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THE JOURNEY BEYOND THREE SEAS
of
AFANASIJ NIKITIN IN A.D. 1466-1472

Establishment of Text
Translation and Commentary
by
GREGORY BELKOV

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ABSTRACT

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Translation and Commentary

The text established for this translation is based primarily on the Troickij copy. Interpolated variant readings are drawn from the full text of the Undol'skij copy and from variant readings of the Archive copy and the Ètterov copy.

The Journey Beyond Three Seas

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Afanasij Nikitin

In the spring of 1466 a certain merchant of Tver, Afanasij Nikitin, set sail down the Volga with two ships, accompanied by the ambassador of Shīrwānshāh. At Astrakhan the Tartar Khan Kasim captured and plundered both ships. Empty handed, they crossed the first sea - the Caspian sea, to Derbent. Nikitin and the other Russians then went to the

horde of Shirwanshah to ask for funds to go to Rus'. When they were refused, they parted on their various ways. Nikitin, with courage and enterprise, set out to travel through strange and foreign lands. In May of 1469 he sailed from Ormuz to India in a "tava" carrying horses.

"And here is the Indian country. The people all go about naked, their heads are uncovered and their breasts are bare...." In Junnar Asad-Khan took Nikitin's stallion and threatened to keep it and to take a thousand pieces of gold on the forefiet of his head if he did not accept Islam. Fortunately a dignitary from Khorasan arrived and interceded on behalf of the Russian traveller. The merchant of Tver then enumerates the commerce of India. He adds that the Moslem convey their goods by sea and pay no tariff "but for us the tariff is high and there are many pirates on the sea."

In Bidar, Nikitin describes the "pleasure ride" of the young sultan Muhammad III, Bahmani and his entourage. The Russian traveller notes that the nobles are foreigners, men of Khorasan, Arabia and Chagatai. They live in luxury while the common people live in poverty.

When the Hindus found that he was a Christian and not a Moslem they took Nikitin to their idol house at Srisaila. He was the only European, of whom there is a record, to see Srisaila while it was still in full splendor.

In Gulbarga the traveller described in detail, with considerable exaggerations, the preparation of the campaign by Muhammad III and Malik-ut-Tujjar against Vijayanagar.

Nikitin had set out on a trading mission to Persia, but, through misfortune, spent six years travelling through Persia and India. Now the way to Rus' was blocked by revolts in Persia. Three months before Easter, 1472 he sailed from Dabhol to Ormuz but was driven to the shores of Ethiopia. Finally he reached Ormuz. After crossing Persia he was delayed while Hasan-beg was invading the Ottoman Empire. In Trebizond the Turkish "pasha" gave him much trouble for he had come from the horde of Hasan-beg.

He set sail across the third sea - the Black Sea but contrary winds drove him back to the shores of Asia Minor three times before he finally reached Kaffa in November 1472.

Acknowledgments

It is a great pleasure to record here my acknowledgments and thanks to all the people who have so kindly helped me to prepare this thesis.

My special thanks are due to Dr. James Ferrell for his patient and generous aid. Without his assistance in interpreting Old Russian, German, Persian and Sanskrit, this translation could not have been possible.

I should also like to thank the following: Dr. F. V. Winnitt, Department of Semitics, University of Toronto, for kindly giving his time to transcribe material in Persian and Arabic; Walter H. Maurer, Reference Librarian, South Asia Section, The Library of Congress, for preparing and sending a detailed bibliography on Indian mythology; Father Leonid Kaspersky, Russian Orthodox Church, Vancouver, B. C., for explaining the Russian, church terminology; Dr. Dmitri Cizevsky, Harvard University, for interpreting several difficult passages of the translation; and Professor A. W. Wainman for kindly proof-reading the manuscript before final typing.

Finally I should like to thank Dr. James O. St.Clair-Sobell, the head of our department. The success of this work is to a large measure, due to the sound training he has given me in Slavic linguistics, and likewise due to the wisdom with which he has built the Department of Slavonic Studies. I should like also to thank Dr. St.Clair-Sobell for the encouragement he has given throughout the year and for his assistance in the final preparation of the manuscript.

Gregory Belkov

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Preface

When Dr. Ferrell first introduced me to the Journey beyond three seas of Afanasij Nikitin, I accepted the challenge of rendering the first full English translation¹ of the "Journey" with a certain air of martyrdom. I was going to donate my time in the interest of learning. I found, however, that the work was both pleasing and exciting. Throughout the pages of the translation, Afanasij Nikitin comes to life as a courageous, enterprising merchant. After having been robbed at the beginning of his journey, Nikitin sets out to travel alone in strange and foreign lands without the official recognition of his government. Although he was uneducated, the merchant of Tver proved to be a keen, intelligent observer of the commerce, religion and ways of life of the peoples of India. He travels freely among Moslems and Hindus alike, recording his observations with a great deal of impartiality.

In spite of the great importance of Nikitin's work in throwing light on the economic enterprise of the merchants of Tver on the eve of that great city's incorporation into the state of Muscovy, Walter Kirchner² is able to observe that there is not a single book on Russia, written in

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- 1 An English translation of the "Journey" called "Travels of Athanasius Nikitin" was made by Count Wielhorsky, secretary of the Russian legation at the Court of St. James, and edited by R.H. Major, India in the fifteenth century, London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1857. This translation, however, is not complete. Count Wielhorsky was limited to a single manuscript. He did not have the benefit of Russian translations of the large number of passages in Eastern languages. In addition the technical knowledge of scientific interpretation of Old Russian manuscripts was strictly limited a century ago.
 - 2 Kirchner, Walther, "The voyage of Athanasius Nikitin to India 1466-1472", The American Slavic review, Menasha, Wisconsin, The George Banta publishing company, 1946, V, p.46.

English, that, to his knowledge, makes a single mention of Nikitin's journey. "From the time of Marco Polo to that of Vasco da Gama, no great eastern voyage of which we possess a full record, has received less attention here than the gallant Athanasius Nikitin's journey...." It is, therefore, gratifying to notice that writers of Indian history¹ have given credit to the Russian traveller.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that a fifteenth century Russian monument receives little attention among English writers. Prince Trubeckoj,² writing in 1926, observes that even in Russia the monuments of early Russian literature are just beginning to receive their just evaluation.

I sincerely hope that this translation may add somewhat to our knowledge of both Russia and India. I regret that my personal limitations have, perhaps, not done justice to Afanasij Nikitin.

Gregory Belkov

1 Majumdar, A.C., Raychaudhuri, H.C., Datta, Kalikinkar, An advanced history of India, London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1948, pp. 362-363.

"We get a glimpse of the condition of the common people in the Bahmani kingdom from certain observations made by the Russian traveller, Athanasius Nikitin...."

2 Trubeckoj, Kn. H.C. "Khozenie za tri morja Afanasiya Nikitina kak literaturnyj pamjatnik", Svjatopolk - Mirskij, Kn. D.P., and others ed., Versty, Paris, 1926, I, 164.

The Transcription of Non-English Words

The transcription of non-English words has offered some difficulties. I have used the standard Czech transcription for the Russian words. For the geographic names, I have used the spelling given in the Times Atlas.¹ In other cases, where the transcription is not cited from a source, I am indebted to Dr. Ferrell and to Dr. Winnitt.

¹ Bartholomew, J. G., The Times survey atlas of the world, London, "The Times", 1920.

Khoženie za Tri Morja Afanasija Nikitina

Notes on the Text

A manuscript of the Khoženie za tri morja Afanasija Nikitina was first discovered by the historian, N.M. Karamzin (1766-1826), in the library of the Troica-Sergievaja Abbey, included in a collection of historical manuscripts of the sixteenth century. In a short time two other copies going back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were discovered. By the beginning of the twentieth century, in all, six copies had been found.¹

The following manuscripts of the Khoženie are extant:

1. The Troickij copy, manuscript 8665, found by Karamzin is preserved in the V. I. Lenin State Public Library. The Khoženie is included in the sixteenth century historical collection on leaves 369-392 obverse. A copy of this manuscript, F.iv.328, made for Karamzin, is located in the Saltykov-Ščedrin State Public Library.

2. The Etterov copy, manuscript F.iv.144, is preserved in the Saltykov-Ščedrin State Public Library. The Khoženie is included in the Lvov Chronicle under the year 1475 on leaves 441 ob. - 458 ob.

3. The Archive copy, manuscript No. 4-371, sixteenth century, is located in a library collection of the Central State Archive of Bygone Deeds (formerly the Archive of the Ministry of External Affairs). The Khoženie is included in the Sofija chronicle under the year 1475. A copy made from

1. Grekov, B.D., Adrianovoj-Peretc, V.P. ed., Khoženie za tri morja Afanasija Nikitina (1466-1472), Moscow - Leningrad, Izdatel' stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1948, pp. 131-134. The text of Khoženie za tri morja Afanasija Nikitina will hereafter be referred to as the Khoženie.

the Archive manuscript for Academician V. I. Lamanskij at the end of the nineteenth century is preserved in the archives of the Academy of Sciences USSR, No. 19.3.70.

4. The Undol'skij copy, manuscript No. 754, seventeenth century, is located in the V. I. Lenin State Public Library. This condensed version of the Khoženie is included in the Kratkij chronicle under the year 1461 on leaves 300-319.

The Voskresenskij copy of the Sofija chronicle retains only a preface and the final paragraph of the Khoženie. The body of the text is not extant.

The copy of the Khoženie belonging to I.P. Sakharov and published by him in Skazanija Russkogo Naroda (1849) is at present untraced. This copy was apparently of the same edition as the Archive and Etterov copies.

A comparative study of the manuscripts has revealed that they can be divided into three groups or editions.

A. The Etterov, Archive and Voskresenskij copies originate from a common edition.

B. The Troickij copy is characterized by a fuller text than those of group A. and originates from a different and earlier edition.

C. The Undol'skij copy is a condensed version either of the Troickij copy or of its original. It repeats even the more obvious errors of the Troickij copy, eg: both the Troickij and the Undol'skij copies read "Turkmerskaja" in place of "Turkmenskaja". The Undol'skij redaction excludes all the passages written in Eastern tongues retaining only single words.

Lengthy episodes are abbreviated and many passages are simplified. On the other hand the Undol'skij copy, in several instances, preserves a fuller or more plausible reading than either of the other manuscripts.

The following translation of the Khoženie is based primarily on the Troickij copy (M 8665) with interpolated variant readings drawn from the full text of the Undol'skij copy (No. 754) designated as U variant, and from variant readings of the Archive copy (No. 4-371) designated as A variant, and of the Etterov copy (F.iv.144) designated as B variant.

Variant Readings to the Troickij Copy

- Leaf 369 L.9 After "manastyr" read B "Koljazin"
- L.11 After "Makarija" read AB "k svjatyja"
- L.14 After "Pleso" read AB "priekhal esmi
dobrovol'no, i priekhal esmi"
- Leaf 369ob.L.1 In place of "V gorod" read AB "mimo gorod dve nedeli"
- L.5 After "Kazan' esmja" read AB "proekhali
dobrovol'no nevidali nikogo"
- L.14 After "tovarišči." read "Poekhali esmja mimo"
- Leaf 370 L.15 After "bereg" read AB "a tut est' gorodok
Tarkhi a ljudi vyšli na bereg"
- Leaf 373 L.16 After "doroga tesna," read AB "a dvemy"
- Leaf 374 L.13-14 In place of "ino vozjat ače morem, inyi pošliny ne
dajut'. A ljudi inye nam provezti pošliny na dadut,
i pošliny mnogo," read U leaf 304 L.13-14: "besermeni
vozjat morem, i oni pošlin ne dajut, a nam pošliny
velikii,"
- Leaf 376 L.9 In place of "saltan velik" read AB "saltan nevelik"
- Leaf 380ob.L.10 After "Moškata" read AB "6 dni, a ot Moškata"
- L.11 After "Kuč'zrjata" read AB "10 dni, a ot Kuč'zrjata"

- Leaf 380ob.L.12 After "Dabylja" read U leaf 309 L.11 "6 dni"
- Leaf 383 L.7 In place of "A syto" read "A sy to"
- Leaf 383ob.L.2-3 In place of "ino is tekh vonja vykhodit; da est, to
tot ne svež." read U leaf 31lob.L.2-3 "i ta vonja ne
stol' blagoukhana, ne svež' bo est'."
- Leaf 384 L.13 In place of "sam" read B "kamo"
- Leaf 384ob.L.5 In place of "sotvorikh" read AB "ne sotvorikh"
- Leaf 386ob.L.9 In place of "ne obrenila" read AB "ne okrepila"
- Leaf 387ob.L.10 After "slonov," read AB "a te vzjali bezčísleno
jakhontov"
- Leaf 388 L.3 In place of "neju" read AB "nimi"
- Leaf 391ob.L.4 In place of "i bykh" read AB "i v Lari bykh"
- L.6 After "15" read AB "dni"

The Journey Beyond Three Seas
of Afanasij Nikitin

In return for the prayer of our holy fathers, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God have mercy on your sinful slave Afanasij, son of Nikita. I have written this, my sinful journey ¹ beyond three seas; the first, the Derbent Sea ² - the sea of Khvalyn; ³ the second, the Indian Ocean - the sea of Hindustan; the third, the Black Sea - the sea of Istambul. I went forth from the folden-domed church of the Holy Saviour ⁴

1 Grekov, Khoženie, pp.107-108. The term "khoženie" was used in early Russian literature to mean an actual journey or the writing of a journey. From the beginning of the twelfth century "khoženie" was used synonymously with "kniga palomnik" (palmer book) and "kniga strannik" (wanderer book).

2 Ibid., pp.140-141, (n.1-3). Derbent Sea - sea of Khvalyn are two names for the Caspian Sea used during the Middle Ages. Nikitin gives a Russian name and a name used by the Moslems to each of the three seas.

3 Barthold, W. "Khawārizm", The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1927, II, 908-912. Khawārizm, Khorazm or Khiva (Russian "Khvalyn") was a kingdom, known since ci.1292 B.C., centering around the lower reaches of the Amu Darya (Oxus River). Both the Caspian and Aral seas were known by this name during the Middle Ages.

4 Grekov, op.cit., p.141, (n.4). "Svjatago Spasa" - the cathedral of Tver by which name the city and all its lands were often referred to in documents. (Tver is now renamed Kalinin).

with his grace, and from my sovereign the Grand Prince Mikhail Borisovič,¹ and from Genadij, bishop of Tver. I sailed down the Volga and came into the Kaljazin monastery,² to the holy life-beginning Trinity and to the holy martyrs, Boris and Gleb,³ and having received a blessing from the abbot Makarij and the holy brothers, I went from Kaljazin to Uglič and from Uglič to Kostroma to Prince Aleksandr⁴ with a letter.⁵ The Grand Prince of all Rus⁶ allowed me to go unhindered.

1 Pares, Bernard, A History of Russia, New York, Alfred A. Knopf 1947, pp.73-87. Mikhail Borisovič, Grand Prince of Tver (1461-1485) was the last of the decendents of Jaroslav of Tver (1263) to rule over an independent Tver. In 1485 Ivan III Grand Prince of all Rus' (1462-1505) incorporated the state of Tver into the territory of Moscow.

2 Grekov, op.cit., p.141, (n.7). Trinity Monastery was founded at Kaljazin on the Volga by the abbot Makarij in 1459. In 1521 Makarij was canonized by the Orthodox Church.

3 Gudzy, N.K. History of early Russian Literature, transl. Susan Wilbur Jones, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949, pp.98-106. Boris and Gleb were slain by order of their elder brother Svjatopolk on the death of their father St. Vladimir (1015). In 1071 Boris and Gleb were cononized. A number of churches were named in their honour, including a church in Kaljazin.

4 Grekov, op.cit., p.141, (n.9). Prince Aleksandr Vasil'evič of Kostroma was under the authority of Tver. Kostroma was on the border of the territories of Tver and Moscow.

5 The meaning of the phrase "s ynoju gramotoju" is not clear from the context. The Russian translation (Grekov, Khoženie, p.53) interprets it as; "The Grand Prince of all Rus', having given me another letter..." In the German translation, (Mejer, k., "Die Fahrt des Athanasius Nikitin über die drei Meere", Quellen zur russischen Geschichte, Leipzig, 1920, p.13.) the phrase is interpreted as; "...to Prince Aleksandr with another letter, with which the Grand Prince of all Rus'..."

6 See note 1 above.

I came to Ples unhindered and proceeded into Nižnij-Novgorod ¹ to Mikhail Kiselev, the deputy, and to Ivan Saraev, the excise controller and they let me pass unhindered.

Vasilij Papin ² had passed by the city two weeks previously, but I waited in Novgorod two weeks for the Tartar ambassador of Shīrwānshāh, Hasan-beg. ³ He was coming from the Grand Prince Ivan with gerfalcons, he had ninety of them. And I travelled with him down the Volga. We passed Kazan freely and saw no one, and we passed the Horde, ⁴ Usland, Sarai, ⁵ and Berekezany unhindered.

1 Pares, Russia, pp.76-80. Nižnij-Novgorod (renamed Gor'kij) was the last city under Moscow rule that Nikitin would pass through before entering the Tartar territory of Kazan.

2 Grekov, op.cit., p.142, (n.11). Vasilij Papin was an Ambassador sent by Ivan III to the court of Shīrwānshāh.

3 Loc.cit., (n.12). "Shīrwānshāh" was the title of the ruler of Shīrwān, Farrukh Yassar (1461-1501) Vasilij Papin was sent by Ivan III in reply to the embassy of Hasan-beg.

4 "Orda" or horde from Tartar "ordū" is a place of residence of a prince of khan and all his company. It apparently was not used as a proper name of a town.

5 Grekov, op.cit., p.142, (n.14). Sarai, capital of the Golden Horde, was founded by Bereke (1255-1266), brother of Batu, on the Akhtuba River near the present town of Leninsk. Sarai was finally destroyed by Ivan III and the Crimean Tartars in 1480.

We sailed into the river Buzan.¹ Here we came across three pagan Tartars who told us false news; that in the Buzan the Sultan Kasim² was on the watch for merchants and he had three thousand Tartars with him. The ambassador of Shīrwānshāh, Hasan-beg then gave them each a coat and a piece of linen in order that they would guide us past Astrakhan. And they took a coat each but informed the king in Astrakhan. I left my ship and together with my comrades boarded the ambassador's ship. We set out to pass Astrakhan at night, sailing by the moon. The king saw us and the Tartars shouted "kač'ma,³ do not flee". The king then sent after us his entire horde, and for our sins they overtook us on the Begun shallows. They shot one of our men and we shot two of theirs. Our small ship ran aground on some fishing piles.⁴ They straightway took it and plundered it, and all my cargo was on the smaller ship.

1 Brockhaus, F.A., Efron, I.P., ed., Enciklopedičeskij Slovar', St. Petersburg, 1894, VIII, 858. Buzan is one of many arms of the Volga. It leaves the main river thirty miles up the river from Astrakhan and flows S.E. into another arm, the Akhtuba River.

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.143, (n.13). Sultan Kasim established the first khanate of Astrakhan, in 1466, independent of the Golden Horde.

3 Sreznevskij, I.I., Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkago jazyka, St. Petersburg, Tipografija imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1912. "kač'ma" - Tartar for "do not flee".

4 Brockhaus, op.cit., XXII, 567-568. Ez, jaz, zajazok is a double row of piles filled between with sand. Gates are provided in which fishing nets are placed.

With the larger ship we reached the sea but ran aground in the shallows at the mouth of the Volga. The Tartars took us here and we pulled the ship back to the fishing piles. Here they seized our larger ship and also took four Russians, but they let us go to sea, completely robbed. They would not, however, let us go back up the river lest we bear the news. And we set sail for Derbent in two ships: in one ship there were the ambassador Ḥasan-beg, the Persians ¹ and we ten Russians, and in the other ship there were six Muscovites and six men of Tver. A storm ² arose at sea and the smaller ship was wrecked against the shore. Here lies the small town of Tarku and the populace came out on the shore, and the people of Kajtak ³ came and captured all the men.

And we arrived in Derbent. Vasilij had arrived safely but we had been robbed. I petitioned Vasilij Papin and the ambassador of Shīrwānshāh, Ḥasan-beg with whom I came, to intercede for the men that were captured by the men of Kajtak at Tarku. And Ḥasan-beg took trouble and rode up the mountain

1 "Teziky" or "Tajiks" were formerly the inhabitants of a norther province of Persia. The area is now called "Tadjik (Tajik) Soviet Socialist Republic".

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.145, (n.24). "Furstovina", "a sea storm", possibly from "fortuna" (Latin); cf. Ukranian "Furtovina" - "storm".

3 Loc.cit., (n.26). "Kajtak" or "Khajdak" is a geographic name. It includes the area of Daghestan extending N.W. from Derbent and including the fortress town of Tarku on the Caspian coast.

to Bulat-beg who sent a messenger to the Shāh of Shīrwān¹ with the information that a Russian ship was wrecked at Tarku and that the men of Kajtak had come and captured the men from it and had stolen their goods. The Shāh of Shīrwān immediately sent a messenger to his brother-in-law Khālīl-beg, the Prince of Kajtak, saying: "My ship was wrecked at Tarku and your men came and captured the men and stole their goods, and you should, for my sake, send the men to me and gather the merchandise because those men were sent in my name; and if you shall require anything from me, then send to me and I will not refuse you for you are my brother, and you should willingly set them free for my sake." And Khālīl-beg willingly sent all the men straightway to Derbent and from Derbent they were sent to the Shīrwānshāh into the horde, his place of residence.²

1 Barthold, *Islam*, IV, 383-385. The title "Shīrwānshāh" probably dates from the pre-Mohammedan period. The principal cities were Shamākhī, Baku and Derbent. During the rule of Farrukh Yasār (1462-1501) there was a period of peace and great prosperity in Shīrwān.

2 Grekov. op.cit., p.145, (n.29). "Kojtul" (transcribed from Russian), a Turkic term for "horde" i.e. a place of residence or armed camp of a khan or prince and his company.

And we went to Shīrwānshāh, at his residence, and we begged him to have pity on us and to grant us the wherewithal to get to Rus', but he gave us nothing for there were many of us, and we departed in tears on our various ways. He who had anything in Rus' went to Rus' but he who was in debt went where his eyes led, some remained in Shamākhī, others went to work in Baku.

And I went to Derbent, and from Derbent to Baku where the unextinguishable fire burns.¹ From Baku I crossed the sea to Čepakur² and lived here for six months; and in Sari, in the Mazanderan country, I lived for a month. And from there I went to Amol and lived here for a month; and from there to Damavand and from Damavand to Rey.

1 Barthold, W. "Baku", Islam, I, 609-610. From the earliest historic times the region around Baku has been noted for its naphtha springs. Ibn Masudi describes two large springs in Baku; one sprouting yellow or white naphtha and the other black or green. There is no historical foundation for the belief that the "eternal fire" of Baku is associated with fire worship in Persia.

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.148, (n.32). "Čepakur" (transcribed from Russian) is a small town on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea to the west of Sari in the Mazanderan province.

And here was slain Shāh Husain, one of the sons of Ali and grandsons of Mohammed, ¹ and he cursed them, so that seventy cities fell in ruins, ² From Rey I went to Kashan and stayed here a month; and from Kashan I went to Nain and from Nain to Yezd and I lived here for a month. And from Yezd I went to Sirjan and from Sirjan to Tarum where domestic animals are fed dates, costing four altyns ³ a batman. ⁴

1 Lammens, H. "Al-Husain", Islam, II, pp.339-340. Husain, the second and favorite son of 'Alī and Fātima (daughter of Mohammed) was slain in 680 A.D. at Karbalā in Iraq. However, Rey and its surrounding cities were given to Omar Ibn-Said when he took command of the troops that slew Husain. The destruction of Rey and its surrounding cities during the Tartar invasions were attributed to the work of God.

2 Grekov, op.cit., p.36, Undol'skiy copy leaf 304, lines 1-3, variant reading: "... and it is said that he put a curse on them, and because of the curse it seemed that seventy cities fell in ruins, so say the infidels in their incantation."

3 Brockhaus, op.cit., II, p.484 "Altyn" from Tartar "alty-tijn" meaning "six squirrels", was a coin equal to six "deneg" or three kopeks. The Tartar gold altyn was worth six grains of gold.

4 Sreznevskij, op.cit., "Batman" a unit of weight - it is uncertain what weight Nikitin meant. In Tver "batman" was used alternately with "pood" (36 lbs.) In Russia during the sixteenth century "batman" usually equalled ten to twelve pounds.

From Tarum I went to Lar, and from Lar to Bandar Abbas.¹

Here lies the port of Ormuz, and here is the Indian Ocean, and in the Persian tongue the sea of Hindustan; and from here it is four miles by sea to Ormuz. And Ormuz is on an island and twice every day the sea encloses it. Here I spent the first Easter, for I had arrived in Ormuz four weeks before Easter. But even so I have not set down all the cities, many of them large cities. And in Ormuz the sun is scorching, it could burn a man. I remained in Ormuz for a month, and after Easter; on St. Thomas' Sunday,² I sailed from Ormuz across

1 Minaev, I., "Staraja Indija", Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvješćenija, St. Petersburg, Tipografija V.S. Balaševa, 1881, pp. 167-171. "Bender" or "bandar", is Persian for harbour. The port called by Nikitin "Bender", was the old city of Ormuz on the mainland. Early in the fourteenth century the prince of Ormuz transferred the population to an island a half-day journey from the mainland to avoid nomadic robbers. Since then the island city has been called Ormuz. The city rapidly became the emporium of the Persian Gulf and the main international harbour for Oriental goods. After the capture of Ormuz by the Portuguese (1507) a new port (Bandar Abbas) was built by Shāh Abbas (1622).

2 Russkij Nacional'nyj Kalendar', New York, St. Vladimir Society. "Fomina nedelja" is the first Sunday after Easter. Minaev ("Staraja Indija", p.173) calculates that Nikitin left Ormuz on April 9-10, 1469.

the Indian Ocean in a "tava" ¹ carrying horses. ²

And we sailed ten days to Muscat, and then four days to Diu, ³ and then to Gujarat and from Gujarat to Cambay; and here indigo ⁴ and lac are produced. From Cambay we sailed six weeks to Chaul in a tava, and we left Chaul on the seventh Sunday after Easter.

And here is the Indian country. The people all go about naked, their heads are uncovered and their breasts are bare; and their hair is twisted in a single braid; and the women go about big-bellied and bear children every year, and they have many children, and the men and women are all black.

1 Minaev, "Staraja Indija", p.174. "Tava", from Mahrati "daba", was the usual ship used in the Indian Ocean. In capacity the "tava" varied from 150 to 250 tons, and were built entirely of wood to avoid the disaster of having the ship fall apart when it approached the legendary "magnetic mountain". The usual cargo was horses, wine and dates. Passenger accommodation was exceedingly crude. The owners of the vessel were not obliged to feed either the passengers or the crew.

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.158, (n.51). The climate of India was not suitable for breeding horses. Ormuz was the principle port for the export of horses to India. Horse trading was a very profitable enterprise; traders sold horses in India at ten times the purchase price. Military horses were brought to Ormuz from the steppes of S.E. Russia and southern Siberia as well as from Arabia.

3 Ibid., p.159, (n.53). "Dega" - it is uncertain which port Nikitin is referred to. Possibly it is Diu, a regular port of call from Muscat during the Middle Ages.

4 Ibid., p.160, (n.55). "Kraska nil", "indigo" one of the chief exports of India.

Wherever I went I was followed by many people, they were amazed at a white man. Their prince wears a cloth ¹ on his head, another around his hips, and the nobles go about with a cloth around their shoulders and another around their hips, and the princesses go about with a cloth drapped over their shoulders and another about their hips; and the servants of the prince and of the nobles wear a cloth upon their hips, and they carry a shield and a sword in their hands, and some carry a spear, and some a knife or a scimitar and others carry bows and arrows. And they are all naked and barefoot and strong.² And the women go about bare-headed and with their breasts uncovered. Boys and girls up to the age of seven go about naked and do not hide their genitals.

And from Chaul we went eight days by land to Pali, an Indian city, and from Pali to Umra ³ took ten days, it is an Indian city; and from Umra to Junnar took six days. And here

1 Sreznevskij, op.cit., "Fota", a cloth of light material.

2 Ibid., p.56. "Bolkaty" is translated as sil'nye (strong). Sreznevsky, op.cit., lists it as doubtful but possibly meaning "dark coloured".

3 Minaev, op.cit., p.187. "Umri" is identified as the village "Oomra", just north of Pali, but it is doubtful if Nikitin could spend ten days on such a short distance.

lives Asad-Khan ¹ of the Indian territory of Junnar, a vassal of Malik-ut-Tujjar; ² and they say he holds seven fiefs ³ from Malik-ut-Tujjar, and Malik-ut-Tujjar holds twenty fiefs. And he has been warring with Kaffirs ⁴ for twenty years. At times he is defeated, frequently he defeats them. The khan is carried about by men but he has many fine horses and elephants. And he has many fine soldiers, men from Khorasan, for he brings them from the Khorasan country, and some from

1 Minaev, "Staraja Indija", p.191. Junnar was one of the eight provinces of Deccan. The provincial commander was in charge of only one city, the other cities and forts being under independent command. The Moslem historian, Ferishta, cites Fakhr-ul-Mulk as provincial commander during 1469-71. Asad-Khan was probably the commander of Junnar and its fort.

2 Haig, Sir Wolsely, ed., The Cambridge History of India, Cambridge University Press, 1928, III, 414-417. Malik-ut-Tujjar, was the title of Mahmūd Gāvān, who was the chief minister of Muhammad III, Bahmani, sultan of the Moslem state of Deccan in India. Junnar was one of the many fiefs held by Mahmūd Gāvān.

3 Grekov, Khoženie, p.162, (n.65). "T'ma", Persian "tuman", meaning "ten thousand" was used in Moslem India during the fourteenth century to mean a feudal fief or a military administrative district designed for feudal levy of troops. The figures given by Nikitin appear to be exaggerated.

4 Bjorkman, W., "Kāfir", Islam, II, pp.618-620. "Kāfir" or "kaffir" is a general Moslem term for non-Moslems. Here it applies to Hindus. Minaev (op.cit.pp.218-222) observes that Malik-ut-Tujjar fought almost continually against the Hindu kingdoms to the east and south of Deccan. The wars against the Hindus took on a religious veneer. Great numbers of prisoners were taken, and the captured children were forcibly converted to Islam.

Arabia, some from the Turkmen country and others from Chagatai.¹ They are always brought by sea in "tavas", the ships of the Indian country.

And I, sinful one, brought a stallion into the Indian land, and thank God all went well as far as Junnar, and the stallion cost me a hundred rubles. Their winter began from the day of the Trinity.² We spent the winter in Junnar. We lived there two months and every day and every night, for four months, there was water and mud everywhere. During these days they plow and sow wheat, tuturgan,³ and peas⁴ and everything edible. They make wine in huge nuts, Indian vessels; and they make a malt brew from palm bark.⁵ They feed horses

1 Cambridge India, III, 403-404. The Moslem rulers of Deccan looked abroad for their ablest and most active servants and soldiers. Most of the nobles were foreigners; Afghans, Persians, Turks, Arabs and Mughuls.

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.164, (n.73). By winter Nikitin refers to the beginning of the monsoon season, early in June. Trinity Sunday is celebrated on the first Sunday after Pentecost.

3 Minaev, op.cit., p.189. "Tuturgan" is a word of unknown meaning. It may be a corruption of two words, "tur" (Cytisus cajan) and "kan" "grain or cereal".

4 Grekov, op.cit., p.162, (n.74). "Nogut" from Persian "Nukhūd" - "peas".

5 The manuscript appears to be corrupt for this sentence. The Russian translation, Grekov, Khoženie, p.56, seems to be guess work.

on peas, and they boil "kichiri" ¹ with sugar and oil and feed their horses; in the morning they give the horses rice cakes. ² In India horses are not bred. In their land oxen and buffalo are bred; on these they ride and thus they cart their goods and do everything.

Junnar is a city on a rock island, ³ not made by man but created by God. A man has to climb all day to reach the city, and they climb one at a time for the road is too narrow to go by twos. In India merchants are put up in hostels ⁴ and the hostesses prepare food for them; and they prepare a bed for the merchants and sleep with them. (If you wish to have intimate relations with one or another of them, you give them two šetel'. ⁵ If you do not desire intimate relations you give one šetel', for this is a woman, a girl

1 Grekov, op.cit., p.178, (n.131). "Kichiri" was a common food in India for both human beings and animals. It consisted of boiled rice and pulse with oil, sugar, and seasoning added. It was rolled into balls and used as a food for horses and elephants.

2 Sreznevskij, op.cit., "Šešeni" - "rice cakes".

3 Minaev, op.cit., p.188. Nikitin is referring to the fort "Sivaneri", a strong citadel built on a high crag south-east of Junnar. "Sivaneri" was taken by British forces in 1817.

4 Grekov, Khoženie, p.164, (n.83). "Podvor'e" - Sanskrit "dharmāṣālā" - "hostel". These hostels were maintained by both private individuals and the state for the convenience of merchants and travellers.

5 Ibid., p.179, (n.138). "šetel'" - a silver coin.

friend; and the intimate relations are free;) ¹ for they love white people. In winter the people go about with a cloth on their hips, another on their shoulders and a third on their heads. At that time the princes and nobles put on trousers and a shirt and a coat, and they wear a cloth over their shoulders and gird themselves with another and they wrap a third cloth around their heads. (O God, great God, true God, blessed God, merciful God.) ²

There in Junnar the khan took my stallion, and finding that I was not a Moslem but a Russian, he said: "I will return your stallion and give you a thousand gold pieces if you accept our faith, Islam."³ But if you do not accept our faith, Islam, I will take your stallion and a thousand gold pieces on the forfeit of your head. He set a time limit of

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.205.(n.368). The section in Turkic is taken from the Russian translation (p.57) made by I. P. Petruševskij. Nikitin employs words, phrases, lexical and grammatical constructions of several Turkic languages, interspersed with words and phrases in Arabic, Persian and Indic. Nikitin had either been on commercial journeys into the Tartar or Middle Asiatic countries previous to this journey or he rapidly picked up the languages he uses from the merchants in Persia and India. He uses non-Russian expressions in discussing sex, in criticizing the rulers of Rus', and strangely, in praying.

2 Ibid.,p.165,(n.84). Nikitin invokes God in Arabic. The translation is from the Russian version p.57.

3 "Muhammad dini", Persian for "the Mohammedan faith".

four days, to end on the Saviour's day during the fast of the assumption of our Most Holy Virgin.¹ And the Lord God took pity on me on his honoured holiday and did not deprive me, his sinful servant, of his mercy, and bade me not to perish in Junnar among the infidel. On the eve of the Saviour's day a dignitary,² Mahmūd of Khorasan, arrived and I begged him to intercede on my behalf. He rode into the city to see the khan and he begged me off, that they should not compel me to become of their faith; and he even took my stallion from the khan. Such was the Lord's miracle on the Saviour's day. But Christian brethren of Rus', whoever of you wishes to go to the Indian country let him leave his faith in Rus' and call upon Mohammed and go to India.

1' Russkij Kalendar', "Spasov den", uspenie presvjatoj Bogorodicy", "The Saviour's day, the assumption of the Most Holy Mother of God". A fast celebrated August 1-14 (Julian) July 19-August 1. (Gregorian). The word "Spas" has three usages in Russian. (Ušakov, D.N., ed. Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka, Moscow, ogiz, 1935.) (1) The ikon of the Saviour, (2) a church in His honour, (3) three holidays, August 1, 6, 16, (Julian). Nikitin refers to the first day of the fast (Pervyj Spas).

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.166, (n.88). "Khozjajoči" - this word is apparently corrupt. Possibly Turkic "Khazānchī" - "treasurer" or Persian "Khoja" = "minister".

The Moslem dogs deceived me. They said I would find many goods suitable for us, but there is nothing for our land. All the goods are expensive, ¹ for the Moslem country; as for pepper and indigo, these are cheap. (The Moslems convey their goods by sea and pay no tariff, but for us the tariff is high)² and there are many pirates on the sea. The kaffirs ³ plunder everything. They are neither Christian nor Moslem but worship stone images and they do not know Christ. ⁴

We left Junnar on the day of the assumption of the Most Holy Virgin, ⁵ for Bidar, ⁶ their largest city. We were

1 Sreznevskij, op.cit., "Beloj" is listed as doubtful. However, Dmitri Cizevsky, (professor of Early Russian literature, Harvard University) considers "beloj" to mean "expensive".

2 See "Notes on the text" p. xii, leaf 374, L.13014. The Undol'skij copy has a plausible but not likely an authentic reading.

3 Kaffirs, see page 12 note 4.

4 AB readings add "nor do they know Mohammed".

5 August 15 (Julian) August 2 (Gregorian), the first day after the fast, see page 16 note 1.

6 Bidar, after 1435, was the capital of the state of Deccan (under the Bahmanid dynasty)

a month on the road. From Bidar to Kulungir ¹ takes five days and from Kulungir to Gulbarga takes five days. Between these large cities there are many cities, one passes three cities every day, and some days even four cities; for every kov ² there is a city. From Chaul to Junnar is a distance of twenty kovs, and from Junnar to Bidar is forty kovs, and from Bidar to Kulungir is nine kovs, and from Bidar to Gulbarga it is nine kovs.

In Bidar there is trade in horses, and in goods, and brocade, ³ and in silk and all other goods, one can even buy black people. But there is nothing to buy here; there are only Indian goods and edible fruit, but there are no goods for the Russian land. The people are all black and are evil-doers, and the women are prostitutes. Everywhere there are sorcery, robbery, lies, and poison with which they kill off their masters.

In India all the princes and nobles are men of Khorasan. The Indians serve as infantrymen and they walk quickly. They are naked and barefooted. In one hand they

1 Minaev, op.cit., p.203. "Kulungir" is cited by Nikitin as a city nine kovs (ci.55 miles) from Bidar. Minaev identifies "Kulungir" as "Kolangouri".

2 "Kov", Nikitin later identifies "kov" with ten "versts" or 6.5 miles.

3 Grekov, Khoženie, p.168, (n.94). "Kamky", from Persian "kimkhāb" - "brocade".

carry a shield and in the other a sword. Other subjects carry long straight bows and arrows. In battle they always use elephants but they send the infantry in front. The men of Khorasan are mounted; the men and their horses are in armour. To the trunk and to the tusks of the elephant they tie huge, forged swords, weighing a kantar ¹ each. The elephants are clad in armour plates and on their backs they carry howdahs, and in each howdah there are twelve men in armour, armed with guns ² and arrows.

There is a place in Aland, at the tomb of Sheikh Ala-ud-din, ³ where a bazaar is held once a year. The entire country of India gathers there to trade, and they trade for ten days. From Bidar, a distance of twelve kavs, they bring as many as twenty thousand horses to sell, and they assemble all

1 Sreznevskij, op.cit., "Kantar" Arabic "qanṭār" a unit of weight, at the end of the sixteenth century equalling 90 lbs. (Murray, James A. H. and others ed., The Oxford English dictionary, Oxford, Clarendon press, 1933.) "Kantar" in 1555 "...one cantar is a hundred pounds".

2 Cambridge India, III. 381, In 1365, after a defeat of the Vijayanagar forces of Bukka by Muhammad of Deccan. Muhammad "... sent orders to all the forts of his (Bukka) kingdom demanding a detachment of artillery from each, and sent the elephants which he had captured...for the conveyance of the guns". This is the first occasion that Moslems used guns for warfare in Deccan. The guns were supplied chiefly from Venice and were manned by European and Turkish gunners.

3 According to Nikitin the tomb of Sheikh-Ala-ud-din was located at Aland near Gulbarga. This may be the tomb of Ala-ud-din Ahmad, sultan of Deccan, who died in 1458.

kinds of goods. It is the best fair in all of the land of India. They buy and sell goods of every type in memory of Sheikh Ala-ud-din whose feast falls on the Russian festival of the Mantle of the Holy Virgin.¹ In the same Aland there is a bird called gukuk that flies by night and cries "gukuk". On whichever house it alights, there a man will die, and if anyone wishes to kill it, then fire will flash from its mouth. The mamon² prowl at night and catch fowl; they live on the mountains or cliffs. Monkeys live in the forest and they have

1 Brockhaus, op.cit., XXIV, p.251. "Pokrov Presvjatoj Bogorodicy" - "Mantle (vestment) of the Most Holy Mother of God" is a holiday of the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches celebrated on October 1 (Julian) October 14 (Gregorian). The "Pokrov" is celebrated in commemoration of the day, when in the middle of the tenth century, while Constantinople was being besieged by the Saracens, the Mother of God appeared in the air above the city with a host of Saints who spread their vestments over the Christians. The Greeks were imbued with courage and repulsed the attack.

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.169, (n.101). "Mamon" the Russian translation interprets it as a member of the monkey family from (Arabic maimun" - "monkey") Minaev suggests "serpent" from an Indic word "mamum". Count Wielhorsky in an English translation of the Khoženie, published in India in the fifteenth century R.H. Major, ed., 1857, sec.78 p.13, translates "mamon" as a "wild cat". This latter translation fits well, but there appears to be no foundation for it.

a monkey prince who goes about with his army.¹ If any one tries to catch them they complain to their prince and he sends his army against the offender; and they, having come against a town, pull down the houses and beat up the inhabitants. It is said that they have many troops and have their own language. They bear many offspring, and if one is born unlike either its father or its mother it is cast away by the roadside. Some Indians catch these and teach them all sorts of handicrafts; some they sell at night so they will not know the way back; others they teach to play games.²

Spring began from the day of the Mantle of the Holy Virgin,³ and two weeks after this holy day they hold the celebration in honour of Sheikh Ala-ud-din, and they celebrate for eight days. They have spring for three months, and summer

1 Lardner, D., and others, ed., The cabinet cyclopaedia, "The history of marine and inland discoveries", London, Longman, Rus, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830, I. 202. In the woods around the foot of Adam's Peak Ibn Batuta saw a multitude of monkeys of a dark colour with beards like men. The sheikh Othman and his sons, "pious and credible" persons assured him that the monkeys had a king who wore a turban of leaves and was waited on by four monkeys holding rods. Williams, Monier, Hinduism, London, New York, Pott, Young and Co., 1877, p.166. After the great war described in "Rāmāyana", Rāma gave a great portion of Deccan to Hanumānt, the monkey king, and to his monkey followers. Nikitin appears to confuse legendary tales with observed facts.

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.169, (n.103). "Bazy mikanet" from Persian "bāzī mīkunād" - "plays games".

3 October 14.

for three months, and winter for three months, and autumn for three months. Bidar is the capital of Moslem India.¹ The city is large and there are very many people. The sultan is young, twenty years old;² the nobles hold the power and the men of Khorasan reign and wage war.

There is a Khorasanian noble named Malik-ut-Tujjar and he has two hundred thousand troops; and Malik-Khan³ has a hundred thousand, and Farat-Khan⁴ has twenty thousand, and

1 Minaev, op.cit., pp.212-214. Bidar was the capitol of the Bahmanid state of Deccan. During the fifteenth century Delhi was the nominal capitol of Moslem India. However, Deccan was the most powerful state and Bidar was the greatest city in Moslem India.

2 Cambridge India, III. 413-414. In 1463, at the age of nine, Muhammad III, on the death of his brother, assumed the throne. The kingdom was administered by the Queen mother, Khvāja Jahān, and Mahmūd Gāvān. Khvāja Jahān was slain in the palace for trying to get supreme command. Mahmūd Gāvān (Malik-ut-Tujjar) became chief minister and lieutenant of the kingdom. The age of the sultan in 1472 would be eighteen.

3 Ibid., pp.414-417. "Malik-Khan" or Malik-Hasan, known generally by the title "Nizām-ul-Mulk" was one the the important native Indian nobles and military leaders, in the service of Muhammed III. Hasan had been captured by Ahmad the Saint during the war against Vijayanagar and brought up as a Moslem. During Nikitin's stay in Deccan the nobles were approximately half Deccanese and half foreign, not all from Khorasan as Nikitin states.

4 Minaev, op.cit., p.232. "Farat-Khan" is identified as Fakhr-ul-Mulk the commander of the province of Junnar.

many khans have ten thousand troops each. The sultan is accompanied by three hundred thousand troops of his own. The land is heavily populated; the country people are very poor but the nobles have great wealth and much luxury. They are always carried about on silver litters, and before them are led as many as twenty horses in golden harness, and behind them follow three hundred mounted men and five hundred on foot, and ten trumpeters and ten kettle-drummers ¹ and ten pipers. The sultan rides out for pleasure with his mother and his wife, and accompanying them are ten thousand mounted men and fifty thousand on foot, and they lead two hundred elephants clad in gilded armour. In front of them there are one hundred trumpeters and one hundred dancers and three hundred spare horses in golden harness, and behind him follow one hundred monkeys and one hundred concubines, (all young maidens). ²

1 Grekov, Khozenie, p.174, (n.112). "Nagarniki" from Arabic "naqqāra", "kettle-drum".

2 Minaev, "Staraja Indija", p.219. "Gauryky", and in another part of the text "kovre", are considered by Minaev to be corruptions of the Sanskrit "gaurikā". This interpretation, however, is doubtful. Otto Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, St. Petersburg, K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1879, gives for "gaurikā" the meaning "white mustard" or "an eight year old girl not yet having menstruated". The latter meaning, however, can not be quoted from the literature but is cited only from the lexica. "Gauri", however, does mean "an eight year old girl". Moreover, "gaurikā" could scarcely have entered into any of the modern Indic dialects without considerable phonetic change.

Seven gates lead into the sultan's palace and at each gate there are a hundred guards and a hundred kaffir scribes, but they do not allow foreigners ¹ into the citadel. Some record the names of all who enter and others record the names of all who leave. His palace is indeed very wonderful. Everywhere one sees carving and gilding, even the last stone ² is carved and wonderfully gilded. And in the palace there are various vessels.

The city of Bidar is guarded at night by a thousand garrison troops ³ and they ride about on horseback and in armour, and each one carries a torch. I sold my stallion in Bidar and I had spent sixty and eight futuns ⁴ on him for I had fed him a year. In Bidar snakes, two sazens (fourteen feet) in length, go about the streets. I arrived in Bidar
from Kulungir

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.175, (n.115). "Garip" from Arabic "gharib" "foreigners".

2 "I poslednij kamen'", "and the last stone". It is not clear from the context what stone Nikitin is referring to. Possibly he means "even down to the last stone".

3 Cambridge India, III, 411. "Kotwāl" was the chief of police or magistrate of a city. During the second half of the fifteenth century the "Kotwāl" of Bidar was one of the chief ministers of the sultan and commanded the troops stationed in Bidar.

4 Grekov, op.cit., p.175. "Futun" or "fanam" a South Indian coin of gold or silver varying in value with locality.

on the eve before the fast of St. Philip, ¹ I sold my stallion at Christmas, and I remained here in Bidar until Lent. I became acquainted with many Indians and I told them about my faith, that I was not a Moslem but that one who believes in Jesus ² is a Christian. And I told them that my name was Afanasij and that my Moslem name was Khoja Yūsuf Khurasānī. Then they did not undertake to hide anything from me about their food or trade or prayers ³ or any other affair, and they did not try to hide their wives.

I asked them all about their faith and they said; "We believe in Adam"; ⁴ and the "buts", ⁵ they said, are *Adam and*

1 Russkij Kalendar', "Filipov post" begins on November 27 (Julian) November 14 (Gregorian).

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.175, (n.118). "Isajadenieni", corruption of the Persian "Isa dīni" "belief in Christ".

3 Loc.cit., (n.120). "Manaz" is a corruption of the Arabic "namaz". Steingass, F. Persian - English dictionary, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd. 1947. "Namaz", in Persian - "prayers".

4 Dowson, J., A classical dictionary of Hindu mythology, London, Trubner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1879, There was no cult of "Adam" among the Hindus. Possibly Nikitin heard the word "Atma" or "Atman" "the supreme soul" or "the principle of life". Perhaps he has Mānu, the Indic "Adam" or first man, in mind.

5 Carra de Vaux, B., "Budd", Islam, I, 769-770. Persian "but", is used variously to mean idols.

all his clan. There are in all eighty and four faiths in India and they all believe in "but". Those of one faith will not drink, eat or marry with those of another faith. Some eat mutton, fowl, fish and eggs but no faith eats beef.¹

I spent four months in Bidar, and I agreed with some Indians to go to Parvata;² that is their Jerusalem, or in the Moslem fashion, their Mecca, where their idol house³ is located. I journeyed with the Indians for a month to reach

¹ Burnell, A. C., transl. The ordinances of Manu, London, Trubner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1884. Lect.5, 11-27 & 41. Scaly fish, except those for sacrificial purposes, may be eaten anywhere. Carnivorous, scavenger and fish eating birds are to be avoided. Animals with one row of teeth, except the camel may be eaten. "When the honey-mixture (is given) at a sacrifice and in rites to the manes and gods, on these occasions only, cattle are to be slain, not on any other - so said Manu."

² Dowson, op.cit., Parvata (Śrīparvata) is more generally known as Sri-Sailam (Śrīśaila). The imperial gazetteer of India, Oxford, The Clarendon press, 1908, XXIII, 110, 275-276. Śrīśaila is situated in the Nandikotkūr talūk of Kurnool district of the Madras province. The ruins of a once great city and shrine stand in the midst of a jungle and rugged hills, on the south bank, overlooking the deep gorge of the Krishna River. During the fifteenth century Śrīśaila was outside Moslem jurisdiction.

³ Steingass, op.cit. "Butkhānah", in Persian - "idol house."

the idol house. And they hold a fair at the idol house for five days.¹ The idol house is indeed very large, about half the size of Tver.² It is built of stone, and on it are carved deeds of the "buts". Around it, in all, twelve wreaths are carved; how the "but" performed miracles and how he appeared to them in many forms. First he appeared in the form of a man;³ secondly as a man with an elephant's

1 Gazetteer of India, XXIII, 110. Śrīśaila has been deserted since 1565, when the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was destroyed by the Moslems. Early in the eighteenth century robber bands looted and desecrated the city. Nevertheless thousands of pilgrims still make the difficult journey to attend the grand Śivarātri festival during February and March.

2 Mackenzie, Capt. Colin, "Pagoda at Perwuttum", Asiatic researches, London, 1799, V, 303-314. Capt. Mackenzie visited Parvata in 1794. He believed himself to be the first European to see the city. He gave the following description of the idol house: 'The several pagodas, choultries and courts are enclosed by a wall 660 feet long and 510 feet broad. Around the enclosure were gardens and reservoirs. On the south side lay the ruins of a once great city. The wall was built of stone blocks, three feet by seven feet. Each block had figures carved out of it. The stones were placed in a manner that gave the impression of sculptured rings running all the way around the wall.' (Nikitin counted twelve of these sculptured rings which he called "wreaths".)

3 Williams, Monier, Hinduism, pp.103, 106-107. Kṛishṇa was the eight avatar or incarnation of Viṣṇu. He was the direct manifestation of Viṣṇu himself in human form. Kṛishṇa may be the figure Nikitin is referring to.

trunk; ¹ thirdly as a man with the face of a monkey; ² fourthly as a man but in the form of a ferocious beast.³ He always appeared to them with a tail and he is carved in stone and his tail rises a sažen (seven feet) over him. ⁴ The people of all India come to the idol house to witness his miracles. Near the idol house old women and girls shave

1 Dowson, op.cit., Ganesa (Gaṇeśa), son of Śiva and Pārvatī, was lord of the troop of inferior deities. He is represented as a short fat man with four hands and with the head of an elephant with only one tusk.

2 Ibid. Hanumant was a celebrated king of monkeys, and the son of Pavana, the wind. He is a conspicuous figure in the Rāmāyana. Hanumant assisted Rāma, (the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu) in a war against Rāvana, the king of Ceylon. Hanumant was celebrated for many exploits. "His face is a red as the brightest ruby, while his enormous tail spread out to an interminable length".

3 Williams, Monier, op.cit. p.106. Viṣṇu assumed the form of half-man, half-lion (Narasimha) to free the world from the tyranny of the demon, Hiranyakaśipu.

4 "A khvost cerez nego sažen". It is difficult to determine the exact position of the tail. The Russian translation, Grekov, Khoženie, p.61, considers the tail thrown over the "but's" shoulder. Below, Nikitin again says; "a khvost u nego cerez-nego". K. Mejer, "Die fahrt des Athanasius Nikitin", p.25, translates the latter as "und der Schwanz geht über ihn hin," "and the tail goes over him".

themselves; they shave all the hair including the beards and the heads, then they go up to the idol house. From each person two *šeškani*¹ are taken for the "but", and on horses there is a levy of four futuns.² Many people come to the idol house, in all (a thousand "lak" and at times even a hundred thousand "lak".)³ In the idol house the "but" is carved in stone and is very big and his tail goes over him. His right hand is raised high and out-stretched like that of Justinian, the Emperor of Constantinople, and in his left hand he holds a spear. He is uncovered, only his buttocks⁴ are bound with a small cloth, but his face is that of a monkey.

1 Grekov, *Khoženie*, p.177, (n.126), "*Šekšen*" or "*Šeškani*", (Persian) a silver coin, equal to one-tenth of a tanga.

2 See Page 24, note 4

3 Grekov, op.cit.p.177, (n.127). "*Hazār lak, vaqtī bāšad sad hazār hā lak*", i's Persian for "a thousand lacs and at times a hundred thousand lacs." Steingass, op.cit. "lac" (Sanskrit *lakṣa*) in Persian means a hundred thousand. Nikitin apparently uses "lac" to mean a "multitude of people".

4 Karadžić, V. S., *Srpski Rječnik*, treće izdan'e, Beograd, Štampariji Kral'evine Srbije, 1898. "*guzica*" - "*zadnica*" - "buttocks". Sreznevskij, op.cit., the appearance of "*guzno*" in the *Khoženie*, seems to be its first occurrence in Russian literature.

Other "buts" are completely naked and their (buttocks are exposed.)¹ The wives of the "buts are carved naked with their pudenda, and their children are carved with them. In front of the "but" stands a huge ox carved from black stone and all gilded. The people kiss his hoofs and they scatter flowers upon the ox, and they scatter flowers upon the "but".

The Indians do not eat any type of meat; neither veal nor mutton nor fowl nor fish nor pork,² although they have very many swine. They eat twice a day but do not eat at night. They drink neither wine nor honey water, neither do they drink nor eat with Moslems. Their fare is bad. They do not eat with one another or with their wives. They eat rice³ and kichiri and various herbs. The Indians eat everything with their right hand but do not take anything with their left hand. They do

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.61, "c otkrytym zadom", "with exposed buttocks", translated from the Russian version.

2 Cf. page 26 note 1. Cf. also Castes and tribes of Southern India, eg. IV, 192-193. "The "Kusavan" caste (Tamil potters) followers of "Saivism and Vaishnav" eat mutton, goat, horses and swine". Most of the castes eat meat on ceremonial occasions but their regular diet is vegetarian. However, some castes eat no meat.

3 Grekov, op.cit., p.178, (n.130). "bry nec" from Persian "birinj" "rice".

not use knives and do not know of spoons. When travelling each one has an earthenware pot and he cooks his porridge by the roadside. They hide from the Moslems so that the latter may not look into the pot or at the food. If a Moslem looks at their food then they will not eat it, and when some of them eat they cover themselves with a cloth so that no one will see it.

The Indians pray towards the east as do the Russians. They raise both hands high and place them on the crown of their heads. Then they prostrate themselves on the ground and stretch themselves at full length along the ground. Such is their obeisance. When they sit down to eat they wash both hands and feet and also rinse their mouth.¹ Their idol houses have no doors and face the east, and the "buts" also face the east. Whoever dies is burned and his ashes are scattered upon the waters. If a woman is with child her husband acts as midwife. The father names the son but the mother names the daughter. But there is no good in them and they know not shame. When they depart or meet, they bow like monks stretching both hands to the ground, and they say nothing.

¹ Ordinances of Manu, lect.2; 53, "Let the Brahman always eat his food after having rinsed his mouth, and (in a) collected (state of mind); having eaten, let him thoroughly rinse his mouth..."

At Lent the Indians come to Parvata to their "but"; this is their Jerusalem, or in the Moslem fashion - their Mecca, but in the Russian fashion - Jerusalem; and according to the Indians it is Parvata. They congregate unclothed with only a cloth about their hips, and the women are naked with only a cloth about their hips. Others wear cloths and have pearls and sapphires about their necks and wear bracelets on their arms and rings of gold on their hands - God be my witness. ¹ They ride into the interior of the idol house on oxen whose horns have been tipped in copper. Three hundred little bells are hung around their necks and their hoofs are shod, and these oxen are called "father". Indeed, the Indians call the ox "father" and the cow "mother". With their dung they bake bread and boil food; and with the ashes they paint on their faces, along their foreheads, and over all their bodies, this is their mark. ² On Sundays and on Mondays they eat once a day. In India (women are considered cheap and of little worth: if you desire to know a woman - you give two šetels, if you wish to

1 Steingass, op.cit., "Allāhu haqq" in Persian "true God".

2 Miles, A., The land of the Lingam, London, Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1933, p.43. The caste marks are worn on twelve regions of the body the most prominent being on the forehead from the hairline down between the eyebrows. The paste is a mixture of cow-dung ash, vermillion and sandal paste.

throw money away - you give six šetels. Such is their custom. Slaves and slave-women are cheap: for four futuns you get a beautiful one, for five - a beautiful one and dark too.) ¹

From Parvata I arrived in Bidar fifteen days before the Moslem festival, Ulu Bairam.² But I know not the great day of the Resurrection of Christ. However, by signs I surmise that the Christian Easter comes nine or ten days before the Moslem Bairam. I have nothing with me, no books; but we did take books from Rus'. When I was robbed, they were taken, and I have forgotten all the Christian faith and the Christian holidays. I know neither Easter nor Christmas, neither Wednesday nor Friday. And in the midst of the faiths (I pray God to protect me: "Lord God, true God, God thou art God the merciful, Thou art God the creator, Thou art the Lord".) ³ There is but one God; the King of glory, the creator of Heaven and earth. And I am returning to Rus' with the thought: (gone is ~~my faith, I have fasted~~

¹ Grekov, Khoženie, p.62. Translated from the Russian version, this is one of the many Turkic sections in the Khoženie.

² Huart, C., "Bairam", Islam. vol.1, p.594, Bairam is an Osmanil - Turkish word. There are two great Moslem festivals, "Küçük Bairam" or little festival, celebrated for three days at the breaking of the fast. "Kurban (Ulu) Bairam" the great festival lasting four days.

³ Grekov, op.cit., p.62. Translated from the Russian version.

my faith, I have fasted on Mohammedan fast days.)¹ The month of March has passed and I have not eaten meat for a month. I began to fast on Sunday with the Moslems and did not eat anything forbidden on fast days; and I did not eat any Moslem food but I kept eating only bread and water twice a day; (and I had no associations with women).¹

I prayed to God who rules the universe, who created Heaven and earth, and I called upon no other name. God (our creator, merciful God, God, Thou art the almighty God.)¹

From Ormuz to Calicut one travels ten days by sea; from Calicut to Diu - six days; from Diu to Muscat - six days; from Muscat to Gujarat - ten days; from Gujarat to Cambay - four days; from Cambay to Chaul - twelve days; from Chaul to Dabhol - six days. Dabhol is a seaport in India, the last port held by Moslems.² From Dabhol to Calicut takes

1 Grekov, KhoZenie, p.63. This section is translated from the Russian version.

2 Cambridge India, III, 414-415. The coast south of Dābhol was under the Raja of Vijayanagar and independent Indian rajas, Goa being the chief port of Vijayanagar. Between 1469 and 1472 Mahmūd Gāvān engaged in a difficult campaign "to reduce to obedience the Rajas of Khelna, Sangameshwar, and other districts whose pirate fleets had inflicted much loss on Muslim merchants and pilgrims." After taking these ports Mahmūd Gāvān besieged and captured Goa. His reception in Bidar after these exploits is described by Nikitin below.

twenty-five days; from Calicut to Ceylon - fifteen days; from Ceylon to Šabat¹ one has to travel a month; from Šabat to Pegu - twenty days; and from Pegu to Chin and Machin² takes a month, and all these journeys are by sea. From Chin to Cathay one has to travel by land - six months, and by sea - four days. (And God will protect me.)³

1 Markon, I., Strana "Šabat" v khoženie za tri morja Afanasija Nikitina v 1466-1472, Minsk Trudy Belorusskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1922, pp.304-325. The identity of the land called by Nikitin, "Šabat", "Šibat", "Šaibat", "Šibait", remains a mystery, Sreznevskij, I.I., Khoženie za tri morja Afanasija Nikitina v 1466-1472, St. Petersburg, Akademiya nauk, 1866. p.76, identifies "Šabat" with Shabazpur, an island in the mouth of the Ganges River. Minaev, op.cit., July, p.55, considers "Šabat" to be Champu, known by European travellers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as "Chompa" and "Chamba". Markon, however, after examining these and other arguments arrives at the conclusion that the land "Šabat" has no reality. He identifies "Šabat" with the legendary river, "Sambation" or "Shabation", beyond which, according to Jewish and Christian legend, the lost, ten tribes of Israel were to be found.

2 Grekov, op.cit., p.182, (n.156, 157). "Chin" and "Machin" meaning China in general, and South China in particular, were the common terms used by Arab travellers, e.g. Ibn Batuta called South China "Sin", "Chin", "Machin" and North China he called "Cathay".

3 Loc.cit., (n.158). "Araste Khudā čatūm". (Persian) - "God my veil (protector) will adorn".

Ormuz is a vast seaport; people from all over the world dwell in it, and every sort of merchandise that is produced in the world can be found in Ormuz. The duty,¹ however, is large; they take ten percent on everything. Cambay is a port for the entire Indian Ocean. All kind of merchandise is made there; Alača,² damask, and kandak.³ They make indigo and produce lac and also cornelian⁴ and salt.⁵ Dabhol is a very large port and horses are brought there from Egypt,⁶ Arabia, Khorasan, Turkestan and Isfahan;⁷ and they travel a month by land to Bidar and to Gulbarga.

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.182, (n.160). "Tamga" - "duty".

2 Loc.cit.(n.162). "Alača" - a cloth made from twisted cotton and silk thread.

3 Minaev, "Staraja Indija", p.183. "Kandak" - "gingham"

4 Grekov, op.cit., p.182 (n.167). "Akhyk" from Arabic " 'aqlīq" - "sard" or "cornelian".

5 Loc.cit., (n.168). "Lon" - The meaning of this word is doubtful. In the opinion of Sreznevskij it is from "lanha" - "coconut". According to Minaev, (Staraja Indija", p.182) it is from Sanskrit "lavana" - "salt". Salt known as "lon" in modern Indic dialects, has been a major export of Cambay.

6 Becker, C.H., "Egypt", Islam, II, 4. "Misjur" from Arabic form of the Semitic name "Miṣr" - "Maṣr" - "Egypt".

7 Grekov, op.cit., p.183, (n.174). "Negostan" - an unidentified place or a corruption of the text. Possibly it is "Isfahan".

Calicut is a port of the entire Indian Ocean, and God spare any ship ¹ from passing it by, and whoever shall pass it by, he will not have made a safe passage. In Calicut pepper, ginger ² and dye are produced, and also nutmeg, ³ cinnamon, ⁴ cloves, spice roots ⁵ and fresh ginger ⁶ and many roots of all kinds are grown here. Everything is cheap in Calicut, (and slaves and slave women are very attractive and dark.)⁷

1 Grekov, Khoženie, op.cit., p.183.(n.177). "Kestjak" probably from Persian "Kašti" - "ship".

2 Loc.cit., (n.178). "Zenzebil" (Arabic zanjabīl) (Latin "zenzebiris") - "ginger".

3 Loc.cit., (n.179). "Moškat", "muskatnyj orekh" - "nutmeg".

4 Loc.cit., (n.180). "Kalajur" - "cinnamon".

5 Loc.cit., (n.182). "Prjanoe Korenie" a type of spice root, possibly a specific spice.

6 Steingass, op.cit., Persian "adrak", Sanskrit "ardrāka" - "fresh ginger".

7 Grekov, op.cit., p.183.(n.184). "Kul", "karavaš" (Turkic) "slave", "slave woman". "pis'jar' khub sija" corruption of Persian "bisyār khūb siyāh" - "very beautiful, and black".

Ceylon is also a considerable port of the Indian Ocean. Here, on the height of a mountain, is found Father Adam.¹ Around him are found precious stones, rubies,² crystal,³ white agate,⁴ resin,⁵ beryl and emery stone.⁶ Elephants thrive here and are sold by the ell, and ostriches⁷ are sold by weight.

The harbour of Šabat is a very large port in the Indian Ocean. Here they pay an allowance⁸ of a tanga⁹ a day

1 Lardner, Discoveries, I, 201. Ibn Batuta, ci. 1340, went to Ceylon "...to visit the footsteps of our forefather Adam". Leading up the mountain of Serendib or Adam's peak are two paths - "the way of Baba" or Adam, "the way of Mama" or Eve. The impression of a foot on top of the mountain is called the "foot of Buddha" by Hindus and "Adam's foot" by Moslems, Jews and Christians.

2 Grekov, op.cit., p.183, (n.188). "Cerv'ci" "rubies" or "garnets".

3 Loc.cit., p.183, (n.189). "Fatis" - "crystal".

4 Ibid. p.184, (n.190). "Babogur' " - from Persian "Baba guri" - "white agate".

5 Loc.cit., (n.191). "Binčaj" - resin".

6 Loc.cit., (n.192). "Sumbada" - a type of stone used for finishing precious stones.

7 Loc.cit., (n.192). "Devjakyš" - Turkish "Devekuš" - "camel-bird" - "ostrich".

8 Loc.cit., (n.196). "Alafa", (Arabic) " 'alafa", "sustenance", "allowance", "stipend".

9 Oxford Dictionary, "Tanga" - a name given to various coins still used on the Malabar Coast. In 1857 a tanga was worth seven pence.

to each Khorasanian, young and old. And to each Khorasanian who marries, the prince of Šabat gives a thousand tangas for a sacrifice and as an allowance, and he gives ten tangas every month for food. In Šabat silk, sandal-wood and pearls are produced, and everything is cheap.

In Pegu there is a considerable port, and in Pegu live mostly Indian dervishes.¹ Precious stones, rubies² and sapphires are produced here, and these products are sold by the dervishes. The ports of Chin and Machin are very large and in them china-ware is made, and they sell the china-ware by weight, but it is cheap.

Their women sleep with their husbands during the day, but at night the women go to the foreigners³ and sleep with them. They give the merchants an allowance and they bring with them sweetened foods and sweet wines; they give food and drink so that the merchants will love them, for they love white merchants because their people are very black. If a woman conceives a child by a merchant, her husband gives an allowance, if the child is white, eighteen tangas go to the merchant, if the child is black, nothing; but what the merchant ate and

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.184 (n.201). "Derbyši" - "dervishes"-
"Buddhist monks".

2 Loc.cit., (n.202,204). "Manik" and "kyrpuk" both mean
"ruby". Barbosa called the ruby "carapuch".

3 Loc.cit., (n.207). "Garip" Arabic - "gharīb" - "foreigner".

drank is his by law.¹

Šabat is three months distant from Bidar and one travels two months by sea from Dabhol to Šabat. Machin and Chin are four months by sea from Bidar; and there they make china-ware, everything is cheap. But one travels two months by sea to reach Ceylon. In Šabat silk, china-ware, pearls, and sandal-wood are produced, and elephants are sold by the ell.

In Ceylon mamons, rubies and crystals are found. In Calicut pepper, nutmeg, cloves, betel-nut and dye are produced. In Gujarat indigo is produced, and in Cambay cornelian is produced. In Raichur diamonds are produced from the old and the new mines.² A "počka" ³ of diamond is sold for five rubles, a very good one for ten rubles. A "počka" of a new diamond is

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.184, (n.209). "Ḥalāl" (Arabic) "permitted by law".

2 Ibid. p.185, (n.222). "pīrkān", "navkān" (Persian) "old mine", "new mine".

3 Brockhaus, op.cit., XLVIII, 790. "Počka" was a unit of weight used in Russia up to the seventeenth century. During the fifteenth century in Novgorod a "počka" was equal to four and a half "dolja" or 198 milligrams.

sold for five "keni", ¹ a black ² one for four to six ³ "keni", but a white diamond is sold for one tanga.⁴ Diamonds are found in a rocky mountain and this mountain is sold. If it contains diamonds of the new mine, it is sold at two thousand gold pounds an ell. If it contains diamonds of the old mine, it is sold at ten thousand gold pounds an ell. The land belongs to Malik-Khan, a vassal to the sultan; and it is thirty kovs from Bidar.

The Jews ⁵ call those ⁶ people of Šabat Jews like themselves, but they lie, for the inhabitants of Šabat are neither Jews nor Moslems nor Christians but they are of another Indian religion. They neither eat nor drink with Jews or Moslems and they eat no meat. Everything is cheap in Šabat, and they produce silk and sugar very cheaply. In the woods there are mamons and monkeys and they attack people along the roads; and because of the mamons and the monkeys people do not

1 Grekov, op.cit., p.185, (n.223). "Panj" (Persian) "five" "keni", a small coin, a sixty-fourth part of a tanga.

2 Loc.cit., (n.224). "Siyāh" (Persian) "black".

3 Loc.cit., (n.225). "Chahar, šaš keni" - "four to six keni".

4 Loc.cit., (n.226). "Safed yak tanga" (Persian) "white (Diamond) one tanga".

5 Grekov, op.cit., p.185, (n.230). "Yahūd" (Arabic) "Jews".

6 "Syto" appears to be a corruption. Dmitri Cizevsky (Harvard University) considers it to be "sy to", referring to the people of Šabat.

dare to travel along the roads at night.

From Šabat one has to travel ten months by land and four months by sea in a junk.¹ From deer that have been poisoned² they cut out the navel, and in the navel musk is produced, but the wild deer drop their musk-sacks in the fields and in the woods; from them, however, the small is not so pleasant because they are not fresh.

I greeted Easter during the month of May in Moslem Bidar, in India. The Moslems celebrated Bairam on Wednesday, in the month of May, but I began to fast on the first day of April. O true believing Christians; he who travels much among many lands falls into many sins and loses his Christian faith. I, servant of God, Afanasij, have longed for my faith; already four Lents have passed, and four Easters, yet I, sinful one, know not which day is Easter or which are fast days. I do not know Christmas or the other holidays and I do not know either

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.186, (n.233). "Aukik" - an unidentified word, possibly "junk", (a large vessel built in China carrying up to five hundred sailors and five hundred soldiers and used to convoy two smaller ships. (Lardner, Discoveries, I, 199.)

2 Sreznevskij, op.cit., "Okormlennyj" in old Russian usually meant "poisoned" but it could mean "fattened".

Wednesday or Friday, for I have no books. When I was robbed my books were taken from me, and I, from much misfortune, went into India because I had nothing with which to go to Rus', having no merchandise left. The first Easter I greeted in "Kain";¹ the second in Čapakur, in the country of Mazanderan; the third Easter I spent in Ormuz; the fourth Easter I spent in Bidar with the Moslems. And here I greatly longed for the Christian faith.

The Moslem Malik tried hard to force me to go over to the Moslem faith. I, however, said to him: ("Sir, you say prayers and I also say prayers. You say five prayers and I say three prayers. I am a foreigner and you are ~~of~~ this land.")² But he said to me; "You appear to be no Moslem but you do not know Christianity." I then fell upon many reflections and I said to myself: "Woe is me accursed one, for I have strayed

1 Grekov, op.cit., p.186, (n.240). "Kain" is an unidentified place. Nikitin left Tver in the spring of 1466. He passed the first Easter (1467) at "Kain"; the second Easter (1468) at Čapakur; the third Easter (1469) in Ormuz. If he did indeed pass the Easter of 1467 in "Kain" then "Kain" is probably a town in Shīrwān. If Nikitin has made an error and passed the Easter of 1467 in Čapakur in the Mazanderan province, then "Kain" may be a corruption of Nain, a point where he may well have passed the second Easter.

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.66. Translated from the Russian version. The expression appears in Turkic in the Troickij copy.

from the true path, and I know not the path I will now take. Lord God, ruler of the universe, creator of Heaven and earth, do not turn Thy face from Thy slave for I am near despair. Lord! protect me and have mercy on me for I am Thy creature. Do not, Oh Lord, turn me from the true path but put me, Oh Lord, on Thy right path; for, when needed, I have done no good deeds for Thee my Lord, but I have spent my days in evil, my Lord. (My Lord, God the protector, almighty God, merciful God, gracious God. Glory to God!)¹ I have already passed four Easters in the Moslem land but I have not forsaken Christianity; for the future, God knows what will be. Lord, God I have placed my hope in Thee, save me O my Lord God.

In Moslem India, in the great city of Bidar, I beheld the night before Easter. On Easter Sunday the Pleiades and Orion arose at dawn and the Great Bear stood with his head towards the east. On the Moslem Bairam the sultan took a pleasure ride,² and with him went twenty grand viziers and three hundred elephants clad in steel armour and carrying howdahs.³ The howdahs are bound with steel, and in each

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.67. Translated from the Russian version.

2 Ibid., p.187, (n.247). "Tafarruj" (Arabic) "pleasure ride".

3 "Elephant", Encyclopaedia Americana. 1945, X, 221. "The prince sits in a canopied howdah...the saddlecloth and trappings were encrusted with gold and jewels..."

howdah are six men in armour and armed with guns and arquebuses,¹ and on large elephants there are twelve men. On each elephant there are two large banners, and to the tusks of the elephants huge swords, weighing a kantar each, are attached, and large iron weights are tied to their trunks. A man in armour sits between their ears and holds in his hands a large iron hook, with which he guides the elephant. In addition, there were a thousand spare horses in golden harness, a hundred camels bearing kettledrums, three hundred trumpeters, three hundred dancers and three hundred concubines.² The sultan wears a coat all adorned with jewels and on his helmet is a large diamond. His armament³ is golden and decorated with jewels. He wears three scimitars encrusted with gold, and his saddle is golden. In front of him runs a kaffir playing with a parasol, and following him are many on foot. Behind him walks

1 "Arquebus", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th. ed., 1937, II, 641-642. The arquebus or harquebus was the immediate predecessor to the musket, and was replaced by the musket ci. 1570.

2 "Kovre" see page 23 note 2.

3 Grekov, Khoženie, p.187, (n.254). "Sagadak" (Tartar-"Sadak") (Russian "Saadak") is the full armament of a horseman, including a bow and a quiver of arrows.

a trained ¹ elephant all in brocade, and it beats back the people. It holds in its mouth a great iron chain and it beats back people and horses so that none may come close to the sultan. The brother of the sultan sits on a golden litter and above him is a velvet canopy, the crown of which is of gold and studded with gems; twenty men carry him. The mahmūd ² sits on a golden litter and above him is a silken canopy topped with gold. He is borne by four horses with golden harnesses. Around him here is a great mass of people, and before him are singers and many dancers, and all are armed with unsheathed swords or scimitars, or shields and lances or spears, or long straight bows. The horses are all in armour and carry fully armed warriors. And all the other men are completely naked with only a small cloth on their buttocks; their genitals are covered.

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.67. "Blagoj" is translated as "trained". Ušakov, op.cit., gives the meaning "mad" for "blagoj". (Nikitin may be referring to a 'must' elephant; a male in a condition of - probably sexual - excitement, when a dark oily matter exudes from two pores in the forehead. The task of this elephant, as described by Nikitin, suggests that he was trained).

2 Minaev, "Staraja Indija", p.218. "Mahmūd" is identified as Mahmūd Gāvān: i.e., Malik-ut-Tujjar.

In Bidar the moon is full for three days. There are no sweet fruits in Bidar. In Hindustan there is no severe heat. Severe heat is found in Ormuz and in Bahrein, where pearls are found, and in Jiddah, and in Baku, and in Egypt, and in Arabia, and in Lar. In the land of Khorasan the climate is hot but not as much so. But in Chagatai it is very hot, and in Shiraz, and in Yezd; and in Kashan it is hot and at times windy. In Gilan it is very sultry and extremely humid, and in Shamākhī there is much humidity; and it is hot in Bagdad and in Homs, and in Damascus it is very hot, but the climate is not very hot in Aleppo. In the region of Sivas and in Georgia goods are abundant; and the Turkish land is very rich, and in Wallachia all edible goods are abundant and cheap, and in Podolia everything is plentiful. (May God preserve the Russian land, God preserve, God preserve. There is no land on earth like her, although the lords of the Russian land are unjust. But the Russian land shall be put in order and there shall be justice in Rus'. O God, God, God, God, God.)¹

Lord my God! In Thee I have placed my trust, save me
O Lord! I do not know a way whereby I can go from Hindustan,
I could go to Ormuz but from Ormuz to Khorasan there is no

¹ The prayer for the Russian land is given in Turkic in the Troickij copy. Here it is translated from the Russian version, Grekov, Khoženie, p.68.

road, and to Chagatai there is no road, and there is no road to Bahrein, and there is no road to Yezd. Everywhere there is strife, everywhere the princes have been expelled. Jahan Shah Mirza ¹ has been killed by Uzun Hasan-beg. The sultan Abu-Said ² has been poisoned. Uzun Hasan-beg has taken the throne in Shiraz but the country has not confirmed him, and Muhammed Yadgar does not come to him, he is afraid. And there is no other road to take. To go to Mecca is to accept the Mohammedan faith, for because of their faith Christians can not go to Mecca (since they would have to accept Islam).³ To live in India one spends all he has, for everything is expensive here.

1 Sykes, Sir Percy, A history of Persia, London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1930. II, 139-140. Jahan Shah was the brother of the last ruling member of the "Black Sheep" dynasty (1378-1469), of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Jahan Shah had conquered Georgia, Fars and Kerman. Then, shortly after taking Khorasan, he was surprised and killed by Uzun Hasan of the rival "White Sheep" dynasty.

2 Ibid. p.138. Abu Said (1452-1467), a descendent of Tamerlane, seized Samarcand and established himself in Transoxiana and Northern Persia. In 1467 Abu Said invaded Azerbaijan but was captured by Uzun Hasan and handed over to Yadgar who put him to death. After the defeat of Abu Siad and Jahan Shah, Uzun Hasan became the ruler of Persia.

3 The repetition of content in this clause suggests that the clause was added by a copyist and does not belong to the text.

I am a single man, but two and a half altyns go for food daily although I have drunk no wine or honey water.

Malik-ut-Tujjar took two Indian cities which were engaging in piracy on the Indian Ocean,¹ and he captured seven of their princes and took their treasury; a load of jewels, a load of diamonds and rubies and a hundred loads of expensive goods. His troops took an innumerable quantity of other goods. He had besieged the city for two years with an army of two hundred thousand men, a hundred elephants and three hundred camels. Malik-ut-Tujjar approached Bidar with his army on the day of Kurbant Bairam, in Russian on St. Peter's day.² The sultan sent ten viziers to meet him at a distance of ten kovs (in a kov there are ten versts). Each vizier was at the head of ten thousand of his troops and ten elephants in armour.

1 See page 34 note 2.

2 Minaev, op.cit., July, p.1-2. Malik-ut-Tujjar was met by a triumphal procession on June 29, 1471, when he approached Bidar. Muhammad III and his mother were delighted by the brilliant success of Mahmūd Gāvān and conferred new titles on him.

At Malik-ut-Tujjar's ¹ every day five hundred men sit down to dine. Three viziers sit at dinner with him, and each vizier is accompanied by fifty men, and a hundred vassal nobles. Malik-ut-Tujjar keeps two thousand horses in his stable, and of these a thousand are kept saddled day and night in readiness; and he has a hundred elephants in his stable. Every night his palace is guarded by a hundred men in armour, twenty trumpeters, ten kettledrums and ten huge drums, each struck by two men.

Nizām-ul-Mulk and Malik-Khan and Farat-Khan took three large cities ² and they had a hundred thousand of their

1 Minaev, "Staraja Indija", P.227. Mahmūd Gāvān was celebrated for his generosity, splendour and wisdom. Ferishta tells of how he earned the name "Gāvān" i.e. "cow" (in Persian). Mahmūd Gāvān was on a terrace along with the sultan and several nobles when a cow approached and gave a loud bellow. Said one of the nobles; "Perhaps the learned minister could tell His Highness what the cow said." "She said," answered Malik-ut-Tujjar, "that I am of her kind and that I should not be talking with an ass".

2 Cambridge India, III, 415-416. Before Mahmūd Gāvān returned to Bidar news reached the sultan that the Hindu ruler of Southern Orissa had died and was succeeded by an adopted son Mangal who refused to continue the payment of tribute. Nizām-ul-Mulk was sent at the head of a great army to put down the revolt. Nizām-ul-Mulk defeated Mangal and put the deceased raja's cousin, Hambar, on the throne. The cities Rajamundry and Kondavir were captured, and now, for the first time, the kingdom of the Bahmanids extended from sea to sea.

soldiers and fifty elephants. They captured an immense quantity of sapphires and precious stones of all kinds, and all these jewels and sapphires and diamonds they cornered for Malik-ut-Tujjar; and he forbade the artisans to sell them to the merchants who had come to Bidar on the day of the assumption of the Holy Virgin.

The sultan rides out for recreation on Tuesdays and Thursdays and three viziers ride out with him. His brother rides out on Mondays with his mother and sister. Two thousand women come out on horseback and on gilded litters, ¹ and before them go a hundred spare horses in golden harness, and very many people accompany them on foot. In addition there are two viziers, and ten viziers, and fifty elephants in cloth blankets. On each elephant sit four men, naked but for a cloth on their buttocks. The women on foot are naked, and these women carry water for drinking and washing, but no one will drink from another's vessel.

Malik-ut-Tujjar set forth from Bidar with his army to conquer the Indians ² on the anniversary of Sheikh-Ala-ud-din,

1 Minaev, op.cit., p.220. The women on horseback and on litters are guards of the harem. Women soldiers are used to guard the harem of Emir Kabir of Hyderabad up to 1880.

2 Cambridge India, III, 416. When the revolt broke out in Southern Orissa, the rajas of Belgaum and Bankāpur, instigated by Virupaksha, of Vijayanagar, attempted to regain the port of Goa. Muhammad III and Malik-ut-Tujjar led the attack against the allies of Vijayanagar.

according to the Russian calendar, on the day of the mantle of the Holy Virgin; and fifty thousand soldiers went forth with him. The sultan sent fifty thousand of his men, and with him there went forth three viziers, and with the viziers went thirty thousand men and a hundred elephants equipped with howdahs and clad in armour. On each elephant there were four men armed with arquebuses. Malik-ut-Tajjar went forth to conquer Vijayanagar, ¹ a great Indian kingdom.

The prince of Vijayanagar has three hundred elephants and a hundred thousand soldiers, and he has fifty thousand horses. The sultan departed from the city of Bidar eight months after Easter, and with him there went forth twenty and six viziers (twenty Moslem and six Indian viziers). With the sultan there went forth of his court a hundred thousand cavalrymen and two hundred thousand infantrymen and three hundred elephants equipped with howdahs and in armour, and a hundred ferocious beasts, ² each with two chains. With the sultan's brother there went forth of his court a hundred

1 There are no historical records of an attack by the Bahmanid sultan against the city of Vijayanagar during the time Nikitin was in India. However, Nikitin was in Gulbarga, the headquarters, at the time, and was in a good position to know the aim of the campaign. Possibly the difficulty of capturing Belgaum and the death of the Queen Mother during the siege, discouraged the continuation of the campaign.

2 Minaev, op.cit., p.225. Minaev suggests that the "ferocious beasts" are lions or leopards, both of which were plentiful in Southern India.

thousand cavalrymen and a hundred thousand infantrymen and a hundred elephants clad in armour. With Malik-Khan there went forth of his court twenty thousand cavalrymen and sixty thousand infantrymen and twenty elephants clad in armour. With Bīdar-Khan ¹ there went forth thirty thousand cavalrymen, and with his brother there went forth a hundred thousand infantrymen and twenty-five elephants clad in armour and with howdahs. With the sultan there went forth of his court ten thousand cavalrymen and twenty thousand infantrymen and ten elephants with howdahs. With Vizier-Khan there went forth fifteen thousand cavalrymen and thirty thousand infantrymen and fifteen elephants clad in armour. With Kotwāl-Khan there went forth of his court fifteen thousand cavalrymen and forty thousand infantrymen and ten elephants. With each vizier there went forth ten thousand troops, and with another, fifteen thousand cavalrymen and twenty thousand infantrymen. With an Indian autonomous ruler there went forth of his army forty thousand cavalrymen and a hundred thousand infantrymen and forty elephants clad in armour, and each elephant carried four men armed with aquebuses.

1 Bīdar-Khan and below, Vizier-Khan and Kotwāl-Khan are not proper names. Their identity can not be established with certainty.

With the sultan there went forth twenty-six viziers and with each vizier there were ten thousand men and with another vizier there were fifteen thousand cavalrymen and thirty thousand infantrymen. There were four Indian grand viziers and with each there were of his army forty thousand cavalrymen and a hundred thousand infantrymen. And the sultan became angry with the Indians because few went forth with him, and he added twenty thousand infantrymen and two hundred thousand cavalrymen and twenty elephants. Such was the strength of the Moslem sultan of India. (Islam helps its followers)¹ but (God knows the true faith).² But God knows the true faith and the true faith is to know one God, and it is for the pure to invoke his name in every pure place.

1 This phrase appears in Persian in the Troickij copy. Trubeckoj, Kn. N. S. "Khoženie za tri morja Afanasija Nikitina kak literaturnyj pamjatnik", Svjatopolk-Mirskyj, D. P. and others, ed., Versty, Paris, 1926, I. 180. translates the phrase as "Islam pomogaet svoim posledovatelem" - "Islam helps its followers".

2 Grekov, Khoženie, p.190, (n.310). "Dīn-i-rāst khudā dānest", Persian for "God knows the true faith".

On the fifth Easter I bethought myself of Rus'. I set out from the city of Bidar a month before the Moslem Ulu-Bairam (of the faith of Mohammed, the apostle of God.)¹ But I do not know the Christian Easter, the resurrection of Christ; and I fasted with the Moslems according to their fasts and I broke my fast with them. I greeted Easter in Gulbarga, twenty kows from Bidar.

The sultan, accompanied by his army, met Malik-ut-Tujjar fifteen days after Ulu-Bairam, and they were all at Gulbarga. But their campaign was not successful. They took one Indian city but many of their men perished and much of their treasury was spent; for the Indian sultan, kadam² is very powerful. He has many soldiers and he dwells on a mountain in Vijayanagar. His city is very great.³ Around it

1 Grekov, *Khoženie*, p.191, (n.312). "Muhammad dīni rasūl Allāh", Persian for "the Mohammedan faith, the apostle of God".

2 Minaev, op.cit., July, p.16-17. The name "kadam" was not the proper name of the ruler of Vijayanagar, nor is it known as a title. Historical data is lacking concerning this period of the history of non-Moslem Southern India. The raja of Vijayanagar, between 1470-1472 may have been Pam-chandra-pao or Nara-sinkha-pao.

3 *Cambridge India*, III, 492, Vijayanagar was described by 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, the ambassador of Shah Rukh of Samarqand, in 1442. The city covered a space of sixty-four square miles and had seven enclosures and seven citadels. The three outer walls enclosed fields and the dwellings of the land workers while the inner wall enclosed the palace of the raja. Canals were made to bring water into the city from the Tangabhadra River.

are three ravines, and a river flows through the city. On one side of the city is a mighty jungle, on the other side is a valley, a very wonderful place and suitable for everything. From one side there is no way to approach the city. A road runs through the city but there is no direction from which to take the city; a great mountain and a dense jungle press right up to the city. The army besieged the city for a month. Men died from thirst and many perished from hunger and thirst. They could see the water but there was no way to take it. An Indian city ¹ was captured by Khoja Malik-ut-Tujjar and he took it by force. He assaulted the city day and night for twenty days, and his army neither drank nor ate. They besieged the city with cannon and five hundred picked men perished. When the city was captured they slaughtered twenty thousand men and women, and they took twenty thousand prisoners, big and small, and sold the prisoners at ten tangas a head and some at five tangas and children at two tangas each. But there was

¹ Minaev, op.cit.,p.16. Both the description of the city and its capture suggest Belgaum rather than Vijayanagar. Ferishta described the fortress of Belgaum as being surrounded by a deep ravine and inaccessible from any direction.

no treasury. They did not, however, capture the citadel.¹

From Gulbarga I went to Kalur. In Kalur cornelian is produced and here they finish it and export it to all the world. In Kalur there are three hundred diamond artisans; they (decorate weapons).² I remained here for five months and from here I went to Golconda; and here there is a very great market. From there I went to Gulbarga, and from Gulbarga I went to Aland, and from Aland to "Amindri",³ and from "Amindri" to "Naras", and from "Naras" to "Suri", and from

1 Cambridge India, III, 416. When only the citadel remained in his hands, Birkana, the raja of Belgaum, escaped from the stronghold and appeared in the Moslem camp in disguise. When he was led to the tent of Muhammad III he revealed his identity and begged for mercy. His life was spared, and Belgaum was given to Mahmūd Gāvān whose fief it adjoined. At this point news reached Muhammad that his mother had died in Bidar. The news grieved the sultan and he returned to Deccan to stay with Mahmūd Gāvān while the body was being prepared for burial.

2 Steingass, op.cit., "Silāh Mikunad", Persian for "decorate weapons".

3 Minaev, op.cit., July, p.57. It is uncertain what towns Nikitin meant by "Amindri", "Naras" and "Suri".

"Suri" I went to Dabhol, a port of the great Indian Ocean.

Dabhol is a very large city, and in this Dabhol gather all the coastal peoples of India and Ethiopia. And here I Afanasij, accursed servant of Almighty God, creator of Heaven and earth, bethought myself of the Christian faith, and of the baptism of Christ, and of the fasts ordained by the Holy Fathers, and of the teachings of the Apostles; and I fixed my mind on returning to Rus'. I boarded a "tava" and agreed on the price ¹ of the passage, to pay two gold pieces for myself to Ormuz.

I boarded a ship from Dabhol three months before Easter, before the Moslem fast. I sailed in the "tava" for a month and saw nothing. The next month I saw the mountains of Ethiopia and upon this the people cried out; (Allāh, protector,² Ollo konkar, bizim baši munda nasip balmysti".) ³ And in

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.193, (n.327). "Nalon" is the "payment of a sea passage". The word probably is derived from the Greek "naulon" meaning "payment of a sea passage".

2 Steingass, op.cit., "Allāh parwardagār", Persian for "Allah, protector".

3 Grekov, Khoženie, p.72. In the Russian version this passage is translated as; "It is apparent that we have been fated to perish here".

Russian they say; "O Lord God, O God, O God almighty, king of Heaven, Thou hast doomed us to perish here."

I remained in the land of Ethiopia five days and through the grace of God no harm was done me. We distributed much rice, pepper and many loaves of bread to the Ethiopians and so they did not plunder the ship. From here I sailed twelve days to Muscat, and in Muscat I greeted the sixth Easter. Then I sailed nine days to Ormuz and remained in Ormuz twenty days. From Ormuz I went to Lar and stayed three days. From Lar I went to Shiraz in twelve days and stayed in Shiraz seven days. From Shiraz I went to Abarguh in fifteen and remained in Abarguh ten days. From Abarguh I went to Yezd in nine days and stayed there eight days. From Yezd I went to Isfahan in five days and stayed in Isfahan six days. From Isfahan I went to Kashan and remained in Kashan five days. From Kashan I went to Kom, and from Kom I went to Saveh and from Saveh to Sultanieh, and from Sultanieh to Tabriz, and from Tabriz I went to the horde¹ of

¹ The horde of Hasan-beg was probably at Diarbekr (Diyār Bakr). Minorsky, V., "Uzun Ḥasan", Islam, IV, 1065-1069. The founder of the Turkomen (White Sheep) dynasty was the prince of Diyār Bakr. Uzun Ḥasan started his attack against Tokat from Diyār Bakr and returned to the same city after the attack.

Hasan-beg.¹ And I remained in the horde ten days for there was no way to go from there. Against the Turkish sultan he sent forty thousand of his soldiers and they took Sivas. They captured and burned Tokat, and they took Amasia and plundered many villages; and they advanced, fighting, against Karaman. And I left the horde and went to Erzingan and from Erzingan I went to Trebizond.

I arrived in Trebizond on the day² of the Mantle of the Holy Mother of God and ever-virginal Mary, and I remained in Trebizond six days and boarded a ship and agreed to pay a gold piece as a fare for myself to Kaffa (Theodosia). In

1 Sykes, *History of Persia*, II, 140-142. Hasan-beg or Uzun-Hasan of the "White Sheep" dynasty, after defeating Abu Said and Jahan Shah, became the ruler of Persia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Hasan-beg then made an alliance with the Doge of Venice for a combined attack against Mohamed II (1451-1481), the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and conqueror of Constantinople. Hasan-beg had married Theodora the daughter of the last emperor of Trebizond and hoped to regain the city. Caterino Zeno, a nephew of Theodora, was sent as the ambassador of Venice. He agreed to have the fleets of Venice attack the coast of Karamania (Karaman) while Hasan-beg would invade Asia Minor. "In 1472...a horde of light horsemen ravaged Asia Minor but a flying column under Mustafa, son of the sultan, defeated a Persian army". A powerful army of the Osmanlis invaded Persia but was stopped at the Euphrates. After this initial failure the alliance was abandoned.

2 October 14, 1472.

Trebizond the shubash¹ and the pasha² made much trouble for me. They took my stuff up into the citadel on the mountain and they searched through everything.³ They were looking for documents for I had come from the horde of Hasan-beg.

Through the grace of God I reached the third sea, the Black Sea and in the Persian language the sea of Istanbul. I sailed with the wind five days and reached "Vonada"⁴ and here we met a northerly gale which drove us back toward Trebizond. We waited at Platana for fifteen days, there being a strong contrary wind. And we set sail twice from Platana and each time we were met by a fierce gale that would not let us make way by sea. (O true God, God the protector),⁵ we know no

1 Kramers, J. H., "Şu bashi" *Islam*, IV, 491-492. "Şu bashi" is an ancient military title. During the Middle-Ages the "Şu bashi" was the chief officer of the police and the collector of fines and revenues.

2 "Pasha", in the given context, would be the governor of Trebizond. Deny, J., "Pasha", *Islam*, III, 1030-1032. "Pasha", during the fifteenth century, was the title of honour of the first four of nine grades of the civil service.

3 Grekov, *Khoženie*, p.139. AB readings add "and they pilfered all the small valuables".

4 Ibid., p.204, (n.360). "Vonada" is a cape on the south shore of the Black Sea, to the west of Trebizond.

5 Steingass, op.cit., "Allāhu haqq, Allāh parwardagār" Persian for "True God, God the protector".

other God than him. I crossed the sea and we came to Balacclava and from there to "Gurzuf"¹ and remained here five days.

Through the grace of God I reached Kaffa nine days before the fast of St. Philip.² (O God the protector.)³ Through God's grace I have crossed three seas. (The rest God knows, God the protector knows. In the name of the merciful gracious God, God is great, O blessed God, O blessed Lord, Jesus, spirit of God, peace be with thee. There is no God but God the creator, glory to God, praise be to God. In the name of God the merciful, God the gracious, he is God and there is non other than he; knowing all that is secret and that is manifest; he is merciful and gracious. He is God and there is none like him. He is the King, the light, the peace, the saviour, the guardian, the glorified, the mighty, the great, the creator, the recreator,

1 Grekov, op.cit., p.205, (n.364). "Gurzuf" is a town on the south shore of Crimea.

2 Russkij nacional'nyj kalendar'. The fast of St. Philip falls on November 27 (Julian), November 14 (Gregorian).

3 See page 61, note 5.

the portrayer. He is the judge of sins and the chastiser, granting, nourishing, ending all difficulties, knowing, accepting our souls, having spread out Heaven and earth, preserving everything, standing above all, raising up, casting down, hearing all things, seeing everywhere. He is the judge, just and righteous.)¹ O help Thy slave!

1 Grekov, Khoženie, p.73-74. The prayer of Afanasij Nikitin is in a mixture of Persian and various Turkic dialects. The translation is from the Russian version. See Appendix 1 on Nikitin's use of non-Russian languages.

The End.

Appendix 1

Nikitin's use of non-Russian languages.

The many passages written in Arabic, Persian and various Turkic dialects can hardly be passed without a comment. The number of times Nikitin addresses "Allah" may cause some to suspect that he had become, to some extent, a Moslem. Prince Trubeckoj ¹ thinks that Nikitin unquestionably remained a Christian throughout. Trubeckoj gives the following reasons for his conclusion. First; The use of Eastern languages gave a certain "local colour" to his work, the full psychological meaning of which, today, escapes both Russian and English readers alike. It must be remembered that the merchant milieu of Russia, in the fifteenth century, was familiar with Turkic and Persian. Second; Nikitin used Eastern languages to speak of experiences and to express opinions, the understanding of which should best be kept within his own milieu. Third; There were great advantages to be gained by accepting Islam. ² The merchant could travel more freely and pay a minimum duty. Nevertheless, Nikitin did not avail himself of these advantages and so he could not pass through Mecca even though there was no other way to go to Rus'.

1 Trubeckoj, Versty, 1, 132-136.

2 Major, op.cit., p.61, De Conti, travelling over the Indian Ocean between 1419-1444, found it necessary to renounce Christianity and to accept Islam. He was absolved by the Pope Eugene IV after he told his story to the pope's secretary.

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- (c) " " "Baku", I, 609-610.
- (d) Becker, C. H., "Egypt", II, 4.
- (e) Bjorkman, W., "Kāfir", II, 618-620.
- (f) Deny, J., "Pasha", III, 1030-1032.
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