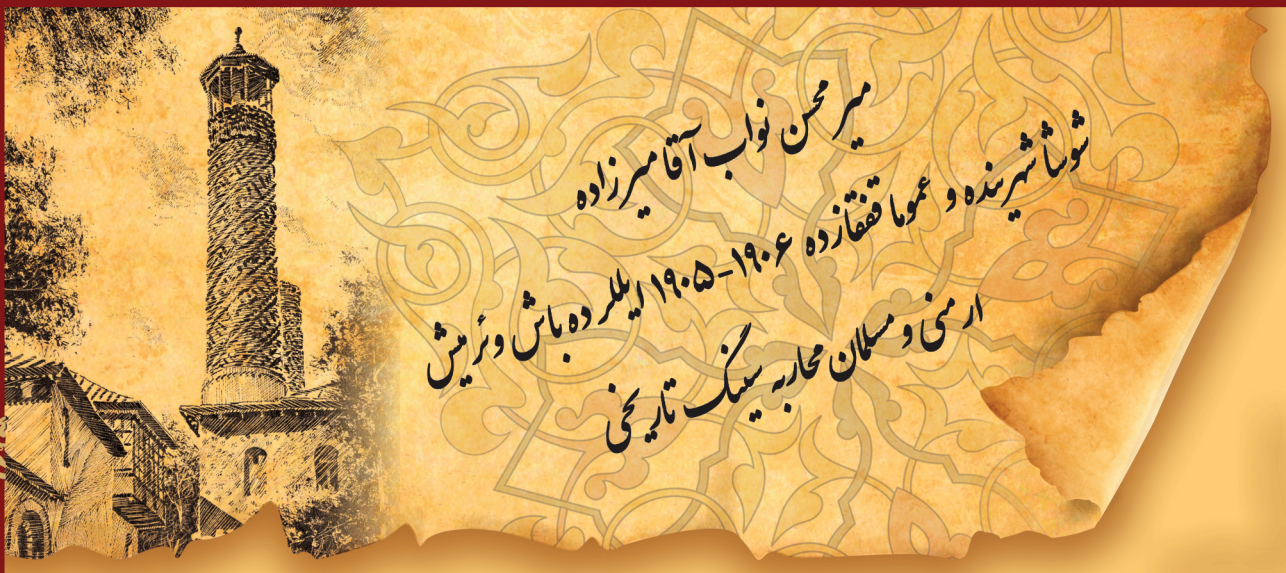


MIR MOHSUN NAVVAB |

THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM WAR OF 1905-1906



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MIR MOHSUN NAVVAB
THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM WAR
OF 1905-1906

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Mir Mohsun Navvab (1833-1918)



Mir Mohsun Navvab, a scholar, musician, historian, literary critic, and pedagogue, who occupied a prominent place in the history of science and culture of Azerbaijan, was born in 1833 in Shusha. He got involved in science and literature since his early youth, and actively participated in the public and cultural life of Karabakh. Navvab, who set a chemistry laboratory and small observatory in his home, published a textbook "Kifayatul-atfaal" [The Competence of Children] in 1899 on the basis of the experiments and observations carried out there together with his students. This was the first teaching resource on astronomy professionally developed in Azerbaijan in that period.

The school established by M.Navvab stood out from the majority of other teaching centers at that time, giving education both in classical (i.e the study of theology, Persian and Arabic) and secular sciences. This outstanding scholar, who appreciated the development of enlightenment and education, expressed his pedagogical views in his works "Nurul-anvar" [The Light of the Lights] and "Nesihetname" [The Book of Admonitions].

M.Navvab, who was involved in the study of history and theory of Azerbaijani music, assumed music as the key criterion of the nation's moral heritage and aesthetic taste. He interpreted the origin of the main mughams and dasgahs, their psychological and medical importance, and expressed his scientific opinion on the main issues related to acoustics in his letter "Vuzuh-ul-Argam" [Explanation of Numbers] published in Baku in 1913.

The memoirs "Tazkireyi-Navvab" [Biography of Karabakh], which were written by Mir Mohsun Navvab and gained fame within a short period of time in

Azerbaijan and Iran, include unique data about the life and works of more than 100 poets of Karabakh.

The author's work "The Armenian-Muslim War of 1905-1906" underlies his legacy as a historian.

The work reflects valuable information about the massacres committed by the Armenian nationalists against the Azerbaijanis in different regions of Azerbaijan, especially in Karabakh in the early XX century, and comprises some facts not encountered in other sources about many people associated with these events. The main point adding to the value of this work is, no doubt, its author's being a direct witness of the events he describes, as Mir Mohsun Navvab personally knew many people he was speaking about, and was well aware of their actions and thoughts.

It is no coincidence that a great many copies of that book were destroyed in the Soviet period. In 1993 the book was re-published on the basis of its manuscript. The present book is the English translation of the 1993 edition.

The translation of the book written in Azerbaijani into foreign languages will, no doubt, facilitate the elucidation of the mysteries related to the 1905-1906 events, eradication of the distortions, and thus make one more step towards the objective scene.

Mir Mohsun Navvab, who was rightly called the last outstanding representative and encyclopedic scholar of the classical period in Azerbaijan, passed away in his native city of Shusha in 1918.

THE VALUABLE MONUMENT OF THE BLOODY YEARS

From the perspective of studying the historical roots of the artificial Mountainous Karabakh problem, which for six years already has been brought up, and of unmasking the intentions of Armenian nationalists, as well as their defenders, who have brought it up, Mir Mohsun Haji Mirahmad oghlu Navvab's work *Tavarikhi-razm ve shurishi tayifeyi-eramaniyeyi-Gafgaz ba firgeyi musulmanan* (*The Histories of Warfare and Riots between the Caucasian Armenian Tribe and the Moslems*) hitherto unknown to the academic world is extremely important. M.M.Navvab did not remain indifferent to the events of his time, and described the massacres resulting from the Armenian nationalists' instigation against our people and with the help of the intrigue of the Russian Empire and its aggressive army during the years of 1905-1906, which constitute the most tragic and bloody pages of our history.

The work provides extensive information on different episodes about the crimes committed by the Armenian nationalists against the Azerbaijani Turks in Shusha and other villages of Karabakh between the years 1905 and 1906. It becomes clear from the writings of the author that the attitude of the Centre towards the two nations was different at that time. M.M.Navvab notes that the Azerbaijani Turks were strictly forbidden to carry arms by order of the Tsar. Using this opportunity, armed Armenian forces succeeded in easily taking unarmed Azerbaijanis hostage and brutally murdering them. They tried to inflict all kinds of material, spiritual and physical blows on both Azerbaijanis and Ottoman Turks when the opportunity presented itself. As stated in the work, even during the 1877 Russian-Turkish war the Armenians, who had entered the city of Kars within the Russian army, mercilessly burnt the manuscripts as well as the Holy Koran they had come upon there.

M.M.Navvab writes that first in the Ottoman state and further in the Russian cities, the Armenian nationalists had established special *gymdatkhanas*¹ (centres uniting the ancestors of the modern Armenian bearded bandits against the Turks) where intelligentsia, youth, craftsmen and other members of the Armenian community were drawn. One of the main goals of the *gymdatkhanas* was to collect money from the rich Armenian strata to obtain the necessary military supplies and to bribe Tsarist clerks and officers in order to use them in propaganda, sabotage, and plots as well as in armed clashes against the Ottoman and Azerbaijani Turks.

It was churches and churchmen operating in sites that blessed both the *gymdats* and other Armenian nationalist squads and engendered most of the bloody crimes

¹The author of the book uses the word 'gymdat' to imply the members of the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party

and massacres committed by them against our people. And they were supervised by Echmiadzin (Three preachers).

Taking into account that the church is the untouchable temple of the Lord, the priests turned it into the military arsenal providing the Armenian squads of bandits with armory against our people in 1905-1906. In 1906 in Shusha some Armenians, who were fed up with these incessant massacres, secretly informed the Russian General, who was the head of the city administration, about the existence of secret arsenals down underneath the Shusha churches and required the abolition of those arsenals. In the investigation numerous guns, bullets, cannons, bombs, dynamites, and arsenals filled in with different substances to be used in the arson of the houses were detected from the underground layers of two churches. Due to such kind of operations completely contradicting the main activity of the church, the priests such as Ter-Ovanesyan, Ter-Arsen Vartapetov, Ter-Karapet Vartapetov, Mirzabekov, Asatur Vartapetov were merely moved away from Shusha.

It might seem surprising to some whether it should be possible to gather and store in the temple of God the weapons giving the smell of blood and death, which were completely contradicting the laws of the church that calls humanity to moral purity, recommends them to give up the evil, animosity, atrocity and invites humans to justice, kindness, righteousness, as well as to arm the bandit forces and guide them towards the aggression against another nation and its land?!

If we follow numerous sources written in Tsarist Russia, the former USSR, as well as in foreign countries, on the conspicuous and hidden massacres committed by the Armenian nationalists against our people, and on the propaganda and armed battles conducted with the aim of sharing and possessing our land, we would see that the main forces instigating and organizing the animosity between the two nations were the Church and the Armenian "intelligentsia" gathered round it.

General Mayevski, the Russian diplomat, who studied comprehensively the activities of the Church during the riots and massacres continuous between the two nations, writes in his notes, "I want to say a few words about the Armenian priesthood. Their religious activity is too scarce. The activity of the Armenian priesthood consists of instigating the conflict between the Moslems and Christians rather than delivering "God's word".

In his time the French scholar Baron de Bay wrote the following after having visited Echmiadzin and becoming familiar with its activity, "for a while this church used to be the nest of false-coiners... Despite all my gratitude, I must be sincere. This monastery struck me as a political centre rather than a religious centre".

One can profusely cite different sources elucidating the inhuman activity of the Armenian Church. The Church has lately been one of the powerful stands of the Armenian mafia both abroad and at home, the organizer of terror and propaganda networks and its material provider as well.

The aforementioned work by Mir Mohsun Navvab will provide valuable information in the study of the reasons for and historical background of the war waged presently both in Mountainous Karabakh and other regions as well as in the study of the forces and sides supporting the Armenians and in the detection of the policy pursued by the foreign forces in this region.

KAMANDAR SHARIFLI

INTRODUCTION

Esteemed and kind brethren, with great gratitude in your presence, I, Navvab Mir Mohsun, the son of the deceased Haji Seyid Ahmad Aghamirzazadeh Garabaghi relates that these days, meaning in the year 1323 Hijri (1905 Christian) I briefly described in Azerbaijani Turkish some of the riots and massacres taking place between the Armenians and the Muslims in the province of Caucasus and some foreign countries so that they are long remembered.

First, one should know that the Caucasian provinces had been under the subordination of the Muslim padishahs, especially the Persian shahs. When different khanates emerged in the Caucasian provinces, including Azerbaijan, and deserted Persian domination, at that time, i.e. in 1161 Hijri (1748 Christian), Panah Khan had a fortress built in Bayat. After a while, he left that fortress to construct another one in Tarnakut in the year 1165 Hijri (1751). He, nevertheless, stayed at that fortress for 5 years. Having seen Panah Khan's reluctance towards this fortress, his noblemen asked him to have a new fortress built on a high picturesque place with fine weather, if he found it advisable. That place had a suitable position from a defensive perspective as well. When Panah Khan visited that place with his noblemen, he found it a high place surrounded by tall rocks and mountains from all four sides. Neither human beings nor animals could descend or ascend those rocks, except the birds, and they could only fly there. The place can be visited only from two sides - from east and west. Panah Khan liked the place, and stated that it was a very good, fortified place for a city. Unfortunately, there was not enough water and rivers there. Further, a well sinker came and dug wells in a few places there by order of the khan. The wells worked well, but the water was salty.

In 1170 Hijri (1756 Christian), a fortress was built in this very place on Panah Khan's order, and that fortress was named the fortress of Panahabad which is now called Shusha Galasi². By and by, the fortress was improved to become a city, where they built a mint, and began to coin money. Panah Khan's reign in Karabakh continued until he was taken to Iran by the Persian Padishah (The Khan, who was taken to Iran, died there)³.

Following Panah Khan, Ibrahim Khalil Khan began to reign, taking his father's throne. Attaching great importance to the improvement of Gala⁴ (the city of Panahabad was also known by the name *Gala* among the people), Ibrahim Khalil Khan had a lot of villages built around it. Thus, his khanate gradually gained strength and he acquired prominence.

When the Persian Padishah Agha Mahammad Shah Gajar entered Gala follow-

² the Fortress of Shusha

³ Author's note: However, they say though Panah Khan died in Iran, his corpse was brought to Aghdam and buried in the territory of the mansion.

⁴ the fortress

ing an attack on Karabakh by countless troops, Ibrahim Khalil Khan fled to Daghistan. And the house of the khan's son, Mahammad Hassan Agha⁵ was chosen by Agha Mahammad Shah Gajar as a residence.

One day, Agha Mahammad Shah Gajar threatened a servant by the name of Safarali in conjunction with a crime he had committed, and said that he would have all the guilty beheaded and a minaret built with Safarali's head placed on top of it. Safarali used to stand guard at the shah's gate. That night, together with an associate of his, he entered the house where the shah was sleeping and murdered the shah by stabbing him in the stomach with a dagger.

This incident happened in 1211 Hijri (1796 Christian). Following the shah's murder, the troops were dispersed and left for Iran, and Ibrahim Khalil Khan returned to resume his place. After Fatali Shah, Agha Mahammad Shah's successor to the throne, found out about the incident, he sent troops to Karabakh again under his son Abbas Mirza's orders. Upon hearing about the event, Ibrahim Khan became frightened. He immediately sent his son Mahammad Hassan Agha to the Russian vicegerent in Ganja to ask him for help. The Russian vicegerent took ten thousand troops and came to Karabakh together with Mohammad Hassan Agha. Ibrahim Khalil Khan came to meet the Russian vicegerent with some cavalry from the Amirlis and Jabrayillis. Following the meeting, they moved towards the Araz River to face the Persian troops. In a place called Aslanduz, he came upon few Persian troops that withdrew and returned to Iran after some fighting. After the battle, Ibrahim Khalil Khan returned with his cavalry and, together with the Russian troops, set out towards the fortress. Having reached the crossroads between Ganja and Karabakh, the Russian vicegerent came forward to shake hands with the khan and said, "Your Excellency's Gala has been much praised. Unfortunately, I haven't been able to see your Gala". Because of his pureheartedness not perceiving the Russian vicegerent's malice, the poor khan stated, "Nothing would be lost if you go to Ganja some days late. Please, let us go to our place. You can stay with us a couple of days and see Gala". After thinking a little, the vicegerent said, "That is fine. We can stay at your place for one day and night". Following this discussion, they set forth towards Gala with the troops. Having reached a place called Khan Baghi,⁶ the vicegerent ordered the troops by saying, "There is no need for so many people to enter the city. Let some hundred people come with me to Gala, the rest of the troops should wait for us here until our return". The Russian vicegerent took some hundred soldiers and went to the Khan's at Gala. Upon entering Gala, the vicegerent ranked the soldiers, and turning to them, he ordered something in Russian. The khan asked, "Why did you rank the soldiers?" The vicegerent said, "I've ranked the soldiers in your honour". Afterwards, the vicegerent said something to his soldiers; consequently, in haste they rushed to climb onto strongholds

⁵ chief, master, lord

⁶ The Khan's Garden

and fences, and started to blow their horns. That very moment the horns were also heard from the place called Kahrab in Khan Baghi. This surprised the khan. After a little while, the remaining soldiers arrived in Gala.

The vicegerent came up to the khan and told him, "We have already occupied Gala. If you surrender to the Russian Padishah with this fortress and with your entire state, authority will remain in your hands. If you do not intend to obey, we grant you a delay. Within these three hours you can take from your palace whatever you need, and go anywhere you wish".

Being deeply upset by this treason, the khan cursed the Russian vicegerent who stated in answer, "There is no use of talking too much. We have occupied the city and granted you a three-hour delay. You can choose". With no way-out, the poor khan came to his palace. He took as many useful things as possible and deserted Gala with all his family, cavalry, foot-troops and servants. They put up tents and settled on a flat rocky space in the vicinity of Gala. Trenches were dug around the tents and canopies to provide the safety of the khan and his household living in them. Immediately the scribes wrote a petition to the Persian shah, Fatali Shah, on the khan's order. In the petition the khan wrote, "The Russian vicegerent has maliciously tricked me. Now I have left Gala with all my people and settled on a mountain outside it. Faithfully, I am sending this petition to you so that you extend your helping hand to me. From now on I am going to obey you". The khan put the petition between the pages of the Holy Koran, sealed it and sent it to the shah, which implied, "by this Holy Koran I shall obey your Excellency".

Upon reception of the petition, the great shah immediately recruited 12 thousand troops and sent them together with his artillery under the commandment of Abulfat Agha, the son of Ibrahim Khalil Khan to the rescue of the khan.

Meanwhile, the Russian vicegerent was informed of the incident. That very hour of the night, several hundred soldiers were recruited on the vicegerent's order, and the messenger was given command over them.

The troops came to Shushakand crossing the underground passage situated beneath the lower stronghold.

The head of the troops took several Armenian guides from Shushakand, and then they moved hideously through the foot of the mountains towards the place settled by Ibrahim Khalil Khan. When the troops reached the khan's trench, Ibrahim Khalil Khan was sitting in the midst of his noblemen and talking to them while smoking tobacco from a gold hookah pipe. My own, meaning your humble servant Navvab Mir Mohsun's grandfather on his mother's side, the deceased Amiraslan Bey, was also present at this gathering. Suddenly, news was given to the khan that the Russian troops were advancing towards him. The khan rose and reiterated several times, "You infidel, you infidel!"

Immediately one of the Amirli cavalcares fired at one of the soldiers and killed him. At that moment, the Russian soldiers immediately fired at them in unison. Some of the bullets hit Ibrahim Khan who fell off his seat. The khan's wife and children rushed to him, embraced his body, and burst out into crying. Some of the bullets hit them, the noblemen, and servants. The survivors ran into different directions each taking something. Amiraslan Bey ran immediately taking the deceased Govhar Agha and the golden hookah. The unfortunate khan's people took his surviving household and children, rescuing them from the massacre. And Amiraslan Bey hid Govhar Agha in a safe and inviolable place. Then he returned to take some food for Govhar Agha. With tears in his eyes Govhar Agha had some pieces of it unwillingly. Amiraslan Bey calmed Govhar Agha a bit and then brought him to his own house.

On the other side, following Ibrahim Khan's murder, his cavalry were dispersed into different directions. The cavalry leaving the site of incident ran into Abulfat Agha's troops in the place called Nabatkhan. Abulfat Agha noticed some horsemen riding at high speed. He asked his servants to return the horsemen and take them to his location. Upon hearing about the incident that Ibrahim Khan endured, he burst into crying and then returned with the troops to Iran for a new decree from the shah.

To make a long story short, this incident is comprehensively interpreted in the "*Tarixi Gajariyya*"⁷ and "*Karabakh tarixi*"⁸. Those wishing to read can refer to those history books. As for our aim, it is to state the incidents (riots and massacres) occurring between the Armenian tribe and Muslims during these years.

Once the Russian state prevailed over Caucasian soil, peace was bestowed everywhere. No nation had anything to do with others. All were concerned with their own affairs, every nation performing their own prayers in their own temples by their own rules. No nation attacked another. Essentially, there had mostly been affection and friendship between the Armenians and Muslims and they traded with each other. During the period of khanates, there was such friendliness between the Armenians and Muslims. Even Ibrahim Khan had married Hurizad, the daughter of Malik Shahnazar, one of the Armenian *maliks*⁹. The same Hurizad Khanum has a *waqf*¹⁰ in the yard of the great mosque even in the present.

Unfortunately, the Armenian folk's nature has now changed. Their appearance is not identical with their inside. Although by appearance they pretend to be friends, there is malice within their inside. They do know that they always suffer due to their nature's being so malicious.

⁷ The History of Gajar

⁹ The History of Karabakh

¹⁰ The Karabakh khanate was administratively divided into mahals which were headed by naibs who were, in their turn, led by maliks. Back in the 18th century, there were 5 Christian maliks in Karabakh. They were of Alban origin. However, the Armenians present them as Armenian maliks.

BAGHIRGAN MOUNTAIN

At this point, one should write a few words about some incidents committed by the Armenian folk. First, during the reign of the deceased Ibrahim Khan there was a high rock in the place called Baghirgan Mountain to the east of Panahabad, the Fortress of Shusha. An Armenian, by the name of Avan Kokha,¹¹ used to live on that mountain together with his subjects. He had ordered his subjects to capture Muslims wherever they ran into them and take them to his presence. The Muslim captured on Avan Kokha's order would be undressed and laid with his face down. Then with a knife, they would draw two parallel lines on both sides on his skin from his neck to the fleshy part of his body in the width of four fingers, tie the edge of the skin to a strong branch of the lowered tree, and then release that branch. When the branch of the tree went strongly up, that poor Muslim's skin would be peeled off to his neck, and his scream would echo on the mountain. Those who witnessed or heard this incident would become terrified¹². Hence, the name of the rock "Baghirgan".

THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM WAR IN OLD TIMES

In 1260 Hijri (1844 Christian) an Armenian gunstock-maker, by the name of Isaballi, together with some other Armenians would imitate and mock Shi'ah Muslims' staging of the mourning scene describing the Karbala tragedy. As soon as the Muslims heard about the incident, they locked their shops and bazaar, went to Khan Baghi and got Jafargulu Khan, the city judge brought to Gala. The city witnessed a big scandal. Young and old, all rushed towards the judge. No matter how insistently the judge, terribly frightened from this situation, tried to calm down the Muslims, he failed. Finally, he managed to escape on some pretext and go home. The riots became increasingly more violent. To prevent it, Ala Bey, another city judge in Shushakand was brought in. The crowd surrounded Ala Bey as soon as he entered the square on horseback. Coming forward to him, a sayyid¹³, by the name of Mir Hadi, pulled Ala Bey off the horse and struck him on the head. The crowd rushed to the Armenians. Leaving their shops, the Armenians started to flee. Some locked their shops, others simply closed their doors, and some others set out running barefoot having no other alternative. Some farsighted Muslims took some of the fleeing Armenians into their houses, protected and calmed them down. And some ignorant Muslims beat some Armenians to a pulp. In short, the

¹¹ a pious endowment

¹² Kokha was an administrative rank higher than kandkhuda, i.e. the head of several villages while kandkhuda was at the head of a village.

¹³ Translator's note: "Baghirgan" in Azerbaijani Turkish means "with the soul all bleeding".

city judge managed to save the Armenians from a great disaster, somewhat calming down the Muslims.

In the Russian-Ottoman war of 1294 Hijri (1877 Christian) some of the army commanders of the Russian state were of Armenian origin. During the occupation of the city of Gars, those Armenians burned as many Muslim books and Holy Koran as had passed into their hands.

In that period the Armenians' great craftsmen developed a machine in Echmiadzin (Three churches) in the city of Iravan and printed 9 million worth fake bills. When the state found out about it, a raid was carried out to confiscate that money and the machine, also the state arrested and punished those who printed fake money as well as those who made them do it.

In the year 1321 Hijri (1903 Christian) two brothers from a Muslim village, by the name of Mohammad and Salman ran away in protest to their *yuzbashi*¹⁴ to find refuge by Alexan, an Armenian living in the mountains who burnt coals in the forest. After initial greetings, the two brothers took seats. The weather being cold, they warmed up by the pit for a while. And then taking out of their *khurjuns*¹⁵ all their food, they gave half of it to the Armenian and ate the other half.

Being aware of the incident, the parents of the two young men would take food and bread to the coal-house every day. This story went on for several days. One day again some delicious dishes were brought to them. Dividing the food into two, the young men gave one-half to the Armenian, ate the other half, and fell asleep next to the heat. That damned Armenian had hidden two more Armenians, having invited them to his place earlier. Once the two young men fell asleep, the three Armenians got up and slowly approached them with an axe in their hands and cut through the poor souls' heads. The young men gave a scream only once and breathed their last. Then those damned Armenians stripped down the two poor creatures taking their clothes and the contents of their pockets, threw their bodies into the coal pit to burn.

Again the other day two Muslims from the Afatli village were murdered, and their corpses were burned by the Armenians from the Ballija village, who had captured them maliciously.

In 1321 Hijri (1903 Christian), during the Russo-Japanese War, an Armenian from Karabakh bestowed a million and half manat worth ship on the Japanese state.

¹⁴ 'Sayyid' is an honorific title denoting males accepted as descendants of the Islamic prophet Muhammad through his grandsons, Hasan ibn Ali and Husayn ibn Ali, sons of Muhammad's daughter Fatimah and his son-in-law Ali (Ali ibn Abi Talib). Sometimes the word 'agha' is also used in this sense.

¹⁵ An official representative elected by the village community in pre-revolutionary Azerbaijani villages

At that time while the Russian state was deeply involved in the war, groups of soldiers recruited from among the Armenians fled with their arms to the Ottoman and Iranian states, betraying the Russian state. In short, breaking their oaths before their faith, they would commit different acts of treason.

They would organize *gymdatkhanas* in every city. First, they started to establish such centres in the Ottoman cities and later in different cities of Russia. People of all walks of life were attracted to these *gymdatkhanas*: the educated youth, tradesmen, craftsmen and others.

The session of the *gymdats'* community adopted a decision that every man of business should donate money to *gymdatkhanas*. In accordance with that decision, letters were sent from *gymdatkhanas* to the men of business urging them to send money in the indicated amount. In case the Armenian business owner failed to meet the demand, an announcement would be written to him from the *gymdatkhana* for the second time. If that man again for the third time refused to donate, he was harassed. If the demand was not met this time either, the *gymdats* would hire a man or two to murder that person. Those men would kill the intended person and then go into hiding. Nobody would know who committed the crime and where the criminal disappeared. If anyone knew and recognized the criminals, he would dare not report him. For, anyone who dared to try to reveal the criminal, he himself would be exposed to terror of the *gymdatkhana* men.

An Armenian by the surname of Jamgarov, whose father had been a farrier, became a millionaire in a short span of time by the consent of God. The *gymdats* required from him 30 thousand manats for *gymdatkhana* addressing him in writing, like all other Armenians. Ignoring the *gymdats'* demand, he left for Moscow. Then *gymdats* wrote to the *gymdatkhana* situated in Moscow that he should be murdered as a punishment for his disobedience to their demand.

The heads of the Moscow *gymdatkhanas* cast a lot among their hired killers and authorized one of them to kill Jamgarov. That killer murdered Jamgarov at the gate of the church in Moscow.

Thus, the hired killers of the *gymdatkhanas* committed the murder of innocent Armenians and Russians.

POSTSCRIPT: In 1321 Hijri (1903 Christian) the Russian state wanted to take possession of the church properties in the province of Caucasus. That time the heads of the Armenian communities in the Caucasian cities assembled and decided to resist the Russian state's intention and prevent its realization. As a result, many people of the Armenian origin were murdered by the state. Moreover, the prominent chiefs of many Armenian communities were captured and exiled to Siberia. The properties of the churches were taken and transferred to the possession of the state.

POSTSCRIPT: In the indicated year, a lot of blood was innocently shed in the

cities, the peoples inflicted many tortures on each other. As the unpleasant impact of the situation engulfed everything all around, it deprived people from the pleasant and peaceful life.

Especially, in the land of Manchuria so many innocent people of Russian origin were murdered, the ships were sank and destroyed, so many cities and villages turned into ruins.

In this period an epidemic broke out in the province of Iran, people perished in tremendous numbers.

The other day your faithful servant's, i.e. Navvab Mir Mohsun's brother Haji Mirza was killed while asleep by his servant, by the name of Amas, in Tehran, who fled taking as much jewelry and money as possible. However, he couldn't hush up his crime and was caught by the Russian court.

POSTSCRIPT: On 3 July 1904, a son was born to the Russian tsar. He was named Alexei.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ARMENIANS AND MUSLIMS IN BAKU IN 1904

First of all, one should know that the Armenians from the city of Iravan are very vicious, inimical, presumptuous, selfish people molded with intrigue. Animosity and disturbance are sure to occur in a province where they are encountered. The Armenians from Iravan were the primary instigators of all the disturbances and conflicts occurring in the Caucasian provinces.

One day the Iravan Armenians in Baku attempted to wreak havoc in the city. That is, one of those Armenians, who considered himself the most valiant and bravest of all, killed a Muslim. Then he vaunted everywhere proudly boasting of the crime he had committed. One day while he was walking along the street, an 18-year old young man from Baku stalk came up to him and asked,

- Are you that Armenian valiant?

- You little ass, it's me!

On hearing the answer, the young man took out his pistol and killed him shooting three bullets into his body. The Armenians caught this Muslim guy, beat and took him to the courthouse where he was sent to jail after being searched and repeatedly investigated. The Armenians demanded that the guy be returned to the courthouse for another investigation after they had bribed and won over his investigator. They submitted their conditions to the courthouse officer that the guy should be escorted to him by Armenian soldiers. As soon as the fellow was brought to the official, he said, "I stated all the truth. And you wrote it all down. What was the use of taking me here for the second time?" Getting angry, the official poked

the fellow on the neck and ordered to take him to the prison. The fellow begged the official not to send him with the Armenian soldiers. For, they would kill him on the way. Not listening to him, the official ordered to take him to the jail. And those Armenians from Iravan dragged the fellow to a narrow street where they laid him out and killed him denting with their bayonets. Then they reported to the official that they had killed him because he tried to escape.

POSTSCRIPT: Agha Razi, a respected man from Sabunchu, who was the owner of a quarry, was murdered by being exposed to the Armenians' attack while riding on a phaeton along the street. Having heard about the incident, the Baku people were much distressed. In addition, due to some other crimes committed by the Armenians prior to that, a great disturbance broke out among the people who could not stand this hostility of the Armenians any more. They locked their shops, bazaars. The young men armed themselves with guns and pistols, rushed towards the Armenians, killing them wherever they were in the shops, bazaars, or in the streets, stacked their bodies up in piles.

THE INCIDENT BY LALAYEV IN BAKU

There was a man, by the surname of Lalayev who was Armenian by nationality, and owned a quarry. This Armenian was boasting too much because of the abundance of his wealth. That is, whenever the Muslims were mentioned at Armenians' gatherings or meetings, he would appeal the Armenians, "Shame on you, you are shivering when Muslims are mentioned. Who are the Muslims that you are scared of them so much? I consider Muslims a fly or an ant. Even if they were fire, they would not be able to burn themselves".

With the rumbling of guns and pistols, the brave Muslims' growling and uttering "Ya Ali!"¹⁶ overgrew everywhere during the riot in Baku, following the murder of Agha Razi of Sabunchu, that Lalayev triggered all the ammunition he had kept at home. Arming his squad of 20-30 Armenian bandits, he directed them to kill the Muslims. After all the doors and windows around his house were closed on Lalayev's order, the members of that squad took positions behind the windows, doors, and chimneys of the house and fired at the Muslims walking along the street. As a result, the traffic ceased. That day Taghi Bey, the son of Shirin Bey was visiting his nephews by their invitation. While riding on a phaeton along that street, Taghi Bey, the son of Shirin Bey was fired at and killed by those bandits, and his phaeton driver was badly wounded in several places. Meanwhile, a brave and valiant young man, by the name of Aghakarim, who had earned great fame among the people of Baku, together with his men, was sauntering down the streets

¹⁶ A container consisting of connected double sacks woven with woolen yarn or made of coarse material to carry food or other goods on horseback with the sacks hanging by the sides of an animal or carried by a man over his shoulder with one sack in front and the other behind

of Baku, challenging and sending to Hell the Armenian bandits who attempted to kill Azerbaijanis. Finally, they reached the street where Lalayev's house was located. Dividing his squad into two, Aghakarim ordered one of them to fire at Lalayev's house from behind the walls and the other one to open the gate to the house with pickaxes and crowbars. Ducking by the walls under the rain of bullets, the second group approached the gate to Lalayev's house and began breaking the gate with crowbars and pickaxes. They broke the gate into pieces with the tools in their hands and brought it down. Aghakarim and his squad assaulted in with a cry "Ya Ali!" roaring like an angry lion. The crowd was terrified by the clattering of the guns and the growling of the brave men. The bandits at Lalayev's place were bewildered and benumbed. And when they wanted to flee dropping their guns, Aghakarim's squad murdered them all, also took out and punished the ones who were hiding at home. Then with several of his men Aghakarim entered Lalayev's room. Aghakarim came up and said,

- Blessed one, how are you? Those Muslims who you considered a fly and ant, each of them has turned into a roaring lion and come to you.

Shaking like a willow leaf, Lalayev said,

- I have been wrong, please excuse me. Today is the day of bestowal; take as much money as you need for your efforts. There are coupons in the trunk. Take them to the treasurer and the bank to get the money. Share it among the men.

Aghakarim said,

- We haven't come here for money. This is a national war. We put our hearts into the defense of the nation, and for that reason, we are here. We are not from those who betray their nation for money.

At that point, Lalayev's wife came just on time to cover her husband and in tears begged Aghakarim not to kill him,

- I'll bring as much money as you need.

Aghakarim told the woman,

- We don't need money. The husband of yours should be killed. Your man was boasting a lot at the Armenians' gatherings that Muslims are flies in my presence. I will kill all of them and invest half a million manats.

POSTSCRIPT: In connection with his state, Lalayev was said to have sent one of his men to Haji Zeynalabdin Taghiyev and asked him for his rescue. Haji said, "This is an issue with no concern to me. The incident is a national issue, what can I say?"

In short, no matter how much Aghakarim tried to pull the woman away from Lalayev, he failed. Suddenly a man from among the crowd opened fire at the woman and killed her. Aghakarim reproached him and then killed Lalayev, firing several shots at him.

Following Lalayev's murder, all came out of the house. They set fire to the house, sprinkling kerosene onto it from all sides. The house started to burn with

enormous explosions, which implied that the storehouses of Lalayev's house had been full of boxes of ammunition and explosives. The people in close proximity were running in all directions shielding their ears against the rumbling heard in the house and the noise of explosions. Together with the ammunition, the house burnt to ashes. They say the house was fuming continuously for a month.

They say Lalayev had a nice-looking, beautiful daughter. No one disturbed that girl, she was kindly treated and brought to Haji Zeynalabdin's school for young ladies and given to the care of some reliable people.

POSTSCRIPT: When the riot in Baku intensified more, an armed squad of Armenians wandered along the streets of the city and murdered the porters and helpless elderly. In the meantime, one of the religious figures of Baku gathered the women and children in the vicinity as well as the old to his house and locked the gate. When the squad of Armenian bandits reached the house, to take Lalayev's revenge, they decided to murder the women and children in the mullah's place and set fire to the house. When they wanted to break the gate and enter house with this intention, a squad of Lezgis rushed towards them from the other side. They rescued the women and children in the mullah's house, killing those Armenians. Further, the Lezgis cleaned their swords off the Armenians' blood, turned their faces upwards to ask, "Oh Muhammad, may our fathers and mothers be sacrificed for your sake, we've sent the enemies of your religion to Hell. Are you pleased with us?" In short, on that day of defense, the Lezgis were of great help to the Muslims of Baku. That day five of them perished as martyrs.

THE BAKU GOVERNOR'S MURDER BY THE ARMENIANS

A little while after the riot in Baku while the governor of the city was riding on a phaeton along the street, several Armenians attacked the phaeton and blew it up with a bomb. The bombs blew up on the phaeton, landing and bursting nearby. The governor and the horses, both badly wounded from the explosion, died right there."

One of the Armenian bandits was captured, and the others managed to flee and hide. As a result of the investigations, later four more accomplices were arrested.

They say, those five Armenian criminals were punished by being hung from the gallows.

This incident was followed by silence for some time. However, not giving up their intrigues, individual Armenian mischief-makers killed the Muslims on the sly when the opportunity presented itself. From time to time, such kind of intrigues and betrayals occurred on both sides.

THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM INCIDENT IN THE CITY OF IRAVAN IN 1905

In any province wherever there were some Armenians of Iravan, a riot was sure to break out there. These Armenians of Iravan were selfish, rancorous and unlawful.

Thus, a riot broke out with Armenians in the Muslim quarters of 80 houses in the city of Iravan. The Armenians, who caused this riot, had started firing intensively on the Muslims' mansions in the quarters. Although Muslims were fewer than Armenians in these quarters, the former stood with steadfastness in resistance to the Armenians and inflicted heavy strikes on them. Under the rain of bullets lasting three days and nights from both sides, forty Armenians and two Muslims were killed. Running out of bullets, the Muslims had to desert the quarters by midnight after three days. Having heard the news, the Armenians rushed into the Muslims' houses and looted them. Failing to escape, five women and children were crying shivering from fear in the corner of a house. The Armenians burnt all the books and the Holy Koran that had passed into their hands. It is hard to describe the torture the Armenians inflicted on the old women and men as well as children.

As soon as the Kurdish tribes living in the surrounding villages of the city heard about the Armenians' cruelties and tyranny against the Muslims in Iravan, they set off, all armed on their horseback, for the places of massacre in Iravan, roaring like infuriated lions. They killed the Armenians on their way, pillaged their property and set fire to their houses. The Armenians, who managed to escape, came to a big village and assembled there. A courthouse of the state, along with some troops, was stationed in that village. To cease the on-going massacre between the Armenians and Muslims, the troops hindered the Kurds. By the instruction of the viceroy of the Caucasus, His Excellency the SheikhuIslam, and Patriarch Hayrik offered people words of advice and admonition reading prayers in the mosque and giving sermons in the church respectively. Thus, they stopped the on-going massacres between the two nations.

Following this incident, to raise the local Armenian population against the Muslims, the Armenian *gymdats* were dispersed to different cities and villages and started to conduct propaganda campaigns among them. The farsighted Armenians, reluctant to join the war, tried to shun the *gymdats'* intrigues. And the *gymdats* would capture and kill such Armenians when the opportunity presented itself.

On this very date, i.e. in 1905 cholera broke out in Tehran and its vicinities as well as Khorasan. As a result of this disease lasting for two months, approximately hundred people would die per day.

THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM INCIDENT IN NAKHCHIVAN IN 1905

As soon as the mischievous Armenians of Iravan came to Nakhchivan, the situation became intensified there. The Armenians of Nakhchivan began to prepare the military ammunition - cannons, bombs, five-charge rifles and so on, which they had long stored, for the next massacre. After deploying the military supplies at the crossroads and in secret positions, they closed their shops, bazaars and as a whole community suddenly began to fire incessantly on the Muslims from their weaponry set in position. Unaware of the plot, the poor Muslims, who were busy with their trade in the shops and bazaars, were confused and did not know what to do. Some managed to close their shops; the others ran home for their lives leaving the shops open. In half an hour those who had guns or pistols took them, and those who didn't have any, took daggers, pickers, axes, hooks and clubs to counterpoise the Armenians and started fighting against them. Attacking the Armenian militants who were unaware and striking them with their axes, hooks and clubs in their hands, the unarmed Muslims laid the Armenians out, took possession of their rifles and cartridge-belts and set to fighting. Both sides had suffered human losses by the arrival of the help to Muslims. The Muslims arriving from several places dashed on the Armenians with a load roar. Everywhere the Armenians were exposed to great casualties and set running, seeing such course of developments.

After the Armenians' defeat in the city, the Muslims set off for the Armenian villages where they set fire to the Armenians' houses, along with killing those, who passed into their hands, and looting their property. After destroying these villages, they turned to the village of Boyuk Badamli in the *uyezd*¹⁷ of Nakhchivan. All the Armenians of that village - old and young, together with their households came to meet the Muslims. Reciting their Kalimah Shahada¹⁸, with full esteem they stated that they had converted to Islam. The Muslims reassured them very delightfully, and left the place with great esteem. The news spread all around. The Armenian newspapers were writing that, unsatisfied with so much murder and looting yet, the Muslims converted the Armenians from their religion by force.

As soon as the news reached the state and the men from the courthouse, the Iravan governor was ordered to visit the village immediately. Taking many

¹⁷ The Shia Muslims call Imam Ali(a.s) for help, because, in the battle of Haybar, it was Prophet Muhammad himself who called him for help after all the so called warriors had run away from the battle and they had not been successful in penetrating the fort of Haybar. It was at this point that the prophet said " now I will call the one who will never ever run away from any battle" and called Imam Ali(a.s) for help.

¹⁸ Uyezd, was an administrative subdivision of, Russian Empire, and the early Russian SFSR which was in use from the 13th century. Uyezds for most of the history in Russia were a secondary-level of administrative division. Uyezds were ruled by the appointees (namestniks) of knyaz and, starting from the 17th century, by voyevodas. In 1708, an administrative reform was carried out by Peter the Great, dividing Russia into governorates. The subdivision into uyezds was abolished at that time but was reinstated in 1727, as a result of Catherine I's administrative reform. By the Soviet administrative reform of 1923-1929, most of the uyezds were transformed into raions (districts).

Kazaks, Alikhanov, the Iravan governor came to the village of Badamli with the troops. When the Armenians converted to Islam, having come to meet Alikhanov, wanted to greet him, the latter refused to answer their greeting and stated, "In accordance with what the Armenian newspapers write, the Muslims have converted you from your religion to Islam by force and threats. If it is the truth, the Kazak troops are ready to stay here for your defense. No one can use any force against you". The Armenians, newly converted to Islam, answered, "No one has converted us to Islam by force and threats. On the contrary, we ourselves voluntarily adopted Islam by our consent and respect". On hearing this answer, Alikhanov returned without saying anything to the people.

THE INCIDENT OF THE PEOPLE OF TABRIZ IN 1905

The Tabriz people, who also heard about the miserable state and martyrdom of some Iranian subjects among those Muslims during the riots in Nakhchivan, Iravan and Baku, couldn't stand it and flew into a rage, and closing their shops and bazaars, turned to the Armenian quarters. They were going to fight the Armenians to take a revenge for the murder of the Muslims killed all for nothing in the above-stated cities. The Armenians, who heard the news, became frightened, young and old, women and children, all shut in, started lamenting and extended the news about the situation to the judge of Tabriz, who sent troops to the Armenian-Muslim quarters to defend the Armenians. The armed troops with their forefingers on the trigger of their rifles were standing sentry. Thus, the Tabriz judge prevented the murder of the Armenians and looting of their houses. Within a few days, peace was established in Tabriz. Then by the order of the Tabriz judge, all the weapons and ammunition (guns, bullets, pistols and so on) were confiscated from the Armenians. The Armenian people of Tabriz appealed to the Patriarch and local religious figures with cables and letters so that the Armenians stayed calm and didn't cause intrigues, "For, otherwise, we will be murdered here by the Muslim population".

THE INCIDENT OF KHORASAN

POSTSCRIPT: Again, on this date, some Armenians notorious for their untrustworthiness and groundless bloodshed and cruelty towards the Muslims gave a shelter to some Muslims in their houses allegedly to protect and defend them from the very Armenians. Then it was found out that the Armenians had murdered those Muslims in their houses, cut parts of their body, hammered nails and horseshoes

on their heads. Also, as soon as the people of Khorasan found out about this incident, they rushed to the Armenians' shops. After looting all their goods and property, they were about to kill the Armenians when some people of justice did not allow them to murder the Armenians preventing the intention immediately.

POSTSCRIPT: In 1905 while the *namestnik*¹⁹ (viceroy) of the Caucasus in the city of Tiflis was riding with his wife on a phaeton along one of the streets, four of the Armenian *gymdats* who had long been expecting for such an opportunity, attacked the phaeton, wounded the *namestnik* with their daggers in several places and ran away. The Kazak escorting the *namestnik* killed one of the Armenians, but the remainder managed to escape and hide.

POSTSCRIPT: Again, on this date a Lezgi Muslim serving at the court was shot dead by the Armenians with a pistol in front of the Russian treasury. The Muslims of the Shusha Fortress, who heard about the incident, assembled a large crowd and went to take the corpse of the Lezgi to the yard of the mosque, having placed it into a coffin. After performing his *ghusl*²⁰ they buried him in the cemetery. The Armenians, who were precautious of the Muslims' anger, humbly begged the Muslims' pardon and stated that they had killed that Lezgi mistaking him for a Russian. Therefore, they asked to pardon the murderer.

POSTSCRIPT: Again, on this date the Armenian people in the Shusha Fortress killed a high-ranking person of Russian origin with a shot from a personal pistol. That Russian, being poor, was in need of a manat when he first arrived in Gala. However, after his death, a lot of money in cash and other things were found in his house, which therefore implied that he had betrayed the state, by receiving bribes from Armenians and Muslims.

In short, the Armenian folk would kill many of such kind of men in Gala and villages.

Despite all this, the Muslims demonstrated kindness and respect towards them (Armenians). That is, that year one of the Shahnazarovs' descendants, by the name of Grigor Agha died.

The Muslim noblemen and servants got together to take part in his funeral. The Muslims laid Grigor Agha in the coffin and carried it on their shoulders to the cemetery to bury. The Muslim population of Gala took part in the funeral rites for several days for the very great respect shown by him and his elders (Bahram Bey, Jamshid Bey and Malik Shahnazarov). Even Hurizad Khanum, one of Jamshid Bey's sisters, was the wife of the deceased Ibrahim Khan. As this woman did not have a child, she had rooms built in the courtyard of the big mosque as a waqf, which have survived up to present. Jamshid Bey himself had made his will to Rahim Bey, "Don't let them bury me in the Armenian cemetery when I die". When

¹⁹ Kalimah Shahadah kalimat ash-shahadah (Word of Evidence) - I bear witness that (there is) no god except Allah; One is He, no partner hath He, and I bear witness that Muhammad is His Servant and Messenger.

²⁰ Please check the note about uyezds.

Jamshid Bey died, the Armenians took him to the Armenian cemetery and buried there, as Rahim Bey was away from Shusha then. After Rahim Bey returned, he had Jamshid Bey's coffin taken out of the Armenian cemetery to bury him in another place.

THE INCIDENT OF THE CITY OF SHUSHA IN 1905

As the Muslims could not stand the Armenian people's indecent behavior in the Shusha Fortress, a riot broke out with bloodshed between the two communities. Benevolent advisors from both sides tried to suppress it. Several times the Armenian chief and priests as well as some thousand noblemen and the bazaar tradesmen would come to the mosque to perform prayers and read sermons. So, establishing peace with the Muslims, they returned cheerfully.

The hostile actions were repeatedly committed by the Armenians, however each time the Armenian chief would go to the qadi's²¹ place with a group of people and prevented a bloodshed. This state did not last long. One day several Muslim youths arrived at the bazaar and gave a sudden cry, "Oh Muslims, why are you sitting so unaware? The Armenians have rushed to turn the new quarters upside down". The people at the market place flew into a rage upon hearing the terrible news. Right away they closed their shops, some of the bazaar tradesmen took their guns and dashed towards Taza Mahalla²². Some of them loaded their guns and pistols and attacked the Armenians at the bazaar. Becoming frightened of the situation, some Armenians shut their shops and fled; some others went into their shops and locked in, hiding there. Others got away by hiding in Muslims' houses. As the riot broke out, some armed people, who had gone to Taza Mahalla, returned and brought the news that all that was stated was a lie. Therefore, the mullahs and sayyids came and consoled the Armenians that the riot had happened by mistake. By the demand of the bazaar tradesmen, the liar was caught and dragged to the bazaar. People gathered there and beat the poor guy so much that he lost all his wits, and thus went crazy. For a long while, he did not recover. Though he was taken to Tiflis later, the treatment there yielded no results. In the month of Dhu al-Hijjah 1323 Hijri (1905) he died. That man was Mashadi Gurban, the son of Karbalayi Abbas, one of the bathhouse owners.

The other day two famous people of the city died. Having heard the news, the Muslims shut their shops and the bazaar and mourned for the dead in the mosques. As soon as the Armenian leader heard the news, he came to the mosque with his people to express his condolences, and they read prayers from the Bible according

²¹ washing and shrouding

²² A religious judge who considers court cases of religious nature in accordance with Sharia

to their customs. Thus, the Armenians got along with the Muslims for a while and traded with them. However, news came from all sides that the Armenians were conducting great consultations for war preparations. Two thirds of them, i.e. of the *gymdats* did not yet find it advisable to start a war with Muslims. The remaining one third expressed the necessity of a war with Muslims. Their aim was to turn the Muslims' houses upside down, murder them, hold the city like Shusha Galasi and further declare a war against the Russians with the weaponry they had stored and achieve their freedom. Meanwhile, a man came and informed the Muslims that while an alien sayyid of Iran was trading with an Armenian, the latter disgraced him by calling him bad names. Getting into a rage because of that, the people gathered in the yard of the mosque. I also came to the mosque to see the disgraced sayyid who was sent for. He was brought to me. The Muslim people were in turmoil inside and outside the place.

The judge of the Armenian quarters Gasim Bey (a Muslim) came to us. Understanding the situation, the judge wrote a letter to Kiki (an Armenian), a member of the Duma and noted that the guilty Armenian should come with a group of people to reconcile with that sayyid to put an end to the riot. Together with some thirty Armenian tradesmen, that Kiki took the guilty to us. The guilty man, by the name of Levon came and kissed the sayyid on the hand, begged for a pardon, and so the people calmed down.

With the help of such measures, it was possible to calm the infuriated people. Hence, the Muslim and Armenian elders, as well as qadis and priests formed a group consisting of one cleric and two civilians and sent them to the rural areas and summer houses to calm the people down, by admonishing them. Thus, though temporarily, they managed to prevent the riots expected between the two nations. For some time peace was established between the two nations. Nevertheless, the Armenians would not give up their intrigues. The guileless Muslims mistook the malice as the truth and did not take any measures. However, this malicious folk hideously made preparations, built barricades on the roads, in secret places and on high rocks. To take the possession of the Muslims' guns, they played a trick. They would buy a 20-manat worth rifle for 100 manats, and would pay 30 manats for a pistol if it was sold for 6 manats on the bazaar. The simple-hearted Muslims sold all the ammunition they had at home, seeing that the Armenians paid so much for them.

The state would not attach any importance to the riots in Karabakh, being too involved in the Japanese-Russian war.

To establish peace between the two folks and to prevent all kinds of riots by the instruction of the state, the Muslims got together and established a charity assembly, electing some well-advised people to it.

Those elected persons informed the Muslim people that the Armenian community was buying weapons from the Muslims very expensively in order to gather

those weapons, playing a trick. In the end they would kill the very Muslims with those weapons. From then on, the Muslims were forbidden to sell weapons and ammunition to the Armenians. Special persons were appointed in every quarter so that they did not allow anyone to sell weapons to the Armenians. All the families were instructed to buy and keep at home a rifle or two, a pistol and cartridges within their power. Thus, the Muslims were obliged to buy new ammunition at the prices several times higher than the weaponry they had sold. After that, the Muslims awoke a little, having realized the Armenians' malice. They also started to arrange food provisions at home. The rural Muslims were also warned against this malice of the Armenians, and they were advised to buy weaponry.

Considering the situation, by and by the Armenians started moving away from the Muslim bazaars. However, though some of them did not move for some reasons, they moved all their goods from their shops to Armenian quarters. However, when the Muslims, who had shops in the Armenian quarters, were advised to move to the Muslim quarters, they would reply, "The Armenians are our friends, no harm will come from them to us and our goods".

In the preceding pages, we are going to write about the trouble this folk, whom they considered their friends, inflicted on the owners of the shops in the Armenian quarters. The *gymdats*, who were planning to wage a war and stage a massacre against the Muslims, would say at the gatherings in order to instigate Armenians against Muslims, "Ah, woe, in Baku Lalayev has remained unavenged, such and such brother of ours in Iravan was tortured, so many of our brethren were murdered in Nakhchivan, so many women and men were converted to Islam. Sooner or later we all will die. Thus, we'd better die for our nation and take a revenge for our brethren".

Every day they would instigate a kind of intrigue against the Muslims, persuading the Armenians to intrigues through such talks.

The other day, while three Russians serving the Russian padishah were carrying 43 thousand manats in cash and some bank-bills in a suitcase to the royal treasury, the *gymdats*, who came out behind the wall, murdered those Russian servicemen and ran away with the money in the suitcase. After taking possession of this large amount of money, the Armenian *gymdats'* hostility and intrigues against the Muslims began to increase. Then among themselves, they prepared a plan of assault against the Muslims. The time of the attack was estimated to the very date and hours in this plan according to which all the Muslims in Gala, young and old, were supposed to be killed, their property be looted and their houses be burned into ruins. They took the plan with such content to an Armenian judge for discussion. After getting familiar with the plan that person asked them, "Do you have these capacities you have described?"

They answered, "You'll see what trouble we are going to inflict on Russians after killing all the Muslims and devastating their quarters and occupying Gala

within four hours".

The judge noted, "Your claims are enormous, but your time is scarce".

The *gymdats* said, "If not 8 hours, 12 hours will work then. Anyway, within a day and night you'll see that we are going to have our dinner in 12 hours at the Muslims' grand mosque and hoist our banners on the khan's palace in 24 hours and completely take possession of Gala".

That judge stated, "I am unable to understand it, your words are illusory and senseless".

On hearing these words, one of the *gymdats* snatched the plan from him with prejudice and fury, and returned home together with his fellows.

By preparing their community morally for the riot, the Armenians began to tease the Muslims, alongside with their preparations in all the streets and barricades.

Well-informed of all these affairs, an Armenian woman said, "Our *gymdats* are making great mistakes in this matter. Since, I am a poor woman, I have four children. My only hen has been lost for some days and lays her eggs somewhere hither and thither. For three days, me and my four children have failed to catch that one single hen. Once five people can't manage on one hen, then how will our *gymdats* with these recruited Armenians manage with millions of Muslims?"

In short, the Armenians continued their intrigues. One day while Karbalayi Mammadhusein, the man who used to turn on the lamps of the streets, was turning off the lights early in the morning, three Armenians brought down this poor man from the ladder by the bridge Shahlig and then butchered him into several pieces. Those, who heard his loud cry, rushed to the scene of incident. Karbalayi Mammadhusein was struggling desperately in blood, he was alive yet. When asked who had done it to him, he said, "Three Armenians have slaughtered me so with daggers". The poor creature died uttering these words.

The Muslims were awfully upset by this incident. The Muslim commissions demanded the revenge for that poor man, gathering at the Duma court.

After this incident the Armenian *gymdats* would secretly check the parcels and deposits posted to Muslims for fear that they might contain ammunitions.

THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM RIOTS IN SHUSHA, THE CITY OF KARABAKH AND ITS VICINITIES AND THE ARMENIANS' DEFEAT

To attain their goals, the Armenians unceasingly built barricades, took different measures, and would take aid from the provinces and villages to Shusha. Thus, the city was full of Armenian people.

As I, Mir Mohsun Navvab lived near the Armenian quarters, some respected persons of the city advised me to change my house taking into account the forthcoming danger. In connection with that request, one night I wondered carefully whether the conquer, triumph and victory would be with us, Muslims or the Armenian people. Asking for divine guidance through bibliomancy, I got such an answer,

The victory is with you in near future,
All the enemies are underneath your feet.

Further, I copied this verse and recited it at the qadi's gathering. Moreover, to some people I gave this verse in written to encourage them and make the hopeless ones bold.

For the second time I asked for divine guidance to see if my house, being close to the church, would suffer any damage. So that I could move in case of a possible damage. There followed such an answer,

Although your house is close to the church,
Don't be sad, the end is rewarding!

Further on, relying on the Almighty's assistance I gave up the idea of moving from my house. Praying the Almighty, I pinned my hope on the Almighty's help.

In short, on Tuesday afternoon on 23th of Jumada al-Thani 1323 Hijri (16 August 1905) the Armenians launched an assault. The Armenian *gymdats* gathered in groups, one group went towards Kocharli Mahallasi²³, another group towards Yukhari Khalifali Gapisi²⁴ and the third group towards the square. The remaining Armenians went into the barricades. In Kocharli Mahallasi there lived a 90-year old man, by the name of Abbas Bey who belonged to an ancient family and had a beautiful house. Two Armenians from the group set off to Kocharli Mahallasi, the son of Chopur Bey and Kolya called Abbas Bey. When Abbas Bey went out of his house, they told him, "You are our neighbour, we have nothing against you". Then engaging Abbas Bey in talking, they shot him with a gun. Bleeding from the shot, the poor man fell down. The Armenians fired some more shots at Abbas Bey's only son and his nephew, killing all three. Further on, they set fire to the house pouring petrol and kerosene on it. They also set fire to the bodies of the shot men. Then the Armenians shot dead Nushiravan, a poor man who had been married for three days only. Then they poured kerosene onto the bride's dowry and the house as well as the dead bodies, burned them all, together with the house. Thus, they turned to ashes about fifteen houses burning them together with all their belongings. Though the owners of the houses managed to escape together with their households, two or three of them were martyred.

The Armenian group, who went to Khalifali Gapisi attacked ten houses. Caught unaware, the owners of the houses got confused. The residents of these houses fled

²³ The New Quarters

²⁴ Kocharli Quarters

to the nearby Russian barracks. Nevertheless, three of them were exposed to Armenian bullets. The Armenians set fire to the Muslims' houses, plundering them.

POSTSCRIPT: After the squad of *gymdats* on the square pointed to all the shops arriving at the bazaar, the Armenians closed their shops in haste and rushed to the square with the rifles and pistols in their hands, and there arose a big uproar. First, they martyred two Muslims from Zarisli.

There were about fifteen Muslim shops at the Armenian bazaar. There were one or two Muslims in each of these shops during the Armenians' attacks. When the attack started, some of them ran away, but some stayed in the shops locking in. Yet some other people found a refuge in the shops and houses of the Armenian shop owners with whom they had been friends. However, the Armenians killed them, meeting them all with bullets. The Armenians broke the locks to the Muslim shops, plundered them and killed those inside. They sent the dried fruit to the *gymdats* fighting in the barricades.

Although that day some Muslims, who had come to the Armenian bazaar for shopping, managed to escape, the elderly among them were shot and killed. The Armenians did not have any mercy on the wounded and killed them on the spot torturing them brutally. In this riot, the Armenians killed the Muslims they had captured with fierce torture, cutting their ears and noses, sexual organs and hammering nails on their heads. They would drag the dead by the rope to drop into dales and ditches and took away the money their captives had had with them. In most of the corpses, which were found later, five-ten wounds could be spotted. Some corpses had been burnt by the Armenians. However, the Muslims would not fire more than one shot at the man they killed, and would leave their bodies at the sites they fell, without mutilating them. They would never act indecently and torture the dying and the dead.

On the day of the Armenians' attack, aware of nothing, the Muslims were engaged in their work and trade. Muslim noblemen were sitting at the mourning gathering in Juma Mosque. Having sent the body of the deceased Mehrali Efendi²⁵ of Lanbaran accompanied by several mullahs to Lanbaran, they were mourning in the mosque. Meanwhile some people came and asked, "Why are you sitting? The Armenians have deranged the world, killing all those they encounter up there. While Khosrov Bey, the judge of that area, was riding with his servant on horseback, they shot him to death".

As soon as the people heard the news, they rose to close the mosque, shops and bazaar, and informed everyone else. Then they invoked blessings of Allah on the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), within a quarter of an hour the brave men and youth got armed shouting "Ya Ali", made up squads walking out to the bazaar and streets

²⁵ the Gate to Upper Khalifali

with rifles, pistols, swords, axes, blades, pickaxes and crowbars in their hands. The echo of their shouting "Hurray" spread everywhere.

When this uproar rose, the Armenian tradesmen and artisans in the Muslim bazaars became frightened and closed their shops. Some of them hid in the shops, others found a refuge in the Muslims' houses. The Muslims welcomed the Armenians who found a refuge at their place and protected them hiding them in their houses. Ismayil Bey took out the Armenians hidden in the shops in the Muslim bazaar, closed the shops and took the Armenians home.

So, the Muslims set off for the Armenian quarters with weapons in their hands shouting loudly after making up squads.

That day the Armenians were pointing to the Muslims all kinds of weapons they had been storing and hiding in their houses, secret places, cemeteries, churches and among rocks for thirty years. Standing in the barricades, at the windows and secret sites they were firing from those weapons on all those passers-by along the streets, those young and old standing or appearing on the balconies.

As the Armenian quarters were on the highest and the Muslim quarters on the lowest part of the city, the position of the former was more favorable.

POSTSCRIPT: The Armenians of Shushakand and the village of Keshish built barricades in the place called Topkhana opposite the Muslim quarters. Thus, the Armenians came from those villages to these barricades to aim at the Muslims. Despite all this preparation, they could do nothing, thanks to the Almighty.

Muslims also had built up barricades in several places. The first barricade was in front of the Vazirzadehs' house, the second barricade was inside and at the top of Haji Hassan Garashirzadeh's house. These barricades were built up and headed by Abbas Bey, the son of Talib Bey. And the third barricade was in Mashadi Karim's house and the house of an Armenian, the son of Khachatur. The builder and leader of these barricades was our Mir Ibrahim Aghamirzazadeh. The fourth barricade was at Aghadadali's place, and its chief and leader was Afrasiyab, the son of Haji Azim. The fifth barricade was situated in Taza Mahalla²⁶. Its leader was Mashadi Abish, the son of Beylar Bey. The sixth barricade was next to the deceased Govhar Agha's house and yard. The leader and guide of this trench was esteemed Akhund Mullah Shukur.

The noblemen and thoroughbred sent the citizens, youth and valiants to barricades raising them for defense. They themselves also frequented the barricades. Especially, esteemed Najafgulu Agha, esteemed Sheikh Husein and esteemed Akhund Mullah Gasim frequently visited all the barricades, encouraged people to a brave self-defense. Changing his clothes into a fighter's uniform Mullah Gasim would visit the barricades with a rifle on his shoulder crying "Ya Ali" accompanied by squads of young men from Gala and Churl. He would utter admirable words and slogans to encourage the fighters.

²⁶ the New Quarters

From high mansions and barricades the Armenians incessantly fired on the Muslim buildings and streets, prevented the movement of the people there.

From the Muslims' side Agha Mammadjafar, the deputy consul of Iran, also ascended with the youth the minarets of the mosques, shot the visible Armenian bandits cutting their lives short.

On the first day of the warfare, the Muslims kept the Armenians busy by shooting incessantly from barricades. The residences of some Armenian houses near the Muslim barricades had fled, and some others had locked their gates and hidden inside. Making holes with crowbars in the walls of the houses in front of the barricades and entering them through these holes, the Muslims set fire to those houses, which were all engulfed in flames rising high into the sky and visible from the surrounding villages and rocks.

On the second day, they burnt the houses belonging to the Armenians whom they forced to set back. On the third day, the brave men from the second and third barricades reached the big church called Khoja Sohrab Church. The fire on the houses already reached the surroundings of Taza Kilsa²⁷. The Armenians withdrew from there too. And the youth of the fourth barricade reached Jamshid Bey's house.

Some people found it not advisable to burn the houses belonging to Jamshid Bey and Bahram Bey. Since, the Shahnazarovs had always been friends with the Muslims. That is why, as a sign of respect to them, their houses were not to be burnt. However, it had been decided earlier that those houses from which the Muslims were shot were to be devastated. Moreover, about two thousand bullets had been shot from the balcony of Jamshid Bey's house. Some of the bullets wounded the children. More than hundred of them hit and went through the roof and minarets of the mosque. Besides, the windows in our respected Sayyid Mir Mohsun Agha's cell had been all holes by a dozen bullets. Yet, as a sign of respect, they did not burn the house and passed by. They burned the surroundings of the house till the cemetery. However, the wind blew the flames from the surrounding houses to Jamshid Bey's house which also caught fire and burnt. The houses of Bahram Bey and Grigor Bey were also swallowed up by the flames.

After setting fire to the houses, the young men crossed the cemetery and reached an Armenian whorehouse located in the vicinity. Breaking the gate to the whorehouse, they set fire to it on ten spots. Some of the Armenian whores died, several of them ran out and fell at the feet of the Muslim fighters begging them for mercy. The fighters pardoned them.

On the third day, about seven hundred cavalrymen and infantry from each Muslim village came for aid. They got disbanded into barricades and continued fighting.

Prior to the warfare, the Armenian people had a school built. Eighteen Muslim workers from Iran were hired in the construction of that building. As soon as the

²⁷ the new church

warfare started, the owner of the building gathered them all into one house and instructed them not to get out and stated that otherwise they all would be killed in case the Armenians saw them. The owner of the building promised to see them off later in better circumstance. And they trusted the Armenian and had to wait in that house. One of the Iranian workers somehow managed to escape not trusting the Armenian. Meanwhile, the host informed the other Armenians, and in the evening they came to the house where the Iranian workers were hiding. So, the seventeen Iranian workers were murdered with fierce cruelty and torture through the Armenian violence beyond written description. The Armenians rumbled them, hammering nails on their heads and then buried them under the dung in a dale.

On hearing about the occurrence, the Muslims went to dig out the bodies. Some of the bodies were cleaned as they were all pieces, and the other whole bodies were purified and shrouded, following all this they were buried with due respect on the valley of Jidir.

Entering the city, the horsemen, who had come from the villages to help Gala, were divided into squads and poured into barricades and passages. A little later, they launched an attack with a cry "Ya Ali". They set the Armenians back and set fire to their houses and shops. At the slightest sight of any Armenian, they would fire it incessantly. By and by the Armenians retreated, while the Muslims advanced with victory. That day, the noise, the shouting, and the voices calling "Ya Ali", the rumbling of the guns and the cry of the Armenians shook everything around. The flames and smoke rising from the burning houses and shops reached the Milky Way. That night one could read and write by the light of the burning houses. While the Muslims were setting fire to the front of the Vazirzadehs' houses, a man came out of a house situated in the middle of the two roads, approached them and asked in despair not to burn the house for God's sake, seeing them on the brink of doing it. He said, "For, I have rented this house, and my household is living here now, all my property is in this house". After listening to the Muslim, the young men told him that, of all the houses, they wanted to set fire to this house as an Armenian had built an opium den beneath it.

After his pilgrimage to a holy place that Armenian had opened this wine-house, which was visited every night by immoral people who would drink and get involved in adultery and hundreds of immoral affairs. Seeing that it was impossible to burn the house, the young men decided at least to devastate the wine-house and the opium den beneath it. Having this in mind, they broke the door to the den and went in. Inside they found a number of barrels each containing some thirty-forty poods²⁸ of wine. After their bullets made numerous holes in the barrels, the wine began flowing like a stream. No sooner than had the Russian Kazaks heard about it than they started filling the wine into pails and carrying it. For some while,

²⁸ Pood (Russian: pud, tr.; IPA: [put]), is a unit of mass equal to 40 funt (funt, Russian pound . It is approximately 16.38 kilograms.

it was impossible to pass by that shop which was stinking like hell. As various drinks and alcohols had been thrown out and broken. A few days later the Muslim residing in that house was obliged to move to another house owned by a Muslim. Then this Armenian house was again turned upside down.

A young man, by the name of Mohammad, related, "When all was engulfed in human cries, lamenting, the fighters' shouts and the rumbling of guns, and the houses were on fire, I saw a Russian priest leaving the house he had hired among the burning houses and coming with a woman towards the Muslims. Holding my hand, that priest asked me where my house was. I replied,

- The house you can see in the opposite side is mine".

The Russian priest asked him to keep them at his place for several days because the woman was afraid of fire, which was all around the house. Mohammad calmed them down and agreed to let his house to them. Then he took the Russian priest and his wife to his home and told them,

- You can stay in this house as long as you wish.

They stayed at Mohammad's for three days. After everything subsided a little, the priest called Mohammad and said, "You have done so much good to us that we can have nothing to return it. May the Almighty reward your kindness". The priest turned his face towards the east and recited many prayers to which his wife said, "Ameen". Then they shook hands with Mohammad and took their leave. Seeing them off, Mohammad returned.

POSTSCRIPT: There was a large mansion on the rocky road above the second barricade. The mansion belonged to Khachik of Keshish. It was rented by a Kazak regiment. The Muslims' barricade was situated opposite that house. The Muslim valiants incessantly fired on the Armenian barricades from those positions. Suddenly they noticed some Armenians and Kazaks firing on them from the roof of that house. As soon as the valiants saw it, they shouted and turned their rifles towards the roof and showered the bullets at them. Fearing the detection of this provocation and dreading the elders' admonition, the Kazaks descended the roof and returned home. Later it turned out that those Kazaks were helping the Armenians against the Muslims for the money and cartridges they had received from the Armenians as a bribe. Then conjointly with the Armenians, the Kazaks set fire to that house. The Kazaks moved from that place to settle in another place. Again, that night being at one with the Armenians, the Kazaks fired on the Muslims' barricades.

POSTSCRIPT: Prior to the warfare, the Armenian folk of Shusha had written and sent messages everywhere for reinforcements. They had also written one such paper to the city of Tiflis. Some hundred Armenians and Georgians of Tiflis had fought against the Muslims in Shusha where most of them died. Thus, following the warfare, only 60 people returned to Tiflis. Having heard the news, the Georgians wanted to get together and kill the Iranian Muslims instead. However,

some Georgians disagreed and prevented it from happening.

In short, after setting the Armenians back by force, the young men from the second barricade noticed two Armenian women and one Armenian man coming towards the Muslims uttering "Ya Hazrat Abbas²⁹". Although one of the Muslims from a village shot some bullets at them, none of them hit the target. By that time they had reached the barricades and asked the Muslims for a quarter shedding tears and uttering "Ya Hazrat Abbas, help us!"

The three Armenian captives were taken to our house (to M.M.Navvab's house). Some days following the reconciliation between Armenians and Muslims, those Armenians returned to their places. The Armenian man's name was Bakhish, one of the women was called Banovsha, the other one, Zari.

The Muslims advanced from barricade to barricade with a cry "Ya Ali!" and gained victories every hour. While continuing their march, Abbas Bey's squad reached the house of Manas, the son of Mughdusee setting fire to the houses on their way. Meanwhile the troops guided by Mir Ibrahim and Agha Shamil reached lithography print-house. Afrasiyab and Mashadi Abish Bey, who were leading the fourth and fifth barricades, launched an attack in the direction of the courthouse and reached it.

While the valiants of these squads were marching towards the Armenians, mon-sieur governor was watching the battle through his binoculars. The governor, who saw the Muslims ducking with guns in their hands reach and enter the Armenian barricades, said in surprise clapping his hands,

- Even Japanese did not have such a feat. It is very strange that a nation with no military training should demonstrate such a feat and seize the barricades.

As the valiants from rural areas and local valiants were taking the streets and barricades one after another, the uproar and wail, the cry "Ya Ali", the voices calling "Hurray" and the rumbling of the guns were rising to the Heavens. Everywhere the shops and houses on fire were blazing up. Especially, the flame of several shops full of timber rose to the Heavens. That is, the flame of those shops were visible from a distance of a thousand metres.

The inhabitants of Karkijahan village said that during the fire on that day numerous half-burnt papers were ceaselessly falling on the village.

The Muslims had set fire to all the shops and houses till the house of Manas, the son of Mughdusee till the upper square and opium den of the son of Khublar. Also, some storied houses, shops and caravanserai on the valley went up in flames.

The people from the third barricade set fire to the houses and shops on the side of the church facing the direction of Mecca till the printing house. The houses around Taza Kilsa had also been burnt.

²⁹ Abbas Ibn Ali was the son of Ali Ibn Abu Talib and Fatima binte Hizam. Abbas is particularly revered by Shia Muslims for his loyalty to his half-brother and third Shia Imam, Hossein (P.B.U.H.) Ibn Ali (P.B.U.H.), his respect for the Ahlulbait, and his role in the battle of Karbala.

As the people from the fourth barricade set fire to the mansions surrounding Jamshid Bey's house, the flame passed also to the mansions belonging to Jamshid Bey and to the Shahnazarovs as well as the houses opposite them including the ones belonging to Umrud Bey, the son of Khandamir, Javad Bey and Umrud Bey's sons, and burnt them all. Moreover, the judgment-hall, дума courtroom, in short, big houses of this kind and the mansions, shops in the neighborhood completely burst into flames.

The churches, being places for praying, were untouched and not burnt. However, when some stock-breeders wanted to burn the church setting fire to the gate, the Shusha residents turned off the fire and said to them,

- One should respect churches and mosques.

POSTSCRIPT: One should also know that the Armenians had burnt the Muslims' houses at Khalfali Gapsi including the houses belonging to the Kocharlis, Kazaks, Suleiman, Allahverdi, Mashadi Ismayil, the judgment-hall, дума courtrooms. Prior to the warfare, the Armenians wanted to burn the judgment-hall, дума courtrooms and lay all the blame on the Muslims. At the outbreak of the warfare, they burnt those mansions so that the Muslims were blamed as guilty.

Once these houses started burning, their flames and sparkles turned towards the west - to the Armenian quarters. Due to the spread of fire and flames all around, most houses, mansions and the contents of the shops at the Armenian quarters were all burnt but walls.

KARBALAYI ISGANDAR'S INCIDENT

A man called Karbalayi Isgandar told me, "On the day of warfare we, three men went up to the Armenian bazaar. All of a sudden, we noticed the Armenians shutting the shops in confusion, getting out into streets with rifles and pistols in their hands and firing at the Muslims wherever they were seen. And the barehanded Muslims, caught unaware of all this, and fronted by the attack, were running into different sides. Some managed to escape, others, who were wounded, were making attempts to flee and some others fell lying wounded. We, three were terrified at the sight of all this going on and wanted to flee. However, we found out that the armed Armenians were guarding in front of all the shops. They would fire at us from all sides, if we dared to run. With no other way-out, we went into a Muslim hatter's shop there. The owner of the shop, a man called Aslan, who immediately got up to lock in his shop and put big things behind the door so that it would not open. Seeing it, the Armenians rushed to fire on the shop. The bullets were pounding the door. And we were inside, stunned, each leaning against one wall. After I took off a wood in the rear part of the shop somehow, we passed into another shop

adjacent to the first one. And the owner of the second shop had gone too, having shut it. We found out a pile of *lavash* bread and a can full of water. We drank some water. Then we reflected on what to do. Having some bread and water in the evening, we had to spend the night in that shop. However, we could not sleep. As soon as the dawn broke, I got up and took off the top over the wall in one side of the shop. One of those present there with me was Blacksmith Suleiman, and the other one was a man, by the name of Jamil. On the spot, where I was climbing over the wall, I noticed that the bazaar, shops, the houses - all were burning.

The flame was already reaching the shop where we were staying. Nevertheless, no Armenian was visible in the bazaar. All of them had assembled on the big square. The Muslims' cry "Ya Ali" could be heard. As I noticed the flame approach, I somehow managed to throw myself out of the place I had opened. I also called my companions to get out immediately as the flames were already near the shop. By the time, they reacted to climb the wall, the fire and flames engulfed the shop. Getting confused, both of them fell over the wall inside the shop. With great difficulty, I arrived home leaning against the walls. I found my household all crying. One of my daughters was praying Allah, hanging herself by her hair. As soon as they saw me, they fell at my feet.

GROCER SHUKUR'S INCIDENT

An incident, stranger than the aforementioned, happened with Shukur of Gala, the son of Karbalayi Allahverdi. This is what he recounts about it, "My brother Hassan and I owned grocery shops in the upper Armenian square. Our shops were full of dried fruit. Our trade went well. One day (that is, on the day when the warfare started) all of a sudden we saw the Armenian customers intervene all with each other, and there was too much noise. Then they formed groups and went into different directions. We asked the Armenians about what had happened. None of them gave any answer. Meanwhile, I noticed that one of the *gymdats* on horseback came in haste and told something to the Armenian shop owners, subsequently, they immediately locked their shops with a rattling noise and got dispersed in all directions in groups with rifles and pistols in their hands. The armed Armenians, who crowded Ganjlar Meydani³⁰ and the bazaar, fired incessantly the Muslims wherever they were encountered.

A young man, Ali, the son of Mullah Majid, who owned a shop in the vicinity, rushed to my shop, seeing the difficult situation. But I couldn't manage to lock the shop, thus together with Ali, I entered the basement situated behind my shop. The Armenians, who noticed us entering the place, fired at us, surrounding the basement. I also had a pistol and fifteen bullets inside. I started to shoot them back. An

³⁰ Youth Square

Armenian of Chartaz dared to approach the basement. Meanwhile, I shot him in the chest from my pistol. The Armenian gave a cry and fell down. The Armenians, who witnessed the retaliatory fire and the death of the Armenian of Chartaz, retreated from fear and began shooting from afar. There were many cartridge cases by me. Each time I fired a shot from my pistol, I immediately threw out one of those cartridge cases. At the sight of the rifle cartridge cases, they thought I had a rifle. Thus, the young man and I spent that night in the basement. There was an iron window on one side of the basement. We pulled down that window with much effort. There was a storehouse opposite that window. We went out through the window onto the roof of the storehouse and then entered it. This large storehouse was full of different things. Iron *sajs*³¹ and *aftafas*³² were abundant. The young man begged, "Let me hide in one corner. Please encircle me with iron *sajs* so that bullets don't hit me". Then the young man nestled in one corner, and I set the *sajs* around him. When I turned to the other side, I found out that there was a basement there. Its door was secured with a big lock. I picked up a piece of rock from the ground and struck some blows on the lock. After breaking it, I entered the basement. There were many big fabric rolls there. I closed the door and put some of the fabric rolls behind it. Only then, I calmed down a little. After searching the inside of the basement looking hither and thither, I noticed a jug with a lid on it. Opening the lid, I saw *qatiq* in it. Thanking God, I drank some of it and recovered. The Armenians came and crowded the storehouse in search of Muslims for three days already. Checking everywhere in the storehouse, they felt the presence of the young man there. Throwing the *sajs* to the right and left, they found Ali hiding there. That moment they fired from all sides and killed him. Hearing the shooting, more Armenians were coming to the storehouse. After killing the young man, the Armenians took some of the *aftafas* there, hit and smashed his head with them, then butchered all his organs. After inflicting untold tortures upon the corpse, they approached the place where I was hiding. They saw the broken lock and understood that there was someone there. When they wanted to open the door to the basement, I fired a shot through the window. The bullet hit an Armenian on the lips and broke his teeth. The Armenian gave a cry and ran away. The others also moved away from the door quickly. Then an Armenian, by the name of Mesrop, whom I knew, came and tried to coax me into getting out, saying from behind the wall, "Agha Shukur, you get out, I'll protect you from Armenians, I'll not let them touch you. I have eaten the Muslims' bread. I'll not betray you". I answered him, "One cannot trust you, Armenian tribe. You say, 'we have already announced reconciliation with Muslims'. If you are right, then go and bring qadi or Khosrov Bey, only then I'll get out of this place".

Upon hearing that, Mesrop got angry and swore at the qadi and at Khosrov Bey.

³¹ A shield-shaped round iron to bake big round thin bread (lavash) on

³² A water pitcher

And I answered back swearing both him and their priests.

Thus, I had been spending my time eating some *qatiq* little by little. On the fifth day I suddenly heard my brother's voice, music was also playing. Getting out, I returned home with my brother.

That merciless Armenian tribe had taken all the cash and goods including sacks of dried fruit and other goods for sale, plundering the shop".

... To make a long story short, we were describing the Muslim valiants, who were setting fire to the Armenians' houses while advancing. As the fire and flames rose up, the Armenians ran away, leaving their barricades. The Muslims took their barricades, destroyed and burnt them. Advancing from all sides, the Muslims took the Armenian positions. They occupied Boyuk Kilsa³³, Ashaghi Meydan³⁴ and Gapan. The Armenian men, women and children broke into a run. Being in hopeless situation, some of them took their wife and children and went into the Kazak barracks. The barracks being overcrowded, the chief of the Russian soldiers ordered them not to let anyone in.

In this situation Kolya, the son of Bakhish Bey, one of the *gymdats* together with some women and children arrived at the barracks with a rifle in his hand and cartridge cases by him. According to the Armenians, since his birth Kolya had done no good to anyone, but noxiousness. All pale and shaking, he got into the barracks and hid there.

On the fourth day of the war the fighters of all the barricades unanimously decided to launch an attack on the Armenians from all sides with one sudden roar of "Ya Ali", devastate their last strength, burn all their property and hoist the banner of victory on the church and Khalifali Gapisi.

That day in sorrow and mourning, the inhabitants of the Armenian quarters anxiously cabled the Russian state asking his Highness, the head of the state to send his Excellency Sheikhulislam there (to Gala) to turn off the intrigue.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ARMENIAN CHIEF WITH ALL THE PRIESTS TO THE MOSQUE FOR RECONCILIATION

As the chief saw the Armenians' women and children rushing to him in tears, he immediately got up to put on his church attire and taking a big cross came to the square accompanied by senior priests of the churches each carrying a Bible in their hands and donned in their church clothes, the priests with expensive banners in their hands, some Russians with their caps set on top of the clubs and followed

³³ Big Church

³⁴ Lower Square

by the *nachalnik*³⁵ who, in his turn, was followed by Armenian representatives under music. With the chief in front, the priests with a cross, the Bible and banners in their hands and some of them in tears entered the yard of the mosque to beg for a pardon, to ask for an excuse.

That day the Muslims' noblemen and some great scholars were visiting the mosque for some reason. I (Mir Mohsun Navvab) also was there in connection with an important matter. When I reached the yard of the mosque, the door nearby opened. First, the *nachalnik* appeared there, came up to me, shook my hand and uttering, "izvinite"³⁶ entered the yard. The Armenian chief following him also shook my hand and came in uttering, "excuse me". At that moment the qadi, esteemed Haji Mullah Husein arrived. Following them, the Muslims entered the mosque and met with the chief and priests. Further, the chief initiated his speech of reconciliation. After a while, they left the mosque. Esteemed qadi and the Muslim noblemen also set forth to the Armenian square together with them. Again, the *nachalnik* and Russians at the head were marching towards the Armenian quarters under music.

I (Navvab) took one of the peace banners and kept it in the mosque for two months. Later the priest came to take back that banner. Along with getting a receipt from one of those Armenians through esteemed Najafgulu Agha, I also had Afrasiyab's photo taken with the banner in front of the mosque. I had it done as material evidence so that the Armenians did not slander us later.

One could neither trust such policy and malice of the Armenians nor rely on their peace mission. For, many a time all the priests, the chief himself and the Armenian noblemen gathered for this reason in the mosque, church and at the qadi's place, delivered speeches, read preachers and spoke of friendship. Nevertheless, in the end again all was senseless. That is, not giving up their malice, they, the Armenians, would drag the people to massacre disturbing their peace.

Three days later the esteemed SheikhuIslam arrived in the city of Shusha. The people of the city met him with great reverence. The SheikhuIslam was being accompanied by three hundred horsemen, respected persons, scholars, Armenian priests and chief as well as the Armenian elders on the phaetons and thirty armed Kazak cavalymen. Entering the city, they stationed at the esteemed qadi's place.

The next morning again the scholars, sayyids, noblemen, the Armenians' chief, their priests and noblemen came to the SheikhuIslam to welcome him. Then the SheikhuIslam stated, "Oh, Armenian and Muslim peoples! While malicious actions were spreading like cholera in some other provinces, men of good manners would reproach the riot-mongers citing the friendly relations between the Armenian and Muslim peoples of Shusha Galasi. They used to compare the pleasant behavior existing in the European city of Paris with the friendly relations of the

³⁵ In Russian: a chieftain

³⁶ In Russian: excuse me

Shusha population among the Caucasian cities.

As far as I know, you, two tribes, that is, the Armenians and Muslims used to get along like brethren in the past. Even the deceased Ibrahim khan established kinship with Malik Shahnazar marrying his daughter Hurizad. Now I am asking you: what causes this intrigue?

There is no war of religion or faith, no matter of honour between you. But why then you allow so much bloodshed, pillage of the goods, devastation and burning of mansions giving way to malice? Do you forget that you will have to account for your evil deeds before the Almighty on the doom's day? He is the one who carries out a fair judgment between the tyrant and the oppressed. Repent and return to the Allah's course. Do not act so maliciously again. Do not follow some people who try to cause intrigues. Due to their ignorance, they take away your comfort, and due to their intrigues, they drag you to a massacre. This cannot allow you to attain a goal and to reach the highest floor".

In short, early the next morning the esteemed SheikhuIslam arrived at the mosque. Again, the Armenians and Muslims gathered around the mosque. Speaking here too, his Excellency Sheikh admonished them to end the intrigues and get on. The military governor also announced to the people, "To end up the fighting between you and to establish peace between the two (the Armenian and Muslim) tribes, the state has appointed me a governor here. In any intrigue, I'll support the oppressed and punish the tyrant. I am authorized to that".

Following the speeches here, all of them went to the Armenian Church, where again the Armenian chief and governor spoke and called all to give up the intrigues and provide law and order.

While the religious persons and governor were trying to establish peace between the two tribes, the news came that the Armenians of Bang had gathered and headed off the nomadic Muslims. That is, about thousand defenseless women, children and old men with their cattle had to stay in the forest.

As soon as the news reached the city, immediately different messages were written and sent to the people of Aghdam and Baghlar. Immediately about six hundred armed horsemen were recruited and set out in the direction of Bang. At the distance of one shot³⁷, they dismounted and made up groups. As soon as the Armenians heard about it, they got frightened and sent some Armenians to them to find out the reason for their arrival. The horsemen told them, "We've come to punish those who headed off the nomads so that they won't do it again".

The Armenians said, "We haven't headed them off. Most probably the nomadic tribe have quarreled with our Armenians, as a result a man or two died".

In short, the horsemen cleared the way for the nomads, who moved freely passing that place and set towards their hub.

The next morning the news came that getting into the Asgaran trenches the

³⁷ An old way of oral measurement

Armenian tribe were shooting the passers-by to death or wounding them. No sooner the news reached than by the governor's order a group of Kazaks set out to Asgaran taking with them Abbas Bey, the son of Talib Bey. Together with him, the Kazaks drew out the Armenians from the trenches and dispersed them. But after being drawn out from the Asgaran trenches, the Armenians attacked the village of Khanabad, where they devastated a large and beautiful mansion belonging to Hassan Agha, the son of Suleiman Khan looting all his property.

Further, the Armenians launched an attack on the village of Badara, where they surrounded the house belonging to Doctor Mirza, the son of Allahgulu and set fire to it. Meanwhile, being unaware of the incident, Mirza, the son of Allahgulu, was engaged in his own concerns inside the mansion together with his sons Jahangir Bey and Karim Bey. Some Armenians hustled in to murder him and his children as well as their servants together with their households and plunder the mansion.

THE INCIDENTS IN THE VILLAGES AROUND THE CITY OF SHUSHA

The Kurds, who heard about the above-stated brutalities of the Armenians, immediately got armed and rushed with several hundred horsemen to Minkand, Khinzirak and other villages. They devastated these villages. Some of the Armenians died, some of them escaped, and some others surrendered dropping their guns.

The next day a young Kurdish man came to me (i.e. to Mir Mohsun Navvab) to inform, "We, Muslims got together and launched a sudden attack on the village of Harrad consisting of hundred houses. Unable to withstand our attack, the hopeless Armenians threw away their guns and cartridge cases and surrendered humbly". The young man said that they had been preparing for the attack to the valley of Gala. That man bought as many empty cartridge cases as possible and said that they had a man there who could make good cartridges, "I'll give the cases to him so that he fills all of them. Since, we'll need them".

Those days the esteemed SheikhuIslam stated that several men from the Armenian tribe should come to him. That day the Muslims had also gathered there. After their arrival, the SheikhuIslam stated, "Insha Allah, tomorrow I am to go. Again I admonish both the tribes to get on like brethren without violating law and order and treating each other with respect again like before".

One of the Armenians got up and asked, "How could one veil the flame of this amount?" The Armenians' noise could be heard all around, "We kindly ask his Excellency not to go. Please, stay here one or two more days. Most probably you could establish peace between the two tribes". Following this appeal of the Armenians, the Muslims also asked the esteemed Sheikh to stay in Gala some

more days. After these appeals, the Sheikh had to stay in the city some more days accepting their request. The next day by the request of both the tribes, with the participation of some twenty-thirty people from each side they went first to the church to restore peace. Here the scholars, chief and priests swore in accordance to their religious customs that they would not join the intrigues of those who instigate malice between the two nations and not violate the peace established between the two tribes.

Further, both the parties came to the mosque. After readings of prayers, the esteemed qadi made the Muslims swear by the Holy Koran that no one would violate the law and order between the two peoples and not cause any intrigues.

After this ceremony of oath taking, an Armenian by the name of Hamzad, who was of the Iravan tribe, too stubborn and provocative of innocent bloodsheds and intrigues, gathering butchers in his like, launched sudden assaults to the defenseless Muslim villages. First, they had set fire to some haystacks round the village. As soon as the people of the village found out about the attack, they rose to the defense of the village rushing to the battlefield against the enemy. And the Armenians, scared of them, ran away. They arranged such assaults on other Muslim villages as well, disturbing the peace of the people. Moreover, sometimes that grouping would hideously enter the Asgaran strongholds and kill treacherously Muslim passers-by. After the murder, they would rush to the dead to rob him off his clothes, money and the things he had with him, and then burn the corpse so that no traces were left.

Prior to that, these two folks had had conflicts over religion and faith or over big mansions. However, there had not been such mercilessness and treacheries so far. Whereas, this treacherous grouping would shoot from afar and kill all the helpless people wherever they were seen.

A Muslim, by the name of Khaspolad had rented a mill located near Gala and asked a man to operate it together with his wife. One of the Armenian squads involved in pillage and bloodshed came to the mill and committed a great tragedy there. After shooting the man to death, they approached the woman, who had a four-month old baby in her arms. When the Armenian butchers wanted to kill them too, the woman said, "For God's sake, kill me, but don't touch the baby". Two of the Armenians came forward and said that she should not be frightened; they would not kill the baby. They took the baby from the woman and unfolded its swaddling clothes. Both the Armenians held the child by one foot each and strongly pulled it to opposite sides. The child went into two. They threw the two pieces of the slaughtered baby on its mother. Unable to endure this brutality, the child's mother lost her consciousness. After murdering also the woman with several shots, the butchers looted the mill and took away the wheat and flour as well as other goods they had found there.

POSTSCRIPT: Before murdering the Muslims, cutting off their nose, ears, feet

and manhood while still alive, these bloodthirsty squads of the Armenians inflicted untold tortures on them, then killed them and burned their corpses in the dump.

They also had murdered the earlier-mentioned 18 Iranian workers and about 20 Muslims trading in the Armenian quarters by such brutalities.

POSTSCRIPT: One can cite more examples of the Armenian tribe's insidiousness against Muslims. The tragedy suffered by Haji Beylar can be an example. That is, a Muslim merchant, by the name of Haji Beylar used to be a close friend with an Armenian tradesman, by the name of Nikolay. And being close friends they would tell each other, "In case there is a war between Armenians and Muslims, let us protect each other from them".

Once when warfare started between Armenians and Muslims, Nikolay happened to be at Haji's shop. Seeing the Armenian's strong fear of the warfare, Haji took him to a secret place quietening his fears. He reassured Nikolay that nobody could find him. After the fighting was over, and it became quiet all around, Haji respectfully saw off Nikolay to his home.

Nikolay had lent 93 manats to Haji. One day Haji went to Nikolay's shop to return the money. After Haji counted and gave the money to Nikolay, and talked to him for a while, there started a thunderous noise, big riots broke out all around. The sounds of rifles and pistols engulfed the bazaar. When in anxiety Haji asked Nikolay about the reason for the riots, the latter said that an Armenian-Muslim warfare had started. Haji asked him, "What to do me then?" Haji thought Nikolay would probably protect him from the Armenians, as Haji had hidden and protected Nikolay before. Unfortunately, it didn't happen. Suddenly Nikolay took out a pistol from the drawer of the table and triggered it at Haji. The bullet hit Haji on the chest and wounded him a little. Haji rushed out bleeding. Nikolay and other Armenians by him fired some twenty shots from the rifles and pistols at Haji. However, luckily, none of the bullets hit Haji. Haji himself had told me this incident. There is no end to such treacheries and brutalities of the Armenians.

POSTSCRIPT: The squads of Armenian bandits had also launched an attack on the village of Khazanak. Mammadagha, the son of Atakhan used to have beautiful mansions and gardens in this village. The Armenian bandits brutally devastated these mansions, chopped the trees in these gardens, looted the houses and took away his three hundred sheep. Although his servants managed to escape, shepherd could not shun them. The bandits killed him cruelly.

POSTSCRIPT: At that moment, a man came to Gala and brought the news that to end these brutalities of the Armenian bandits, the Muslim horsemen rushed from everywhere to attack the Armenian village of Sissi, where the Muslim horsemen killed some of the Armenian bandits, but some others managed to escape. The ill-gotten wealth from the Muslim villages was returned. During the assault, the Muslim horsemen did not touch women and children.

Further, the horsemen set out to the village called Mashhar populated mostly by

Armenians. Unable to resist the Muslim horsemen, the Armenians got dispersed. While running they took a haul of animals and some other things from the village and sent them to their residences. After setting fire to some houses of bandits and their haystacks, the horsemen set out to the village of Saru. After acting in a similar manner in this village too, the Muslims made for the village of Garabulag, from where they went to the village of Khalifa. Not touching women and children, they inflicted reprisals on the bandits in these villages too and returned all the things looted.

POSTSCRIPT: Again, the above-referred Armenian, by the name of Hamzad came with his squad and massed the strongholds of Asgaran. They treacherously fired sudden shots from these barricades at the Muslim passers-by and killed them. And they burned the corpses. That day they burnt a Muslim, by the name of Mustafa Bey after killing him in a similar way. A few days later, i.e. on the 3rd day of Ramadan the Muslims quarreled with three Armenians in the forest near the spring Isa. The Muslims killed two of the Armenians, but the third one escaped. Only one of the bullets shot from behind hit the running Armenian wounding him. In spite of his wound, the Armenian fled and reached the city, where he cried, "Why don't you act? The Muslim horsemen are rushing to us from all sides, also they have killed two Armenians on the road. And I got wounded and ran away".

Hearing his cry, the frightened Armenians locked their shops and bazaar with a rattling noise in a haste, came to the chieftain and said, "The Muslims are dashing towards us from all sides. They have killed two of our men, and wounded the third".

By the chieftain's order, the soldiers immediately blew horns. All the Russian troops in Gala got armed and came to the Muslim bazaar playing the music. In the bazaar, they found the shops open and everyone involved in his own trade. There was no sign of warfare there. The Russian soldiers returned to the Armenian quarters playing the music again and told the Armenians that they had frightened themselves in vain.

POSTSCRIPT: The next day fourteen Armenians got on horseback and came to the place called Yarma situated outside the city, and headed off the Muslims preventing their movement. As soon as the Muslims found out about the incident, several brave fighters came to that place and attacked the Armenians. While the confused Armenians each ran into different directions, the Muslims killed three of them and wounded one. The survivors came to Gala and told the Armenians about the incident. Immediately a group of Armenians came onto the rock called Yel dayirman³⁸ under the leadership of *gymdats*. Climbing the rock, they started watching through the binoculars the Muslims coming from the side of the river. An hour before the sun set, they saw a harmless old Muslim walking beside a horse

³⁸ a windmill

carrying a load of wood. As the old man was fasting, he was slowly pacing holding by the tail of the horse. The Armenian bandits shot and killed the old man. But the loaded horse ran to the old man's house. Considering the situation, the old man's family got frightened and called the acquaintances and friends for help. Though they sought the man, due to the nightfall they could not find him in the dark. The next morning they found his corpse and reported to the court about the case. That man was barber Gulu, the son of Safarali. The brother of the deceased man told people that after murdering the poor man, the Armenians had torn his stomach, smashed his head with a rock, and took away his ear, cutting it. Woe on such kind of tribe who inflict such tortures on the Almighty's innocent creatures, disturbing all, also make themselves pitiable.

ADMONITIONS TO THE ARMENIAN TRIBE

First of all, I ask this (Armenian) tribe what their reasons and goals are in so much noxiousness and bloodshed, pillage and looting of the mansions and properties and burning them down to ashes.

If your aim is to become a padishah or king, this is beyond reasoning, given this nature and mercilessness of yours. A clever and wise man may think about you that for all the stupid actions, your tribe deserves not to be even a *kokha* or *kandkhuda*, let alone being a padishah. This has repeatedly been proved with reliable evidences.

Firstly, the Almighty would not bestow power and authority on the tyrant. Had He given wings to a cat, that would extirpate birds from the Earth. Had He given wings to a camel or elephant, all the roofs would be destroyed.

Secondly, as you know, the Armenians were many in number. Being soft by appearance and fatally poisonous inside like a snake, not sparing those whom they overcame, exceeding in unrighteousness, ill-treating other nations, being engaged in so much ruthlessness and oppressiveness, they were fried in their own grease, whenever caught by any nation.

POSTSCRIPT: A trustworthy educated man once told me, "A German state figure and scholar told me that Armenians will very soon disappear from the Earth leaving no trace due to the course they are pursuing".

You, Armenians should pray God so that He changes your character and fore-worn you from evil, bestowing upon you a merciful and ruthless heart, good will, good behavior with no intrigues. Only then, you may acquire human values. Otherwise, with all this brutal nature and cruelty, by saving a petty cash in the banks, filling your pockets with pittance squeezed from the poor through deception, twirling your moustache and putting on a cap and felt cloak, you cannot become a padishah. One cannot become great by shedding innocent blood, mur-

dering human beings treacherously, cutting their noses and ears, hammering a horseshoe on their heads, and by committing all other kinds of brutality. Such ruthless and brutal people would never become great, on the contrary, they would always be pitiable, and all creatures would consider them as a doormat. Soon you will reap the crop of the cruelty seeds you have sown among your people. Thus, be sure that you will fall into the pit you have dug for others.

The tree that yields a fruit of tyranny
Would one day be chopped by an axe.

A FABLE: A master would always load his camel with salt and take it to sell in the city. The camel was weakened under the loads of salt. One day a fox advised the camel, "If you want to have your load light, lie down while crossing the river. See how it will work then". The next day the owner of the camel loaded him with salt again and set for the city. While crossing the river, with a pretext the camel went down in the water. Being in contact with water, the salt had been reduced by half by the time they reached the city. That is, melting in water, half of it toppled. Seeing that, the master loaded felt and wool onto the camel the next day. The camel was enjoying his trick. As soon as they reached the bank of the river, again the camel lay down while crossing it. Getting wet, both the felt and wool became heavier. While dry, they weighed 10 *batmans*³⁹, after the contact with water they weighed 20 *batmans*⁴⁰. Unable to carry the burden, the camel fell down. The master beat the camel to death.

To make a long story short, their causing innocent bloodshed, allowing cruelty and ruthlessness finally will sweep them away. Don't they have any wise, far-sighted and God-fearing men among them to foresee, admonish and put right those who cause all these intrigues and inflict damages on others for their own benefit? No one asks them, "Hey, Armenians, what are the reasons for these intrigues you have committed in the province of Caucasus while being busy with your trade, operating factories and quarries, having enough money and property in the province with most of you being millionaires and no one hurting you?

What a revolt did you start in this province, while you had the honour to be in the presence of a padishah and the elderly, where your word counted, you had magnificent mansions with maids to serve you, workers were at your service? Following some pickpockets' words, you have made your households wander all around the world, leaving them desperate, hopeless and homeless, disturbing the people in the world together with you, and casting a gloom on them.

Due to the Armenians' intrigues in different cities and villages, innocent blood has been shed, countless properties have been looted and plundered, mansions, shops, quarries beyond number have been burnt and devastated, thousands of men, women and children have been murdered and burned. Thus, they (the Armenians)

³⁹ 80 kilos

⁴⁰ 160 kilos

turned countless women into widows, and children into orphans and waifs.

Those, who once would grizzle to lean against the cushions made of swan feathers and would be reluctant to sleep in bedding of shawl and tirma⁴¹, are now left bare and desperate in tears with one old coat on. Their homes being devastated, their houses and mansions being looted and burned, those women and children, prominent people deserted the country, had to go to other provinces with their households or alone, and most of them had to live a vagrant's life.

I wonder what answer these Armenian bandits, who have exposed the people to massacre through their intrigues, will give to the just Allah during the inquiry in the next world.

With all this tyranny, despotism, ruthlessness and outrage, you want to hoist your banner in this province. But you won't attain it. Well, in case that banner of kingdom were hoisted, first the children of the persons whose heads were hammered with nails, whose noses and ears were cut off, whose heads were smashed with rocks and hammers, whose bodies were burned and tortured, would gather under that banner and inquire you. You should definitely know that those who have committed all this injustice will be avenged. And the Almighty will not have a mercy on those who have committed all this injustice. Certainly, the bandits, who have committed them, will soon have to be avenged, and they will also be punished in the afterlife.

AN EDIFYING INCIDENT

One day while crossing through the bazaar I (M.M.Navvab) noticed people gathering and watching something. When I approached them, I saw a man, by the name of Abdul pouring kerosene from the bottle next to him on three or four mice he had trapped, burning and releasing them one by one. When set to fire, the mouse would start running fast and thus inflaming more. Running hither and thither for a while, it would fall down and burn. Seeing that, I got angry and said to that man, "Hey, man, what a merciless action you are committing? You are setting fire and burning Allah's creature by torture. Don't behave like this, it won't please the Almighty. He will reprimand you for this injustice soon". The man burning the mice answered me, "They have inflicted damage on me making holes in my sack. Instead, I should burn them". After that I departed Abdul Kishi and went home.

A few days later while Abdul Kishi, who had burnt the mice, was selling gunpowder to a person, a sparkle from a fire-pan jumped into his powder sack. No sooner had the fire fallen into the powder weighing about one batman⁴² than there happened a huge explosion with rumbling, which burst into the air all the goods in the shop. Abdul himself also broke into flame from this explosion and running,

⁴¹ A kind of thin woolen stuff

⁴² 20 kilos

like the mice he had burnt, he burnt to death. Together with him, two more men burnt. However, it was possible to rescue them from death. But Abdul Kishi died, and his shop with its entire merchandise was burnt and destroyed.

In short, these edifying words are aimed at making probably the light of mercifulness worm into the confidence of one Armenian or two, who could manage to admonish those serving Satan and forewarn them against their inhuman actions. Probably, so that they do not regret for their actions later.

ON THE INCIDENTS IN TIFLIS IN 1323 HIJRI [1905 CHRISTIAN]

In October, people went out for holiday into the streets in the city of Tiflis. When the people reached the church, suddenly bullets began flying out of the windows. As a result, some people died and got wounded.

When people reached the Armenian newspaper office "Listok", a bomb was thrown out of the room of the office into the crowd. Moreover, another bomb was thrown from the gymnasium side. And when the people were passing by the building "Sobraniye", one more bomb was thrown.

Meanwhile, three squadrons of Russian troops arrived and started firing at the people. They fired intensively at the houses from where the bombs had been thrown. As a result, thirty-five people perished, and fifteen people got wounded.

POSTSCRIPT: During these events, some bridges were exploded near Batum. There was a clash with the troops in Gori.

And in the *uyezd* of Uzerget the people threw bombs at the Russian Kazaks. As a result, many Kazaks died and got wounded.

Following the above-stated incident, again during the successive shootings in the city of Tiflis thirty-four people died, and eighty-one people got wounded.

THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM WARFARE IN THE CITY OF TIFLIS

Again, in December the Armenian tribe could not stay peaceful and after some preparations launched a sudden assault on the Muslims. Unaware of the attack, the Muslims had no ammunition to retaliate the Armenians aptly. Hearing the news, the Georgians helped the Muslims with rifles and cartridges. The Muslims got into a prominent man's mansion, turned it into a barricade and began fighting against the Armenians. For two days and nights, the Muslims and Armenians exchanged fire.

As soon as the people from the surrounding Muslim villages heard about the

incident in Tiflis, thousand horsemen got together and came to help the Muslims. Hearing about the help coming from the villages, the *namestnik* ordered that any entry to the city on horseback should be banned. Thus, sending their horses back to the villages the Muslims entered the city of Tiflis on foot. Invoking blessings of Allah on Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), with a roar, they launched an attack on the Armenians. Following the one-day-and-night fighting, many Armenians died. And the rest slipped away.

THE INCIDENT IN BAKU IN OCTOBER 1905

On the padishah's festive day the Russian and Muslim peoples were walking along the streets shouting "Hurray". They were walking along the streets reading slogans in Turkic languages. Leaving aside their red banner, the Russians were carrying the national banner together with the Emperor's picture. The Muslims also joined them, and together with the governor, all of them arrived at the church to read sermons there. Further, the governor together with the high priest came to Gasim Bey Mosque where also they performed prayers. At that time, the crowd went away because of the heavy rain. While a group of people were passing by the front of the church, they saw a Russian with a red banner in his hand delivering a speech against the government from a high place. The people rushed to him and then beat him to death. Nevertheless, the court did not prevent them from doing that.

Again, the people against the government got together and attempted to release the prisoners by opening the jails. The Russian troops prevented it. Because of the clashes, eighteen men among the people got wounded. That day saw a big fighting and shooting between those who hoisted the red banner and those who carried the national banner on the BibiHeybat road. As a result, one man died, and two people got wounded. In reference to that event, the Armenian newspapers wrote that hundred Armenians had died in the clash.

On 21 October, a group of Russian Kazaks were marching along the street with the padishah's picture in their hands on the occasion of their holiday. While the Russians were passing by the front of the house belonging to a rich and high-ranking Armenian, by the name of Mirzayans, the Kazaks were shot at from that house. Immediately the Kazaks surrounded the house and set fire to it pouring kerosene on it from all sides. The house burnt to ashes. The Kazaks did not even allow the authorized agents for firefighting to extinguish the fire. While the house went up in flames, the wind blew the flame to the neighboring Armenian houses as well. As a result, all the houses burnt.

Following that incident, the Russian Kazak squad attacked the Armenian shops

and looted them. Then the Kazaks plundered the properties of the rich Armenians, Lalayev and Kalantarov as well as the goods and other stuff of the Armenians who had hired Taghiyev's shops. The number of the dead and wounded reached forty. And most of them were Armenians. Following the incident, the Russian Kazaks were moved from the Armenian quarters and settled in the Muslim quarters by the governor's order.

On 23 October, the Russians were meeting for a consultation at the governor's residence. The meeting was attended by the representatives of all the ethnicities, but the Armenians. The Armenians did not attend the meeting on purpose. After the consultation, the Kazaks came to the governor to ask for his permission to punish the Armenians. The governor calmed them down. After a while, again the Kazaks went out onto the streets and bazaars taking the picture of the padishah's wife as well as the national banner. As they reached the Armenian quarters, again they were fired at from one of the houses. The house, from which the shooting came, was hired by an Armenian, but belonged to a Muslim. Immediately the Kazaks fired intensively at the house and started setting fire to the Armenian houses. The number of the dead and those burnt in the arson during the incident was sixteen. The number of the wounded was not identified. Again, that day there was shooting at night. A house belonging to an Armenian was burnt.

During the clashes in October, fifty-seven people were killed, among them fifty-one Armenians, one Russian, one Georgian, one Jew, and two Muslims. And the wounded were 59 people, among them 38 Armenians, 14 Russians, one Jew, one German, 4 Muslims, and it was impossible to identify the nationality of one person. And the number of the burnt houses was 28, among them 24 belonged to the Armenians, one to a Russian, and one to a Muslim. Besides all this, two municipal kiosks were burnt. The amount of the damage inflicted during the riots remained unidentified. This riot and damage were caused by the Armenian tribe.

THE INCIDENT IN THE CITY OF SHUSHA IN THE MONTH OF RAMADAN (THE 15TH OF NOVEMBER)

An Armenian, one of the Masumovs, had been killed. On purpose, the Armenians traced the case of murder back to the Muslim bazaar and stated that he had been killed by the Muslims. Thus, the court launched an investigation among the Muslims. The Muslims stated, "We would never allow such insidiousness. It has been done by the very Armenians who throw the blame on us to declare us guilty".

In short, after long disputes, to calm down the Armenians, taking a Kazak ride

and infantry, the court arrived at the Muslim square together with the governor. Reading a piece of paper the governor stated, "In accordance with the vicegerent's judgment, you should return the corpse of the deceased Armenian. Otherwise, you should collect several hundred manats from the shops in the place called Sheytanbazaar and give the money to the deceased Armenian's household".

One or two days later, again the Russian troops marched through the Muslim bazaar with the same intention. The governor was patronizing the Muslims and treating the esteemed qadi and noblemen indulgently.

On the 18th day of Ramadan, the governor advised the Muslims to close the shops and bazaars, and playing music to come to a large place where the padishah's decree was to be read. The Muslims answered, "These days are our dear and *teziyye*⁴³ days. That day no one must play music or arrange a wedding ceremony. But we can get together and go there". As settled, the Muslims closed the shops and bazaar, with the two pictures of the shah and ten banners in their hands in a big crowd arrived at the front of the courthouse crossing through the bazaar. And the noblemen arrived at the garden. Together with high-ranking *chinovniks*⁴⁴ the governor also arrived at the place where the Muslims had gathered. The surrounding area of the church being small, the governor together with the scholars and noblemen arrived at the water reservoir. Also, this place was high. And the crowd gathered in front of the reservoir with the banners and the padishah's pictures in their hands. People were everywhere. The uproar of the crowd was deafening. A ride of Kazaks were standing in a row on one side. There were, all in all, five Armenians among so many people. One of them was standing next to the governor, and the four were in front of the church. One of them was called Amrimov Mikit. I beckoned him and said, "Baron Mikit, what an intrigue, damage and malice have the Armenian tribe inflicted on the earth! They have disturbed the peace of people. They caused so much bloodshed, burnt houses and plundered properties".

Mikit answered, "May the Almighty curse those who cause such actions and ignorant cads. We are also surprised and do not know what to do. We have been vilified, disgraced, and our property has been burnt and plundered".

The governor took out a piece of paper from his pocket and stated, "This is his Majesty Emperor's decree". Then the governor began reading it in a loud voice. And the interpreter explained to the crowd, "Our padishah has bestowed freedom on us in several matters:

1. Firstly, assemblies are free to conduct consultations on national and shar'i⁴⁵ matters. No permission is needed for it.
2. Freedom of speech, that is, one can speak, write and print about the matters

⁴³ mourning

⁴⁴ clerks

⁴⁵ legal, concerning religious law

useful and beneficial to oneself and one's nation.

3. Freedom of conscience, that is, one can practise any religion and faith.

4. Property and human safety, that is, if you have a property and mansion even worth millions, no one has the right to touch it.

As soon as the reading of the decree was finished, the governor raised his hand. Following his suit, the crowd also raised their hands and caps and joyfully shouted "Hurray". Further, after the esteemed *uchitel* ⁴⁶ Mirhashim Bey Vazirzadeh delivered a speech, esteemed Akhund Haji Mullah Husein Qadi read a prayer in a loud voice. As soon as the prayer was over, Agha Mirhashim Bey donated a hundred manats to distribute among the poor of the city on the occasion of the declaration of the freedom manifesto. Following him, Mister governor bestowed fifty manats. A number of noblemen also joined this act of charity. Thus, the ceremony came to an end.

Two days after the gathering, the governor convened a consultation where the representatives from both the sides expressed their opinion in their speeches and announced reconciliation. The next morning the governor was planning to visit the city of Ganja. The cavalry consisting of about hundred armed young Muslims escorted the governor's phaeton from his residence to the headquarters. Meanwhile, several Armenians came to the headquarters and complained of the Muslims. Glaring at them the governor said resentfully, "It has already become clear to me that all that you, the Armenian tribe, have told me about the Muslims are a lie and slander. These complaints are aimed at bias and hostility".

After retorting the Armenians, the governor set out accompanied by the Muslim cavalry. Passing a bit further than Khan Baghi, he stopped the phaeton, and very kindly expressing his satisfaction to the Muslim cavalry, advised them to return. The cavalry said good-bye to the governor and returned. When the cavalry entered the city in a roar, the Armenians got terrified. They thought that this Muslim cavalry had assembled and come from the villages to renew the Armenian-Muslim warfare. After clearing out the matter, they calmed down.

On the holiday of al-Fitr, all the scholars, sayyids and noblemen assembled in the mosque, mourned for those who became miserable and martyrs because of the warfare and read prayers for them from the Koran. Meanwhile, together with some priests and the representatives of the people, the Armenian chief came to the mosque to congratulate the Muslims on the holiday. To establish peace, law and order, they met the people and returned.

POSTSCRIPT: On the 8th day of Shawwal the news came that four Armenians had been killed while travelling in a stagecoach in the area of Garvand. Thus, the trip of several Muslims was interrupted, and they were returned for investigation. On the day of the incident standing on the rock called Yel dayirmanı the

⁴⁶ teacher; in pre-Soviet times some Russian words denoting professions were used in address to the person of that profession, like *uchitel*, *dokhtur* (doctor)

Armenians shot and fatally wounded a Muslim of Khalfali, who was carrying wood along the lower road. After taking him to the hospital in Gala, the Muslims reported the incident to the court.

POSTSCRIPT: There was a good hatter called Karbalayi Mahammad. He used to sell in the Armenian bazaar some of the caps he had made. The men, who were well aware of the Armenians' insidiousness, tried to stop Karbalayi Mahammad from going to the Armenian bazaar. I myself (M.M.Navvab) twice had reproached him when I saw him carrying caps to the Armenian bazaar, and repeatedly told him to give up the Armenian bazaar. In the evening of that day, that is, on the eighth of Shawwal, Karbalayi Mahammad, who turned a deaf ear to the advice, took several caps and again went to the Armenian bazaar to sell them. The Armenians maliciously took him to a shelter where they killed him and hid his corpse.

POSTSCRIPT: Again on the same day the Armenians were told that the Muslims had killed and beheaded two Armenians in the area of Turshsu. Hearing the news, a group of Armenian youth got armed and squalling set out towards the place where the Armenians had been killed. Hearing this squall, the Armenians busy with their trade in the bazaar closed their shops in anxiety and gathered in the square. Different calls and shouts were heard everywhere. Seeing the situation, a Russian rushed to the front of the courthouse where he told the Muslims, "Why are you standing idle here? The Armenians are preparing for war. They are launching an attack on you right now". After delivering the news to the Muslims, that Russian rang for the troops to get ready.

Hearing the news, the Muslims closed their shops, got armed and then rushed to the barricades to be on war footing.

And the Armenians hustled into the barricades they had prepared on the roofs of the churches, in the houses and streets.

As soon as the court found out about the incident, they took a squad of soldiers, crossed the Armenian quarters and came to the bazaar through the Muslim quarters. As soon as the people heard the news, they calmed down, and each returned to their place.

THE INCIDENT BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND ARMENIANS IN THE CITY OF GANJA THE 8TH OF SHAWWAL 1323 HIJRI [1905 CHRISTIAN]

On the eighth of Shawwal, it was reported that warfare had broken out because of the clash between the Muslims and Armenians in the city of Ganja. It was cabled that a great fire had been visible in Ganja for two nights already. However,

there were no details available. Through a further investigation, it turned out that while restoring confidence in the Muslims, nevertheless, the Armenians took measures to prepare a new treachery against them and wrote to different addresses to ask for aids.

Unaware of all this, the Muslims were quietly engaged in their business and trade. After arranging military supply for their mission, the Armenians wrote everywhere and demanded some strength. On the basis of their requirements armed Armenians came from everywhere. The Ganja Armenians received assistance also from Karabakh. The group from Karabakh was headed by Sanjan, the son of carpenter Barsegh. To start warfare with the Muslims, the Armenians killed three innocent Muslims. Hearing the news, the Muslims closed the shops and bazaars, got armed and launched shooting by attacking the Armenians under the shouts "Ya Allah!" As soon as the news spread further, aids arrived from long distances. Among the aids, there was a dedicated and ardent young man, Ali by name. This young man, who was an outlaw, had gathered a considerable number of cavalry and came to the aid of the Muslims in Ganja. In order not to give any chance to the Armenians for escape, they had disengaged the bridge in advance. Further, they started firing the Armenians incessantly. The Armenians suffered more human casualties. As the Armenians' positions were occupied, their houses, shops were set to fire. However, it was a mistake to set fire to the Armenian shop adjacent to the mosque shop situated in the Muslim quarters. For, while the Armenian shop was on fire, the wind blew the flames to the adjacent mosque shop, which also burnt, as it was impossible to extinguish fire.

Because of this warfare, a considerable number of Armenians were murdered. It was said that Sanjan, the son of Barsegh, who had come from Karabakh, had also been murdered. However, later he turned out to be alive. Also, some of the Muslims became martyrs.

After a while, the news came that a mullah, by the name of Mahammadhassan had been out to look for something together with two more people. The insidious Armenian tribe had cunningly taken them to some place from where they never returned. No news was heard about their further destiny.

THE INCIDENT OF GALA

On the 9th day of Shawwal, again the Armenians descended the rock called Yel dayirmani, and hid behind the rocks beneath. In the mean time, three Muslims were passing that place with their wood-loaded donkeys in the front. The Armenians came out of the rocks and fired at them incessantly. A bullet hit a man of Gala, who was called Mamish. Another man was wounded on the arm. And swearing the Armenians, the third woodman rushed to Gala to inform the people

who took the wounded to hospital, and the dead man was buried. Then they reported to the court about the incident. That day the Muslims also descended the rock and murdered four Armenians on the road. One of them was from Dashalti, and the three others were from Shushakand.

Meanwhile, the news came that down in the area called Baghlar eight hundred Muslim riders had gathered. However, no one was aware of their intention. No one knew whether they would come to Gala or attack the Armenian villages.

Hearing the news, the Armenian folk in Gala got panicked, went to the court authorities in terror, and told them, "We should again establish peace with the Muslims". Further the court authorities took a squad of Russian soldiers, came to the Muslim bazaar together with the Armenian representatives and priests under music. The esteemed qadi and esteemed Abdurrahman Agha also went there with a considerable number of Muslims. There Hassanali Bey delivered a speech on maintaining law and order between the two peoples. After the Armenian priest spoke, the representatives of both the nations went to the Armenian bazaar together with the court authorities. At the meeting in the Armenian bazaar, the Armenian priest and Hashim Bey made speeches. Appealing the Armenians, Hashim Bey said,

- Oh society, what an intrigue you have started between the two nations? You have disturbed the peace of so many people. If in all these matters your aim is socialism, then the socialists' rules are not like this. Without having any reason or cause, why are you causing so much bloodshed, leaving children as orphans, women as widows in tears? Why do you agree that their laments should rise to the Heavens? If you wish a war, and if you consider yourselves valiant, then you should not hide behind the rocks and in the houses like women, and not shoot the passers-by unexpectedly and insidiously and not boast of being heroes. The law of the war implies that both you and the Muslims should go out into the field and fight each other bravely face to face with either rifles, or swords and daggers. Then either you would win the Muslims, or the Muslims would wipe out your people from this city. Consequently, all the creatures would relax. Are you not afraid of the Almighty? A couple of Armenian bandits, who call themselves *gym-dats*, would shed innocent blood, causing intrigues under the impact of the wine once a week. Following their words, you put yourselves at risk. Because of it, so many of your people die, your property is destroyed; your mansions are burnt and turned into ruins. You do see that during the warfare you lose thousand people while ten Muslims die. Do not follow the bandits' words. Return to the Almighty's course.

Following Hashim Bey, the esteemed Abdurrahman Agha and the esteemed qadi read al-Fatihah during the allocutions.

On this day of reconciliation, the murderers of the Muslims killed during the above-stated incident were handed in to the court. They were two. One of them

was Armenian blacksmith Mirza, a villager from Gaybali. The court sent both of them to jail.

THE SAYYID'S INCIDENT

That day after the declaration of reconciliation between Armenians and Muslims, and establishment of peace between the two nations, a sayyid from the rural area, where he also traded, was returning home. While the sayyid was passing along the Armenian street by the boulevard, he met his Armenian acquaintance. After greetings, the Armenian said, "There is a mat for sale in this house. Let us go and buy it to you. On condition that if I buy it cheaply, you'll pay me a brokerage". The sayyid agreed. After they had walked for a while, they encountered two *gymdats* with frocks on them. They asked each other in Armenian where to take the sayyid to kill. One said, "First, we should talk to Kiki Kalantarov, and then kill him". Being able to speak Armenian, the sayyid understood all the talking. Although the sayyid worried inwardly realizing the essence of the situation, he somehow managed to hide it. First, he wanted to flee, but when he saw no chance for it, he began seeking some way-out. One of the Armenians told the other, "You keep him busy talking, I'll go and inform Kiki". After a little while, that Armenian returned and told his friends to kill the sayyid and bury him in the place where they had buried the hatter on Kiki's order. Further, all three attacked the sayyid, held his arms, taking off the belt, tied it round his neck and then pulling by it, they dragged him into a yard. A woman came out of the house and yelled, "Don't kill him here. The other day when you killed the hatter, my child got frightened and fell ill". Following the woman's protest, they dragged the sayyid out of the house. The woman locked the gate firmly behind them. After taking the sayyid out of the house, the Armenians wondered where to kill him. At that moment, a fuss rose in the opposite side of the road. A Muslim was shouting, "Dare to catch me". Although two Armenians attacked this Muslim on horseback, who was from the rural area, and wanted to kill him, they failed to do it. One of the Armenians by the sayyid stayed with him, and the other two went to help those Armenians. As the Armenian next to the sayyid wanted to throw him into the trench, the latter resisted the Armenian holding the belt. The ground being wet, due to the sayyid's resistance, the Armenian slipped, fell down and loosened the grip of the belt. By the time the Armenian got up, taking the opportunity the sayyid had run some distance towards the Muslim quarters. Although the sayyid fell down several times while running, he stood up and continued his way. Finally, after reaching the Muslim quarters, he calmed down.

POSTSCRIPT: The next day an Armenian was killed in the Armenian cemetery. As soon as the Armenians heard about the incident, they went to report it to

the court. Thus, the court representative came to the esteemed qadi and stated to him that the Armenians were demanding the murderer. The qadi said, "In accordance with the terms agreed with you, we'll be responsible only for the incidents occurring in the city. But we'll not interfere in the events taking place outside it. For, most of the murders have been committed by the Armenians themselves who slander the Muslims in it. Thus, none of them is of any concern to the Muslims".

POSTSCRIPT: On the 12th of Shawwal, a letter written by some patriots reached Gala. The letter read, "Don't travel to this area, as the roads are too risky". That day several hundred cavalry and infantry coming from the area of Baghlar under the commandment of Jafar Bey, a close kinship of esteemed Hashim Vazirzadeh surrounded the Armenian villages. In addition, about hundred Kurdish cavalry and infantry of Pichanis and other villages came from the other side and surrounded the Armenian villages. The Khalifali Muslims conducted talks with the Kurds and came to a conclusion that they should each attack the Armenian villages from a different direction. The Kurds' commander-in-chief was Ibrahim Bey. They, that is, Ibrahim Bey's squad first assaulted the village of Jamilli, where Kiki Kalantarov was residing. Kalantarov had fine mansions in the village. After plundering some of his property, they set fire to the rest. Due to the attack, some people deserted the village of Jamilli. Yet the remainder were firing Ibrahim Bey's squad from behind the rocks and through the windows of the houses. Meanwhile, the Muslims were firing them back incessantly from the outside. Because of the attack, the entire village was burnt, and 11 Armenians were killed.

At that time, launching an assault on the village of Khazanak, the Khalifalis burnt more than half of it and murdered the Armenians they encountered.

There was a very courageous and capable young man, by the name of Gasim, among the Khalifalis. During the assault, he was fighting against the Armenians very bravely and heroically. Suddenly he was hit by a bullet and fell down. This young man from the village of Kosalar died heroically on the battlefield. His corpse was brought to the village of Kosalar. The mullah being in Gala, several men were sent on horseback and on mules to fetch him. On their way they were fired at by the Armenians from Yel dayirman rock and the village of Gaybali. Leaving their horses and mules, with great difficulty they reached Gala, moving forward behind the rocks. One of the men called the people to inform them that the Armenians were coming to fight. The people closed their shops and bazaar; the young men got armed and massed the barricades. Seeing the situation, the judge of the province told that all was a lie, calming down the Muslims.

Meanwhile, setting fire to the Armenian villages one after another on their way, the cavalry and infantry from Baghlar reached the village of Khoramord, where they killed quite a few Armenians, burned their houses and captured their goods.

POSTSCRIPT: A few days prior to this incident, four Muslims approached the observation point in the vicinity of the village of Suleimanli. The Armenians used

to have trenches in that observation point. Each night some Armenians would stand sentry in the trenches. Slowly approaching the trenches, the four Muslims saw that four Armenians had been laying a dinner table there. One was cooking kebab on a stick, and the others were laying the table and opening the wine bottles. And their four rifles had been placed side by side. Springing out unexpectedly, the Muslim youth took the Armenians' rifles, and then quickly getting into the trenches, aimed their guns at them. Bewildered at the situation, the Armenians began begging the Muslims, "Don't kill us. We'll give you the cartridge cases too". The Armenians took out and threw the cartridge cases. After taking the cartridge cases, the Muslims shot all the four Armenians and returned to the village.

THE MALIBEYLI INCIDENT

On the 17th of Shawwal, Thursday, some hundred Armenians from Shushakand, Dashkand, Mukhatar, Keshishkand and Dashalti got together, had a consultation with the *gymdats* and came to a conclusion that in order to weaken the Muslims' forces they should oust the Muslims from the villages completely. They said that further it would be easier to overbear the Muslims by launching an assault on Gala. In accordance with their arrangements, the Armenians were to devastate Malibeyli, to burn the houses and plunder the property there by launching their assault first on it.

To carry out their goal the Armenians assaulted on Malibeyli early in the morning. Some hundred men and buffalo-drawn carts were taking part in this attack. They were bringing the carts to carry away the pillage. The Armenians surrounded Malibeyli from the direction of Mecca and the West. The assault being launched early in the morning, those in the barricades had been asleep. The early-risers of the village got aware of the situation and informed the others as well. On seeing so many Armenians, the Muslims standing sentry in the barricades fired a shot or two. Meanwhile, the Armenians fired about hundred shots to each barricade. Thus, terrified by the big number of shots, those in the barricades ran out of them into the village. Thus, the Armenians occupied the barricades and entered the village. Marching into Haji Tahmuraz' house, they set fire to it from all sides. Out of joy, two of the *gymdats* were celebrating it on the balcony of the house. That is, one of them was applauding while the other one was dancing. Seeing the situation, at that moment the valiants and armed guards of Malibeyli attacked the Armenians from all sides with a roar. Aiming at the dancing Armenian on Haji Tahmuraz' balcony, a young Muslim shot him on the chest; consequently, the Armenian gave a cry and fell down. The same young man fired another shot at the applauding Armenian, who also gave a loud cry and fell next to the first Armenian.

One of the Muslim horsemen went to Khankandi and another one to Gala with

a message asking for help. Immediately getting recruited, the young Muslim fighters in Gala set forth to Malibeyli under the leadership of Agha Shamil and Bashir Bey. A squad of Muslims together with the Kazaks came to Malibeyli. As soon as the aids from Gala and Khankandi arrived at Malibeyli, the youth of the village launched an assault on the Armenians from all sides. Both the parties were firing intensively. After the death of the two *gymdats* on Haji Tahmuraz' balcony, the Armenians began to flee. The Muslims chased and fired at them. During this pursue nine more Armenians were killed, and some got wounded.

During the fighting at Haji Tahmuraz' house at the outset of the Armenians' assault on Malibeyli, the Muslims intensively fired at the house from all sides so that the Armenians were not able to enter it. The Muslims also shot and killed two women who wanted to carry with them some of the expensive things in the house so that they were not looted by the Armenians, by mistaking them for Armenian women.

After the Armenians were driven out of Malibeyli, the squads coming from Khankandi and Gala entered Malibeyli with much noise and joining the defenders of Malibeyli, invoked blessings of Allah on the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and giving a cry "Ya Ali!" launched an assault on the Armenians. Due to their incessant shooting, fifteen more Armenians were killed. As soon as the Armenians saw the situation, they got dispersed and set for running. They placed the corpses of those fifteen perished Armenians on the carts stationed aside for trophies, and carried them away. However, the corpses of the nine Armenians killed in Haji Tahmuraz' house had burnt there together with the house. The Muslim fighters were chasing and shooting the fleeing Armenians incessantly. Later they counted the corpses of the Armenians who died at the bottom of the rocks and in hollow places. Their number reached 80 people. And the Muslims who died in this fighting were Haji Muhammad's one young son and those two women at Haji Tahmuraz' house.

Five of the nine Armenians killed in Haji Tahmuraz' house had been dressed in the uniforms of Kazak *chinovniks* so that mistaking them for Kazaks the Muslims should not fire at them.

THE INCIDENT OF THE VILLAGE OF GAYBALI

The Khalifalis had decided to launch a sudden assault on the village of Gaybali at night on the 18th of Shawwal and devastate it. An ignoble and reprobate Muslim went and forewarned the Gaybali Armenians against the Khalifalis' arrangement. As soon as the Armenians became aware of the arrangement, they sent messengers to Gala and the villages demanding immediate assistance. Getting recruited from

all sides, the Armenians arrived at Gaybali. The Armenians, who had come for assistance, got divided into two, one part of them stayed in the village to defend it, and the other one took their arms and hid in another place. Four hours after midnight 30-40 Khalifalis and some Kurds all armed launched an assault on Gaybali. First, they set fire to two barns. Despite the awareness of the villagers about the attack, their cries and laments rose to the Heavens. Some of them started shooting and shouting, and some others begging and calling *Hazrat Abbas* for help. In short, there was incessant shooting. No sooner had 11 Armenians been murdered than the Armenians at the ambush attacked some of the Muslim houses located near Gaybali. The grandfather of the Muslims residing in these houses had been a famous cook Muhammad, with the nickname of Lachinli. The Armenians began firing incessantly on the houses of those from Lachin. As soon as the Muslims heard about the incident, they returned from Gaybali to help the offspring of the cook. They ousted the Armenians shooting them incessantly. Finally, the shooting ceased, and tranquility was established.

THE INCIDENT IN PIRAMAKI ON THE 20TH OF SHAWWAL 1323 HIJRI [1905]

The other day the Muslims consisting of the Gala valiants and guards mounted their horses and came to Malibeyli where some young guides joined them and rode their horses directly to the place called Piramaki. Piramaki was the place of the Armenians from Shushakand for haystacks and farming. There were many big haystacks there. They set fire to 150 haystacks mowed and heaped by the Armenians, many a barns and sheds. The flames of the haystacks were visible from Gala. After the arson of the haystacks, the Muslims concerted with the Russian Kazaks to take out the barley and wheat kept in all the storehouses and wells, and to load them onto the carts to take home.

The next day the court people came to Piramaki. They started to search the surroundings, mountains and forests. During the raid, they found the corpses of 20 Armenians perished during the Armenian-Muslim fighting in Malibeyli. They all had on them their cartridge cases untouched, and their rifles were lying next to them. Most of them being wounded, had failed to escape even if they wanted to. Each had died on one side. In accordance with the data the Armenians gave to the court, 107 Armenians had died.

It is surprising and regrettable that despite so much human and material casualties the Armenians had suffered, drawing no conclusions from their own actions, they neither repent, nor rise from the slumber of ignorance. In every city and in every village, the *gymdats*, who inflicted on the nation all kinds of troubles, not earning a pittance by their own efforts, and always committing intrigues, menac-

ing the poor ordinary Armenians, would fill their pockets taking from them, on thousands of pretexts, the money the poor had earned. Then whenever they wish, they would kill both them and others insidiously, and leave their wives and children hungry and desperate in tears.

THE INCIDENT OF HAMZAT, AN ARMENIAN OF IRAVAN

Letters arrived one after another from the area resided by Javanshir's offspring that some hundred mobilized Muslim horsemen were launching assaults on the Armenian villages. No matter which village they entered, they did not give any chance to the Armenians to get into the trenches. First, they entered the village of Sarab and attacked the Armenians with a cry "Ya Ali!" Terrified by this attack, the Armenians were so confused that they could not have enough stamina to resist. Being scattered, the Armenians ran into different directions taking whatever they could with them. Some of them hid in secret places. After the village of Sarab, the Muslim horsemen attacked Bashkand, then the village of Maragha and further to the village of Chayli and inflicted a heavy blow on the Armenians. All of a sudden, the Muslims found themselves confronted by a strong squad led by one or two *gymdats*. One of the *gymdats* leading them was Hamzat, an Armenian of Iravan. This Hamzat had been the source of many an intrigue and innocent bloodshed. That is, it was he who supervised the staging of many riots in the area of Iravan and the Ottoman state. He had arrived in the city of Shusha for three years by then. First, pretending to be a competent goldsmith, Hamzat opened jeweler's in the Muslim bazaar. Therefore, most of the Karabakh noblemen would order Hamzat to make items of jewelry they wanted for themselves and their wives. Meanwhile, Hamzat was working against the Muslims. Conducting propaganda through the leaflets and newspapers obtained from the Ottoman Armenians with the help of senior *gymdats* to achieve the unity of the urban and rural Armenians, he tried to generate in them a sense of hatred towards the Muslims. Along with working against the Muslims and the state, Hamzat was also establishing gymdat squads of different classes. Having established strong gymdat squads, he then started collecting big amount of money from the rich of the Armenian tribe. He determined that such and such rich Armenian should donate that or other amount of money to the gymdat courthouse. If that person unconditionally paid the determined money, he survived. Otherwise, that is, in case he failed to pay, that person was murdered by the *gymdats*. Thus, they gathered a lot of money. To collect money, Hamzat and his associates did not shun stealing either. Thus, one day while two or three men were taking 43 thousand manats and many bills from the state post office to the treasury, some of the *gymdats* attacked and killed them, then took away the money.

After taking away the 43 thousand manats, the *gymdats* were tempted more, and then killed some more Russian seniors. After the court people found out about Hamzat and his associates' such actions and confidential letters, he was arrested. Following his arrest, he appropriated all the gold he had taken from the Muslim noblemen, not returning even a gram of it to any of them. Some months later, he was released from prison. Buying a horse, visiting the rural areas with several *gymdats* and creating Armenian squads, he instigated the people to take actions against the state. After gaining some strength, they started fighting against the Muslims. Although several times the state sent Kazaks to arrest him, it failed until the Muslims rose to combat him. After the Muslims' long shootings and heavy blows, Hamzat's squads suffered a defeat. A senior Armenian gymdat was killed in this battle. Immediately beheading that gymdat, the Armenians put his head into a sack and took it with them together with his horse and ammunition. The Muslims thought that the beheaded gymdat must have been Hamzat. However, later it turned out that it was not him.

THE INCIDENT OF THE VILLAGE OF PAPRAVAND

The village of Papravand populated by Muslims was surrounded by the Armenian villages. Relying on their being in majority there, the Armenians laid a siege to the village of Papravand, establishing a big company from the surrounding Armenian villages and launching a sudden assault led by an Armenian gymdat, by the name of Mirza Bey. The assault being launched early in the morning, most of the villagers were fast asleep, and some were performing dawn prayers. While the Armenians were besieging the village, a shepherd was grazing sheep on a high pasture. Seeing the Armenians' assault on the village of Papravand, the shepherd left the sheep there and rushed to the Muslim villages to inform them that the Armenians had attacked Papravand people who needed help. Hearing the news, the Muslims got armed and galloped their horses to Papravand. As soon as they reached the village, invoking blessings of Allah on the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), with a roar they besieged the Armenians from behind. Because of the heavy blows inflicted on the Armenians from the front and rear, they suffered a great loss. Suddenly four bullets hit Mirza Bey, the gymdat who had been fighting at the head of the Armenian company and giving instructions to the Armenians. Giving a cry, he fell to the ground. The Armenians, who saw him dying, began to flee. Chasing them, the Muslims killed some of them, and wounded the others. The surviving Armenians hid in the mountains and forests. The Muslims took possession of the buffalo-drawn carts intended by Armenians to carry pillage.

THE INCIDENT OF ASGARAN

After the Armenians suffered a great defeat, the *gymdats* decided that launching an assault is not in their favor. It would be better for them to lay a kind of siege to the town by blocking the roads, thus preventing the Muslims' movement along them. That in mind, they established separate squads and set them in secret positions around the Asgaran fortress. These squads began shooting the passers-by. Therefore, the movement died down along these roads, the renters and carters found it impossible to move along them.

On the other side, due to the riots and strikes in the province of Russia and Tiflis, the cable and post did not operate either.

The Armenians, who ascended the rocks called Yel dayirmani, noticed that there were no visitors from the places where the Kurds and Khalifalis resided. Even the renters were unable to carry wheat to grind in the mill. For that reason, by and by the food supply in the town was reducing which resulted in a scarcity. The poor and aliens found it difficult to survive. As the mills did not operate and the flour supply was getting scarce, the bakeries were getting closed.

POSTSCRIPT: The news came that in the area of Sisyan the Armenians were making up squads and attacking the Muslims. And the Muslims confronted them with a strong squad they formed and began shooting. The fighting continued for two days incessantly. The Muslims had 20 martyrs, and several men got wounded during the fighting. Along with the wounded, 50 men were killed from the Armenian side. The men of Sisyan sent ten people to Gala to buy rifles and cartridges there.

THE ARMENIANS' CONSPIRACY WITH KAZAKS AND THEIR TREACHERY AGAINST THE MUSLIMS

The roads being blocked, 60 loaded carts got stuck in Aghdam. The renters and the owners of the luggage, who were fed up with the situation, complained to the court. The officials of the court assigned a squad of Kazaks to escort those people till Shusha and deliver them there safe and sound. Gathering two hundred manats, the people gave it to the chief of the Kazaks to keep a hundred of it to himself and to distribute the other hundred among the Kazaks so that they would deliver the carts to the city peacefully. In addition, the *pristav* of Aghdam promised a safe delivery of the carts and luggage to the city. In short, the 40-50 carts in a row set forth to the city with the Kazaks ahead of them. When they reached a place like a valley with both edges high, they saw Armenians standing in trenches. Beckoning

one of the Kazaks, the chief told him something and send him to the Armenians. Getting suspicious, the carters and the luggage owners, each assumed something. After a little while, the Kazak returned. Meanwhile, the Armenians began to swarm like ants. They were approaching the carts firing shots into the air and at the carts. Realizing the situation, two of the Muslims from Gala, Mashadi Dadash and Agha Ismail got off the cart, took out their rifles from the cart, and began firing the Armenians hiding behind a rock. Seeing this firing, the Armenians dared not to advance and retreated. Meanwhile, when the opportunity allowed, some of the carters fled towards Aghdam. But the carters among the Kazaks failed to escape. However, some Muslims quickly loosened the horses from the carts and ran away getting on them. Fourteen loaded carts remained between the Kazaks and Armenians. The Armenians rushed to loot the carts. They shared the sugar and other things in the carts with the Kazaks.

The survivors arrived at Aghdam with carts and other items. As soon as the Muslims found out about this, they assembled and began talking that their *pristav* arrived at the bazaar and immediately a man, by the name of Mashadi Salim, the owner of the 14 carts and luggage plundered on the road by the Armenians, said holding the *pristav* by the neck, "The plundered 14 carts and luggage cost forty thousand manats. You should pay my money". Seeing that it was a crucial moment for him, the *pristav* said, "Don't kill me. I'll give you a paper certifying that I owe you 40 thousand manats". The esteemed Jafar Bey Vazirzadeh did not find it advisable to receive a signed paper. For, later the *pristav* might tell the court, "They were killing me, thus I gave it for fear of my life".

The *pristav* somehow managed to escape by promising the return in words. Two days later the carts, which had been left there, were returned. The next morning the Armenians near Khankandi rushed to take away 200 cattle of the young man of Gala, by the name of Mahsadi Bashir.

On those days a man of Gala, by the name of Jamshid opened a shop at the roadside around Khojali. He used to buy at lower prices some goods brought from Baghlar to Gala for sale and sell them at his shop to the Armenians coming from other areas. Jamshid Kishi's household was also living in this shop with him. The Muslims would reproach him, "You are a Muslim. And that act of yours is beyond shari'a, give up your job at this time of warfare, or else you'll regret". Jamshid Kishi wouldn't listen to anyone and couldn't resist his temptation. In next to no time, one day the Armenians rushed and killed both Jamshid Kishi and his wife and children, took hostage his beautiful daughter, and devastated his shop looting it.

POSTSCRIPT: On the above-stated date while Malik Pashayev of Gala was carrying the sixty thousand-manat worth copper together with several Armenians, he was captured by the Muslims and taken to Aghdam.

THE INCIDENT OF HAMIDA KHANUM, THE DAUGHTER OF AHMAD BEY

The other day Hamida Khanum, the daughter of Ahmad Bey of Javanshir arrived in Aghdam with a squad of horsemen very pompously. The people of Aghdam met her with great respect and reverence and lodged her in a beautiful house. Hamida Khanum stated to esteemed Jafar Bey that she intended to deliver a couple of words to the crowd in regards to the people.

Jafar Bey asked the members of the charity assembly to give instructions to the people to close their shops and bazaar and get assembled on the large square. Slowly the people and noblemen got assembled at the large square. Hamida Khanum together with Jafar Bey went up a high balcony. Turning to Jafar Bey, Hamida Khanum asked him to tell the people about the reason for her arrival.

In a loud voice Jafar Bey said, "Dear noblemen and Muslims! By making an effort to travel a long distance, Hamida Khanum has the following aims: Hamida Khanum states, 'I have heard that our brethren in Gala are making efforts and suffering a lot. I found out that the Armenians residing in these villages are preventing people from carrying food and goods to Gala as well as from going to the mill by blocking the roads. Therefore, recruiting two hundred horsemen with all their ammunition, I have come to their aid. Although I am a woman, yet our Muslim brethren's suffering did not leave me alone, bothering me day and night. While our brethren are exposed to such sufferings in Shusha, we cannot enjoy life here. In your presence, it will not suit me as a woman all by myself to struggle for the rescue of our people from this trouble. Thus, I ask you kindly also to recruit forces to clear the rubbish off the way of our brethren together with the riders I have taken with me, so that they can live in peace'."

Hearing the above-uttered words the crowd assembled at the square, applauded Hamida Khanum heartily. Some people even were moved into tears. The people answered, "We, from seven to seventy, are ready to struggle for this course with both our souls and goods. Those robbers will get their due answer. Thus, you, please, return to your home with no worry, by the consent of the Almighty, we'll take care of all these matters".

Donating two hundred manats in cash and two hundred *poods* of flour and barley to the charity assembly, Hamida Khanum returned to her village with reverence. May Allah bless her.

THE INCIDENT AT ESTEEMED NAJAFGULU AGHA'S MILL

As the dearth was gradually growing in Gala, the Shusha youth got on horseback and went to the mill of Najafgulu Agha of Javanshir taking two carts of wheat with them. After the two carts of wheat was ground in the mill, the Armenians attacked the mill and tried to get the flour from them by force. There were two or three armed Muslims in the mill. From behind the wall, they fired the Armenians. After some shooting, the Armenians returned hopeless and well aware that they could do nothing.

The Armenians, who heard about the murder of an Armenian woman with a child between Malibeyli and Khankandi, set forth to the headquarters. There were some Russian troops at the headquarters. At the same time, some Muslim and Armenian families were residing in the area where the headquarters were located. Seeing the tension in the situation, the Muslim families took their rifles and stood sentry to the war. Among them, there was a man, by the name of Mashadi Zeynal, who had a large household. He was residing in the neighborhood of an Armenian. When the Armenians rushed to that area, Mashadi Zeynal's Armenian neighbor came up to him and told him, "The Armenians have come to murder you. Therefore, you should come and stay at our place with your wife and children, because no one would dare touch you at my home. Mistaking the Armenian's malice as the truth, Mashadi moved to the Armenian's house taking his entire household and things. However, Mashadi's children were against moving to the Armenian's house. After they had moved, the Armenian told Mashadi, "Give me your rifles to hide, I'll return them to you later. Or else, in case the Armenians see your rifles, they would kill both you and me. Mashadi had four sons who told their father, "This is malice, don't believe the Armenian's words. If we give our rifles, they will kill us".

Getting angry at his sons, Mashadi gave all the rifles to the Armenian. Having taken away the rifles, the Armenian called the other Armenians hiding in the ambush. They rushed first to set fire to Mashadi's house, and then by tortures killed Mashadi, his four sons, in general, his entire household to his youngest child. The horrible cries of the women and children were all intermingled, while the Armenians were committing these brutalities. When the young women and children screamed and wanted to escape, the Armenians caught and butchered them with a dagger. In short, the beast-like Armenians slaughtered to pieces about twenty members of Mashadi's household.

Oh, how I wish that all the Muslims were aware
Of the torment the Armenians made known.

Tormenting, they entirely cut to pieces
The bodies of innocent children.

Like sheep and lambs, they were beheaded,
Those bodies and souls were torn down on the soil.

Be sure that a Christian⁴⁷ has no mercy even a bit,
Have a glimpse at those miserable ones and find out it for yourself.

They sowed such a seed that would grow until the Day of Judgment sad like hell
Each leaf of branches as the beginning of evil.

After murdering Mashadi Zeynal's entire family by tormenting and torturing them, they plundered his property. Because of heavy shooting, eleven Armenians were killed.

Prior to that, having heard about the tragedy the Armenians had inflicted on Mashadi Zeynal's family, the senior Russian officials took the women and children of the Muslim families residing in that area to their barracks to rescue them from the massacre. Meanwhile, the Armenians killed a Muslim, by the name of Sadig. The Russians arrested two of that man's murderers.

Following this massacre, the Armenians sent the pillage by carts to their houses and went to Najafgulu Agha's mill. While fighting against the Armenians in the area of the headquarters, the Muslims managed to load all the flour in the mill onto the carts and drew them to Malibeyli.

In the evening the Armenians came to the mill and saw that the Muslims had carried away all the flour and other things. Immediately the Armenians set fire to the mill and Najafgulu Agha's rooms. The smoke and flame rising from Najafgulu Agha's mansion and mill could be seen from Gala. The Muslims were very sorry for this fire. Getting together, the youth of Chukhur Mahallasi decided to take revenge of the mill on the Armenians. One of the experienced Muslims said, "Here, opposite us on the river Shusha there is a mechanical mill built by Khandamirov Mikit". Mikit's mill was approximately 5000 manats' worth, whereas Najafgulu Agha's mill was 300 manats' worth. One brave man was enough to descend there to set fire to that mill. At that moment a young man, by the name of Dashdamir, who had set fire to the Armenians' haystacks a few days earlier, came forward and said, "By Allah's help, right now I can go and fulfill your desire".

Taking some cloth and kerosene, and saying "Bismillah", Dashdamir and five young men descended towards the mill. As soon as they reached the mill, they set fire to it, by putting some cloth to different sides of the house and pouring kerosene on them. The flame rose to the sky. Meanwhile, Dashdamir returned to Gala with his companions. The youth of Chukhur Mahallasi applauded them.

The Armenians noticed a big fire rising in the area of Shushakand. Reaching the

⁴⁷ The word "Christian" was often used in the sense of "Armenian" then

mill, they began firing with the assumption that the Muslims were at the mill. Then getting carefully to the mill, they found no one there. When they rushed to extinguish the mill, they found the main parts of the machines burnt. They regretted much for leaving the mill unattended.

A few days later it turned out that some parts of the mill had survived the fire. That night together with six young men that same Dashdamir went to the mill and set fire to the surviving tools and several rooms. They took as much flour and wheat as possible and came to Gala. Those who noticed the flame from Shushakand began to fire the mill. Meanwhile, several times a loud rumbling was heard from the mill. They said the Armenians had filled the *aftafas* with powder and round iron pieces to use them as an explosive when necessary. Therefore, they would leave one of those *aftafas* in the place they wanted to explode and then would set fire to the plug that ended in the sprout of the *aftafa*. Instantly the *aftafa* would explode rumbling and scattering its corpse broken to pieces and the round iron pieces all around. Most probably, it was those *aftafas* that exploded in the mill.

To take revenge for it, coming to the village of Mukhatar the Armenians set fire to a garden and a small house belonging to the offspring of Haji Asgar and burnt them.

On the 9th day of Dhu al-Qada 1323 *Dilanchi*⁴⁸ Bairam's twelve-year old daughter, by the name of Aghja took a shahi⁴⁹ and went to buy kerosene. The roads being blocked, there was no kerosene in the bazaar. Taking the girl home, a pious person filled her bottle with kerosene and then saw her off. On her way back home, the girl was lost and found herself in the Armenian quarters. The Armenians took her to their *gymdats* who asked Aghja, "Do the Muslims have much food?" The girl answered, "It is a lot everywhere, but our house". Again, the *gymdats* asked, "What do the Muslims have to shoot?" The girl answered, "Cannons, there are a lot of rifles and pistols in every house, and all have got them". After this interrogation, the Armenians went to the adjacent room. A little later, an Armenian woman came to Aghja and told her, "If the Armenians ask you about the state of the Muslims again, tell them that the Muslims will massacre you. Look here, if you don't say it, they will kill you and torment you while you're alive. Also, tell the Muslims that enough with the war, our house has burnt, our property has gone. For God's sake, let them leave us in peace".

Again the Armenians came. They asked the girl, "What are the Muslims doing? What is there in their mind?"

The girl answered, "They will massacre you". Shouting at the girl, the Armenian ordered her to keep silent. Then they started drinking tea and having something like hubble-bubble. They offered her some too, but she detested it.

The next day the Armenians delivered Aghja to police and stated that she had gone to the Armenian quarters being lost. The police officer and his wife took the girl to her family on a carriage.

⁴⁸ Beggar, here it is a nickname given to the man

⁴⁹ 5 copecks

THE INCIDENT OF GULABLI [THE MONTH OF DHU AL-QA'DA 1323]

The other day getting together and having a consultation, the Armenians from Tagh, Tugh, Daghdaghan, Mirikandi, Harov and other neighbouring villages decided that in order to invade Gala easily, they should first torment the Muslims residing in the neighbouring villages by Armenian attacks, kill some part of them and make the others flee. After cleansing the villages off the Muslims, they would turn those areas into a genuine "land of Hayastan" (Armenia). For this purpose, they first launched an attack on Gulabli. As they were reaching Gulabli, first they sent a man there to bring some news about the village. The man came and found out that most of the men of the village were in Gala, in the shops, bazaars or attending some wedding parties. Moreover, there was no one but women and children, some old people and a few armed guards in the village. Thus, fearlessly the Armenians advanced to the village. First, they wanted to destroy the mosque. The armed guards in the village got into the trenches and fired the Armenians incessantly. Thus, a shooting started and lasted for four hours. Most of the Armenians being in the open, and the Muslims being in the barricades, 61 Armenians were murdered. The Armenians were on the brink of returning when the Muslims ran out of bullets. The Muslims ran and hid in some place. Understanding the situation, the Armenians got into the village. Visiting the houses one by one, they plundered them. The Armenians reached a house where 20 children and a few old people and one blind man were hiding, locking in the doors. Making a hole in one side of the house, the Armenians placed some straw there and set fire to it. Not standing the smoke, those inside opened the door and went out. The Armenians rushed to kill all these innocent children and old people by firing at them incessantly. They took away with them as pillage all the goods on their way. Further, they massed the mosque and set fire to its *minbar* after looting all kinds of carpets and other things there.

After Gulabli the Armenians launched an assault on the village of Abdal and laid siege to it. The shooting lasted a day and night. In the fighting 40 Muslim men, women and children were murdered. The Armenians looted the mosque here too.

POSTSCRIPT: The other day one of the Kazaks, who resided in Malibeyli, and an old Muslim, both came to the headquarters to take a cart of grass. The Armenians fired at them. In a sudden shooting the Kazak was heavily wounded, and the Muslim died. The Kazaks wanted to massacre all the Armenians there, however, their chief prevented it. By the instruction of the Kazaks' chief, all the Armenian houses were surrounded and searched. All the rifles and cartridges were confiscated. They found two bombs, a considerable amount of powder and several five-charge rifles in the shop of an Armenian. During the raid, seventy rifles

were confiscated from the Armenians.

POSTSCRIPT: The road to Shusha being blocked, there was a food deficit there. Again, the respected Muslim noblemen and people stored up several thousand poods of flour, rice, wheat, sugar, kerosene and other things in order to send to Gala. To cleanse the road to Gala from the Armenians, the state had sent several formations of soldiers armed with cannons and five-charge rifles and a good-natured commander over them, who wouldn't take bribes. Arriving in Aghdam with his squad, that commander saw that about five thousand brave Muslims armed to free the road to Gala from the Armenian bandits had been waiting for him on horseback. The commander for the state squads told them, "You don't need to go there for this purpose. I am authorized together with my troops to open the roads and to deliver ammunition and food to the city. I do not interfere with other matters. Thus, after we open the roads and deliver the food to Gala, without me you can do whatever you wish. This is your own concern".

Then loading the stored food and other things onto seventy carts, the people set out to Shusha together with the state troops. Getting to Asgaran, the commander ordered to fire from the cannons at the Armenian barricades set on the heights on both sides of the road. The Armenians got scattered and fled to different sides. No Armenian was left in the barricades. All the Armenian barricades set along the road till the end of Khan Baghi were devastated by the cannonry. No Armenian dared to confront this gunfire.

So, the carts full of food, and the troops arrived in Shusha. A part of the food brought on the carts was delivered to its owners, and the other part was sold at a lower price to the poor and aliens. And the flour they had brought was given to the bakers to bake bread and sell it to the people cheaply. With reverence, the soldiers of the state troops were lodged in the houses and their commander, at the place of Balaja⁵⁰ Haji Sadig, the deputy. The city noblemen and intelligentsia came to express their acknowledgement to the commander.

A week later, the life of the people in the city got worsened again. The noble and honorable Muslims prepared 130 carts of food and brought them to Shusha together with the troops. Although the Armenians tried to prevent the movement of the carts, they failed. Hearing the cannonry, they scattered to different sides.

After the food had been delivered to Shusha, a wall-breaker cannon escorting the troops and driven by a dozen horses was placed in front of the courthouse. Meanwhile, an Armenian, Kiki Kalantarov approached the commander and invited him to a beautiful house prepared in his honour in the Armenian quarters. The general retorted him angrily, "One cannot trust you, the Armenian tribe. The Georgians, Muslims and Russians are brethren. Both they and their words are true. But one should not trust your tribe. Therefore, I am going to stay in the Muslim quarters".

⁵⁰ Junior

THE CONFLICTS TAKING PLACE IN DIFFERENT VILLAGES [THE MONTH OF DHU AL-QA'DA 1323]

This date witnessed a severe clash between Muslims and Armenians in the village of Sarv. As some of the Muslims had not been prepared for the battle, at the beginning they had twenty martyrs. Getting into a rage as a result, the armed Muslims uttered "Ya Allah", surrounded the Armenians and fired at them incessantly. More than 50 Armenians were killed, and their wounded were as many. Further, the Armenians returned to the barricades. The Muslims also returned to their places.

On that date, the Muslims of Javanshir formed a squad and launched an assault on the village of Chayli. After twelve Armenians were killed and about twenty Armenians were wounded during the assault, the remainder began to run away. The village became quite empty, and the Muslims had it entirely at their disposal. The surviving Armenians got dispersed to all the villages with the news about the incident. Armenians from some villages got recruited and launched an assault on a Muslim village called Damirli. Acting farsightedly the villagers had taken their food and belongings to another place. Thus, this small village did not suffer that much from the assault. In addition, the people of the village had fled to the neighboring villages.

Hearing the news, the valiants of Javanshir assaulted the villages of Janyatag and Gulyatag with several armed squads. Although they had surrounded the villages from all sides, there had been chances to escape through two places.

Those with horses and mules took their households and food, and escaped through the two places. About hundred of those staying in the villages were killed, and over hundred got wounded. Having good military supplies, the Armenians remaining in the villages went into the barricades and fired from there.

THE MURDER OF HUMAY BEY, THE SON OF GERAY BEY

The inhabitant of the Shusha fortress, Humay Bey, the son of Garay Bey was the chief of the squad fighting against the Armenians. Being a skilful fighter, Humay Bey was training people in military art. One day while he was conducting training, a Kazak arrived there. Raising his hand, he bowed to Humay Bey and came forward. After shaking hands with Humay Bey, the Kazak asked him in Russian, "Why does this tribe (Armenians) start a warfare violating the people's

peace?" Humay Bey answered him, "The Armenians themselves started this warfare and will regret it themselves". Then Humay Bey turned to say something to the Muslims he was training, at that moment that insidious, bloody Kazak killed him shooting him in the back. No sooner than had the Kazak shot Humay Bey than the killer ran and disappeared among the Armenians. Later it turned out that the Kazak was Armenian.

THE INCIDENT OF THE VILLAGE OF GAJAR [THE MONTH OF DHU AL-HIJJAH 1323]

Creating several squads among the people from the villages, the Armenian tribe marched on the village of Gajar. On one side, the location of the village of Gajar was dangerous. For, the village of Gajar was surrounded by the Armenian villages. There were few Muslims in this area. Attacking first three houses in the outskirts of the village, the Armenians set fire to one of those houses and haystacks piled in the yards. They murdered two innocent Muslims and wounded one. As soon as the people of the village of Gajar heard the news, they got armed with the well-stored weapons and set to confront the Armenians, firing at them incessantly from all sides. The shooting lasted several hours.

Hearing about the Armenians' assault on the village of Gajar, a lot of horsemen and infantry from the neighbouring Muslim villages came to the rescue of the people of the village of Gajar. Surrounding the enemy, the rescue forces and the fighters from the village of Gajar, gave a loud roar uttering "Hey guy, halt, I am coming!" and fired at them incessantly. The Gajar people began killing the Armenians from within the village and the rescue forces from behind. Shouting "Ya Ali!" the Muslims were killing them. Thus, the Armenians were ousted till the villages of Tagh and Tugh. There were corpses of the Armenians everywhere. Most of them had their rifles, pistols, cartridges and cartridge cases lying next to them. Around the village of Gajar 135 Armenians were killed on the roads and 265 people in the fields. So, the Armenians' assault on the village of Gajar resulted in the death of 400 Armenians.

After defeating the Armenians, who had attacked the village of Gajar, the Muslim formations dashed to the village of Dirakhtin like a gust. There some of the Armenians escaped, those, who were encountered, were murdered. After the village of Dirakhtin, the Muslim squads attacked the village of Afshar. After inflicting the necessary blows on the Armenians there, they destructed the Tajavirt buildings and three Armenian mills.

A few days later an Armenian came secretly to inform the Gajar Muslims, "Some of our Armenians disguised as Kazak *chinovniks* wearing the uniforms will come and try to collect your weapons. Their goal is to massacre you after gather-

ing the weapons. But, for God's sake, don't mention my name, because if *gymdats* find out about my arrival here, they will wipe out my entire family from the Earth".

The Muslims reassured him. A few days later, a general and several Kazak horsemen arrived at the village of Gajar. The general called the elders of the village and demanded, "You should bring and turn over all the rifles you have in the village, otherwise your village will be devastated by the canonry". After turning over four rifles, the Muslims told the general, "Please, come in and take a seat while we are collecting all the weapons". The man with a general's epaulet on his shoulders and the Kazaks dismounted their horses and went in. The general conceitedly took a seat on a high place, and the Kazaks stood by him. Meanwhile, calling each other, the Muslims were uttering in a loud voice,

- Oh, the folk of the village, quickly fetch your rifles so that the general isn't upset.

After a little while, several men went in with rifles in their hands and shot dead both the general and the Kazaks. Their weapons and horses were left to the villagers.

THE ATTACK OF THE IRANIAN AND KARABAKH HORSEMEN [THE MONTH OF DHU AL-HIJA 1323]

A squad consisting of Iranian subjects armed with cannons and rifles arrived in Aghdam. Hundred men of Gala, who were in Aghdam then, went to Shusha to inform that their Iranian brethren had come to Aghdam to help the Muslims on the winter days and had brought ammunition for them.

In Aghdam the noblemen and society lodged the Iranian brethren in comfortable houses with great reverence. After a nice rest for some days, the Iranian brethren stated, "We haven't come here to eat pilaf. Our aim is to defend our Muslim brothers from the Armenian bandits". Thus, after fifteen days the valiant men of Karabakh together with the horsemen from Iran attacked the villages of Aranzamin and Pirjamal. They killed most of the Armenians with a dagger or sword saving bullets. So, they killed 213 Armenians from both the villages. Most of the Armenians fled to the forests and mountains and hid among the trees and in the rocks. After the attack had been over, the Iranians returned to their country.

THE INCIDENT OF HAJI ABBAS

As Haji Abbas stated, "After the fighting subsided, most of the Armenians began to move to different provinces. One day while I was walking along the road, I encountered a merchant called Minas, the son of Mughdusee. He was moving to Tiflis together with his household on a coach. Seeing me he said, "Haji, God bless you, do you see what you Muslims have done to me? Upon religion, of all my wealth, I have only this shawl around my shoulders left. This is both my clothing and bedding".

Minas' son said to his father, "No harm, every cloud has a silver lining. Of course, we'll also take revenge". Then I told Minas' son, "Hey boy, do you remember, before the warfare I was passing by the front of your house. I saw you standing on the balcony of the house. In the mean time, an old Muslim was passing beneath your balcony. As soon as you noticed him, you struck him with a stone. When the man asked you the reason, you got angry with him and said, 'I struck you deliberately'. That man told you, 'May great Allah turn your house into ruins and you into pitiable creatures for this torment you inflicted on me'. Now you are suffering that man's curse. Your house with your property has burnt completely, and you are so pitiable. The Almighty is just, will never let the injustice overcome the truth. One more thing, it was Armenians who started the warfare, the Muslims have no claims from you".

THE INCIDENT OF THE VILLAGE OF SISYAN

Forming a big and strong squad, the Armenians attacked the village of Sisyan populated by the Muslims. As the inhabitants of the village had few weapons and cartridges, the fighting turned too difficult for them. The Armenian bandits killed 20 villagers; many people got wounded. The Muslims took revenge for these martyrs, though. After shooting for several hours, the Armenians went back. The next day some of the Sisyan people came to Gala, bought as many rifles and cartridges as they could, and took them to the village. Besides, they asked the Muslim villages including the Kurdish tribe around the village of Sisyan for help. After the aids arrived at Sisyan from the neighbouring villages, they attacked the Armenian village of Darabash. Surrounding the village from all sides, they entered it. They murdered the male inhabitants of the village. Sparing the women and children in the village, the Muslims took them out of the battlefield. After the valiant Muslims accomplished their operation in the village of Darabash, they returned. The next day they marched to the village of Lori. Inflicting heavy blows on the Armenians in this village too, they returned to Sisyan with big pillage.

THE WARFARE OF VAGHADU [THE MONTH OF DHU AL-HIJJA 1323]

A few days after the above-narrated incident, again getting together the Armenian tribe formed a squad to attack the Muslim villages. Getting on horseback, under the leadership of a gymdat, by the name of Stepan Stepanyans, this well-equipped Armenian squad attacked the Muslim village of Vaghadu. The village of Vaghadu was situated in the region of Sisyan. All of its inhabitants were Muslims. The Armenian squad laid a siege to the village. Getting armed within a very short span of time, the Vaghadu villagers, who by storing up weapons and cartridges and by building barricades in secret places, had made preparations in advance, thus entered the barricades, defense positions prepared on the roofs, at the bottom of the rocks, started firing the Armenians from all sides. During the first shooting, the Muslim valiants shot more than fifty Armenians. During the second shooting, the number of the dead Armenians exceeded seventy. The third time, they uttered "Ya Allah!", "Ya Ali, help us!" and started a more fierce shooting. They killed up to hundred Armenians. Stepan Stepanyans, the Armenian gymdat leading them was confused and did not know what to do. At that moment, the Muslims' three bullets hit him and laid him out. Some of the Armenians, who were being chased by the Muslims, came to the place where Stepanyans was lying. They noticed that he had not died yet. He struck the weapon he had in his hand to the rock so that the Muslims did not possess it. Although the gunstock got broken, the rifle itself remained unharmed yet. Then in shivers taking out a pile of paper currency from his bosom, tearing them with his teeth into pieces, he breathed his last. The Armenians came up and saw that the paper currency was hundred manat bills. They surmised that he must have had several thousand manats by him. He also had an extraordinary ten-charge pistol round his waist. They say, a piece of paper was found in his inside pocket. There were the following words written on that paper, "Stepanyans, the governor of the Caucasian Armenians".

In short, the Armenians left, taking away their wounded. Four hundred people were estimated to have been killed from the Armenian side in this warfare.

On the 5th day of the month of Dhu al-Hijja 1323 the road to Asgaran being blocked by the Armenians, twice carts of food and ammunition were brought from Aghdam to Gala escorted by the troops armed with cannons and rifles under the commandment of the general. While the general was in Gala, the Muslims from the village of Khalifali complained to the general that the Armenians were firing the village. The general advised them to be patient and

stated that the Armenians would be punished. Further, the general gave an instruction that from then on if a man was held carrying a rifle or a pistol by him, he would be either arrested for three months or fined three thousand manats. With this intention in mind, the general was walking round the city with a squad of Kazaks. Then the general together with a considerable number of Kazaks and wall-breaking cannon drawn by a dozen horses went up a high mountain and stood there. From that place, one could clearly see several villages of the Armenians. The general ordered to fire from the cannon at Shushakand, Karkijahan, Gaybali and Dashkand. The Kazaks fired seventy shots at those villages from the cannon. In the places where the shells fell, they raised dust to the Heavens devastating everything. Sending a delegation of some 30-40 people to the courthouse, the Armenians asked for reconciliation. Then the shops resumed their trade. Although the Armenian tribe blocked the road to Asgaran to torment the Muslims, in fact they themselves were tormented more than the Muslims. Since, the Muslims had a lot of goods and food stored up in advance in their houses. However, as the Armenians and Muslims had burnt the mills, the flour in Gala was getting less and less. The state of the poor, aliens and the most vulnerable became more strained. Since, all the bakeries were almost closed. However, in the houses and bazaars there was enough wheat and millet yet. Therefore, with no other way-out the people were obliged to start the manual mills, i.e. *kirkiras*⁵¹ at home. They ground wheat by hand mills to make flour. The bazaars and shops were selling boiled chickpeas and beans. However, as there were few hand mills, the people were in more need of flour. One day by accident, thirty pair of hand mills were found in the yard of an ancient house. The hand mills had been buried in the soil. Their discovery eased the people's state. As everyone could take and use the hand mill any time they wished. However, no food was found in the bazaar of the Armenian tribe. While one *girvanka*⁵² sugar cost 6-7 *shahis* in the Muslim bazaars and shops, it was for 14 *Abbasis*⁵³ in the Armenian shops. The other food products and things were also too expensive in the Armenian bazaar than in the Muslim shops. Thus, they were more hard-up than the Muslims.

On the 7th of Dhu al-Hijja reconciliation was announced between the Muslims and Armenians. The reconciliation was appraised as a great deed for the Armenians. They would mass into the Muslim bazaars in groups and buy all kinds of food products, edibles, dried fruit and bread, and joyfully take them home folded in clothes, packed in sacks, or in their arms. It turned out they had nothing to eat. Within a week, the Muslim bazaars and shops had a trade of several thousand manat worth food and dried fruit.

⁵¹ querns

⁵² An old unit of weight equaling gram

⁵³ 20 copecks

**THE AMOUNT OF THE AIDS TO THE
MUSLIM POOR OF THE CITY RENDERED
BY THE ESTEEMED PERSONS DURING THE
BLOCKADE OF THE ROAD TO ASGARAN AND
THEIR NAMES (THE YEAR OF 1323)**

Baku	Esteemed Haji Zeinalabdin Taghizadeh	Flour	750	pood
Baku	Haji Zeinalabdin Taghizadeh	Sugar, tea	105	pood
Baku	Haji Zeinalabdin Taghizadeh	candle	2	Boxes
Baku	Haji Zeinalabdin Taghizadeh	kerosene	600	pood
	Agha Murtuza Mukhtarzadeh		600	manat
	Mashhadi Khalil, the son of Haji Hassan		500	manat
Garabagh	Jafar Bey Vazirzadeh	wheat	100	pud
Mashhad	The people of Garabagh		2300	manat
Ashgabat	People		2500	manat
Ganja	People		700	manat
Baku	workers			
Baku	children			
Caucasus	The people of Garabagh			
Kazan	People			
Shamakhi	People		318	manat
Ordubad	People		73	manat
Ardabil	<i>Hajis</i>		335	manat
The uyezd of Sharur	People		43	manat
Ashgabad	People		2600	manat
Iravan	People		68	manat
Rasht	People		9	manat

THE INCIDENT BETWEEN THE KURDS OF PICHANIS AND THE ARMENIAN TRIBE

Sitting face to face with me (M.M.Navvab), Shahgulu of Pichanis, the son of Hagverdi narrated the following incident in which he was part.

Some three hundred valiants and honorable youth from the Muslim village of Pichanis and other Muslim villages of Kurds assembled, got on horseback and launched an assault on Minkand under the commandment of Pasha Bey, the son of Murad Bey. Muslims made up half of the population of the village with 160 houses. Pasha Bey's squad killed and wounded a part of the Armenians, and the other part escaped. The Muslims of Pichanis took away 190 sheep, 70 horses and mules as pillage from this village. Further, they attacked the village of Khornavar consisting of 200 houses. Inflicting a heavy blow on this village too, Pasha Bey's squads took away 1010 sheep and 8 horses as pillage.

The same Kurd horsemen unexpectedly got into the village of Ziva, devastated five Armenian houses in the neighbourhood and took away their cattle.

A day or two later the same squad attacked the village of Aligulu with 300 Armenian houses. After entering the village from one side and devastating it till the mid of the area, the squad returned with their pillage. After some days' rest, the next day Pasha Bey's squad set out to the village of Galadarasi. The Armenians residing in Galadarasi had been properly armed and built barricades everywhere in advance. They met Pasha Bey's squad in the barricades all armed and standing sentry. After some shooting, a part of Pasha Bey's squad took 23 houses situated in the outskirts of the village and got 450 sheep, 60 cattle and four wells of wheat there. They set off, loading the wheat on the horses and taking the cattle and sheep with them. Until they had moved away from the village of Galadarasi, the other part of Pasha Bey's squad kept the Armenians busy. During the shooting, one Muslim lost his life. They took away the corpse of the dead companion.

After several days' rest, Pasha Bey's squad got on horseback and launched an assault on the area of Javanshir. First, they dashed to the village of Kuladik consisting of 150 houses. The Armenians confronted them with their weapons in their hands. Uttering "Ya Allah!" Muslims rushed towards them and within several hours murdered hundred of them. Besides this, there were some wounded too. Further, they took 250 cattle as pillage and returned home. After having a rest that night, the Muslim villagers got on horseback the next day again. This time they set out to the village of Damghali consisting of 60 Armenian houses. Although the Armenians were not so many, they confronted Pasha Bey's squad and started shooting. Attacking and confusing them, the Muslims murdered some 90 Armenians. There were a lot of wounded too. Further, the Muslims took about 200 cattle and goats and returned home. Then

they set out to the village of Badara. Having killed 16 Armenians there, this dauntless squad returned to their village with the pillage of 60 cattle.

After a night's rest, the next morning they saddled their horses, mounted them and moved towards the village of Ballija. The Armenians fearfully confronted them in a prepared state. The shooting started. The cries and roars of both the tribes echoed in the mountains. After some shooting, the Muslims killed 30 Armenians, wounded several men and returned taking 70 cattle, 12 horses and many other things as pillage.

The next day Pasha Bey's squad attacked the village of Khanazak. Prior to this attack, the Armenians had acted ungratefully towards their agha⁵⁴, devastating his house, breaking the trees in his garden and killing his shepherds. They also had taken away 400 sheep. That is why, the Armenians were sure that the Muslims would take revenge for it. Thus, they had brought a lot of weaponry and aids to the village. Hearing the rumbling of the Muslims, they went into the barricades, and the women and children retired to a secret place in caves. Surrounding them from all sides, the Muslims started firing at them incessantly. The shooting lasted four hours. After the four-hour shooting, a sudden bullet hit the young man called Gasim, whom we have referred to earlier. Together with him, one more Muslim valiant became a martyr. Seeing the murder of these two young men, the crowd got into a rage, dashed forward and took one of the Armenian barricades. After killing the Armenians there, they took one more barricade. Understanding the situation, the Armenians began to flee. The Muslims set fire to 12 houses and several barns. Getting terrified at the sight of the flame rising from the houses and barns, some Armenians tried to hide in reliable places. The cries of the women and children as well as the Muslims' uttering "Ya Ali!" were echoing in the mountains and rocks. After killing and wounding 200 Armenians, they returned to their village.

The next day eight distinguished youth from Pasha Bey's squad mounted their horses and galloped towards the village of Dadug. Four houses located around the village were in a very reliable and indestructible place. Therefore, many Armenians had settled there. Ascending a very high place in order to destroy the Armenians' strong position in these houses, the Muslims began firing at these houses incessantly. After they had murdered four or five Armenians, those in the houses began to flee. The Muslims chased those running and fired at them incessantly. Some of them were killed, and some were wounded. Then the Muslims returned to those houses, took away some things from them as pillage, and took the Armenians hostage.

POSTSCRIPT: In another place, that is, the Kurds of Hajisam and Pichan assembled and attacked the village of Khazanak in Gorus. Although the Armenians had stored up a lot of provision in advance, they got confused due to the Muslims sudden attack and did not know what to do. Taking advantage of their confusion, the Muslims started to set fire to the houses in the village from one side. So, they burnt 20 houses. The flame of the houses and the Muslims' roar were rising up into the sky. The

⁵⁴ A landlord

Armenians could not withstand the Muslims' attack and started to flee. So, 20 Armenians were killed in the village of the Khazanak. The Muslims took the pillage with them to their village.

POSTSCRIPT: The other day a general was informed that the Armenian tribe had built several barricades and hidden a cannon or two in each of them to use against the Muslims and Russians during the warfare. By the general's order, some of the cannons were found and brought to him. They saw that the cannons were on war footage. By the general's order, the cannons were filled with more powder than necessary, and then fired. The cannon went off in such a way that its rumbling almost shook the Earth. Thus, the muzzles of about twenty cannons burst in several places and became useless. Those cannons were old weaponry belonging to the state. New kind of cannons being brought, the use of the old ones had been banned in the army and written off the inventory of the military units. Amrunov had bought some of those cannons and made out of them pillars for the balcony. And the rest remained. The Armenians took them and kept them on war footage to use them against the Muslims. They had even taken the ones set as pillars and repaired them to fit for military operations. They were seeking a pretext to use them against the Muslims. They had even broken the handles of the heavy locks to use as shells and fire a cannon. In the first warfare, they fired those cannons several times. However, the cannons fired in such a way that several of those who fired them got wounded. Although by the general's order most of those cannons were brought to a state unfit for military operations, the Armenians had some of them at their disposal yet.

POSTSCRIPT: In the Muslim village of Farajan the Alyanlis had buried wheat in several wells. The other day the news spread that the Armenians, who had found out about the place of the wheat the Alyanlis had stored up in the wells, got together and attacked the village of Farajan. While the Armenians, having opened the wells, were loading the wheat into sacks after they had invaded the place with those wells, the Alyanlis heard about it, immediately galloped their horses to the place and surrounded the Armenians. While the Alyanlis were shooting at the Armenian squad of twenty people, the Armenians got frightened and rushed to the mill in the vicinity. At the mill the Armenians had killed a young man by the name of Ahmad before. This time they maliciously killed one more Muslim there. Getting into a fury, the Muslims killed seventeen Armenians who were trying to escape from the other side of the mill. One of the Armenians fled to the pigsty of the mill. He was taken out and killed too.

POSTSCRIPT: On the 19th of Dhu al-Hijja the general arrived in Khankandi together with his people to collect the weapons from the inhabitants. By the general's instruction, two wealthy Armenians' houses in Khankandi were exploded with dynamite for instigating the Armenian-Muslim hostility and providing the Armenians with illegal weapons. Taking the cannons from those houses, the general set forth to the village of Malibeyli with his people. There the general told the people, "We want to go to the villages of Daghdaghan and Harov to collect the weapons. We need some

of you as guides". The young men said, "Not just some men, but even a hundred men can be at your service and go wherever you want. But we don't have any rifles". By the general's instruction, ten young men were provided with 10 rifles, and they set out to the village of Harov together with the general's squad. As soon as the Kazaks reached the village of Harov, they laid a siege to it and started to search the houses. The Kazaks, who noticed the Armenians' intention to bury the rifles, took the weapons from them. One of the Armenians, who rudely treated the Kazaks, was shot dead. Then they started searching his house, where they found several cart wheels belonging to the people of Malibeyli. The wheels, which had been once ill-gotten, were confiscated by the Kazaks in accordance with the drawn up statement of fact.

After accomplishing the operation in the village of Harov, the general set out with his squad to the nomadic Muslim village. He gave an order to search 2-3 phaetons running to the station. They found in each phaeton 4-5 rifles, a considerable number of cartridges and several pistols. By the general's order those weapons were confiscated, and their owners were arrested for three days. They were released after being fined 100 manats each.

On the 20th of Dhu al-Hijja by the court decision, two Armenians (Gerasim Shahnazarov and Khachatur Bahadurov) and three Muslims (*uchitel* Agha Mirhashim Bey, Jafar Bey Vazirzadeh and Agha Mahammadjafar Mukhtarzadeh) were arrested. By the decision of the court they were to be exiled beyond the Armenian and Muslim provinces. However, with the blessing of God, those three Muslims were released by different means each. But the Armenians were released on bale, and had to pay four thousand manats.

On the 28th of Dhu al-Hijja an Armenian, who was called Nikolay, the son of Zaki came to the Muslim bazaar and asked, "Please give me a shop and a house for rent in the Muslims quarters. Because the Armenian *gymdats* do not treat me fairly in our quarters, each month they come and demand the gymdat money. How can a man, who has to support a big household in the city with too little trade, pay money both to the court and gymdat? I am not the only man in such a state".

The Armenians had been looking for a chance to kill Nikolay for these actions of his. Finally, one day early in the morning while Nikolay was opening the shop, four of the *gymdats* called him. With the lock of the shop in his hand, Nikolay went to meet the *gymdats* in the square. The four *gymdats* girdled him and shot at him seven bullets before the eyes of the Armenians. Nikolay fell down and breathed his last. They say, the *gymdats* beheaded him and took his head away with them. None of the witnesses of the incident dared to utter one single word to the *gymdats*. Thus, Nikolay's entire household remained without its head.

POSTSCRIPT: The other day the general and the Kazaks arrived in Aghdam with cannon. Feeling suspicious of a wooden house the general ordered the Kazaks to destroy it with cannon. At that moment a man of Gala, who was called Abbas, came to the general and said, "Agha, this is my house, why are you destroying it? And I am

of Gala. What is my fault that you make me miserable by destroying my house?" After the house was searched, and the people in the bazaar were investigated by the general's order, it became obvious that there had been nothing suspicious, that is, there was no ammunition in the house. The house really belonged to Abbas of Gala. After all this, the general expressed his regret and asked the judge of that area to collect a hundred manats from the tradesmen in the bazaar and give it to the owner of the house.

The next day two Armenians bought wheat and were carrying it home. As soon as the people of Gulabli heard about it, they rushed to the Armenians. They killed those two Armenians carrying wheat, as the Armenians had devastated the village of Gulabli and murdered several inhabitants of the village some days prior to it.

POSTSCRIPT: On the 23rd of Muharram 1324 the news came to the Kurds of Sisyan that the Muslims residing in the village of Aghadil had been exposed to a sudden attack of about 800 Armenian militants.

Giving a loud cry of "Ya Ali!", the Muslims of the village went to confront the Armenians. The arrival of the aid to the Muslims confused the Armenians, and they got dispersed. Within a few hours about 400 Armenians were killed and the rest escaped. The murdered Armenians' munitions were collected and distributed among the Muslims who needed them.

On the 26th of Muharram, on Novruz holiday while an Armenian, by the name of Kolya Asirbeyov, who considered himself the head of the *gymdats*, was crossing the road with a dagger round his waist, a Kazak commander halted him and wanted to take the dagger from him. Considering this act as a shame on himself, Kolya did not want to give the dagger to him. Thus, the Kazak struck him several times. The Armenians somehow managed to set Kolya free from the Kazak and cunningly took the Kazak to a place where they could eat and drink. After the Kazak got drunk, he was offered a woman. When he accepted the offer, they told him, "This is the area of the bazaar here. There is a fine woman, let us go to her house". The Armenians took the elated Kazak to a place where they killed him with a dagger. As they could not manage to bury the Kazak's corpse, they hid it in the mill beneath Taza Kilsa. A Malakan who was aware of the situation, went to inform the Kazaks about the incident. They immediately took away the murdered Kazak's corpse from the mill and cabled their chief about the incident.

THE GANJA INCIDENT

On the 9th of the month of Safar 1324 the Muslims from Ganja assembled and went to the governor to tell him, "Our livelihood depends on the gardens. It is being spring already, we have to cultivate our gardens. Again, the Armenians will hinder us to cultivate our gardens situated in the areas resided by the Armenians. You do not let us meet the Armenians to solve the conflicts between us. What should we do under

the circumstances?"

Giving several armed Kazaks to the people from Ganja, the governor saw them off. As soon as they reached the gardens, the Armenians fired at them. After the Kazaks answered them with some shots, they all returned to the governor. Telling the governor about the incident, the Muslims asked him, "If you give us permission and authority, we ourselves can manage with the Armenians and attain our goals". The governor got very infuriated from these words of the Muslims.

Meanwhile, the news came that the Armenians had taken away a herd of sheep belonging to the Muslims. That infuriated the governor much more, and by his order, the Kazaks fired several shots from the cannon at the Armenian quarters.

THE KARABAKH INCIDENT

[THE MONTH OF SAFAR 1324 - MARCH 1906]

Although the Russian state was daily informed about the crimes and massacres committed by the Armenians in Karabakh, no measures were taken. Finally, several hundred armed Kazaks were sent to Karabakh. Arriving in Aghdam, the armed Kazaks gave way to some unfair treatment in relation with the Muslims at the beginning, which resulted in a great confusion. Three men were killed because of the shots fired by the Kazaks at the defenseless inhabitants. In addition, they shot and killed doctor Mirza Mahammad's son Mirza Mehdi in front of the mosque while he was taking ablution.

After the people of Aghdam complained to the superior state bodies about the incident, a military governor was sent there. As soon as the people heard about the governor's arrival, they assembled at the square. The governor addressed the people, "Oh, Muslims, our padishah is very pleased with you. You are the right eye of the padishah, and the Kazaks are his left eye. Forgive these errors of the Kazaks. They have made mistakes due to the confusion".

After relieving the Muslims' mind, the military governor sent several squads of the Kazaks in Aghdam to the villages of Tagh, Tugh, Guney⁵⁵ and Guzey⁵⁶ Chartaz to teach the Armenians a lesson. The Kazaks fired at these four villages from rifles and cannons and set fire to many houses. The Armenian women and children were begging the Kazaks by crying and screaming. Despite their begging, the Kazaks would enter the houses, ransack all the money, gold and silver items, gems and other items of jewelry they could find, and pull away the jewelry items the women and young girls were wearing. Breaking the trunks in the houses, they would take out all the new and old carpets and carry them away. They would take out and pile up some items and set fire to them. Raping beautiful Armenian girls and women, they would disgrace their honor. After the news reached Gala, the Armenians collected money, cabled the

⁵⁵ southern

⁵⁶ northern

authorities of the state and complained of the Kazaks' indecent actions.

POSTSCRIPT: While devastating the above-stated Armenian villages, the Kazaks found a decent sum of silver coins in one of the houses. They gave some part of the silver to the court and sold the other part to the people. The people mistook it for the Russian currency. However, later it turned out that the silver money had been mint in Japan. I (M.M.Navvab) also happened to get one of those coins.

THE ARMENIANS' JELOUSY AND MALICE

As stated above, the Armenians were much concerned over the tragedies inflicted by the Kazaks on the Armenians in Karabakh and the Kazaks' respectful treatment of the Muslims. Thus, the Armenians could not settle down and were plotting measures so that the Muslims were also exposed to similar tragedies that they had suffered and that the Muslims lost the Kazaks' respect towards them. Many a gymdat would assemble and wrestle with this idea. In Khankandi the Armenians gave three hundred manats to two Russian men with their wives and asked them to plot something to make the Muslims guilty before the state so that the Kazaks could plunder their property and dishonor their women and young girls too.

Accepting this offer, in order to carry out the Armenians' goal, the two Russians together with their wives got onto the cart and set off for Aghdam. Reaching the road between two gardens, they cried loudly,

- Help, the Muslims are robbing us; they took away whatever we had on! They have stripped us to the skin!

Thus, they came to the judge of Aghdam. The judge was Russian. He saw that these four people had been so stripped that they had nothing on but underwear. All four were shivering with cold. Getting into a rage, the judge wanted to immediately write to the general about the incident and reprove the Muslims. At that moment, an Osetin *yasovul*⁵⁷, who was Muslim, asked the judge for permission to search the cart on which the Russians had traveled. After getting the judge's consent, the Osetin checked the grass inside the cart pulling it hither and thither and found the Russian men and their wives' all clothes and boots beneath the grass. When informed of the situation, the judge got into a rage and ordered beating those Russians and their cartman. He asked the women, "Right now tell the truth what is going on or else I'll send you into prison". The *Matushkas*⁵⁸ said, "Neither beat nor send us to prison, here is the story: giving us three hundred manats, the *gymdats* tempted us to the malice so that we could accuse the Muslims of such an action and the Russians could punish them as a result. However, we failed to do that. Our pretence has been unmasked".

The Muslims gathered some money and gave it to the Osetin for exposing this mal-

⁵⁷ A soldier of a lower rank

⁵⁸ mams

ice and expressed him their gratitude. Thus, the Armenians' subsequent malice was revealed, and they got disgraced. Thus, as the proverb says, "They that sow the wind, shall reap the whirlwind". Or "As you sow, so shall you reap".

OUTLAW ASGAR KHAN'S INCIDENT

In the month of Rabi ath-Thani 1324 (May 1906) by the state permission the nomadic Muslim tribes came with their cattle and sheep and comfortably stationed in the empty areas around Gala. After a day-and-night's rest and purchasing the necessary food products, they left the place through the upper gate in the Armenian quarters, and each went to their summer pastures in the mountains. So, the nomadic tribes were travelling one after another through the area in peace. No Armenian dared to touch them. During the days of the nomadic people's visits, there were many festivities and trade there.

One day after the Muslims had brought to Gala the food loaded on nine carts drawn by buffaloes and turned it over to its owner, on their way back the cartmen were suddenly attacked by 30-40 bandits and taken hostage, and their buffaloes were disyoked and carried away. As carrying weapons was forbidden, none of the Muslims had rifles and pistols for self-defense. When the news reached Gala, the well-advised people cabled the authorities to inform them about the incident.

When the Armenians took the nine Muslim hostages to their village, torturing them on the way and wanted to kill them, the people in the village prevented it. Then the bandits took them to the forest where they killed those nine men ruthlessly.

Some Armenians and Muslims from Gala went to that village to free those nine hostages. After pretending seeking for them for a while, the Armenians from the village stated to the visitors from Gala that those men had been murdered. All were badly upset by this incident. Especially, the outlaws who lived outside the villages got very furious. Asgar Khan, the head of one of the outlaw squads told his fellows, "If I don't take revenge for those innocent men, I will feel like insidious. We didn't allow such actions for fear that the state will accuse the Muslims. Now that they are guilty, we should take revenge for it".

Mounting their horses, Asgar Khan's squad set off for the road leading to Yevlakh. From afar, they noticed several coaches coming. They reached the coaches and ordered them to halt. For fear, the coachmen halted. Surrounding and searching the coaches, they found out a girl, three young women, an old woman, ten Armenians, a Russian and several Muslims there. Not bothering the Muslims, they asked the Russian,

- Are you also Armenian by chance?

The Muslims attested that he was Polish.

He was going to open a shop of medication in Gala jointly with the Muslims. He was actually taking medicines for that shop. Asgar Khan asked the Polish for an excuse and had the Armenians and the women sitting on the coaches get down. He took them together with their luggage to his place. For fear, the Armenians and women were shivering.

Turning to the Armenians, Outlaw Asgar Khan said,

- The nine Muslims, whom the Armenians captured and took away, beating and torturing ruthlessly, were alive and owned houses and families. Isn't there someone God-fearing and righteous among you to admonish your bandit, dishonorable and insidious *gymdats* so that they do not commit further tyranny, ruthlessness, crimes and bloodshed and steal away the people's peace? Now take seats, have your dinner and relax. If the nine Muslims taken by the Armenians are safe, you will also go safely with your things to your houses. But in case they have been killed, you will have to follow them.

Finally, after some days, it turned out that the nine men taken by the Armenians had been killed. The outlaws also killed the ten Armenians and buried them. But they spared the women.

THE GARGHABAZAAR INCIDENT

Sitting face to face with me (with M.M.Navvab), Mirza Husein, the son of Javad narrated this incident. He told me, "When we heard about the brutalities committed by the Armenians in the Muslim villages, we lost our patience, and assembling the youth and valiant fighters from Garghabazaar, Gochuahmadli, Pirahmadli, Garagullu and other villages, we decided to prevent these brutalities of the Armenians. As we got armed and set out to the Armenian villages, we were informed that emptying the neighbouring villages the Armenians had assembled all in the village of Khirmanjig, impenetrable and well-protected. The women and children of all the neighbouring villages had also gathered in Khirmanjig. The Armenians from surrounding areas had brought their properties with them to this village as well.

The Muslims's quad preparing for the assault on the Armenian villages came to the village of Khirmanjig and laid siege to it from two sides. Seeing such state of affairs, a part of Armenians began to flee from the other side. Meanwhile, the others hid in secret places. The Muslim squad entered the village shooting the Armenians they happened to see. As having killed several Armenians, they were returning with some pillage, on their way back they had to exchange shooting with the Armenians hiding in the forests, and due to love of gain some Muslims were killed. The Muslims returned taking the corpses of the martyrs with them.

THE ARMENIAN-MUSLIM WARFARE IN THE CITY OF SHUSHA IN JULY 1906

When the war (1905) subsided, the Armenian tribe went to the Muslim bazaars and did shopping there while the Muslims went to Armenian bazaars for shopping. Though the roads were open, the Armenians, anyway, did not remain quiet; they stealthily captured and killed the poor helpless men one at a time. And the Muslims took their revenge for it.

Using all kinds of malice, the Armenians continuously brought military supplies from everywhere and stored them up for warfare. Gathering additional machines, pumps, rifles, cannons, powder, bombs and other weapons they prepared for the warfare ever more. Besides, after discussing the strategies and tactics of the future battles, they came to a conclusion that in order to strike a heavy blow on the Muslims, the aids of the Russian army and weaponry to the Armenians had to be provided at the expense of money and using some tricks. The only way for the realization of this malice was bribing the Russian general.

In the first (1905) Armenian-Muslim warfare there was a Russian general, by the name of Galashakov (Kalashakov) sent to Shusha to establish peace and order. That year he did not seem to socialize with the Armenians much. However, now, after the consultation of the Armenians, Kiki Kalantarov, an Armenian, the head of Duma had learnt about him properly, had a talk with him, and found out about his sympathy with the Armenians, he got the general's consent to designation of heading the administration in the city of Shusha.

Calling the Muslims' representatives, Kiki Kalantarov said,

- We should appoint a leader to establish a just peace between the two nations in Shusha. After long contemplation, I concluded that no one else but general Galashakov could be appointed to this position. Notwithstanding that in the past he did not get along with our Armenian tribe, plundered our villages, the Kazaks acted dishonorably with the women in the villages, anyway there is no other way-out, let us appoint him a leader.

Being superficially well treated by Galashakov earlier, the poor Muslims gave their consent. Having been approved to the position in accordance with the consent of both the tribes, the general was sent to Gala. As soon as Galashakov arrived in Shusha, he was settled in a residence prepared by Kalantarov in the Armenian quarters. By his order, the very first days the Russian army's cannons, which had been in the Muslim quarters, were transferred to the Armenian streets, and the Kazaks and soldiers were placed in the tents set up around the mosque near the Armenian quarters.

Each night Kiki Kalantarov arranged a drinking bout in General Galashakov's residence at the expense of the Armenian tribe. Two or three pleasant-looking Armenian women chosen and appointed by Kalantarov to the service of the general were serving him day and night. In the course of the night merriments, Kalantarov explained his goal to Galashakov, bribing him and his Kazaks with several thousand manats. He asked the

general to help them in the forthcoming Armenian-Muslim warfare and to make decisions on the ways to render this assistance. By Galashakov's advice, Kalantarov and *gymdats* sent written messages to the surrounding villages as well as Ganja, Irvan and other cities. In the paper, they were requiring them to send armed squads consisting of average 30-100 men to Shusha from each village. In a short while, they had seven thousand armed Armenians in Shusha. Among them there were also some Armenian squads coming from the area under the Ottoman domination. The Russians had five cannons and the Armenians 6. The general and the Armenians decided to start the warfare on 12th of July.

The Russians wanted these two nations to wage warfare and to be all engaged with each other so that they let the state quiet, because the nation's being weak and poor was the state's weapon.

Several days prior to that (i.e. prior to the 12th of July) eight *mujtahids*⁵⁹ issued a fatwa so that during the defense and fighting one must not sell things, especially military supplies and goods necessary for defense to other nations. Therefore, all the Muslims stopped sales of food, wheat and other goods to the Armenians in Gala and other places. Thus, the Armenians were in a very difficult situation. Over-exaggerating the situation, they informed Galashakov about it and blamed the Muslims. The general promised the Armenians with certainty, "Together with several thousand Armenians, my troops will devastate the Muslims within a *sutka*, that is, 24 hours, will kill all those destined to die, and will scatter the remaining among mountains and rocks.

The influential representatives of the Armenian tribe themselves studied about the preparations for this warfare to the details and narrated them (to M.M.Navvab after the fighting had been over and reconciliation had been achieved). Galashakov had promised that by his arrangements the armed Armenians and Russian soldiers would completely burn the Muslims' houses, shops and bazaars and kill whomever they could kill, and the remainder would be driven out completely from Boyuk Masjid⁶⁰ to the lower quarters. The general took over the devastation and burning of Rastabazaar, the square, Sheitanbazaar and all the houses from the Russian church to Boyuk Masjid. He made the Armenians responsible to further continuation of the warfare or reconciliation with the Muslims. Kiki Kalantarov accepted Galashakov's plan and giving a bribe of 10000 manats to the general he entered into an alliance with him that alongside with the money paid to the general, 15 manats should be paid to each shot of the padishah's Russian cannons and a manat should be paid for each bullet shot by the soldiers of the Russian army from the rifles.

In accordance with the arrangement agreed between the general and Kalantarov, the Russian soldiers killed one of the Armenian guards and threw his body to the Muslims' side and then announced that the Muslims allegedly had killed the Armenian guard, beheaded him and taken away his rifle. In accordance with the prearranged trick, at that time two of the Russian soldiers went to the Muslims' quarters and fired shots at the

⁵⁹ high ranking religious men

⁶⁰ the big mosque

Armenian side. Some ignorant Armenians screamed and ran to the general to tell him that the Muslims had killed a guard and fired some shots to the Armenian quarters. The general's trick was to make the Muslims kill the people. Then on Galashakov's order, the Armenian gunmen were sent out among the barricades. The Russians came in groups and laid a siege to the Muslims' barricades. The Russians and Armenians began firing incessantly at the Muslims barricades.

On the third day of the last Jumadaath-Thaniya - on Wednesday - that is, as it was pre-arranged, on the 12th of July the *gymdats* started the warfare by the general's advice. First, one of the *gymdats* fired a shot at the minaret of Boyuk Masjid at the moment when the *muezzin* uttered the last *Lailahailallah* expression. The bullet passed by the *muezzin* and hit the column of the minaret. This stirred the Muslims' peaceful mood, and they began noisily to close the shops and bazaars. Within half an hour, they got armed and rushed to the barricades and confidential places. In this situation the men of the court and *chinovniks*, who were under the domination of the general, came maliciously to the Muslims and calmed them down, "The warfare is not against your people. It is the Kazaks, who are fighting against the Armenians". The general had one more trick: he had given instructions in advance to station one of the Russian officers with his squad in the Muslim quarters. Being friends with the Muslims, that officer was trusted and revered by them. Once the Armenians and Russians began to fire at the Muslims, the officer who was among the Muslims, together with his Russians declared by blowing their horns that it was the warfare between the Kazaks and the Armenian tribe, which had nothing to do with the Muslims. Though the Muslims believed his words, they had come out into the streets with their weapons in their hands ready to fight, but no one was shooting yet. They were in fear. As soon as dark set, the light of the fire and flames embraced everything.

The helpless Muslims mistook this trick as the truth and stood sentry in the barricades and streets till the evening. As soon as the night fell, they saw flames rising from the side of Kocharli Mahallasi. They were told that by General Galashakov's order the Russians had joined the Armenians and set fire to the mosque of Kocharli Mahallasi and the houses. That was their light. After the general's malice had become vivid, the people stood puzzled. They did not know whether to go into the barricades to answer the enemy or carry the goods from the shops and bazaars to a safer place. In short, that night all the armed guards were busy with carrying the contents of the shops to houses. Therefore, one night the Armenians and Russians set fire to the empty houses and burned them. The Muslims started the warfare from the second night. The Russians, who had maliciously set up a tent and stationed near Kocharli Mosque, shot and laid down two Muslims - Haji Abdulla and Karbalayi Ali, who were going towards the mosque. Further, the Russians came to the mosque and started setting fire to it. After the mosque got fire and burned, the Armenians and Russians came to the mansion of *Shahzadeh*⁶¹ Bahman Mirza, the son of Abbas Mirza. Due to his heavy crime in the state of Iran, *Shahzadeh* Bahman Mirza had fled from Iran together with his household and found

⁶¹ prince

refuge in the Russian state some years prior to this. The Russian padishah paid him 36 thousand manats every year. The *shahzadeh* had been residing with his family and servants in a luxurious two-storied building. After the deceased *shahzadeh*, his descendants and servants went on staying there. However, prior to this warfare his sons and their families had left the house unattended and gone to a different place each. This mansion was burned too. Further, the fighters set fire to the unattended houses of Mirza Bey Jurmi and of his sons as well as of some much-esteemed noblemen of Shusha, also to a number of bathhouses. While they were burning the empty houses, the general's Kazaks together with the armed Armenians and demobilized Armenian soldiers began to fire the Muslims through cannons and shoot from the rifles by order. They fired at the Muslim side 120 times from the cannons of the state (of the Russian army) during a day and night. Besides that, the Armenians themselves had six cannons, whereas the number of the state's cannons was five. They had placed the eleven cannons in the barricades and been firing from them continuously.

The Muslims took the shells that fell down during the shooting from the state cannons at the Muslims, gathered and kept them to show at the required places and prove the general's treachery against the state and nation. Since, those shells had the national markings and number.

In the meantime, the general himself was visiting the artillerists in the barricades hither and thither making some corrections to their shooting. At that moment, the Armenians came to the general and complained of two Muslim barricades, "They are inflicting more harms on us from these two barricades. No one can move in the yards and houses because of them". One of the barricades was located in Govhar Agha's house, and the other one was in Haji Rustam's house. Agha general said, "I'll order to devastate both the barricades". Further, on the general's order the Kazaks, Armenians and Russian soldiers moved towards the barricade in Haji Rustam's house. The side of the house facing the Armenians was in ruins. A day before the fighting, by the general's arrangement they had visited the ruins and made with a picker a hole in the size of a yard at the bottom of the wall. The Muslims had noticed that hole and informed each other that the Armenians had made a hole in the wall of Haji's house. While knowing about it, yet the Muslims acted carelessly, they neither blocked that hole nor had a guard to stand there to see what would happen.

Together with the Russians, the Armenians stealthily came through the ruins to that wall with the hole. In accordance with the general's instructions, they threw a small box through that hole into the house and ran back. That box contained explosive called dynamite. That dynamite thrown into the house exploded and devastated the two-storied mansion bursting it into the air. Further, they set fire to the house. Luckily, there was no human damage. The Muslims in that house had left it earlier and massed the barricade in Haji Hassan's house in the opposite side.

In short, having completely distributed the 7 thousand armed Armenians from other areas, 850 Kazaks and Russians, the general sent them against the Muslim barricades. Alongside with the armed men, the aim of all the state (Russian army) and Armenian

cannons, which were firing incessantly, was to raise a scare in the mosques and to destruct the minarets. Thanks God, there had been neither human nor animal damages notwithstanding several hundred shots from the cannons. As a matter of fact, the shells from the cannons hit the roofs, windows and some other places of the houses around the mosque and damaged them.

Against the big number of the Kazak, Russian and Armenian cannons and rifles, even though being half of them in number, the Muslim tribe was fighting bravely, standing firm in the barricades and secret places, firing at groups of Armenians and their barricades. With a roar of "Ya Ali!" and invoking blessings of Allah upon the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), they were showering the bullets with a clatter from several hundred places. They had one cannon. The third night they put it on the wheels and carried it to the barricades firing at the Armenian side once or twice from each barricade. While firing in front of the courthouse, they destructed a gate near Gyizkilsasi⁶². While firing the square up the Mamayi barricade, they wounded and killed 18 Armenians. They had filled the cannon with pieces of horseshoes and small iron. This cannon was made of bronze by an artisan of Gala (Shusha). Besides, it had such a deafening sound that when fired it seemed as if a mountain moved and roared. But the state and Armenian cannons were not like this. The fear for this cannon's roar rising from each barricade terrified the Armenians more and affected them.

At that time, the Armenians guessed that troops had arrived from the Iranian side and that the cannon belonged to them. However, from this side by chance that night and the next day several hundred valiants and experienced young fighters entered Gala in succession with their ammunition. The people of Gala met them with much reverence and placed them in comfortable houses. However, being many in number, most of them were settled in the big mosque. The people treated them to delicious meals in the morning, afternoon and evening and provided their convenience. That day and night, they slept and had a rest. These valiants had two commanders. One of them was Sultan Bey, the son of Pasha Bey, and the other was Ibrahim Bey, the son of Ali Mohammad. After having their meals and rest, they unanimously and briefly told the people of the city, "You should know that you, the people of the city are like the head of the body. And we, the people of the villages are in the place of the feet and other organs. No matter which way a blow comes to the head, it is necessary to retaliate that blow with hands and feet to protect the head. As long as the head is safe, the body will also be safe. God forbid it if the head receives a blow, the body will completely die, and then the other organs can do nothing. It is ignorance and unmerciful on our part that in our presence you, the city tribe would try so much. It is necessary that we should be your squad fighting in front and make all kinds of efforts".

In short, as soon as the night fell, Sultan Bey and Ibrahim Bey divided their valiant youth among the barricades and started fighting. Then invoking blessings of Allah upon the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and uttering "Ya Ali!", they launched an attack on the Armenian barricades and soon occupied them. The Muslim youth were conducting this

⁶² Maiden Church

operation under heavy shootings and the rain of bullets fired at them from the Armenian barricades.

On the other side, the Muslim youth and children took *poods* of kerosene and bundles of old swaddling clothes and rushed to the Vazirovs' barricade. There they massed the Armenians' houses. They set fire to fifteen houses, but overall only three of those houses burned because the old clothes had turned wet for being left under the rain for three days and nights. Moreover, some of them had burned by half. In the area of Aghadadali the Muslims burnt two houses and destroyed them completely. The Muslims could not burn that many houses because they had already burned and devastated half of the houses, bazaars, courtrooms and other mansions of the Armenian tribe in the previous warfare.

The Armenians' facilities were assembled in the area of the upper Khalfali Gapisi. However, the Muslims could not reach that place. The inter-space was all ruins. That night, with a roar of "Ya Ali!", Ibrahim Bey together with his squad was advancing killing many Armenians, showering the bullets at their barricades and houses. On their way Ibrahim Bey's squad was driving out the Armenians ever upwards. When reaching the house of an Armenian who once dared to set fire to houses, Ibrahim Bey called out, "Fetch me some kerosene and piece of swaddling cloth. I am going to burn this house". As Ibrahim Bey was about to set fire to the house, suddenly an incidental bullet from the Armenian side hit the poor man. Calling "Ya Allah!" Ibrahim Bey fell down and breathed his last right there. With the death of Ibrahim Bey, the squad belonging to him got disappointed. In a sad and disappointed state, they took the miserable creature's corpse to the yard of the mosque. The other troops were also upset at the news of the Bey's death. As soon as the morning started, they purified and shrouded the Bey's corpse and buried him next to Shahmar Bey's tomb in the garden to the west from the mosque (May Allah forgive them).

As soon as the night fell, the shooting restarted. Both the tribes were showering bullets at each other. The houses and rocks were shivering for fear of the thundering of the cannons, the clattering of the rifles and the valiant men's roaring. A Muslim narrated, "During the warfare I was in hospital situated among the Armenian houses. I was getting treatment for a disease. One of the Armenian barricades was located in front of the window of the room where I was lying. I was watching from the window and saw the general frequently visiting that barricade and giving instructions to the Russian soldiers and artillerists. He would look through his binoculars, make corrections to the artillerists' shooting and told them to fire at such and such mosque, such and such minaret. One of the shells fired from the cannon by his instruction went through the iron roof of the mosque at Seyidli Mahallasi and damaged its ceiling. Another shell hit the minaret of Boyuk Masjid and removed four of its bricks".

In short, opposing Allah's will for the sake of worldly assets, ignoring his padishah's laws, this general Galashakov indulged himself such treachery towards those who believed in nation and in oneness of Allah. I wonder why the state designates such men, who are acting with self-indulgence and bestial passion, to a position of a judge that, as

a result, he indulges such mistakes. If this person or someone in his like rules in the country for a short span of time so unjustly, then you will see that a complete anarchy wanders forth there all around, and the country goes to ruin. So far, no other ruthless person like him has ever arrived in the land of Caucasus.

In the previous warfare, the Muslims had occupied Khoja Sohrab Church. For three days and nights, they held it residing inside it. Yet, no one had acted indecently, they touched neither stone nor wood of the church, they did not indulge to damage any place there. However, together with the Russians, the Armenian tribe burned Kocharli Mosque by Galashakov's request, plundering all its content and devastated it.

Every cloud has a silver lining. Certainly, the Almighty will take care of His house, and will punish the guilty. One should be patient.

In the previous warfare, the Muslims had set fire to and burned half of the Armenian quarters. Some Armenians had perished in the fire, and some were shot to death. Some managed to escape, and the survivors humbly came to the mosque in tears with their priests with a rope round their necks and seven banners of mercy in their hands, preceded by the bishop with a big cross in his hand, and asked for reconciliation. Although many aids from villages were rendered to the Muslims, and they gained a victory, if we debate appropriately with clairvoyance, then we'll see that the conquer and victory in this warfare, by the grace of Allah, is more than in the previous one.

However, in this warfare by Galashakov's arrangement they mobilized against the Muslims seven thousand armed Armenian fighters from the neighboring villages, Iravan, Ganja and other places, 850 Russian Kazaks, 400 Armenian Russians, several thousand Armenians from Gala (Shusha), 4 *unas*⁶³ studying at school as well as cannons and artillery. The total sum of their armed forces was 12 thousand.

At the outset of the warfare, only Muslim valiants and youth residing in Gala were fighting against the Armenians. No help had arrived to them from anywhere. For three days and nights, they conducted incessantly such a shooting against the Armenian armed forces and the Russian army that even the Japanese war had not witnessed the like. About ten thousand shots were fired from the rifles and cannons in the barricades, the bombs and dynamites placed in the houses exploded in so many places. Thus, the Muslims bravely confronted so many troops for three days like the wall of Alexander the Great and fired at them incessantly uttering a roar. Three days later the Muslims received a help. Thus, lasting five days and nights, the war subsided.

In this fierce five-day warfare, the number of the killed Muslims was 18. Five of them were prominent, famous youth, and the rest consisted of the helpless, old people and beggars who were killed by the Armenians' sudden shots while walking along the street or sunbathing on a seat near their houses. Moreover, 21 people were wounded.

However, the number of the dead among the Armenians was 400-500, and the wounded were 287 people. Among the dead 35 people were from Ganja, and 100 people from Iravan, 41 people were prominent *gymdats*, beys and other famous people, two were *unas* from school. The rest of the dead were ordinary Armenian armed fighters

⁶³ girls

from Gala and neighboring villages. Eleven people's arms and feet were amputated. Thirty-one people were killed among the Kazaks and Russians from the Russian troops.

The Armenians buried those, who died during the warfare and fierce battles, with their clothes on in twos or threes in the same tomb over the boulevard. Sometimes they dug not a tomb, but an ordinary pit and buried the dead in it. The Kazaks and Russians were buried in the Russian cemetery. The martyrs among the Muslims were buried in the yard of the mosques.

Five or six days after the end of the warfare, Mr. General decided to go to the Muslims for reconciliation. Taking with him the bishops of the Armenian and Russian churches in their church clothes, besides them, some Russian soldiers and Kazaks with white and red banners in their hands, arrived at the Muslim square playing music. After the general and the priests had arrived at the mosque and talked to the people to establish peace between the two nations, the esteemed qadi and together with him several Muslims went to the barricades. Visiting the barricades, they reached the Armenian square. There also saying a few words, they got departed.

The negotiations on reconciliation were being delayed due to the trick played by Galashakov between the Armenians and Muslims, and his failure to fulfill the oath he had sworn before the Armenians, the complaints about him to the state authorities increased. Watching his step, Galashakov was thinking, "The treachery that I have given way to, due to that, they may kill me unexpectedly". That is why, he was very cautious.

The Muslims informed all the authorities and the courthouses by cabling and writing letters about this treachery and cruelty that Galashakov inflicted on the state and nation. Neither support nor help came from the state; they took no measure in connection with the general's crime. In fact, he was only removed from the position of a judge to Gala. On the 19th day of the month of Rajab General Galashakov left Gala panic-stricken, and another Russian general, by the name of Bower was appointed to his place. Galashakov went to the city of Tiflis and was settled there. That year on the 1st day of Shawwal (November) several hours before the sunset a man came out of the bathhouse, approached the phaeton and shot two bullets at the general. Losing his consciousness, the general fell down. When the crowd gathered hearing the noise, the murderer ran away. Although they tried to catch him, he managed to escape. In the meantime, the general was taken to his home. But it was impossible to identify the murderer.

The doctors came and after some consultations said, "Two bullets have hit the general. One hit him on the throat and got stuck in his head, and the second went through his mouth dividing his tongue and teeth into pieces and came out of the back of his neck". The doctors completely removed the bullet that came out of the back of the neck, with tweezers little by little. Several days later at some point, the general could not eat any more. The doctors tried a lot, but it was in vain.

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