road you travel from Tana to Cathay is perfectly safe, whether by day or by night, according to what the merchants say who have used it .... You may reckon that from Tana to Sarai the road is less safe than on any other part of the journey, and yet even when this part of the road is at its worst, if you are some 60 men in the company, you will go as safely as if you were in your own house." 5

G.H.T. Kimble goes even further when he states that:

" ..... It became possible in the 13th century to travel across Asia from the banks of the Volga to the Yellow Sea without much more danger than normally attended the progress of the Christian pilgrim from Canterbury to Compostella." 6

The most famous of the merchants to take advantage of these new opportunities were the Polo family of Venice. In 1260 the brothers Niccolo and Maffeo sailed from Constantinople to the Crimean port of Sudak where they joined forces with a third brother, Marco the Elder, who owned a house there. This part of the journey was a normal commercial enterprise but the subsequent adventures bear a surprising resemblance to those which drove Nikitin on to India. The Polos joined a caravan to take valuable goods to a Mongol market on the Volga (probably Bolghār). At this moment war broke out between rival Tatar Khāns and, finding their retreat cut off, they decided to go forward rather than risk entanglement in the fighting and they pressed on to Bokhārā, where they stayed some time, to learn the Tatar language and customs. In due course they agreed to join a diplomatic mission from the Mongol ruler of the Levant (i.e. of Persia) which was travelling east to the headquarters of Qubilāy, the Great Khān, in Cathay. As far as is known they were the first Europeans to reach his court. There the Polos seem to have been made welcome. In due course they were sent back to the West with a request for the dispatch of a mission to Qubilāy to explain to him the Christian faith.

The Polos arrived back at Acre in 1269, just after the death of Pope Clement IV, which left a power vacuum in Rome with the result that no large scale mission could be contemplated. After much delay two missionaries were appointed to accompany them; neither, unfortunately, had the dauntless perseverance needed to complete the journey and in the end the Polos returned to the East themselves, accompanied by Niccolo's 17 year old son, Marco - the Marco Polo of worldwide fame. The family spent the next 20 years living in the East, though little is known of what they actually did there. They finally returned home in 1292 by the long sea route through the Malay Straits. According to Marco's account they escorted a bride for Arghun, Il-Khān of Persia. Persian sources confirm her existence but do not mention the prominent part played by the Polos. The famous account of these travels has a strange story of its own. Marco spent some considerable time as a prisoner of war of the Genoese and whilst in captivity met a romance writer, Rustichello of Pisa; with the help of Marco's notes, the two

wrote the tale which we possess. The travels were certainly a wonderful achievement even though Marco Polo's account is somewhat romanticised.

The similarities between Nikitin's travels and those of the Polos are greater than most Russian commentators would admit. Both enterprises were intended to be of more limited scope than they turned out to be: in Nikitin's case storms and pirates forced him to travel onward rather than return; in the Polos' case the outbreak of war was the crucial factor. Furthermore the Polos, like Nikitin, were merchants and their first voyage seems to have had no aim other than the pursuit of commercial profit. Although their second voyage was intended to be a Christian mission to Qubilāy, religion was only a part of the Polos' interest in the Far East. Qubilāy appears to have had an enquiring mind, even sending to Madagascar in search of the fabulous bird, the roc. Like several other Mongol rulers, he wished to find out more about various faiths and was perhaps mainly interested in their political implications.

Marco Polo's account contains quite long descriptions of India and its people and in many respects these resemble Nikitin's observations quite closely. Like Nikitin he was struck by the nakedness of the natives :

"I must tell you that in all this province of Malabar there is no master tailor or dressmaker to cut or stitch cloth because the people go stark naked all the year round. For the weather here is always temperate, that is, neither cold nor hot. That is why they always go naked, except that they cover their private parts with a scrap of cloth. The king wears no more than the others, apart from certain ornaments of which I will tell you. You may take it for a fact that he too goes stark naked, except for a handsome loin cloth, with a fringe all round it set with precious stones ...." 7

Naturally he too was interested in the commercial opportunities offered by the sub-continent :

"In this kingdom there is a great abundance of pepper and also of ginger, besides cinnamon in plenty and other spices, turbit and coconuts. Buckrams are made here of the loveliest and most delicate texture in the world. Many other articles of merchandise are exported. In return, when merchants come here from overseas they

load their ships with brass, which they use as ballast, cloth of gold and silver, sendal, gold, silver, cloves, spikenard, and other such spices that are not produced here (Malabar). You must know that ships come here from very many parts, notably from the great province of Manzi (China), and goods are exported to many parts ...." 8

Marco Polo speaks of the trade in horses, the abundance of jewels, the habits and religion of people and the climate and the crops grown. Unlike Nikitin he tends to dwell on the more sensational aspects of Indian life such as the temple dancers and the importance of astrology. He also writes about two matters which Nikitin surprisingly does not mention: the custom of widow-burning or suttee and the existence of Christian sects in the western coastal regions of India. The account also covers much of the same route through the Middle East as Nikitin travelled and, of course, a detailed description of the Far East about which Nikitin could only give hearsay evidence.

The Polos were by no means the only Westerners to visit the Far East in this period, though Marco Polo's account is by far the most comprehensive. Friar Oderic of Pordenone visited India and the Far East and reached China soon after 1320. In his Descriptus Orientalium Partium he writes about the pearl fisheries, the cultivation of indigo, ginger and pepper at Quilon, cotton in Gojerāt and the huge ocean-going junks which crowded the harbours of the Malabar coast. He states that there were many people in Venice who had visited Kinsai (Hangchau) and many European travellers who had boarded junks at Quilon to sail to Java, Sumatra, Indo-China and Cathay.

Another traveller of the period was Giovanni di Montecorvino, who was appointed the first Catholic Archbishop of Peking in 1307. In his Indian Letters of ca. 1291 he left a good picture of the life of a Latin Christian in the Far East. In his work entitled Mirabilia Descripta per Fratrum Jordanum he gives an account of the agricultural economy of the Indians, their religious ritual, cow-worship, caste system and the practice of suttee. He also mentions the presence in China of a Christian merchant, Master Peter of Lucolongo, who was with him in 1306 and who bought the land for his church in

Peking, after first joining him in Tabriz some 10 years earlier and accompanying him in India. This man, who appears to have been a merchant rather than a missionary, is in many ways comparable with Nikitin himself.

Francesco Pegolotti's handbook for merchants has already been mentioned. Another contemporary was John of Marignolli, who left an account of the foundation of a "fondaco" (warehouse or caravanserai) and bath-house for the use of European merchants at Zaiton in China by the Franciscans. Other missionaries who have left accounts of the Orient are Andrew of Perugia and John of Cora. According to Eileen Power<sup>9</sup>, one of the best travel writers of the period was Jordanus of Severac, a Dominican who has made Bishop of Quilon by Pope John XXII in 1329.

The era of relatively easy travelling was not to last however. By the mid 14th century the curtain fell back and the East again receded into mystery. For this there were several reasons. Firstly the Mongols in Persia and Russia were converted to Islam, and Persia was the gateway through which most of these travellers reached the East. With their conversion, their tolerant attitude underwent a change and most trade fell into the hands of Moslem merchants. In China the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty weakened and was replaced by the Ming Dynasty which pursued a strongly anti-foreign policy. According to G.H.T. Kimble<sup>10</sup> the disruption of society in the West following the scourge of the Black Death was a further factor in the decline of commerce between East and West.

Despite all difficulties occasional travellers still penetrated the East and left accounts of their adventures, though most did not get very far east. There are several interesting 15th century accounts of travels in the Near East to the courts of Timur and Uzun Hasan. The earliest of these travellers, Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, a Spaniard born in Madrid, was a member of an embassy sent by Henry III of Castile to the court of Timur. He sailed from Cadiz in 1403 and travelled east via the Balearic Islands, Rhodes and Constantinople, across the Black Sea to Trebizond and then overland through Erzurum, Tabriz and Tehran to Samarqand, where the embassy was favourably received. The expedition returned safely, despite

great difficulties, in 1406. Clavijo's account is lively and interesting. In parts he followed the same route as Nikitin: sailing from small port to small port (including Platana) around the Black Sea coast to Trebizond (and like Nikitin being delayed by the sudden storms of the Black Sea), visiting the site of Rayy, and Sivas, Tabriz, Shirāz and Sultāniya. He also describes the Iron Gates of Darband but whether he actually visited the place is unclear. Clavijo was keenly interested in the trade which he saw around him, be it the ship loaded with hazelnuts in which he sailed from Trebizond to Pera, or the bazaar of Tabriz:

".... and around these are seen many great buildings and houses each with its main doorway facing the square. Such are the caravanserais: and within are constructed separate apartments and shops with offices that are planned for various uses. Leaving these caravanserais you pass into the market streets where goods of all kinds are sold: such as silk stuffs and cotton cloths, crepes, taffetas, raw silks and jewelry: for in these shops wares of every kind may be found. There is indeed an immense concourse of merchants and merchandise here." 11

Again of the silk trade in Persia:

"To Sultāniyah further is imported all the silk that is produced in Gilān .... This Gilān silk is exported from Sultāniyah to Damascus and other parts of Syria, also to Turkey and to Kaffa with the neighbouring lands. Further, to Sultāniyah is brought all the silk made at Shamākhī which is a place where much of this article is woven and Persian merchants travel thither to buy it, also Genoese and Venetians." 12

The next traveller of note was Nicolo de' Conti, a Venetian explorer, writer and merchant who came from a noble family. He left Venice in 1419 and travelled via Damascus, the north Arabian desert, the Euphrates and Mesopotamia to Baghdad and thence to Hormoz. There he took ship to India, which he reached by coasting as far as Cambay and further south, and then he struck inland to Vijayanagar. He describes this capital of the Hindu state of the southern Deccan. He then travelled further east to Sumatra, the lands round the Gulf of Bengal including the city of Pegu, Indo-China, Quilon, Cochin,

Calicut, Cambay, Socotra, Aden, Jedda and back to Venice via Cairo. De' Conti was forced to relinquish his Christian faith (as so nearly happened to Nikitin) and on his return he was ordered by Pope Eugenius IV to do penance by relating his story to Poggio Bracciolini, the papal secretary. Here again there is a similarity to Nikitin, whose notes were taken to Vasily Mamayev, the Grand Prince's dyak. De' Conti's narrative consists of his replies to Poggio's questions on Indian life, social classes, religion, fashions, manners and customs; it is one of the best accounts of southern Asia by a European in the 15th century. Here is his description of Indian dress:

"Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this a garment of linen or silk, which, with the men, descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they wear only sandals, with purple and gold ties as we see in ancient statues." 13

De' Conti, like Nikitin, seems to have travelled purely in pursuit of his business as a merchant. His journey is in many ways the most similar to that of the Russian merchant.

A few years later in or about 1436 another citizen of Venice, Josafa Barbaro, made two voyages to Tana and thence into Persia. He apparently knew about the travels of the ancients and of other travellers including Marco Polo and he was acquainted with the Contarinis (see below). The translation of his account, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1873, was made by William Thomas, Clerk to Edward VI, and the language is archaic. The English king's interest is another example of the thirst for knowledge displayed by medieval rulers.

Barbaro's work is particularly valuable as an eye-witness account of the Golden Horde lands and southern Russia - an account in many ways complementary to that of Nikitin, in as much as he comments on Russia itself. On his preparation for the overland journey from Tana, he writes:

"... we ... departed from Tana, with stuff, vittails, weapons, and instruments necessarie, which we carried upon those zena (zena is a sleade) that they use in

Russia, and went up the ryver on the yse, so that the next daie we aryved at the place, for it standeth neere the ryver and about lx miles distant from Tana". 14

On the hazards of trading in the steppes:

"And because I have spoken of merchaunt men, retorneng to my purpose of the armie, I saie there be alwaies merchauntes which carie their wares divers waies though they passe wth the hordo, entending to go otherwheare." 15

Barbaro visited the town of Ashtarkhān shortly after its destruction by Timur and has left this description of the place:

"Going from Tumen east northeast about vij iorneyes, is the ryver Ledil, whereon standeth Cithercan which at this p'nt is but a litle town in maner destroyed; albeit, that in tyme passed it hath been great and of great fame. For, before it was destroyed by Tamerlane, the spices and silke that passe nowe through Soria came to Cithercan, and from thense to Tana; so that, at that tyme, neither Venetians nor yet any other nacion on this side of the sea costes, used merchaundise into Soria." 16

(N.b. River Ledil = R. Volga. Soria = Sarāi)

This first journey took Barbaro to Moscow and home to the west via Poland.

A few years later Barbaro undertook another journey, this time to Persia and the Middle East, where he went as an ambassador to Uzun Hasan, whom he calls Assambei. Uzun Hasan had sent an embassy to Venice to enlist help in his struggles with the Ottoman Turks and Barbaro returned with a delegation bearing as gifts

" ... artillerie, certein bombardes, springards and hangonnes, wth powder, shott, waggens and other yrons of divers sortes" 17

He travelled through Armenia and among the Kurds whom he describes as

" ... exceading crewell and not so much theevishe as openly given to roberie ... " 18

He had an experience very much like that of Nikitin in the

Caucasus for he was attacked and robbed and had to approach Uzun Hasan for help. He received gifts of clothing and 20 ducats. His account of his travels in Persia is lively and most interesting. He also visited Darband, leaving a description of the famous Iron Gates, and of the Kaitaks (Qaytāqs) of whom he writes

".... many of them are Christians; some after the Greekes, some after the Armenians and some after the Catholiks" 19

His route also took him to Baku where, like Nikitin, he was struck by the sight of the oil:

"Upon this syde of the sea there is another citie called Bachu, whereof the sea of Bachu taketh name, neere unto which citie there is a mountaigne that casteth forth the blacke oyle, stynkeng Horrblye, which they, nevertheless, use for furnissheng of their lightes, and for anynteng of their camells twice a yere. For if they were not anynted they wolde become skabbie." 20

Barbaro finished writing in 1487.

A fascinating account of a journey through the Middle East and Russia at about the same time as Nikitin's has been left by Ambrosio Contarini, another envoy from Venice to the court of Uzun Hasan. His route took him through Germany, Poland, Russia and Kaffa, as the Venetians were not then on friendly terms with the Ottoman Turks. He was a member of a leading Venetian family, many of whose members distinguished themselves in the wars with the Turks. One particularly interesting point in his account is his mention of Marco Russo, the Russian ambassador to Uzun Hasan. Contarini and his party met him in Darband and in an incident very similar to Nikitin's meeting with Vasily Papin they arranged to travel together to Ashtarkhān.

"An arrangement was then made by Marco (the Muscovite ambassador) with the master of a vessel to carry us to Citracan. The vessels here are kept on shore during the winter, when they cannot be used. They are called fishes, which they are made to resemble in shape, being sharp at the head and stern and wide amidships. They are built with timbers caulked with rags and are very dangerous craft. No compass is used, as they keep continually in sight of land. They use oars, and, tho'

everything is done in a most barbarous manner, they look on themselves as the only mariners worthy of the name." 21

The party comprised

"in all thirty-five persons, including the captain and 6 mariners; there were on board some merchants taking rice, silk and fustians to Citracan for the Russian market, and some Tartars going to procure furs for sale in Derbent." 22

His voyage to the mouth of the Volga was as difficult as Nikitin's some seven years earlier. Contarini was shipwrecked at some point and saw signs of a previous shipwreck which had been looted by Tatars. Furthermore his goods were rifled in the city and he was forced to pay exorbitantly for his transport. His route from Ashtarkhan was the reverse of Nikitin's. The Venetians were forced to carry provisions for the journey up to the borders of Muscovy and these consisted of rice mixed with milk and then sun-dried, onions, garlic, biscuits and salted sheep's tail. People from the Russian villages brought them honeycombs. In the steppe lands they cooked the food over dung fires. The party passed through Ryazan of which he wrote:

"We .... reached a city called Resan, belonging to a lord whose wife is sister to the Duke of Muscovy, the houses, as well as the castel of which, are all made of wood. Here we obtained bread and meat in abundance, as well as their beverage of apples by which we were much restored." 23

Contarini spent some time in Moscow and was impressed by the abundance of produce especially grain and meat and the cheapness of it. He found a great number of merchants in the city from Poland and Germany who were there to purchase furs.

Another Venetian to visit Uzun Hasan's realm was Caterino Zeno who seems to have made several journeys between Venice and the Middle East. In fact his father had also travelled in that area, visiting Basra, Mecca and Persia and dying at Damascus. Caterino Zeno married a niece of Princess Despina, wife of Uzun Hasan and daughter of the last Christian Emperor of Trebizond. His account is mainly a chronicle of

the struggles between Uzun Hasan and the Ottomans. Another Italian merchant to leave an account of these struggles was Giovanni Maria Angiolello who appears to have been in Persia in or about 1514 and had previously been in Turkey in the time of Mehmet II; his account is rather more favourable to the Ottomans than those previously mentioned.

A Genoese merchant, Hieronimo de Santo Stefano visited India and the Far East at the close of the 15th century and his unremarkable account is included in R.H. Major's book A History of India in the Fifteenth Century which also contains Major's version of the Khozhenie, and the accounts of de' Conti and 'Abd or-Razzāq Samarqandi (see below).

It is thus clear that the oft-repeated Soviet claim (see section on the history of the text) that Nikitin was the only medieval European to visit the Far East for peaceful purposes is far from correct. Most of the travellers mentioned above were first and foremost merchants and travelled mainly for the purposes of trade. It is true that the Polo family attempted to take missionaries with them on their return to the lands of Qubilāy Khān though they did not succeed in this project; in any case the attempt was apparently made at the bidding of Qubilāy himself. Most of the Venetian travellers to the Middle East were charged with diplomatic missions but some also did commercial business; and it is known that Nikitin travelled with a charter from the Grand Prince of Tver and accompanied the envoy of the Shirvān Shāh. He would probably have played a diplomatic role if his journey had turned out as originally planned.

Probably the Soviet commentators base their argument on a comparison between Nikitin and Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator and discoverer of the sea routes to India via the Cape of Good Hope. He reached India on May 20th 1498 at the port of Calicut where, in accordance with Portuguese custom, he erected a marble pillar as a mark of conquest and proof of his discovery of India. On that first visit he had a rather mixed reception. After he returned to Portugal in 1499, a fleet of 13 ships was immediately sent to India under Pedro Alvarez Cabral (who accidentally discovered Brazil by sailing too far west on his way). He established a trading factory at Calicut

but the settlers were murdered shortly afterwards. In 1502 Cabral and da Gama took a third expedition to India which wreaked vengeance on the city of Calicut and sailed on to Cochin, destroying and pillaging on the way. The return of this expedition to Portugal in 1503 with richly laden ships was greeted with great rejoicing. Further expeditions were sent out by the Portuguese to make conquests in India, one of which in 1524 was also led by da Gama, who was designated viceroy of India. After his arrival at Goa later that year, he began to correct abuses but died in Cochin in December 1524. There are several contemporary accounts of his voyages written by members of his expeditions but not by da Gama himself. It appears that the Soviet writers discount the earlier travellers and compare Nikitin to da Gama and to later Europeans whose objective was the conquest of India.

While the accounts of the European travellers have received most attention from modern Western students of the Middle Ages, a great deal of interesting information about the East can be found in the writings of Arab and Persian travellers, geographers and chroniclers. The best known of these is Ebn Battuta, a Moroccan 'ālem (scholar of Islamic religion and law) who, in the mid 14th century, travelled through most of the countries visited by Nikitin, leaving a very full account of them, and continued to China, besides making another journey across the Sahara to the Niger. He visited the lands of the Golden Horde and his description of some of the cities of what is today southern Russia is particularly interesting because he saw them as a Moslem in a Moslem territory - the opposite of Nikitin's viewpoint.

"Leaving this place (Sanub) I proceeded by sea for the city of El Kiram (Crim), but suffered considerable distress in the voyage, and was very near being drowned. We arrived, however, at length, at the port of El Kirash, which belongs to the desert country of Kifjak. This desert is green and productive: it has however neither tree, mountain, hill nor wood upon it. The inhabitants burn dung. They travel over this desert upon a cart, which they call Araba. The journey is one of six months: the extent of three of which belong to the Sultan Mohammed Uzbek Khan; that of three more to the infidels. I hired one of these carts for my journey from the port of Kirash to the city of El Kafa, which belongs to Mohammed Uzbek. The greater part of the inhabitants are

Christians, living under his protection. From this place I travelled in a cart to the city of El Kiram, which is one of the large and beautiful cities of the districts of Sultan Mohammed Uzbek Khan. From this place I proceeded, on a cart which I hired, to the city of El Sarai, the residence of Mohammed Uzbek. The peculiarity of this desert is, that its herbs serve for fodder for their beasts: and on this account their cattle are numerous. They have neither feeders nor keepers, which arises from the severity of their laws against theft." 24

Ebn Battuta's account of his travels is much more extensive than Nikitin's and, because of his position as a Moslem and an 'ālem, he was able to enter fully into the court life of the Moslem rulers whom he visited. There do not appear to be any significant contradictions between his statements and those of Nikitin, though he writes at some length about suttees, concerning which, as already mentioned, Nikitin was silent.

Another valuable account is that of 'Abd or-Razzāq Samarqandi, who was born at Herāt in 1413. He entered the service of the Timurid Sultan Shāh Rokh in 1437 and was sent in 1441 on an important diplomatic mission to the king of Vijayanagar. He travelled via Hormoz and Calicut. Of Vijayanagar he wrote:

"This empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into the most extensive details." 26

It is interesting to compare 'Abd or-Razzāq's description of the dress of the Indians with those of Nikitin and some of the other writers mentioned earlier:

"The blacks of this country have the body nearly naked; they wear only bandages around the middle, called Lankoutah, which descend from the navel to above the knee. In one hand they hold an Indian Poignard, which has the brilliance of a drop of water, and in the other a buckler of ox-hide, which might be taken for a piece of mist. This costume is common to the king and to the beggar. As to the Musselmauns, they dress themselves in magnificent apparel after the manner of the Arabs, and manifest luxury in every particular. After I had had an opportunity of seeing a considerable number of Musselmauns and Infidels, I had a comfortable lodging assigned to me and after a lapse of three days was conducted to an audience with the king. I saw a man with his body naked like the rest of the Hindoos." 27

The background of India in this early period is covered by histories of the Moslem states written in Persian by local historians (see M.A. Hanifi, A Short History of Muslim Rule in Indo-Pakistan <sup>28</sup>).

Nikitin occupies a unique position in Russian literature. As already mentioned, the majority of Russian accounts of foreign travel cover pilgrimages to the holy cities of Christendom and these are not very informative about the lands visited by their authors. Several of these accounts are included in I.P. Sakharov's collection Skazaniya russkago naroda <sup>29</sup> which also contains one of the versions of the Khozhenie of Nikitin. Among them are the already mentioned Abbot Daniel's account of his journey in the early 12th century to Byzantium via the Greek towns and islands and on to Cyprus, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Galilee: the journey of Stefan of Novgorod to the holy places of Byzantium: the journey of Ierodiakon Zosima who went in 1420 from the Troitse-Sergiev Monastery to Kiev and travelled thence with some merchants to Byzantium, Athens and Jerusalem: a description of Byzantium in ca. 1390 by the Dyak Aleksanda: a visit to the Holy Land by Arseny Selunsky: a journey to Italy by the monk Simeon of Suzdal in about 1437, which took him through several Russian and German cities on his way to Florence; and two other accounts of journeys to Poland and the Holy Land. In addition to these accounts, there is one which is mentioned in Istoriya russkoi literatury <sup>30</sup>, written by a merchant called simply Vasily who visited Brusa and Palestine in 1465-1466 apparently for the sole purpose of trade but in the company of some pilgrims. His account is more wide-ranging than the usual accounts of pilgrimages and gives descriptions of the towns and cities and of the goods to be obtained there.

In connection with Nikitin, it is noteworthy that the accounts of Stefan of Novgorod and of Zosima give descriptions of the statue of Justinian at Byzantium which are very similar to Nikitin's description (p. 52). Whilst Nikitin may have visited Byzantium himself and seen the statue, it is also possible that he was familiar with one or both of these accounts.

Possibly the most important travel account in Russian before Nikitin's Khozhenie za tri morya is the Skazanie o

zheleznykh vratekh described by V.A. Kuchkin <sup>31</sup> and already mentioned above. Kuchkin thinks that it was written in 1436-1447, probably by an envoy sent to the ruler of Shemākha by one of the Russian princes, perhaps the Grand Prince of Tver. The surviving manuscript is only a part of the original but contains full descriptions of Darband and the Iron Gates and the crops of the land of Shemākha and a statement that the fabled "Rich India" (Indiya bogataya), could be reached from there.

Interesting as these fragments are, travel writing does not seem to have been a Russian speciality. Even in the 150 years after Nikitin, such accounts are rather rare though Sakharov <sup>32</sup> mentions an account of a journey by Vasily Gogary in 1634 from Kazan through Tiflis and Erzurum to the Holy Land, Egypt, Damascus, and Edessa and home via Wallachia, Warsaw and Vilna, and another of a visit to the Holy Land by two Moscow merchants, Trifon Korobeinikov and Yury Grekov, in 1582. He also mentions the account of a visit to China in 1567 by two Cossack chieftains, Ivan Petrov and Burnash Elychev. He also includes the account of a journey in 1651 through Moldavia and Wallachia to Byzantium, Rhodes, Alexandria and the Holy Land and back via Georgia and the Caucasus, by Arseny Sukhanov; this is of particular interest as this writer was known to have possessed one of the early copies of Nikitin's Khozhenie. (See history of the texts - p. 23).

The importance of Nikitin's Khozhenie must be assessed by comparison with the writings of Western European, other Russian, and Persian and Arab medieval travellers in the East. Manifestly, it is neither as important as many Russian commentators claim, nor as insignificant as might appear from the scant attention which it has received in the West. It is not the first European account of a visit to India but it is the best of a visit to the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan before the arrival of the Portuguese. It is not the longest or fullest description of medieval India but it gives a probably accurate picture of the life and customs of certain strata of 15th century Indian society. Nikitin was not the first Russian traveller to leave an account of his wanderings but he is outstanding amongst them for his power of observation. Walther

Kirchner, one of the few scholars who have written in English about Nikitin, sums up the importance of the Khozhenie very well in his article The Voyage of Athanasius Nikitin to India 1466-1472:

"Nikitin's voyage is remarkable not only for the descriptions, but also for the personality of the writer. No self-glorifying explorer nor profit-seeking business propagandist, he gives us an insight into human problems and into the experiences and anguish of a weak human being which fate has driven into strange and far away lands." 33

Walther Kirchner also points out that the route which Nikitin pioneered, or at least was the first to describe, was of great importance to the economy of rising Muscovy, because Moscow's position, on a tributary of the Volga, connected it to the route through Persia to India. He also points out that it was the prospect of trade down the Volga to Persia, India and the Far East, rather than the prospect of trade with Russia herself, which led the English merchants to establish themselves in Moscow in 1553.

Nikitin thus deserves to be numbered, if not with Marco Polo and Ebn Battuta, at least with Clavijo, Contarini and Barbaro. The fact that his account is written in medieval Russian should be no barrier to its greater circulation. Most of the principal travellers of the Middle Ages have become known in English-speaking countries through translations of their works and Nikitin deserves to rank amongst them.

Note:

In the two following sections, the references and the bibliography, the following abbreviations are sometimes used:

- Ac. ed.        Academy edition (i.e. of the Khozhenie)
- AN-KhZTM     Afanasy Nikitin - Khozhenie za tri morya
- AN-SSSR      Akademiya nauk Soyuza Sovetskikh  
Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik - the Academy of  
Sciences of the USSR
- PSRL          Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei - the complete  
collection of Russian chronicles
- TODRL        Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury Instituta  
russkoi literatury AN-SSSR
- Vop. ist.     Voprosy istorii.

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9. GLOSSARY

Adryak	Probably a kind of ginger, but possibly a euphemism for opium. See note 212.
Alacha	Probably a Persian fabric of cotton and silk mixed; possibly braid or fabric decoration.
Altyn	An old Russian coin worth 3 copecks.
Batman	An old Iranian measure of weight varying from 3 kilos upwards.
But	A Hindu idol. This is the Persian term, derived from the word Buddha, used for Hindu deities and idols.
Butkhāna	A Hindu temple - see above.
Dhoti	An Indian loin-cloth.
Dyak	Russian term for the secretary to a Grand Prince or other ruler; often entrusted with foreign affairs.
Fanam	A south Indian coin of various values in different places, made of either gold or silver.
Gukuk	Probably the Indian Great Horned Owl.
Kamkha	An embroidered golden silk brocade.
Kandak	A coarse cloth - possibly printed cotton or possibly rough woollen material.
Kedgeree	A dish made of rice, lentils, butter and spices.
Khozhenie	A journey (strictly speaking one made on foot).
Koitul	Turkic word for the mobile camp of a local nomadic ruler.
Kos	A measurement in length in India. Varying from 4 to 10 miles, but here probably about 6.5 miles.
Krem1	A Russian fortified site. Early ones often had wooden walls.
Lac	Shellac, used in the preparation of lacquers and polishes.
Lakh	Indian term for 100,000.
Ordu	Turko-Mongolian term for the mobile camp of a local nomadic ruler.
Pochka	A Russian measure of weight for diamonds, varying from 1 gr. to 2.13 grs.

Qentār	Arabic measure of weight, varying from place to place from 50 kg. upwards but usually about 100 kg.
Radonitsa	Colloquial Russian term for the week after Easter.
Sagadak	A Russian word (derived from Mongolian) for the complete equipment for a cavalry man including saddle, bow, arrows and quiver. A symbolic sagadak was the badge for a Mongolian troop commander.
Sagene	An old Russian unit of length, approx. 2.134 m.
Sheshkani	A small Persian silver coin.
Shitel	A Turkic silver coin.
Tatna	Probably an intoxicating beverage, possibly brewed from the palmyra palm.
Tava	A boat plying off the Mahrāthi coast, but the term may have been much more widely used in the languages of Western Asia and the Mediterranean.
Tenka	A Persian silver coin of various weights and values but generally equalling 5 - 6 dinars.
Tuman	A Mongol word which entered many Turkic languages and generally meant 10,000 or 1,000. In the Persian and Arabic tongues it had several specific meanings: 10,000 (i.e. dinars), a 10,000 man unit of the army, a military or administrative district, a district of 100 villages.
Verst	A Russian measure of length equal to about .66 mile.

APPENDIX A

i The Museum Copy of the text

The following four fragments are all that is left of the Museum Copy of the text of the Khozhenie za tri morya. They are reproduced here as printed in the article "Novye spiski "Khozheniya" Afanasiya Nikitina" by A.A. Zimin, which appeared in Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury, AN-SSSR, 1957, Vol. XIII, pp 437 - 439.

А верь во Индеи всех 84, а вси веруют в Бута. А вера с верою ни пьет, ни ест, ни женятся, а инии же баранину, куры, рыбу яйца ядят, а воловины не ядят никаа вера. Бедерь бесерменский.

О, благовернии русстии христиане, иже кто по многим землям много плавает, во многыа грехы впадает и веры ся да лишает христианские.

Ино, братье русстии христиане, кто хочет поити во Индейскую землю, и ты остави веру свою на Руси, да възкликну Махмета, да поиди в Густанскую землю. Мене залгали псы бесермена.

В Корею убили Шаусеня Алеевых детей, а внучат Махметевых и он их проклял, ино 70 городовъ ся розвалило.

APPENDIX A

ii The Troitsky, Archive, Voskresensky and Undolsky copies of the text

The Troitsky, Archive and Voskresensky and the Undolsky copies of the text of the Khozhenie za tri morya are reproduced here as printed in Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei on pages 330 - 358 of Vol. VI, appendix g. The Troitsky text appears under the heading av with the variations of the Archive text as footnotes. The fragments of the Voskresensky text also appear as footnotes. The Undolsky text appears under the heading sd.

чюдотворцу Алексѣю митрополиту, о чюдеси бывшемъ у гроба святаго, о исцѣленіи инока Наума, воспѣвая пѣснь нову: слава си есть всѣмъ преподобнымъ его, десница Господня прославися во крѣпости, десная ти рука створи преславная<sup>а</sup>. Бысть убо нощь она тѣмъ день<sup>б</sup> радости, свѣтъ а не тма, бысть нощь духовнаго веселія исполнена, и шумъ бяше тамъ чина празднующихъ и гласъ радованія въ кровѣхъ праведныхъ; сія же не въ тайнѣ, ниже въ молчаніи свершаемъ, но прохожаше оно чюдно торжество со воскликновеніемъ вездѣ и повсюду, понеже сіе чюдо смотрители бысть вѣрующихъ ради и невѣрующихъ: вѣрнии же вѣрнѣе пожрутся, а невѣрнии вѣрнѣе будутъ о Господѣ, Господь же неоскуднѣй врачъ всеимый, иже неоскудну имать силу, елико хочеть и творить. Возрадовавъ же ся оная паствы начальникъ, похвалу возда Богу отъ житія свѣтлости, отъ разума превосхоженія и отъ дѣланія добродѣтелей. Кто не удивится, кто не прославить, видяще сія въ послѣдняя времена приключшаяся? Якоже по Христѣ нашемъ бысть во градѣ Іерусалимѣ, егда исправилъ Христось слукую и долу поничающую жену, емуже зазираху Жидове, глаголющи, яко исцѣли ея; онъ же отвѣща имъ, глаголя: не подобаше ли исцѣлити сія въ субботу, еже связа сатана осмьнадесятъ<sup>в</sup> лѣтъ? нынѣ же сотвори Господь подобно тому угодникомъ своимъ Алексѣемъ чюдотворцемъ, многими лѣты скорчившуюся и изсохшую ногу исцѣли инока, Наума именованъ, иже и нынѣ во обители его здравъ пребываетъ, слава Бога и пречистую Владычицу нашу Богородицу, и великаго Архистратига Михаила, и великаго Алексѣя митрополита чюдотворца Рускаго, нынѣ и присно и въ вѣки вѣкомъ, аминь.

## Г.

(См. томъ VI, стр. 200).

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ав. Троицк. IV. Арх. XVI. (Воскр.)

=

Г За молитву святыхъ Отець нашихъ Господи Ісусе Христе Сыне Божій помилуй мя раба своего грѣшнаго Аѳонася Микитина сына. Се написахъ грѣшное свое хоженіе за три моря:

а) Исход. XV, 6. б) день такъ чит. издатель; въ А. В. днесь. в) осмьнадесятъ — десять ошибок. А. В.: см. Лук. XIII, 11—16. г) Въ Арх. XVI и Воскр. предъ Путешествіемъ Аѳанасія Тверитина находится слѣдующая лѣтописная статья: того же году обрѣтохъ написаніе оѳонаса тѳеритина купца, что былъ въ индїи 4 годы; а ходилъ, сказываеть, съ васильемъ съ папнымъ. азъ же оытахъ, коли василей ходилъ съ кречаты посломъ отъ великаго князя, и сказаша ми: за годъ до казаньскаго похода пришелъ (отсюда въ Воскр. большой пропускъ: утрачено нѣсколько тетрадей, такъ что на слѣдующемъ листѣ уцѣлѣли только окончательныя слова Путешествія) изъ орды, коли князь юрїя подъ казанью былъ, тогда его подъ казанью застрѣлили. се же написано не обрѣтохъ, въ кое лѣто пошелъ, или въ кое лѣто пришелъ изъ индїи, умеръ; а сказываютъ, что левъ смоленска не дошелъ умеръ. а писаніе то своею рукою написалъ. иже его руки тетради привезли гости къ мамыреву василью къ дьяку къ великаго князя на москву.

првое море Дербеньское, дорія (1) Хвалитьскаа<sup>а</sup>, второе море Индѣйское, дорія Гундустанскаа<sup>б</sup>, третье море Черное<sup>в</sup>, дорія Стембольскаа<sup>г</sup> (2). Поидохъ отъ святаго Спаса Златоверхаго съ его милостью<sup>д</sup>, отъ великаго князя Михаила Борисовича и отъ владыкы Генадія Тверскихыхъ<sup>е</sup>: поидохъ на низъ Волгою, и придохъ въ монастырь къ святѣй Живоначальной Троици и святымъ мученикомъ Борису и Глѣбу, и у игумена ся благословивъ у Макарія и у братьи<sup>ж</sup>; и съ Колязина поидохъ на Угличъ, съ Углича на Кострому ко князю Александру, съ иною грамотою, и князь велики отпустилъ мя всея Руси<sup>з</sup> доброволно, и на Плесо<sup>и</sup>, въ Новгородъ Нижней къ Михаилу къ Киселеву къ намѣстнику и къ пошлыннику Ивану Сараеву, пропустили<sup>і</sup> доброволно. А Василей Папинъ проѣхалъ городъ<sup>к</sup>; а язъ ждалъ въ Новгородѣ<sup>л</sup> двѣ недѣли посла Татарскаго Ширвашина Асамбѣга<sup>м</sup> (3), а ѣхалъ съ кречаты отъ великаго князя Ивана, а кречатовъ у него девяносто. И поѣхалъ есмь съ нимъ<sup>н</sup> на низъ Волгою, и Казань есмь, и Орду, и Услашь, и Сарай, и Берекезаны проѣхали есмь доброволно, и въѣхали есмь въ Бузанъ рѣку<sup>о</sup>. И ту наѣхали насъ три Татарины поганьи и сказали намъ лживыя вѣсти: Кайсымъ солтанъ стережетъ гостей въ Бузани, а съ нимъ три тысячи Тотаръ; и посолъ Ширвашинъ Асамбѣгъ далъ имъ по однорядкы да по полотну, чтобы провели мимо Азътарханъ, и они<sup>п</sup> по однорядкы взяли, да вѣсть дали въ Хазъторохани (4) царю. И язъ свое судно покинулъ да полѣзъ есмь на судно на послово и съ товарищи; поѣхали есмь мимо Хазтароканъ, а мѣсяць свѣтитъ<sup>р</sup>, царь насъ видѣлъ и Татаровѣ намъ кликали: качьма, не бѣгайте<sup>с</sup>. И царь послалъ за нами всю свою орду, и по нашимъ грѣхомъ насъ постигли на Бугунѣ<sup>т</sup>, застрѣлили у насъ челоуѣка, а мы у нихъ дву застрѣлили; и судно наше меншее<sup>у</sup> стало на езу, и оны его взяли часа того да розграбили, а моя<sup>ф</sup> рухлядь вся въ меншемъ суднѣ: а болшимъ есмь судномъ дошли до моря, ино стало на усть Волгы на мѣли, и они насъ тутъ взяли, да судно есмь взадъ тянули до езу, и тутъ судно наше большее взяли<sup>х</sup> и 4 головы взяли Рускыя, а насъ отпустили голыми<sup>ц</sup> головами за море, а вверхъ насъ не пропустили вѣсти дѣля. И пошли есмь къ Дербенти<sup>н</sup> двѣма суды: въ одномъ суднѣ посолъ Асамбѣгъ, да Тезики (5), да Русаковъ насъ 10 головами, а въ другомъ суднѣ 6 Москвичъ да 6 Тверичъ<sup>ш</sup>. И встала Фуръстовина<sup>щ</sup> на морѣ, да судно меншее разбило о берегъ<sup>ъ</sup>, и пришли Кайтаки да людей поимали всѣхъ; и пришли есмь въ Дербентъ, и ту Василей поздорову пришелъ, а мы

а) хвал. \* хвалится *ошибк.* А. б) дорія гундустанскаа Т. в) черное \* черьмное А. г) стемб. \* стebelъская А. д) мил. \* отъ государя своего *прибавл.* А. е) и отъ владыкы. . . тверскихыхъ \* и бориса захарьича А. ж) и у братьи \* братьи Т. и у святыа братіи А. з) съ углича. . . руси \* и съ углича отпустили мя доброволно, и оттолѣ поидохъ съ углича, и приѣхалъ есмь на кострому ко князю олександру съ иною грамотою князя великаго, и отпустилъ мя *поплатилъ въ* А. и) на плесо \* приѣхалъ есмь доброволно, и приѣхалъ есмь *прибавл.* А. і) пропустили \* и они мя отпустили А. к) городъ \* въ городъ Т. мимо городъ двѣ недѣли А. л) въ новѣг. \* въ нижнемъ *прибавл.* А. м) ширв. асамб. \* ширваншина асамбѣга А. н) поѣхалъ . . . съ нимъ \* приѣхалъ есмь съ ними А. о) и орду . . . рѣку \* проѣхали доброволно, не дали (не видали?) никого, и орду есмь проѣхали, и сарай есмь проѣхали, и въѣхали есмь въ бузанъ А. п) мимо . . . оны \* *пропущено въ* А. р) поѣхали . . . свѣтитъ \* *такъ въ* А.; *въ* Т. азътарханъ по мѣсяцу ночи, парусомъ. с) не бѣгайте \* а мы того не слышали ничего *прибавл.* А. т) на бугунѣ \* на бугинѣ, и учали насъ стрѣляти А. у) меншее \* *нѣтъ въ* А. ф) а моя \* была мелкая *прибавл.* А. х) тянули . . . взяли \* *вѣдѣли* тянути вверхъ по язю, и тутъ судно наше меншее пограбили А. ц) голыми \* голыми А. ч) къ дербенти \* въ дербентъ заплакавши А. ш) тверичъ \* да коровы да кормъ нашъ *прибавл.* А. щ) фуръстовина \* фуртовина А. ъ) о берегъ \* а ту есть городокъ тархы. а люда вышли на берегъ *прибавл.* А.

пограблены. И билъ есми<sup>а</sup> челомъ Василью Папину да послу Ширваншину Асанбѣгу, что есмя съ нимъ<sup>б</sup> пришли, чтобы ся печаловалъ о людехъ, что ихъ поимали подъ Тархы (6) Кайтаки; и Осанбѣгъ печаловался и ѣздилъ на гору къ Бултабѣгу<sup>в</sup>, и Булатбѣгъ послалъ скоро да<sup>г</sup> къ Ширваншѣбѣгу (7): что<sup>д</sup> судно Руское разбило подъ Тархи и Кайтаки пришелъ людей поимали, а товаръ ихъ розграбили. И Ширваншѣбѣгъ того часа послалъ посла къ шурину своему Алильбѣгу Кайтаческому князю: что судно ся мое разбило подъ Тархы, и твои люди пришелъ людей поимали, а товаръ ихъ пограбили; и ты бы мене дѣля люди ко мнѣ прислалъ и товаръ ихъ собралъ, занеже тѣ люди посланы на мое имя; а что тобѣ будетъ надобе<sup>е</sup> у меня, и ты ко мнѣ пришли, и язъ тобѣ своему брату за то не стою<sup>ж</sup>; и ты бы ихъ отпустилъ добровольно меня дѣля. И Алильбѣгъ того часа отослалъ людей<sup>з</sup> всѣхъ въ Дербентъ добровольно, а изъ Дербенту послали ихъ къ Ширванши въ раду его Коитулъ. А мы поѣхали къ Ширваншѣ во Коитулъ, и били есмя ему челомъ, чтобы насъ пожаловалъ чѣмъ дойти до Руси; и онъ намъ не далъ ничего, ано насъ много, и мы заплакавъ да розошлись кон куды: у кого что есть на Руси, и тотъ пошелъ на Русь, а кой долженъ, а тотъ пошелъ куды его очи понесли, а иные остались въ Шамахеѣ, а иные пошли роботать къ Бакѣ. А язъ пошелъ къ Дербенти, а изъ Дербенти къ Бакѣ, гдѣ огонь горитъ неугасимы; а изъ Баки пошелъ есми за море къ Чебокару, да тутъ есми жилъ въ Чебокарѣ 6 мѣсяць, да въ Сарѣ жилъ мѣсяць въ Маздранской земли; а оттуды ко Амилу, и тутъ жилъ есми мѣсяць; а оттуды къ Димованту, а изъ Димованту къ Дрею<sup>з</sup>, а ту убили Шаусеня Алеевыхъ дѣтей и внучать Махметевыхъ, и онъ ихъ проклялъ, ино 70 городовъ ся розвалило; а изъ Дрея къ Кашени, и тутъ есми былъ мѣсяць; а изъ Кашени къ Наину, а изъ Наина ко Ездѣ, и тутъ жилъ есми мѣсяць; а изъ Діесъ къ Сырчану, а изъ Сырчана къ Тарому, а фуники кормятъ животину, батманъ по 4 алтыны; а изъ Торома къ Лару, а изъ Лара къ Бендерю. И тутъ есть пристанище Гурмызское, и тутъ есть море Индѣйское, а Парсьѣйскимъ языкомъ, и Гондустанская дорія; и оттуды пти моремъ до Гурмыза (8) 4 мили. А Гурмызъ есть на островѣ, а ежедень<sup>ж</sup> поймаютъ его море по двояды на день; и тутъ есми взялъ 1<sup>н</sup> Великъ день, а пришелъ есми въ Гурмызъ за четыре недѣли до Велика дни. А то есми города<sup>и</sup> не всѣ писалъ, много городовъ великихъ. А въ Гурмызѣ есть варное солнце, человекъ съжжетъ. А въ Гурмызѣ былъ есми мѣсяць, а изъ Гурмыза пошелъ есми за море Индѣйское, по Велицѣ дни въ Оомину недѣлю<sup>к</sup>, въ таву, съ коньми, и шли есми моремъ до Мошката (9) 10 дни; а отъ Мошката до Дѣгу 4 дни; а отъ Дѣга Кузряту (10); а отъ Кузрята Конбату<sup>л</sup>, а тутъ ся родить краска далекъ; а отъ Канбата къ Чивилю<sup>м</sup>; а отъ Чивили есми пошли въ семую недѣлю по Велицѣ дни, а шли есмя въ тавѣ 6 недѣль моремъ до Чивили. И тутъ есть Индѣйская страна, и люди ходять наги всѣ, а голова не покрыта, а груди голы<sup>н</sup>, а волосы въ одну косу плетены, а всѣ ходять брюхаты, дѣти родять на великій годъ, а дѣтей у нихъ много, а мужы и жены всѣ<sup>о</sup> черны; язъ хожу куды, ино за мною людей много, дивятся<sup>п</sup> бѣлому

а) билъ есми · били есмя А. б) съ нимъ · съ ними А. в) бултабѣгу · булатубегу А. г) скоро да · скорохода А. д) что · господине *привавл.* А. е) надобе · тѣбѣ (*можетъ быть повторено тобѣ*) *привавл.* Т. ж) за то не стою · не бороню, а тѣ люди пошли на мое имя А. з) къ дрею · *см. ниже; въ Т. корею.* в) 1 · первый А. и) города · горы *ошибк.* Т. к) въ оомину недѣлю · въ радоницу А. л) конбату · коанбаату А. м) чив. · чюв. *такъ и ниже* А. н) голы · головы *ошибк.* А. о) мужы и жены всѣ · мужики и жонкы всѣ наги, а всѣ А. п) дивятся · да дивуются А.

\* Отсюда въ Арх. XVI пропускъ.

\*\* Продолжается Арх. XVI.

человѣку. А князь ихъ, фота на головѣ, а другаа на бедрахъ<sup>а</sup>; а бояре у нихъ ходять, фота на плещѣ, а другыя на бедрахъ; а княжны ходять, фота на плещѣ<sup>б</sup> обогнута, а другаа на бедрахъ; а слугы княжія и боярскыя, фота на бедрахъ обогнута, да щить да мечь въ рукахъ, а иныя съ сулицами, а ины съ ножи, а иныя съ саблями, а иныи съ луки и стрѣлами, а все нагы, да босы, да болкаты<sup>в</sup>; а жонки ходять голова не покрыта, а груди<sup>г</sup> голы; а паронкы да дѣвочки ходять нагы до 7 лѣтъ, а соромъ не покрытъ. А изъ Чювила пошли есмь сухомъ до Пали 8 дни, до Индѣйскыя горы<sup>д</sup>; а отъ Пали до Умри 10 дни, то есть городъ Индѣйскый; а отъ Умри до Чюнейря 6 днѣй<sup>е</sup>, и тутъ есть Асать ханъ Чюнерьскыя Индѣйскыя<sup>ж</sup>, а холопъ Меликтучаровъ (11), а держить сказывають семь темъ отъ Меликтучара. А Меликтучаръ сѣдитъ на 20 тмахъ; а бьется съ Кафары 20 лѣтъ есть, то его побіють<sup>з</sup>, то онъ побиваетъ ихъ многожды. Ханъ же ѣздитъ<sup>и</sup> на людехъ, а слоновъ у него и коней много добрыхъ, а людей у него много<sup>і</sup> Хорозанцевъ; а привозять ихъ изъ Хоросанскыя земли, а иныя изъ Тукрмескыя земли, а иныя изъ Чеготанскыя земли<sup>к</sup>, а привозять все моремъ въ тавахъ, Индѣйскыя земли корабли. И изъ грѣшныи привезлъ жеребца въ Индѣйскую землю, дошелъ есмь до Чюнера Богъ далъ поздорову все, а сталъ ми сто рублевъ. Зима же у нихъ стала съ Троицина дни, а зимовали есмь въ Чюнейрѣ, жили есмь два мѣсяца; ежеденъ и ночь 4 мѣсяца, а всюда<sup>л</sup> вода да грязь. Въ тѣ же дни у нихъ орютъ да сѣють пшеницу, да тутурганъ, да ногуть (12), да все съястное<sup>м</sup>; вино же у нихъ чинять въ великыхъ орѣсехъ<sup>н</sup> кози Гундустанская; а брагу чинять въ татну; кони кормять похотомъ<sup>о</sup>, да варять кичирисъ съ сахаромъ да кормять кони, да съ масломъ, порану же дають шьшени<sup>п</sup>. Во Индѣйской же земли кони ся у нихъ не родять; въ ихъ земли родятся волю да буйволы<sup>р</sup>, на тѣхъ же ѣздить и товаръ иное<sup>с</sup> возять, все дѣлають. Чюнерь<sup>т</sup> же градъ есть на острову на каменомъ, не дѣланъ<sup>у</sup> ничимъ, Богомъ сътворенъ; а ходять на гору день по единому человѣку, дорога тѣсна, пойти<sup>ф</sup> нельзя. Во Индѣйской земли гости ся ставятъ по подворьемъ, а ѣсти варять на гости господарыни, и постелю стелють<sup>х</sup>, и спять съ гостями, сикишь илересень ду житель берсень, достуръ авратъчектуръ, а сикишь муфутъ<sup>н</sup> (13), любить<sup>ч</sup> бѣлыхъ людей. Зимѣ же у нихъ ходять люди<sup>ш</sup> фота на бедрахъ<sup>ш</sup>, а другаа по плечемъ, третья на головѣ; а князи и бояря тогда<sup>ъ</sup> въздѣвають на себя порткы, да сорочину, да кавтанъ, да фота по плечемъ, да другою ся опояшеть, а третьєю фотою главу обертить<sup>ы</sup>; а се оло, оло, абрь оло акъ, оло керимъ, оло рагымъ (14). А въ томъ Чюнерѣ ханъ у меня взялъ жеребца, а увѣдалъ что язъ не Бесерменинъ, Русинъ, и онъ молвить: «и жеребца дамъ да тысячу золотыхъ дамъ, а стань въ вѣру нашу въ Махметъ дени; а не станешь въ вѣру нашу въ Махметъ дени<sup>р</sup>, и жеребца возму и тысячу золотыхъ на главѣ твоей возму;» а срокъ

а) бедрахъ - гувиѣ такъ и ниже А. б) на плещѣ - на плечемъ Т. в) да болкаты - а волосовъ не брѣють *прибавл.* А. г) груди - сосци А. д) до индѣйскыя горы - то индѣйскыя города А. е) до чюнейря 6 днѣй - до чюнера 7 дни А. ж) чюн. инд. - чюнерьскыя а индѣйски А. з) побіють - побивають А. и) ѣздитъ - а съѣздитъ А. Въ печати. Соф. Врем. читается ась ѣздитъ. і) много - добрыхъ *прибавл.* А. к) а иныя изъ тукрмескыя . . . земли - а иныя изъ орапской земли, а иныя изъ туркменскыя земли, а иныя изъ чеботайскыя земли А. л) мѣсяца а всюда - мѣсяца всюда А. м) съястное - съѣстное А. н) орѣсехъ - орѣхехъ А. о) похотомъ - пофутомъ А; см. выше ногуть. п) шьшени - шешни А. р) буйволы - буйволы Т. с) иное - итъ въ А. т) чюнеръ - чюнерей А. у) не дѣланъ - не одѣланъ А. ф) пойти - двѣма пойти А. х) стелють - осподарыни *прибавл.* А. ц) сикишь . . . муфутъ - сикишь илересень ду шитель бересинъ, сикишь илимесъ есъ житель берсень, досъ-туръ, авратъчек-туръ, а сикишь муфутъ А. ч) любить - а любить А. ш) ходять люди - ходить любо *ошибк.* А. щ) на бедрахъ - на гувиѣ А. ѣ) тогда - толды А. ы) обертить - увертить А. ь) а не станешь . . . въ махм. дени - *пропущено въ А.*

учинилъ на 4 дни, въ Госпожино говѣино<sup>а</sup> на Спасовъ день. И Господь Богъ смилосая на свой честный праздникъ, не остави отъ меня милости своя грѣшнаго и не повелѣ погыбнути въ Чюнерѣ съ нечестивыми: и канувъ Спасова дни прѣхалъ Хозяйочи Махметъ Хоросанецъ, билъ есми челомъ ему, чтобы ся о мнѣ печаловалъ, и онъ ѣздилъ къ хану въ городъ да мене отпросилъ, чтобы мя въ вѣру не поставили, да и жеребца моего у него взялъ. Таково Господарево чюдо на Спасовъ день. Ино, братья Русьстїи христїане, кто хочеть поити въ Индѣйскую землю, и ты остави вѣру свою на Руси, да въскликнувь Махмета<sup>б</sup> да поиди въ Густаньскую<sup>в</sup> землю. Мене залгали псы Бесермена, а сказывали всего много нашего товару, ано нѣтъ ничего на нашу землю, все товаръ бѣлой<sup>г</sup> на Бесермянскую землю, перецъ да краска, то дешево; ино возятъ аче моремъ<sup>д</sup>, иньи<sup>е</sup> пошлинны не дають, а люди иные намъ провезти пошлинны не дадутъ<sup>ж</sup>, и пошлинны много, а разбойниковъ на морѣ много. А розбиваютъ все Кофары<sup>з</sup> (15), ни крестїане, ни Бесермена; а молятся каменнымъ болваномъ, а Христа не знаютъ<sup>и</sup>. А изъ Чюнера есмя вышли на Успеніе Пречистые<sup>к</sup> къ Бедерю большему ихъ граду, а шли есмя мѣсяцъ<sup>л</sup>; а отъ Бедеря до Кулонгера 5 днїй; а отъ Кулонгера до Кельбергу<sup>м</sup> 5 дни. Промежю тѣхъ великихъ градовъ много градовъ, на всякъ день по три грады, а на иной день и 4 грады; колко кововъ, толко градовъ. А отъ Чювила до Чюнейра 20 кововъ, а отъ Чюнера до Бедеря 40 кововъ, а отъ Бедеря до Колунгера 9 кововъ, а отъ Бедеря<sup>н</sup> до Колубергу 9 кововъ<sup>о</sup>. Въ Бедери же торгъ на кони, да на товаръ, да на камкы<sup>п</sup>, на шелкъ и на всякой иной товаръ, да купити въ немъ люди черныя; а инья въ немъ купли нѣтъ, да все товаръ ихъ Гундустаньской, да соястной<sup>р</sup> все овощъ, а на Русьскую землю товара нѣтъ. А все черныя, а все злодѣи, а жонки всѣ бляди, да вѣды, да таты, да ложь, да зельи, господаря морятъ<sup>с</sup>. Во Индѣйской земли княжатъ все Хоросанци, и бояре всѣ Хоросанци<sup>т</sup>; а Гундустанци все пѣшеходы, а ходятъ борзо, а всѣ наги да босы, да щить въ руцѣ, а въ другой мечъ, а инья слугы съ великими съ прямыми луки да стрѣлами<sup>у</sup>. А бой ихъ все слоны, да пѣшихъ пускають напередъ, Хоросанци<sup>ф</sup> на конѣхъ да въ доспѣсехъ, и кони и сами; а къ слономъ вяжутъ къ рылу да къ зубомъ великія мечи по кендарю (16) кованы<sup>х</sup>, да оболочать ихъ въ доспѣхъ булатный, да на нихъ учинены городкы, да въ городкѣ по 12 человекъ въ доспѣсехъ, да все съ пушками да стрѣлами. Есть у нихъ одно мѣсто, шихъ бѣалудинъ пирѣатыръ бозаръ<sup>ц</sup> алядинандъ (17), на годъ единъ бозаръ, съѣдается вся страна Индѣйская торговати, да торгуютъ 10 днїй, отъ Бедеря 12 кововъ, приводятъ коней до 20 тысящъ продають<sup>ч</sup>, всякий товаръ свозять; въ Гондустаньской<sup>д</sup> земли той торгъ лучшей, всякий товаръ продають, купятъ, на память шиха Аладина (18), на Руський праздникъ на Покровъ святыя Богородица. Есть въ томъ аляндѣ и птица гукукъ,

а) въ госпожино говѣино» въ говѣино успенїи Г. б) въскликнувь махмета» въсклину махмета Т. в) густаньскую» гундустаньскую А. г) бѣлой» бѣло Т. д) моремъ» и моремъ А. е) иньи» ины (можетъ быть ино) А. ж) а люди . . . не дадутъ» нѣтъ въ А. з) кофары» кафарыни А. и) не знаютъ» ни махмета не знаютъ *привавл.* А. і) на успеніе пречистые» на оспожинъ день А. к) мѣс.» до бедеря *привавл.* А. л) кельбергу» кольбергу А. м) а отъ бедеря» *кажется должно чит.* а отъ колунгера. н) а отъ бедеря. . . кововъ» *нѣтъ въ* А. о) да на камкы» да камкы Т. п) соястной» съѣстное А. р) а все черныя . . . морятъ» а все черныя люди, а весь злодѣи, а жонки все бляди, да вѣды, да таты, да ложь, да зелье, осподаревъ морятъ веліемъ А. с) хоросанци» хурустанци А. т) а ходятъ. . . да стрѣлами» а ходятъ перелт хоросанци на конѣхъ, а иные всѣ пѣши ходятъ борзо, а всѣ наги да босы, да щить въ руцѣ, а въ другой мечъ, а иные съ луки великими съ прямыми да съ стрѣлами А. у) хорос.» а хоросанци А. ф) по кендарю кованы» по кентарю кованыхъ А. х) бозаръ» базаръ *такъ и ниже* А. ц) продають» продавати А. ч) въ гондустаньской» въ идустаньской А.

летаетъ ночи, а кличетъ гукукъ<sup>а</sup>; а на которой хороминѣ сѣдять, то тутъ человекѣ умреть, а кто ея хочетъ убить, ино у нея изо рта огнь выйдеть. А мамоны<sup>б</sup> ходять ночи да имають куры, а живутъ въ горѣ или въ каменьѣ. А обезьяны то тѣ живутъ по лѣсу, да у нихъ есть князь обезьяньскій, да ходить ратию своею, да кто ихъ занимаетъ и они ся жалуютъ князю своему, и онъ посылаетъ на того свою рать<sup>в</sup>, и они пришедъ на градъ и дворы разволяютъ и людей побьютъ; а рати ихъ сказывають велми много, и языки ихъ есть свои<sup>г</sup>, а дѣтей родять много: да которой родится не въ отца, не въ матеръ, ини тѣхъ мечють по дорогамъ, ини Гондустанци тѣхъ имають да учать ихъ всякому рукодѣлю, а иныхъ продають ночи, чтобы въздъ не знали побѣжати, а иныхъ учать базы миканетъ (19). Весна же у нихъ стала съ Покрова<sup>д</sup> святыя Богородица; а празднують шиху Аладину веснѣ<sup>е</sup> двѣ недѣли по Покровѣ, а празднуютъ 8 дни; а весну держать 3 мѣсяца, а лѣто 3 мѣсяца, а зиму 3 мѣсяца, а осень 3 мѣсяца<sup>ж</sup>. Въ Бедери же<sup>з</sup> ихъ столъ Гундустану Бесерменьскому, а градъ есть великъ, а людей много велми; а салтанъ великъ<sup>и</sup> 20 лѣтъ, а держать бояре, а княжатъ Фарасанци<sup>и</sup>, а воюють все Хоросанци. Есть Хоросанецъ Меликтучаръ (20) бояринъ, ино у него рати<sup>к</sup> двѣстѣ тысячъ, а у Меликхана 100 тысячъ<sup>л</sup>, а у Харатхана<sup>м</sup> (21) 20 тысячъ; а много тѣхъ хановъ по 10 тысячъ рати. А съ салтаномъ выходятъ 300 тысячъ рати своей. А земля людна велми, а сельскыя люди голы велми, а бояре сильны добрѣ и пышны<sup>н</sup> велми; а все ихъ носятъ на кроватѣхъ своихъ<sup>о</sup> на серебряныхъ, да предъ ними водять кони въ снастехъ<sup>п</sup> золотыхъ до 20, а на конѣхъ за ними<sup>р</sup> 300 человекѣ, а пѣшихъ 500 человекѣ, да трубниковъ 10, да нагарниковъ<sup>с</sup> 10 человекѣ, да свирѣльниковъ 10 человекѣ. Султанъ же выѣзжаетъ на потѣху съ матерью да съ женою, ино съ нимъ человекѣ на конѣхъ 10 тысящъ, а пѣшихъ 50 тысящъ, а слоновъ водять<sup>т</sup> 200 наряженныхъ въ доспѣсѣхъ золоченыхъ, да предъ нимъ 100 человекѣ трубниковъ, да плясцевъ 100 человекѣ, да коней простыхъ 300 въ снастехъ золотыхъ, да обезьянъ за нимъ 100, да блядей 100, а все гаурькы<sup>у</sup>. Въ султановъ же дворѣ 7-ры ворота, а въ воротѣхъ сѣдять по 100 сторожевъ да по 100 писцевъ Кофаровъ<sup>ф</sup>: кто поидеть, ини записывають, а кто выйдеть, ини записывають; а гариповъ (22) не пускають въ градъ. А дворѣ же его чуденъ велми, все на вырѣзѣ да на золотѣ, и послѣдній камень вырѣзанъ да золотомъ описанъ велми чудно; да во дворѣ у него суды розныя. Городъ же Бедеръ стерегутъ въ нощи тысяча человекѣ кутуваловыхъ (23), а ѣздять на копехъ да въ доспѣсехъ, да у всѣхъ по свѣтычу. А язъ жеребца своего продалъ въ Бедери, да наложилъ есми у него 60 да и 8 футуновъ, а кормилъ есми его годъ. Въ Бедери же змии ходять по улицамъ, а длина ея двѣ сажени \*. Придохъ же въ Бедеръ о заговѣйнѣ о Филиповѣ изъ Кулонгеря, и продахъ жеребца своего о Рожествѣ, и тутъ быхъ до великого заговѣйна въ Бедери: и познася со многими Индѣяны и сказахъ имъ вѣру свою, что есми

а) гукукъ « кукъ кукъ А. б) мамоны « мамонъ Т. в) и онъ посылаетъ . . . рать, *пропущено въ А.* г) и языки . . . свои « а языкъ есть у нихъ свой А. д) съ покрыва « съ похвала А. е) веснѣ « и веснѣ Т. ж) а осень 3 мѣсяца « *нѣтъ въ А.* з) въ бедери же « бедеръ же А. и) великъ « *такъ было въ Т., потомъ новымъ почеркомъ поправлено не великъ; въ А. не великъ.* і) фарасанци « хоросанци А. к) рати « рокши *такъ въ Т.* л) а у меликхана 100 тыс. « *пропущено въ А.* м) харатхана « фаратхана А. н) а земля . . . пышны « а земля людна велми и пышна А. о) на кров. своихъ « на кровати своей *неисправно въ Т.* А. п) въ снастехъ « въ санехъ *такъ и ниже А.* р) за ними « за нами *ошибк. Т.* с) нагарниковъ « варганниковъ А. т) водять « выводятъ А. у) гаурькы « гауроки А. ф) коф. « кафаровъ А.

\* Отсюда въ Арх. XVI пропускъ.

не Бесерменинъ, . . .<sup>а</sup> есмь християнинъ, а имя ми Оеоисей, а Бесерменское имя хозі исуфъ хоросани; и они же не учали ся отъ меня крыти ни о чемъ, ни о ѣствѣ, ни о торговлѣ, ни о маназу (24), ни о иныхъ вещехъ, ни жонъ своихъ не учали крыти; да о вѣрѣ же о ихъ распытахъ все, и оны сказывають: вѣруемъ въ Адама, а Буты кажутъ то есть Адамъ и родъ его весь. А вѣрѣ въ Индѣи всѣхъ 80 и 4 вѣры, а всѣ вѣрують въ Бута; а вѣра съ вѣрою на<sup>б</sup> пиеть, ни ясть, ни женится; а иныя же боранину, да куры, да рыбу, да яцца ядятъ, а воловины не ядятъ никакаа вѣра. Въ Бедери же быхъ 4 мѣсяца и свѣщахся съ Индѣяны поити къ Первоти, то ихъ Ерусалимъ, а по бесерменскимъ мягкаты дѣих бутхана (25). Тамъ же поидохъ съ Индѣяны до<sup>в</sup> Будутханы мѣсяць, и торгу у Бутханы 5 дни. А Бутхана же велми велика, есть съ полъ-Тѣри, камена, да рѣзаны по ней дѣлція Бутовыя, около ея всея 12 рѣзано вѣщевъ, какъ Бутъ чудеса творилъ, какъ ся имъ являлъ многыми образы: первое челоѣческимъ образомъ являлся, другое челоѣкъ, а носъ слоновъ, третье челоѣкъ, а видѣнне обезьянино<sup>г</sup>, въ четвертые челоѣкъ, а образомъ лютаго звѣря, являлся имъ все съ хвостомъ, а вырѣзанъ на камени, а хвостъ черезъ него сажень. Къ Бухану же съѣзждается вся страна Индѣйскаа на чудо Бутово; да у Бутханы брѣются<sup>д</sup> старыя<sup>е</sup> жонкы и дѣвки, а брѣють на собѣ всѣ волосы, и боролы, и головы<sup>е</sup>, да поидуть къ Бутхану; да со всякыя головы емлють по двѣ шекшени<sup>ж</sup> пошлины на Бута, а съ коней по четыре футы, а съѣзжается къ Бухану<sup>з</sup> всѣхъ людей бысть азаръ лекъ, вахтъ башетъ сать азаре лекъ<sup>и</sup> (26). Въ Буханѣ же Бутъ вырѣзанъ изъ камени<sup>и</sup>, велми великъ, да хвостъ у него черезъ него, да руку правую поднялъ высоко да простеръ<sup>к</sup>, акы Устьянъ царь Царградскы, а въ лѣвой руцѣ у него копіе, а на немъ нѣтъ ничего, а гузно у него обязано ширинкою, а видѣнне обезьянино; а иныя Буты нагы, нѣтъ ничего, котъ ачюкъ (27), а жонкы Бутовы нагы вырѣзаны и съ соромомъ, и съ дѣтми. А передъ Бутомъ же стоить волъ велми великъ, а вырѣзанъ изъ камени изъ чернаго, а весь позолоченъ, а цѣлуютъ его въ копыто, а сыплютъ на него цѣфты, и на Бута сыплютъ цѣфты<sup>л</sup>. Индѣяне же не ядятъ никоторого мяса, ни яловичины, ни боранины, ни курятины, ни рыбы, ни<sup>м</sup> свинины, а свиней же у нихъ велми много; а ядятъ же днемъ двожды, а ночи не ядятъ, а вина не пиють, ни сыты<sup>н</sup>; а съ Бесермены не пиють, ни ядятъ. А ѣства же ихъ плоха, а одинъ съ однимъ ни пиеть, ни ясть, ни съ женою: а ядятъ брынецъ, да кичири (28) съ масломъ, да травы розныя ядятъ, а варятъ съ масломъ да съ молокомъ; а ядятъ<sup>о</sup> все рукою правою, а лѣвою не примется ни за что, а ножа не держать, а лѣжици не знаютъ, а на дорозѣ кто же собѣ варить кашу, а у всякого по горницу. А отъ Бесермянъ крыются<sup>п</sup>, чтобы не посмотрилъ ни въ горнецъ, ни въ яству; а посмотрилъ Бесерменинъ на ѣству, и онъ не ясть<sup>р</sup>, а ядятъ иныя покрываються платомъ, чтобы никто не видалъ его. А намазъ же ихъ на востокъ, по-Рускы<sup>с</sup>, обѣ

а) *Вмѣсто точекъ въ Т. непонятно исаяденіеніесмъ и dalje християнинъ и проч.* б) ни «*пропущено въ Т.* в) до» такъ *поправлено; въ Т. да.* г) брѣются» не брѣются А. д) старыя» и молодые *прибавл. А.* е) и головы» и хвосты *прибавл. А.* ж) шекшени» шешькѣни А. з) къ бух.» къ бутхану А. и) бысть . . . азаре лекъ» бысты азаръ лекъ вахбашетъ сать азаре лекъ А. і) изъ камени» изъ чернаго *прибавл. А.* к) простеръ» ее *прибавл. А.* л) и на бута . . . цѣфты» *пропущено въ А.* м) ни рыбы ни» пиры были *ошибк. Т.* н) ни сыты» ни сыдны Т. о) а варить . . . ядятъ» *пропущено въ Т.* п) крыются» скрываются Т. р) а посмотрилъ . . . не ясть» а толко посмотреть, ини тое ѣствы и не ядятъ А. с) по рускы» по урьскы Т.

руки подымають высоко, да кладуть на темя, да ложатся ниць на землю; да весь<sup>а</sup> ся истягнеть по земли, то ихъ поклоны. А ясти же садятся, ини<sup>б</sup> омывають руки да и ноги, да и ротъ пополаскываютъ. А Бутханы же ихъ безъ дверей, а ставлены на востокъ, а Буты стоятъ на востокъ. А кто у нихъ умреть, ини тѣхъ жгутъ да пепель сыплютъ на воду. А у жены дитя родится, ино бабить мужъ, а имя сыну даетъ отецъ, а дочери мати; а добро . . .<sup>в</sup> у нихъ нѣтъ, а сорома не знаютъ. Пошелъ<sup>г</sup> или пришелъ, ини ся кланяють по чернечьскы, обѣ руки дотычють до земли, а не говорить ничего. Къ Первотѣ же ѣздять о великомъ заговѣйнѣ, къ своему ихъ тутю Іерусалимъ<sup>д</sup>, а по-бесерменьскыи Мякъка<sup>е</sup>, а по-рускы Ерусалимъ, а по-индѣйскы Парватъ, а съѣздаются все нагы, только на гузнѣ платъ; а жонкы все нагы, толко на гузнѣ фота, а иныя въ фотахъ, да на шіяхъ жемчюгъ много яхонтовъ<sup>ж</sup>, да на рукахъ обручи да перстни<sup>з</sup> златы олло оакъ. А внутрь къ Бутхану ѣздять на волѣхъ, да у вола рога окованы мѣдью, да на шіѣ<sup>и</sup> колоколцевъ 300, да копыта подкованы<sup>и</sup>; а тѣ вола ачъче<sup>к</sup> зовуть. Индѣяне же вола зовуть отцемъ, а корову матерью; а каломъ<sup>л</sup> ихъ пекутъ хлѣбы и ѣству варять собѣ, а понеломъ тѣмъ мажутъся по лицу, и по челу, и по всему тѣлу ихъ<sup>м</sup> знамя. Въ недѣлю же да въ поне-дѣльникъ ядять единожды<sup>н</sup> днемъ. Въ Индѣѣ же какъ пачекъ-туръ, а учюзе-деръ: сикишь иларсень ики шитель; акечаны иля атырьсень-атле жетель беръ; булара досторъ; акулъ-каравашъ учюзъ; чаръ фуна хубъ; бемъ фуна хубъ есія: капъ-кара амь чюкъ кичи хошь<sup>о</sup> (29). Отъ Первати же прѣхалъ есми въ Бедеръ, за 15 днѣй<sup>п</sup> до Бесерменьскаго улубагря (30). А Великого дни Въскресенія Христова не вѣдаю, а по примѣтамъ гадаю Великій день бываетъ хрестыаньскы первіе Бесерменьскаго багрима<sup>р</sup> за 9-ть день, или за 10 дни. А со мною нѣтъ ничего, никакоя книги, а книги есми взяли съ собою съ Руси, ино коли мя пограбили, ини ихъ взяли; и язъ позабылъ вѣры хрестыаньскыя всея и праздниковъ хрестыаньскыхъ, ни Велика дни, ни Рожества Христова не вѣдаю, ни среды, ни пятници<sup>с</sup> не знаю; а промежу есми вѣрѣ танъгряданъ истремень олъ сакласынъ; олло худо, олло акъ, олло, ты олло акъберъ, олло рагымъ, олло керимъ, олло рагымелло<sup>т</sup>, олло каримелло, танъ танъгры-сень<sup>у</sup>, худо-сень сень (31). Богъ единъ, то Царь славы, Творецъ небу и земли. А иду я на Русь, кетмышь-тыръ именъ, уручь тутътымъ<sup>ф</sup> (32). Мѣсяць марта<sup>х</sup> прошелъ, и азъ мѣсяць мяса есмь не ялъ<sup>ц</sup>, заговѣлъ съ Бесермены въ недѣлю, да говѣлъ есми ничего<sup>ч</sup> скоромнаго никакыя яствы Бесерменьскыя, а ялъ есми все по двожды днемъ хлѣбъ да воду, вратыйялъ ятъмадымъ<sup>ш</sup> (33); да молился есми Богу<sup>щ</sup> Вседержителю, кто сътворилъ небо и

а) весь» все Т. б) ини» и овы А. в) добро . . .» добровтра Т. добровта А. г) пошелъ» нѣтъ въ Т. д) ихъ тутю іерусалимъ» брату тотъ ихъ іерусалимъ Т. е) а бесерменьскыи мякъка» а бесерменскыи кока А. ж) жемчюгъ . . . яхонтовъ» жемчюгу многа да яхонтовъ А. з) перстни» перси *ошибк.* А. и) на шіѣ» у него *прибавл.* А. і) подкованы» мѣдью *прибавл.* А. к) ачъче» ачъчи А. л) каломъ» какомъ *ошибк.* А.; *въ Соф. Врем. II, 153, напечатано* како. и) ихъ» нѣтъ въ А. н) единожды» одна А. о) пачекъ-туръ . . . хошь» пачектуръ аучюсьдеръ секишь иларсень икижитель акичаны илаатарсынъ алтыжетелберъ буларадостуръ акулкоравашъ учюзъ чарфуна хубъбемъ фуна хубесіа капъ караамъ чюкъкичи хошь А. п) днѣй» день А. р) багрима» баграма А. с) не вѣдаю . . . ни пятници» *пропущено* въ А. т) олло акъберъ . . . олло рагымелло» нѣтъ въ А. у) танъ танъгры-сень» танъ гресень А. ф) уручь тутътымъ» урусъ тутътымъ А. х) марта» мартъ А. ц) мѣсяць мяса есмь не ялъ» нѣтъ въ А. ч) да гов. есми ничего» да говѣлъ есми мѣсяць, мяса есми не ялъ и ничего А. ш) вратыйялъ ятъмадымъ» авратыйяла ятъмадымъ. щ) богу» христу А.

землю, а иного еси не призывалъ никоторого имени, Богъ олло, Богъ керимъ, Богъ рагымъ, Богъ худо,<sup>а</sup> Богъ акъберъ, Богъ Царь славы, олло варенно, олло рагымъ, олло сень-сень олло ты (34). А отъ Гурмыза ити моремъ до Голать 10 дни, а отъ Галата<sup>б</sup> до Дѣгу 6 дни, а отъ Дѣга до Мошката 6 дни, а отъ Мошката до Кучъзрята 10 дній, а отъ Кучъзрята<sup>в</sup> до Камбата 4 дни, отъ Камбата до Чивеля<sup>г</sup> 12 дни, а отъ Чивеля до Дабыля 6<sup>д</sup>. Дабыль же есть пристанище въ Гундустани послѣднее Бесерменьству, а отъ Дабыля до Колекота<sup>е</sup> 25 дни, а отъ Келекота<sup>ж</sup> до Силяна 15 дни, а отъ Силяна до Шибайта<sup>з</sup> мѣсяць ити, а отъ Шабата<sup>и</sup> до Певгу 20 дни, а отъ Певгу до Чини да до Мачина мѣсяць итти, моремъ все то хоженіе; а отъ Чини да до Кытаа<sup>к</sup> итти сухомъ 6 мѣсяць, а моремъ четыре дни ити, аrostохода<sup>л</sup> чотомъ; Гурмызъ же есть пристанище великое, всего свѣта люди въ немъ бываютъ и всякы товаръ въ немъ есть, что на всемъ свѣтѣ родится, то въ Гурмызѣ есть все; тамга же велика, десятое со всего емлютъ<sup>м</sup>. А Камбаятъ же пристанище Индѣйскому морю всему, а товаръ въ немъ все дѣлають алачи (35), да пестреди, да канъдаки,<sup>н</sup> да чинять краску ниль (36), да родится въ немъ лекъ да ахыкъ (37) да лонъ. Дабыль же есть пристанище велми велико, и привозять<sup>о</sup> кони изъ Мисюря (38), изъ Рабаста<sup>п</sup> (39), изъ Хоросани, изъ Туркустани, изъ Негостани<sup>р</sup>, да ходять сухомъ мѣсяць до Бедери да до Кельбергу. А Келекотъ же есть пристанище Индѣйскаго моря всего, а проити его не дай Богъ<sup>с</sup> никакову кестяку<sup>т</sup> (40), а кто его не<sup>у</sup> увидить, тотъ поздорову не проидеть моремъ; а родится въ немъ перецъ, да зеньзебиль (41), да цвѣтъ, да мошкатъ, да калафуръ<sup>у</sup>, да корица, да гвозники,<sup>ф</sup> да пряное коренъе, да адрыкъ, да всякого кореня родится въ немъ<sup>х</sup> много, да все въ немъ дешево, да кулъ да каравашъ письярь<sup>ц</sup> хубъ сія (42). А Силянъ же (43) есть пристанище Индѣйскаго моря немало, а въ немъ<sup>ч</sup> бабаадамъ (44) на горѣ на высоцѣ, да около его<sup>ш</sup> родится каменъе драгое, да червьци, да фатисы, да бабогури<sup>ш</sup> (45), да бинчай, да хрусталь, да сумбада<sup>ъ</sup> (46), да слоны родятся, да продають въ локоть, да девякуши (47) продають въ вѣсъ. А Шабайтское<sup>м</sup> пристанище Индѣйскаго моря велми велико: а Хоросанцемъ дають алафу (48) по тенкѣ<sup>б</sup> (49) на день, и великому и малому; а кто въ немъ женится Хоросанецъ, и князь Шабайтской<sup>ъ</sup> даетъ по тысячи тенекъ на жертву, да на олафу даетъ<sup>р</sup> на всякый мѣсяць по десяти денекъ<sup>ю</sup>; да родится въ Шаботѣ шелкъ, да сандалъ, да жемчюгъ, да все дешево. А въ Пегу<sup>а</sup> же есть пристанище немало, да все въ немъ дербыши (50) живутъ Индѣйскыя, да родится въ немъ каменіе дорогое, маникъ, да яхуть, да кырпукъ; а продають же каменіе дербыши. А Чиньское же да Мачиньское пристанище велми велико, да дѣлають въ немъ чини (51), да продають чини въ вѣсъ, а дешево.

а) худо • хозло А. б) а отъ галата • а галаты Т. в) 6 дни, а отъ мошката . . . а отъ кучъзрята • до кучъзрята только въ Т., а прочіихъ словъ недостаетъ. г) до чивеля • до чювиля такъ и далше А. д) 6 • дни прибавл. А. е) до колекота • до келекота А. ж) отъ келекота • отъ селекота Т. з) шибайта • шаибата А. и) шабата • сибата Т. і) до кытаа • до кита А. к) аrostоx. • арастьх. А. л) емлютъ • есть Т. м) канъдаки • киндяки А. н) и привозять • а приводять А. о) изъ рабаста • изъ арабъстани А. п) изъ хоросани . . . изъ негостани • иттъ въ А. р) богъ • бо А. с) кестяку • костяку А. т) не • ни Т. у) калафуръ • каланъфуръ А. ф) гвозники • гвоздники А. х) да адрыкъ . . . въ немъ • въ немъ родится А. ц) карав. письярь • каравашъ писаръ А. ч) а въ немъ • лежитъ прибавл. А. ш) его • еѣ А. щ) бабогури • бабугури А. ъ) сумбада • сумбамда А. ы) шабайт. • шабатское А. њ) по тенкѣ • по денгѣ А. џ) шабайт. • шабатскый А. э) даетъ • да ѣсть кажется ошибк. Т. ю) по десяти денекъ • по пятидесять тенекъ А. я) пегу • пѣвгу А.

жены же ихъ съ мужи своими спятъ въ день, а ночи жены ихъ ходятъ<sup>а</sup> къ гарипомъ да итъ съ гарипы, даютъ имъ олафу, да приносятъ съ собою яству сахарную да вино сахар-е, да кормятъ да поятъ гостей, чтобы ее любилъ, а любятъ гостей людей бѣлыхъ, занже люди черны велми; а у которые жены отъ гостя зачнется дитя, и мужъ даетъ алафу: родится<sup>б</sup> бѣло, ино гостю пошавны 18 тенець<sup>в</sup>; а черно родится, ино ему нѣтъ ничего, а пилъ да ѣлъ, то ему халяль (52). Шаибатъ<sup>г</sup> же отъ Бедеря 3 мѣсяци, а отъ Дабыля до шаибата 2 мѣсяца моремъ итъти; Мачимъ да Чимъ отъ Бедеря 4 мѣсяца моремъ итъти, тамъ же дѣлають чими (53), да все дешево; а до Силяна 2 мѣсяца моремъ итъти. Въ шабаитъ<sup>д</sup> же родится шелкъ, да инчи (54), да жемчюгъ, да сандалъ; слоны продають въ локоть. Въ Силянѣ же родится аммоны, да чръвци,<sup>е</sup> да фатисы.<sup>е</sup> Въ Лекотѣ же родится рець, да мошкаты, да гвоздники, да фуфаль (55), да цвѣтъ. Въ Кузрятѣ же родится скаска далюкъ.<sup>ж</sup> Да въ Камбатѣ<sup>з</sup> родится ахикъ (56). Въ Рачюрѣ же родится алмазь биркона новъ кона же<sup>и</sup> алмазь, продають почку<sup>и</sup> по пяти рублевъ, а доброго по десяти рублевъ, ваго же<sup>к</sup> почка алмазу пѣнечъ че кени, сіяже чаршешъ кени,<sup>л</sup> а сипитъ екъ тенка (57). Алмазь же родится въ горѣ каменной, а продають же тую гору каменую<sup>м</sup> по двѣ тысячи интовъ золотыхъ новаго алмазу, а кона (58) алмазу продають въ локоть по 10 тысячь интовъ золотыхъ. А земля же тоя Меликханова,<sup>н</sup> а холопъ салтановъ, а отъ Бедеря 30 мѣсяца. А сыто<sup>о</sup> Жидове зовутъ Шабатъ своими Жидовы, а то лжугъ; а Шабатене<sup>п</sup> ни жидове, ни Бесермена, ни христіане, пнаа вѣра Индѣйскаа, ни съ Худы, ни съ Бесермены пноють ни ядятъ, а мяса никакого не ядятъ. Да въ Шабатѣ же все дешево, а родится сахаръ велми дешево; да по лѣсу у нихъ мамоны<sup>р</sup> да обезьяны, да по дорогамъ оленей дерутъ: ино у нихъ ночи по дорогамъ не смѣють ѣздити. обезьянъ дѣла да момонъ яля. А отъ Шаибата же 10 мѣсяць сухомъ итъти, а моремъ 4 мѣсяца аукиковъ<sup>с</sup>. А оленей кормленыхъ<sup>т</sup> рѣжугъ пупы, а пупъ<sup>у</sup> въ немъ скусь<sup>ф</sup> родится; а дикьи олени пупькы изъ пупа роняють по полю и<sup>х</sup> по лѣсу, ино изъ тѣхъ воня выходитъ, да ѣсть,<sup>ц</sup> то тотъ не свѣжъ. Мѣсяца маа<sup>ч</sup> Великій день взялъ есми въ Бедерѣ Бесерменскомъ въ Гондустани<sup>ш</sup>; а Бесермене бограмъ взяли въ среду мѣсяца маа<sup>ш</sup>; а заговѣлъ есми мѣсяца априля 1 день. О благо-рныи<sup>з</sup> христіане! иже кто по многимъ\* землямъ много плаваеть, въ многыя грѣхы впа-еть и вѣры ся да лишаеть христіанскыя. Азъ же рабище Божіе Аеонасіе и сжалися по-рѣ: уже проидоша четыре Великыя говѣйна и 4 проидоша Великыя дни, азъ же грѣшныи вѣдаю, что есть Великій день, или говѣино, ни Рожества Христова не вѣдаю, ни иныхъ праздниковъ не вѣдаю, ни среды ни пятницы не вѣдаю; а книгъ у меня нѣтъ, коли мя

а) ходять «спати *прибавл.* А. б) род. «дитя *прибавл.* А. в) 18 тенець» 300 тенець А. г) шаибатъ «шабаитъ А. д) чръвци» червьци А. е) фат. «да хрусталь да бабугари *прибавл.* А. ж) далюкъ «далукъ А. з) въ камбатѣ» въ камбоатѣ А. и) новъ кона же «наковна же А. і) почку» посыку *ошибк.* Т. к) новаго же «недостаётъ въ А. л) сіяже чарш.» сіажечарашешъ А. м) кам. «локоть *прибавл.* А. н) меликханова» амеликхановова А. о) а сыто; «въ об. сп. безъ разстановки съ предыдущимъ и послѣдующимъ словомъ асыто; *можетъ быть должно читать* а что. п) шабаитъ. «шаибатене А. р) мамоны» ходять *прибавл.* А. с) аукиковъ «аукиковъ А. т) а оленей окормленыхъ» а отъ оленей кормленыхъ А. у) а пупъ» *нѣтъ въ* А. ф) скусь «*можетъ быть* мускусь. х) роняють по полю и» роняють. А. ц) ѣсть «сѣсть А. ч) маа» маа 1 день А. ш) въ гонд.» и въ гондустани Т. въ гундустанѣ А. щ) а бесермене «маа» а вбесермене и *проч.* Т. а бесермена баграмъ взяли въ среду мѣсяца А. з) о благ. «русскія *прибавл.* А.

\* Въ Арх. XVI. недостаётъ листа.

пограбили, ни книги взяли у мене, азъ же отъ многыя бѣды поидохъ до Индѣи, заньже ми на Русь поити не съ чѣмъ, не осталось товару ничего. Пръвый же Великъ день взялъ есми въ Кавиѣ, другой Великъ день въ Чебукару въ Маздранской земли, третій Великій день въ Гурмызѣ, четвертый Великій день въ Индѣи съ Бесермены въ Бедери; и ту же много плакахъ по вѣрѣ по хрестыаньской. Бесерменинъ же Меликъ тотъ мя много повуди въ вѣру Бесерменьскую стати; азъ же ему рекохъ: «господине! ты намаръ кыларесенъ менда намазъ киларьмень, ты бешъ намазъ киларьсиъ менда 3 каларемень-мень гарипъ асень иньчай (59);» онъ жо ми рече: «истину ты не Бесерменинъ кажешися, а хрестыанства не знаешь.» Азъ же въ многыя помышленія впадохъ и рекохъ себѣ: «горе мнѣ окаанному, яко отъ пути истиннаго заблудихся и пути не знаю, уже самъ поиду. Господи Боже Вседержителю, Творецъ небу и земли! не отврати лица отъ рабища \* твоего, яко скорбь близъ<sup>а</sup> есмь. Господи! призри на мя и помилуй мя, яко твое есмь созданіе; не отврати мя, Господи, отъ пути истиннаго и настави мя, Господи, на путь твой правый, яко никоея же добродѣтели въ нужи той сотворихъ<sup>б</sup> тебѣ, Господи<sup>в</sup> мой, яко дни своя преплыхъ все во злѣ, Господи мой, олло<sup>г</sup> первоидгеръ, олло ты, каримъ олло, рагымъ олло, каримъ олло, рагымъ елло; ахалимъду лимо<sup>д</sup> (60). Уже проидоша 4 Великыя дни въ Бесерменьской земли, а хрестыанства не оставихъ; далъ Богъ вѣдаеть что будетъ. Господи Боже мой, на тя уповахъ, спаси мя Господи Боже мой!» Во Индѣи же Бесерменьской, въ великомъ Бедери,<sup>е</sup> смотрилъ есми на Великую ночь на Великій же день волосыны да кола въ зорю вошли, а лось<sup>ж</sup> головою стоитъ на востокъ. На баграмъ на Бесерменьской выѣхалъ султанъ на шеферичъ<sup>з</sup>, ино съ нимъ 20 възыревъ великыхъ, да триста слоновъ наряженныхъ въ булатныхъ въ доспѣсехъ да съ городкы, да и городкы окованы, да въ городкѣхъ по 6 человекъ въ доспѣсехъ, да съ пушками да съ пищальми; а на великомъ слонѣ 12 человекъ, на всякомъ слонѣ по два пропорца<sup>и</sup> великыхъ, да къ зубомъ повязаны великыя мечи по кентарю, да къ рыломъ привязаны великыя желѣзныя гири<sup>л</sup>, да человекъ сѣдитъ въ доспѣсѣхъ промежу ушей, да крюкъ у него въ рукахъ<sup>к</sup> желѣзной великы, да тѣмъ его править; да коней простыхъ тысяча въ снастехъ<sup>н</sup> золотыхъ, да верблюдовъ сто съ нагарами (61), да трубниковъ 300, да плясцевъ 300, да ковры 300. Да на султанѣ ковтанъ<sup>м</sup> весь саженъ яхонты, да на шапкѣ чичакъ олмазъ великы, да сагадакъ золотъ со яхонты, да 3 сабли на немъ золотомъ окованы, да сѣдло золото<sup>п</sup>; да передъ нимъ скачетъ Кофаръ пѣшь да играетъ теремьдемъ, да за нимъ пѣшихъ много, да за нимъ благой слонъ идетъ, а весь въ камкѣ наряженъ, да обиваетъ люди, да чепъ у него велика желѣзна во ртѣ, да обиваетъ кони и люди, чтобы кто на султана не наступилъ близко. А братъ султановъ тотъ сидитъ на кровати на золотой, да надъ нимъ теремъ оксамитенъ, да маковица золота со яхонты, да несутъ его 20 человекъ. А Махмутъ<sup>о</sup> сидитъ на кровати на золотой, да надъ нимъ теремъ шидянь съ маковицею золотою, да везутъ его на 4-хъ конѣхъ въ снастехъ<sup>п</sup> золотыхъ; да около людей его много множество, да передъ нимъ пѣвцы, да плясцевъ много, да всѣ

а) скорбь близъ» въ скорби А. б) сотворихъ» не сътворихъ А. в) господи» боже *прибавл.* А. г) олло» отмо Т. д) ахал.» ахамдулимо А. е) бесерменьской. . . бедери» бесерменскомъ въ великомъ бедерѣ А. ж) а лось» а соль Т. з) на шеферичъ» на теферичъ Т. и) пропорца» проборца Т. і) гири» гыры Т. к) въ рукахъ» *пропущено въ* А. л) въ снастехъ» въ санехъ А. м) ковтанъ» кафтанъ А. н) золото» да снасть золота, да все золото» *прибавл.* А. о) махмутъ» махтумъ Т. п) въ снастехъ» въ санехъ А.

голыми мечи, да съ саблями, да съ щитами, да сулицами,<sup>а</sup> да съ копійи, да съ луки съ  
 ямыми съ великими, да кони всѣ въ доспѣсехъ, да сагадакы на нихъ, да инья нагы всѣ,  
 ино платице на гузиѣ соромъ завѣшенъ. Въ Бедери же мѣсяць стоитъ 3 дни<sup>б</sup> помонъ. Въ  
 едери же сладкаго овшу нѣтъ. Въ Гундустанѣ же силнаго вара нѣтъ; силно<sup>в</sup> варъ въ Гур-  
 мизѣ да въ Катобагряимѣ<sup>г</sup>, гдѣ ся жемчюгъ родить, да въ Жидѣ (62), да въ Бакѣ, да въ  
 мисюрѣ<sup>д</sup>, да въ Орообстани<sup>е</sup>, да въ Ларѣ; а въ Хоросанской земли варно, да не таково;  
 въ Чеготани велми варно; а въ Ширязѣ, да въ Езди, въ Кашани<sup>ж</sup> варно да вѣтръ бываетъ;  
 въ Гиляни<sup>з</sup> душно велми да парищо лихо, да въ Шамахѣи паръ лихъ; да въ Вавилонѣ  
 варно, да Хумитѣ да въ Шамѣ варно, а въ Ляпѣ не такъ варно. А въ Севастѣи губѣ да въ  
 Гурмызской<sup>и</sup> земли добро обилно всѣмъ; да Турьскаа<sup>к</sup> земля обилна велми; да въ  
 Подольской земли обилно и дешево все съѣстное<sup>л</sup>; да Подольскаа земля обилна всѣмъ; а урусъ  
 ерь таньгры<sup>м</sup> сакласыпъ; олло сакла<sup>н</sup>, худо сакла<sup>н</sup>; будонья-да мунукубитъ ерь ектуръ;  
 ечикъ урсу ери<sup>о</sup>, бегъляри акай тусимъ<sup>п</sup>; урусъ ерь абаданъ болъсынъ: расте камъ<sup>р</sup> дареть.  
 олло худо, богъ, богъ<sup>с</sup> даньгры<sup>т</sup> (63). Господи Боже мой! на тя уповахъ, спаси мя Господи;  
 яти не<sup>у</sup> знаю, иже камо поиду изъ Гундустана: на Гурмызъ поити, а отъ Гурмыза на  
 Хоросанъ пути нѣтъ, ни на Чеготай пути нѣтъ<sup>ф</sup>, ни на Катобагряимъ пути нѣту, ни на Ездъ  
 яти нѣту<sup>х</sup>; то<sup>и</sup> вездѣ булгакъ<sup>ч</sup> (64) сталъ: князей вездѣ выбили<sup>ш</sup>, Яишу<sup>ш</sup> мурузу (65) убилъ  
 Узусаибекъ (66), а Солтамусаитя (67) окормили, а Узусаибекъ на Ширязи сълъ и земля ся  
 е окрѣпила<sup>в</sup>, а Едигерь Махметъ атъ<sup>и</sup> къ нему не ѣдетъ, блюдется; иногю пути нѣтъ ни-  
 нуды. А на Мякъку поити ино стати въ вѣру Бесерменьскую, занъ же христiane не ходять  
 на Мякъку вѣры дѣля, что ставять въ вѣру<sup>б</sup>. А жити въ Гундустанѣ ино вся собина исхар-  
 яти, занъ же у нихъ все дорого: олинъ есми челоуѣкъ, ино<sup>б</sup> по полутретія алтына на день  
 арчу идеть, а вина есми не пивалъ, ни сыты<sup>п</sup>. Меликтучаръ два города взялъ Индѣйскыя,  
 го розбивали по морю Индѣйскому, а князей поималъ 7 да казну ихъ взялъ, юкъ яхонтовъ,  
 а юкъ олмазу да кирпуковъ, да 100 юковъ товару дорогово, а иногю товару безчислено  
 атъ взяла; а стоялъ подъ городомъ два году, а рати съ нимъ два ста тысячь, да сло-  
 новъ 100, да 300 верблюдовъ. Меликтучаръ пришелъ съ ратию своею къ Бедерю на курбантъ  
 агрямъ (68), а по Русьскому на Петровъ день; и султанъ послалъ 10 възыревъ стрѣтити<sup>ю</sup>  
 го за десять кововъ, а въ ковѣ по 10 верстѣ, а со всякимъ възыремъ по 10 тысячь рати  
 воей да по 10 слоновъ въ доспѣсехъ. А у Меликтучара на всякъ день садится за суфрею (69)  
 по 5 сотъ челоуѣкъ, а съ нимъ садится 3 възыри за его скатертью, а съ възыремъ по  
 пятидесять челоуѣкъ, а его 100 челоуѣкъ бояриновъ вшеретныхъ. У Меликтучара на конюшнѣ  
 оней 2 тысящи, да тысяча осѣланныхъ и день и ночь стоятъ готовыхъ, да 100 слоновъ  
 а конюшнѣ; да на всякую ночь дворъ его стерегутъ 100 челоуѣкъ въ доспѣсехъ, да 20

а) сул. « съ сулицами А. б) дни» *нѣтъ въ* А. в) силно» силенъ А. г) въ кат.» въ катобагряимъ Т. д) да  
 въ бакѣ да въ мисюрѣ» да въ мярѣ А. е) въ орообстани» въ остани Т. ж) въ кашани» въ кашини Т.  
 з) въ гиляни» въ гиляи А. и) въ гурмыз.» въ гурмызской Т. і) турьскаа» торьскаа Т. к) все съѣстное»  
*нѣтъ въ* А. л) а урус.» а урусъертаньгрыдъ А. м) сакла» сокла А. н) худо сакла» *нѣтъ въ* А. о) урсуери»  
 урусъери А. п) акай тусимъ» акоитугиль А. р) абад раст.» абаданъболсынъ растваимъ А. с) богъ» *въ* А.  
 безъ повторенія. т) даньгры» даньгры А. у) не» *пропущено въ* Т. ф) нѣтъ» ни въ бодату пути нѣтъ  
*привил.* А. х) нѣту» ни на рабостанъ пути нѣтъ А. ц) то» но А. ч) булгакъ» булкъ А. ш) выбили»  
 выбили Т. щ) яишу» яишу А. љ) не окрѣпила» не обрѣнила Т. ы) атъ» а тотъ А. ѝ) вѣры... въ  
 вѣру;» *въ* А. *вмѣсто сихъ словъ только* вѣру. ъ) ино» и язъ Т. э) сыты» санды Т. ю) стрѣтити»  
 стрѣти *не дописано въ* Т.

грубниковъ, да 10 нагаръ, да по<sup>а</sup> 10 бубновъ великихъ по два человекъ бѣють. Мыза-мылкъ (70), да Мекханъ (71), да Фаратханъ<sup>б</sup> (72) а тѣ<sup>в</sup> взяли 3 города великыи, а съ ними рати своей 100 тысячъ до 50 слоновъ<sup>г</sup>, да камни всякого дорогого много множество; а все то каменіе да яхонты да олмазъ купили на Меликтучара<sup>д</sup>, заповѣдалъ дѣларемъ<sup>е</sup>, что гостемъ не продати<sup>ж</sup>; а тѣе пришли о Оспожинѣ<sup>з</sup> дни къ Бедерю граду. Султанъ выѣзжаетъ на потѣху въ четвергъ да во вторникъ, да три съ нимъ возыры выѣзжаютъ; а братъ выѣзжаетъ султановъ въ понедѣльникъ, съ матерью да съ сестрою; а жонокъ 2 тысячи выѣзжаетъ на конехъ да кроватехъ на золотыхъ<sup>и</sup>, да коней предъ нею<sup>1</sup> простыхъ сто<sup>к</sup> въ снастехъ<sup>1</sup> золотыхъ, да пѣшихъ съ нею много велми, да два возыря, да 10 възыреней, да 50 слоновъ въ пополахъ сукиныхъ, да по 4 человекъ на слонѣ сѣдять нагихъ, одно платище на гузиѣ, да жонки пѣшіе наги, а тѣе воду за ними носить пити да подмыватися, а одинъ у одного воды не пьетъ. Меликтучаръ выѣхалъ воевати Индѣянъ<sup>н</sup> съ ратию своею изъ града Бедеря на память шиха Аладина<sup>п</sup>, а по Русьскому на Покровъ святыя Богородица, а рати съ нимъ вышло 50 тысячъ; а султанъ послалъ рати своей 50 тысячъ, да 3 съ нимъ возыря пошли, а съ ними 30 тысячъ, да 100 слоновъ съ ними пошло съ городкы да въ dospѣсехъ, а на всякомъ слонѣ по 4 человекъ съ пищальми. Меликтучаръ пошелъ воевати Чюнедара великое княженіе Индѣйское. А у Бинедарьскаго князя 300 слоновъ да сто тысячъ рати своей, а коней 50 тысячъ у него. Султанъ выѣхалъ изъ города Бедеря въ 8 мѣсяцъ по Велицѣ дни, да съ нимъ възыревъ выѣхало 20 да 6 възыревъ, 20 възыревъ Бесерменскихъ, а 6 възыревъ Индѣйскихъ. А съ султаномъ двора его выѣхало 100 тысячъ рати своей конныхъ людей, а 200 тысячъ пѣшихъ, да 300 слоновъ съ городкы да въ dospѣсехъ, да 100 лютыхъ вѣррей о двою чепѣхъ. А съ братомъ султановымъ вышло двора его 100 тысячъ конныхъ, да 100 тысячъ<sup>о</sup> пѣшихъ людей, да 100 слоновъ наряженныхъ въ dospѣсехъ. А за Малханомъ вышло двора его 20 тысячъ конныхъ людей, а пѣшихъ шестдесать<sup>у</sup> тысячъ, да 20 слоновъ наряженныхъ. А съ Бедерханомъ<sup>р</sup> (73) вышло 30 тысячъ конныхъ людей, да съ братомъ, да пѣшихъ 100 тысячъ, да слоновъ 25 наряженныхъ съ городкы<sup>с</sup>. А съ Сулханомъ<sup>т</sup> вышло двора его 10 тысячъ конныхъ<sup>у</sup>, а пѣшихъ двадцать тысячъ, да слоновъ 10 съ городкы. А съ Возырханомъ вышло 15 тысячъ конныхъ людей, да пѣшихъ 30 тысячъ, да слоновъ 15 наряженныхъ. А съ Кутарханомъ<sup>ф</sup> (74) вышло двора его 15 тысячъ конныхъ<sup>х</sup> людей, да пѣшихъ 40 тысячъ, да 10 слоновъ. А со всякимъ възыремъ по 10 тысячъ, а съ инымъ по 15 тысячъ конныхъ, а пѣшихъ 20 тысячъ. А съ Индѣйскимъ Авдономомъ вышло рати своей 40 тысячъ конныхъ людей, а пѣшихъ людей 100 тысячъ, да 40 слоновъ наряженныхъ въ dospѣсехъ, да по 4 человекъ на слонѣ<sup>н</sup> съ пищальми. А съ султаномъ вышло возыревъ 26, а со всякимъ възыремъ по 10 тысячъ рати своей, а пѣшихъ 20 тысячъ<sup>ч</sup>, а съ инымъ възыремъ 15 тысячъ конныхъ

а) по « нѣтъ въ А. б) фаратх. • хфаратханъ А. в) а тѣе. а тѣ такъ и ниже А. г) слоновъ. а тѣ взяли безчислено яхонтовъ прибавл. А. д) меликтучара • камениктучара ошибк. Т. е) дѣл. • пришне прибавл. А. ж) продати • продавати А. з) о оспожинѣ. отъ оспожина Т. и) да кров. зол. • да на кроватехъ на волоченыхъ А. і) предъ нею • предъ ними А. к) сто. • пропушено въ А. л) въ снастехъ. въ dospѣсехъ А. м) индѣянъ • индѣянннъ А. н) шихаал. • шихаил. Т. о) конныхъ да 100 тысячъ • пропушено въ А. п) шестдесать • шедесать такъ въ Т. 7 тысячъ А. р) бедерханомъ • бездерханомъ А. с) съ городкы • съ горты ошибк. А. т) съ сулханомъ • съ султаномъ Т. у) конныхъ • кованыхъ Т. ф) съ кутарханомъ • съ кутовалханомъ А. х) конныхъ • кованыхъ такъ и въ нѣкоторыхъ другихъ мѣстахъ въ Т. ц) на слонѣ • на нихъ А. ч) рати . . . тысячъ • нѣтъ въ Т.

дей, а пѣшихъ 30 тысячъ. А Индѣйскія<sup>а</sup> 4 возыри великихъ, а съ ними рати своей по тысячъ конныхъ людей, а пѣшихъ 100 тысячъ; и султанъ ополѣлся на Индѣицъ, што во-вышло<sup>б</sup> съ нимъ, и онъ еще прибавилъ 20 тысячъ пѣшихъ людей, двѣ тысячи<sup>в</sup> конныхъ людей, да 20 слоновъ. Такова сила султана Индѣйскаго Бесерменскаго Маметъ дени<sup>г</sup> на, а растъ дени<sup>д</sup> худо доносить<sup>е</sup> (75); а правую вѣру Богъ вѣдаетъ, а праваа вѣра Бога анаго знати, имя его призывать на всякомъ мѣстѣ чисто<sup>ж</sup> чисто<sup>к</sup>. Въ пятый же Великий въ възмыслился на Русь, изыдохъ же изъ Бедеря града за мѣсяць до улубаграма Бесерменскаго Маметъ дени росолялъ<sup>з</sup> (76); а Велика дни христьянскаго не вѣдаю Христова скресенія, а говѣино же ихъ говѣхъ съ Бесермены, и розговѣвся съ ними, Великий день ихъ въ Келберху<sup>и</sup>, отъ Бедеря 20 кововъ<sup>л</sup>. Султанъ же пришелъ до Меликътучара съ ратию сею 15 день по улубаграмъ, а все Кельбергу<sup>к</sup>; и война ся имъ не удала<sup>м</sup>, оиднъ городъ ями Индѣйской, а людей много изгыбло, а казны много истеряли. А Индѣйской же султаны Кадамъ велми силенъ и рати у него много, а сидитъ въ горѣ въ Биченѣгирѣ<sup>н</sup>. А градъ же его велми великъ, около его три ровы<sup>п</sup>, да сквозѣ его рѣка течеть: а съ одну сторону о жевыѣль злыи, и съ другую сторону пришелъ долъ, чудна мѣста велми и угодна на е, на ону<sup>о</sup> же сторону прити нѣкуды, сквозѣ градъ дорога<sup>р</sup>, а града взяти нѣкуды, пришла гора велика да деберъ златикень. Подъ городомъ же стояла рать мѣсяць, и люди поперли съ безводія<sup>с</sup>, да головъ много велми изгыбло съ голоду да съ безводици; а на воду поотреть, а взятъ нѣкуды. Градъ же взялъ Индѣйскы Меликъчанъ ходя<sup>т</sup>, а взялъ его силою, и въ ночь бился съ городомъ 20 дни, рать ни пила, ни яла, подъ городомъ стояла съ пушками; а рати его изгыбло<sup>у</sup> 5 тысячъ люду добраго, и городъ взяли, ины<sup>в</sup> высѣкли 20 тысячъ поголовія мужескаго и женскаго, а 20 тысячъ полону взяли и великаго и малаго, а продавали полону голову по 10 тенекъ, а иную по 5 тенекъ<sup>ф</sup>, а робята по 2 тенькы<sup>х</sup>, а казны же не было ничего, а болшаго града не взяли. А отъ Кельбергу поидохъ до Курули<sup>т</sup> въ Курули же родится ахикъ, и ту его дѣлають и на весь свѣтъ оттуду<sup>ч</sup> его розвозять; въ Курыли же алмазниковъ триста, суляхъ микунѣтъ (77). И ту же быхъ 5 мѣсяць, а оттуды же поидохъ Калики, и ту же бозаръ велми великъ; а оттуды поидохъ Конаберга<sup>ш</sup>; а отъ Канаберга поидохъ шихъ Аладиву<sup>щ</sup>; а отъ шихъ Аладива поидохъ Кааминдріе<sup>ъ</sup>; а отъ Камендрѣя Кнарясу; а отъ Кынарясу къ Сури; а отъ Сури поидохъ къ Дабилы<sup>ы</sup>, пристанище великаго моря Индѣйскаго. Дабиль же есть градъ велми великъ, а къ тому жъ Дабилы съѣжщается вся поморья Индѣйскаа и Ефіюпскаа. И ту оканный язъ ратище Аванасіе Бога вышняго, Творца небу и земли, възмыслихся по вѣрѣ по христьянской, по крещеніѣ Христовѣ, и по говѣинѣхъ святыхъ Отець устроеныхъ, и по заповѣдехъ апостольскихъ; и устремихся умомъ<sup>ь</sup> поити на Русь: внидохъ же въ таву<sup>ь</sup> и съговорихъ о налонѣ<sup>ь</sup>

а) индѣйскія» индѣйскихъ А б) вышло» *пропущено въ А.* в) двѣ тысячи» двѣстѣ тысячъ А. г) мамет.» махметдени А. д) дени.» даени А. е) доносить.» доноть А. ж) чисто.» чисто А. з) маметдени росолялъ.» махметдени росулялъ А. и) въ келберху.» въ келбери А. і) 20 кововъ.» 10 кововъ А. к) до меликъ-тучара.» кельбергу.» да меликътучаръ страстью (*чит.* съ ратию) своею 15 по улубаграмъ въ келбергу (*чит.* къ келбергу) А. л) не удала.» не уда А. м) въ бичен.» въ бичинѣгирѣ А. н) ровы.» рогы Т. о) на ону.» на одну Т. п) дорога.» одрога *ошибк.* А. р) съ безводія.» безводни А. с) меликъчанъ ходя.» меликъчанъ ходя А. т) изгыбло.» не изгыбло А. у) ины.» ини А., *т. е.* и они. ф) а иную по 5 тенекъ.» *пропущено въ А.* х) тенькы.» денги А. ц) курули.» кулури *такъ и ниже* А. ч) оттуду.» отъкудыва Т. ш) конаберга.» конакельберга Т. щ) шихъ аладиву.» къ шихуаладину А. ъ) кааминдріе.» коамендріе А. ы) къ дабили.» къ дабыли А. ь) умомъ.» умъ Т. ь) въ таву.» *пропущено въ А.* в) о налонѣ.» отколѣна А.

корабленѣмъ, а отъ своея головы 2 золотыхъ до Гурмыза града дати<sup>а</sup>. И внидохъ же въ корабль изъ Дабыля града до Велика дни за 3 мѣсяца, Бесерьменьскаго говѣйна; идохъ же въ тавѣ по морю мѣсяць, а не видахъ ничего, на другой же мѣсяць увидѣхъ горы Ефіопскыя<sup>б</sup>. И ту людие вси възкличаша<sup>в</sup> олло бервогыдырь<sup>г</sup>, олло конькаръ, бизимъ баша мудна насипъ болмышты (78), а по-Рускы языкомъ молвятъ: Боже государю, Боже, Боже вышній, Царю небесный, здѣ<sup>д</sup> намъ судиль еси погыбнути. И въ той же земли Ефіопской быхъ 5 дни, Божією благодатію зло ся не учинило, много раздаша брынци, да перцу, да хлѣбы Ефіопомъ, ины<sup>е</sup> судна не пограбили. А оттудова же идохъ<sup>ж</sup> 12 дни до Мошкята; и въ Мошкаты же шестый Великий день взяхъ, и поидохъ до Гурмыза 9 дни, и въ Гурмызѣ быхъ 20 дни. Изъ Гурмыза поидохъ къ Лари, и въ Лари<sup>з</sup> быхъ 3 дни. Изъ Лари поидохъ къ Ширязи 12 дни, а въ Ширязи быхъ 7 дни. А изъ Ширязи поидохъ къ Вергу<sup>и</sup> 15 дни<sup>и</sup>, а въ Вергу<sup>к</sup> быхъ 10 дни. А изъ Вергу поидохъ къ Езди 9 дни, а въ Езди быхъ 8 дни. А изъ Езди поидохъ къ Спагани<sup>л</sup> 5 дни, а въ Спагани 6 дни. А изъ Спагани<sup>м</sup> поидохъ Кашани<sup>н</sup>, а въ Кашани быхъ 5 дни. А изъ Кашани поидохъ къ Куму. А изъ Кума поидохъ въ Саву. А изъ Савы поидохъ въ Султанію. А изъ Султаніи поидохъ до Тервиза. А изъ Тервиза<sup>о</sup> поидохъ въ орду<sup>п</sup> Асанбѣгъ, въ ордѣ же<sup>р</sup> быхъ 10 дни, ано пути нѣту никуды. А на Турьскаго<sup>с</sup> послалъ рати своей<sup>т</sup> 40 тысячъ, ины<sup>у</sup> Севастъ взяли, а Тоханъ<sup>ф</sup> взяли да и пожгли, Амасію взяли, и много пограбили сель, да пошли на Караманъ<sup>х</sup> воюючи. И язъ изъ орды пошелъ къ Арцицину<sup>ч</sup>, а изъ Рьцана<sup>ц</sup> пошелъ еси въ Трепизонъ. И въ Трепизонъ же придохъ на Покровъ святаы Богородица и Приснодѣвья Марія, и быхъ же въ Трипизонѣ 5 дни, и на карабль придохъ и сговорихъ о намѣ дати золотой отъ своея головы до Кафы, а золотой<sup>ш</sup> еси взялъ на харчъ<sup>ш</sup>, а дати въ Кафѣ. А въ Трепизони же ми шубашъ (79) да паша много зла<sup>ъ</sup> учиниша, хламъ мой весь къ себѣ възнесли въ городъ на гору, да обыскали все<sup>м</sup>; а обыскываютъ грамотъ, что еси пришелъ изъ орды Асанбѣга. Божією милостію придохъ до третьяго моря до Чернаго, а Парьсьскимъ<sup>ь</sup> языкомъ дорія Стимъбольскаа. Идохъ же по морю вѣтромъ пять<sup>ъ</sup> дни, и доидохъ до Вонады, и ту насъ стрѣтилъ великий вѣтръ полунощъ, и<sup>о</sup> възврати насъ къ Трипизону; и стояли еси въ Платанѣ 15 дни, вѣтру велику и злу бывшу<sup>ю</sup>. Изъ Платаны еси пошли на море двожды<sup>а</sup>, и вѣтръ насъ стрѣчаетъ злы, не дастъ намъ по морю ходити; олло акъ олло худо переводегеръ<sup>о</sup> (80), развѣ бо того иного Бога не знаемъ. И море же преидохъ, да занесе насъ<sup>ъ</sup> сыкъбалыкаефъ, а оттудова Тъкъръзофу<sup>аа</sup>, и ту стоали еси 5 дни; Божією милостію придохъ въ Кафу за 9 дни до Филипова заговѣйна, олло переводигырь<sup>бб</sup> (81). Милостію же Божією преидохъ же

а) дати. донти А. б) ефіопскыя» ефимьскыя *ошибк.* Т. в) възкличаша» воскричаша А. г) бервогыдырь» переводигеръ А. д) здѣ» издѣла *ошибк.* Т. е) ины» ини А. т. е. и они. ж) идохъ» поидохъ Т. з) въ лари» нѣтъ въ Т. и) къ вергу» къ верху Т. і) дни» *пропущено въ* Т. к) въ вергу» въ велергу и далье изъ велергу А. л) къ спагани» къ пагани А. м) 5 дни . . . изъ спагани» *недостаеъ въ* А. н) кашани» кашини и ниже въ кашини и изъ кашина А. о) а изъ тервиза» *пропущено въ* А. п) въ орду;» *въ обохъ сп. неправильно* враду. р) въ ордѣ же» върдеже Т. върдѣже А. с) на турьскаго» на турьскавъ *ошибк.* Т. т) своей» двора своего А. у) ины» ини Т., т. е. и они. ф) тоханъ» тохатъ А. х) на караманъ» на караманьскаго А. ц) къ арцицину» ко арцицину А. ч) изъ рьцана» изъ орцициана А. ш) а золотой» а золото Т. щ) на харчъ» на харнъ Т.; *такъ было и въ А., но потомъ подчищено.* з) зла» ми повторено въ Т. ы) все» что мѣлочъ добренкаа, ини (и они) выграбили все *прибав.* А. ъ) а пар.» а парсійскимъ А. ѓ) пять» 10 А. х) стрѣтилъ . . . и» стрѣтили великій вѣтри полунощныи А. ю) и злу бывшу» излюбившу *ошибк.* А. я) двожды» *нѣтъ въ* А. ц) переводегеръ» переводигеръ А. ѷ) да занесе насъ» *нѣтъ въ* А. аа) тъкъръзофу» токорзову А. бб) переводигырь» переводигеръ А.

и моря; дигырь<sup>а</sup> худо доно, оло переводигырь<sup>б</sup> доно<sup>в</sup> аминь; смилна<sup>в</sup> рахамъ-рагымъ, оло акбер<sup>г</sup>, акши худо \* имело акши холо, иса рухолло<sup>д</sup> ааликсоломъ; оло акберъ айлягяла делло, оло переводигерь ахамду зило шукуръ худо афатадъ; бисмилнаги-рахамъ-ррагымъ: вомугулези ля иляга<sup>е</sup> илягя алимумъ-гяйби вашагадити; хуарахману рагыму хувомугу-ви<sup>ж</sup> ля иляга иляя хуяальмелику алакудосу асалому альмумину<sup>з</sup> альмугамину<sup>и</sup> альвизу альбару альмутаканъбиру альхалику альбаріюу<sup>і</sup> альмусавирию<sup>к</sup> алькафару алькахару альвахадун<sup>л</sup> ырязаку альфатагу альалиму альхабизу альбасуту альхафизу алъррафію<sup>м</sup> альмавифу<sup>н</sup> альму-лю альсемію<sup>о</sup> альвасирию<sup>п</sup> алькааму альадьюлю<sup>р</sup> альлятуфу (82).

cd. *Инд.*

«Се списахъ грѣшное свое хоженіе за три моря: первое море Дербенское, дорія Хвалитъ-ая, второе море Индѣйское, дорія Гундустанская<sup>г</sup>, третіе море Черное, дорія Стамбол-ая. Поидохъ отъ святаго Спаса Златоверхаго съ его милостью, отъ великаго князя Михаила Борисовича и отъ владыки Генадія Тверскихъ; поидохъ на низъ Волгою, и пріидохъ въ монастырь къ святѣй и живоначалиѣй Троицы и святымъ мученикомъ Борису и Глѣбу, и у игумена ся благословивъ у Макарія и у братья; и съ Колязина же поидохъ на Угмечь, съ Угмечана Кострому ко князю Александру, съ иною грамотою, и князь великій всея Росіи отпустилъ доброволно; и на Плесо и въ Новгородъ Нижній къ Михаилу Киселеву къ намѣстнику и къ пошлиннику Ивану Сараеву, и они пропустили доброволно. А Василей Папинъ проѣхалъ въ городъ; а язъ ждалъ въ Новгородѣ двѣ недѣли посла Татарскаго Ширвашина Асамбѣга, проѣхалъ съ кречеты отъ великаго князя Ивана, а кречетовъ у него 90. И поѣхали на низъ Волгою, и Казань, и Орду, и Усланъ, и Сарай, и Берекезаны проѣхали есмь доброволно, и поѣхали есмь въ Бузань рѣку. И дали вожемъ подарки, чтобъ провезли мимо Асторохань; и вожки провожаючи и вѣсть дали царю въ Асторохань, и царь послалъ за нами всю свою орду, и постигли на Бугунѣ, и пограбя отпустили голыми головами, а вверхъ для вѣсти насъ пропустили. И пошли есмь къ Дербентіи двѣма суды, въ одномъ суднѣ посоль Асамбѣгъ, а въ другомъ суднѣ 6 Тезики, да Русаковъ насъ 10 человекъ, а въ другомъ суднѣ 6 Москвичъ да 6 Тверичъ. И

а) дигырь» дигерь А. б) доно» дано А. в) смилна» жила А. г) акбер» акьбирь А. д) иса рухолло» иса-рухоало А. е) ля иляга» ляяса А. В. ж) хув.» хуб. А. з) иляя хулаа. . . альмумину» *пропущено въ А. В.* и) альмуг.» имину А. В. і) альбаріюу» альбарію А. В. к) альмусавирию» альмумусавирию А. В. л) альвахадун» анвахазу А. В. м) алъррафію» алърравію А. В. н) альмавифу» алмавизу А. В. о) альсемію» альсемилію А. В. п) альвасирию» албасирию А. В. р) альадьюлю» альадлюю А. В. с) *Предъ Путешествіемъ Аванасія Тверитина въ Индію въ Русскомъ Лѣтописцѣ Ундольскаго, подъ 6969 (1464) годомъ, находится слѣдующее вступленіе: въ та же лѣта нѣкто именемъ аеонасей микитинъ сынъ тверитинъ ходилъ съ послы отъ великаго князя московскаго ивана, и отъ великаго князя михаила борисовича тверскаго, и отъ владыки тверскаго генадія, за море; и тотъ тверитинъ аеонасей писалъ путь хоженія своего сице. За тѣмъ слѣдуетъ Сказаніе какъ въ текстѣ. т) дор. гунд.» см. Сказаніе ав.; въ У. ошибк. горы гундустанскыя.*

\* Оканчивается пропускъ въ Воскр.

востала фурстовина на морѣ, да судно меншее розбило о берегъ, и пришли Каитаки, да людей поймали всѣхъ; и пришли есмь въ Дербентъ, и ту Василей поздорову пришелъ, а мы пограблены. И Осанбѣгъ Ширвашиновъ посолъ печаловался, и ѣздилъ на гору къ Булатбѣгу, и Булатбѣгъ послалъ скоро къ Ширваншѣбѣгу: что судно Руское розбило подъ Тархи, и Каитаки пришедъ людей поймали, а товаръ ихъ розграбили. И Ширваншабѣгъ послалъ къ шурина своему Алибѣгу, Каитаческому князю, глаголя: что судно ся мое розбило подъ Тархи, и твои люди пришедъ людей поймали, а товаръ ихъ пограбили; и тебѣ бы ихъ ко мнѣ прислати мене ради, понеже тѣ люди посланы на мое имя. И Алибѣгъ тотчасъ отослалъ людей всѣхъ въ Дербентъ, а изъ Дербенту послали ихъ къ Ширванши въ орду его Коитуль. И мы прѣхавъ къ Ширваншѣ во Коитуль били челомъ, чтобы далъ чѣмъ до Руси донти; и онъ намъ не далъ ничего, потому что насъ много, и мы заплакавъ розошлись кон куды: у кого что есть на Руси, и тотъ пошелъ на Русь, а кой долженъ, и тѣ пошли куды очи несутъ, а иные пошли работать къ Бакъ. А язъ пошелъ къ Дербенту, а оттолѣ къ Бакъ, гдѣ огонь горитъ неугасимый; а изъ Баки пошелъ есмь за море къ Чебокару, и тутъ есмь жилъ въ Чебокарѣ 6 мѣсяцъ, да въ Сарѣ жилъ мѣсяцъ въ Маздранской земли; а оттуду къ Амили, и тутъ жилъ мѣсяцъ; а потомъ къ Димованту, а оттуду къ Орею, а ту убили Шаусеня Алевыхъ дѣтей и внучать Махметевыхъ, и онъ де ихъ проклялъ, и за то де будто 70 градовъ ся розвалило, якоже безвѣрнии баютъ въ прелести своей; а изъ Дрѣя къ Кашени, и тутъ есмь былъ мѣсяцъ; а оттуду къ Нанину, и потомъ ко Ездѣ, и тутъ жилъ есмь мѣсяцъ; а изъ Діесъ къ Сырчану, а оттуду къ Тарому, туто же фуники кормятъ животину, батманъ по 4 алтына; а изъ Горума къ Лару, а оттуду къ Бендерю. И тутъ есть пристанище Гурмызское, тутъ бо есть море Индѣйское, а Парсѣйскимъ языкомъ и Гоньдустанская дорія; а оттуду же итти моремъ до Гурмыза 4 мили. А Гурмызъ есть на островѣ, а ежедней поймаеть его море по дважды на день; и тутъ есмь взялъ единъ Великъ день, а пришелъ въ Гурмызъ за 4 недѣли до Велика дни. А города не всѣ писалъ, много городовъ великихъ. И въ Гурмызѣ есть варное солнце, человекъ сожжетъ. И былъ язъ тутъ мѣсяцъ, а оттуду пошелъ, въ Омину недѣлю, за Индѣйское море въ таву съ конми, и шли есмь моремъ до Мошката 10 днѣй; а потомъ до Дѣгу 4 дни; а потомъ къ Узрату; а оттуду къ Онбату, и тутъ ся родитъ краска далець; а оттуду къ Чивилю; а въ седмую недѣлю по Велицѣ дни отъ Чивили въ таву конми, и шли 6 недѣль моремъ до Чивили. То есть страна Индѣйская, и люди ходятъ наги всѣ, а голова не покрыта, а груди голы, а волосы въ одну косу плетены, а всѣ ходятъ брюхаты, дѣтей у нихъ много, понеже на всякой годъ родятъ, и черны мужи и жены всѣ; язъ бо куды хожду, ино за мною людей много, дивятся бѣлому человекъку. А князь ихъ фата на головѣ, а другая на бедрахъ; а бояре у нихъ ходятъ фата на плещѣ, а другая на бедрахъ; а княгини ходятъ фата по плечамъ обогнута, а другая на бедрахъ; а слуги квяжіе и боярскіе фата на бедрахъ обогнута, да шить да мечъ въ рукахъ, а иные съ сулицами, а иные съ ножи, а иные съ саблями и съ стрѣлами, а всѣ наги да бося; а жонки ходятъ голова не покрыта, а груди голы, а паробки да дѣвочки ходятъ наги до 7 лѣтъ, срамъ не покрытъ. А изъ Чювила пошли есмь сухомъ до Пали 8 днѣй, до Индѣйскія горы<sup>а</sup>; а оттолѣ до Умри 10 днѣй, то есть городъ Индѣйскій; оттолѣ же до Чюнейра 6 днѣй, и тутъ есть Асатханъ Чюнерскія Индѣйскія<sup>б</sup>, а холопъ Меликтучаровъ, а держитъ сказываютъ 7 темъ отъ Меликту-

а) до индѣйскія горы; \* кажется здѣсь должно читать, какъ въ Сказаніи аб то индѣйскыя горы.

б) чун. инд. \* чюнерскы а индѣйскы Сказ. аб.

чара. А Меликтучаръ сѣдигъ на 20 тмахъ; а бьется съ Кафары 20 лѣтъ, то его побьютъ<sup>а</sup>, то онъ побьетъ. Ханъ же ѣздитъ на людехъ, а слоновъ у него и коней добрыхъ много, а людей у него Хоразанцевъ много; а привозятъ ихъ изъ Хоразанскія земли, а иные изъ Орабанскія земли, а иные изъ Тукмерскія<sup>б</sup> земли, а иные изъ Чеготанскія земли, а привозятъ все моремъ въ тавахъ, Индѣйскія земли корабли. Азъ же грѣшнѣйшій привезъ жеребца въ Индѣйскую землю, дошелъ есмь до Чюнера, а сталъ ми жеребецъ 100 рублей. Зима же у нихъ стала съ Троицына дни; а зимовали есмь въ Чюнейрѣ и жили 2 мѣсяца. А вино чинятъ въ великихъ оресѣхъ. Кони же у нихъ во Индѣйской землѣ не родятся, токмо волы да буivolы, на тѣхъ ѣздитъ и товары возятъ. Чюнеръ же градъ есть на острову на камени, не дѣланъ ничимъ, Богомъ сотворенъ; а ходятъ на гору день по единому человѣку, дорога тѣсна, поити не лзя. Во Индѣйской земли гости ся ставятъ по подворьемъ, а ѣсти варятъ на гости господарини, и постелю стелютъ, и сѣятъ съ гостями, любятъ бо бѣлыхъ людей. Въ томъ же градѣ Чюнерѣ ханъ взялъ у меня жеребца, понеже бо свѣдалъ, что язъ Русинъ, и онъ мнѣ говорилъ: «и жеребца дамъ да 1000 золотыхъ къ тому дамъ, аще станеша въ нашу вѣру Бесерменскую; аще ли ни, жеребца у тебя возму да 1000 золотыхъ на главѣ твоей возму;» а срокъ учинилъ на 4 дни. И въ день праздника Преображенія Спасова Господь Богъ смилосовался надо мною, на свой праздникъ не остави милости своея отъ мене грѣшного, не далъ мнѣ въ Чюнерѣ градѣ съ печестивыми погибнути: Хозяйочи Махметъ Хоросанецъ отпечаловалъ меня у хана, и въ вѣру свою не поневолили, и жеребца отдалъ моего мнѣ. Таково на мнѣ содѣяся Спасово чудо. Господія моя и братія Русіи христіяня! аще кто похочетъ поити въ Индѣйскую землю, и ты остави вѣру свою на Руси, да вскрикни Бахмета да поиди въ Густанскую землю. Мене залгали пси Бесермена, а сказывали всего много нашего товару, ажко нѣтъ ничего на нашу землю, токмо перецъ да краска, то и дешево; Бесермени возятъ моремъ, и они пошлинъ не даютъ, а намъ пошлины великіи, и разбойниковъ много, Кафары бо разбиваютъ, а вѣрою они погани, молятся каменымъ болваномъ и Христа не знаютъ. А изъ Чюнера есмь вышли на Успеніевъ день къ Бедерю, къ большему ихъ граду, а шли мѣсяцъ; а оттолѣ до Кулонкера 5 днѣй; оттуду же до Келбергу 5 днѣй. Да и промежу тѣхъ градовъ много и иныхъ градовъ, на всякъ день шли по три и по четыре грады, сколько кововъ, столько и градовъ: отъ Чювиля бо и до Чюнейря 20 кововъ, а оттолѣ до Бедеря 40 кововъ, оттолѣ же до Колунгера 9 кововъ, паки отъ Бедеря до Колобергу 9 кововъ. Въ Бедери же торгъ на кони, и на шолкъ, да на оwoщъ, а на Рускую землю товару никакого нѣтъ; да въ немъ же купити люди черныя, всѣ бо тамъ черны, а всѣ злодѣи и тати и лживцы, а жонки тоже всѣ бляди, да вѣдь, да тать, и государей своихъ зѣльи морятъ. Во Индѣйской же земли княжата и бояре всѣ Хоросанцы; а Гундостанцы всѣ пѣши ходятъ, и наги и боси, токмо въ рукѣ щитъ, а въ другой мечъ, а ходятъ борзо, а у иныхъ луки прямыя и стрѣлы. А бой ихъ все слоны, а около слоновъ идуть пѣши напреди и на конѣхъ, а кони и сами въ доспѣсѣхъ; а къ слономъ вяжутъ къ рыму да къ зубомъ великія мечи по кендарю кованы, да облачатъ ихъ въ доспѣхъ булатный, да на нихъ учинены городки, а въ городкѣ по 12 человѣкъ въ доспѣсѣхъ, да пушки и стрѣлы. Да тамо же есть у нихъ мѣсто шихбъ алудинъ пиръатырь бозаръ аядинандъ, на годъ единъ бозаръ, съѣзжается вся страна Индѣйская торговати, да торгуютъ 10 днѣй, а отъ Бедеря 12 кововъ, приволятъ

а) побьютъ — такъ исправлено; въ У. побьетъ. б) изъ тукмерскія — изъ туркменскыя правильно въ Сказ. аб (вариант. по Арх.).

коней до 20.000 и всякій товаръ; въ Гондустанѣй земли той торгъ лучшій, на память шиха Аладина, а на Рускій праздникъ Покровъ святыя Богородицы. Въ томъ Аландѣ есть птица именуема гукукъ, летаетъ ноци, а кличетъ гукукъ; и на коей хороминѣ посидитъ, и гутъ человекъ умретъ, а кто ея хочетъ убить, ино у нея изо рта огонь выидетъ. А мамоны тамо ходятъ ноци и ловятъ куры, а живутъ въ горѣ или въ каменьѣ. А обезьяны живутъ по тѣсу, и есть у нихъ князь обезьянскій, и кто ихъ занимаетъ, и они жалуются князю своему, инъ же посылаетъ на того рать свою, и они пришедше на градъ и дворы разваляютъ и людей побьютъ; а рати ихъ сказываютъ велми много, и языкъ ихъ есть свой, а дѣтей родятъ много: который родится ни въ отца ни въ мать, и они тѣхъ мечютъ по дорогамъ, и Гондустанцы тѣхъ емлютъ да учатъ ихъ всякому рукодѣлію, а иныхъ продаютъ ночью, чтобъ взадъ не знали бѣжати. Весна же у нихъ стала съ Покрова святѣй Богородицы; а по Покровѣ двѣ недѣли празднуютъ шиху Аладину 8 дній; а весну, и лѣто, и осень, и зиму держатъ то же по три мѣсяца. Въ Бедери же ихъ стоить Гондустану Бесерменскому; а градъ великъ и людей много велми. А салтанъ великій 20 лѣтъ, а то содержатъ бояре; и съ салтаномъ рати его выходитъ 300 тысячъ, а съ бояры его выходитъ: съ Меликтучаромъ 200 тысячъ, а съ Меликханомъ 100 тысячъ, а съ иными со многими по 20 и по 30 тысячъ; а земля велми людна; а бояре сильны и пышны, а носятъ ихъ на кроватехъ сребреныхъ, а кони предъ ними водятъ въ снастехъ золотыхъ; а селскіе люди голы добръ. А выѣздъ ихъ добръ чюдень на потѣху: егда султанъ выѣзжаетъ съ матерью и съ женою, ино съ нимъ конныхъ 30 тысячъ, да пѣшихъ 50 тысячъ человекъ, а слоновъ водятъ нарядныхъ 200 въ доспѣсѣхъ золоченыхъ, да 100 человекъ трубниковъ, да плясцевъ 100 человекъ, да простыхъ коней 300 въ снастехъ золотыхъ, да обезьянъ 100, да блядей 100, а всѣ гаурки. Во дворъ же султановъ седмеры ворота, а въ воротехъ по 100 человекъ сторожей, да по 100 писцевъ Кафаровъ: кто взидетъ и изидетъ, и они записываютъ, а гариповъ не пускаютъ; а дворъ зѣло чюдень, все на рѣзи и золотомъ описано. А стрегутъ градъ Бедеръ въ ноци 1000 человекъ кутуваловыхъ, а ѣздятъ въ доспѣсѣхъ на конѣхъ, а у всѣхъ по свѣтычу. И ту азъ въ Бедери продалъ жеребца своего, и наложилъ много, а кормилъ годъ. Въ Бедери же змін ходятъ по улицамъ, длиною въ двѣ сажени. А пришелъ есми въ Бедеръ о Филиповѣ заговѣйнѣ изъ Колунгеря, а жеребца продалъ о Рожествѣ, а былъ тутъ до великого заговѣйна. И познахся тутъ со многими Индѣяны, и познали мя, что азъ не Бесерменинъ, но Християнинъ, имя мнѣ Аеонасей, а по-бесерменски имя мнѣ Хозя Ифусъ Хоросани; и они не почали ни въ чемъ скрыватися, ни женъ своихъ не хоронили; и я ихъ испыталъ о вѣрѣ ихъ, и они сказываютъ, что вѣруютъ въ Адама, а Бута сказываютъ то есть Адамъ. А всѣхъ вѣръ въ Индѣи 84 вѣры, а всѣ вѣруютъ въ Бута; а вѣра съ вѣрою ни пьетъ, ни ѣстъ, ни женятся межи себе, а ядятъ бораны, куры, яца, а воловъ всѣ вѣры ихъ не ядятъ. И отъ Бедери поидохъ къ Первотѣ, то ихъ Іеросалимъ, а по-бесерменски Мяхкатъ, гдѣ ихъ Бутхана, и шелъ мѣсяцъ. Бутхана же велми велика, камена<sup>б</sup>, съ полъ-Твери, и рѣзано на стѣнахъ дѣяніе Бутово, какъ Бутъ чюдеса творилъ и какъ ся имъ являлъ многими образы человекскими, а ино человекъ, а носъ слоновъ, а ино человекъ, а лице обезьянино, ино же подобіе человекъ образъ лютаго звѣря, а являлся имъ всѣмъ съ хвостомъ, а хвостъ черезъ него съ сажень, рѣзаны на камени. И въ той градъ съѣзжается вся страна Индѣйская на чудо Бутово; да у Бутханы брѣются старые жонки и дѣвки на себѣ волосы и бо-

а) гдѣ такъ должно чит.; въ У. дѣ б) вел. кам.; въ У. великъ камень.

оды, да потомъ идутъ къ Бутхану; да со всякіе головы емлютъ по двѣ шекшени пошрины на Бута, а съ коней по 4 футы, а сѣзжается къ Бутхану всѣхъ людей безчисленно множество. Да тудо же въ Буханѣ вырѣзаѣ Бутъ изъ камня, велии великъ, хвостъ черезъ него, да руку правую подыалъ высоко, а въ лѣвой рукѣ копіе, голъ, толко гузно ширинкою обязано, а видѣніе лица его обезьянино; а иные Буты наги, нѣтъ ничего, котъ ачюкъ, а жонки Бутовы наги вырѣзаны и съ соромомъ, и съ дѣтми. Да передъ Бутомъ же стоитъ голъ велии великъ, вырѣзанъ изъ камня изъ черного и позолоченъ весь, а цѣлуютъ его въ копыто, а сыплютъ на него цвѣты, а на Бута тоже цвѣты. Не ядятъ же Индѣяны ни мяса, ни рыбы; а ядятъ днемъ двожды: брынецъ, да кучири съ масломъ, да травы розныя, и жожа не держатъ и лжицы не знаютъ. А съ Бесермены ни пьютъ, ни ядятъ; а въ дорогѣ всякого по горнцу, и всякъ себѣ кашу сварить, и ядятъ покрываються платомъ, чтобъ его никто не видѣлъ; а посмотритъ Бесермень на ѣству, и онъ не ястъ; а какъ ѣсти, и они прежде омываютъ руки и ноги и ротъ полощутъ; а поклоны ихъ на востокъ, руки подымаютъ высоко, да изляжетъ ницъ на землю, и протянется весь по земли. А Бутханы ихъ безъ дверей, ставлены на востокъ же, а Буты стоятъ на востокъ же. А кто у нихъ умретъ, и они тѣхъ жгутъ да пепель сыплютъ на воду. А у жены дитя родится, ино бабитъ мужъ, а имя сыну даетъ отецъ, а дочери мати; а добрыхъ травъ у нихъ нѣтъ, и соромы не знаютъ. А иные кланяются по чернечески, обѣ руки дотычютъ до земли, а не говоритъ ничего. Къ Первотѣ же ѣдятъ о великомъ заговѣнѣ, къ своему брату, по-бесерменски Мякка, а по-русски Іерусалимъ, а по-индѣйски Парватъ; а сѣзжаются всѣ наги, мужи и жонки, толико на гузиѣ платъ или фата, а на шеяхъ у жонокъ жемчюгъ и яхонтовъ много, а на рукахъ обручи да перетни златы. А внутрь къ Бутхану ѣдятъ на волѣхъ, а у вола рога окованы мѣдью, да на шеѣ колоколцовъ 300, и копыта подкованы; а тѣ вола ачье зовутъ. Индѣяне же вола зовутъ отцемъ, а корову матерью; а каломъ ихъ пекутъ хлѣбы и варятъ ѣству, и тѣмъ попеломъ мажутъ по челу, и по всему лицу, и по тѣлу. А въ недѣлю и въ понедѣльникъ ядятъ единожды днемъ. Отъ Первати же пріѣхалъ язъ въ Бедеръ, за 15 днѣй до Бесерменского улубагря. А Великого дни Воскресенія Христова не вѣдаю, а по примѣтамъ гадаю Великъ день христіанскій бываетъ первѣе Бесерменского багрима за 9 днѣй или за 10: потому что кои были книги со мною взяты съ Руси, и то пограблено, и язъ позабылъ вѣру христіанскую и празниковъ нѣкоторыхъ не помню. А промежу есми поганыхъ розныхъ вѣрѣ токмо молился есмь Богу Вседержителю, Творцу небу и земли, и иного никоего не призывалъ. А какъ мѣсяцъ мартъ прошелъ, и я заговѣлъ въ недѣлю съ Бесермены, и ѣлъ по дважды днемъ хлѣбъ да воду, а скорому не ѣлъ. А отъ Гурмыза итти моремъ до Голать 10 день, а оттуду до Дѣгу 6 день, а отъ Дѣгу до Мошката, до Кучзрята, до Комбата 4 дни, а отъ Комбата до Чивиля 12 днѣй, а оттуду до Дабыля 6 днѣй, Дабыль же есть пристанище въ Гондустани послѣднее Бесерменству, а отъ Дабыля до Колекота 25 днѣй, оттолѣ же до Силяна 15 днѣй, а оттуду до Шибайта мѣсяцъ итти, оттолѣ же до Пѣвгу 20 днѣй; а оттолѣ до Чини да до Мачина мѣсяцъ итти моремъ, а отъ Чини до Китая итти сухомъ 6 мѣсяцъ, а моремъ 4 итти, аростоходачотомъ. Гурмызъ же есть пристанище великое, всего свѣта люди въ немъ бывають, и всякій товаръ въ немъ есть, что на всемъ свѣтѣ родится, то въ Гурмызѣ есть все; тамга же велика, со всего десятое. А Камблять пристанище Индѣйскому морю всему, а товаръ въ немъ дѣлають алачи, да пестреды, да канѣаки, да чинятъ краску нилъ, да родится въ немъ лекъ, да ахикъ, да лонъ. Дабыль<sup>а</sup> есть пристанище

а) дабыль. см. Сказаніе аб; въ У. ошибк. было.

вѣлми велико, и привозятъ изъ Мисюрска кони, изъ Рабаста, и изъ Хоросани, и изъ Туркусани, изъ Негостани, да ходятъ сухомъ мѣсяцъ до Бедери да до Келбергу. Келеботъ<sup>а</sup> есть пристанище Индѣйскаго моря всего, а проити его не да Богъ никакову кестяку, кто его ни увидитъ, тотъ здорово не проидетъ моремъ; а родится въ немъ всякого пряного зелія много, и дешево. Силянъ<sup>б</sup> же есть пристанище Индѣйскаго моря не мало, а въ немъ баба Адамъ на горѣ высоцѣ, а около его родится камень драгое, да червцы, да фатисы, да бабогурн, да бинчаи, да хрусталь, да сумбада, а продаютъ въ локоть, а девякуши продаютъ въ вѣсъ; да родятся слоны. Шибатское<sup>в</sup> пристанище Индѣйскаго моря вѣлми велико, а Хоросанцемъ даютъ алафу по тенкѣ на день, и великому и малому; а кто въ немъ Хоросанецъ жевитца, и князь Шабатцкій даетъ по 1000 тенекъ на жертву, на алафу, да ѣсть на всякій мѣсяцъ по 10 тенекъ; а родится въ Шабатѣ шелкъ, да сандалъ, жемчюгъ, и все дешево. Въ Шѣгу же есть пристанище не мало, а живутъ въ немъ все дербыши Индѣйскія; да родится въ немъ камень драгое маникъ, яхуть, кирпичъ, а продаютъ камень не дербыши. Чинское<sup>г</sup> же да Мачинское пристанище вѣлми велико, да дѣлаютъ въ немъ чини; а продаютъ чини въ вѣсъ, а дешево. А жены ихъ съ мужьями своими спятъ въ день, а къ ночи ихъ ходятъ къ гарипомъ да спятъ съ ними, и даютъ гарипомъ<sup>д</sup> алафу, и приносятъ съ собою яству сахарную и вино, да поятъ ихъ и кормятъ, чтобъ ее любили, а любятъ людей бѣлыхъ, понеже ихъ люди черны вѣлми; и которое отъ гостя<sup>е</sup> зачнется бѣло, и мужъ даетъ гостю алафу, пошлинъ 18 тенекъ: а родится черно, ино нѣтъ ничего, токмо пилъ да бѣлъ, то ему халялъ. А отъ Бедеря Шайбатъ итти 3 мѣсяца; а отъ Дабыля до Шайбата 2 мѣсяца моремъ итти; Мачимъ да Чимъ отъ Бедеря 4 мѣсяца моремъ итти. Да въ Шайбатѣ же родится шелкъ, да инчи, да жемчюгъ, да сандалъ; слоны продаютъ въ Лекотъ<sup>ж</sup>. Въ Лекотѣ же родится перецъ, да мошкаты, да гвоздика, да фуфалъ, да цвѣтъ. Въ Кузрятѣ же родится краска далюкъ. А въ Камбатѣ родится ахикъ. Въ Рачюрѣ же родится алмазъ, продаютъ почку<sup>з</sup> по 5 рублей, а добраго по 10 рублей, новаго же почка алмазу пѣнечъ че кени сіяже чаршешкени, а сипить екъ тенка. Алмазъ же родится въ горѣ каменной, а продаютъ же тую гору каменную по 2000 фунтовъ золотыхъ новаго алмазу, а кона алмазу въ локоть 30 тысячъ фунтовъ златыхъ; земля же та Меликханова, а холопъ онъ саятановъ, отъ Бедеря же 30 кововъ а сыто. Жидове<sup>и</sup> зовутъ Шайбатъ своими Жидовы, и то ложь есть: Шайбатане бо ни Жидове, ни Бесермяне, ни Християне, ина бо ихъ вѣра Индѣйская, ни съ Худы, ни съ Бесермены ни пьютъ, ни ядятъ. Въ Шайбатѣ же родится шелкъ, сахаръ, и дешево; а по лѣсу у нихъ мамоны да обезьяны, и по дорогамъ людемъ пробъзду нѣтъ ночи, дерутъ людей аукиковъ<sup>к</sup>; и у оленей кормленыхъ рѣжутъ пупы, а въ пупѣ у нихъ мскусъ<sup>л</sup>, а дикіе олени пупы сами изъ себя ронятъ по полямъ и по лѣсу, и та воня не столь благоуханна, не свѣжъ бо есть. Отъ<sup>д</sup> Шайбата же отъ Бедеря сухомъ

а) келеботъ • см. Сказаніе аб; въ У. елекотъ. б) силянъ • плянъ; въ У. для записанія начальной буквы, какъ и далѣе въ названіяхъ другихъ городовъ, оставлено мѣсто. в) шибатское • см. Сказ. аб; въ У. шибатское. г) чинское • см. Сказ. аб; въ У. съ пропускомъ первой буквы инское. д) гарипомъ; въ У. впрямую ошибк. гариго. е) Здѣсь пропущено слово дитя. ж) Въ У. было написано въ локоть (см. Сказ. аб), потомъ поправлено въ лекотъ. з) почку • см. Сказ. аб; въ У. посыку. и) жидове • см. тамъ же; въ У. ошибк. жилове. і) аукиковъ; въ У. предъ симъ словомъ нѣсколько строкъ пропущено: см. Сказ. аб. к) мскусъ; здѣсь писецъ передъмысая какой-либо списокъ Сказ. аб., сливъ отъ предшествовавшего слова букву м. (мъ): мскусъ; въ Сказ. читается а въ немъ скусъ родится. Иначе можно читать мскусъ, мускусъ. л) отъ • пропущено въ У.

и 10 мѣсяцъ, а моремъ 4 мѣсяца. И мѣсяца маія въ Бедери въ Бесерменскомъ бо-  
 мъ взяли въ среду, а заговѣлъ есми мѣсяца апрѣля въ 1-й день. О благовѣрній  
 истіане, иже кто по многимъ землямъ много плаваеть, во многія грѣхи впадаетъ  
 вѣры ся да лишаетъ Христовы. Азъ же рабище Божіе Аеонасіе сжалихся о вѣрѣ: уже бо  
 подоша четыре великія посты и праздники Свѣтлаго Воскресенія Христова 4, азъ же  
 шный не вѣдаю, что есть Великъ день, или постъ, ни иныхъ праздниковъ, ни среды,  
 пятницы; а книгъ отбылъ еще въ первомъ грабежѣ, поидохъ же до Индѣи отъ многія  
 ты, занеже ми на Русь пойти не съ чѣмъ, не осталось товару ничего. Первый бо Великъ  
 възялъ есмь въ Клинѣ, а второй въ Чебукару въ Маздранской землѣ, а третій Великъ  
 въ Гурмызѣ, четвертый же съ Бесермены во Индѣи въ Бедери; и туто много плакалъ  
 христіанской вѣрѣ. Бесерменинъ же Меликъ тотъ мя много нудилъ въ вѣру Бесерменскую  
 ти, и рече ми: «не Бесерменинъ еси, и христіанства не знаешь.» Азъ же во многія по-  
 шленія впадохъ, и рекохъ къ себѣ: «горе мнѣ окаянному, яко заблудихъ отъ пути истин-  
 го;» и помолихся и рекохъ: «Господи Боже Вседержителю, Творче небу и земли! не отвори  
 ца отъ рабища твоего, яко скорбь близъ; Господи, призри на мя и помилуй мя, яко твое  
 создание, и настави мя Господи на путь твой правый, яко никоея добродѣтели тебѣ  
 гворихъ, Господи мой, яко дни своя преплыхъ все во злѣ, Господи мой; Господи Боже  
 й, на тя уповахъ, спаси мя.» Въ Индѣи же Бесерменской, въ великомъ Бедери, смотрилъ  
 ми на Великую ночь волосыни дакола въ зарю вошли, а лось головою стоитъ на востокъ.  
 баграмъ на Бесерменской выѣхалъ султанъ на теферичъ, ино съ нимъ 20 возыревъ вели-  
 хъ, да 300 слоновъ наряженныхъ въ доспѣсехъ въ булатныхъ и съ городки, а городки око-  
 ны, да въ городкѣхъ по 6 человекъ въ доспѣсехъ, съ пушками да съ пицалми; а на ве-  
 кихъ слонѣхъ по 12 человекъ, да по два прапорца, да къ зубомъ привязаны великія мечи  
 кентарю, а къ рыломъ привязаны великія желѣзныя гири, да промежи ушей человекъ въ  
 спѣсѣ сидитъ да крюкомъ желѣзнымъ править; да коней простыхъ 1000 въ снастехъ зо-  
 тыхъ, да верблюды 100 нагарами, да 300 трубниковъ, да плясцевъ 300, да ковры 300. На  
 танѣ же кафтанъ весь сажень яхонты, да шпакъ, а на немъ алмазъ великій, да саадакъ  
 мотъ съ яхонты, да на немъ же 3 сабли окованы золотомъ, да сѣдло золото; да передъ  
 мъ скачетъ Кофаръ пѣшъ, играетъ теремцомъ, да за нимъ же пѣшихъ много идетъ, да за  
 мъ же благой слонъ идетъ, наряженъ весь въ камкѣ, чѣпъ у него велика желѣзная во ртѣ,  
 обиваетъ кони и люди, чтобъ кто на салтана не наступилъ близко. А братъ салтановъ  
 ть сидитъ на золотой кровати, а надъ нимъ теремъ оксамитенъ, да маковица золота съ  
 онты, да несутъ его 20 человекъ. А Махмутъ сидитъ на золотой кровати, а надъ нимъ  
 ремъ шидянь съ маковицею золотою, а везутъ его на четырехъ конѣхъ въ снастехъ золо-  
 хъ, да около его людей множество, а передъ нимъ пѣвцы, да плясцевъ много, а всѣ  
 голыми мечи, да съ саблями, да съ щиты, да съ сулицами, да съ копьями, да съ луки  
 прямыми съ великими, а кони всѣ въ доспѣсехъ, а на иныхъ саадаки, а иные наги, одно  
 атище, завѣшенъ соромъ. Въ Бедери же мѣсяцъ стоитъ 3 полонь. А овощу сладкаго въ  
 дери нѣтъ. Въ Гондустанѣ же силнаго вара нѣтъ; силенъ варъ въ Гурмызѣ да въ Като-  
 грами, гдѣ ся жемчюгъ родитъ, да въ Жидѣ, да въ Бакѣ, да въ Мисерѣ, да въ Останіи,  
 въ Ларѣ; а въ Хоросанской земли варно, но не таково; а въ Чеготаніи велми варно; а  
 Ширази, да въ Езди, въ Кашири варно да вѣтръ бываетъ; а въ Гиляни душно велми да  
 рищо лихо; да паръ лихъ въ Шамахѣ; да въ Вавилонѣ варно, да Хумитѣ, да въ Шамѣ  
 рно; а въ Ляпѣ варно, но не такъ. Да въ Севастѣи губѣ да въ Гурзынской<sup>a</sup> земли добро

a) гурзынской чит. гурмызской, какъ въ Сказ. ав.

билно вѣзмъ; да Торская земля обилна; да въ Волоской и Подолской земли обилно вѣзмъ. Восхотѣхъ же на Русь итти, но пути не вѣмъ: изъ Гондастана бо на Гурмызъ поити, а отъ Гурмыза на Хоросанъ пути нѣтъ, такоже ни на Чегодай, ни на Катобагрямъ и ни на Ездъ пути нѣтъ; вездѣ нестроенье стало, князей вездѣ выбили<sup>а</sup>, Яишу мурзу убили, Узуосанбѣкъ а Ширязи сѣлъ, и земля ся не обренила<sup>б</sup>, а Елигеръ Махметъ къ нему не ѣдетъ, блюдется, иного пути нѣтъ никуды; а на Мякку поити, ино неволятъ тамо въ Бесерменство, затѣмъ суды Християне не ходятъ. А въ Гондустани жити, ино вся собина исхарчить, занеже у нихъ все дорого, по полутретѣ алтына мнѣ одному исходитъ на день, а вина еси не пивалъ, ни сынды. Меликтучаръ два города взялъ Индѣйскія, что разбивали по морю Индѣйскому, а князей поималъ 7 да казну ихъ взялъ, юкъ яхонтовъ, да юкъ алмазовъ да кирпуковъ, да 100 кововъ товару дорогово, а иного товару безчисленно рати взяла; а стоялъ подъ городомъ 2 года, а рати съ нимъ было 200 тысячъ, да слоновъ 100, да 300 верблюдовъ. Меликтучаръ пришелъ ратию своею къ Деберю<sup>в</sup> на курбантъ багрямъ, а по-Руски на Петровъ день, и султанъ послалъ 10 возыревъ встрѣтити его за 10 кововъ, а въ ковѣ по 10 верстъ; а со всякимъ возыремъ по 10 тысячъ рати своей, по 10 слоновъ въ доспѣсехъ. А у Меликтучара<sup>г</sup> на всякъ день садится за суфрїею по 500 человекъ, а съ нимъ садятся 3 возыри за его ска-тертью, а съ возыремъ по 50 человекъ, а его 100 человекъ бояриновъ вшеретныхъ. У Меликтучара же на конюшнѣ коней 2000, да 1000 осѣдланыхъ и день и ночь готовы стоятъ; а дворъ его стерегутъ и день и ночь всегда 100 человекъ въ доспѣсехъ, да 20 трубниковъ, да 10 нагаръ, да по 10 бубновъ великихъ по два человекъ бьютъ. Мызамылкъ, да Мекханъ, да Форатханъ, и тѣ взяли три города великихъ, а съ ними<sup>д</sup> рати своей 100 тысячъ да 50 слоновъ, да камни всякого дорогово много множество, покупали бо на Меликтучара и заповѣдали гостемъ не продати. Султанъ выѣзжаетъ на потѣху во вторникъ да въ четвергъ, а съ нимъ выѣзжаютъ 3 возыри; а братъ султановъ въ понедѣльникъ, а съ нимъ такоже множество конныхъ и пѣшихъ, урядно, и слоны, велми чюдно выѣздъ ихъ въ утварѣхъ золотыхъ. Меликтучаръ выѣхалъ воевати Индѣянъ на память Шихаиладина, а по-Руски на Покровъ святыя Богородицы, а рати вышло съ нимъ 50 тысячъ; а султанъ послалъ рати своей 50 тысячъ, да 3 возыри, а съ ними 30 тысячъ, да 100 слоновъ пошло съ городки въ доспѣсехъ, а на всякомъ слонѣ по 4 человекъ съ пицалми. Меликтучаръ пошелъ воевати Чюнедара, великое княженіе Индѣйское. А у Бинедарскаго князя 300 слоновъ да 100 тысячъ рати, а коней 50 тысячъ. Султанъ выѣхалъ изъ города Бедеря по Велицѣ дни, а съ нимъ выѣхало 26 возыревъ Бесерменскихъ и Индѣйскихъ, да двора его 100 тысячъ рати конные, а 200 тысячъ пѣшихъ, да 300 слоновъ въ доспѣсехъ съ городки, да 100 лютыхъ зѣбрей о двою ченяхъ. А съ братомъ съ султановымъ вышло двора его сто<sup>е</sup> тысячъ конныхъ, да 100 тысячъ пѣшихъ людей, да 100 слоновъ наряженныхъ въ доспѣсехъ. За Малханомъ вышло двора его 20 тысячъ конныхъ, да пѣшихъ 60 тысячъ, да 20 слоновъ. Съ Бедерханомъ вышло двора его 30 тысячъ конныхъ, да 100 тысячъ пѣшихъ, да слоновъ 25 наряженныхъ съ городки. Съ Султаномъ<sup>ж</sup> вышло 10 тысячъ конныхъ, да пѣшихъ 20 тысячъ, да слоновъ 10 съ городки. Съ Возырханомъ вышло 15 тысячъ конныхъ, да 30 тысячъ пѣшихъ, да слоновъ 15 наряжены съ городки. Съ Кутарханомъ вышло двора его 15 тысячъ

а) выбили • выбыли У. б) не обрен. •; въ Сказ. аб (Арх. XVI) не окрѣпила. в) къ деберю • къ бедерю Сказ. аб. г) у меликтучара • у миктучаръ ошибк. У. д) а съ ними • такъ въ Сказ. аб; въ У. а съ нимъ. е) сто • пропущено въ У.; дополнено изъ Сказ. аб. ж) съ султаномъ •; въ Сказ. аб (по списку Арх.) впринѣ съ сулханомъ (имя одного изъ владѣльцевъ, подвластныхъ Индѣйскому главному султану).

нныхъ, да 40 тысячъ пѣшихъ, да 10 слоновъ. Да со всякимъ возыремъ по 10 тысячъ конныхъ, а пѣшихъ по 20 тысячъ и болши. А съ Индѣйскимъ Авдономъ вышло рати конныхъ 10 тысячъ, а пѣшихъ 100 тысячъ, да 40 слоновъ въ доспѣсехъ наряженныхъ, да по 4 чело-  
вѣки на слонѣ съ пищальми. На Индѣянъ же салтанъ опалился, что мало съ нимъ и съ во-  
юрями вышло силы Индѣйскія, и оупъ прибавилъ. Такова есть сила султана Индѣйскаго.  
Въ пятый же Великъ день взмыслился есмь на Русь, изыдохъ же изъ Бедеря града за мѣ-  
сяць до улубаграма Бесерменского Маметдени росолялъ; а Велика дни христіанского не  
бдаю, говѣино бо говѣхъ съ Бесермены и розговѣхся съ ними, Великій день взяхъ въ Кел-  
берху, отъ Бедеря 20 кововъ. Султанъ же пришелъ съ ратными людьми своими до Меликту-  
ра въ 15 день по улубаграмъ, а все Келбергу: и война ся имъ не удала, городъ единъ  
индѣйскій взялъ, а людей и казны много изгбло. А Индѣйской султанъ Кадамъ ратию си-  
ленъ, зѣло много у него рати; а сидитъ въ горѣ въ Биченегирѣ, и градъ его велми великъ;  
коло же его три роги, и сквозѣ его рѣка течеть, и съ едину страну его женилъ злый, а  
въ другую страну долъ и мѣста чюдна и угодна велми, и проити некуды ни на одну страну,  
сквозѣ градъ дорога, а града взять не откуда, пришла гора велика да деберъ златикень. И  
гояла рать подъ градомъ мѣсяць, и людей съ голоду и съ безводія погбло много, потому  
го на воду смотря, а взять не лѣзъ. Градъ же взялъ Индѣйскій Меликчанъ, а взялъ его  
длою, день и ночь бился, стоялъ подъ градомъ 20 днѣй, и рать ни пила ни ѣла, и рати  
го изгбло 5000 люду добраго; а стоялъ съ пушками и взялъ градъ, высѣкъ по головамъ  
10 тысячъ, а другую 20 тысячъ полону взялъ, а иной помонъ продавалъ дешево, по 10 и по  
и по 2 тенки, а казны не было ничего, а болшаго града не взялъ. А отъ Келберху поидохъ  
о Курыли: тутъ же родится ахикъ, и ту его дѣлають на весь свѣтъ, и оттуду его разво-  
ять; въ Курыли же азмазниковъ 300 суляхъ микунѣтъ. Быхъ же тутъ 5 мѣсяць, и поидохъ  
оттолѣ къ Калики, ту есть базаръ велми великъ, а оттуду поидохъ до Канаберга, а оттуду  
къ Шихъмаланину, а оттолѣ ко Амидрѣ, а оттолѣ къ Нарясу, оттуду же къ Сури, а оттуду  
къ Дабилу, пристанищу великаго моря Индѣйскаго; ту былъ градъ великъ, и сѣзжается вся  
оморія Индѣйская и Ефіопская. И ту азъ окаянный Аеонасіе призвавъ Бога вышняго,  
творца небу и земли, и устремихся умою поитти на Русь: и внидохъ въ таву и сговорихъ о  
алонѣ корабленнѣмъ, отъ своел головы 2 золотыхъ до Гурмыза града. Внидохомъ же въ ко-  
абль въ Дабыли градъ до Велика дни за 3 мѣсяца, Бесерменского говѣина; а моремъ идохъ  
мѣсяць, и увидѣхъ горы Ефіопскія. И ту людіе вси воскричаша, глаголюще: Боже вышній,  
дарю небесный! злѣ ли намъ судилъ еси погбнути? И быхомъ въ той земли Ефіопской 5  
днѣй, и Божією благодатию зло ся не учинило, много роздаша брынцу, да перцу, да хлѣба  
ѣіопомъ, и они судна не пограбили. Оттолѣ же идохомъ 12 днѣй до Мошката, и ту въ  
Мошкатѣ 6-й Великъ день взяхъ, и идохомъ до Гурмыза 9 днѣй, а въ Гурмызѣ быхъ 20 днѣй.  
Оттолѣ поидохъ къ Лари, и быхъ 3 дни, и поидохъ къ Ширязи, а изъ Ширязи поидохъ  
къ Вергу, и ту быхъ 10 днѣй. А оттолѣ къ Езди, и ту идохъ 9 днѣй, а въ Езди быхъ 8  
днѣй; и потомъ идохъ къ Испагани 5 днѣй, и быхъ тутъ 6 днѣй; а оттолѣ идохъ до Кашани,  
и быхомъ 5 днѣй; а изъ Кашани идохъ къ Куму, а оттуду въ Саву, а изъ Савы въ Султанію,  
оттуду въ Тервизъ; а оттуду же въ орду Асанбѣгъ<sup>а</sup>, въ ордѣ же бысть 10 днѣй, потому  
го никуды пути нѣтъ. А на Турскаго<sup>б</sup> посла рати своей 40 тысячъ, и они Севастъ, и То-  
анъ, и Амасію взяли, и много селъ пограбили, да пошли на Караманъ воюючи. И язъ изъ

а) асанбѣгъ — такъ въ другихъ мѣстахъ; въ У. не дописано асанбѣ. б) на турскаго — см. Сказ. ав; въ У. ошбк. на турскавъ.

орды пошелъ къ Арцыцыну, а изъ Арцыцына пошелъ еси въ Трапизонъ, и ту взялъ Покровъ пресвятыя Богородицы, и былъ 5 днѣй, и на корабль придохъ и сговорихъ о налонѣ дати золотой отъ меня до Кафы. Въ Трепизонѣ же мнѣ шубашъ да паша много зла учиниша: кламъ мой весь внесли къ себѣ въ городъ на гору, да обыскали все, а обыскиваютъ грамотъ, что еси пришелъ изъ орды Асанбѣга. Божіею милостію придохъ до 3-го моря Пермнаго, а Парсійскимъ языкомъ дорія Стемболская; идохомъ же по морю вѣтромъ 5 днѣй, и доидохъ до Вонады, и ту насъ встрѣтилъ вѣтръ великій полунощный, и возвратилъ насъ къ Трапизону; и стояли еси въ Платанѣ<sup>а</sup> 15 днѣй, вѣтру бо велику и злу бывшу. И изъ Платаны пошли на море дважды, вѣтръ насъ встрѣчаетъ и не дастъ намъ по морю ходити, и туго призывали Бога на помощь; и занесло насъ къ Балыкаефъ, а оттуду Ткързофу, и ту стояли 5 днѣй; и Божіею милостію придохъ въ Кафу; за 9 днѣй до Филипова заговѣйна. Доздѣ о Индійскомъ хоженіи Аеонасіемъ Тверитиномъ; и возвратимся на преднее.

#### ПРИМѢЧАНІЯ КЪ СТАТЬѢ ПОДЪ ЛНТ. Г.

1. «Дорія» сл. *Перс.*, чит. даръя = море.
2. «Дорія стемболская», должно чит. станбульская = Средиземное, также Черное море.
3. «Ширвашина переименовано изъ Ширван-шахъ (владелецъ Ширвана). Осан-бегъ, или Асан-бегъ = имя собств.
4. «Въ Хазѣторокани» т. е. въ Астрахани.
5. «Тезикъ» чит. Тажики, или Таджики = Бухарскіе купцы.
6. «Тархы», въ Русск. рукописяхъ Терки = главное мѣстопробываніе Шамхала въ Дагестанѣ.
7. «Къ Ширваншѣбѣгу» т. е. къ Ширван-шаху, или владельцу Ширвана.
8. «Гурмызъ» чит. Гурмузъ = городъ и островъ на Персидскомъ заливѣ.
9. «Мошкатъ» чит. Маскатъ, городъ при Персидскомъ заливѣ.
10. «Кузратъ» чит. Кожратъ, или Коджаратъ, область въ Индіи.
11. «Меликътучаръ» = титулъ, принадлежащій знатнѣйшему изъ купцовъ города, или области, глава или старѣйшина купцовъ. Правильно читается «меликигюджаръ». Впрочемъ упоминаемый здѣсь «меликтучаръ» долженъ быть какое нибудь историческое лице изъ династїи Бабуридовъ.
12. «Ногутъ» сл. *Перс.* нухудъ = горохъ.
13. «Сикишъ . . . муфутъ.» Должно читать: сикишъ иперсенъ ду шитель (правильнѣе: шетель) бересень; сикишъ илемезъ-сень екъ шитель бересень; достъ-дуръ, авретчекъ-дуръ; а (по-Русски, союзъ) сикишъ муфтъ (\*) (въ разговорномъ языкѣ: муфутъ), т. е. хочешь имѣть тѣсную связь (съ женщиною), дашь два шетеля (двѣ конейки, или еще менѣе: шетель значить самая малая часть чего либо);

а) въ платанѣ такъ ниже и въ Сказ. ав; въ подл. въ платѣ.

(\*) Последнія слова можно также читать: дастуръ, авратъ чокъ-дуръ. а сикишъ муфутъ, т. е. (таковъ) обычай; женщинъ много, а связь съ ними даромъ.

APPENDIX A

iii The Etterov copy of the text

The Etterov copy of the text is reproduced here as it appears in Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei, Vol. XX, pp 303 - 313.

The text commences :

Въ лето 6983

Того же году обретохъ написание Офонаса Тверитина  
купца, что былъ в Ындее 4 годы

ходить сказывается съ Васильемъ Папнымъ. Азъ же опытахъ, коли Василей ходилъ съ латы посломъ отъ великого князя, и сказаша ми, за годъ до Казанскаго похода пришло орды: коли князь Юрьнъ подъ Казанью <sup>1</sup> былъ, тогда его подъ Казанью застрелили. Се же писано не обретохъ, въ кое лѣто пошелъ, или въ кое лѣто пришелъ изъ Индѣя, умеръ, а говорятъ, что денъ Смоленска не дошелъ умеръ. А писаніе то своею рукою написалъ, иже руки тѣ тетради привезли гости къ Мамыреву Василью, къ дѣяку къ великого князя, Москву.

<sup>2</sup> Се написахъ свое грѣшное хоженіе за три моря: 1-е море Дербеньское, доріа Хвалит-  
<sup>3</sup>, 2-е море Индѣйское, дорѣя Гуцдустанская, 3-е море Черное, доріа Стебольшая.

Пондохъ отъ Спаса святаго златоверхаго и съ Его милостию, отъ государя своего отъ великого князя Михаила Борисовича Тверскаго, и отъ владыки Генадія Тверскаго, и Бориса Мръича. И пондохъ внизъ Волгою, и придохъ въ монастырь Колязинъ ко святѣй Троицы означной и къ святымъ мученикомъ Борису и Глѣбу, и у игумена ся благословивъ у архья || и у святыхъ братьи, и се Колязина пондохъ на Угличъ, и съ Углича отпустили мя об. 442. доброволно; и оттуду пондохъ съ Углича, и приѣхалъ есмь на Кострому ко князю Александру пою грамотою великого князя, и отпустилъ мя доброволно, и на Плесо приѣхалъ есмь доброволно. И приѣхалъ есмь въ Новгородъ въ Нижней къ Михайло къ Киселеву и къ пономнику къ Ивану къ Сараеву, и они мя отпустили доброволно. А Василей Папнъ проѣхалъ по городу двѣ недѣли; и язъ ждалъ въ Новгородѣ въ Нижнемъ две недѣли <sup>4</sup> посла Татар-  
о Ширваншина Асанбега, а ѣхалъ съ кречаты отъ великого князя Ивана, а кречатовъ у девяносто. И приѣхалъ есмь съ ними на низъ Волгою, и Казань есмь проѣхали доброволно, не видали никого, и орду есмь проѣхали, и Сарай есмь проѣхали, и въѣхали есмь Бузани. Ту наѣхали на насъ три Татарини поганые и сказали намъ живые вѣсти: Кансымъ канъ стережетъ гостей въ Бузани, а съ нимъ три тысящи Татаръ; и посоль Ширваншинъ побѣгъ далъ имъ по однорятке да по полотну, чтобы провели мимо Хазтараханъ. А оны живые Татарове по однорятке взяли, да вѣсть дали въ Хазтараханъ царю. И язъ свое судно пулъ да полѣзъ есмь на судно на послово и съ товарищи своими. Поѣхали есмь мимо л. 443. хазтараханъ, а мѣсяць свѣтитъ, и царь насъ видель, и Татарове къ намъ кликали: «качма, не бойте»,—а мы того не слышали ничего, а бежали есмь парусомъ по нашимъ грехомъ. Царь галъ за нами всю свою орду, и они <sup>5</sup> насъ постигли на Богунѣ, и учали насъ стреляти, насъ застрелили человекъ, а у нихъ дву Татариновъ застрѣляли; и судно наше стало на море, и они насъ взяли да того часу разграбили. А моя была мѣлкая рухлядь вся въ меньшемъ судне, а въ болшемъ суднѣ есмь дошли до моря, ино стало на усть Волги на мели; и мы насъ тутъ ваяли да судно есмь взадъ велѣли тянути вверхъ по ѣзу, и тутъ судно наше пограбили и четыре головы взяли Рускые, а насъ отпустили голыми головами за море, и верхъ насъ не пропустили, вѣсти дѣля. И пошли есмь въ Дербентъ заплакавши двема суднѣ: въ одномъ судне посоль Асанбѣгъ, да Тезики, да Русаковъ насъ десеть головами, а въ другомъ суднѣ 6 Москвичъ да шесть Тверичъ, да коровы, да кормъ нашъ. А вѣстала фурто-  
а на море, да судно меньшее разбило о берегъ. А ту есть городокъ Тархи, а люди вышли

<sup>1</sup> подъ казанью вписано межъ строки В. <sup>2</sup> Текстъ Хожденія Аванасія Никитина исправляемъ съ редакцїи согласно съ П. С. Р. Л., т. VI, стр. 330 sqq. <sup>3</sup> хвалится В. <sup>4</sup> и язъ ждалъ... <sup>5</sup> вѣли приписано на поля В. <sup>6</sup> ни В.

на берегъ, и пришли Каптакты да людей поимали всѣхъ. И пришли есмь || въ Дербентъ, и ту Василей поздорову пришелъ, а мы пограблены. А били есмь челомъ Васплію Папину да послу Ширваншину Асанбѣгу, что есмь съ ними пришли, чтобы ся печаловаль о людехъ, что ихъ поимали подь Тархи Каптаки. И Асанбѣгъ печаловался и ѣздилъ на гору къ Булатубегу, и Булатбегъ послалъ скорохода ко Ширваншибегу <sup>1</sup>: «что, господине, судно Руское розбило подь Тархи, и Каптаки пришедъ люди поимали, а товаръ ихъ розграбили». И Ширваншабегъ того же часа послалъ посла къ шурину своему Алильбегу Каптачевскому князю: «что, судно ся розбило подь Тархи, и твои люди пришедъ людей поимали, а товаръ ихъ пограбили; и ты чтобы меня дѣля люди ко мнѣ прислалъ и товаръ ихъ собралъ, запже тѣ люди посланы на мое имя; а что будетъ тебѣ надобе у меня, и ты ко мнѣ пришли, и язъ тебѣ своему брату не бороню; а тѣ люди пошли на мое имя, и ты бы ихъ отпустилъ ко мнѣ доброволно, меня дѣля». И Алильбегъ того часа люди отслалъ... <sup>2</sup> А поимаетъ его море по двожды на день: и тутъ есмь взялъ первый Великъ день, а пришелъ есмь въ Гурмызъ за четыре недѣли до Велика дни. А то есмь города не всѣ писалъ, много городовъ великихъ. А въ Гурмызе есть солнце варно, человекъ сожжетъ. || А въ Гурмызе былъ есмь мѣсяць, а изъ Гурмыза пошелъ есмь за море Индѣйское по Велице дни въ Радунцу, въ таву, съ коньми, и шли есмь моремъ до Мошката 10 дни, а отъ Мошката до Дѣгу 4 дни, а отъ Дѣга Кузряту, а отъ Кузрята Конбаату, а тутъ ся родить краска далекъ; а отъ Конбата къ Чювилю; а отъ Чювиля есмь пришли въ 7-ю недѣлю по Велице дни, а шли въ тавѣ есмь 6 недѣль моремъ до Чювиля. И тутъ есть Индѣйская страна, и люди ходять всѣ наги, а голова непокрыта, а груди голы, а власы въ одну косу заплетены. А всѣ ходять брюхаты, а дѣти рождаются на всякый годъ, а детей у нихъ много. А мужики и жонки всѣ наги, а всѣ черны: язъ куды хожу, пю за мною людей много да дивуются бѣлому человекъу. А князь ихъ фота на головѣ, а другая на гузиѣ; а бояре у нихъ фота на плещѣ, а другая на гузне; князини ходять еота на плещѣ обогнута, а другая на гузне; а слуги княжїе и боярские еота на гузне обогнута, да щить, да мечъ въ рукахъ, а иные съ сулицами, а иные съ ножи, а иные съ саблями, а иные съ луки и стрелами, а всѣ наги да босы да болкаты, а волосовъ не бреють. А жонки ходять голова непокрыта, || а сосцы голы. А поронки да девочки ходять наги, до семи лѣтъ, соромъ непокрытъ. А ис Чювиля сухомъ пошли есмь до Пали 8 дни, до <sup>3</sup> Индѣйскїе горы <sup>4</sup>; а отъ Пали до Умри 10 дни, и то есть городъ Индѣйскый; а отъ Умри до Чюнеря 7 дни, ту есть Асатханъ Чюнерскыя Индѣйскый, а холопъ Меликътучаровъ, а держить семь темъ отъ Меликътучара. А Меликътучаръ седить на 20 тмахъ; а бьется съ Кафары 20 лѣтъ есть: то его побиваютъ, то онъ побиваетъ ихъ многажды. Ханъ же <sup>5</sup> ѣздитъ на людехъ, а слоновъ у него много, а коней у него много добрыхъ, а людей у него много Хоросанцевъ, а привозять ихъ изъ Хоросанскїе земли, а иные изъ Оралской земли, а иные ис Туркменские земли, а иные ис Чеботайскїе земли; а привозять все моремъ въ тавахъ Индѣйскїе карабли. И язъ грѣшныи привезлъ жеребца въ Индѣйскую землю и дошелъ есмь до Чюнеря, Богъ далъ, по здорову все, а сталъ ми во сто рублевъ. Зима же у нихъ стала съ Троицына дни, а зимовали есмь въ Чюнерѣ, жили есмь два мѣсяца, еждень и ночь 4 мѣсяцы всюда вода да гризь, въ тѣ же дни у нихъ орютъ да сѣють пшеницу, да тутурганъ, да ногуть, да все сѣбстное. Вино же у

<sup>1</sup> варшибегу Б. <sup>2</sup> Значительный пропускъ Б; срав.: П. О. Р. Л., т. VI, стр. 332. <sup>3</sup> и то Б.

<sup>4</sup> города Б. <sup>5</sup> же ась Б.

чинять въ великихъ || орѣхехъ кози Гундустанская, а брагу чинять въ татну, кони же  
 иать поуютъ, да варять кичирисъ съ сахаромъ, да кормятъ кони, да съ масломъ, иорану  
 даютъ имъ шени. В Индѣйской же земли кони ся у нихъ не родятъ, въ ихъ землѣ ро- л. 445.  
 я волы да буйволы, на тѣхъ же ѣздить и товаръ возятъ, все дѣлають. Чюперей же  
 есть на острову на камепомъ, не одѣланъ ничѣмъ, Богомъ сотворенъ; а ходять на гору  
 по одному человѣку, дорога тесна, а двема поити пельзѣ. В Индѣйской земли гости ся  
 ять по подворьемъ, а ѣсти варять на гости государыни, и постелю стелютъ на гости го-  
 рыни, и спятъ съ гостями сикнишь илиресень ду шитель береспнѣ, сикнишь илимесъ окъ  
 ель берсень, достуръ авратчектуръ, а сикнишь муфутъ, а любятъ бѣлыхъ людей. Зимѣ же  
 ихъ ходять люди <sup>1</sup> фота на гузиѣ, а другая по плечемъ, а третья на головѣ; а князи и  
 е толды на себя въздевають торткы, да сорочицу, да кафтанъ, да оота по плечемъ, да дру-  
 ся опояшеть, а третью голову увертить; а се оло, оло, абрь оло акъ, олло керемъ, олло  
 мь. А въ томъ Чюперѣ ханъ у меня възь жеребца, а увѣдалъ, что язъ не Бесермени- об. 445.  
 ѣ, Русинъ, и онъ молвить: «жеребца дамъ, да тысяцу знатыхъ дамъ, а стань въ вѣру  
 у || въ Махметдени; а не станешь въ вѣру нашу въ Махматдени, и жеребца возму, и  
 чю златыхъ на головѣ твоей возму»; а срокъ учинилъ на четыре дни въ Оспожиню  
 ѣно на Спасовъ день. И Господь Богъ смилувався на свой честный праздникъ, не оста-  
 ѣ милости своа отъ меня грѣшнаго и не велѣлъ погибнути въ Чюперѣ съ нечестивымъ:  
 анунъ Спасова дил приѣхать Хозяини Махметъ Хоросанецъ, и билъ есми ему челомъ,  
 бы ся о мѣгъ печаловалъ; и онъ ѣздитъ къ хану въ городъ да меня отпросилъ, чтобы ми  
 вѣру не поставили, да и жеребца моего у него възь. Таково Осподарево чудо на Спасовъ  
 ѣ. Ино, братиѣ Русетин християн, кто хоцеть поити в Индѣйскую землю, и ты остави  
 у свою на Русн, да воскликнувъ Махмета, да поити въ Гундустанскую землю. Мене заглали  
 Бесермени, а сказывали всего много нашего товара, ано нѣтъ ничего на нашу землю,  
 товаръ бѣлой, на Бесерменьскую землю, перець да краска, то и дешево. Ино възять аче  
 поремъ, и ни пошлины не даютъ, а пошлинъ много, а на море разбойниковъ много, а  
 бивають все Каоары, ни <sup>2</sup> крестяне, не Бесермене, а молятея каменымъ || болваномъ, а л. 446.  
 ста не знаютъ, ни Махмета не знаютъ. А не Чюперя есми вышлн на Оспожинъ день къ  
 ерю, къ большому ихъ граду, а шлн есми мѣсяцъ до Бедера; а отъ Бедера до Кулонгери  
 дни, а отъ Кулонгери до Кольбергу 5 дни; промежу тѣхъ великихъ градовъ много городовъ,  
 всякъ день по три города, а иной по четыре города, колко кововъ, толко градовъ: отъ  
 вили до Чюперя 20 кововъ, а отъ Чюперя до Бедера 40 кововъ, а отъ Бедера до Кулон-  
 9 кововъ. Въ Бедере же торгъ на кони, на товаръ, да на камки, да на шелкъ, на всей  
 ѣй товаръ; да купити въ немъ чюди черныя, а иныя въ немъ купли нѣтъ; да все товаръ  
 Гундустанской, да съестное все опощъ, а на Рускую землю товару нѣтъ. А все черныя  
 цн, а все злодѣи, а женки все бляди да вѣдмы, да тать, да ложь, да зеліе, осподаревъ мо-  
 ѣ зеліемъ. В Индѣйской земли княжатъ все Хоросанцы, и бояре все Хоросанцы, а Гун-  
 танцы все пѣшеходы, а ходять передъ Хоросанцы на конехъ, а иныя все пѣши ходять борзо,  
 сѣ наги да боси, да щить въ руцѣ, а въ другой мечъ, а иныя съ луки великими съ пря-  
 ми да стрелами. А бой ихъ все слоны, да пѣшихъ пускають напередъ, а Хоросанцы на  
 ихъ да въ досигъ || сехъ, и кони, и сами; а къ слономъ вяжутъ къ рылу да къ зубомъ ве- об. 446.

<sup>1</sup> ходять люди» ходить любо В. <sup>2</sup> ни ни В.

475. лские мечи по кентарю кованы <sup>1</sup>, да оболочать ихъ въ доспѣхи булатные, да на нихъ учинены городки, да въ городкѣхъ по 12 человекъ въ доспѣсехъ, да все съ пушками да съ стрелами. Есть у нихъ одно мѣсто, шихъ бѣалудинъ пирѣятрь базарь алядинаидъ, на годъ одинъ базарь, съезжается вся страна Индѣйская торговати, да торгуютъ 10 дни, отъ Бедеря 12 коновъ: приводятъ кони, до 20 коней тысящъ продавати, всякий товаръ свозятъ; въ Гундустанской земли тѣй торгъ лучшій, всякий товаръ продають и купятъ, на память шиха Аладина, а на Руской на Покровъ святыя Богородица. Есть въ томъ алянде птица гукукъ, летаетъ ночи, а кличетъ кукъ кукъ; а на которой хоромнише сидитъ, то тутъ человекъ умереть: и кто хоцетъ са убити, ино у ней изо рта огонь выидеть. А мамоны ходять ночи <sup>2</sup> да имають курь, а живуть въ горѣ или въ камень. А обезьяны то тѣ живуть по лѣсу; а у нихъ есть князь обезьяньскій, да ходитъ ратию своею; да кто замаеть, и они ся жалуютъ князю своему. и они, пришедь на градъ, дворы развалиють и людей побьютъ; а рати ихъ, сказывають, велики много, а языкъ у нихъ есть свой, а детей родять много; || да которой родится ни въ отца <sup>3</sup> ни въ матерь, и они <sup>4</sup> тѣхъ мечють по дорогамъ, шихъ Гундустанцы тѣхъ имають да учать ихъ всякому рукодѣлю, а шихъ продають ночи, чтобы взадь не знали бежать, а шихъ учать казы миканетъ. Весна же у нихъ стала съ Похвалы святыя Богородица; а празднують шигу Аладину веселъ, две недѣли по Покровѣ, а празднують 8 дни; а весну дръжать 3 мѣсяцы. а лѣто 3 мѣсяца, а зиму 3 мѣсяцы. Бедеръ же ихъ стоить Гундустану Бесерменскому, а градъ есть великъ, а людей много велики; а салтанъ невеликъ, 20 лѣтъ, а держать бояре, а княжать Хоросанцы, а воюють все Хоросанцы. Есть Хоросанецъ Меликтучаръ бояринъ, ино у него двѣсти тысящъ рати своей, а у Фаратхана 20 тысящъ, а много тѣхъ хановъ по 10 тысящъ рати; а съ салтаномъ выходять триста тысящъ рати своей. А земля людна велики, а сельскыя люди голы велики, а бояре сильны добры <sup>5</sup> и пышны велики; а все ихъ посятъ на кровати своей на серебряныхъ, да предъ ними водять кони въ санехъ златыхъ, до 20, а на конехъ за ними 300 человекъ, а пѣшихъ пятьсотъ человекъ, да трубниковъ 10 человекъ, да варганниковъ 10 человекъ, да свирѣльниковъ 10 человекъ. Салтанъ же выезжаетъ на потѣху съ матерью да з женою, ино съ нимъ человекъ на конехъ 10 тысящъ, а пѣшихъ пятьдесятъ

447. тысящъ, || а слоновъ выводятъ двѣсти наряженныхъ въ доспѣсехъ золоченыхъ, да предъ нимъ трубниковъ сто человекъ, да плясцовъ сто человекъ <sup>6</sup>, да коней простыхъ 300 въ санехъ золотыхъ, да обезьянъ за нимъ сто, да блядей сто, а все гаурокы. Въ салтанове же дворѣ семеры порога, а въ воротехъ сидеть по сту сторожевъ да по сту писцовъ Кафаровъ: кто поидеть, шихъ записывають, а кто выидеть, шихъ записывають; а гарпювъ не пускають въ градъ. А дворъ же его чуденъ велики: все на вырезе да на золоте, и послѣдній камень вырезанъ да златомъ описанъ велики чудно; да во дворѣ у него суды розныя. Городъ же Деберъ стерегутъ въ ночи тысяща человекъ кутоваловыхъ, а бѣдять на конехъ въ доспѣсехъ, да у всѣхъ по свѣтычу. А язъ жеребца своего продалъ въ Бедери, да наложилъ есми у него шестьдесятъ да осмь футуновъ, а кормилъ есми его годъ. Въ Бедери же змен ходять по улицамъ, а длина еѣ двѣ сажени... <sup>7</sup> въ четвертые человекъ, а образомъ лютаго звѣря, а являясь имъ хвостомъ, а вырезанъ на камени, а хвостъ черезъ него сажень <sup>8</sup>. Къ Бухану же съезжается

<sup>1</sup> кованыхъ Б. <sup>2</sup> ходять ночи *притисано внизу листа Б.* <sup>3</sup> она Б. <sup>4</sup> ни Б. <sup>5</sup> а сельскыя... добры *тѣмъ Б.* <sup>6</sup> да плясцовъ сто человекъ *притисано вверху листа Б.* <sup>7</sup> Значительный пропускъ Б.; ср.: П. С. Р. Л., VI, 335—336. <sup>8</sup> сажени Б.

страна Индійская на чюдо Бутово; да у Бутхана бреются <sup>1</sup> старые и молодые, жонки и 1475.  
 ни, а бреютъ на собѣ все волокъсы, и бороды, и головы, и хвосты, да поидуть къ л. 448.  
 ну, да со всякіе головы емлютъ по двѣ шелькъни пошланы на Бута, а съ коней по  
 е футы. А съезжастся къ Бутхану всехъ людей бысты азаръ лекъ, вах банетъ сать  
 лекъ. Въ Бухане же Бутъ вырезанъ ис камня ис чернаго, вельми великъ, да хвостъ  
 о черезъ него, да руку правую поднялъ высоко, да простеръ еѣ, аки Устенейцъ царь  
 радскый; а въ лѣвой руцѣ у него коніе, а на немъ нѣтъ ничего, а гузно у него оби-  
 шириною, а виденіе обезьянино; а иные Буты паги, нѣтъ ничего коть ачюкъ; а жонки  
 ы паги вырѣзаны и съ соромомъ, и з детми. А передъ Бутомъ же стоитъ волъ вельми  
 ѣ, а вырѣзанъ ис камня ис чернаго, а весь позолоченъ, а целуютъ его въ копыто, а  
 отъ на него цѣбты. Индѣяне же не ѣдятъ никоторогоже мяса, ни яловичины, ни бора-  
 ни курятны, ни рыбы, ни свиинны, а свиной же у нихъ вельми много; ядятъ же въ  
 цвожды, а ночи не ядятъ, а вина не пѣютъ, ни сыты; а з Бесермены ни пѣютъ, ни ядятъ.  
 ва же ихъ плоха; а одинъ съ однимъ не ѣсть ни ѣсть, ни з женою; а ѣдятъ брынецъ, || да об. 448.  
 и съ масломъ, да травы розныя ядятъ, а варятъ съ масломъ да съ молокомъ; а ѣдятъ все  
 о правую, а лѣвою не примется ни за что, а ножа не дръжать, а лжицы не знаютъ; а на  
 е кто же варитъ себѣ кашу, а у всякого по горницу. А отъ Бесерменъ крываются, чтобъ  
 осмотрилъ ни въ горнецъ, ни въ ѣству; а толко посмотреть, ино тое ѣствы и не сдять; а  
 покрываются платомъ, чтобъ никто не видель его. А намазъ же ихъ на востокъ, по Рус-  
 ни обе руки подымають высоко, да кладуть на тѣми, да ложатся ниць на землѣ, да весь ся  
 есть по земли: то ихъ поклонны. А ѣсти же садятся, и оны омывають руки да ноги, да и  
 пополаскивають. А бутханы же ихъ безъ дверей, а ставлены на востокъ, а Буты стоятъ на  
 къ. А кто у нихъ умереть, и они <sup>2</sup> тѣхъ жгутъ, да и понель емлютъ на воду. А у жены  
 ся родить, ино бабить мужъ, а имя сыну даеть отецъ, а мати дочери. А добровта у  
 нѣтъ, а сорома не знаютъ. Пошелъ или пришелъ, и они <sup>3</sup> ся кланяють по чернеческыи:  
 руки до земли дотычють, а не говорить ничего. Къ Первоти же ѣздить о великомъ за-  
 е, къ своему пхъ туто Иерусалимъ, а Бесерменскы Мякъка <sup>4</sup>, а по Русскы Иерусалимъ. л. 449.  
 Индѣйскыи Порватъ. А съезжастся все паги, толко на гузне платъ, а жонки все паги,  
 на гузне фота, а иные ф оотахъ, да на шеяхъ жемчюгу много, да яхонтовъ, да на  
 ѣ обручи, да перси златы олю оакъ. А внутрь къ Бутхану ѣздить на волѣхъ, да у вола  
 окованы мѣдію, да на шеи у него триста колоколцовъ, да копыта подкованы мѣдію;  
 вола аччен зовуть. Индѣяне же вола зовуть отцемъ, а корову матерію; а каломъ <sup>5</sup> не-  
 хлѣбы и ѣству варятъ собѣ, а попеломъ тѣмъ мажутъ по лицу, и по челу, и по всему  
 знамя. Въ недѣлю же да въ понедѣльникъ едятъ однова днемъ. В Индѣя же какъ пачекъ  
 а учюсь деръ: секишь плирсень ики житель; акичаны пла атаремъ алты жетел беръ;  
 а достуръ; акуль коравашъ учюзъ; члр фуна хубъ; бемъ фуна хуб ѣсія: канъ кара  
 цюкъ кичи хошь. Отъ Первати же прѣхалъ есми въ Бедеръ, за пятнатцать день до  
 меньскаго улубагря. А Великаго дни и Въскресенія Христова не вѣдаю, а по примѣтамъ  
 : Великъ день бываетъ христіанскыи первіе Бесерменскаго баграма за девять дни или за  
 . дни. А со мною || нѣтъ ничего, никося книги, а книги есмя взяли съ собою съ Руси, об. 449.  
 коли мя пограбили, и они <sup>6</sup> и ихъ взяли; а язъ забылъ вѣры крестяньскію все, празд-

<sup>1</sup> не бреются Б. <sup>2</sup> ни Б. <sup>3</sup> ни Б. <sup>4</sup> икока Б. <sup>5</sup> какомъ Б. <sup>6</sup> ни Б.

ники крестьянские, ни Велика дни, ни Рождества Христова не знаю, а промежу еси вѣръ таьгрыдань истрѣмень ол сакласынь; олло худо, олло акъ, олло, ты олло каримелло, таьгре сень, худо сень сень. Богъ единъ, тѣя Царь славы, Творецъ небу и земли. А иду я на Русь, вѣтъмышь тырь именъ, урусь тутътымъ. Мѣсяць мартъ прошелъ, а язъ заговѣлъ з Бесермены въ педѣлю, да говѣлъ еси мѣсяць, мяса еси не вѣлъ и ничего скоромнаго, никакіе вѣсты Бесерменскіе, а вѣлъ еси по двожды на день хлѣбъ да воду, а вратыѣля ятмадымъ; да моллился еси Христу Вседръжителю, кто сотворилъ небу и землю, а иного еси не призывалъ никоторого именемъ, Богъ олло, Богъ керимъ, Богъ рагимъ, Богъ хосдо, Богъ акъберъ, Богъ Царь славы, олло варенно, олло рагимъ, олло <sup>1</sup> сеньсень олло ты. А отъ Гурмыза итти моремъ до Галатъ 10 дни, а отъ Галаты до Дѣгу шесть дни, а отъ Дѣга до Мошката 6 дни, а отъ Мошката до Кучьзрята 10 дни, а отъ Кучьзрята до || Камбата 4 дни, а отъ Камбата до Чинили 12 дни, а отъ Чюниля до Дабыля 6 дни. И Дабылю же есть пристанище въ Гунду-стани послѣднео Бесерменьству, а отъ Дабыля до Келекота 25 дни, а отъ Келекота до Силяна 15 дни, а отъ Силяна до Шапбата мѣсяць итти, а отъ Шапбата до Пегу 20 дни, а отъ Пегу до Чини да до Мачина мѣсяць итти, моремъ все то хоженіе; а отъ Чини до Китаа итти сухомъ 6 мѣсяць, а моремъ 4 дни итти, арастьхода чотъмъ. Гурмызъ же есть пристанище велико, всего свѣта люди въ немъ бивають, всякый товаръ въ немъ есть; что во всемъ свѣте родится, то въ Гурмызе есть все; тамга же велика: десятое съ всего емлють. Камбать же пристанище Индѣйскому морю всему, а товаръ въ немъ все дѣлають алачи, да пестреди, да киндяди, да чинять краску ниль, да родится въ немъ лекъ, да ахикъ, да лонъ. Дабылю же есть пристанище вельми велико, а приводить кони изъ Мисюри, изо Арабъстани, да ходять сухомъ мѣсяць до Бедери да до Кельбергу. А Келекотъ же есть пристанище Индѣйскаго моря всего, а проти его не дай Богъ <sup>2</sup> никакому костью, а кто его не увидить, тотъ поздорову не || приидеть моремъ; а родится въ немъ перецъ, да зеньзебилъ, да цвѣтъ, да мошкать, да калафуръ, да корница, да гвоздики, да прыное корешье въ немъ родится много, да все въ немъ дешево, да куль да калаваше писаръ хубъ сія. А Силянъ же есть пристанище Индѣйскаго моря немало, а въ немъ лежить бабадамъ на горѣ на висоцѣ; да около еѣ родится камешье драгое, да червьцы, да фатисы, да бабугури, да бинчаи, да хрусталь, да сумбада, да слоны родятся, да продають ихъ въ локоть, да девякуши продають въ вѣсь. А Шабатское пристанище Индѣйскаго моря вельми велико; а Хоросанецъ дають алау по тѣнке на день, и великому, и малому; а кто въ немъ женится Хоросанецъ, и князь Шабатскій дасть по тысячи тенекъ на жертву, да алау дасть на всякый мѣсяць по пятидесяти тенекъ; да родится въ Шабате шолкъ, да саидаль, да жемчюгъ, да все дешево. А въ Пегу же есть пристанище немало, да все въ немъ дербыши живутъ Индѣйскыи, а родится въ немъ камешье драгое, маникъ, да якутъ, да кирпукъ; а продають же камешье дербыши. А Чинское же да Мачинское приста||нище вельми велико, да дѣлають въ немъ чини, да продають же чини въ вѣсь, а дешево. А жены ихъ съ мужи своими спять въ день, а ночи жены ихъ ходять спати къ гарипомъ, да спять съ гарипы, да дають ихъ алафу, да приносять съ собою вѣству сахарную да вино сахарное, да кормять да поить гостей, чтобы еѣ любилъ, а любить гостей людей бѣлыхъ, зашьже ихъ люди черны вельми; а у которые жены отъ гостя зачнется дитя, и мужи дають алафу; а родится дитя бѣло, ино гостю пошлши 300 тенекъ, а черное родится, ино ему нѣтъ ничего, что ниль да вѣлъ, то ему халяль. Шапбать же отъ

<sup>1</sup> ельно Б. <sup>2</sup> бо Б.

3 мѣсяцы, а отъ Дабыля до Шабата 2 мѣсяца моремъ итти; Мачивъ да Чимъ отъ 1475.  
 4 мѣсяцы моремъ итти, а тамъ же дѣлають чини, да все дешево; а до Сняна 2 мѣ-  
 тти моремъ, а до Келекота мѣсяць итти. Въ Шанбате же родится шолкъ, да ници, да  
 гъ, да санданъ, слоны же продають въ локоть. Въ Силянне же родится аммонн, да  
 ы, да фатисы, да хрусталь, да бабугури. Въ Лекоте же родится перецъ, да мошкаты,  
 адники, да оуфаль, да цвѣтъ. Въ Куэрите же родится краска далукъ. Да въ Камбоити  
 а ахикъ. || Въ Орачюре же родится алмазь биркона да новъ кона же алмазь, продають об. 451.  
 по пяти рублевъ, а доброго по десяти рублевъ, почка алмазу кѣнечъ че кѣни, сѣя же  
 ше кѣнь, а спити екъ тенка. Алмазь родится въ горѣ каменной, а продають же ту гору  
 ю локоть по двѣ тысячѣ фунтовъ златыхъ цоваго алмаза, а кона алмазу продають въ  
 по десяти тысячъ оунтовъ златыхъ. А земля же та Амеликханова, а холопъ салтановъ.  
 Бедеря 30 ковонъ. А сыто Жидове зовуть Шабать своими Жидови, а то лжуть: а  
 тене не Жидова, ни Бесермена, ни крестьяне, пная вѣра Индйискаа, ни съ Худы, ни  
 рмени ни пюють, ни ядятъ, а мяса никакова не ядятъ. Да въ Шабате же все дешево,  
 тся шолкъ да сахаръ вельми дешево; да по лѣсу у нихъ мамони ходять да обезьяны,  
 дорогамъ людей деруть, ино у нихъ нихъ почи по дорогамъ не смѣють ѣздити, обезьяны  
 да мамонъ дѣла. Отъ Шабата же 10 мѣсяць сухомъ итти, а моремъ 4 мѣсяцы аукмыковъ.  
 пней кормленыхъ рѣжутъ пунки, а въ немъ мускусъ родится; а дикіе олени пунки изъ  
 оняють по лѣсу, ино ис тѣхъ воня выходитъ, да и съѣсть, тотъ || не свѣжъ. Мѣсяца л. 452.  
 день, Великъ день взять есмн въ Бедере въ Бесерменскомъ въ Гупстанѣ; а Бесермена  
 въ взяли въ середу мѣсяца маа<sup>1</sup>; а заговѣлъ есмн мѣсяца априля 1 день. О благовѣрнии  
 и крестьяне! иже кто по многимъ землямъ много плаваеть во многія беды впадаютъ и  
 ся да лишаютъ крестьянскіе. Азъ же рабище Божій Аоонасіа сжалихся по вѣре кре-  
 кой: уже проидоша 4 Великая говѣйна и 4 проидоша Великыя дни, азъ же грѣшный  
 даю, что есть Великъ день или говѣино, ни Рожества Христова не знаю, ни иныхъ  
 ковъ не вѣдаю, ни среды, ни пятницы не вѣдаю; а книгъ у меня нѣту: коли мя погра-  
 и они<sup>2</sup> книги взяли у меня. Азъ же отъ многія беды поидохъ до Индѣя, запече ми  
 съ поити нѣ съ чемъ, не осталось у меня товару ничего. Первый же Великъ день  
 есмн въ Каннѣ, а другой Великъ день въ Чебокару въ Маздранской землѣ, третей  
 ь день въ Гурмызе, четвертый Великъ день взять есмн в Индѣе а Бесермены въ Бедерѣ;  
 много плакахъ по вѣре крестьянской. Бесерменинъ же Меликъ тотъ мя много понуди  
 у Бесерменскую стати; азъ же ему рекохъ: «господине, ты намазь каларъсенъ || менда, об. 452.  
 кыларъсизъ менда 3 каларъ менъ асенъ ипчай». Онъ же ми рече: «истину ты не  
 пенниъ кажешися, а крестьянства не знаешь». Азъ же во многія въ помышленія впадохъ  
 хъ въ себѣ: «горе мнѣ окаянному, яко отъ пути истиннаго заблудихся, и пути не знаю  
 само понду. Господи Боже Вседръжителю, Творецъ небу и земли! не отврати лица отъ  
 а Твоего, яко въ скорби есмь. Господи, призри на мя и помилуй мя, яко твое есмь  
 е. Не отврати мя, Господи, отъ пути истиннаго, настави мя, Господи, на путь правый,  
 коеяже добродѣтели въ нужи тѣи не сътворихъ Тебѣ, Господи Боже мой, яко дни  
 реплыхъ во азѣ все. Господи мой, олло переводигерь, олло ты, каримъ олло, рагимъ олло,  
 олло, рагим елло; ахамду лимо. Уже проидоша великія дни четыре въ Бесермен-

75. скою землѣ, а крестьянства не оставихъ,—дале Богъ вѣдаетъ что будетъ. Господи Боже мой, на Тя уповахъ, спаси мя, Господи Боже мой». В Иидѣ же Бесерменскомъ въ Велпкомъ Бедерѣ смотрилъ есмь на Великую ночь на Великий день волосыны да кола въ зорю вошли, а лось главою стоять на востокъ. На баграмъ на Бесерменской выѣхалъ султанъ || на шеферичь, ино съ нимъ 20 возыровъ великихъ, да триста слоновъ наряженныхъ въ доспѣсехъ булатныхъ, да з городки, да и городки окованы, да въ городкѣхъ по 6 человекъ въ доспѣсехъ, да и съ пушками, да и съ пищальми; а на великомъ слоне по 12 человекъ, да на всякомъ по два проборца великихъ, да къ зубомъ повязаны пелыые мечи по кентарю, да къ рылу привязаны великыя желѣзныя гири, да человекъ седить въ доспѣсе промежу ушей, да крюкъ у него желѣзной великой, да тѣмъ его править; да коней простыхъ тысяща въ санехъ златыхъ, да верблюдовъ сто съ пагарами, да трубниковъ 300, да плясцовъ 300, да ковра 300. Да на салтане кайтагъ весь сажень яхонты, да на шапке чичакъ олмазъ великий, да саалакъ золото съ яхонты, да три сабли на немъ золотомъ окованы, да седло золото да снасть золота, да все золото <sup>1</sup>; да предъ нимъ <sup>2</sup> скачетъ кафаръ пѣшь, да играетъ теремцовъ, да за нимъ пѣшихъ много; да за нимъ благой слонъ идетъ, а весь въ камнѣ наряженъ, да обиваетъ люди, да чѣпъ у него желѣзна велика въ рте, да обиваетъ кони и люди, кто бы на салтана не наступилъ бласко. А братъ султановъ, а тотъ седить на кровати на золотой, да надъ нимъ теремъ оксамитенъ да маковица золота съ яхонты, да несутъ его || 20 человекъ. А Махмутъ седить на кровати же на золотой, да надъ нимъ теремъ шиданъ съ маковицею золотомъ, да несутъ его на 4 конехъ въ санехъ златыхъ; да около его людей многое множество, да предъ нимъ певцы, да плясцовъ много, да всѣ з голыми мечи, да съ саблями, да съ щиты, да съ сулицами, да съ копьи, да съ луки съ прямыми съ великими, да кони всѣ въ доспѣсехъ, да саадаки на нихъ, а ише паги всѣ, одно платице на гузне, соромъ завѣшенъ. Въ Бедере же мѣсяць стоять три дни <sup>3</sup> полонъ. Въ Бедере же сладкаго овоцу нѣтъ. Въ Гундустани же силнаго вару нѣтъ; силнѣ варъ въ Гурмызе да въ Кятабаграмѣ, гдѣ ся жемчюгъ родить, да въ Жидѣ, да въ Мирѣ, да въ Орьюбстанѣ, да въ Ларѣ; а въ Хоросанской землѣ варно, да не таково; а въ Чеготани вельми варно; въ Ширязи, да въ Езди, да въ Капшинѣ варно да нѣтъ; а въ Гилян душно вельми да париче лихо; да въ Шамахѣ паръ лихъ; да въ Вавилоне варно <sup>4</sup>, а въ Люгѣ не такъ варно. А въ Севастин губѣ да въ Гурмызской землѣ добро обилно всѣмъ; да Турская земля обилна вельми, да въ Волоской землѣ обилно и дешево, да и Подольская земля обилна всѣмъ; а русь ерь тапгырь сакасынь; || олю сакла: буданиа да мунукибитъ ерь акьтуръ; нечиль урусъ ери, бегляри акой тугиль; урусъ ерь абаданъ болеснѣ: растъ камъ даретъ. Олю худо, богъ дагыри. Господи Боже мой, на Тя уповахъ, спаси мя Господи; пути не знаю, иже камо понду изъ Гундустана: на Гурмызъ понти, а изъ Гурмыза на Хоросанъ пути нѣту, ни на Чеготан пути нѣту, ни въ Бодату пути нѣтъ, ни на Катабаграмѣ пути нѣту, ни на Ездѣ пути нѣтъ, ни на Рабостанъ пути нѣтъ, но вездѣ будкъ сталь: князей вездѣ выбить, Яншу мырзу убилъ Узосаибѣтъ, а Султамуснита окормили; а Узосанбекъ на Ширязе сѣлъ, и земля ся не окренила, а Едигерь Махметъ, а тотъ къ нему не ѣдетъ, блюдется; а много пути нѣтъ никуды. А на Мяку птти, ино стати въ вѣру Бесерменскую, занеже крестьяне не ходять на Мяку вѣры дѣля <sup>5</sup>. А жити въ Гун-

<sup>1</sup> да снасть... золото *принисано на полъ* Б. <sup>2</sup> никъ Б. <sup>3</sup> дни *нѣтъ* Б. <sup>4</sup> Было не варно, но не *вытерто* Б. <sup>5</sup> вѣры дѣля мѣроу Б.

и, ино вся собина пехарити, занеже у нихъ все дорого: одинъ семи человекъ, ино по 1475.  
 етя алтына на харчу идетъ на день, а вина семи не пивать, ни сыты. Меликтучаръ  
 рода взять Индійскыхъ, что разбивали по морю Индійскому, а князей поималъ семь,  
 ну ихъ взять, юкъ яхонтовъ, да юкъ алмазу || да кирпуковъ, да сто юковъ товару до- об. 454.  
 а иного товару безчислено рать взяла; а стоялъ подъ городомъ два гола, а рати съ  
 двѣсто тысячъ, да слоновъ сто, да 300 верблюдовъ. Меликтучаръ пришло ратию своею  
 дерю на курбантъ баграмъ, а по Рускому на Петровъ день; и султанъ послалъ 10  
 въ стрѣтити его за 10 кововъ, а въ ковѣ по 10 верстъ, а со всякимъ возыремъ по  
 сячь рати своей да по 10 слоновъ въ доспѣсахъ. А у Меликтучара на всякъ день са-  
 за софрею по пятисотъ человекъ, а съ нимъ садится три возыри за его скатертію, а съ  
 мь по 50 человекъ, а его 100 человекъ бояриновъ вперетныхъ. У Меликтучара на  
 не коней 2000, да 1000 осѣдланныхъ и день и ноць стоять готовы, да 100 слоновъ  
 юшние; да на всякую ноць дворъ его стерегутъ сто человекъ въ доспѣсахъ, да 20 труб-  
 , да 10 нагаръ, да 10 бубновъ великихъ, по два человекъ бьютъ. Мызамылетъ, да  
 нъ, да Хафаратханъ, а тѣ взяли три города великіе, а съ ними рати своей 100 ты-  
 человекъ да 50 слоновъ, а тѣ взяли бесчислено яхонтовъ да камни всякого драгаго  
 а все то каменіе да яхонты да алмазъ поупили на Меликтучара: заповѣдалъ дѣля- л. 455.  
 ринше, что гостемъ не продавати; а тѣ пришли о Основниѣ дни къ Бедерю граду.  
 ть выѣзжаетъ на потѣху въ четвергъ да во вторникъ, да три съ нимъ возыри выезжаютъ;  
 ть выезжаетъ султановъ въ понедѣльникъ съ матерію да съ сестрою; а жонокъ дѣтъ ты-  
 ыжеждаетъ на конехъ да на кроватехъ на золоченыхъ, да коней предъ ними простыхъ  
 въ доспѣсахъ золотыхъ, да пѣшихъ съ нею много вельми, да два возыри, да 10 возо-  
 да 50 слоновъ въ пополахъ сукниныхъ, да по 4 человекъ на слонѣ сидитъ нагихъ,  
 латище на гузне, да жонки пѣшіе наги, а тѣ воду за ними носятъ пити да подмыватися;  
 ть у одного воды не пьетъ. Меликтучаръ выехалъ воевати Индѣянши съ ратию своею  
 ада Бедеря на память шиха Аладина, а по Рускому на Покровъ святія Богородица, а  
 ышло съ нимъ 50 тысячъ, а султанъ послалъ рати своей 50 тысячъ, да три съ ними  
 пошли, а съ ними 30 тысячъ, да сто слоновъ съ ними пошло з городки да въ до-  
 , да на всякомъ слонѣ по 4 человекъ съ пищальми. Меликтучаръ пошолъ воевати  
 ара великое княженіе Индійское. А у Биледарьскаго князя 300 слоновъ да сто тысячъ  
 своей, а коней 50 тысячъ у него. Султанъ выѣхалъ изъ града Бедеря восьмой мѣсяць об. 455.  
 ище дни, да съ нимъ возыревъ выехало 26 возыревъ, 20 возыревъ Бесерменскихъ, а  
 ревъ Индійскихъ. А съ султаномъ двора его выѣхало сто тысячъ рати своей конныхъ  
 а двѣсте тысячъ пѣшихъ, да 300 слоновъ з городки да въ доспѣсахъ, да сто лютыхъ  
 на двою чепѣхъ. А з братомъ салтановымъ вышло двора его 100 тысячъ пѣшихъ людей,  
 ) слоновъ наряженныхъ въ доспѣсахъ. А за Малханомъ вышло двора его 20 тысячъ кон-  
 а пѣшихъ 60 тысячъ, да 20 слоновъ наряженныхъ. А з Бездерханомъ вышло 30 тысячъ  
 , да и з братомъ, да пѣшихъ сто тысячъ, да слоновъ 25 наряженныхъ съ городки. А съ  
 юмъ вышло двора его 10 тысячъ конны, а пѣшихъ 20 тысячъ, да 10 слоновъ съ го-  
 А съ Возырханомъ вышло 15 тысячъ конныхъ людей, да пѣшихъ 30 тысячъ, да 15  
 ть наряженныхъ. А съ Кутовалханомъ вышло двора его 15 тысячъ конныхъ, да пѣшихъ

5. 40 тысячъ, да 10 слоновъ. А со всякимъ возыремъ по 10 тысячъ, а с ѣнымъ 15 тысячъ конныхъ, а пѣшихъ 20 тысячъ. А с Индѣйскимъ Авдономомъ вышло рати своей 40 тысячъ конныхъ людей, а пѣшихъ людей сто тысячъ, да 40 слоновъ || наряженныхъ въ доспѣсахъ, да по 4 человекъ на нихъ съ щцальми. А съ султаномъ вышло возыревъ 26, а со всякимъ возыремъ по десяти тысячъ рати своей, а пѣшихъ 20 тысячъ, а с ѣнымъ возыремъ 15 тысячъ а конныхъ людей и пѣшихъ 30 тысячъ. А Индѣйскіи 4 возыри великихъ, а съ ними рати своей 40 тысячъ конныхъ людей, а пѣшихъ сто тысячъ. И султанъ ополѣлся на Индѣянь, что мало съ нимъ, и онъ еще прибавилъ 20 тысячъ пѣшихъ людей, двѣсти тысячъ конныхъ людей да 20 слоновъ. Такова сила султана Индѣйскаго Бесерменскаго Меметь дени іаріа, а растъ дени худо доносить <sup>1</sup>; а правую вѣру Богъ вѣдаетъ, а правая вѣра Бога единого знати и имя Его призывать на всякомъ мѣсте чисто чисто. Въ пятый же Великъ день възмыслихся на Русь. Идохъ изъ Бедеря града за мѣсяць до улубаграма Бесерменскаго Меметь дени розсулялъ; а Велика дни крестьянскаго не вѣдаю Христова Въскресенія, а говѣнно же ихъ говѣхъ з Бесермены, и разговѣхся съ ними и Великъ день взять въ Кельберги, отъ Бедери 10 кововъ. Султанъ пришолъ да Меликътучаръ съ ратию своею 15 день <sup>2</sup> по улѣбаграмѣ, а въ Кельбергу; а война ся имъ не удала <sup>3</sup>; одинъ городъ взять || Индѣйской, а людей ихъ много изгнбло, и казны много истеряли. — А Индѣйскій же салтанъ Кадамъ великъ силенъ и рати у него много, а сидитъ въ горѣ въ Вичниѣрѣрѣ. А градъ же его великъ великъ, около его три ровы, да сквозѣ его река течеть, а съ одну страну его женѣль змыи, а з другую страну пришолъ долъ и чюдна мѣста, великъ угодна все. на ону же страну пріитти нѣкуды, сквозѣ градъ одрога, а града же взяти нѣкуды: пришла гора велика да деберъ златикень. Подъ городомъ же стояла рать мѣсяць, и люди померли безводни, да головъ великъ много изгнбло з голоду да з безводицы; а на воду смотритъ, а взяти нѣкуды. А градъ же взялъ Индѣйской Меликъчанъ хози, а взять его силою: день и пощъ бился з городомъ 20 дни, рать ни пила, ни ѣла, подъ городомъ стояла съ пушками; а рати его изгнбло пять тысячъ люду добраго, а городъ взялъ, ни выскли 20 тысячъ поголовья мужскаго и женскаго, а 20 тысячъ полону взялъ великаго и малаго; а продавали голову полону по 10 тенеть, а робята по два тенки, а казны же не было ничего. А большаго города не взялъ. А отъ Кельбергу поидохъ до Кулури. А въ Кулури же || родителъ ахикъ, и ту его дѣлають, на весь свѣтъ оттуду его розвозять; а въ Курили же алмазниковъ триста, суляхъ микунѣть. И ту же быхъ пять мѣсяць. А оттуду же поидохъ Калики; ту же базаръ великъ великъ. А оттуду поидохъ Копаберга, а отъ Капаберга поидохъ изъ шиху Аладина, а отъ шиха Аладина поидохъ Коамендріе, и отъ Камендрія Киярису, и отъ Кияриса къ Сури, а отъ Сури поидохъ изъ Дабыли, пристанище Индѣйскаго моря. Дабыль же есть градъ великъ великъ, а къ тому же Дабыли а сѣзжаются вся поморья Индѣйскаа и Ефіонская. Ту же и окалиный азъ рабице Афонасей Бога вышняго, Творца цебу и земди възмыслихся по вѣре по крестьянской, и по крещеніи Христовѣ, и по говѣиныхъ святыхъ отецъ устроеныхъ, по заповедехъ апостольскихъ, и устремихся умомъ поитти на Русь; и поидохъ въ таву <sup>4</sup>, и зговорихъ о палонѣ <sup>5</sup> корабленемъ, а отъ своеа главы два златыхъ до Гурмыза града доити. Поидохъ же въ корабль изъ Дабыли града до Велика дни за три мѣсяци Бесерменскаго говѣйна, подохъ же въ тавѣ по морю мѣсяць, а не видѣхъ ничего, на другій же мѣсяць увидѣхъ горы Ефіонскыя. Ту же люде вси

<sup>1</sup> дозоть В. <sup>2</sup> день *пять* В. <sup>3</sup> буда В. <sup>4</sup> въ таву *пять* В. <sup>5</sup> о палонѣ отколена В.

чаша: олло переводигерь, олло конкаръ, бизимъ баши мудна насинь большышты, а по 1475—1476. сын языкомъ молвятъ: Боже Осподарю, Боже, Боже Вышпій, Царю небесный, здѣ намъ об. 457. ъ еси погибнути. Въ той же землѣ Ефіонской быхъ пять дни, Божією благодатию зло учинило: много раздана брыницу да перцу да хлѣбы Ефіономъ, и они <sup>1</sup> судна не по- А оттудова же идохъ 12 дни до Мошката, въ Мошкате же шестой Великъ день взяли; идохъ до Гурмыза 9 дни, и въ Гурмызе быхъ 20 дни; изъ Гурмыза поидохъ къ Лари, Лари быхъ три дни; изъ Лари поидохъ къ Ширязи 12 дни, а въ Ширязе быхъ 7 дни; Ширязя поидохъ къ Вергу 15 дни, а въ Велергу быхъ 10 дни; а изъ Вергу поидохъ 9 дни, а въ Езди быхъ 8 дни; а изъ Езди поидохъ къ Пагани и поидохъ Кашины, Кашины быхъ 5 дни; а ис Кашина поидохъ къ Куму, а ис Кума поидохъ въ Саву, а Саву поидохъ къ Султанью, а изъ Султанія поидохъ до Тервизя, поидохъ въ орду Асанбѣбъ; одѣ же быхъ 10 дни, а но пути итъ никуды. А на Турскаго послалъ рати двора своего тысячь, и они <sup>2</sup> Севастъ взяли, а Тохатъ взяли да пожгли, Амасію взяли, и много по- ли сель, да пошли на Караманского воюючи. И язъ изъ орды пошолъ ко Арцыцану, а Арцыцана пошолъ есми въ Трепизонъ. Въ Трепизонъ же приидохъ на Покровъ святаго ж. 458. родица и Приснодѣвы Маріа, и быхъ же въ Трапизоне 5 дни, и на корабль приидохъ, и говорилъ о палонѣ дати золотой отъ своего главы до Кафы, а золотой есми взять на харчъ <sup>3</sup>, и въ Кафѣ. А въ Трапизоне ми же шубашъ да паша много зла учиниша: хламъ мой къ себѣ възнесли въ городъ на гору, да обыскали, все что мѣлочъ добренкая, и они <sup>4</sup> абили все; а обыскивають грамотъ, что есми пришолъ изъ орды Асанбега. Божією ми- ю приидохъ до третьяго моря Чермнаго, а Парсійскимъ языкомъ дорія Стимбольскаа. Идохъ по морю вѣтромъ 10 дни, доидохъ до Вонады, и ту насъ срѣтили великый вѣтръ полу- ный, възврати насъ къ Трапизону; и стояли есмя въ Платанѣ 15 дней, вѣтру велику у бывшу. Ис Платаны есмя пошли на море,—вѣтръ насъ стрѣчаетъ злый, не дастъ намъ морю ходити. Олло акъ олло худо переводигерь, развѣ бо того, иного Бога не знаю. И море приидохъ, да занесе насъ <sup>5</sup> къ Баликаефъ, а оттудова то Корзову, и ту стояли есмя 5 дни. ею милостию приидохъ въ Кафу за 9 дни до Филинова заговѣнія. Олло переводигерь! юстию Божією преидохъ же три моря; дигерь худо доно, олло перво-дигерь дано аминь; об. 458. а рахамъ рагимъ, олло акъбиръ, акши худо илелло акшь ходо, иса рухоало ааникъ- икъ; олло акъберъ аиягаиля илелло, олло переводигерь ахамду лилло шукуръ худо афатадъ; илнаги рахамъ прагимъ: хувомогулези ля ляса илягуя алимуль гяиби вашагадиги; ахаману рагиму хубомогулязи ля иляга имину альбазизу алчебару альмутаканъбиру алхалику аріюу альмумусавирю алькафару алькальхару анъвазаху альрязаку альфатагу альалиму абизу альбасуту альхафизу алльрравію алмавизу алмуаилу альсемилу албасирю алькаму цюлю алятуфу <sup>6</sup>.

Тое же зимы, мѣсяца февраля, въ масленое заговенье, въ 1 часъ дни, тма бысть насту- по всей земли и паки сниде.

О поѣзде великаго князя въ Великий Новгородъ <sup>7</sup>. Въ лѣто 6984, сен- я въ 22, въ недѣлю, пошолъ князь великый къ Новгороду миромъ, а съ людьми со ими; а на Москвѣ оставилъ сына своего великаго князя Ивана. А на Дмитреевъ день

<sup>1</sup> ни Б. <sup>2</sup> ни Б. <sup>3</sup> харнъ Б. <sup>4</sup> ни Б. <sup>5</sup> да занесе насъ сынъ Б. <sup>6</sup> Кончается пропускъ Л.   
 <sup>7</sup> *Словеса и житіе Л.*

